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Advocate of Peace

*We Have Not Won This War Until We Have Won the Peace, and
There Can Be No Peace Except the Peace of Justice.*



JANUARY, 1920

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A GOVERNED WORLD

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, the Supreme Court of the United States, and practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS.

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas, according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law and subordinated to law, as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof, are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein, and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations, it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence, but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE.

1. The call of a Third Hague Conference, to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

2. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference, which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

3. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

4. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

5. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the declaration of the rights and duties of nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the powers for this purpose.

7. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

8. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

9. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

10. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinion of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

SHALL THE PRUSSIAN SUCCEED?

IN A VERY fundamental sense the question which side won the World War remains unanswered, for if we grant that the war was in reality not only a clash of steel, but a mortal conflict between two kinds of ideas, we must grant that it has not yet been determined which set of ideas is really to prevail. There are evidences, both abroad and in this country, that the Prussian attack in the realm of ideas is still on, and that the success of the onslaught is marked.

In France, for example, there is a supported Prussian militancy of a rigorous, unyielding, non-irenic type expressed in its most definitive form in the words of no lesser person than Marshal Foch. In an interview in *The Excelsior* of Paris, he is quoted as saying:

"War is no longer an art, but a science and an industry, and the lesson France and the world should draw from the war is the lesson of prudence. It would be fatal to believe that one will not have to fight because one does not wish to fight. If it needs two for a fight, one alone is enough to be beaten. . . . We have much to learn from the technical works of our late enemy."

In the *Echo de Paris*, January 1, this same military genius, whose iron will, added to that of Clemenceau's, has undoubtedly shaped a French after-war policy quite Prussian in its character, said that ever since he saw the

Germans in Metz he has lived "for revenge"—a "revenge" to which he pledged himself when only a boy of seventeen. In the same interview he says that he attributes his victory to his intense concentration of purpose to win, and, second, to the "Supreme Divine will," which gave him clear visions in the great battles, "compelling him to take certain measures of enormous importance." Surely this all sounds like Emperor William at his Prussian best.

In America we have set ourselves theoretically against the Prussian William's belief that his grandfather was crowned, "By the will of God alone and not by Parliament or by any assemblage of the people or by popular vote, and that he thus looked upon himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven and as such performed his duties as regent and sovereign." We have set ourselves against his philosophy again when he said, "You Germans have only one will, and that is my will; there is only one law, and that is my law; . . . who opposes me I shall crush to pieces." And yet, quite as if we were Hohenzollerns indeed, representative government in this our country is not only "on trial," but some seem to feel that it faces the executioner. Government here and there has attempted to take sovereignty away from the people and to recognize it only in itself. We seem to have forgotten the unhappy history of sedition laws, and government is going forth to suppress by force all unrest and discontent, as if that were a possible thing.

The Sterling bill (S. 3317) as passed by the Senate, now before the Judiciary Committee of the House, provides that it shall be "Unlawful for any person to advise or advocate the overthrow . . . by force or violence . . . of the Government of the United States, or to advise or advocate a change in the form of government in the Constitution of the United States or resistance to the authority thereof by force or violence or by physical injury to person or property." Such language enacted into law, however worthy the motives of its author, will defeat its own ends. What, for example, does the Senate mean by "force"? Furthermore, after a careful reading of the bill we are convinced that it provides that it shall be unlawful for any person to "advise or advocate a change in the form of government or of the Constitution of the United States." Good lawyers agree that the bill means just that. If that be so, and if such language becomes the law of the land, what becomes of that other language, out of which has grown pretty much all of

what we call American liberty; namely, that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness"?

Here we have the two combatants face to face, Prussian and American. Senator France, of Maryland, said recently: "The people fear that the government is no longer machinery to minister to their welfare, that it is no longer a servant eager to know their needs and anxious to do their will, but a despotic master, acting indifferently, autocratically." So far as this is the truth it represents the victory of Prussia over America.

In time of war the Prussian method was the only method, for the methods of war are the veritable methods of Prussianism. In times of war laws are originated, interpreted, and enforced by the executive. Free government, therefore, is suspended; but now is the time, not for Prussian repression, but for corrective legislation to express the popular will, for the removal of censorship, and for the exercise of free speech and free assemblage.

The crime of Bolshevism, as we have been able to see it, is its autocracy of a class. The crime of Prussianism is certainly its autocracy of a class. Both are, therefore, equally foreign to free government, because they are both tyrannical expressions of the rule of the few rather than the rule of the majority.

If in America we deny the right of fearless and outspoken utterances simply because they hurt our feelings, we are Prussian; we have been conquered by the very thing we started out to defeat. Arresting men without warrant, detaining them in jail for days with no evidence against them, is a Prussian abuse of the police power. To suspend members of the New York Assembly, duly elected under law, because of their political doctrines merely, is an example of pure Prussian intolerance. Whenever a minority can be disfranchised for no other reason than its views are out of harmony with those of the majority, we have to that extent been conquered by the Prussians.

Now is the time for great wisdom. Now is the time to return to the fundamental principles of our democracy. Now is the time to show that we have defeated, not that we have been overcome by, the Prussian. It is time to stop "seeing red" that we may see straight. What we have suspected for a long time seems to have been proved to be the fact by Judge George W. Anderson, of the United States District Court, who, speaking before the Harvard Liberal Club in Boston, January 12,

said that, in his opinion, "More than 99 per cent of the pro-German plots never existed," and that he doubted "whether the Red menace is more based in fact than the pro-German peril." The Judge went on to say: "There are Reds, probably dangerous Reds. But they are not half as dangerous as the prating pseudo-patriots who, under the guise of Americans, are preaching murder and shooting at sunrise, and to whom our church parlors and other public forums have hitherto been open. Many, perhaps most, of the agitators for the suppression of the so-called Red menace are, I observe, the same individuals or class of forces that in 1917 and 1918 were frightening the community to death about pro-German plots. As United States district attorney, I was charged with a large responsibility as to protecting the community from German plots. I assert as my best judgment that more than 99 per cent of the pro-German plots never existed." In a letter to the same club, Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court, is quoted as saying: "I see no impropriety in suggesting that, with effervescing opinions as with the not-yet-forgotten champagne, the quickest way to let them get flat is to let them be exposed to the air."

Here we have good American doctrine. And that such doctrine survives is the hope in our unhappy situation. Americanism is not dead. We are quite well aware, as asserted by Senator Kenyon the other day, that "we can deport alien radicals, but we cannot deport radical ideas." With all our points of excellence, we are not yet perfect, and we need the criticism, free and outspoken, of all who would complain. The methods of Prussia and of Red Russia have not been sufficiently successful to warrant our emulation. Lynchings, tortures, violence, are not the effective ways of overcoming lynchings, tortures, and violence. As a friend of the American Peace Society through many years has recently written:

"The dragnet of Lusk committees and of espionage boards will not eradicate the poison in the body politic. Only evidence that justice is for rich and poor alike, and that the constitutional rights to free speech will be preserved will restore respect for our government among the discontented and rebellious. All violence must be suppressed, but especially violence toward individuals, of whatever race or station, must be punished as severely as attacks upon the theory of the State, if the great number of restless, irritated citizens are to be brought into the loyal attitude of mind which all of us 100 per cent Americans so much desire."

Hon. Charles E. Hughes, in his strong American letter of January 9, addressed to the Speaker of the New York Assembly, says, among other things:

"Nothing, in my judgment, is a more serious mistake at this critical period than to deprive Socialists or radicals of their opportunities for peaceful discussion, and thus to convince them that the Reds are right, and that violence and revolution are the only available means at their command."

. . . I have sufficient confidence in our institutions to believe that they will survive all the onslaughts of discussion and political controversy. But democracy cannot be preserved if representation is denied. Apart from the matter of principle, the procedure is futile. To shut out the duly elected representatives of the Socialists is merely to multiply Socialists by the thousands. Instead of protecting us from revolution, it will do more to encourage the spirit of revolution and to strengthen the advocates of violence than any conceivable propaganda could accomplish."

Here we have an American voice indeed, reassuring us that perhaps after all the world war may not have been fought in vain.

Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, sent a New Year's message to the nation in which he said:

"I wish that 1920 may be a Lincoln year, a Lincoln year in which our people will learn to look at things through Lincoln's eyes—those kind, wise, steadfast, honest eyes, in which there was neither malice nor envy, but a great sympathy in a noble, common sense. Why can't we make this 1920 a Lincoln year?"

In the face of the threatening onslaught from out the depths of a vicious and discredited past, we would take these words in all their fullness and simplicity, and we would make them our own.

Now is the time to take our bearings. If only we remember our America at its best, we need fear no evil. Our government is the expression of the popular will and must be kept so. As said Mr. Justice Brewer, "Our government is as much bound by the laws of Congress as an individual." Magna Charta bound the king and queen by the laws; indeed, the King of England swears, in his coronation oath, "to observe the laws." Even the French monarchical constitution of 1791 established that, "There is in France no authority above that of the law. The king reigns only by the law, and it is only in the name of the law that he can exact obedience."

Thus the Austinian theory of a limitless and uncontrolled power in the State, a theory thoroughly Prussian in its nature and contrary to all right interpretations of democracy, cannot be American, for America and individual opportunity must be preserved. In the language of John M. Zane, writing most convincingly in the *American Law Review* of November-December, 1919,

"A country ruled by law that binds government and citizen alike, the aspiration of Aristotle and Cicero, the hope of the great Roman jurists, the ideal of the saints, the goal of all the ages, is with us a reality, and we confidently look forward to a future where the same rule of law will compel all nations to dwell in peace and concord."

Amid all the welter, threats, and dire forebodings, the swagger and truculence, the real America becomes here and there articulate, and the real America is a very beautiful thing. It cannot be overcome by evil, for its destiny is to overcome evil with good.

MILITARISM

ELSEWHERE in these columns we say that "the chief breeder of war is that group of aggressive ideals, traditions, and ambitions which for the want of a better word we call militarism." Since this is so, we do well to examine with no little care the familiar "drives" from the various military centers of the world.

In our own country, for example, Congress has been in session most of the time since the war closed. It has accumulated much evidence bearing on reorganization of the army and the future military policy of the United States. Many bills have been introduced by sponsors with many theories. But constructive legislation does not evolve, and the longer the delay the greater the differences as to the necessity for universal military training. Two or three causes account for this division of opinion. The more the recent war is studied in its catastrophic results to society at large, the fewer the lawmakers who care to approve making preparations for another one. Moreover, polling of the returned soldiers' opinions is not inducing haste in imposing forced drill in time of peace. In addition, the National Guard forces have had such an experience with "regular"-army discipline and favoritism that they are lining up against anything that the War Department and the General Staff favor. Nor is this all. Evidence accumulates showing that our nation's status in the world of tomorrow is to be based more upon her economic, financial, and political policies toward other nations than on any use of physical power. The world needs no more proof as to what this last may be, if needed; and on short notice, too.

The proprietor and editor of the *Japan Advertiser*, of Tokyo, has recently confessed that it is the domination of the Japanese Government by the military party which has made Japan's motives feared and suspected by the people of China and by many Americans and Europeans. Pointing out that the opposition to this dominance is increasing in Japan, that the liberal element there is being aided by the industrial and commercial elements, he proceeds to point out what we must accept as a matter of fact; namely, that when the ports of Japan were first forced open by the foreigners the Japanese were brought face to face with their inability to resist further exhibitions of force against them, in consequence of which they have been obliged to adopt Western methods—that is to say, the German model for their army and the British model for their navy. Since the Western nations are imperialistic and aggressive, Japan feels that she must be imperialistic and aggressive. After she had waged two wars successfully, and largely because of that display of physical force, Japan was given a place at the Council of Nations in Paris.

In other words, Japan believes that she has taken a

distinguished place among the nations because she has become strong in a militaristic sense. There is nothing in the present condition of world politics to warrant her in believing that militarism is dead. The nations talk of disarmament, but keep on building battleships and submarines. Putting half the American fleet in the Pacific waters has not convinced Japan that it is time for her to reduce armaments. We gather the impression that even among the liberal element in Japan there is no disposition to reduce armaments. Their chief grievance is simply that the military party dominates the civil.

Militarism in England shows no sign of ill health. We are told that the militarists are already beginning to discuss "the next war," as if they were disappointed in the last five years and anxious to see more devastation and to smell more blood. They are saying that the methods employed by the armed forces during the World War have been experiments only. They urge that the war departments must get busy at once and improve upon their experiments, inventing new and more deadly machines. We read that Major General Sir Louis Jackson, officer in charge of offensive gas production and the "Director of Trench Warfare" in the late war, has recently ridiculed the idea that "we have witnessed the last great war." He expressed nothing but contempt for those who desired a reduction of armaments, defending the use of poison gas in warfare, saying that there is no more reason for forbidding the use of gas than for forbidding the use of rifles. Calling attention to the contribution which chemistry, aviation, and commercial machinery must make to the success of the next war, he expressed the view that Germany made a mistake in using explosive instead of incendiary bombs.

Now is the time to "play the game fair." Let us not forget our passionate appeals for support of the war in behalf of a "just and lasting peace," a "war to end war," and to "end militarism." We were not deceiving ourselves then; let us not deceive ourselves now. Let the small group of professional militarists believe in the "next war," if they prefer so to believe. If enough of us talk about another war—bigger, bloodier, and more destructive than the last—and keep at it, we shall certainly get it. And, furthermore, if we continue our propaganda in behalf of a governed world by simply criticising militarism we shall get nowhere. The movement for the peace of the world is big enough to include the militarists; and when that movement has succeeded, as has the prohibition movement in America, then the militarist will just naturally become absorbed as has the bartender in our midst. If the militarists, in the meantime, have any desire to "play the game fair" let them meet the rest of us half way, own up to the hideousness of militaristic philosophy and assist through the society of nations at the death and burial of the foul thing.

AS TO HATING THE GERMANS

THE war having been brought officially to an end Saturday, January 10, and the world now being safe for democracy, we may be pardoned for raising the question, How long does our Christian duty require that we shall continue to hate every German? Since it was a Frenchman, Rochefoucauld, who said, "When our hatred is violent, it sinks us even below those we hate," we shall not be misunderstood if we quote it and repeat our question. Dr. Johnson's fondness for "a good hater" probably had a saturation point. No doubt had he been living during these piping times his appetite would have had more than enough to feed on. Leading writers in England tell us that the English soldier had no hatred for the German soldier as such. Mr. Galsworthy finds the prime sources of hatred for Germans to be in the old men's clubs of London. One hears little of hatred among our doughboys for the individual German. Back in July, 1916, Maurice Maeterlinck wrote: "Question the men returning from the trenches: they detest the enemy; they abhor the aggressor, the unjust and arrogant aggressor, uncouth, too often cruel and treacherous; but they do not hate the man: they do him justice; they pity him; and, after the battle, in the defenseless wounded soldier or disarmed prisoner they recognize, with astonishment, a brother in misfortune who, like themselves, is submitting to duties and laws which, like themselves, he, too, believes lofty and necessary." So our inquiry is, When can we begin to talk less of hatred and somewhat of friendship? When can we begin to get the smell of blood out of our nostrils?

There are scattering evidences that the Christian note is beginning to be sounded here and there. One of our correspondents writes: "I have felt for a long time that we must try to make friends with German youth or there would be danger that they would grow up without faith in God or man, and would thus become a menace to the world." A Quaker American woman now in Berlin writes that the boys and girls there are "starving for friendship as well as for food." Miss Mary N. Chase, Secretary of our New Hampshire Society, having arranged that Christmas cards be sent to a number of German boys and girls, is beginning to receive replies. She says that she has received already over thirty letters from Germany, "all interesting and revealing a fine spirit." The first letter which she received was written in English by a girl eighteen years of age. The letter follows:

BAD BRÜCKMAN (RHÖN),
SINNTHALHOF, November 3, 1919.

DEAR MADAM:

Our school thanks you for your letter. We all are willingly ready to form a comrade-like intercourse with

the boys and girls of your schools, just in this time, when so much hostile sentiment is shown against our country. We, the youth, will help to prepare for the whole world a way for a new, better spirit, a spirit of liberty and fellowship. We believe the correspondence with the youth of other countries to be a good beginning for this, and that much good will come from it. Every one of us would be glad of getting a Christmas card.

Our school has changed its dwelling place; we live for the next time in Brückman (Rhön). Soon it will be decided where we will settle to found our work. Now our school consists of four teachers, one of them for the instruction of music, and six pupils. We strive for a school in which the children of all classes are accepted, and we combat the wrong belief, scientific work to have more value than that of the body. The foster of the spirit of the culture shall be brought in a good word with that of the handicraft and the agriculture. And the free and comrade-like spirit between the teachers and children on one side and the pupils one with another on the other will always inflame to independent and self-productive work.

Please, will you be kind enough to give me a particular report of your school? We are interested of knowing whether your pupils think as we. If, however, this should not be the case, it would not prevent of course, after so long a time of hate and murder, from bringing the idea of humanity nearer to its aim!

With the kindest regards to you and your school.

Die Brückman Freie Schul-und Werkgemeinschaft.

(Signed)

Y. A. LILLY CARSTENS.

From our own correspondence we gather evidences out of Germany of a rational human Christian touch even there. We have received from the *German League of Nations Union* a beautiful illustrated calendar, each page of which breathes the spirit of the great peace-loving and creative Goethe, Kant, Schiller, Herder, Lessing, every quotation being a silent plea to us that we recall the great humanizing things that the world has received out of central Europe.

In the *Vossische Zeitung* a recent editorial contains these words: "It is not the written word, but the creative deed, which can remove the traces of physical and spiritual damage caused by the war. For Germany the first duty is to honor her pledged word." It is not necessary to be intimately acquainted with the German people to realize that among those seventy millions there are still, as before the war, right-minded people, regretful for the crimes of the Hohenzollern dynasty, disillusioned, responsive to that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.

Dr. Hans Wehberg, writing in *Berliner Tageblatt*, takes the denunciatory references by Mr. Clemenceau, Nicholas Murray Butler and others to the manifesto of the ninety-three German intellectuals of the date of October 11, 1914, as his text and shows that he has been to some pains to find out the present attitude of mind

among that learned group in the light of the present world situation. Of the original number he finds that fifteen have died, one of whom some time before his death withdrew his signature to the document. Of the remaining 78 who are living, 23 have given no answer to Dr. Wehberg's inquiry. Some of these the author finds are ill and unable to reply. Of the 55 who sent answers, 16 are of the same opinion still; but 39 of the original signers have varying explanations for their signatures, ranging from a statement that they misunderstood the purport of the document, some of them not having seen it, to an out-and-out regret that they signed it at all. Eight have withdrawn their signatures because of Dr. Wehberg's letter.

One wonders as one witnesses these attempts on the part of German scholars to get in touch again with the intellectual men of other nations how long it will be before the spirit that became brotherhood between the North and South after our Civil War shall become operative between the people of Germany and those of her one-time enemy nation.

The Germans are our conquered foes. Some of them may talk of revenge. Some may, like certain Southern brave boys after Appomattox, deny that they have been beaten. They may view themselves with self-pity and curse the rest of the world. But the fact is that the proud German military machine is crushed, and, as a people, the Germans are at the mercy of their victors. After knocking him out, Carpentier picked Beckett up in his arms and carried him to his corner. Ordinary sporting spirit calls for a generous magnanimity, even in the prize ring.

But the prize ring of the war is no longer a prize ring. Civilization and humanity in us call again, quite as they did to Lincoln and Grant fifty years ago. When Grant knew that he had Lee's army within his grasp, realizing the nature of the man in the White House and interpreting truly the spirit of the people back home, he spontaneously wrote an order in which he unconsciously enunciated a policy which all subsequent history has approved. He said, "Each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they reside." The leader of the Union army saw in his imagination those Southern soldier boys returning home to their little farms, to a destitute country, a land all but laid waste by the ruthless hand of war. He thought and felt toward them as only a hero could. Grant's magnanimity made a profound impression upon the Southern army, and General Lee assured him that the entire South "would respond to the clemency he had displayed." Later, when the daughter of General Lee was danger-

ously ill, Grant extended Lee's parole that he might leave Lexington, Virginia, for the bedside of his child. It was in recognition of this generous act, and in what proved to be the last communication between the two great generals, that General Lee expressed his obligation to "the General Commanding the Armies of the United States for his kind consideration." Writing from Raleigh, North Carolina, to his wife, under date of April 25, 1865, and pointing out that the people were anxious to see peace restored, "so that further devastation need not take place in the country," Grant said: "The suffering that must exist in the South the next year, even if the war ended now, will be beyond conception. People who talk of further retaliation and punishment, except of the political leaders, either do not conceive of the suffering endured already or they are heartless and unfeeling and wish to stay at home out of danger while the punishment is being inflicted." One familiar with General Grant's magnanimous attitude toward the South, his fearless opposition to the vindictive feeling of President Johnson toward that stricken land, can easily understand how Mrs. Jefferson Davis could write to him in May, 1866, and say, "All know you ever as good as well as great, merciful as well as brave."

But there is something more pertinent to our inquiry, and nearer at hand. When, on April 2, 1917, President Wilson, speaking at a joint session of the two houses of Congress, recommended the "declaration of a state of war between the United States and the German Imperial Government," he saw fit to say: "We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools." So far as we know, our President has never repudiated these sentiments. In the light of them, we ask again, When will it be proper for the American people to recall the sentiment of that other, and we are sure we may say greater, interpreter of the American spirit, who gave to us the immortal phrase, "with malice toward none"?

When can we call attention again to the fact that there can be no international peace until all the nations, including the Central Powers, accept a common point of view and join willingly in that one legitimate struggle of struggles, the conflict of man against the common enemies of man?

THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

THE world peace movement, which before the war had attained unto proportions which challenged the militarists the world over as they had never been challenged before, a movement which indeed had goaded the warriors into exhibitions of infuriated self assertion as their only means of self preservation, is seen coming out of the war tempered and vindicated. All its followers are buckling on their armors of righteousness again and preparing for another onslaught upon the iniquitous system of war, a system which after a trial of five frightful years stands before the bar of humanity in all its ghastliness and guilt. The mood of the world is changing; has changed. In both hemispheres there is endless disillusionment. Writers everywhere are pleading for the abolition of war. Followers of Mr. Wilson's carelessly conceived League of Nations accept that plan anxiously with the hope that it may be the means of ending war. Any brave gesture, even by willful and incompetent hands such as gave to us the proposed League of Nations, the League to Enforce Peace, a Holy Alliance, would naturally in the present temper of the world secure a large following. As after the wars ending in 1815, the world was sick of the whole beastly business, so again the world demands some means of preventing such outbursts of international insanity, and the average man doesn't care much what they are, if only they are aimed at the overthrow of war.

Out of the blur of counsel, men are finding again the pearls in the peace movement which they thought had been swallowed up in war. Writers like Frank H. Simonds realize that "indemnities" and "securities" set up under the terms of the treaty at Versailles can never indemnify or secure without a peace of real reconciliation. Undeclared Germanism, especially outside Germany, a Russia outside the society of nations, liberated Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, Italian acquisitions, irridentia in Greece, Asia, Africa, and in the islands everywhere all present situations demanding a new birth of that rational good-will which characterizes the center of the peace movement.

"Sanitary cordons" and Prinkipo proposals cannot make the world safe for democracy, or democracy safe for the world. The chief breeder of war is that group of aggressive ideals, traditions, and ambitions, which for the want of a better word we call militarism. The chief breeder of peace is that group of rational ideals, traditions, and ambitions which for the want of a better name we call justice; and justice, the goal of liberty under the rule of law, is the essence of the peace movement.

Anarchy and disorder have had their day; the time of law and order is returning. The peace movement is

welcomed again increasingly, for the health and life of the world require it. As Novicow would have said if he were with us again, dissociation with its toll of death must give way now to association with its way of life. This association means to the accredited peace workers a further evolution of law by the Society of Nations, not by an alliance of the powerful against the weak, but by all the civilized nations composing the Society of Nations, quite as they went about the business in the Hague Peace Conference of 1907, in the Universal Postal Union since 1906, in the Pan-American Union since 1890. Only a German such as Mommsen could have defined the Hague Conference as "a false conception of universal history." No one can ignore the universal Postal Union, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions have been parties for nearly two decades. No one can ignore the Pan-American Union, often referred to as an illustration of what a rational international organization can accomplish, especially so referred to by the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Alfred H. Fried, and by the scholarly Alpheus H. Snow in the present number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. A union of the nations, by which we do not mean the abolition of States, is a necessity on every ground, political, industrial, biological. Spoilation, the essence of war, despoils the despoiled and the despoiler, thus violating the law of life. War has demonstrated again not only its hideousness but its utter impossibility if the race is to endure. As a recent writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* puts it:

"The idea of war has revealed itself in its full hideousness. All the world has come to look upon it as a sort of mythological monster which, if left to itself, will periodically re-emerge from hell, to devour the whole youth and the whole wealth of civilized mankind. It is useless to dream of clipping the wings or paring the claws of the dragon. It must be slain outright if it is not to play unthinkable havoc with civilization; and to that end the intelligence and the moral enthusiasm of the world are now, as we see, addressing themselves."

It is to this job that the peace workers have always addressed themselves, do now address themselves, and will continue to address themselves.

The Peace Movement a Practical Thing

THE peace movement is not an abstract thing. It is very concrete, facing a real world situation. The decision of the United States to withdraw all of its troops from Siberia; the indecision of the government of Japan as to whether it will assume the task of policing Siberia and blocking, perchance, further advance of the Bolshevik armies; the perturbation of the British Government over the steady advance of the Bolshevik forces in Central Asia in their drive through to India and the Indian Ocean; the decision of the Supreme

Council in Paris to permit a modification of the blockade against Soviet Russia—all these are significant signs of the times.

They hint at western Europe's and America's tardy recognition of the fact that their joint program of attempting to force upon Russia a policy which a majority of Russians do not accept has broken down, and that they now have to face a militant Slavic power. Having established itself internally, it is out for conquest, in part by use of military power, but more especially by resort to propaganda in behalf of a new yet old theory of the State, adopting a scale of expenditure in marshalled propaganda of men and money such as never has been known before.

The consequence of this propaganda of ideas, emanating from Moscow as a center, is that there is scarcely a nation in the world now, on any continent, that has the same sense of security in its post-war or war form of government that it had when the war with Germany closed. A new war of greater magnitude impends, sometimes only domestic and civil in form, but in other cases likely to take on the forms of international strife, though in substance always a war between classes. Obviously the gravity of this situation can hardly be overstated. It weakens in a corroding way the hands of statesmen and jurists accustomed to deal with such problems on the basis of unity, at least within national lines. Winston Churchill, for instance, representative of the aristocracy and the ruling classes in Great Britain for many centuries, would have the British armies at once massed in western and central Asia, to save British imperial interests. But the British Labor leaders have let it be known that such a policy will be fought by them and by the coming dominant element of the electors; and the Premier sides with Labor.

Precisely the same situation exists in France, Italy, and the United States. The masses of no country today, after the experience of the war with Germany and Austria and after the disclosures of "secret diplomacy" prior to and at the Paris Peace Conference, will go forth to fight the Russian masses in behalf of a theory of society that many of them believe is the parent of war and that has been such for generations.

That the Russian masses wish to go on fighting for an indefinite time in behalf of their soviet form of government, as a form, is doubtful. Inherently they are a pacific people. That in due time, as Baron Korff points out in his article on page 16, elements of the Russian population not formerly recognized now by Lenin and Trotsky, will count in making the Russia of the future, we have no doubt. But it is very clear that the Allies' policy toward Russia from 1914 up to the present time has been lacking in insight, consistency, and sympathy. She, like other nations, must in the last analysis, be

self-determining in her rights and State functions. But she has no more sanction for imposing her theory of the State, by use of force, on other peoples than Germany had, or than Great Britain has now. Nor can she enter the brotherhood of nations governed by law unless she quits crafty tactics of propaganda that deny law and assert anarchy. Continuance of this policy will array against her the moral, financial, and police power of genuine "internationalists" so long as she follows it.

Organizations and individuals dedicated to the peace cause and to creation of international agencies rooted in conceptions of law and fraternal national relations, need squarely to face the fact that with the emergence of the issue of a class-war over so large an area of the world, and also owing to the intensified claims of "nationalism" as over against "internationalism," they have a more difficult era ahead of them than they have known within the memory of this generation.

Nevertheless this is not a time for disheartening apathy or uncertainty, but rather one calling for hope and candor and wisdom; for whatever else may or may not be true about the future, the fact is apparent that militant minorities, in and out of governments, are not going to lead the masses into conflict as they have in the past. The peace cause, from being the irenic icon of the "intellectuals," the pietists, the jurists, and the disillusioned statesman of the world, has become the slogan of the efficiently organized body of workers. With such a backing the peace movement may be looked to as a natural and an inevitable expression of a world longing.

The Old-Line Peace Workers

WHAT may be called the old-line peace workers, "pacifists" before the word became synonymous with "traitors," are, following the war, reorganizing themselves both in this country and abroad. The seventy-odd peace societies affiliated before the war with the American Peace Society are not all quiescent or dead. The Carnegie Endowment continues on its course, supplying through its publications invaluable knowledge on international affairs of a legal, economic, and educational nature. The League to Enforce Peace, the World Peace Foundation, and the Church Peace Union are concentrating their efforts primarily upon the acceptance of the League of Nations as proposed by the Treaty of Versailles. The Woman's Peace Party is now to be known as the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for United States. The American School Peace League has been reorganized under a new name. The Peace Committee of the National Woman's Council is working; the League of Nations Union somewhat; also the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the

Quakers continue their intelligent attempts to give a Christian interpretation to the international situation. Then there is the Pan-American Union, always an inspiration; the Societies of International Law, and the chastened government agencies.

Abroad we note that the German Peace Society not only still survives, but that it is active; and that the new League of Nations Union in that country is printing many valuable papers. Beside the League of Nations Unions in England, France, and other European countries, the ancient Peace Society of England persists. Mr. F. Maddison continues to edit *The Arbitrator*, organ of the International Arbitration League; Mr. Fried continues publishing *Friedens Warte* in Zurich; *La Vita Internazionale*, founded by E. T. Moneta, continues to be published in Milan under the direction of Arnaldo Agnelli; while in France, under the direction of such men as M. Th. Ruysen, M. J. Prudhommeaux, M. J.-L. Puech, M. Auguste Laune, M. Charles Richet, M. Jacques Dumas, and others, *La Paix par le Droit*, published regularly through the war, continues, fortunately, to arrive regularly.

In Holland, upon the initiative of pre-war workers for peace, there is an attempt to organize a union in support of the League of Nations and the peace, called *Vereeniging Voor Volkerenbond en Vrede*. The aim of this union is the further advance and development of the League of Nations as an organization based on international law, generally disseminating the principles of peace and combating those of war; also the promotion of every endeavor to weld into one the various peace organizations in the world. This union represents something of an outgrowth of the "*Vrede door Recht*," which began in 1871, of several other Dutch organizations of a more or less political or religious complexion, and of the emergency war federation known as the *Nederlandsche Anti-Oorlog Raad*. But the proposed "union" is wholly new, being backed not only by men familiar to long-time peace workers, but by men new in our councils.

Unfortunately this attempt to amalgamate in Holland the various peace agencies of the world seems to be in conflict with the *Bureau Internationale de la Paix*, with headquarters at Berne. From this distance it would seem that the attempt in Holland to draw to a new organization the peace groups that have long adhered to this International Bureau of Peace at Berne is unfortunate. It is true that the Berne Bureau aligned itself against the Central Powers during the war, on the theory that it believed it necessary to base peace upon right. Our judgment is that the various peace societies of the world, including those of Holland and, indeed, of the Central Powers, will do well to remember the consistent and effective work of the *Bureau Internationale de la Paix* at Berne and work through it toward that

united effort which ought logically to follow the splendid effort that expressed itself in the long line of brave international peace congresses, the twentieth of which was held in 1913 at the Hague. Our readers will be interested to know, in this connection, that the Council of the *Bureau* decided at its session last September to call an assembly of the delegates of L'Union Internationale des Sociétés de la Paix within the next few months.

From such facts and from the work of the American Peace Society, familiar to the readers of this magazine, it should be clear that the peace movement survives. Discussion over the League of Nations has created an informed body of opinion that may change the peace movement; but it will improve it. When we recall that the modern peace movement is an expression of the reaction of the popular will against the wars brought to an end in 1815 by the Council at Vienna, it is reasonable to expect, especially in the light of over a century of consecrated peace effort, that the peace movement will during the next generation be a much more constructive and effective thing than we are able now fully to realize. Ten million dead boys, slaughtered for us, call from out their too early graves that that may be.

CREDIT the Sultan of Turkey with his primacy in one respect if in no other. He is the first sovereign of a State that fought against the Allied and Associated Powers who has formally admitted in an address to his own people that his nation erred in the alliance with Germany.

ON JANUARY 17 they took the five sheets of ancient parchment, on which are written the Constitution of the United States, out of their steel and glass encasement in the State Department. They photographed them for the use of newspapers and motion-picture filmmakers in carrying on an "Americanization" campaign to offset anti-American propaganda. It is estimated that 50,000,000 people in this way will have their attention called to the basic principles of American republicanism. We hope that they will, and that they will give especial attention to the Bill of Rights, some of which are now in peril by the policy of the government itself. Pressure of public opinion on Congress is leading it to a retreat, we are glad to say.

REV. DR. G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, the English preacher now in the United States, says that whenever a great country banishes strong drink it must prepare for a revolution, since when the masses stop being sodden with liquor they begin to think and act; and he predicts that London will first be in peril from her masses

when prohibition comes. Ray Stannard Baker, investigating conditions in Gary, Indiana, and interpreting the situation there, says that prohibition has encouraged economic unrest, for it has "removed the great deadener of human trouble and human ambition—alcohol—and has left time to the workers to talk and meet and read, and with money to buy publications and to support organizations." Thus we have the paradoxical claim that a sober world makes a revolting world, and that many persons who are economic conservatives, by their ethical radicalism are unconsciously laying mines under their own houses.

VISCOUNT GREY, British statesman, conversing with Prince Lichnowsky, the German ambassador at London, in July, 1914, said, "No matter what may be the result of the great European war, the collapse of monarchies will follow, industry and commerce will be destroyed, and the power of capital undermined. Revolutions, as in 1848, will take place." The Prince reported this prophecy to the Berlin Foreign Office; it found its way to the Kaiser for his all highest scrutiny, and he margined the document "Useless." We know this now through the revelations of the Kautsky-edited German White Book. In terms of medicine's technical speech, we must admit that Grey was a shrewd diagnostician.

ONE effect of the war and the change in condition of some of the "smaller peoples" of Europe has been seemingly to make unnecessary continuance in the United States of The League of Small and Subject Nationalities, and it has dissolved; but many of its former supporters and some of its former officials have promptly organized a League of Oppressed Peoples, unfortunately.

"Oppressed peoples," like the "poor," are likely to be with us for some time to come. The forms of tyranny change and may exist under soviet as under Romanoff rule of Russia. It has to be a spiritual new birth, a radical change of governmental purpose, a sincere disposition to show good-will, an utter belief in the capacity of all men to rule themselves well ultimately, that ever checks oppression of one race by another, of one nation by another, of one class by another. These are old-fashioned opinions for very modernistic and revolutionary days. Many statesmen and many voters who keep these statesmen in power do not have such words as "spirit," "good-will," and "equality" in their working vocabulary. They will use them in state papers, in orations before popular assemblies, and in cabinet discussions possibly, but they rarely get into executive decrees or laws.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS ACCORDING TO THE AMERICAN IDEA*

By ALPHEUS HENRY SNOW

THE so-called "Covenant of the League of Nations" has the form of a treaty, but it is something different from and more than a treaty—that is to say, it is a constitution. It was, in fact, originally so called. If adopted, it would constitute a new composite body politic and corporate, which would be a union of States, of which the United States would be a member. This new body politic and corporate would have a political and legal personality distinct from that of the United States. It would have a specific name—the League of Nations. It would manifest its personality through a common organ, which would sit in two divisions—one called "the Council," and the other "the Assembly." To this common organ the constituent States would delegate specific political and corporate powers, thereby renouncing the exercise and wielding of these powers to the common organ. The act of ratifying any treaty which contains this "covenant" would be an act of consent on the part of the United States to enter into a union with foreign States, and for a period of time more or less definite to participate and partially submerge its personality in this new union. The power which the United States would exercise in entering into and participating in the union would not be the treaty power proper, but the analogous but vastly greater power of union. Specifically the power thus exercised would be the power of political union, the supreme phase of the power of union.

The first question presented by the subject assigned for this paper—a League of Nations According to the American Idea—therefore is, What is the American Idea, and what is its effect upon the power of the United States to enter into and participate in unions with foreign States?

The American Idea

The American Idea, held by the American people from the foundation of the American colonies and ever since held by them, was formulated in the Declaration of Independence in these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

This statement of "self-evident truths," as is now generally agreed by publicists who have investigated its sources, is a summary and synthesis of the results of the work of the Protestant theologian-lawyers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. It is a translation of the Ten Commandments of the Old Testa-

ment and the Two Great Commandments of the New Testament, which in the Bible are expressed in terms of fundamental divine command and fundamental divinely imposed duties applicable to all men, into terms of fundamental law and fundamental rights applicable to all men. The translation of the Biblical Commandments into the fundamental law of personal conduct and the fundamental rights of men against men was made in 1536 by John Calvin, in the chapter on "The Moral Law" of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion." In 1594 Richard Hooker, in the first book, "Concerning Laws and Their Several Kinds in General," of his "History of Ecclesiastical Polity," derived from Calvin's principles the idea of government by the consent of the governed and of governments as agents of the governed. Bishop Benjamin Hoadly, in 1710, taking Hooker's argument as his basis, evolved the idea, in his "Essay on the Original and Institution of Civil Government," of the unalienability of the fundamental rights of men, and from this thesis derived the rights of men against governments, and the duties of governments to secure the unalienable rights of men against each other. The political doctrines of Calvin and Hooker had become the basis of the liberal thought of Europe at the time the American colonies were founded, and were by the American colonists accepted as self-evident truths. The British and American liberals of 1710 accepted Hoadly's doctrine as completing that of Calvin and Hooker, and the composite doctrine of these three philosophers became the principles of the British Whig party and of the American colonists. Against the Tory and Imperialist reaction in Great Britain, the Americans insisted upon their traditional principles, making their own declaration of them, and successfully maintained these principles by revolution.

The words of the Declaration, when read as an exposition of the legal and political meaning of the Biblical Commandments, are easy to be understood. The equal creation of all men by a Common Creator is taken as the prime axiom of all law and political science. The fundamental duties, imposed by divine command on each man, to his Creator, to himself, and to his neighbor evidently necessitate that he should have those rights against all other men and all bodies of men, which are needful to enable him to fulfill these duties. Such rights are of an extraordinary character. They arise not by the gift of any man, but by "endowment" of "the Creator." These rights not having arisen from gift of any man, cannot be given away by any man. They are "unalienable." The rights which are needful to enable each man to perform the duties imposed by the Commandments are not completely specified in the Declaration, but it asserts that "among these" are the right of "life," the right of "liberty," and the right of "pursuit of happiness." The right of property is regarded as a right which is not fundamental, but as one which is incidental to and limited by these fundamental rights. Governments, however instituted, are declared to be bodies of men who derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. These words are taken from the formulas of the Roman law of agency and signify that the relation of governments to the governed is analogous to that of agency in the private law. It is not said how govern-

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ments are to be instituted, the statement being simply that "governments are instituted among men." The fundamental right of all governments is declared to be that of agents of the governed to "secure" the fundamental rights of all men by all reasonable and needful means and measures. These rights being unalienable, governments can, in the interests of the general security of these rights, deprive any man of them only for willful violation of the equal rights of others, by a due process established by a law consistent with the fundamental law and previously made by consent of the governed.

The American Constitutions

The American constitutions are logical applications of the fundamental law as declared in the Declaration of Independence. The State is regarded not as the source of all law, but as being itself subject to the fundamental law and as a human institution or agency to secure human rights under this law. Governments, being bodies politic and corporate and agents of the governed, properly act under written powers of attorney given by consent of the people governed, delegating plenary powers of agency to secure the fundamental rights of men, and duly limited and safeguarded in such way as to secure the faithful and efficient performance of the agency.

By reason of the universality of this fundamental law, which Americans hold as the American Idea, the powers of all States and all governments are necessarily limited in all their relations, including their relations to other States and governments. For the protection of the fundamental rights of men, independent States and governments may wage war with other States. To assure the observance of the fundamental rights of their citizens within the jurisdiction of other States, or on the high seas, which are of common jurisdiction to all States, they may enter into treaties with other States. To extend the area within which these fundamental rights are secured, they may properly enter into unions with foreign States, of such kinds and on such terms as will enable them all more perfectly to secure the fundamental rights of all men and to extend the area within which these rights are in fact secured.

Unions of States may, according to the American Idea, be equal unions, in which the States united are in the relation of equal associates, partners or cotenants; or they may be unequal unions, in which some of the members are in temporary subordination to one or all of the other members. The Declaration, as has been said, does not require that governments should be instituted by the governed, since it states simply that "governments are instituted among men;" and hence a State which itself observes the fundamental law and the people of which have instituted a government by consent may institute a government for peoples which have not yet attained to the capacity of consent or to a knowledge of the fundamental law, and may unite these peoples to itself as States in unequal, subordinate, and tutorial union.

Three Ways of Effecting Union

Thus, according to the American Idea, a union of States may be effected in three ways: By two or more States which recognize the fundamental law and secure

fundamental rights, mutually entering into an agreement to constitute a new union, as equal partners and cotenants; by such an existing union and such a State not of the union mutually agreeing that the State shall be admitted to the union as an equal partner and cotenant under the constitution of the union; and by such a union or State uniting to itself as a State in unequal, subordinate, and tutorial union a people which has not yet attained to the capacity of consent or to knowledge of the fundamental law, for the purpose of educating them up to the capacity for consent and to the knowledge of the fundamental law, in order ultimately to set them up when fully educated, as an independent State, capable of joining them in equal union.

For any State the act of entering into a union with foreign States is of momentous importance. Any kind of union of States involves each State in an intimate, confidential, and more or less permanent and obligatory relationship with other States of diverse principles and standards. Such a relationship is particularly difficult and dangerous for those States which have set up for themselves the higher or the highest standards. The American Idea is the highest standard possible. There is great danger, since the United States is at present the sole custodian and guardian of the American Idea, that in a political union the American Idea might be submerged and lost. The more intimate, confidential, obligatory, and permanent the relationship is, the greater is the danger to the American Idea. Nevertheless, the present situation of the world requires that there should be union of States to the greatest extent practicable, and the United States must face the situation and fulfill its duty in this respect.

Safe-Guarding the General Union

In a general way, it may be said that a League of Nations—that is, a general union of independent States on equal terms—according to the American Idea would be one which would constitute a relationship between them of as intimate, confidential, obligatory, and permanent a character as is consistent with each protecting itself and being protected in its right to determine its own action in all cases according to its own ideas, provided these ideas are in conformity with the universal and fundamental law. A union of States, to be safe, according to the American Idea, would have to be under a written constitution containing delegations of power to appropriate common organs, and providing limitations and safeguards upon the exercise of the power. Moreover, to assure adequate protection of each State in a union against usurpation of power by the union, the constitution of each of the States of the union would have to contain provisions adapting the government of the States to any possible relationship of union with other States.

Before it will be possible to have any general obligatory union of States, therefore, the political scientists and lawyers of the various States will have to do a great amount of work. First of all, the power of treaty will have to be differentiated from the power of union. They are, in fact, two different and distinct powers, having a scope and purpose different from each other and governed, therefore, by different principles. The power of

treaty should be confined to making agreements other than those constituting a personal and confidential relationship between States; the power of union to making agreements and constitutional arrangements for entering into personal and confidential relations with other States. Each State will have to differentiate in its own constitution the powers of union from the power of treaty and carefully safeguard the exercise of both powers; for under guise of exercising the treaty power it is possible to precipitate the State into union.

No Sufficient Present Checks

At present there are no sufficient constitutional checks in the constitution of any State to prevent executives from entering into secret treaties, secret concerts, secret alliances, and secret unions. There is no consensus of opinion among political scientists concerning the proper organs of the State to exercise the power of treaty or the power of union. Evidently the most august body in each State—its legislative assembly—is the proper body to be intrusted by all States with the power of union. No consensus of opinion exists concerning the procedure to be observed in entering into union. Evidently the solemnity of the act requires in each State that the act be done under the most deliberate and solemn procedure. No consideration has yet been given by any State to the new constitutional organs and processes which have become necessary, now that the living of States in constitutional union has become a practical necessity and all foreign relations are taking on a domestic character.

The Constitution of the United States is as defective in this respect as that of any other State. When it was formed, the people of the United States had just succeeded in withdrawing by revolution from a political union which was not according to the American Idea, and they were interested in establishing their own States and their own union according to the American Idea. They had no occasion to consider the proper manner of projecting their own States and their own union into a greater union. Their experience had made them realize the danger of entering into personal and confidential relationship with foreign States, all of whom either derided or parodied the American Idea. It was evidently thought best not to suggest the possibility of union with foreign States, and to leave the matter to be settled in the future, when the occasion should arise.

The situation of the world has not changed since the days of the Constitution. The political science, the law of nations, and the general constitutional law of the world are as yet as crude and undeveloped, as respects the power of treaty and the power of union, as they were at that time. The ruling classes still deride the American Idea or parody it in terms of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. Now, as then, all States which are honestly intentioned, and the United States in particular, will avoid all projects of unions containing provisions obligating the member States to act otherwise than according to their judgments and consciences. A union on any terms less liberal than these would change the constitution of every State which entered into it and would require to be entered into by the process of constitutional amendment.

The League of Nations' Covenant

The so-called Covenant of the League of Nations contains several provisions which are likely to result in infringement upon the powers of each member State to act according to its reason and conscience, and some which actually do infringe upon those powers. The plan of the League seems to be a composite. In part it seems to be taken from the plan of the "Covenanted Leagues" of individuals, which prevailed openly and secretly in Europe some centuries ago, whereby the members bound themselves by oath to each other and to the ruling council to maintain and propagate a religious faith and a form of political organization, with the object of placing civil government under ecclesiastical control. In part it seems to be drawn from that applied by Spain and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereby the king in his privy council and in his shadowy and inefficient great council, in correspondence with the ducal or provincial councils, ruled the people of the kingdom absolutely. The covenanted leagues produced their own councils of inquisition, absolutely ruling the members of the league by terror of their oaths. The conciliary system of Spain and England produced the High Court of the Inquisition, and the High Court of the Star Chamber, with their processes of secret sentence, excommunication, anathema, and assassination, in contempt of the fundamental law and the fundamental rights of men.

The obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations are opposed to the American Idea in at least the following respects:

First. The Council and the Assembly are said to have the function of "advising" the member States; but in giving this advice they are not required to observe the fundamental law or any principles whatever. The member States "covenant" to follow the "advice." "Advice" given by one person to another who is obligated on oath to follow the so-called "advice" is command, not advice. When no principles are laid down as obligatory on the adviser, and the person advised binds himself to follow the advice, the power of so-called "advice" is the power of absolute command, in disregard of the fundamental law.

Second. The Covenant defines aggression and wrongdoing in terms of warlike action, whereas the only aggression recognized by the fundamental law is that which occurs when States or governments deprive persons of their fundamental rights without due process of law. Such aggression, and such only, is an aggression against all other States. Each State may properly protect itself against such an aggressor State, by war if necessary; and all States are in duty bound, under the fundamental law, to correct by their joint influences and strength such an aggressor State. To regard a State which makes war on such an aggressor State as the real aggressor is to render the League an agency of perversion and injustice.

Third. The Covenant places the power to direct the activities of right-doing States and to correct the activities of wrong-doing States in the same body of men—an arrangement which in fact makes this body of men at once a legislature, a court, and an executive. Such a

combination of functions in one person or body invariably results in absolute government. The fact that the League provides for a Council and Assembly is of no consequence, since in each of them the two functions are similarly confused.

The Desirable League

Assuming, therefore, that the proposed "League of Nations" is impossible according to the American Idea, the question arises: What kind of a league of nations, or general union of States, is now possible, as a matter of practical politics, according to this idea? It seems clear that the only such league is a general union of States for mutual counsel, in which the member States assume no political obligations and in which each is free to act according to its reason and conscience. That this is possible and practicable is shown by the fact that the United States is a member of two such unions. One of them is the Union of the American Republics, whose organ is the Pan-American Union, located in Washington. The other is the general union of States, as yet unnamed, commonly called the Hague Union. This union is in fact, though not in law, constituted by the Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, formulated by the Hague conferences. Its organs, located at The Hague, are the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Permanent Administrative Council, and the International Bureau.

Pan-American and Hague Union Model

The union of the American Republics was initiated by the Congress of the United States in 1888, after the idea had been incubated for sixty years. By act of Congress delegates of the American States were invited to assemble at Washington, on a date fixed, as guests of the United States. The object of the Conference, as originally projected, was "to consider such questions and recommend such measures as shall be to the mutual interest and common welfare of the American States." The Congress limited it to discussion of arbitration and improvement of commercial relations. The invitation included a program of subjects to be discussed, but the first was "measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the American States." Thus a way was provided for considering at any conference any matter deemed desirable for discussion by the majority.

The Pan-American Union is a committee of continuation of the conferences. The conferences, with their bureau of continuation, constitute the union. A written constitution formed by the conferences has been drafted, but not adopted. The Hague Union is formed in substantially the same way. The President accepted the invitation to participate in the conferences. The Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes does not purport to be a written constitution of the Union, although it institutes the common organs. The lack of a continuation committee and the absence of a corporate name render the union imperfect. The program of The Hague Conferences has been limited to the subject of the settlement of international disputes. Because of this unnecessary and undesirable restriction,

The Hague Union has accomplished little. The Union of the American Republics, with its more liberal program, has accomplished much for the general welfare of the States concerned. Neither of these political unions involves any political obligations on the part of any member State. The object of both unions is to reach an agreement of opinion, sentiment, and purpose on certain subjects of mutual interest, and to embody the agreements in formal resolutions or in international conventions, leaving the member States free to act according to their own consciences and judgments.

A League of Nations, according to the American Idea, would undoubtedly be one modeled on the plan of the Union of American Republics. It would have for its object to hold periodical conferences "to consider such questions and recommend such measures as shall be to the mutual interest and common welfare" of all the States and unorganized or partly organized peoples. It would have as its organ a continuation committee of common consultation and counsel, to collect information, to make recommendations, and to adjust the program of each conference. Each conference would, however, be free to consider whatever measures the majority should deem needful "to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity" of all the States and peoples concerned. Under such a union no political obligation would be assumed. Each State would hold to its own idea, and in the competition of ideas the American Idea, by reason of its sound basis and its success as applied in the United States in bringing about peace and prosperity, would tend to prevail.

By such a league of mutual counsel, under the lead of the United States, a new part of the law of nations, according to the American Idea, would gradually be evolved, based on the analogies drawn from the part of the private law which is concerned with the personal and confidential relations of men—the law of agency and trust, of copartnership, of cotenancy, of patron and apprentice, of guardian and ward. As the law was evolved, the relation of the States to each other and the relations of all States to the peoples not yet of full political capacity would tend to have less of a foreign and more of a domestic character, and the States would gradually provide themselves with organs of mutual correspondence with the union and with each of the other States, adapted to the new, difficult, and delicate, but highly desirable, relationship.

When such a law of nations has been evolved and accepted, defining the social rights and duties of States; when such institutions of mutual correspondence shall have been established; when all the States have adopted written constitutions according to the American Idea, in which suitable and scientific provisions concerning the power of treaty and the power of union are inserted, a League of Nations in which each State would obligate itself to observe the law of nations might be possible. Such a league, though likely to be formed only in the distant future, would be according to the American Idea. When a formal constitution of such a league shall be drafted by a constitutional convention of all States, the United States may enter it without amending its Constitution; for the law of nations, based on the American Idea, is a part of the Constitution of the United States.

THE FUTURE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION AS SEEN BY RUSSIAN LIBERALS

By BARON S. A. KORFF*

I

IN THE historical development of individual nations revolutions come and go as tremendous earthquakes, upsetting the standing order and creating new constellations and configurations. After an earthquake, on former plains new mountain ranges arise and, *vice versa*, enormous plains suddenly disappear. It is quite so in the case of a revolution, which overturns century-old institutions and organizations. At the time when the upheaval occurs it often seems that the whole social structure is destroyed forever, and that something entirely new is being created. And yet every one who has studied history knows very well that even in revolutions we have a constant evolution; that much of the old order remains, and that the new institutions have many attachments in the past, no matter how completely new they may seem at the moment of their political birth.

Take the French Revolution of 1789 as a most vivid example. It might have seemed to contemporaries that the whole former French State and Government, the social as well as the economic structure, had disappeared and were utterly destroyed. We know now, however, that much of the ancient French institutions remained and were the basis for further evolutionary developments.

There was a time when historians were very apt to magnify the glory of revolutions, prompted naturally by political motives. This was the case with socialists and radicals, though the opposite method of vilifying social upheavals is, perhaps, politically much worse. It entirely depends on the moral judgment, the individual investigation, what light is thrown on past events. Yet human progress and the social development of nations follow a continuous evolution, regardless of the moral estimate of contemporaries.

One must remember that the judgment of many historians was warped by their political ideals, and in consequence their statements were only too often biased. It is axiomatic, for instance, that an insurrection that fails is regarded as a disgraceful riot of criminals and rascals, and that one that is successful is called a revolution or war of independence of champions of liberty. In other words, nothing succeeds like success. No wonder Napoleon always chose exclusively successful men for the execution of his plans.

One must further keep in mind that any revolution means mostly destruction, and that only after the revolution is over does the constructive work, the building up of the new social or political order, begin. Menou said long ago: "En revolution il ne faut jamais se mettre du cote des honnetes gens—ils sont toujours balayés," and Chateaubriand, a representative of the conservatives, who suffered most, added: "Les honnetes gens ont toujours peur—c'est leur nature." It is perfectly true that

the majority of honest people are always terribly scared by revolutionary events; and this is one of the many reasons why so little creative work can be done while the revolutionary upheaval is still in progress. Fear is always coercive, regressive, conservative, and constrictive and never can achieve or create anything. But it is not at all true that the majority of the nation, the honest people, come back to work, after a revolution has taken place, without having learned anything. The fact that some of them have not forgotten the past is never dangerous, as many of the new institutions created by revolutionary events generally find themselves firmly established after the revolution is over. Thus, one can be quite sure that, no matter what government or system will evolve in Russia from the present state of anarchy and Bolshevik destruction, many of the new ideas have come to stay. I have no fear whatever for the so-called "winnings of the revolution;" on the other hand, the former old régime of Russia is dead forever and cannot be resurrected.

Russia at the Crossways

Russia at the present moment stands at the crossways. There is no doubt whatever that the Bolsheviks are at the end of their tether; their fall and subsequent disappearance are not far off; but then comes the great question, What will replace them, and what form of government will evolve from the present upheaval?

The future fathers of the new Russian Constitution will have a very difficult task ahead of them, much more complicated than the work of the American statesmen of the eighteenth century, as the conditions of modern Russia are so much more involved and perplexing. One thing seems, however, absolutely sure: We all accept democracy as axiomatic; the present development of Russia gives us good reasons to think that there will be a firmly established democratic government. Russia's social body is very homogeneous; this is the best possible guarantee in this respect. Then, too, her economic development and the absence of plutocracy are sufficient safeguards for future democratic institutions. Most of her political parties, also, stand for democratic ideals. The fathers of the Russian Constitution will have to keep in mind that power, as such, is not good, nor bad, and that it is only the way it is used that makes it good or bad; and the way it is used depends entirely on the organization of the state and its organs and the guarantees the citizen will have for his personal life and freedom. We have many examples of how the use of power, when the necessary guarantees are lacking, poisons those who make use of it. In this respect the lessons of history will be very useful.

A National Assembly

Though much of the preparatory work has already been accomplished and most of the constitutional questions are discussed in Russia, all the main questions of principle will have to be decided exclusively by the National Assembly. This latter body alone can represent the will of the people and will be the sole lawful master of Russia. It is in a national assembly that the real sovereignty of the people finds its best expression. For many generations the educated Russians were hoping for such an assembly to meet for the enunciation of the main constitutional principles embodying the will of the na-

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tion. It was a tremendous mistake of the Bolsheviki to have dismissed by force the first National Assembly that met in January, 1918. The Russian people felt extremely disappointed and are still bitter against the Bolshevik Government for having done this. The explanation of this foolish act is simple: The Bolsheviki were forced to do this by their own principles and by the whole congestion of government. Their main principle is the dictatorship of the proletariat, a hopeless minority of the Russian people. It is only too natural that they were afraid of the majority of the National Assembly, which never would have acquiesced in their policy and with their programs; they had to get rid of the assembly, which they did in their usual drastic way.

The only good consequence of this act was that it somehow increased the prestige of the National Assembly and made the nation long for a new one as soon as possible. The questions of principles that will have to be settled by the National Assembly all belong to the fundamental essence of constitution-making, with one possible exception—the land question.

The Fundamental Questions

These fundamental questions are: the form of government, the distribution, balance, and inner organization of the powers of state, the form of relations of Russia proper to the non-Russian nationalities which once were a part of the empire of the tsars, the rights and privileges of the church, and the national defense. To these we must add, as I just mentioned, the land question; it is so very important and involves so many serious problems that nobody except the National Assembly could solve it. During the Bolshevik régime the peasants seized the land belonging to the local landholders, as well as all the Crown and State property. For many years previously there existed a great dearth of land among the peasants, which the old government hardly ever tried to satisfy and certainly never succeeded in satisfying. As soon as the Bolsheviki came into power they redeemed their promise of land for the peasants and complacently looked on while the latter took possession of all the land they could get, incidentally burning down the landlords' houses, destroying the property they had no use for, and often murdering the lawful owner.

There cannot be any doubt, however, that a need of land really existed, and that it ought not to be taken away in the future from the peasants; otherwise we can be quite sure that in a decade, or even sooner, we will witness a new revolution. The peasants at present have no legal right to their newly acquired land; it is only the National Assembly, representing the whole nation, that can sanction such possessions.

The complementary question is that of compensation due to the former landlords. In that case, too, only the National Assembly has the right to decide if any compensation is due (personally, I think it is fair and necessary); in what form it could be paid, if by means of a government loan, and what the amount ought to be (per capita or per acre). The question does not belong to the domain of constitutional law; it can be settled only by the National Assembly. But I think this ought to be the only exception. The assembly must devote all its time to the working out of a constitution, and as soon as the latter is ready it ought to dissolve and transfer all

further legislative activity to the new parliament. In the contrary case the assembly will never be able to finish its work, because as soon as non-constitutional questions will begin to be discussed there will never be an end to it. Gradually the assembly will drift into the work of a parliament and perhaps even substitute itself for the parliament; this would be wrong. The National Assembly will be elected for only the very special object of working out the constitution.

The fundamental constitutional questions can be divided into two groups: In the first one we find the three most important matters, concerning the form of government, the powers of the state, and the question of nationalities. To the second one belong the additional two questions: concerning the church and the national defense.

The Form of Government

Many Russians now consider the question of the form of government of minor importance. We all know examples of monarchies which are much more democratic than many republics. Take England, for example; there are a number of republics which are less democratic than the British Monarchy. The modern development of England is quite astounding. The English people now accept with equanimity things which some four or five years ago would have seemed absolutely inadmissible, even for a republic. It is not the head of state who in our day directs the policy of his country, but a responsible ministry, and the majority of the people do not pay any attention to his limited powers. It is more a question of psychology or of feeling of the nation.

At the present in Russia just this feeling is absolutely uncertain; no one can ascertain as to how the Russian people, as a whole, will decide to solve it. The educated classes, without any doubt, whatever their personal preferences might be, will willingly abide by the desire of the nation. The will of the people will be formulated by the National Assembly. This, possibly, will be the most pure example of the functioning of such an assembly. In both cases, however, in the choosing of a monarchical or republican form of government, the assembly will have to decide not only on the question of principle, but simultaneously also on the method of selecting the head of state. Russia will be a republic; the assembly will have an easy task, simply choosing from among the many examples of western republics. One might only suggest in this respect that, just as in the times of primitive American conditions of the eighteenth century a graded election seemed preferable, especially because of the illiteracy of the people and the recent social unrest, for a time at least a graded election of the Russian President would seem preferable. Much more difficult will be the task of the assembly if it decides on a monarchical form of government for Russia (the finding of a candidate and the founding of a dynasty will be anything but easy). It can also be done only by the assembly, as the new monarch must receive the sanction of the nation.

Constitution Making

After having settled this important matter the assembly will have to start to work on the future constitution, the organization of the legislative power, the reconstruction of the executive power, and the revision of the judi-

cial power. The two latter require less attention, as many of the old institutions could remain, with some additional changes brought into them. The legislative power, on the contrary, will have to be entirely reconstructed. The former Imperial Duma, especially after the reform of June, 1907, did not represent the people at all and ought not to be revived in its old form; the name "Duma" will certainly remain. It seems that a single Russian chamber would be most appropriate, especially if we consider the possibility of a future Russian federation, which will have to have a two-house federal parliament. One chamber for Russia proper, under these circumstances, will be entirely sufficient. Moscow is preferable for the seat of the chamber; the National Assembly will certainly meet at Moscow. As to the future parliament, there can be a choice between Moscow and Petrograd. One consideration, however, is most important: the parliaments must be in the same town with the government, as there must exist the closest contact between them all the time.

(To be continued.)

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

IV

Our Zeal for Self-Culture

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

HEALTH

EXPERIENCES in the war through which we have passed, advantages of some form of universal military training now urged upon us, talk of the school men, warnings of anti-militarists—all seem in agreement with Carlyle, that "health is the highest of all temporal things." This seems to be generally accepted as the truth, notwithstanding such conspicuous exceptions as Alexander Pope, who was far from being an athlete: Cæsar, subject to epilepsy; Darwin, a lifelong sufferer; Francis Parkman, and, indeed, Carlyle himself, both physically handicapped, albeit in different ways. Few doubt the validity of the familiar Spartan doctrine of "mens sana in corpore sano." With the Greeks, we all pay homage to Hygeia, daughter of Esculapius and Goddess of Health, mother of many virtues. The glory of Thermopylæ arose from the cleanliness, sobriety, temperance, and physical training of Spartan military discipline. The same thing has been true in the present war. The cleanest and healthiest nations are and always have been the strongest.

Physical strength has been associated with intellectual greatness in the hero stories of all time. If the William Pitts be the exceptions, the Samsons are the rule. The list is limitless. Pompey, one hundred years before Christ, was a Roman general unsurpassed by any of his soldiers in physical powers. Notwithstanding certain weaknesses, Cæsar overcame them and became an athlete of no mean ability. Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, could and did outrun the mob that chased him. Systems of physical training are not modern inventions, for when Cicero found that he had dyspepsia he cured himself by a

system of gymnastics popular in his day. The legendary hero of Rome, Coriolanus, was conspicuous as a racer and wrestler. We are told that Alcibiades was famous not only for the beauty and grace of his person, but for the strength of his body. Alexander's control of Bucephalus and his power of endurance are equally well known. Themistocles, Socrates, and Plato were all regular gymnasts. The Roman General Sertorius swam the Rhone in full armor. Notwithstanding his lameness, Walter Scott was athletic, as also was Robert Burns. Byron swimming the Hellespont in spite of a physical deformity is a familiar story of literature. The vigorous Dickens took a ten-mile walk daily at four miles an hour. George Sand worked nights that she might enjoy her walks in the daytime. Goethe, the Shakespearian genius of Germany, swam and skated and rode a horse with much skill. Humboldt exercised daily to the point of fatigue. Leonardo da Vinci, the most remarkable genius of all time, was not only a sculptor of horses but a rider of them. Wordsworth's walks from Grasmere, Kant's around old Königsberg, Gladstone's tree-chopping, Roosevelt's melange of physical activities, all illustrate the faith inherent in us all, a faith expressed in the Greek proverb, that "without health, life is not life; life is lifeless."

If we would live, think, and work vigorously while we do live, think, and work—that is to say, if we would be not what Carlyle calls mere animated patent digesters, but whole numbers rather than vulgar fractions merely; if we would have a saving grit and gumption—we must keep sedulously at the business of cultivating health. If we would live, think, and work for the greatest possible number of years, we must agree that the good do not die young, that there should be no "deadline" at fifty years of age, and that we must keep after health everlastingly. If we would live, think, and work with the least possible friction—lovingly, smoothly, kindly—health will help. If we would purpose strongly at critical times, we must first be healthy. If we would burden our friends as little as possible, we must be healthy. If we would that our progeny be strong and healthy, we must first be healthy. Reasons enough, these, for the sedulous cultivation of health. And sound American doctrine withal.

Men admire physical strength because of its evidence of physical health. Healthy men are not cruel. Bismarck waned in character and became a menace largely because of an irritable temper due to a chronic neuralgia. It was a temporary illness at Borodino which in 1812 started Napoleon upon his downward way. On the other hand, Gladstone's preparation for his famous "Home Rule Speech" consisted of an hour of exercise, after which he bathed and ate a light breakfast. Bryant came to his writing with an hour or two of exercise upon rising, each morning of his life.

I recall the sight of tears in the eyes of my favorite teacher as with that eloquence, at once so real and so important to the success of teaching, he said to us: "Gentlemen, I would desire to watch and pray that I may never live to be a burden to them that love me."

I recall asking a class of bright boys some years ago to write for me six reasons why health is desirable. Among the answers was this: "We should be healthy that we may cultivate the specie." Both as he intended and

as he expressed, he was right. There is a reason for our instinctive admiration for the physical strength of Achilles, Valjean, Ursus, John Ridd. Their physical strength fitted their heroic virtues amply and sufficiently. But another source of our interest lies in our hope for a better race biologically. As by studying the laws of breeding we have been able to develop finer and finer types of plant and animal, so through these laws we hope also to witness a better breeding of men. One generation depends for its health upon the health of the generations gone before. We know that we owe it to our children that they be well born. Hence our interest in all stories of physical strength among men. If might is not right, might is as likely to be right as weakness.

Because of the war, men recognize more clearly than ever that the modern stress of competitive life may, because of the loss of sunlight and fresh air in cities and because of unsanitary country conditions, threaten the nervous systems; hence the minds and morals of men; hence the efficiency of the nation. It is realized, therefore, that the schools, urban or rural, must provide games and feats of strength and skill, free if possible, directed where necessary. Every city school system aims now to have physicians and physical directors, these in preference to any other special supervisors—directors competent to adapt exercises to individual needs and to prescribe the proper course in hygiene for particular defects. The public will see more and more clearly that the prescriptions of such officers should be as compulsory as the law of attendance.

If, as has been demonstrated, the success of a nation depends upon the health and strength of its units, and if the physical welfare of the units depends upon the intelligent employment of sunlight, oxygen, food, and exercise, then the public cannot leave out of account sunlight, oxygen, food, and exercise, in the education of its children. The realization of this truth is at the bottom of our Playground and Recreation Association of America, with its National Physical Education Service. Many other organizations are at the business of promoting universal physical education for the same reason—the Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s, Medical Associations, Red Cross, Boy Scouts, School Hygiene Associations, Physical Education Associations, Child Welfare Workers, and many others.

A physician and physical director over a well-equipped gymnasium with baths, and a playground with all the outdoor physical apparatus and room for the various sports of childhood, should be a conspicuous department of the school everywhere. Not only the bodies but the minds and morals of the race depend largely upon the provision man makes for the education of its children in health.

Adam says to Orlando, in "As You Like It":

"Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty;
For in youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;
Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
The means of weakness and debility;
Therefore my age is a lusty winter,
Frosty but kindly."

Or perhaps, better still, this from Emerson:

"Give me health and a day and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous. The dawn is my Assyria, the sunset

and moonrise my Paphos, and unimaginable realms of faerie; broad noon shall be my England of the sense and understanding; the night shall be my Germany of mystic philosophy and dreams."

A song of health, indeed, and the expression of a very great American.

MENTAL DISCIPLINE

The war has not been won by physical strength alone. The experience of the last three years has brought home to us that we must go about the business with renewed energy of educating, disciplining, and storing our minds. Training of the intellect has meant training in mastery, training in tendencies to behavior, training in the organization of our resources—a training which revealed our limitations and powers and showed to us our proper place among the forces of the world. Education became the means of acquiring and prolonging life its very self. Here the war has certainly brought us a gain.

It is the human intellect that tills the field, perfects the loom, fells the forest, plows the sea, builds the home, spells out the stars, establishes justice, and holds up all that is fair and beautiful and, therefore, true along the footpaths of life. The human intellect is Truth's avenue to expression, and in Ruskin's phrase, "Truth is the one virtue of which there are no degrees. There are some faults slight in the sight of love, some errors slight in the estimation of wisdom, but truth forgives no insult and endures no stain." We have had to use our brains of late, for mistakes in time of war are costly.

The discipline of the mind is the only way to freedom. Nero, with the liberty of an emperor, passed through license and lawlessness to abject slavery to his unbridled ignorance and lusts, while Epictetus, the slave, passed serenely from the joy of contemplation and forbearance to a perfect freedom. Freedom is not from without, but from within. Freedom is an intellectual, not a physical affair. Legree was the slave in Mrs. Stowe's book. Compared with him, Uncle Tom was in no sense a slave. The future of freedom for the next generation is in the hands of the people most capable of self-discipline. Who knows which people that is? Every American hopes that that proud distinction may fall to America.

The mind sees in the world what the mind has within itself to see with. This is the bald expression of the law of apperception. A traveler returned to America after a year in Italy and wondered why people raved so about Rome. It was suggestively hinted that perhaps he took nothing with him. The undisciplined mind stands dumb in unusual situations. The hopelessness of ignorance is its helplessness in new and untried predicaments. Lack of co-ordination, absence of the power of adaptation to new environments, these are inheritances of the undisciplined mind.

The mind stored with pictures from the beautiful in any of the arts cannot complain of loneliness. There are fewest lonesome wastes for the mind that really knows. Rich in friendships is the seeker after verity. There is no dearth of companions for the friend of books. The artist and the poet need no solace. All the riches of oriental splendor, all the company of prophets and seers, all the music and art and beauty of the ages, are theirs. The stored and disciplined mind knows less deserts of solitude, less unhappy wandering

in the wilderness alone, less tears of kithless isolation, less empty days, because it is stored and disciplined.

Once more, mental discipline has enabled us to win at crises. George Eliot has pointed out that men are what they prove to be, not so much in the humdrum of the daily round as at the crises of life. Tell me how a man acted at a great crisis and I will tell you what he has been in truth, in the secret, silent hours of his whole past life. The war has given us a justifiable pride in the character of American training, because America has acquitted herself well in a great crisis.

The war has done nothing to destroy the truth that there is no self-culture without a corresponding disciplining and storing of the mind.

SINCERITY

Men are not less sincere because of the war; indeed, our condemnation of the insincerity of our enemies has turned our minds anew to the value of sincerity. Insincerity ever tends to destroy itself. I have already spoken of the joy of sincerity. As with Napoleon's armies, so in life, it is the tramp of the genuine army of a man's moral reserve that puts the enemy to rout. It is far easier to be than to bluff. There is no syllogistic force in noise, whether it be in fancy clothes, jewelry, pedantry, or political nostrums.

Our victory in this war was first a victory over self. Our triumph in our emergency was possible because of much patient toil in obscurity. Our reaping followed our sowing in the springtime. Wherever the sowing be sincerity, sincerity will the harvest be.

That brilliant, ambitious, unfortunate Gwendolin Harleth, in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, aspired, when it was too late, to be a great singer. She consulted the renowned Klesner, little doubting that she would receive from that master much praise and encouragement. Klesner's words to her are worth committing to memory:

"You must not think of celebrity; put that candle out of your eyes and look only at excellence. You have not said to yourself, I must know this exactly; . . . Yet the desire and the training should have begun seven years ago, or a good deal earlier. A mountebank's child who helps her father earn shillings when she is six years old, a child that inherits a singing throat from a long line of choristers and learns to sing as it learns to talk, has a likelier beginning. Any great achievement in acting grows with its growth. Whenever an artist has been able to say, 'I came, I saw, I conquered,' it has been at the end of patient practice. Genius at first is little more than a great capacity for receiving discipline. Singing and acting, like the dexterity of the juggler with his cups and balls, require a shaping of the organs toward a finer and finer certainty of effect. Your muscles, your whole frame, must go like a watch—true, true, true to a hair. That is the work of springtime, before habits have been determined."

The best things man gets are the sincere things he gets for himself, as far as possible alone and unaided, climbing as best he can on his own feet. If they fly at all, kites fly against, not with, the wind. And this is a very practical truth.

Principal Booker T. Washington once told his boys at Tuskegee that while visiting a southern city a short

time before, and examining the houses of the colored people there, he noticed one looking much the best in all the neighborhood. Upon inquiry he found that that house was the home of a Tuskegee graduate, who had begun his life work by fixing up the old home. He had repaired the roof and chimney, put new palings in the fence, painted the house outside and in, and much besides. The principal said that he considered that house to be the highest possible praise for the work done at Tuskegee; and he was right. That is an illustration of the good American doctrine of sincerity and honest accomplishment, a belief which still survives. Our nation's experience of three years, as far as it has been sincere, has not harmed but helped in the advancement of principles such as these—principles worth while indeed.

And sincerity of our aims has been a profound source of national satisfactions. It is not true, as Socrates and Spinoza might have taught, that if we but know the genuine we shall therefore be genuine. Neither is it true, as Schopenhaur implied, that if only we desire the sincere we shall then be sincere. Indeed, it is not both in knowing and desiring the right that men become sincere. It is by knowing, desiring, and doing the sincere thing that men reach their permanent satisfactions. We have had an interest outside ourselves for three years. We have pursued that interest. The health of our young men was necessary. The education, discipline, and storing of the mind did their share. The sincerity of our purpose helped immeasurably. We have all been infinitely comforted to find so much in us, physically, mentally, and morally, that is worthy.

By these qualities we arose to our opportunities. By them we shall acquire and advance new and fairer stretches along the ways of our democratic aspirations. I believe this because by these well-tried means we obtain the only freedom that we ever get, because by them we keep our companionships with the great souls—the Jeremiahs, Goethes, Darwins, Lincolns—companionships which strengthen where we need strength. Intelligent sincerity springing from the great health of our nation, we may be comforted to believe in our great despondency, will tune our ears again to the Easter chorus of the angels:

"Christ ist erstanden!
Selig der Liebende
Der die hetrübende,
Heilsam und übende
Prüfung bestanden." *

But, more, out of the health, intelligence, and sincerity of us we may again respond, as did the despairing Faust:

"O tönet fort, ihr süßen Himmelslieder!
Die thräne quillt, die Erde hat mich wieder! †

* Christ is arisen!
Happy the loving one
Who the afflicting,
Wholesome and chastening
Trial has withstood.

† O sound on, ye sweet heavenly strains!
The tear flows, the earth possesses me again!

THE NERVE OF OUR PEOPLE

The nerve of the American people has been tested by the war, not only their physical bravery at the front of battle, but their intellectual bravery, and the very sincerity of bravery in office, chemical laboratory, shop, and home. This nerve of our people has not been exhausted. Our crowded schools and colleges are but one indication of the American ambition to educate, discipline, and store the mind. The process by which man separates himself from the brute—that is to say, his pursuits of an ideal—is still an active thing in America. Ambition, a quality condemned by Quintillian, tends to become among us praiseworthy and abiding. To desire the high opinion of good people, markedly characteristic of the French, is a laudable characteristic also of ourselves. The desire for companionship with the best, the ambition to be ambitious, the interest in being interested in the creative things of life, is still wholeheartedly American. And it is good.

The American intelligence is not less creative because of the war. I know a gentleman who, falling heir to over a million dollars, contemplated with no little satisfaction the prospect of ease and comfort. He purchased many pictures; he built a beautiful home; he traveled extensively, encircling the globe in differing directions three different times. In his search for happiness, however, he has at last turned to a small business and is today finding contentment in the manufacture, for hotels and restaurants, of originally designed and embossed menu cards. The American temper demands an effective share of the world's work. The consciousness of being creative, of producing something, is to the American mind the forerunner of self-culture. We have all been impressed by the creative skill of our men and women during the war, by the making of equipment, ships, buildings, by the transporting, by the healing.

What some call dangers to America present no insurmountable difficulties to healthy Americans. The returned doughboy seeks and finds a job, and he is making good in it. Our institutions will outlive the threats of violence. The American conception of labor is that all labor is dignified. Brains and technical wisdom are found in every American workshop. No class of men has a monopoly of learning in these latter days. In the main, our young men have learned out of their war experience the spirit of fair play. They are convinced that merit meets its deserts. Worth is the Pegasus by which we mount. In Schiller's story, Pegasus, the winged horse of the Muses was sold by a care-worn poet for a small sum to a cruel clodhopper. The wings and the beautiful figure of the noble animal were mere blemishes in the eyes of the rustic. So the wings of Pegasus were tied and the graceful creature was hitched to the plow. But the scheme was not successful. Apollo slit the bonds, and Pegasus mounted the rays of the morning sun over the temple standing far on the distant mountain. The Pegasus of worth cannot be bound. That is good American doctrine still.

It is still contrary to the best American spirit to depend for advance upon "pull" or influence not within one's self. It is still American to do something every day that will furnish an active, tangible basis for self-respect and for the respect of others. It is still American to appreciate courtesy, amiability, kindness. It is

still American to cultivate friendships. It is still American to render public service. It is still American to listen to the art of a Kreisler and to appreciate it. It is still American to make the following sentiment our own—a truth that comes to us from the magic soul of the German Goethe:

"Everything cries out to us that we must renounce. Thou must go without, go without! There is the everlasting song which every hour, all our life through, hoarsely sings to us. Die and come to life; for so long as this is not accomplished thou art but a troubled guest upon an earth of gloom."

Emerson, who can in no sense be called sanctimonious, also turned the thought for every serious American when he said:

"A man was not born for prosperity, but to suffer for the benefit of others, like the noble rock maple, which all round our villages bleeds for the service of man."

And George Eliot, too, whose philosophy rarely rings false, puts into the music of poetry a slightly different aspect of this real American aspiration:

"May I reach
That purest heaven; be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony.

So shall I join the choir invisible,
Whose music is the gladness of the world."

Americans still continue to catch the enthusiasms of genuine hero-worship and to emulate high behavior, wherever found. The oncoming American generations will continue to be quickened by the story of Keats, born of a most humble parentage, yet famous before he was even of age; of Turner, painter, son of a poor barber; of Lord Clive, considered worthless as a lad, yet enabling England to retain her vast empire in India; of Peter Cooper working in a glue factory as a boy; of Prideaux doing kitchen duty to get through college and becoming a famous orientalist; of many an obscure doughboy rising to stimulating heights of a self-forgetting full measure of devotion.

THE WILL TO RESIST

Beginning with the joint resolution passed by the United States Congress, April 6, 1917, America went forth because there were "no other means of defending our rights." America believes that it must on occasions stand up for its rights. Jesus cleansing the temple by means of a whip of small cords is to the average American a satisfying lesson in the value of strenuous self-assertion for a principle, when strenuous self-assertion for principle is required. America has demonstrated that she can resist force with force, and she will remember that. Possibly she will remember it too vividly; for there is another kind of resistance to evil, a hyper-resistance that is irresistible, and which must not be forgotten.

I treasure the memory of a friendship through a number of years with Thomas K. Beecher, a unique and brilliant soul. I knew him long misrepresented and misunderstood, yet of his complete victory over the city of Elmira. Refusing ever to "talk back" or to take per-

sonal issue with those who saw fit to oppose him, teaching his lessons, living his life, dying, today his statue in bronze adorns the public park in his native city, and, what is more, the memory of his heroic spirit lives in every life of that city, and will forever.

I recall another character, a man none the less real because we meet him in a work of fiction. He is still alive in Hugo's *Les Misérables*, the greatest novel I have ever read. This man's name is Jean Valjean. In all the pages of song or story I know of no character more firmly and wonderfully drawn. The pathos, the agony, the luminous spirit of that ex-convict as he moves the very world about him, not by physical force, though he was possessed of great stores of that, but by his hyper-resistance to the forces which would so unjustly persecute and kill him. I recall especially his revenge upon that stern and unjust disciple of justice, Javert—Javert, who had driven him from position and influence, who had hounded him for years through the streets of Paris; Javert, who had caused him to live a veritable death on the face of the earth. This brutal policeman, the story runs, was at last a prisoner of Valjean's, and the time had come for the noble hero to rid himself of his ignoble foe. Notwithstanding the shots that were aimed constantly in their direction from behind the barricade, Valjean undid the rope which fastened Javert at the waist and signaled him to rise. Javert obeyed. They went over the wall, Valjean with pistol in hand. They reached a secluded spot. Valjean took from his pocket a clasp-knife. He cut the martingale around the neck of the haughty officer. Then he cut the ropes around the wrists, and then those at the feet. Then, straightening himself, he said to the man—and the heroism, the manhood, the Christlike spirit of it all!—he said: "You are free." Overcome, Javert went out and took his own life. And then—but the story is a long one and cannot be told here. There is no book so filled with tears as this account of the outcasts. And we can never think of Jean Valjean without an indescribable feeling of reverence and of awe. We can readily imagine the night on which he died; that it was starless and intensely dark, and, as Hugo says, that "some immense angel was standing in the gloom with outstretched wings, waiting for the soul."

The American people have maintained their rights; but, more, the American people have sensed a finer thing than the maintenance of rights by physical force. In the magic of Mr. Wilson's words, for example, they, and indeed the rest of the world, have seen the vision of that force which creates, directs, and controls physical force—a superior force, a hyper-resistance, a force, indeed, that overcomes greed by ideals, evil by good, wrong by righteousness. This hyper-resistance, in spite of the abuse of the police power in mill and mine, has not been lost out of American life by anything that has happened through the war.

ENJOYMENT

The moralists tell us that it is proper that we should get all the enjoyment possible out of life, as long as we maintain it a dutiful once. That is good American doctrine still. This does not mean a return to Epicurus; it is the wholesome American enjoyment in well-doing, in going and coming, in working and in playing, in all

things whatsoever. Have fun, says the American still. If the job be irksome, do it—and play golf. It is American to hitch an avocation to the vocation, just for fun. There must be fun.

During the stress of his journalistic career, Horace Greely was wont to escape from New York now and then for a day to find fun in working on his farm up the Hudson. He called it his "hobby" and insisted that a man draws life from his hobby; that in truth a man without a hobby has his part soon played in the world. That is now typically American. Oliver Wendell Holmes took photographs and found fun working at a turning-lathe during his leisure moments. Joseph Jefferson said that his pictures, good or bad, saved his reason and his life when both were threatened by the monotony of his professional tasks. Charlotte Yonge's advice to mothers was, "keep a good novel in your work-basket—for repairs." The sweet-spirited Francis of Assisi gave up all the attractions of his noble birth-right, asking no help from any man, taking up his epoch-making work naked and penniless, trusting to the Lord only to clothe and feed him. But this same Francis kept his violin, and in the lonely places rested from the sadness of his work with the lepers, as he played. The popularity of competitive sports, of the theater and the dance, of the funny story, the newspaper cartoon, are all evidence of the persistence of the will to fun among us American folk.

CONCLUSION

America is not only a synonym for opportunity; in spite of the war, in part because of it, America means also health, discipline, sincerity, ambition, usefulness, bravery, hyper-resistance to the wrong, enjoyment. America understands this. More, she feels it. Better still, she will keep at the business of working out these qualities concretely, because it is decidedly American to make use of such personal qualities as lead to self-culture. The war has not destroyed this hopeful American trait.

SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By Dr. B. DE JONG VAN BEEK EN DONK

SWITZERLAND

ON THE 19th of November, at 8 o'clock in the morning—at an early hour, when probably the majority of the members of parliaments of other countries are still asleep and it would be very difficult to collect the legal quorum necessary to pass a resolution, to say nothing of the assembling of a complete parliament, such as is desirable for solemn occasions—the Swiss National Council, after six days of discussion, adopted the proposal of the government for its entrance into the League of Nations by 124 votes to 45 votes. This was immediately followed by a discussion about the few various articles, and punctually at 11 o'clock the decisive final voting took place. The National Assembly decided by 128 votes to 43, therefore with a three-quarter majority, and in the absence of 18 members (including the vacancies caused by death and the en-

forced absence of the imprisoned Grimm), to empower the Federal Council to notify the signatory powers of the entrance of Switzerland into the League of Nations, with, however, the reservation that this decision, which was confirmed two days later by the States Council, must be ratified by a plebiscite.

The majority is large, surprisingly large even for the most optimistic adherents, who at most had reckoned on a two-thirds majority; nevertheless, we will not be deluded into thinking that the result of the plebiscite is surely to be favorable also, but one of the most prominent members of western Switzerland declared to me lately that a very energetic propaganda was still necessary among the German-speaking Swiss, and that there was a fear that several deputies of the peasant class who had personally agreed to the entrance into the League had not many votes behind them. So much is certain, that the opponents have not the intention of giving up the fight. It was known in advance that the social democrats would mobilize their whole following to refuse the "capitalist" League of Nations.

The energetic manner in which the leader of the Catholic conservative party, von Streng, and the peasants' representative, Bopp, placed themselves in opposition to the bill proved beyond a doubt that also on this side the League of Nations will continue to meet with the utmost opposition, while the fact that the radical party also presents a number of opponents, and that the opposition disposes of popular speakers like Gelpke and Knellwolf, makes the result of the referendum quite uncertain.

The last day of the general conference was one of the most interesting. The Council devoted itself to the problem from 8 o'clock a. m. till 12 o'clock, and from 4 till 8 p. m. with inexhaustible interest, more than a hundred members constantly being present. The "great" speeches had been given on the preceding days. The most distinguished speakers, such as Horace Micheli, A. de Meuron, de Dardel from western Switzerland, Borella from Tessin, Scherrer-Füllemann, Frey and Forrer from German Switzerland, had emphasized the advantages of the entrance in carefully weighed speeches, with a whole battery of arguments. Their speeches, as well as the masterly and ably compiled *plaidoyer* of the member Calonder, are worth reading for the strength of their grounds of argument and prove how earnestly the Swiss National Assembly has studied the problem of the League of Nations and how much healthy idealism will be devoted to the development of the League in the right direction. Opposed to these were the no less carefully collected arguments of the Socialist leaders, Gustav Müller and Maine, on the one side, and the bourgeois opponents, von Streng, Professor Zürcher, Gelpke, Knellwolf, etc., on the other.

This was all of interest, but the series of long and splendid speeches wearied the audience. On Tuesday, the final day, it was more interesting, although the discussions were not enlivened and lightened by interruptions, as is often the case in other parliaments, one of the peculiarities of the Swiss Parliament being that interruptions are entirely unknown there. However, on the last day, there were more improvised speeches—final efforts to still try and convince one or other of the opponents. Especially there was an attempt made to appeal to the moderate half of the Socialists. It was interesting to hear how first the Grütlian Wirz, and then two

members, who a few weeks ago were still members, of the Socialist fraction, Jean Sigg from Geneva and Frei of Basle, demonstrated to the Swiss Socialists how, just as Socialists, they should support this endeavor for the suppression of war. They referred to the attitude of their comrades in other countries—to Henderson, Ramsay Macdonald, Smillie, and others, who had just issued a powerful manifesto in England in favor of the League of Nations; and to Albert Thomas and other French Socialists, who had adopted a similar attitude in their own country.

Shortly after the member of the Federal Council, Schulthess, who delivered the closing speech in the name of the government, addressed himself specially to the representatives of the working classes. He maintained that if Switzerland did not join the League of Nations, it naturally could not count much on the good-will of the big powers as regards the delivery of raw materials and other articles of urgent necessity. This would signify a danger for all industry. "What can I say to the employers in a plea for the workers' interests if they assert that the workman has himself made it impossible for them to improve his position by his having raised his voice against the entry of Switzerland into the League of Nations?"

One wondered whether, after the forcible arguments of their former comrades, Sigg, etc., as well as the urgent warning of the member Schulthess against the economic disadvantages which would accrue in case of non-entry, some of the moderate Socialists would abandon their resistance. The final voting proved that those who had hoped for converts by discussion were again the poorer by an illusion. The party unanimously refused. Party discipline? or does such a deep cleft really divide even the so-called moderate Swiss Socialists, such as Müller, Greulich, and Studer, from the adherents of the Second International in other countries?

The reasons brought forward by the opponents in the bourgeois parties were of various kinds. As usual, "human nature" was referred to, which would always sanction warfare. This was specially answered by the more idealistic western Swiss, like Micheli, that the present disgust of war should be utilized to drive men now to exclaim, "Never again!" It was said it would be unchivalrous to join a league of the victors. To this it was replied that the vanquished themselves had lately expressed the hope that the League of Nations would adopt a more universal character by the entrance into it of the neutral States.

There was a fear that Germany would be excluded from it for a considerable time. To this it was replied (and Schulthess of the Federal Council employed his whole eloquence on this point) that the misery and the requirements of the whole world would meanwhile enforce a Union of all countries. This was already proved by the Labor Conference in Washington.

A disinclination was shown to an entrance enforced by the Entente and to the subjection of the smaller States. "Rather death than life in slavery!" said Knellwolf. To which Spahn, the president of the preparatory commission, dryly replied, that "during the war not a little slavery had to be endured to enable one to live!" Further, that the principle of unanimity regarding the decisions of the League of Nations was a guarantee against too great a restriction of freedom.

The most important argument of the opponent was, however, the damage to Swiss vital interests by the renunciation of the ancient neutrality. Federal Councilor Schulthess refuted this reason with the greatest distinctness. The military neutrality will continue by reason of article 435 of the peace treaty, and will remain unweakened even by the participation in the League of Nations, whereas the economic neutrality cannot be maintained if the League of Nations prescribes a joint action against the peace-disturbing State." "Does any one believe," said Mr. Schulthess, "that if we do not join in the League of Nations and continue to trade with the boycotted States that the members of the League of Nations will continue their commercial relations with us? They would simply close their frontiers to us, and the result would be that as a member of the League of Nations we could trade with the whole world, excepting the boycotted State, while as a non-member we were entitled to continue our connections with this State, but thus be cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the world."

Against these arguments there is nothing to be said, in my opinion. Apart from the idealistic considerations, which have certainly contributed in no small measure to the favorable decision, also the economic interests of Switzerland call for its entrance into the League of Nations.

HOLLAND

In the opening speech which Queen Wilhelmina held at the session of the Dutch Parliament on September 16th, she said the following to the representatives of her people about Holland's position toward the Versailles League of Nations: "If once the League of Nations has become a fact, the joining of Holland will be put before you for ratification."

The position of the Dutch Government seems consequently to be the same as that of the majority of the Swiss National Council: principally willingness to join the League of Nations, but only when it is certain that the present opposition in the American Senate does not give the League of Nations the death-blow before it actually comes into being.

That Holland is ready to become a member of the League of Nations was certain from the very first moment. The view of the majority of the Dutch who have thought about this problem at all was already brought forth at the meeting of the "Dutch Association for International Law" at the end of last March, when from all sides the sharpest criticism was uttered against the terms of the Versailles League of Nations Covenant, yet at the same time there was acknowledged that it was in Holland's own interest, as well as its duty toward humanity, to join, and so to help improve the League of Nations Covenant.

This point of view has evidently remained the same with the majority. It is the custom that immediately after the opening speech of the Queen all political newspapers take up the discussion of the matter. The only large newspaper which in its commentary showed some signs of doubt about the joining of the League of Nations was the organ of the former very influential, now rather isolated, Calvinistic leader, the Minister of State, Kuyper. His paper, *De Standaard*, opposes the League of Nations

because "it compels the abandonment of rather a large portion of sovereignty," and he finds it peculiar that the government has already induced the Queen to declare herself ready for it.

But this opposing voice stands isolated. The other papers consider the joining of the League of Nations as something quite natural and are, with the *Amsterdamer Handelsblad*, of opinion "that the present League of Nations may be the germ wherefrom a better international organization might grow."

That the government will wait until the League of Nations has become a certainty before a draft of a bill for ratification of Holland's adherence is laid before the parliament finds no opposition in the press. The much-read liberal *Nieuwe Courant* (The Hague) is praising this postponement, because it thinks that the people round about in the country are not quite aware of the great significance which the joining has, and through the postponement the public opinion may be better prepared, so that the people's representatives will at least know at the moment of taking decision what thoughts and opinions prevail among the people.

Two very important newspapers are not quite content, because they had expected that the government would speak with more enthusiasm about Holland's duty in the interest of an international land organization; they are the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, Holland's largest daily paper, and *Het Volk*, the organ of the Socialist Party. The *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* puts in the foreground of her leading article of September 4th "that the Versailles League of Nations was a disappointment." It calls special attention to the fact that, to serve its high aim, the League of Nations ought to satisfy four demands: 1, Impartiality; 2, insurmountable military predominance against the national forces; 3, large legislative authority, whereby the League would not only become a "league to enforce peace," but also a "league to enforce progress"; 4, democratic composition of the League of Nations organs.

In order to enable Holland to give an energetic collaboration in this direction, immediate adherence to the League of Nations is necessary, in spite of all its present imperfections. "There is so much at stake just now. It all depends in what spirit the League of Nations is carried on within the first few months, not only by the great powers, but by all large and small nations together. Here lies the imminent part of the work. A gigantic fight will be necessary in order to get a league of nations somewhat different and somewhat more powerful than the unsuccessful work of the two Hague conferences. This fight is too closely associated with our vital interests as that we could remain sheer onlookers or figures."

Thus writes the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* on September 4th. Now, after the opening speech of the Queen, the paper is naturally very glad that the government thinks Holland's joining of the League of Nations as compatible with its interests. The paper is only sorry that the speech does not state anything about the spirit in which the Netherlands think to take part in the League and in what direction Holland hopes to use her influence for the further development of the League. "Will Holland become a member because there is no other way, and will it, after its adherence, only run

along with the other States, or will it try to play an active part, as we recommend it? This is the great question to which the people expect an answer. Yet the speech of the Queen is quite negative about it."

In a similar spirit writes the social democratic paper, *Het Volk*. It is well known that the Dutch Social Democratic Party belongs to the Second International. The position of the Dutch Social Democrats toward the League of Nations is for this reason quite different to the position of, for instance, the Swiss Socialists. After the speech of the Queen *Het Volk* wrote: "The government of a State that has remained neutral ought to have shown, in a document like this, that it intends to take a very active part in the development of the present international organization into a real league of nations. But, for this, faith in a better future must be alive, and this faith seems to be wanting."

The Social Democratic organ discusses its position toward the League of Nations more fully in a leading article on September 23: "How faulty the composition and organization of the League of Nations may be, the institution must be accepted, not only a league of nations on a just basis, but also this unjust league of nations; not only a league of nations in the air, but also this league, which will very soon start its function, because it is the bearer of two principles, and without their application a new growing of the civilization is impossible—peaceful settlement of all conflicts and disarmament. If it results that the League of Nations works faulty, because big mistakes exist in its organization and composition, then the peoples will press upon the improvement of these mistakes. The peoples will not tolerate that a once-created institution which promises the redemption from wars is checked in its work by diplomatic games, militaristic ambitions, or the rapacity of influential groups. Thus bad, no league of nations can be, as that the peoples will not be able to turn it over into some blessed power in favor of peace and disarmament. For this reason we recommend Holland the joining of even this crooked League of Nations."

This opinion of the Social Democratic organ is the same as that of the large pacifist unions, which have united themselves these days into a new Dutch central organization, "Dutch Association for Peace and League of Nations," and whose leaders belong to various political directions, and all of them recommend, without exception, Holland's immediate joining of the League.

The American Commission to Poland, headed by Henry Morgenthau, former Ambassador to Turkey and a leader of the Jews in the United States, which was named by the Department of State, at the request of President Paderewski, to investigate the status of the Jews of Poland, has reported. The Polish nation as a whole is absolved from responsibility for the violence of uncontrolled troops and local mobs based on anti-Semitic feelings. An economic boycott of Jews on a considerable scale is reported, but the Polish Government stands pledged to put an end to it as far as it can be done by governmental action. The Zionistic aspirations of many of the Jews undoubtedly have run counter to the Polish ideals of nationalism, and have been a cause of friction; as also has been their successful fight at Paris to bring about the guarantee of the rights of religious, racial, and linguistic minorities in Poland.



A. B. Chaplin in St. Louis Republic

THE TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED

Signatory Allied Powers Define Attitude— Germany's Mood for the Future— Japan's Imperial Rescript

On January 10 the Treaty of Versailles, making peace between Germany and the Allied Powers, was made effective by exchange of ratifications. Baron Kurt von Lersner, head of the German mission, having previously signed the protocol of November 1, providing for reparation for the sinking of the German warships at Scapa Flow and to insure the carrying out of the armistice terms. The document was signed in the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris, and the ceremony was devoid of any unusual dramatic features.

As long ago as last October a sufficient number of the powers had ratified the treaty to comply with its requirements as to effectiveness. The delay in formal ratification has been due to the failure of Germany to live up to some of the terms of the armistice and to the insistence of the Allied Supreme Council that before the treaty was put into effect Germany should further guarantee action in this respect, and also meet additional demands for reparation following the sinking of the fleet at Scapa Flow.

After the exchange of ratifications, Premier Clemenceau handed to Baron von Lersner the following letter:

"PARIS, January 10.

"Now that the protocol provided for by the note of November 2 has been signed by qualified representatives of the German Government, and in consequence the ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles have been deposited, the Allied and Associated Powers wish to renew to the German Government their assurance that, while necessary reparations for the

sinking of the German fleet in Scapa Flow will be exacted, they do not intend to injure the vital economic interest of Germany. On this point, by this letter, they confirm the declarations which the general secretary of the Peace Conference was charged with making orally to the president of the German delegation on December 23."

GERMANY'S ATTITUDE

Following the formal ceremony, Baron von Lersner issued the following statement:

"Execution of the Treaty of Versailles imposes upon Germany the heaviest sacrifices ever borne by a nation in modern times. We have lost in the west and in the east territories that belonged to Prussia for many centuries. We have assumed enormous economic obligations. Nevertheless, I am glad that peace is at last re-established, because it will give back to Germany her beloved sons still prisoners abroad.

"We have already, even without being obliged by the terms of the treaty, delivered a considerable quantity of products, including 2,500,000 tons of coal, to France, and I can say that Germany will go to the utmost limit of possibility in fulfilling all the obligations she has incurred. It will mean hard times for Germany, but with the recovery of our ardor for labor and production we hope to meet every emergency.

"The recovery of our economic prosperity is as much to the interest of the Entente as it is to us, on account of the great economic difficulties that threaten all Europe. It is obvious, speaking chiefly of France, that her economic prosperity depends upon the economic recovery of Germany."

From the German Government the following appeal to the German people was sent out on the 11th:

"The unhappy issue of the war has left us defenseless to the arbitrary will of an opponent who is imposing upon us in the name of peace the heaviest of sacrifices, the first of which is the renunciation of German territories in the east, west, and north, without regard to the principles of self-determination, by which hundreds of thousands of our German countrymen are being placed under foreign domination.

"German brothers and sisters, not only in the hour of farewell, but forever, mourning for our loss will fill our hearts. We vow to you on behalf of the entire German people that we will never forget you. You, on your part, will not forget your common German fatherland, of that we are sure.

"Whatever is possible for us to do to preserve to you the mother language, the German character, and the inward spiritual union of the homeland will be done. We will unceasingly urge that promises given in the treaty shall be kept. Our sympathy, our care, our ardent love, will unflinchingly be yours.

"Across all frontier barriers German nationality remains one entity. Be strong with us in the belief that the German people will not perish, but on hard-won liberal foundations will rise to the highest political economic and social culture.

"Countrymen, a hard injustice was done you and us by forcible separation. The right of self-determination has been refused the German population. But we do not abandon hope. You, too, one day will be granted this national fundamental right. We will, therefore, despite all pain, call to one another full of hope and confidence in this hour of parting. We will truly ever stand together with our entire strength for the right of our nationality."

Friedrich Ebert, President of the Republic of Germany, in an interview with the Berlin representative of the Universal Service News Agency, given January 13, said:

"With all my heart I welcome the final advent of peace, so long expected and so long delayed. Though it is not a peace upon the terms by which, just two years ago almost to the day, President Wilson set the hearts of enlightened men and women everywhere ablaze, it is at least a formal cessation of the state of war which will help men of goodwill on both sides, and which may turn into real world peace in the course of time.

"In this sense, this day ought to be the dawn of a period

of regeneration and the return of sanity for a world disorganized and demoralized through the long orgy of destruction and lawlessness. It should be a solemn reminder that organized murder must never happen again, and that in so far as the present peace settlement fails to satisfy the just claims of nations, it must be revised by other means than the destruction of human lives, and with other arguments than guns and battleships.

"It should be the inauguration of a long era of co-operation among nations whose close interdependence has never been so evident as in those terrible days of universal ruin and misery.

"It will be a matter of the deepest regret for many people that the state of peace proclaimed does not include either the United States or Russia. I sincerely hope that the day when those countries also will re-enter into peaceful relations with Germany and, as far as Russia is concerned, with the rest of the world, may be near at hand.

"After the cataclysm through which the world has gone, the new international conditions cannot be fixed to a nicety beforehand. It seems wise, in the present state of threatening dissolution, first to re-establish a state of peace throughout the world and leave the arrangements of the details of international relations to common council at a later date.

"To Germany the coming into force of the peace treaty brings no material advantage of any kind, save the long desired return of her thousands of sons held unduly long in foreign captivity. For her this day means the setting into motion of an endless chain of obligations of the heaviest kind, including the unspeakably painful surrender of large areas inhabited purely or preponderately by German populations to foreign sovereignties.

"We refuse to be down-hearted. In resuming diplomatic and commercial relations with our former enemies we hope that they will give a chance to the new Germany, whose present government, supported by the vast majority of the people, has no desire but to live in peace with the rest of the world.

"I trust that in this desire we may be aided by the responsible press organizations in all countries. The world knows how much in the past erroneous, and even deliberately false, newspaper reports have intensified the existing rivalries and actual hostility.

"I see that even now false reports of an alleged desire of Germany for commercial world supremacy are being circulated among an uninformed public in order to keep up suspicion and distrust against Germany.

"I therefore beg leave to appeal to the responsible newspaper men in all countries to leave the war of journalism aside and do their part to make this world safe for peace, good-will, and co-operation."

JAPAN'S EMPEROR'S ROYAL RESCRIPT

Simultaneous with the promulgation of the Treaty of Versailles an imperial rescript was issued by Japan. It said:

"It is a source of deep rejoicing to us that the gigantic war which has plunged the whole world into unspeakable consternation for the past five years has at last come to an end through the valiant and unstinted efforts of the powers in alliance with us, and that the peace of the world has thus been at length restored. The final reparation of the results of so great a catastrophe and the guarantee of the reign of tranquillity in the future, needless to say, depend altogether upon the whole-hearted co-operation of all the Allied powers. With these considerations in mind, we despatched our delegates to the Peace Conference which was lately held in France, with instructions to participate in its deliberations.

"We are now much gratified to know that a new treaty looking to the establishment of perpetual peace has been arrived at and the foundation of a league of nations laid down, while at the same time we are fully conscious of the heavy responsibilities henceforth devolving upon our country. At the opening of this fresh chapter in the history of the world and in view of the tremendous changes in its aspects, we hold it to be high time that all loyal Japanese subjects should address themselves with the best endeavors at their command to the task of adapting their activities to the onward march of events.

"We therefore call upon our subjects that, keeping this

cardinal aim constantly before them, they should in the first instance work for the attainment of that durable peace contemplated by the institution of the League of Nations, always abiding by the principle of universal justice and following the paths of progress of the world. It is at the same time our earnest hope that they will make it their guiding principle to keep to a sound and wholesome fashion of living and eschewing as unworthy of them all forms of frivolity and luxury, and will devote their efforts to furthering the advancement of the national resources with a view to keeping pace with the advance of human progress. Trusting that we may enjoy for evermore the blessings of peace and tranquillity, together with the whole company of friendly nations, we give expression to our ardent hope that, relying upon the undivided co-operation of our loyal subjects, we shall accomplish the task of advancing the general welfare of the entire people and of spreading throughout the land the utmost benefits of civilization, so as to crown the past achievements of our forefathers with imperishable glory, and we hereby enjoin our loyal subjects to fulfill our wishes herein expressed."

With the signing of the Versailles Treaty two important actions of an important character began, the repatriation of German prisoners held in France, to the number of 300,000, and the first steps toward resumption of diplomatic and consular relations between Germany and the nations with which she has warred. The representative of the United States in Berlin will be Ellis Loring Dresel, of Boston, who will have the title of "commissioner" without diplomatic status and act as observer for the State Department.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BEGINS TO FUNCTION

President Wilson's Call to Assemble—The First Session—The Saar Commission Named

With the formal ratification of the Treaty with Germany (see page 25) the mechanism of the League began to operate, inasmuch as by its terms the compact carried with it assent by the signatory powers to the newly devised international organization.

The call to assembly of the League issued from Washington not as coming from President Wilson, President of the United States, but as the person formally mentioned in the treaty as authorized to call the League's Council to its first assembly. The situation facing the League as it met this detail no doubt was anomalous and unforeseen; but it was decided by the European powers interested, and also by legal authorities, that though the United States was not to participate in the League, at least in its earlier sessions, it nevertheless would be both lawful and politic for the call to come from Woodrow Wilson the man, especially since he had so much responsibility for making the League's covenant an integral part of the treaty.

THE CALL TO ASSEMBLE THE COUNCIL

President Wilson transmitted, through the State Department, to the United States embassies in the countries eligible to seats in the council the following call, for formal presentation to those governments. It ran thus, save for the name of the nation invited, which altered according to the necessity of the occasion. This is the text sent to Great Britain:

"In compliance with Article V of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which went into effect at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, of which it is a part, the President of the United States, acting on behalf of those nations which have deposited their instruments of ratification in Paris as certified in a proces-verbal drawn up by the French Government, dated January 10, 1920, has the honor to inform the Government of Great Britain that the first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations will be held in Paris, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on Friday, January 16, at 10.30 a. m.

"The President earnestly ventures the hope that the Government of Great Britain will be in a position to send a representative to this first meeting. He feels that it is unnecessary for him to point out the deep significance attached to this meeting or the importance which it must assume in the eyes of the world. It will mark the beginning of a new era in international co-operation and the first great step toward the ideal concert of nations. It will bring the League of Nations into being as a living force, devoted to the task of assisting the peoples of all countries in their desire for peace, prosperity, and happiness. The President is convinced that its progress will accord with the noble purpose to which it is dedicated."

THE FIRST SESSION

At 10.30 on the morning of the 16th representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and Japan, members of the Council of the League of Nations, met in the Clock Room of the French Foreign Office. Those present and representing these nations were Earl Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, for Great Britain; Premier Venizelos, for Greece; Carlo Farraris, Italian Minister of Industry, Commerce, Labor and Food, for Italy; Paul Hymans, Belgian Foreign Minister, for Belgium; Baron Matsui, Ambassador to France, for Japan; Dr. Castoa du Cunha, Ambassador to France, for Brazil; Count Quinones de Leon, Ambassador to France, for Spain, and M. Leon Bourgeois, for France, who, on motion of Premier Venizelos of Greece, was chosen chairman. This motion was seconded by Lord Curzon, and M. Bourgeois was unanimously elected. Sir Eric Drummond later was confirmed as general secretary, he having been selected for the post several months ago and having had London as his base of operations for tentative organization of the working staff of the League. The United States' chief representative on this staff was to have been Raymond B. Fosdick, but he has resigned.

THE TENOR OF THE SPEECHES

M. Bourgeois, the President, in his opening address, said: "The task of presiding at this meeting and inaugurating this great international situation should have fallen to President Wilson. We respect the reasons which still delay final decision by our friends in Washington, but express the hope that their difficulties will soon be overcome and that a representative of the great American republic will occupy the place awaiting him among us. The work of the council will then assume definite character and will have that particular force which should be associated with our work.

"January 16, 1920, will go down in history as the date of the birth of a new world. Decisions to be reached today will be in the name of all nations adhering to the covenant of the league. It will be the first decree of all free nations, leaguely themselves together for the first time in the world, to substitute right for might. But the organization of the League of Nations will not be complete until the assembly of all the States meets."

Earl Curzon, Great Britain's representative, said:

"On behalf of the British Empire I desire to express the loyalty of my government and the external dominions of the British Crown to the spirit underlying the covenant of the

League of Nations. It is our intention, by every means in our power, to insure its practical efficiency. It is our firm belief that through its instrumentality alone we can hope to insure that such miseries that the world has experienced during the last five years shall not be repeated and that a new era of international relationship shall dawn.

"The League of Nations is an expression of the universal desire for saner methods of regulating affairs of mankind and provides machinery by which practical effect may be given the principles of international friendship and good understanding. The success of the labors of the peace conference is a good augury for the future of the League of Nations. For the first time an attempt was made to bring together under the auspices of the League representatives of governments, employees, and labor, and an advance exceeding the results of the entire work of the previous quarter of a century has been made in the field of international action on industrial questions."

Signor Ferraris, the Italian representative, urged the League at once to give its attention to reduction of the high costs of transportation and the high cost of living, and to consideration of the perils in which international finance finds itself; and the Brazilian representative, Ambassador da Cunha, noting the fact that he was the only representative of the Americas present, pledged not only Brazil but Pan-America to loyal support of the League.

THE ATTENDANCE SLIM

Of all the major figures in drafting the treaty and forming the League, only one, Lloyd-George, was present at this opening session, and he as a spectator who came and went. Viscount Grey was an interested onlooker. By orders from Washington, conveyed through Ambassador Wallace, American representation at the ceremony, even in a private, non-official capacity, was discouraged. There was no crush of applicants for admission to the room, and the mechanism started up with no "eclat," as the French would say.

When the council adjourned, it was to meet in London, where its clerical staff is located temporarily. There seems to be some uncertainty now as to whether Geneva, after all, will be the headquarters of the League, advocates of Brussels having renewed their arguments. Until this important detail is definitely fixed, London will be the center of operations.

THE COMMISSION FOR THE SAAR BASIN

The first official act of the League was the appointment of a commission to determine the frontiers of the Saar Basin, as provided for by Article 48, section 4, of the treaty. France and Germany have yet to name their delegates, but the council has chosen Colonel Wace, of the British army; Major Lambert, of the Belgian, and Major Kobaish, of the Japanese army. Civilians, it will be noted, are lacking.

THE IRISH REPUBLIC'S PROTEST

The first formal protest coming before the League was that "from the elected government of the Irish Republic" against "the unreal English character of an international league of peace." The protestants charged that the League as constituted was "an engine of empire, designed to secure and perpetuate English hegemony throughout both hemispheres."

CHILE AND BOLIVIA'S APPEAL

Signs point to the joint appeal of Chile and Bolivia to the League for adjudication of the long-standing issues over boundary and the right of Bolivia to at least a corridor to the sea. Latin America as such, judging by her statesmen's utterances, is preparing to use the League as amply as she can.

THE PRESIDENT, THE SENATE, THE PEOPLE, AND THE TREATY

President Wilson to Democrats—Mr. Bryan's Advice

Consideration of the treaty with Germany in the Senate was resumed December 20th, owing to the introduction by Senator Knox, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, of a joint resolution repealing the joint resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany. It went on the calendar and has not been discussed publicly by the Senators since and bids fair not to be.

The same day Senator Underwood offered a resolution which called on the President of the Senate to appoint a committee of 10 Senators to consider ways and means of securing at the earliest possible moment the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany, and to report to the Senate such a resolution of ratification as in their judgment would meet with the approval of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Senate. Failing to secure unanimous consent for consideration of this resolution, it went over under the rules, and the Christmas holiday adjournment came, making early consideration of this and all other phases of the problem impossible.

When the Senate reassembled negotiations between the divergent groups were renewed, but with no substantial change in the attitude of the forces led by Senators Lodge and Hitchcock, but with pressure from the public for action steadily increasing; and thus the situation stood when the President's attitude was partially revealed by his letter sent to the Democratic party at its Jackson Day banquet. This declaration, together with the somewhat divergent one of Mr. Bryan, stimulated renewed efforts to bring about compromise between the Senators.

PRESIDENT WILSON TO DEMOCRATS

Following a long-time custom, leaders of the Democratic party and members of its national committee met in Washington on January 8th to celebrate "Jackson Day" and to state for party and national consumption ruling ideas and ideals facing given contemporary facts. President Wilson, still being unable to leave his home, sent a letter, from which the following quotation is made. He said:

"The United States enjoyed the spiritual leadership of the world until the Senate of the United States failed to ratify the treaty by which the belligerent nations sought to effect the settlements for which they had fought throughout the war.

Withdrawal Inconceivable

"It is inconceivable that at this supreme crisis and final turning point in the international relations of the whole world, when the results of the great war are by no means determined and are still questionable and dependent upon events which no man can foresee or count upon, the United States should withdraw from the concert of progressive and enlightened nations by which Germany was defeated and all similar governments (if the world be so unhappy as to contain any) warned of the certain consequences of any attempt of a like iniquity; and yet that is the effect of the course the Senate of the United States has taken with regard to the Treaty of Versailles. Germany is beaten, but we are still at war with her, and the old stage is reset for a repetition of the old plot. It is now ready for the resumption

of the old offensive and defensive alliances which made settled peace impossible. It is now open again to every sort of intrigue.

"The old spies are free to resume their former abominable activities. They are again at liberty to make it impossible for governments to be sure what mischief is being worked among their own people, what internal disorders are being fomented. Without the Covenant of the League of Nations, there may be as many secret treaties as ever, to destroy the confidence of governments in each other, and their validity cannot be questioned. None of the objects we professed to be fighting for has been secured or can be made certain of without this nation's ratification of the treaty and its entry into the covenant. This nation entered the great war to vindicate its own rights and to protect and preserve free government. It went into the war to see it through to the end, and the end has not yet come. It went into the war to make an end of militarism, to furnish guarantees to weak nations, and to make a just and lasting peace. It entered it with noble enthusiasms. Five of the leading belligerents have accepted the treaty and formal ratifications will soon be exchanged. The question is whether this country will enter and enter wholeheartedly. If it does not do so, the United States and Germany will play a lone hand in the world. The maintenance of the peace of the world and the effective execution of the treaty depend upon the wholehearted participation of the United States. I am not stating it as a matter of power. The point is that the United States is the only nation which has sufficient moral force with the rest of the world to guarantee the substitution of discussion for war. If we keep out of this agreement, if we do not give our guarantees, then another attempt will be made to crush the new nations of Europe.

Rejects Senate's Action

"I do not believe that this is what the people of this country wish or will be satisfied with. Personally, I do not accept the action of the Senate of the United States as the decision of the nation. I have asserted from the first that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country desire the ratification of the treaty, and my impression to that effect has recently been confirmed by the unmistakable evidences of public opinion given during my visit to seventeen of the States. I have endeavored to make it plain that if the Senate wishes to say what the undoubted meaning of the league is, I shall have no objection. There can be no reasonable objection to interpretations accompanying the act of ratification itself. But when the treaty is acted upon, I must know whether it means that we have ratified or rejected it. We cannot rewrite this treaty. We must take it without changes which alter its meaning, or leave it, and then, after the rest of the world has signed it, we must face the unthinkable task of making another and separate kind of treaty with Germany. But no mere assertions with regard to the wish and opinion of the country are credited.

A Solemn Referendum

"If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think on this vital matter, the clear and single way out is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum, a referendum as to the part the United States is to play in completing the settlements of the war and in the prevention in the future of such outrages as Germany attempted to perpetrate. We have no more moral right to refuse now to take part in the execution and administration of these settlements than we had to refuse to take part in the fighting of the last few weeks of the war which brought victory and made it possible to dictate to Germany what the settlement should be. Our fidelity to our associates in the war is in question, and the whole future of mankind. It will be heartening to the whole world to know the attitude and purpose of the people of the United States."

MR. BRYAN'S WAY OUT

Mr. William J. Bryan, former Secretary of State, a practical negotiator of treaties of peace and arbitration, a staunch advocate of the League of Nations, a Vice-President of the American Peace Society, and a powerful personal factor in

party and national politics, also was at this banquet and spoke, outlining a different policy from the President in some important details, though agreeing with him on general principles of party, national and international action. We quote from the more salient parts of his speech:

"A democratic President was the spokesman of the United States in holding out to a war-worn world the hope of universal peace, and he brought back from Paris the Covenant of the League of Nations that provides means for settling international disputes without resort to force. He did the best he could, and succeeded better than we had any right to expect, when we remember that he fought single-handed against the selfish interests of the world.

"The Republican Party, in control of the Senate, instead of ratifying at once or promptly proposing changes that it deemed necessary, has fiddled while civilization has been threatened with conflagration. It could have adopted its reservations as well five months ago as later, but it permitted endless debate while suffering humanity waited.

Facing Facts

"The Democratic Senators stood with the President for ratification without reservation, and I stood with them, believing that it was better to secure within the League, after it was established, any necessary changes than to attempt to secure them by reservations in the ratifying resolutions. But our plan has been rejected and we must face the situation as it is. We must either secure such compromises as may be possible or present the issue to the country. The latter course would mean a delay of at least fourteen months, and then success only in case of our securing a two-thirds majority in the Senate.

"We cannot afford, either as citizens or as members of the party, to share with the Republican Party responsibility for further delay; we cannot go before the country on the issue that such an appeal would present. The Republicans have a majority in the Senate, and therefore can by right dictate the Senate's course. Being in the minority, we cannot demand the right to decide the terms upon which the Senate will consent to ratification. Our nation has spent 100,000 precious lives and more than twenty billions of dollars to make the world safe for democracy, and the one fundamental principle of democracy is the right of the majority to rule. It applies to the Senate and to the House as well as to the people. According to the Constitution, a treaty is ratified by a two-thirds vote, but the Democratic Party cannot afford to take advantage of the constitutional right of a minority to prevent ratification. A majority of Congress can declare war. Shall we make it more difficult to conclude a treaty than to enter a war?

Congress and Self-determination

"Neither can we go before the country on the issue raised by Article X. If we do not intend to impair the right of Congress to decide the question of peace or war when the time for action arises, how can we insist upon a moral obligation to go to war which can have no force or value except as it does impair the independence of Congress? We owe it to the world to join in an honest effort to put an end to war forever, and that effort should be made at the earliest possible moment.

"A Democratic Party cannot be a party of negation; it must have a construction program. It must not only favor a League of Nations, but it must have a plan for the election of delegates and a policy to be pursued by those delegates. What plan can a Democratic Party have other than one that contemplates the popular election of those delegates, who, in the influence they will exert, will be next in importance to the President himself? And what policy can the Democratic Party have within the League of Nations other than one of absolute independence and impartiality between the members of the League? Our nation's voice should at all times be raised in behalf of equal and exact justice between nations as the only basis of permanent peace; it should be raised in defense of the right of self-determination and in proclaiming a spirit of brotherhood as universal as the peace which we advocate."

ORGANIZATIONS DEMAND ACTION

On January 13 spokesmen of civic, commercial, industrial, and religious organizations of the country, with, it is said, 20,000,000 adherents, appeared in Washington and presented the appended statement to the President and to the Senate. Among the organizations represented were the American Rights League, the American Federation of Labor, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the League to Enforce Peace, the Dairymen's League, the National Education Association, the United Society of Christian Endeavor, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Church Peace Union, the World Alliance of Churches, the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Women, the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the League of Free Nations Association.

Their "manifesto" said:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 13, 1920.

"To the President and to the Senate of the United States:

"Peace is declared, but the United States is not a party to it. This nation helped to win the war and thus make peace possible, but the nation's treaty-making power, as yet, failed to ratify the treaty.

"At this solemn and critical moment, when our honor before the world is at stake, we met in Washington as the representatives of twenty-six national organizations which have expressed the carefully considered judgment of their millions of members by taking action in favor of the immediate ratification of the treaty of peace on a basis that will not require its renegotiation. It is to convey to you the imperative and overwhelming sentiment that supports this demand for ratification that has brought us to the national capital.

"As we assemble, we observe with deep satisfaction that the spirit of compromise is steadily working and we assume that the President and Senators now desire in good faith to get together and ratify forthwith the treaty of peace with its league-of-nations covenant.

"We represent organizations whose membership includes all parties and, speaking for them, we unhesitatingly affirm that the country desires peace at once.

"We urge immediate ratification, with such reservations as may secure in the Senate the necessary two-thirds, even though this may require from the treaty-making power the same spirit of self-denying sacrifice which won the war. The world should not wait longer for America to conclude peace."

The document was handed to the President's secretary at the White House. At the Senate it was presented to Senators Lodge and Hitchcock, as leaders of the largest and most distinct rival groups, and was supplemented by speeches from the delegation of Protestants, after which the Senators made non-committal speeches, indicating the precise state of the deadlock and the obstacles in the way of compromise.

BI-PARTISAN NEGOTIATIONS GO ON

For a fortnight following the Jackson Dinner there were many attempts at mediation between the absolute reservationists, the "mild reservationists," and the group loyal to the President and standing for the treaty as drafted and presented to the Senate by him.

On January 23 Senator Frelinghuysen, speaking for a group of Senators of both parties, issued a statement that they would not be bound by any compromise that Senator Lodge might make. The effect of this, for a few days, was to put an end to negotiations; but pressure from within and without the Senate forced renewal of mediation tactics.

THE TRIAL OF THE FORMER KAISER

The Letter to Holland—The United States' Original Objections

Article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles reads thus:

The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defense. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following Powers, namely, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

In its decision the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy, with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

The Allied and Associated Powers will address a request to the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial.

This became the formal announcement of policy with the signing of the Treaty at Versailles, June 28, 1919. Since that time there has been considerable debate in Great Britain, France, and Holland, as well as in Germany, over the likelihood and the wisdom of an attempt to enforce this policy. In Great Britain especially there has been much dissent both on the grounds of equity and policy. But that finally the forces that included the article in the treaty have won their point and are determined to press it is shown by the following note sent to Holland, as coming from the Supreme Council of the Allies. The United States' present position with respect to this action has yet to be announced officially; but she opposed it when it was first broached.

THE LETTER TO HOLLAND

Following is the letter to Holland:

"PARIS, January 15.

"In notifying by these presents the Netherlands Government and Queen of Article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles, a copy of which is annexed, which came into force January 10, the Powers have the honor to make known at the same time that they have decided to put into execution without delay this article.

"Consequently the Powers address to the Government of the Netherlands an official demand to deliver into their hands William of Hohenzollern, former Emperor of Germany, in order that he may be judged.

"Individuals residing in Germany against whom the Allied and Associated Powers have brought charges are to be delivered to them under Article 228 of the peace treaty, and the former Emperor, if he had remained in Germany, would have been delivered under the same conditions by the German Government.

"The Netherlands Government is conversant with the incontrovertible reasons which imperiously exact that premeditated violations of international treaties, as well as systematic disregard of the most sacred rules and rights of nations should receive as regards every one, including the highest placed personalities, special punishment provided by the peace congress.

"The Powers briefly recall, among so many crimes, the cynical violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxembourg, the barbarous and pitiless system of hostage, deportation en masse, the carrying off of young girls from the city of Lille, who were torn from their families and delivered defenseless to the worst promiscuity; the systematic devastation of entire regions without military utility, the submarine war without restriction, including inhuman aban-

donment of victims on the high seas, and innumerable acts against non-combatants, committed by general authority in violation of the laws of war.

"Responsibility at least moral for all these acts reaches up to the supreme head who ordered them, or made abusive use of his full powers to infringe, or to allow infringement upon the most sacred regulations of human conscience.

"The Powers cannot conceive that the Government of the Netherlands can regard with less reprobation than themselves the immense responsibility of the former Emperor.

"Holland would not fulfill her international duty if she refused to associate herself with other nations as far as her means allow in undertaking, or at least not hindering, chastisement of the crimes committed.

"In addressing this demand to the Dutch Government the Powers believe it their duty to emphasize its special character. It is their duty to insure the execution of Article 227 without allowing themselves to be stopped by arguments, because it is not a question of a public accusation with juridical character as regards its basis, but an act of high international policy imposed by the universal conscience, in which legal forms have been provided solely to assure to the accused such guarantees as were never before recognized in public law.

"The Powers are convinced Holland, which has always shown respect for the right and love of justice, having been one of the first to claim a place in the society of nations, will not be willing to cover by her moral authority the violation of principles essential to the solidarity of nations, all of which are equally interested in preventing the return of a similar catastrophe.

"It is to the highest interest of the Dutch people not to appear to protect the principal author of this catastrophe by allowing him shelter on her territory, and also to facilitate his trial, which is claimed by the voices of millions of victims.

"(Signed)

CLEMENCEAU."

The objections to the procedure outlined by the Supreme Council can be briefly summarized. First, let it be remembered that, at the second plenary session of the Peace Conference in Paris, held January 25, 1919, a commission was appointed to inquire into the whole matter of violation of international law by the Central Powers during the course of the war. This commission was called "The Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties." The report drafted by this commission did not meet with the approval of the American and Japanese members. With the majority and the minority reports before them, however, the *Comité de Rédaction* drafted the series of articles on this subject, known as Part VII of the Treaty of Peace, and comprising Articles 227, 228, 229, and 230 of that instrument.

The dissenting Japanese members of the original commission raised an inquiry whether it can be admitted as a principle of the law of nations that a high tribunal constituted by belligerents can, after war is over, try an individual belonging to the opposite side; and, further, whether international law recognizes a penal law as applicable.

The two United States members of the commission submitted in some twenty pages its dissenting opinion, in which they contended: "That it is only through the administration of law enacted and known before it is violated that justice may ultimately prevail internationally, as it actually does between individuals in all civilized nations." The American representatives, like the Japanese representatives, opposed the declaration that enemy political leaders should be liable because they abstained from preventing, putting an end to, or repressing violations of the laws or customs of war. The American members felt, furthermore, that there was an uncertainty about the law to be administered, especially since it was proposed to proceed not only upon violations of the

laws and customs of war, but also upon violations of "the laws of humanity." They contended that a judicial tribunal can only deal with existing law, leaving to other forums infractions of the moral law. They could not see how from a legal point of view that the head of a State exercising sovereign rights is responsible to any but those who have confided those rights to him by consent, expressed or implied. In short, the American view was that in any attempt to try the Kaiser the proceedings should be confined to law in its legal sense. They believed in so doing they would avoid the inevitable criticism of permitting sentiment or popular indignation to affect their judgment. To their minority report the American representatives added a memorandum of the principles which should determine inhuman and improper acts of war. That suggestive memorandum follows:

1. Slaying and maiming men in accordance with generally accepted rules of war are from their nature cruel and contrary to the modern conception of humanity.

2. The methods of destruction of life and property in conformity with the accepted rules of war are admitted by civilized nations to be justifiable, and no charge of cruelty, inhumanity, or impropriety lies against a party employing such methods.

3. The principle underlying the accepted rules of war is the necessity of exercising physical force to protect national safety or to maintain national rights.

4. Reprehensible cruelty is a matter of degree which cannot be justly determined by a fixed line of distinction, but one which fluctuates in accordance with the facts in each case; but the manifest departure from accepted rules and customs of war imposes upon the one so departing the burden of justifying his conduct, as he is *prima facie* guilty of a criminal act.

5. The test of guilt in the perpetration of an act, which would be inhuman or otherwise reprehensible under normal conditions, is the necessity of that act to the protection of national safety or national rights measured chiefly by actual military advantage.

6. The assertion by the perpetrator of an act that it is necessary for military reasons does not exonerate him from guilt if the facts and circumstances present reasonably strong grounds for establishing the needlessness of the act or for believing that the assertion is not made in good faith.

7. While an act may be essentially reprehensible and the perpetrator entirely unwarranted in assuming it to be necessary from a military point of view, he must not be condemned as wilfully violating the laws and customs of war or the principles of humanity unless it can be shown that the act was wanton and without reasonable excuse.

8. A wanton act which causes needless suffering (and this includes such causes of suffering as destruction of property, deprivation of necessities of life, enforced labor, etc.) is cruel and criminal. The full measure of guilt attaches to a party who without adequate reason perpetrates a needless act of cruelty. Such an act is a crime against civilization, which is without palliation.

9. It would appear, therefore, in determining the criminality of an act, that there should be considered the wantonness or malice of the perpetrator, the needlessness of the act from a military point of view, the perpetration of a justifiable act in a needlessly harsh or cruel manner, and the improper motive which inspired it.

Under date of January 20, Baron Kurt von Lersner, Germany's chief representative at Paris, said: "I am absolutely sure the Dutch Government will never surrender the former German Emperor for trial on charges that are not provided for in any constitution, law, or any treaty regarding extradition. It is contrary to any law or any precedent. The feeling of the whole world in favor of peace is stronger than the feeling anywhere for revenge. I hope strongly that the allied statesmen will find a solution of this question that will leave the world in tranquility."

SECOND PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 19-24

By GEORGE PERRY MORRIS

To the credit of former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, of the original Wilson Cabinet, is due the inception and carrying out of the first Pan-American Financial Congress, held in Washington in 1915. It proved to be so rewarding as a mode of educating the financiers and leading traders and industrial captains of the nations there assembled that very naturally plans were made for later assemblies and the creation of a permanent body.

The war being over, travel being somewhat more certain and less costly, and the pressure of economic and financial events weightier and more perplexing than ever, it has been natural for the second conference to be called; and Washington has never seen a larger or more distinguished body of financial experts assembled within its borders than came to the gathering recently held. At least eight of the republics of Central and South America sent their ministers of finance, and one sent its Minister of Foreign Affairs. In addition, each nation, including the United States, had in its delegation eminent bankers and promoters of large enterprises of an industrial, agricultural, and transportation sort. They were sixty in number from the nations of the South.

The host of the occasion was the Treasury Department, with Secretary Glass as spokesman. The general secretary of the conference was Prof. Leo. S. Rowe, now of the State Department's Latin department, but formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of Latin American affairs, who in this capacity had made all the plans for assembling the conference and devising its program. Constant attendants on the sessions of the conference were the diplomatic representatives of the Latin republics stationed in Washington.

With much care and admirable foresight, representative citizens of the United States specially qualified to serve had been selected by the management to serve on the group committee of each Latin nation represented, and thus provide for intelligent discussion in committee of all questions specially concerning that country. Thus, Governor Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board, and Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip were among those assigned to Argentina. These are typical of the grade of men who sat in with their Latin neighbors and planned for agreement.

TOPICS DISCUSSED

Now as to the subjects discussed, indicating as they do the breadth of view of the planners of the gathering, and their aims as statesmen functioning after a shattering war. Five main themes were debated and formally acted upon ere the conference closed. They were:

- (1) The effect of the war on the commerce and industry, manufacturing and mining, agricultural and public utilities of the republics of the American Continent.
- (2) How can capital and credit facilities best be provided?
- (3) National credit and the factors affecting it.
- (4) The effect of the war on transportation facilities; requirements of the present and immediate future.
- (5) Measures to facilitate commercial intercourse among the American republics.

Care had been given to indicate the subdivisions of these topics, and to make most detailed analysis of the problems involved. This was done to aid the delegates to definite thinking on specific details, and thus to concentrate debate and formal action on the most important matters coming naturally before such a body.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER

At the first formal session of the Conference, on the 19th, the delegates received the following communication from President Wilson. He said:

"Gentlemen of the Americas, I regret more deeply than I can well express that the condition of my health deprives me of the pleasure and privilege of meeting with you and personally expressing the gratification which every officer of this government feels because of your presence at the National Capital, and particularly because of the friendly and significant mission which brings you to us. I rejoice with you that in these troubled times of world reconstruction the republics of the American Continent should seek no selfish purpose, but should be guided by a desire to serve one another and to serve the world to the utmost of their capacity. The great privileges that have been showered upon us, both by reason of our geographical position and because of the high political and social ideals that have determined the national development of every country of the American Continent, carry with them obligations, the fulfillment of which must be regarded as a real privilege by every true American.

"It is no small achievement that the Americans are today able to say to the world: 'Here is an important section of the globe which has today eliminated the idea of conquest from its national thought and from its international policy.' The spirit of mutual helpfulness which animates this Conference supplements and strengthens this important achievement of international policy. I rejoice with you that we are privileged to assemble with the sole purpose of ascertaining how we can serve one another, for in so doing we best serve the world.

"WOODROW WILSON."

Secretary of State Lansing, Secretary of the Treasury Glass, and Mr. John Barrett, Secretary of the Pan-American Union, also made formal communications to the Conference ere it settled down to work. As an indication of the sort of co-operative service which the Conference's group committees made possible, the report rendered on the 20th by the Argentina Group may be cited, Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly president of the National City Bank of New York City, being the chairman. This group urged that it be made possible by the United States for banks in Latin America to establish branches in the United States, so as to facilitate increase of trade. Laws in certain of the States of the Union now make such action impossible.

The papers read at the formal sessions of the Conference were many and varying in their permanent value. To the Latin Americans special interest centered in the statement of Chairman Payne, of the United States Shipping Board, as to the number of vessels to be assigned to the Southern republics and the dates of their entering the service. If the Latins are not very enthusiastic about the promises made by Mr. Payne, it may be due to a reaction from the excessive pledges of his predecessor, Mr. Hurley. To an onlooker, however, it does seem as if out of the enormous tonnage now under the direct control of the United States more could be assigned to the Southern trade than is now so allocated.

The paper of Hon. John Bassett Moore, vice-president of the Central Executive Council of the International High Commission, gave in detail the history of the operation of this organization, which is correlated with the Pan-Amer-

ican Conference and originated at its first conference. Its functions between the sessions in considering and reporting upon the larger problems of the two Americas. The United States' section of this body got legislative sanction for its existence and its functioning in February, 1915, and in April its members proceeded to Buenos Aires, there to sit with the commission at its first meeting, seventy members being in attendance.

The plans then and there laid have been exceptionally fruitful in bringing to pass betterments in trade, transportation, and protection of trade-marks. Much has been done by suasion and by the pressure of expert opinion of public officials and leaders in business. The work of the commission has been carried on at a miraculously low cost because so much of the service has been voluntary. It is the opinion of Professor Moore that the American republics control the future of the world on its material side through the potential wealth of the two hemispheres, the development of which has only just begun.

One of the most important of the papers read at the Conference was by Hon. Huston Thompson, of the Federal Trade Commission, who dealt with "Unfair Competition in International Trade and Commerce." In it he argued for a national trade-mark by Congress, which, when used on exported goods, would be an assurance that they were exactly the articles purporting to be sold. Basing his plea on the wholesome effect which the Trade Commission had had in reducing unfair business in the United States, he urged the Latin republics to erect a similar probing tribunal. With such a group of national bodies in existence, what more natural than the ultimate demand for an International Trade Commission?

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom succeeds to the place formerly filled by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. It is a federal organization, made up of national sections, of which there are now such in Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, is chairman of the executive committee. This month the League begins the publication of an organ to be called *Pax et Libertas*, to be issued monthly, with special supplements quarterly, and to be edited and published in Geneva.

British authority in Egypt, as defined by General (now Viscount) Allenby when, in December, he was assigned the difficult and unpleasant task of undoing the marplot work of civilian predecessors, was thus conceived. We quote from his proclamation:

"The policy of Great Britain in Egypt is to preserve autonomy in that country under British protection, and to develop the system of self-government under an Egyptian ruler.

"The object of Great Britain is to defend Egypt against all external danger and the interference of any foreign power; and at the same time to establish a constitutional system in which—under British guidance as far as may be necessary—the Sultan, his ministers, and the elected repre-

sentatives of the people may, in their several spheres and in an increasing degree, co-operate in the management of Egyptian affairs.

"His Majesty's Government has decided to send to Egypt a mission which has as its task to work out the details of a constitution to carry out this object; and in consultation with the Sultan, his ministers and representative Egyptians, to undertake the preliminary work which is required before the future form of government can be settled.

"It is not the function of the mission to impose a constitution on Egypt. Its duty is to explore the ground; to discuss, in consultation with the authorities on the spot, the reforms that are necessary, and to propose, it is hoped, in complete agreement with the Sultan and his ministers, a scheme of government which can consequently be put into force."

This position, it will be noted, however liberal in temper it may be, assumes a full British right to dispose of the matter, sets aside any claim of Turkey to any measure of sovereignty, and makes whatever may come in the way of meeting "nationalistic" demands a matter of "grace." This the Egyptian prime minister denied, and, denying, resigned. The Lord Milner Commission, attempting to get at the facts, has been met with refusal of the Egyptians to testify, and the revolution in behalf of "self-determination" has grown, taking on, as it proceeds, not only aggressive and "physical force features," but also becoming intertwined with an anti-Christian crusade which is sweeping through North Africa. The point of view of a majority of the Egyptians is reflected in the following quotation from the leading Arabic journal of the country. It says:

"The Egyptians, without exception, declare to the residency that they cannot accept legislature from it, and will not approve any system that comes from its side. They consider the 'protectorate' as false, for it comes from one party without the demand of the other party, and because, according to the confession of England, it was proclaimed under special circumstances which required the step. If England was required to proclaim it, as it pretends, the act should be removed as a result of the disappearance of its causes. Not one of the Egyptian nation dares to suggest that the commission should be negotiated with for the confederation of a legislative or constitutional system for the country. This attitude on our part does not mean mere stubbornness, but means that we understand that we are free, and that accordingly we should draw up the legislative or constitutional system that suits us best. The interference of England with our affairs is, therefore, an unjustifiable intervention."

Not without significance is the fact that the Egyptian "nationalists" have had a delegation in Washington; that their cause has found a sponsor in Senator Owen, of Oklahoma; that their arguments have been heard by representatives of the legislative arm of government, if not by the executive; and that hence to Irish claims against Great Britain are now added those of Egypt, as matters of debate in the United States.

Japanese Christians next October will be the host of 1,000 foreign delegates to the World's Sunday School Convention. The burden as well as the privilege of this feat will rest on the 160,000 members of the National Sunday School Association; but it has co-operating with

it the best elements of the foreign community in Tokio and the unequivocal support, moral and financial, of many of the highest officials of the government and important statesmen in and out of office, who, though not always Christian in faith, yet realize the significance of the event and the importance of its being a success. Westward the course of conventions takes its way—the Democratic National Convention to nominate a President this summer meets for the first time on the Pacific coast; and as Japan is drawn more and more into the orbit of international activities on a large scale, whether religious, scientific, economic, or political, she will see more and more of international gatherings.

Bolshevik "boring-in" in Asia, combined with recent military victories in Russia, naturally are giving much concern to British statesmen with Indian and other Asiatic possessions in mind. The point of view of the aggressive, "militarist," direct-action group of elder British public officials, as they face this situation, is reflected perfectly in the letter of Lord Sydenham to the London *Times*. He said:

"I cannot help viewing the whole situation in the Far East with grave anxiety. In Europe Bolshevism will ultimately exhaust itself. The terror cannot be indefinitely prolonged, as the French revolutionaries discovered, but central Asia may remain for years a source of danger. If India escapes, Persia may become involved; Khorassan lies open to Bolshevik activities, while Lenin's agents can control the Caspian the northern provinces may come under the curse.

"The disastrous delay in the Turkish settlement has provided opportunities for intrigues between Enver Pasha and the Moscow tyrants, which are only beginning to bear fruit. China may be too vast and too disjointed to become a field for Bolshevik action, but there are possibilities of fomenting anti-western agitation in the chaotic republic. By the irony of fate it is the former Kaiser, prophet of the Eastern peril, who has let loose forces which have made it a reality.

"The strength and stability of British rule in India have proved throughout the Far East a bulwark against reaction. Now that it is being steadily undermined, the danger of a cataclysm, far exceeding in its effects upon the Western world anything that the history of Asia records, looms darkly before us. The inventors of the parrot cry, "Hands off Russia," and their dupes may before long realize the terrible responsibilities which they have incurred."

From the military standpoint, the outlook, according to Sir Frederick Maurice, is grave. Writing in the *Daily News*, he says:

"The Bolsheviks have completely broken through the barrier in the East, and their road to Tashkend, Samarkand, and Bokhara is now open. They can now establish direct communication with Persia, Afghanistan, and the northwest frontier of India. Reports from Russia indicate that they are preparing to take advantage of that fact.

"If we attempt to shut Bolshevik Russia off from the West, and are at the same time unable to close the roads to the East, it is obvious that we shall be tending to drive her in the very direction in which she can do us the most damage. As usual, the policy of compromise has left us on the horns of a dilemma, and it will not be easy to come down off them."

Germany's attitude, domestic and foreign, as defined by President Ebert, of the German Republic, in a message to the New York *World* January 1, contained the following pregnant comments:

"Militarism and imperialism having definitely been replaced in Germany by the principles of a democratic government and the League of Nations idea, a new régime, it is true, has been firmly established and is supported by an overwhelming majority of our people. However, on the one hand the obligations imposed upon Germany at Versailles to deliver for trial in foreign courts a number of German officers and officials, if insisted upon, may cause serious turmoil, even civil war. On the other hand, our economic situation points in the direction of a crisis of such severity that the very foundations of the young republic may be shattered.

"The population at large is severely suffering from the manifold evil consequences of the starvation blockade, while the factories, despite the growing desire of the workmen to work full time, are mostly idle for the lack of raw materials. The worst feature, however, is our financial situation, particularly the fact that without sufficient reason German money has sunk in foreign markets to a small fraction of its pre-war value, and is therefore unsuitable for purchasing in sufficient quantities the much needed foreign foodstuffs and raw materials.

"Admittedly the gold cover of our notes is far below the safety mark indicated in the text books of political economy. However, Germany still possesses one great asset which ought to offer as good a guarantee for her economic renaissance as billions in gold bars, namely, the German people's honest will and their singular capacity to work. I firmly hope that on the strength of that guarantee it may be possible for us to secure within the immediate future an adequate foreign loan, which alone can help us out of unprecedented difficulties."

Holland, now that the Peace Treaty is signed and the League has begun functioning, will be the first of the powers to make the needed cash loans, while Mr. Hoover's organization, functioning through the American Friends' Relief Organization corps, is providing food where it is sorely needed.

The Franco-Italian Pact of 1902, details of which were first given January 1 by the French ambassador to Rome, was a "secret" one and sheds light on Italy's neutral but essentially friendly attitude toward France when the latter was attacked by Germany via Belgium in 1914; but its essential ethical import is only clearly understood when it is recalled that Italy, when the treaty was secretly agreed to, was Germany's supposed preferential friend and ally. Camille Barreré, the French diplomat, who disclosed the existence of the treaty, in his speech at Rome defined the ethics of the situation from the French position and incidentally made a plea for "secret" diplomacy which has historical interest. He said:

"Two things are confused which have nothing in common with secret diplomacy. If I followed directions contrary to those of my government I would practice secret diplomacy, but when I keep silent on state affairs which I negotiate with the government to which I am accredited, I simply accomplish an elementary duty without which the nations

would constantly be at each other's throats. Many unpleasant and delicate affairs are arranged which if divulged would deeply disturb the tranquillity of the peoples.

"Proof of this has just been demonstrated in a striking manner. The Franco-Italian agreement of 1900, eliminating all causes of conflict in the Mediterranean and tracing reciprocal spheres of influence in Africa, was followed by an agreement in 1902 establishing that in case of an aggressive war either country would maintain strict neutrality, even in case one of them was obliged to declare war to defend her honor and safety. What the two governments agreed contained nothing clandestine, nothing which could not be confessed. But if we recall the situation in Europe then it will be easily understood that knowledge of the agreements by those who had an interest in making them ineffective would have been a grave danger.

"France still wanted peace while the Central Powers prepared for war. If the Teuton powers had known the ties about to be established between the two great Latin peoples they would have done everything to break them off. Such an attempt would have put the peace of the world in danger, hastening the hour in which our adversaries determined to consolidate their hegemony by iron and fire. The French and Italian governments were, therefore, wise to keep their agreements a secret, which was never violated."

Letter Box

CORRESPONDING WITH GERMAN AND MEXICAN YOUTH

ANDOVER, N. H., January 10, 1920.

MR. A. D. CALL:

I am beginning a very interesting and what I consider a most important line of work connected with the international correspondence. I have felt for a long time that we must try to make friends with German youth or there would be danger that they would grow up without faith in God or man and would thus become a menace to the world. I wrote last July to Carolina Wood, the "Quaker Ambassador" in Berlin, regarding correspondence with German boys and girls. She was deeply interested and gathered the addresses of ten schools to send me. She wrote me they were starving for friendship as well as for food, and that our letters would mean so much to them in the "awful winter before them, when, again like primitive man, they would have to fight with hunger and cold for their very existence."

There is still so much bitterness in our schools as a whole, I fear, that I decided it would be best to begin this work through the Friends' schools, as there would be no danger of misunderstanding. During a visit to New York, I visited the famous Quaker school in Westtown, Pa., talked to the boys and girls there, and started a good movement. I saw Friends in Philadelphia and have secured the most active co-operation with the secretaries of the Young Friends of both the orthodox and Hicksite branches. Several Friends' colleges have taken it up. I suggested that Christmas cards be sent the German boys and girls, if we could get some names in season. A number of names were received from three schools and the cards were sent.

I am happy to report that I have already received over thirty letters from Germany, all interesting and revealing a fine spirit. The first letter received was written in English by a girl eighteen years of age. Such letters cannot help creating a better feeling. Boys have written such touching letters, are so eager to grasp a friendly hand, it is very pathetic.

I have had a number of letters from Dr. Emmel's school in Berlin. Dr. Emmel wrote me a beautiful letter; said he should work ardently for a "true world peace." I have never been so moved by any part of the correspondence as I am by this attempt to heal the wounds of war. No League

of Nations can work with Germany ostracised. I do not know of any more patriotic or more constructive work our young people can be engaged in than this.

I am now trying to get in touch with schools in Mexico through Quaker schools there. I shall start that correspondence in Proctor Academy here at Andover. It will not be necessary to confine that to the Friends' schools. I consider it most important that we establish friendly relations with Mexican youth. If you can through the *ADVOCATE* interest the readers in these two movements, I shall be very grateful. I shall be glad to answer any inquiries regarding this matter. Through the *ADVOCATE* I ought to be able to get in touch with people who would be glad to extend this movement. There are wonderful possibilities in it, but it should become countrywide.

Very sincerely yours,

MARY N. CHASE.

BOOK REVIEWS

New Ideals in the Planning of Cities, Towns, and Villages. By John Nolen. American City Bureau, New York City. Pp. 139.

This is one of a series of books prepared for the Overseas Army, A. E. F., by the Department of Citizenship of the Army Educational Commission. But the armistice came and it was not studied or used by the officers and soldiers. Since it was prepared "to present fundamental principles and stimulate intelligent study of the problems of citizenship," as well as to aid in the planning of cities, towns, and villages; and since with the post-war period there have come innumerable problems of housing, town planning, and making life decent for dwellers in urban regions, at home and abroad, the book is very timely and serviceable. The author has an exceptionally high reputation in his profession, not only for knowledge of the history, theory, and technique of town and city building, but also for gifts as an expositor of the same in a way to reach plain people. Persons and communities faced with lack of adequate housing conditions, such as is characteristic of the western world, will find this little book, with its concise text, many illustrations, and hopeful spirit, an admirable guide to the way out.

Racial Factors in Democracy. By Phillip Ainsworth Means. Marshall Jones Co., Boston. Pp. 247, with bibliography. \$2.50 net.

Mr. Means is a young man with a rising fame among anthropologists, who combines the double function of a progressive-spirited American business man trading and manufacturing in Peru and of a trained scholar making himself conversant with the special qualities, the origins, and the possibilities of the native races of Latin America. In our last number we cited his recent discussion of the Mexican problem as a man views it who knows its race history, and in this book there is additional and cumulative evidence of the value to statesmen and internationalists of all types of his own and other men's researches showing how government is shaped by cultural and racial relationships and by differing systems of colonization and dependency rule.

What especially pleases a reader of this book is its insistence upon the necessity of "race-appreciation," and of the duty of the more dominant peoples and "kulturs" to serve the lesser with an eye to their ultimate equality and not as permanent inferiors or dependents. The author at times writes as if he were a reactionary in the presence of many contemporary social phenomena; but when he comes to formally define his position and face the logic of his premises he usually turns out to be a progressive democrat, with faith in the ultimate perfectibility of the race and the inevitability of final rule by the majority and not by a minority. He also is sound in his internationalism and in his insistence on equality of rights between States and cultures. "Only thus," he says, "can a solid and permanent world civilization be built."

Progressive Religious Thought in America. By John W. Buckham. Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. Pp. 340. \$2.00.

Professor Buckham, of the Pacific Seminary of the Univer-

sity of California, has made this a valuable study of leading personalities in the United States, who have shaped what might be called its progressive religious thought during the past generation. A major part of the book is given over to estimates of Theodore T. Munger, George A. Gordon, William J. Tucker, Egbert C. Smyth, and Washington Gladden, all of the same denomination (Congregational) as the writer.

Professor Buckham deems President Tucker's article on "The Crux of the Peace Problem," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* of April, 1916, as a classic in peace literature, because it sounds the note of an aggressive, not a passive, peace, and of a peace only to be won and kept at the cost of moral sacrifice. Reference also is made to Dr. Gladden's admirable service in the peace cause, and especially to the essay, "The Fork of the Roads," with which he won the Church Union prize in 1916.

Taking the book as a whole and considering the accuracy of its delineations of the men and the careers listed, it is surprising how little prevision this group of progressives had of the coming international conflict and of what the church should do to ward it off. While men were fighting over "Science vs. Religion," "Who Wrote the Bible?" "Is There Future Probation?" etc., the world was setting at naught the ethics of Jesus and man's stored achievements in international law.

Summing up his indictment of the new theology in the light of the World War, Professor Buckham says of it: "It was too optimistic. It failed to see how far many of the facts and forces of modern life are from being consonant with Christianity. Its doctrines were extensive enough in their scope, but not intensive enough in their application. They did not take account of all the facts. . . . It would not be true to say that the new theology ignored evil or belittled sin, but it failed to take full account of their flinty factuality."

The Moral Basis of Democracy. By Arthur Twining Hadley. Yale University Press, New Haven. Pp. 206. \$1.75.

This collection of lay sermons and baccalaureate addresses by the President of Yale University is conspicuous for the iteration by this educator of the duty resting upon educated men of keeping sane and Christian during times like the present. He argues effectively for less prejudice between individuals, nations, and races; for sincere attempts to get at the bottom of disputes that lead to conflict, whether major or minor in importance. There is a constant recurrence to the ethics of Jesus as the final test, and unflinching optimism as to the ultimate triumph of the democratic principle.

Sanctus Spiritus and Co. By Edward A. Steiner. Geo. H. Doran Co., New York. Pp. 320.

Professor Steiner, of Grinnell College, Iowa, in this book has used fiction to tell much the same story that he has set forth in earlier works of a different sort dealing with immigration. If one would know what the village life of the many races formerly subjects of the Austria-Hungarian Empire was; of the effect upon them of the migration to America of their sons and daughters; of the problems the latter faced when they went home to their native towns and tried to be filial and fraternal, and of the issues of life and loyalty which former subjects of the now disrupted kingdom faced in the United States during the recent war, let him read this book. Professor Steiner knows better than most Americans the inner life and tragedies of the immigrants from central Europe as they try to adjust themselves to an America that has not always been as friendly in practice as it has been in theory. His own personal experiences as a mediator between the resurgent nationalism of Europe and of the United States during the recent war has not been of a kind pleasing to a Christian who accepts Jesus' authority as final and who at heart is a pacifist.

Unhappy Far-Off Things. By Lord Dunsany. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. Pp. 104. \$1.25 net.

This Irish playwright, soldier, and ironist has used in this volume, as in his "Tales of War," the vignette or prose pastel form of narrative to tell his readers what war did for the towns and cities of ravaged France. With a minimum of

words, the sense of chaos there found is produced and the "Abomination of Desolation" described; but interwoven with the narrative are mordant comments of a kind that give a tang to all of this significant Celt's work.

The Plot Against Mexico. By L. J. de Bekker. Alfred A. Knoff, New York. Pp. 295.

The author of this book has served the New York *Evening Post* and the New York *Tribune* in Mexico as a correspondent. During 1918 he was confidential assistant to the U. S. War Trade Board. He has been a student of Latin-American affairs for many years, and during 1919 traveled 1,600 miles in Mexico, interviewing its clergy, educators, business men, and public officials and gathering information which has since been used to combat the effort in and out of Congress to bring the sister republics into war.

It is a fighting book. Details as well as generalizations abound. The general charges are that there is a plot against Mexico involving several high officials in the United States Government; that its object is armed intervention in Mexico on some pretext of "pacification," the real purpose being permanent military occupation of the country. The originators of the plot, according to this critic, are American oil men operating in Mexico, who are aided by one of the most widely ramified and powerful publicity bureaus with which American journalism of an independent sort has had to contend. Disputing with British oil operators for possession of oil fields and operating rights which the Carranza administration guards, the American and the British together plot to restore an executive of the type of Diaz, though of course the covetous Americans prefer out-and-out American suzerainty in the guise of "benevolent assimilation."

The book is valuable not only for its specifications backing these charges, but also for its study of Mexican art, journalism, and social evolution; for its light on German activities in Mexico during the war, and for the documents it publishes showing that the native Roman Catholic clergy and the Protestant missionaries and educators from the United States are agreed in opposing any intervention by the United States and in denouncing the plutocratic forces that are conspiring against Carranza because he is safeguarding the economic treasures of the land and casting his influence against the long-oppressed few and for the many peons and the rising middle class.

The Political Future of India. By Lajpat Rai. B. W. Huebsch, New York City. Pp. 208, with appendices. \$1.50.

The author of this book has been a resident of the United States for some time, partly because he wanted to be and partly because he was not *persona grata* in India. The case of India for a large measure of home rule and local and dominion administration under principles laid down by the Morley and Montagu-Chelmsford reports is here stated with skill. In so doing the author has indirectly indicated the sort of intellect that India can provide from its subtly trained, modernistic and democratic leaders, when it comes to discussion of theories and methods of government. The author's previous books on India had prepared an audience for this work. Happily, recent events in India have hastened concessions by Great Britain to some extent meeting the criticism of this native publicist and those who agree with him. The post-war reactions in India have been no less disturbing and revolutionary than elsewhere in Europe and Asia. Under the haunting fear of what internal revolt, simultaneous with subtle attack by Leninism coming from interior northern Asia, might do to shake the authority of the Crown, the British authorities in London are beginning to give way. The chief obstructionists, now as always, are the ruling lesser officials in India, who, while they may have a technical knowledge of immediate problems, can hardly have the objective, broad point of view of the London authorities, surveying the world-complex and prescribing for imperial interests as a whole. For humanity at large the crucial interest in the problem with which this book deals is this: essential democracy, self-determination, and home rule are vital slogans now among the teeming millions of a land that has known autocracy under native and foreign forms for centuries.

NOTICE TO READERS:—The Index to Volume LXXXI (1919) of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is now ready and will be sent free to any one applying for it.

Advocate of Peace

*We Have Not Won This War Until We Have Won the Peace, and
There Can Be No Peace Except the Peace of Justice.*



FEBRUARY, 1920

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A GOVERNED WORLD

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, the Supreme Court of the United States, and practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS.

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas, according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law and subordinated to law, as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof, are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein, and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations, it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence, but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE.

1. The call of a Third Hague Conference, to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

2. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference, which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

3. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

4. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

5. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the declaration of the rights and duties of nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the powers for this purpose.

7. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

8. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

9. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

10. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinion of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

THE FUTILITY OF A FIAT CONSTITUTION.

DURING his short stay in America Viscount Grey remarked, in conversation, that our discussion over the proposed League of Nations resolves itself into a constitutional question. The distinguished gentleman was right. "Covenant," though it be called, Part I of the Treaty of Peace as framed in Paris is a world constitution; but, what is serious, it has all the appearance of a fiat constitution. It is as a voice in the darkness saying, "Let there be light." It is the result of one man commanding that it be done, and that with little reference to that seventeenth century saw which ran: "Fiat justitia, ruat cælum." The significance of this aspect of the proposed Covenant of the League of Nations lies in the fact that fiat constitutions never have succeeded, and that therefore in all probability they never can.

When, in 1663, Charles II conferred on eight "Lords Proprietors" the territory in America lying between 31° and 36°, enlarged in 1665, and "extending to the Pacific Ocean," the Proprietors were granted palatine powers. They proceeded to divide the territory into two parts, North and South Carolina. For the government of this group a "Fundamental Constitution" was elaborately established, providing for three Orders of Nobility and four Houses of Parliament. This instrument, technically known as "The Fundamental Constitutions

of Carolina, 1669," containing 120 separate paragraphs, was framed by no less a man than John Locke, author of "Two Treatises on Government," as well as of the "Essay concerning Humane Understanding." This very formidable document, drawn by such a distinguished philosopher, and amended indeed by Anthony Ashley Cooper, known later as the Earl of Shaftsbury, was only partially put into operation, and indeed it was abrogated by the Lords Proprietors in April, 1693. A careful reading reveals in its provisions no apparent reason for its cool reception or untimely end. Its aim to "avoid erecting a numerous democracy" did not militate against it. Yet neither the great learning of its chief author nor certain inherent merits of the document itself could save it as a practicable measure for that hardy and somewhat rude population, little interested in any sort of government. It was a perfect illustration of the futility of a fiat constitution.

In constitutional matters men see only by the lamp of experience. Governments are not established primarily upon abstract principles. The fate of more than one French "Constitution" shows that. How different from the Locke "Constitutions" and the Wilson "Covenant," both in inception and results, is that other outstanding international instrument of 1787, discerningly called by Alexander Hamilton "itself a Bill of Rights," the Constitution of the United States! In a remarkable essay, written in 1891, entitled "*The Genesis of a Written Constitution*," Mr. William C. Morey truly said:

"In order to prepare the way still further for the proposition to be set forth in this article, it is necessary to say that the Federal Constitution is not only not a fiat constitution projected from the brain of the Fathers, nor a copy of the contemporary constitution of England; it is also not founded upon any previous body of institutions which existed merely in the form of customs. As it is itself primarily a body of written law, so it is based upon successive strata of written constitutional law."

Shortly before the great constitution-making epoch, Mr. Hume, in his essay on the "*Rise of the Arts and Sciences*," wrote:

"To balance a large State or society, whether monarchical or republican, on general laws is a work of so great difficulty that no human genius, however comprehensive, is able, by mere dint of reason and reflection, to effect it. The judgments of many must unite in this work: Experience must guide their labor. Time must

bring it to perfection. And the feeling of inconveniences must correct the mistakes which they inevitably fall into in their first trials and experiments."

And Mr. James Harvey Robinson, writing in 1890, expressed the thought thus:

"In its chief features, then, we find our Constitution to be a skillful synthesis of elements carefully selected from those entering into the composition of the then existing State governments. The Convention 'was led astray by no theories of what *might* be good, but claved closely to what experience had demonstrated to be good.'"

It may be added that the quotation included by Mr. Robinson was from Mr. James Russell Lowell's address before the New York Reform Club, April 13, 1888.

One familiar with our written Constitution must agree that Mr. Gladstone was indulging in a sort of complimentary persiflage, when he courteously remarked that "the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," for, as we are now quite well aware, it was not "struck off at a given time." It represents, rather, the collective experiences of the preceding State constitutions, of the colonial charters which preceded them, of the charters of the still earlier trading companies themselves; indeed of a period of American political training much longer in point of time than that which has followed 1787.

What is also important in any consideration of the rise of constitutions is that constitutions cannot be imposed from above; they must evolve from within and from below. They were purely local causes, for example, which gave rise to the principle of representation in the Colony of Massachusetts. In 1631 it was ordered "that all swine found in any man's corn shall be forfeited to the public, and that the party damnified shall be satisfied." Two years later it was ordered "that it shall be lawful for any man to kill any swine that comes into his corn." These were simple, homely situations. But because of them twenty-four persons from the various towns in Massachusetts appeared, in 1634, before the General Court, and in their representative capacity demanded recognition. This led, significantly as we now see, to an arrangement whereby representatives were chosen by the freemen of the towns, with "the full power and voices of the said freemen." That was not only the beginning of representative government in Massachusetts; it represents a vital aspect of the development of our constitutional law. This is so because it was such simple needs, practical problems and methods of solution, that gave bent to those slow but significant steps on the part of the colonists up the long road to 1787. The background of our Federal Government spreads over a century prior to 1776. More than twenty "plans" of

Union had been submitted during that time. Our Federal Constitution is thus more than an imitation, more than a product of ingenuity, more than the result of wars and of a revolution; in the language of Sidney George Fisher, it was the outgrowth of "natural conditions, many minds, many ages, and great searchings of heart."

It was neither custom nor historical precedent, but practical needs, expressing themselves in statutory law, that ultimately gave a written constitution to each of the colonies, and thence to the thirteen States. And out of similar needs and in a similar manner, growing indeed directly out of the State constitutions, and not the fiat of any man or body of men, was evolved, not "struck off," that noble instrument of 1787, upon which rests that great body of written laws which has given rise to constructive political liberty in America.

Since, thus, to be successful a constitution must represent the outgrowth of time and need and law, the inevitable fate of fiat constitutions has been defeat. The Covenant of the League of Nations, with its failure to distinguish between legislative, judicial, and executive functions; with its utter lack of reference to existing international situations and organs; with its creation out of pure theory, without any adequate reference to the local needs of peoples, is, we fear, such a fiat constitution. Its radical modification, if not its utter rejection by the United States, therefore, has from the beginning, from our point of view, been inevitable.

IS THERE A WAY OUT?

THE international situation facing the United States Senate will be settled by the Senate, for it is the duty of the Senate to do just that. But it will not be settled by the Senate until it is settled right. It will not be settled right if the decisions be made out of a desire simply to teach a lesson to the President of the United States. Neither can the matter be settled by false accusations against the Senate. The simple fact is that the Senate is faced with a concrete situation and a constitutional duty. The concrete situation is the Treaty of Peace; its constitutional duty is to give its "advice" and to give or withhold its "consent" to the ratification of that treaty. There can be no doubt that the Senate is as interested in performing its duty in the premises as are the rest of us.

Even the most radical opponents of the League of Nations would grant that the United States might well restrain its liberty of action for the benefit not of this so-called "League," but of the Society of Nations which already exists, and that in conformity with the demands of intelligent international public opinion. Mr. Knox,

when Secretary of State, delivered an address in December, 1909, in which he expressed precisely that view. The members of the Senate believe in international co-operation, and the good-will, intelligence, and conscience of the American people compel them also to believe in it. But the United States Senate, and we must grant that the members of the Senate are better acquainted with the provisions of the Treaty of Peace than any other one body in America, do not believe in the method of international co-operation provided for in Mr. Wilson's Covenant of the League of Nations. That has been demonstrated by the votes already taken upon this matter in the Senate. We are of the opinion that the Senate is also opposed to the Treaty of Peace, irrespective of the Covenant, but of that we have only hearsay evidence. The Senate has once refused its "consent" to the ratification of the treaty. If the President had been notified of this fact in the usual official manner provided by custom in such cases, the whole matter would now be in the hands of the President. Our view is that the Senate would have done well had it gone about the matter in that way. But now the whole thing is again before the Senate for open discussion, and that without cloture. What will the outcome be?

We believe that in the present stage of international development that the United States should be its own judge as to whether or not it shall have performed its obligations under the terms of the Covenant, and, assuming that we have become a member, that it should itself decide whether or not it might withdraw from the League. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should decide whether or not this country should send its boys to fight across seas. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should decide whether or not this nation should take over the control of Turkey, Armenia, or other peoples whatsoever. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should decide whether or not a given question before the Council or the Assembly of the League is or is not of a domestic character. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should decide whether or not this Government should submit the Monroe Doctrine, in a given case, to the League of Nations for judgment. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should provide by law for the appointment of any representative or representatives of the United States in the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations. We believe that the United States

Congress, representing the people of the United States, should decide how far the Reparation Commissions shall regulate or interfere with the trade between this country and Germany, or other nation. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should, in the light of the present international situation, decide whether or not the United States shall increase or decrease its armaments. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should decide whether or not other States, even though charged with breaking the Covenant, shall continue their commercial relations with citizens of this country. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should determine under Sections 3 and 4, Part X, of the treaty, whether any acts in contravention of the rights of American citizens are legal or illegal. We believe that the United States Congress, representing the people of the United States, should make due provisions for representation in any labor organization to be set up under the League. We believe that the United States should not give its assent to the provisions of the treaty relating to Shantung. We believe in the principle of equal representation in the Council or Assembly. We believe these things. We believe that the American people believe these things. We believe the United States Senate owes it to the people of the United States, and to the future success of the League of Nations, if there is to be such, certainly of the Society of Nations already an entity, that these matters be made perfectly plain, that they should be stated in the form of clear-cut reservations, definitely, unequivocally. We believe that if the treaty can be ratified with these reservations that it might well be so ratified, both by the Senate and the President, and proclaimed accordingly.

Mr. Bryan, a Vice-President of this Society, has indicated a way out of the present situation. Addressing himself to the principle, "Let the Majority Rule," he has said:

"We, the undersigned members of the United States Senate, believing in the right of the majority to rule and being unwilling to make it more difficult to conclude peace than to declare war, hereby agree to use our votes (by casting them or withholding them) as to enable a majority of the elected members (49 of the 96) to record a two-thirds vote in favor of the ratification of the treaty with Germany with such reservations as such majority, voting for ratification, agree upon, provided that each of the undersigned shall be free to vote his convictions on each reservation and at liberty to urge any desired change in the League of Nations after our nation is a member thereof. Such a course as is above outlined would hasten ratification and locate the responsibility for delay."

The Treaty of Peace proposed out of Paris, because of its attempt to close the war and to establish the peace of the world by means of one and the same instrument, has befogged both issues and produced distraction everywhere. Many believe that both the treaty and the Covenant as drawn and approved in Paris, are impossible of fulfillment. We are inclined to accept that view. Yet it ought to be possible for the Senate to extricate itself and the nation from the present intolerable situation without endangering any fundamental feature of American political principles. We can see but two ways to accomplish this: either by rejecting the treaty outright; or by ratifying it with reservations substantially as we have tried to indicate.

THE PASSING OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

NOTWITHSTANDING the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the General Staff of the Army, and a majority of the members of the military committees of both houses of Congress, all of whom have committed themselves to approval of immediate or ultimate action establishing universal compulsory military training of the youth of the country, we do not believe that it will come to pass. It is quite true, as the President pointed out in his ineffective letter to the Democratic party's caucus, that "the present disturbed state of the world does not permit such sureness with regard to America's obligations as to allow us lightly to decide upon this great question upon purely military grounds." Quite so. But the decision, not arrived at lightly, is being made on grounds other than military.

Reports of trained newspaper investigators, sent into the heart of the country, whether they represent journals favoring or disapproving a large army and universal military training, agree in the verdict that the "plain people" of the country, whether in New England, the Mid-West, or in the South, do not believe in war a bit more than they did prior to 1914; that they are disillusioned as to the methods of war and post-war diplomacy; that the men who went across in the A. E. F. can not be relied upon to vote for a militarist policy, and that the House of Representatives, as at present constituted or as it may be altered by the next elections, will not be induced to vote for universal military training. Nor, so these reporters say, need any would-be President of the United States think that he will get the nomination because of his popularity with the returned soldiers or their kinsfolk on the basis of his military record.

These reports from the field are supported by the actions of Congress during the past month. Bills have been introduced calling for universal compulsory military training, with estimates as to the annual cost ranging from \$700,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000. They never will be passed by this Congress, partly because of ethical dissent and partly because of fiscal prudence. The taxpayer will not "stand" for any such raid on the Treasury now, and neither party dares to act as if he would. Hence the vote of the Democratic caucus postponing anything looking like approval of the plan, and this in spite of the President's plea for a non-committal course.

ARE THE DYNASTIES DEAD?

WE in America are consumed with our own economic, industrial, financial, and class-conscious problems, so much so that we have not yet realized the "wrecks of matter and the crush of worlds" which seem to have taken place. Romanoff, Hohenzollern, and Hapsburg dynasties deemed but yesterday to be impregnable and within their spheres well nigh all-powerful, are for the time unhorsed, side-tracked, impotent. Are they dead?

As for the Romanoffs, they seem to be dead. The evidence is a bit obscure, but photographs are shown to us now indicating with some circumstantial detail that the Czar and his family are no more. In any event, we can not obtain the slightest evidence that there is a ghost of a chance of the return of any portion of this family to the seat of authority in Russia. There are many parties contending with each other in that mighty land, but none seems to be interested in the reincarnation of the Romanoffs.

There seems to be some life left in the Hohenzollerns. The Kaiser's name confronts us in the headlines almost daily; likewise that of the Crown Prince; but more, the friends of the Hohenzollerns in Germany are plotting. Among the opponents of the present republic, with its plebeian president, its socialist-clerical cabinet, there are not a few monarchists. Just how much life is left in the Hohenzollern organism is, however, difficult to ascertain. Our belief is that unless we insist upon breathing the breath of life into this far-from-beloved departed by some fatuous attempt at revenge, by some false move that may bedeck the former Kaiser with a martyr's crown, that this particular dynasty is dead beyond recall.

We are not sure about the Hapsburgs. If there be few of them in Austria, there are evidences that Hapsburg plotters are quite able to sit up and take notice in Hungary. So important are these gentlemen in that

section that the Council of Ambassadors in Paris, on February 2, felt it necessary, no doubt in the interest of the great principle of "self-determination," to send to the heads of the Hungarian State the following kindly advice:

"The principal allied powers feel called upon to give the most formal denial to misleading rumors that have been circulated to the effect that restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty would be promoted or recognized by them.

"The principal allied powers consider that such restoration of a dynasty which to its subjects represented a system of coercion and domination, in alliance with Germany, over other States, would not be consistent either with the principles for which this war has been fought nor with the results of the liberation of subject peoples which have been achieved.

"While it is not the intention, nor can it be considered the duty, of the principal allied powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary, or dictate to the Hungarian people what sort of government and constitution they may think fit to adopt for themselves, the powers cannot admit that restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty can be considered merely as a matter interesting the Hungarian nation, and hereby declare that such restoration would be at variance with the whole basis of the peace settlement and would be neither recognized nor tolerated by them."

If after that the Hapsburg can still breathe, it must be agreed that he is no corpse.

SMALL AXES FELL GREAT TREES

WE are asked to subscribe to a League of Nations banded because of the strength of their armies and fleets, and many think quite favorably of it because they are unmindful that true greatness in national aspiration and achievement may be found now, as often heretofore, in some little nation which we think not of. It is possible that the germs of greatness destined to mold nations in a hundred years are now working, say, in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. Masaryk's Academy of Labor, organized in Prague and supported in part from public funds and in part by private donations, has for its object the co-ordination of scientific and technical work of the new nation. For the purpose of economic elimination of waste and the increased production of wealth, economic, social, technical, and industrial problems are to be studied and the results of the investigations published for general use. The scheme originated with the Technical Economic Union of Prague. After investigation, this union came to the conclusion that the people of Bohemia and of the larger State of which it is in many respects a most important part needed the Academy of Labor for the conservation of labor energy and of other vital forces, spiritual and physical, quite as much as it needed museums for the preservation of relics of past ages, national art gal-

leries, theaters, and the other conventional "cultural" institutions peculiar to all advanced European urban centers. The Academy is to have seven departments—social, industrial, agricultural research, engineering, technology, and national and world economics. They are to be subordinate to the central authority for administrative purposes only. Some of them will be sustained and financed wholly by industrial interests. President Masaryk, who won the Republic's fight at Washington and Paris, thus seems to be about to set up a stable and intelligent nation. We are not surprised to learn that Columbia University of New York City, realizing that relations between the United States and Czecho-Slovaks are to be close, has arranged to provide classes hereafter in Bohemian history and language.

We have another illustration of incipient national greatness from out a land that is as yet no nation at all. We recently attended a meeting in Washington of the officials of the "Korean nation." It was an impressive little gathering. They issued a proclamation and demand for continued independence. The President and the Secretary of State spoke simply but affectingly. During the meeting one Rev. David Lee, speaking in the Korean language, offered a prayer, the translation of which is:

"O Lord, our God, the Lord of life, of love, of liberty, in whom alone we find the warrant for the brotherhood of man, we rejoice that in Thee not men alone, but nations, live and move and have their being. And now, in this solemn hour, we pray Thee to sanction what we do. As Thou didst bring Thy chosen people back, so do Thou deliver us from this more than Babylonian captivity. We ask this gift at Thy hand, not that as a nation we may be lifted up in pride and may obtain the power to oppress, but that we may be free to learn to worship Thee, to learn Thy truth, and to become a beacon light to those about us. We confess that we have deserved the chastisement that has been ours, but we pray Thee, Lord, to stay Thy hand and follow this just punishment with Thy healing and restoring mercy.

"Nor for ourselves alone would we pray, but also for those by whose hands Thou hast delivered chastisement. Make the wrath of man to praise Thee. Turn their hearts and teach them the futility of human pride, of martial glory, and grant that they may see the light and come to it."

"Upon the people of Korea grant Thy blessing, and upon those whom they have chosen to bring back the lost ark of their liberties. Give us wisdom, give us restraint, give us power to rule ourselves, to curb our passions, and to order our lives and conduct as a nation that we may become an instrument in Thy hand of building a national edifice, not founded on the pride of man, but upon the immutable verities of Thy truth. Into Thy hands we place ourselves, our lives, our hopes, to do as Thou shalt will. If we err, bring us back. If we are proud, chastise us. If we are recreant to the trust that has been laid upon us, do Thou find cleaner hands and purer hearts whereby to accomplish this great task; but, Father, though we falter, though we stumble, though we faint, do Thou forbid that the fire ever again should fall upon the altar of our native land.

"Upon all peoples and nations we crave Thy blessing. May righteousness prevail. May truth supplant error. May peace bring a final end to war and rumors of war, and may that glad time soon come when, under the banner of Thy Son, all nations and peoples shall discover their eternal brotherhood; and to Thy name forever and ever will we give praise. Amen."

WILLIAM JAY.

JUDGE WILLIAM JAY, President of the American Peace Society during the last ten years of his life, died sixty-two years ago. The reappearance of his "*War and Peace*," originally printed in 1842, published now by the Oxford University Press, under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, will be of interest to all members of the American Peace Society. Because of the appearance of this new edition, and of the illuminating introductory note by Dr. James Brown Scott, we call the attention of our readers to Mr. Jay's letter of resignation as President of this Society, presented at the Thirtieth Anniversary of the American Peace Society held in Park Street Church, Boston, May 24, 1858. The records show that at the business meeting, presided over by Amasa Walker, one of the Vice Presidents, that the corresponding secretary, Dr. G. C. Beckwith, read from Judge Jay the following "resignation of his office as President":

NEW YORK, *May*, 1858.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: The state of my health is now such as to preclude all hope of my being able hereafter to meet with the American Peace Society, or, as heretofore, even to prepare occasional addresses for its anniversaries. It seems to me a dereliction of duty to deprive the Society any longer of the services of an efficient officer, by retaining the situation I now nominally occupy. I beg you, therefore, to present to the Board of Directors my resignation of the office of President.

While thus severing my official connection with the Society, permit me to embrace the opportunity to express my unabated interest in the cause of peace, and my increasing conviction of the folly, the guilt, and the misery of war. Of all popular delusions, that which regards military preparation as conducive to national tranquillity, is the most groundless and the most mischievous. All history bears testimony to the fact that the nations which enjoy most peace, are such as are most defenseless; while those who drink deepest of the bloody cup, are those whose power both prompts and invites aggression. It is a sad mistake that the sword is the great instrument of liberty. It is most frequently wielded in behalf of tyranny and oppression. Civil rights are seldom acquired by force, but generally by passive resistance and peaceful agitation.

Especially have the friends of liberty in this country cause to dread the increase of our military strength, as indications not to be mistaken assure us of the strong desire of our present rulers to exert that strength for the most loathsome of all despotisms, and for this purpose to seize, at the cost of war, territory that cannot be more conveniently obtained by purchase. May Almighty God scatter, both in this and other countries, the people who delight in war! may He bless and prosper the Peace-makers,

and hasten that blissful period when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither learn war any more.

I remain, Reverend and Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely and respectfully,

WILLIAM JAY.

The records show that on motion of Rev. L. H. Angier, it was unanimously voted to request Judge Jay to withdraw his resignation, and, on motion of the same gentleman, it was unanimously "*resolved*":

"That our thanks are due to Judge Jay for his important and effective services in past years to our cause; and, whether able or not to preside at our public meetings, we devoutly hope that the God of Peace may permit us still to retain his name at the head of our Society as its worthy and much-beloved representative."

From the records it appears that the resignation was not accepted, in consequence of which Judge Jay remained President until his death, October 14, 1858.

WITH Leon Bourgeois, the distinguished delegate to both Hague Conferences, 1899 and 1907, serving as the President of the League of Nations, we need not be surprised that the Council of the League is already planning to invite international jurists to serve as a committee to arrange for the formation of a permanent Court of International Justice; and none familiar with the history of that project will be surprised to learn that among the jurists selected is Mr. Elihu Root, former Secretary of State of the United States, and long known as a consistent advocate of such a Court. Among the other jurists reported to be selected are statesmen long known to be friendly to it. The other members proposed by the Council are: Baron Deschamps, of Belgium; Luis M. Drago, former Argentine Foreign Minister; Professor Fadda, of Naples University; Henri Fromageot, legal adviser to the French Foreign Minister; Professor Cran, one-time member of the Supreme Court of Norway; Doctor Loder, member of the Netherlands Court of Cassation; Lord Phillimore, of the English Privy Council; M. Vesnich, Serbian Minister in Paris; M. Akidsouki, former Japanese Ambassador to Austria; Rafael Altamina, Senator and Professor of Law in Madrid; Clovis Bevilacqua, legal adviser to the Brazilian Foreign Minister.

FOR a variety of reasons, some economic, some military, and some diplomatic, relations between the peoples of the United States and France have seemed to grow less friendly as the months following the armistice have gone their weary, tangled, disillusioning way; yet formally, and as far as governmental statements go, all is well. It is to the credit of the new President of the French Republic, M. Paul Deschanel, that he sent

to New York, for publication in *La France*, the following words to Americans:

"The changing tides of politics can not affect that which has a great ideal for its foundation.

"Throughout the crisis in which humanity's age-long strife for liberty and justice was on the verge of collapse, American democracy has remained the champion of the most noble cause. We may now face the future with confidence."

Amen!

SAN SALVADOR'S formal note to the United States, stating that ere it subscribes to the Covenant of the League of Nations it would like to know the precise meaning of Article XXI of the Treaty, is said to represent the attitude of several of the Latin-American republics. They especially wish to know just what is the "authentic interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as it is understood in the present historical moment, and its future application by the Government of the United States." They have been incited to this query undoubtedly by statements in the Senate debate on the treaty, which go further in asserting the United States' primacy on the two continents than recent executive interpretations have gone. The State Department in its reply, it should be noted, evades any new definition, and asks San Salvador to take for its answer Secretary Lansing's address before the Pan-American Scientific Congress, December, 1918, in which he said: "The ambitions of this Republic do not lie in the path of conquest, but in the paths of peace and justice. Whenever and wherever we can, we will stretch forth a hand to those who need help. If the sovereignty of a sister republic is menaced from overseas, the power of the United States, and I hope and believe the united power of the American republics, will constitute a bulwark which will protect the independence and integrity of their neighbors from unjust invasion or aggression." Here co-operation in enforcing the "doctrine" is distinctly affirmed as desirable, and sole decision as to its infringement is not claimed for the United States, as some Senators have recently affirmed.

QUITE inevitably it has become true, and hence commented upon by no less an authority than the London *Times*' writer on Paris fashions, that woman's attire in the French capital now "is daring to excess, unruly, and even a little savage. It is concerned with none of the old-fashioned virtues." Reasoning from the optimistic, humanitarian standpoint, you might argue, naturally, that nations and peoples undergoing the savagery of war would not resort to the savagery of peace,

and, least of all, women, with their traditionally conceded higher morality. But New York is as bad today as Paris in the nudity of spirit and body displayed by its wasters, its urban parasitic class, and its "cosmopolites," not to mention certain others on the list, women whose "respectability" is impeccable and whose ecclesiastical rating is excellent. But we must beware prudish cavil if we would escape the charge of being "Victorian."

GERMANY'S defeat is attributed by Admiral von Tirpitz not to lack of power of a physical sort, but to weakness and lack of insight in using that power either for preserving or concluding peace, and, in addition, "from our illusions about our enemies, the nature of their war aims, their conduct of the war, and the nature of the economic war." Rather costly illusions for the Hohenzollerns and Junkers. Yet we recall having heard something about Prussian *real-politick*.

THE farmer premier of Ontario, whose coming into power with the backing of the agriculturists and the workers of the province has so startled the "elder statesmen" of the Dominion, says that it is a religion with him to preserve forever that good-will and amity between the United States and Canada which is symbolized by the long unguarded frontiers and by the Great Lakes devoid of all armed craft. Premier Drury himself is symbolical in professing this form of religion. The farmer of Canada is no different from the farmer of the United States in desire for international good-will. Militarism is not an out-of-door product, grown on the prairies, or in the valleys, or among the villages inhabited by rustic men. It is an urban product and has its most ardent supporters among city dwellers, high and low in the social scale, some of whom hunger for arbitrary political and commercial power, some of whom hunger needlessly for bread, some of whom just seek adventure. Russia today is the chaos she is, not because her peasants and bourgeois farmers want it or planned for it. Her malign dissentionists are either one of two groups, hyper-rationalized and hyper-sensualized "intellectuals" or under-rationed and herded proletarians of the cities.

THE number of divorces in the borough of Manhattan, New York City, increased 50 per cent during 1919. Social psychologists, judges who sit in cases involving marital infelicity, and clergymen who performed the rites have been interviewed as to why this record exists. In passing let it be said that it is symptomatic of general conditions and not peculiar to New York's "fastest" but not most populous burg. The percentage

may be higher there—that is all—which is not surprising when all the conditions are known. But the point that especially impresses us is that almost invariably war and war reactions are included as partly responsible for the record by most of the interpreters. They vary in their assignment of this cause's relative influence, but they all include it. London has the same story to tell. But why further itemize the damage bill to humanity's family life. Figs do not grow on thistle stalks or crows have doves for offspring.

SO MUCH depends upon a teacher and a model, even in national choices! Even Japan, in her present hour of financial prosperity and political opportunity in Asia, is finding that out, as she sees the plight of Prussia, after which she so closely modeled her army, and the status of Germany, after whose political philosophers she modeled her organic law and national policy. So, too, with Bulgaria, which welcomed American missionaries and educators, but had no use for American policies of state and went on consorting lewdly with Prussia. Wherefore her leaders now cry, with Stambuliski, president of the Council of Ministers:

"The blood-stained policy of the past has brought us nothing but the death of 400,000 Bulgarians, the waste of the fruits of the labors of forty years, the accumulation of millions of public debt, frontiers more narrow than those of forty years ago, terrible interior conditions, and an unexampled corruption—in short, a moral bankruptcy from which we shall not emerge without great effort.

"We wish to set a limit to that bloody past; we have broken with the policy of Ferdinand as we have broken with his reign. Instead of being the Prussians of the Balkans, we shall force ourselves to become the Swiss. We have the force and the energy necessary to make Bulgaria the Switzerland of the Balkans."

Which, by the way, is one of the finest compliments that Switzerland ever has had paid to her. But she also, alas, has her grave problems to face, as she becomes more cosmopolitan in population and the refuge of all the plotters, bankrupts, disreputables, and "internationalist" conspirators of smitten, crazed, and bankrupt Europe and western Asia.

IF YOU are pessimistic about the possibilities of international co-operation, carried on by methods of reason and moral sagacity, read the article by Professor John Bassett Moore on this page. The truth is that in a variety of ways the Americas (Canada unfortunately being omitted) are teaching the world supremely in this field of amity, whether the program be judged by standards of diplomacy, or finance, or co-operative commerce. And all so inexpensively, so modestly, and so efficiently that it makes no "copy" for the press.

THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL HIGH COMMISSION*

By THE HON. JOHN BASSETT MOORE, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL HIGH COMMISSION

ON MARCH 12, 1915, while the World War, daily increasing in intensity, was drawing the world more and more into its vortex, the American governments were, in the name of the President of the United States, invited to send delegates to a conference with the Secretary of the Treasury, at Washington, with a view to establish "closer and more satisfactory financial relations between the American republics." To this end it was intimated that the conference would discuss not only problems of banking, but also problems of transportation and of commerce.

It thus came about that there assembled in Washington on Monday, May 24, 1915, under the chairmanship of the Hon. William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, the first Pan-American Financial Conference.

The subjects submitted to the conference embraced public finance, the monetary situation, the existing banking system, the financing of public improvements and of private enterprises, the extension of inter-American markets, the merchant marine, and improved facilities of transportation. It was a program that went beyond the emergencies growing out of the war, and the conference in its deliberations did not confine itself to the adoption of temporary devices. On the contrary, it sought to meet a permanent need by establishing an organization which should devote itself to the carrying out of a task whose importance was not to be measured by temporary conditions, whether of war or of peace.

The formulation of the program of future work was entrusted to the General Committee on Uniformity of Laws relating to Trade and Commerce and the Adjustment of International Commercial Disputes.

The report of this committee, while reserving for separate and distinct treatment the difficult and complex problems of transportation, recommended that the following subjects should be specially pressed:

1. The establishment of a gold standard of value.
2. Bills of exchange, commercial paper, and bills of lading.
3. Uniform (a) Classification of merchandise, (b) customs regulations, (c) consular certificates and invoices, (d) port charges.
4. Uniform regulations for commercial travelers.
5. Measures for the protection of trade-marks, patents, and copyrights.
6. The establishment of a uniform low rate of postage and of charges for money-orders and parcels post between the American countries.
7. The extension of the process of arbitration for the adjustment of commercial disputes.

For the purpose of dealing with these subjects, and particularly for bringing about uniformity of laws con-

* Read at the Second Pan-American Financial Conference, Washington, January 21.

cerning them, the committee recommended the establishment of an International High Commission, to be composed of not more than nine members, resident in each country, to be appointed by its minister of finance. The aggregate members thus appointed were to constitute the International High Commission, of which the members resident in each country were to form the national section for that country.

The recommendations of the committee were unanimously adopted and the International High Commission came into being.

The conference further resolved that the local members of the International High Commission should be immediately appointed in their respective countries; that they should at once begin preparatory work; that the various governments should be requested through their appropriate departments to co-operate in the work of the Commission, and that the members of the United States section should, as soon as practicable, proceed to visit the other American countries to meet the members of the Commission there resident.

The establishment of the International High Commission was a measure of the greatest practical significance. In 1889 there met at Washington the first of the assemblies known as the International American Conferences, of which four have so far taken place and of which the fifth, but for the outbreak of the war in 1914, would long since have been held.

The good results accomplished by the International American Conferences could hardly be overestimated. Although they at first encountered criticism and even derision, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find any one today who would either censure their spirit and purpose or deny their beneficent effects.

But the International American Conferences had one capital defect: They lacked a permanent organization to carry on their work. Hence, although they formulated many excellent and far-reaching plans and concluded numerous treaties and conventions, yet after they adjourned there was no one to follow up their resolutions and endeavor to secure their ratification and execution.

The want of such a permanent body was supplied by the creation of the International High Commission, the United States section of which received legislative sanction by the act of Congress of February 7, 1916.

In conformity with the resolutions of the first Pan-American Financial Conference, the United States section in due time proceeded to Buenos Aires, where, in April, 1916, the International High Commission held its first general meeting, under the presidency of the Hon. Francisco J. Oliver, Argentine Minister of Finance. All the national sections of the International High Commission were represented at this meeting, more than seventy of its members being in attendance. Nothing could more clearly attest the general interest felt in the work or the universal appreciation of its practical importance.

At Buenos Aires the Commission, besides dealing with the subjects designated by the first Pan-American Financial Conference for special treatment, also included in its deliberations the question of international agreements on uniform labor legislation; uniformity of regulations governing the classification and analysis of petro-

leum and other mineral fuels with reference to national development policies; the necessity of better transportation facilities between the American republics; banking facilities, the extension of credit, the financing of public and private enterprises, and the stabilization of international exchange; telegraphic facilities and rates and the use of wireless telegraphy for commercial purposes; and uniformity of laws for the protection of merchant creditors.

At Buenos Aires the International High Commission also took an important step in the further development of an effective organization. This was done by the creation of a common organ or agency, called the Central Executive Council, consisting of a president, a vice-president, a secretary-general, and an assistant secretary-general; and, as Washington was unanimously designated as the headquarters of the International High Commission till its next general meeting, the chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary of the United States section thus became the Central Executive Council, with the responsibility of supervising, co-ordinating, and carrying on the Commission's work.

The work has been steadily and energetically pressed. Valuable publications, intended to elucidate and support the measures which the Commission has in charge, have been prepared, printed and circulated, and appreciable progress has been made in securing the adoption of those measures. In these activities the Central Executive Council has had the intelligent, hearty, and efficient co-operation of the several national sections, which have in many instances made admirable studies of the subjects under consideration.

Substantial ameliorations of methods of customs administration have been secured in various quarters. Regulations permitting sanitary visits outside regular hours, the simultaneous loading and unloading of cargoes, and the advance preparation of cargoes have been brought about in numerous countries.

Progress has been made with the adoption of a uniform statistical classification of merchandise, as recommended by the International High Commission, at Buenos Aires. Six countries have already taken favorable action and two more are understood to be on the point of so doing.

Every effort has been made to advance uniform legislation in regard to bills of exchange, checks, bills of lading, and warehouse receipts, and appropriate documentary material has been prepared and circulated on those topics.

In dealing with the subject of bills of exchange, the International High Commission, taking into consideration the legal conceptions generally prevailing in the American countries other than the United States and the opinions of their leading jurists, decided to recommend to those countries the adoption of The Hague rules of 1912, with certain modifications. This decision has been justified by the results. Already The Hague rules have been substantially incorporated in the codes of Brazil, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Venezuela, and bills to the same effect have been introduced in at least four other countries. We seem to be rapidly approaching the time when, so far as concerns bills of exchange, there will, in effect, be only two systems in use in the Western Hemisphere, based respectively on The Hague

rules of 1912 and the United States negotiable instruments act of 1916.

Bills have been introduced in the congresses of Uruguay and Venezuela to incorporate into their Commercial codes The Hague rules of 1912 in regard to checks.

In the congresses of Argentina and Nicaragua measures have been introduced similar to the United States bills of lading act.

The Commission has also been glad to observe a growing interest in the adoption of uniform legislation on the subject of warehouse receipts, as well as on that of conditional sales. The Peruvian Congress has lately enacted a law on the former subject, substantially based on the uniform warehouse receipts act in the United States, and a similar step has been under discussion in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Increased interest in conditional sales legislation has notably been shown in Argentina, Brazil, and the United States.

During the war constant efforts were made by the International High Commission, largely through the Central Executive Council, acting in co-operation with the various national sections, to relieve the burdens and inconveniences arising out of the conflict, as regards transportation and other matters. Of those efforts no detail can now be given. It is necessary on the present occasion to limit the rehearsal of the Commission's activities chiefly to measures of a comprehensive and systematic nature, the development of which is still going on.

Among those measures one of the most important is that bringing into operation the conventions adopted by the International American Conference at Buenos Aires, in 1910, for the protection of patents and of trade-marks. By the latter convention the American republics were divided into two groups, the southern and the northern. Of the southern group, Rio de Janeiro was designated as the official center, and of the northern, Havana; and at each of these capitals there was to be established an international bureau for the registration of trade-marks, so as to secure their international protection in the Americas. This treaty, so closely related to the interests of the countries concerned and not least to those of the United States, had lain dormant and unratified. The International High Commission took it up and brought about its ratification by the requisite number of governments of the northern group, as a result of which the International Bureau of Havana is now open and in operation. It is hoped that a similar result may soon be attained in the southern group. Meanwhile, it would seem to be worth while to consider whether, pending the establishment of the Rio bureau, an arrangement might not be made whereby the members of the southern group which have ratified the convention may gain the benefits of international registration by accepting the services of the bureau at Havana.

Another measure that has been vigorously pressed is the convention to facilitate the operations of commercial travelers. In a number of the American countries local taxes, practically prohibitive in amount, on the operations of such travelers have for many years existed. The International High Commission, at its meeting at Buenos Aires, adopted a resolution containing the bases of uniform regulations for commercial travelers and their samples. Taking this resolution as a starting

point, the Central Executive Council drafted an international convention, which, after examination and revision, was submitted by the Department of State to the American governments, looking to the substitution for all local taxes of a single national fee. This convention, which was first signed and ratified by the United States and Uruguay, has since been signed and ratified by four countries and has been signed by three more. It is understood that five others are ready to sign, while yet others are still considering it, some of them apparently with favor.

Another measure preferentially dealt with, because of its significance for the future as well as for the present, is the treaty for the establishment of an international gold clearance fund. This treaty has a twofold object. It is designed not only to assure the safety of deposited gold and to avoid the necessity of its shipment when difficulties in transportation exist, but also to facilitate and stabilize exchange through the adoption of an international unit of account. The plan was very carefully studied by the International High Commission, at Buenos Aires; and subsequently, through the co-operation of the Central Executive Council with the Department of State, at Washington, it was incorporated in a draft of a treaty. This draft has so far been signed with the United States by Paraguay, Guatemala, Panama, and Haiti, but it has been approved in principle by at least six other republics, some of which are now actively considering its adoption. The treaty by its terms covers only the American nations; but it contains a principle the discussion of which has lately attracted wide attention and which may prove to be of incalculable value to the world in the future.

Nor should we overlook what has been accomplished in extending the practical acceptance of the principle of the arbitration of commercial disputes. In the program of the International High Commission this subject has occupied a prominent and permanent place. A substantial achievement was recorded when, on April 10, 1916, a plan, agreed upon by the chambers of commerce of the United States and Buenos Aires, was formally put into effect. The results have been most gratifying; and agreements have since been made between the United States Chamber of Commerce and the national chambers of commerce of Uruguay, Ecuador, Panama, and Guatemala. Similar agreements are in process of negotiation with the chambers of commerce of Honduras and Peru and between the chambers of Montevideo and Asuncion. Much yet remains to be done to give legal certainty, stability, and efficiency to the system. Especially is this the case in the United States, where the archaic rule permitting the disregard of arbitral clauses still prevails. This rule should be superseded by legislation, similar to that which exists in most other countries, making commercial arbitration, under the supervision of the courts, an integral part of legal procedure. On this question I feel that I can add nothing to the argument so comprehensively and cogently presented in the recent volume on "Commercial Arbitration and the Law," by Mr. Julius Henry Cohen, of the New York bar.

The Central Executive Council has had in its work the active and hearty co-operation of various bodies, such as the American Bankers' Association, the Committee on Commercial Law of the Conference of Com-

missioners on Uniform State Laws, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Foreign Trade Council. It is gratifying to bear testimony to the aid and support thus rendered.

At the present hour, when we are accustomed to think in billions, unfortunately, I may say, of accumulated and accumulating debt rather than of accumulated and accumulating treasury, I trust that I shall not seem to sound a discordant note if I advert to the strict economy practiced by the International High Commission in its expenditures. So far as concerns the Treasury of the United States, the entire cost of the Commission, since it began its work in 1915, including the visit of the United States section to Buenos Aires in 1916, represents an annual average hardly equal to the cost of two large public dinners; and when I speak of expenditures I include not only salaries, but furniture and equipment, stationery and printing, the use of the telegraph and the telephone, and expert assistance in law and in languages. The smallness of the expenditures, which is out of all proportion to the work actually done, is to be ascribed not only to the voluntary services rendered by individuals and by public bodies, but also and in the main to the devotion of the permanent working force and the exceedingly moderate compensation of those who receive any.

Looking to the future, it may be affirmed that work such as that in which the International High Commission is engaged is of incalculable importance. The American republics cover a vast area, with an aggregate population of almost 200,000,000. They represent all varieties of soil, of climate, and of resources. Not in any sordid sense, but in the sense of contribution to the comfort and convenience of all men, through sharing the benefits of what the earth produces, it may be said that the future lies with the Western Hemisphere, and that its development has just begun.

"WAR AND PEACE," BY WILLIAM JAY*

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

STARTING from the premise that we are free agents, that war is an evil, William Jay maintains that the extinction of other evils shows that war itself may be eliminated by the gradual growth of a public opinion against it and by the creation of agencies which nations can create and use just as individuals have created and used them.

On the first point he says by way of introduction:

"Civilization and Christianity are diffusing their influence throughout the globe, mitigating the sufferings and multiplying the enjoyments of the human family. Free in-

* This quotation is from an "Introductory note" to a reprint of the original edition of William Jay's classic on "War and Peace," issued in 1842, which reprint has just been printed and published by the Oxford University Press, under the supervision of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It follows after a compact, clear statement by Dr. Scott of the record of John Jay's negotiations with Great Britain as a special commissioner sent by President Washington to London in 1794. Then the comment shifts to the argument of William Jay, illustrious son of an illustrious father, and President of the American Peace Society, 1847-1858.

stitutions are taking the place of feudal oppressions; education is pouring its light upon minds hitherto enveloped in all the darkness of ignorance; the whole system of slavery, both personal and political, is undermined by public opinion, and must soon be prostrated; and the signs of the times assure us that the enormous mass of crime and wretchedness, which is the fruit of intemperance, will at no very remote period disappear from the earth."¹

On the second point he says, also by way of introduction:

"Individuals possess the same natural right of self-defense as nations, but the organization of civil society renders its exercise, except in very extreme cases, unnecessary and therefore criminal. A citizen is injured in his person or property—were he to attempt to redress his wrong, a forcible contest would ensue, and as the result would be uncertain, the injury he had already sustained would be greatly aggravated. Instead therefore of resorting to force he appeals to the laws. His complaint is heard by an impartial tribunal, his wrongs are redressed, he is secured from further injury, and the peace of society is preserved."²

He admits, as he and as we, too, must, that a court of nations is lacking, although expressing the opinion that one may be established, saying: "No tribunal, it is true, exists for the decision of national controversies; but it does not, therefore, follow that none can be established."³

These introductory statements have been quoted, as they show Mr. Jay to be as sound a prophet as he was an historian, and the following passage is calculated to inspire confidence in his judgment as a man of affairs, who looks the facts in the face and who proposes to reach the millennium by degrees. Thus he says:

"We have often seen extensive national alliances for the prosecution of war, and no sufficient reason can be assigned why such alliances might not also be formed for the preservation of peace. It is obvious that war might instantly be banished from Europe, would its nations regard themselves as members of one great society, and, by mutual consent, erect a court for the trial and decision of their respective differences."⁴

Such a transformation, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, as it were, he admits to be impossible,

"since time would be necessary to enlighten and direct public opinion, and produce general acquiescence in the plan, as well as to arrange the various stipulations and guarantees that would be requisite. It is not surprising that those who suppose such a tribunal can only be established by a simultaneous movement among the nations who are to continue warring with each other till the signal is given for universal peace, should be startled at the boldness and absurdity of the project. Of such a project we are wholly guiltless. We have no hope or expectation, in the present state of the world, of a general and simultaneous negotiation throughout Christendom in behalf of a tribunal for the decision of national differences and the suppression of war. Such a movement can only be expected after an extensive,

¹ *War and Peace*, pp. 76-77; *post*, pp. 51-52.

² *War and Peace*, p. 77; *post*, p. 52.

³ *War and Peace*, p. 78; *post*, p. 52.

⁴ *War and Peace*, p. 78; *post*, pp. 52-53.

although partial, abandonment of the military policy, and must be demanded and effected by the pacific sentiments of mankind. We have no hesitation, therefore, in avowing our belief that, under existing circumstances, the idea of a congress of nations for the extinction of war is utterly chimerical."⁵

The difficulty of the problem did not, however, deter him; on the contrary, it rather forced him to urge his own country to take a first step in the hope and belief that other nations would be drawn into the movement, and that a foundation would be laid for further progress, perhaps for that tribunal between nations which seemed impossible at the moment.

The step in advance toward the ultimate goal was to be made along the lines of least resistance, or, as he puts it, "in the way least likely to excite alarm and opposition," inasmuch as in efforts "to promote the temporal or spiritual welfare of mankind, we ought to view their condition as it really is, and not as in our opinion it ought to be—and we should consult expediency, as far as we can do so, without compromising principle."⁶ In support of these eminently sane views he points to the wisdom of Wilberforce and his followers who did not begin with the abolition of slavery, on which, however, they were set, but contented themselves with the abolition of the slave trade as a first step, "being well assured that by pursuing both objects at the same time they would excite a combined opposition that would prove insurmountable. . . . Had the British abolitionists employed themselves in addressing memorials to the various courts of Europe, soliciting them to unite in a general agreement to abandon the traffic, there can be no doubt that they would have labored in vain and spent their strength for nought. They adopted the wiser plan of awakening the consciences, and informing the understandings of their countrymen, and persuading them to do justice and love mercy, and thus to set an example to the rest of Europe, infinitely more efficacious than all the arguments and remonstrances which reason and eloquence could dictate."⁷

Therefore as "a mode for preserving peace," calculated to "shock no prejudice" and to "excite no reasonable alarm," he proposed to insert an article to the following effect in our next treaty with France, "our first and ancient ally," with which no rivalry existed in commerce or manufactures and with which the future promised to be harmonious:

"It is agreed between the contracting parties that if, unhappily, any controversy shall hereafter arise between them in respect to the true meaning and intention of any stipulation in this present treaty, or in respect to any other subject, which controversy cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by negotiation, neither party shall resort to hostilities against the other; but the matter in dispute shall, by a special convention, be submitted to the arbitrament of one or more friendly powers, and the parties hereby agree to abide by the award which may be given in pursuance of such submission."⁸

Neither the father nor the son claimed his particular plan as a "discovery," but each has been, and still is, the source of modern precedent and practice. In the present case the authority of Vattel, the master in such matters, was invoked in justification of the plan, who showed the feasibility of arbitration by the experience of the Swiss Cantons over a period of centuries:

"Arbitration is a method very reasonable, very conformable to the law of nature, in determining differences that do not directly interest the safety of the nation. Though the strict right may be mistaken by the arbitrator, it is still more to be feared that it will be overwhelmed by the fate of arms. The Swiss have had the precaution in all their alliances among themselves, and even in those they have contracted with the neighboring powers, to agree beforehand on the manner in which their disputes were to be submitted to arbitrators in case they could not adjust them in an amicable manner. This wise precaution has not a little contributed to maintain the Helvetic Republic in that flourishing state which secures its liberty and renders it respectable throughout Europe."⁹

A mere recommendation to resort to arbitration, such as is contained in the Peaceful Settlement Convention of the Hague Conference, would not have satisfied this practical reformer, who was of the opinion that "there is too much reason to fear that it will often be unheeded by the parties to a controversy, after their feelings have become irritated and their passions inflamed. Something more than a recommendation is wanted to prevent a national dispute from terminating in a national conflict." And he rightly insisted upon a definite obligation, saying, "No plan will be effectual in suppressing war that does not in time of peace and good-will anticipate future differences and provide for their accommodation." Therefore, the plan which he proposed was of this character, of which he felt justified in saying that "its practicability arises from its extreme simplicity."¹⁰

Each treaty containing the proposed article would be an incentive to further treaties, so that "before long some minor States would commence the experiment, and the example would be followed by others," justifying the hope and the belief that "in time these treaties would be merged in more extensive alliances and a greater number of umpires would be selected."¹¹

Indeed, it was not "the vain hope of idle credulity that at last a union might be formed of every Christian nation for guaranteeing the peace of Christendom by establishing a tribunal for the adjustment of national differences and by preventing all forcible resistance to its decrees."¹¹

But Mr. Jay did not feel called upon, in advocating the first step, to discourse upon the measures to be taken in order to attain the final result, saying expressly that it was "unnecessary to discuss the character and powers with which such a tribunal should be invested."¹¹ He therefore contented himself with the prophetic state-

⁵ *War and Peace*, pp. 78-79; *post*, p. 53.

⁶ *War and Peace*, p. 80; *post*, p. 54.

⁷ *War and Peace*, pp. 81, 97; *post*, pp. 54-55, 66.

⁸ *War and Peace*, pp. 81-82; *post*, p. 55.

⁹ *War and Peace*, pp. 82-83; *post*, p. 56.

The passage which Jay quotes is found in Book II, Chapter 18, of Vattel, *Le Droit des Gens ou Principes de la Loi naturelle*, Vol. I, p. 521, of the original French edition of 1758, in two volumes.

¹⁰ *War and Peace*, pp. 89-90; *post*, p. 61.

¹¹ *War and Peace*, p. 96; *post*, p. 65.

ment that "whenever it shall be seriously desired, but little difficulty will be experienced in placing it on a stable and satisfactory basis."¹¹ And his conclusion is as true now as then—for Mr. Jay, not merely an active member of the American Peace Society and its president for a decade, but, lawyer by training and judge by profession, knew whereof he spoke: "That such a court, formed by a congress of nations in obedience to the general wish, would, next to Christianity, be the richest gift ever bestowed by Heaven upon a suffering world, will scarcely be questioned by any who have patiently and candidly investigated the subject."¹²

The little book carried conviction in its day, and its day is not yet passed. The plan which he advocated has, like that of his father, made its way into treaty after treaty, and the article he advocated, called from its French name the *clause compromissoire*, is familiar alike to the ordinary diplomatist, the international lawyer, and the enlightened layman. John Jay's actual treaty of 1794, submitting specific disputes to arbitration, and William Jay's proposed article of 1842, submitting future disputes arising under the treaty, state the American policy of Washington, the Commander-in-Chief in the war which made us a nation:

"In my opinion, it is desirable that all questions between this and other nations be speedily and amicably settled."

And together they point the way to the American vision of Grant, the Commander-in-Chief in the war that preserved the Union of Washington:

"I look forward to a day when there will be a court established that shall be recognized by all nations, which will take into consideration all differences between nations and settle by arbitration or decision of such court these questions."

THE FUTURE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION AS SEEN BY RUSSIAN LIBERALS

By BARON S. A. KORFF*

II

Universal suffrage, woman suffrage included, is now generally accepted by Russian public opinion. Lately there was some opposition to it, founded on the argument that universal suffrage would work badly in Russia, considering the great number of illiterates; these latter, it is pointed out, will be the tools in the hands of corrupt politicians and political machines. I think, though, that this argument does not hold good at all, and for two reasons: Limited or restricted suffrage does not *eo ipso* do away with corrupt practices; there exist many guarantees and institutions for the prevention and corruption at elections; direct primaries and publicity

¹¹ *War and Peace*, p. 96; *post*, p. 65.

* Baron Korff was formerly professor of international law in Petrograd and Helsingfors and was Vice-Governor-General of Finland under the provisional republics of Lvoff and Kerensky. He read this paper at the meeting of the American Political Science Association, Cleveland, Ohio, in December.

are, for example, the best of such means. Then, too, I consider that Russian public opinion and educated people for so many years stood for universal suffrage that they will not give it up. The conditions of illiteracy were worse in former days; every decade brings us a little betterment in this respect, and I don't see any reason to change our ideals now. Suffrage must be universal, equal, secret, and direct.

Another question is, Does this suffice or are new institutions necessary likewise—for instance, legislative initiative or referendum? Is there any need of introducing them also into the constitution, and would not the illiteracy of the people prove in this case too harmful? Opinion in Russia seems to be very much divided, and I doubt if these institutions will find a sufficient number of supporters. It is often pointed out that they belong to more firmly established and more developed constitutional systems than the Russian one, and that a certain time ought to elapse before their introduction.

I consider that a referendum is needed most in questions of principle for ascertaining the will of the people. It is not often that such matters arise. There is also another important requirement for the good working of a referendum, namely, the relatively small size of the voting community. The larger the community is, the more uncertain results are produced by the referendum. In Russia the area will always be tremendous, no matter how we arrange the voting system. There is a much more important consideration, however, which would seem to point against the necessity of including this institution with the constitution. The National Assembly will solve all the important questions of principle, and for sometime there will not be anything left for a referendum. The constitution will be so constructed that, though not including the referendum or direct legislative initiative, it would leave open the possibility of its future introduction, when the nation finds it necessary. The other details of the organization of the legislative chamber are the usual ones in all modern constitutions and do not necessitate special mention.

Federal and American in Type

The constitution most decidedly ought to be of the rigid American type, and not easily amendable; this must be the case especially because there is all reason to believe that it will be a federal constitution. The more difficult the process of amendment is, the more stable a constitution always is, provided that it is from the beginning well adapted to the social and economic surroundings. In that case, however, as in the United States, the courts ought surely to receive the power of deciding on the constitutionality of laws; this is a most important corrective and will work well in Russia.

At the head of the executive power there will be either a president or a monarch, but the real power will be in the hands of a responsible ministry, composed of men who will have the confidence of the legislative chamber and will belong to the majority of the house. This is parliamentarianism pure and simple, as it exists at present in most European countries; England is certainly our best example.

It is interesting to note in this respect that the socialists and radicals in many countries are now opposed to parliamentary rule. The reason is easily found; this

system of government is based on the majority rule, whereas the socialist want a minority rule, simply standing for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is everywhere in the minority, whereas with the parliamentary system they have no chance of establishing their selfish rule. This is also the case in Russia. No doubt that parliamentarian has many faults and drawbacks, but a modern State can hardly do without it and must only establish sufficient safeguards and checks to counterbalance such deficiencies.

The system of the Russian ministries, their inner organization and work, will probably remain as of old. Even the Bolsheviki did not change much in this respect, trying to adapt themselves to the old machine. One exception, however, must be noted here. Some ministries (foreign affairs, war, navy, and others) will have to become federal branches, whereas others will be purely Russian. The different administrative branches developed historically and were well adapted for their respective purposes. The Russian civil-service system also worked on the whole very well, with one exception, namely, the question of responsibility, which either was entirely absent or not sufficient. This great evil, however, was remedied already in 1917 by the provisional government, which introduced an elaborate system of administrative courts and started to revise the laws concerning the civil service. The new government will have only to take up the work where it was stopped by the Bolshevik uprising.

There might be a further question of introducing the modern idea of recall; this would concern, naturally, only the elective administrative officers, as Russians never applied this principle, even in theory, to the judges or courts of law. I don't think that this institution in general will find many supporters in Russia.

Foreign Relations

By far the most difficult problem, however, will certainly be the establishment of the future relations with the non-Slavic nationalities, which once were a part of the empire of the tsars and then separated themselves from Russia under the Bolshevik régime.

There will be a most decided clash of principles and possibly an intense feeling of national suspicion, if not of antagonism. The small nationalities bordering on the Russian State have developed recently a very strong feeling of independence, and all stand for national self-determination. There cannot be any doubt that much of this is due to the mistaken policy of the former autocratic government, which never wanted to concede self-government to the different nationalities. Then came the German propaganda. Germany very cleverly made use of the already-existing animosity. In order to weaken the Russian Empire, they diligently spread a poisonous propaganda and helped to fan the flames of national conceit. Finally, on the top of these two factors, came the Bolshevik upheaval, with its devastation and plunder, which totally estranged the small nationalities from the Russians. The non-Slavic peoples did not see much difference between the Bolsheviki and the Russian people at large and accuse the whole nation of the misdeeds of the Bolshevik Government.

All this helped to create a strong movement of disintegration, which ruined the Russian Empire. In addition,

we must mention the faulty policy of the Allies, and especially of England, to war among the peoples bordering on the Baltic Sea, a policy which helped to foster unreasonable hopes among these nationalities. One must keep in mind that Russia has some very vital interests involved in the question. For example, there is the question of Russia's national defense and strategic fortification of her frontiers. Then, too, Russia's Baltic fleet cannot exist without having at its disposal well-protected harbors. Further, there is the question of protecting Russia's frontiers against any enemy attack and against the enemy using some of the small nationalities' territory for deployment of an army against her. Russia also must have free access to the sea for her export trade, and, finally, she must have sufficient guarantees that the foreign policy and diplomacy of the smaller nationalities could not in any way harm Russia in concluding, for instance, some offensive and defensive alliance, and so forth.

The difficulties of the situation are further increased by the tremendous development everywhere—I might say all over the world—of national self-consciousness, which one day seems not to know any limits and in so many places has developed harmful consequences. The greatest evil of our times is this perverted, thwarted, and unsatisfied nationalism, which has cropped up in so many countries as one of the most pernicious consequences of this terrible war. There certainly will be much suffering, quarreling, and bickering before things settle down in this domain; and the greatest suffering, unfortunately, will be the smaller peoples, whose size and weakness will always be their greatest handicap.

There is no doubt whatever that the best outcome for Russia is a federation. The establishment of the latter, however, will not be an easy task; such work will be far more difficult and complicated than the one performed by the fathers of the American Constitution. This for two main reasons: First, because the social, economic, and political conditions of our day are in every way so much more complex and involved; and, secondly, because Russia evidently cannot be constituted as a uniting federation of the American type. The non-Russian nationalities which might join such a federation all have very different requirements and are not homogeneous at all; equal conditions for all of them will be quite impossible to establish; just as in the British Empire, some of them will ask for nearly full independence, Russia only protecting her strategic and diplomatic interests, whereas in other cases simple self-government will be entirely sufficient.

Thus the only possible chance of success lies in adoption of the plan of federation of the British type, where the scale goes all the way from practical independence (Canada or Australia) to simple self-government or protectorates (Egypt or the Crown colonies).

With each of these nationalities Russia will have to conclude a separate agreement or understanding, safeguarding the interests of both sides. This on the Russian side can be achieved only by the National Assembly, as no other body will be able to speak in the nation's name and bind the latter to such an agreement.

The skeleton of such a federation will be as follows: Russia will have to have a federal parliament, parallel to the Russian Chamber, meeting in the same city and com-

posed of two houses of the American type, a lower chamber representing the people and an upper house representing the States. The competence of this parliament will be strictly limited to federal questions enumerated in the constitution.

The head of the state, or chief executive, will be either elected (if president) or chosen (if monarch) by the people of the whole federation. He can be simultaneously the chief executive of Russia proper and will have also powers strictly limited by an enumeration in the constitution. The executive power will comprise the following branches: The foreign office, the war and navy departments, the treasury and commerce departments (these two latter branches will direct the federal fiscal and economic policies, including federal taxation, federal customs, federal currency, etc.), and a department of justice, with an attorney-general at its head. The latter will be the government's law expert and also handle all federal matters arising between the States. The federal interests will be looked after by special representatives (for example, governor-general) subordinate to the attorney-general. The federal ministers and the attorney-general will be the cabinet, responsible to the Federal Parliament.

Finally, there will exist federal courts, which will have the right to examine the constitutionality of all legislation, federal as well as local.

Church and State

In conclusion, I must mention two questions, less important from the point of view of principle, which the National Assembly also will have to settle: First, the question of the relation of the church to the state. A well-drawn line of separation between the two seems most likely and best suited for Russia, though the Orthodox Church might receive some form of support from the State. Secondly, the question of the army. Must there exist a volunteer militia or an army composed on the principle of general service of all citizens? The latter seems much more appropriate to Russian conditions.

Finally, there might arise the question of nationalization of certain industries or railroads. In that case, also, the National Assembly certainly will be the only judge. Personally, I think, however, that such nationalization is quite out of the question at the present moment. If such countries as England or the United States, with their highly developed industries, are still in doubt as to the feasibility of their nationalization, there cannot be any doubt at all in Russia, whose industrial development is yet so primitive. The Russian State is much too young, unstable, and unorganized to be able to undertake such a large task as the running of national industries. With the railroads the case might be a trifle easier, because in former times the Russian State owned so many of the railroads. The latter will probably remain in the hands of the government, but this ought not to mean the nationalization of all the railroads and the cessation of private enterprise.

[We are glad to print this record of the hope and beliefs of a man who has studied comparative government and has had experience in statecraft. Recent events, however, seem to negative his hopes. Old Russia is being shattered by nationalistic "splits" recognized both by the Allies, and by Lenin who seems steadily to win internal control and quasi-diplomatic external recognition.—THE EDITORS.]

WHAT I THINK IS THE MATTER—AND WHAT I WOULD DO ABOUT IT

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

WE LACK the essence of honesty; that is the trouble. Our cure is to practice honesty. Not common honesty. In a large measure, we have that now. We pay our rent, our grocer's bill, and, unless a little hard pressed, our doctor's bills; but ethically we are for the most part dishonest, and too ignorant to know it. Our larger actions, governmental and individual, are not bottomed upon intelligent square dealing.

Ministers deal in honesty in the abstract. Concretely, they do not understand its implications. Practically, they are not concerned in the affairs of this world, with all its highly artificial complications.

Statesmen do not measure their legislation by any adequate yardstick; their trade is in opportunism.

Our universities have no chair of experimental and applied honesty, otherwise to be termed universal square dealing.

We have grown in science and art and enriched ourselves with all material things. We have infinitely expanded our government, but never have we asked ourselves if our deeds tended toward justice, which is nothing more than honesty.

You deny all this. Let us hastily glance at a few illustrations.

We give deed of land to a comparatively few people. These, with the connivance of all of us and while rendering no equivalent, fix for their personal benefit the terms upon which mankind is allowed the privilege of living upon the earth. Are they not receiving as landholders a dishonest price?

We grant patents and pay an enormous toll to the inventors, or rather their assignees, for the privilege of enjoying the benefit of the latest luxuries and necessities. We forget that the greatest among all our inventors would have produced nothing of importance had he lived among savages. He is merely the last man speaking the latest word among the countless myriads who have brought civilization to a point where he could operate; he has only added the capsheaf to the labors of all who have toiled before him. We have commercialized his little effort at the expense of the great mass who have made it possible—his effort so small that our rewards to his assignees have been dishonestly great.

We have watered our stock while the law has permitted us to turn the paper dollars we thereby created into gold. We have collected the income upon them for the public with never a thought that we have been dishonest.

Does the laborer seek larger advantages? He is belated. The land owner, the patent owner, and the speculator have beaten him to it. He struggles to warm, cloth, and feed himself with products the price of which has been enhanced through advantages possessed by a few and turned to their private profit.

We have not studied honesty, and the world pays the penalty. We refuse to face our ethical shortcomings, and, like other cowards, we are shot in the back.

The beginnings and progress of our social institutions must be studied, and with the results of study before us

we must in each instance correct courageously the evils we discover our ignorance and cowardice to have permitted.

The savage tribe has its code of honesty, and the individual member, with his narrow and simple life, without thought, may live up to it. The ordinary tribal precepts we still follow, while with a constantly changing condition of society we fail to study and apply to its new and varying circumstances the rigid rules peculiar to the essence of honesty.

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

V

The Social Importance of Individual Behavior

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

ANTIDOTE FOR MADNESS

DR. STEWART PATON, physician and psychiatrist, in a communication to the *New York Times* under date of January 17, 1920, writes:

"The aphorism 'madness and freedom exist not together' is generally attributed to Epictetus. Doubtless the kind of madness to which the Greek philosopher referred was marked by symptoms similar to those occurring in people who, according to Emerson, are out of communication with their reason. The freedom with which such madness is incompatible is a sign of the ability to exercise a rational control over conduct.

"Why is it that with so many bitter experiences man has not yet thought it worth while to take more active measures to prevent the development of the madness that jeopardizes his personal liberty? . . .

"Bickerings and bloodshed mark the conflict between madness and liberty. . . . The entire world is in a ferment, organized society is threatened, and still our universities, which take a foremost part in preparing for a military victory, seem indifferent to the vaporings of psychopathic personalities, which are a much greater menace to democracy than the German Army two years ago. There seems to be only one possible way to restore the law and order: the study of human behavior by intensive methods; and thereafter the application of such knowledge as may be obtained to making secure the foundations of personal liberty against the attacks of madness."

These words seem to be significant. If the attention of men be thus called again to the social importance of individual behavior, the war will not have been a net loss. By calling attention to this remedy for our after-war madness Dr. Paton has rendered a service.

And there must be an antidote for this madness. It will probably be generally agreed that the only life secure against this devastating madness is what I would call the experimental life. Freedom seems to require that man shall look upon his life as a process of importance. Self-examination, therefore, if not overdone, is a very rational and essential preparation for any truly successful or zestful freedom. Extravagant waste of life begets madness. Where the poor squander it ex-

clusively for warmth, food, and shelter merely; where the better off in materials squander it for more materials merely; where the very rich seek more riches merely, the tendency to become mad is about equally peculiar in each case. But the truly experimental life enjoys the sensation of its own growth and tends to reach the satisfactions which are more permanent and sane.

In every nation there are true spirits living nobly this experimental life; a minority to be sure, but a very hopeful minority. The altogether significant and momentous thing about this minority is its conception of life as a worthy experiment, a triumphant conception which ever tends to become a triumphant fact. Because of them our coward ideas tend to become heroic ideas. Without them the forces of material and shop and field can avail little. Indeed, the sanity of the world is in their hands.

Out of this idea of the minority pursuing the experimental life arises our notion of the oneness of humanity, the solidarity of the race. This doctrine of solidarity means that we are "members one of another;" that there is indeed a oneness in human interests; that the weal of each is the weal of all, and that the weal of all is the weal of each; that one thrives only in a commonwealth and that the commonwealth thrives only in its ones; indeed, that there is no such thing as purely individual vice or purely individual virtue.

A significant thought this, of the social solidarity. It takes the help of thousands that we may put on those shoes. Men labor in South America, in Egypt, in the mines of Pennsylvania, along the shores of Lake Superior, across vast stretches of ocean, and over countless miles of railroad; men toil in the woods of Maine, in the shipyards of England, and in the factories of Germany and America for us first. It takes another army of men to raise that cup of coffee to our lips, men laboring around the globe.

It is of special importance just now, this interdependence of all people and of all peoples; but as a conception it is not new. It is the central theme of the doctrine of Paul of Tarsus, of all the Christian fathers, and of Jesus as well. One who counts his ancestors back nine generations finds at that short range the inspiring number of 256 grandfathers and 256 grandmothers. Thus our interrelations seem to be limitless. A seed of thought sown in the mind of a child today may influence a tribe in a thousand years. That a war between Austria and Serbia became a world war is now seen to have been inevitable from the beginning. The sanity of the world can be counted upon only in proportion as men recognize this law of social solidarity, this interrelation of peoples, and conduct themselves with wisdom accordingly.

SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR

Since the various types of madness peculiar to human behavior are highly contagious; since individual behavior because of this law of mutual interdependence of men tends to influence communities and nations, and since the problem of national behavior can be understood only in proportion as we understand individual behavior, the problem of individual behavior is seen to be important.

For example, there are times when a man feels called upon not to do what he ordinarily might do, or to do what he ordinarily would not do, were it not for the relations existing between him and some one else. He is driven sometimes to ask, "Is it right for me thus to gratify myself when it will undoubtedly mean some real harm to another?" Thus the problem of behavior, because of the influence of example, gives rise to a number of inquiries. For instance, is it ever proper for a man to defy the whims of other people? Where there are so many shades and casts of thought, just what is his duty in the light of the influence his example may have upon those with whom he must come in touch? He realizes thus that his behavior may make or break the life or happiness or well-being of others.

Therefore vital matters hang upon the answer to these questions.

We are influenced more by example than by precept. The enduring influences for good are not so much what preachments may say as those little unconscious heroisms and kindnesses or of self-denial which are witnessed in others usually when they least suspect.

I know a Christian clergyman, a good fellow, they say. Yet I also happen to know that he lets his semi-invalid wife take all the care of his numerous children, do all the household drudgery without a lift from him day in or day out. On the other hand, I know a middle-aged man who has, naturally without ostentation, sacrificed married life, college and much else, that his younger brother might get an education and prosper in a profession. This self-sacrificing man unconsciously exercises a profound influence in his community. The wife of that minister, wholly unknown to herself, influences profoundly many another, while the preaching of her husband falls mainly upon deaf ears and a diminishing congregation.

Thus the example of behavior more than words is the prime educator of the race. Good advice from faulty example is footless. Men imitate what they see. In no small sense education is an imitation of models. Sir Peter Lely, painter and crayon artist of the seventeenth century, made it a rule never to look at a bad picture for fear that his brush or pencil might become tainted thereby. On the other hand, just to meet certain persons is, we say, a liberal education. Hence Dr. Paton is right. The study of behavior is of the utmost concern in any attempt to overcome the madness threatening the recurring generations.

A STUDY OF BEHAVIOR

I. Individual Actions of Moral Dignity In Themselves

Assuming that the war has brought this truth more clearly to our consciousness, let us briefly examine certain aspects of human behavior from the point of view of the influence of individual example. For such a purpose we may divide individual actions into two general classes: first, those actions which undoubtedly have a moral importance of their own, which by common consent are of a recognized moral nature; second, those which have no moral dignity in themselves. Each of these in turn, because of certain differences of opinion, present naturally certain subdivisions. The outline seems naturally to arrange itself thus:

I. Actions of moral dignity in themselves—

1. Those the normal effect of which is always evil.
2. Those normally evil, but which the actor deems harmless for him personally.
3. Those sometimes evil, but which the actor considers to be good for him personally.

II. Actions of no moral dignity in themselves—

1. Yet thought to be such by some.
2. Those which, because of education and environment, may often lead to evil.

As has been said, because of the differences of opinion, individual actions of moral dignity in themselves are divided into three classes. Let us look at them in order.

(1) *Actions Always Evil*

There are actions the normal effect of which is always evil. Intemperance in eating is gluttony, in drinking is drunkenness, in sensualities of any kind is death. Gambling and gossiping, one playing for the illegitimate acquisition of another's wealth in money, the other for the illegitimate destruction of his wealth in his reputation, are always evil. To be a party to such things is to dwarf and to blight, is to invite disease, want, brutality, anarchy, and death. They are evil because they run counter to those forces which, as Spencer would say, "efficiently subserve" the ends of real life. Therefore the rule in this class of actions, actions the normal effect of which is always evil, must be, first, last, and always, abstinence; not because of any theological doctrine, but because thus and thus only can life perpetuate itself and society endure. In the present despair over the evil consequence of the war, men may console themselves that this principle survives.

(2) *Actions Evil for Some*

There are those actions, positively moral in their significance, which, though regarded as generally evil, are by some people considered as for them personally harmless.

Down this road of reasoning lies many a wrecked life. Debauches, wild flings, and orgies beget debauches, wild flings, and orgies. Since, as Professor James tell us, habit from a psychological point of view is nothing but a new pathway of discharge formed in the brain by which certain incoming currents ever after tend to escape, habit is a factor to be reckoned with. Habit seems to be primarily a physical matter, a law permeating all things in a manner quite mysterious. The cloth of a garment will adjust itself to certain lines and tend always to keep those lines. The clock-seller advises you to let the new clock run a week before trying to regulate it. A piece of paper once folded tends ever to keep its fold. My grandmother's Bible would always open to the fourteenth chapter of St. John. Those vital processes of eating, the holding of the fork, the raising of the spoon, the balancing of a cup, the speed of eating—these are for you no longer thought out; but once they were, with processes of alternating victory and defeat. Thus habits simplify our ordinary activities, increase the accuracy with which they may be performed, and reduce to the minimum the fatigue of commonplaces. As art is the free expression of the

human spirit under the influence of emotion, but subdued and controlled by the principle that reaches unto harmonious and therefore beautiful results, so in that supreme art of life there is a similarly controlling and directing principle which may be called habit. Thus it is of importance that the nervous system shall become an ally and not an enemy. Methods of accuracy, punctuality, success, are at bottom primarily habits. The same thing is true of the converse of these things. Every act or inaction is important, since every consequence becomes a cause under this inexorable law of habit. "We may choose the first," says Goethe, "but we are governed by the second."

Of such is habit, the iron-bound law of good and evil, the basis for our belief in depravity on the one hand and in goodness on the other.

Furthermore, as pointed out by Paulsen, habit does not end with one's self, but tends constantly to reproduce itself in the race. Not long ago a white man and a negro were engaged in cleaning the inside of a boiler. In some way the steam was accidentally turned on. Both rushed frantically for the ladder, the only means of escape. The negro reached the foot of the ladder first. He hesitated. He stopped. He turned to his partner and said: "No, John, you have a wife and a child at home. You go first." The negro was scalded to his death. A man with a black skin, to be sure, but with a spirit the apotheosis of all that is fair and white on the pages of life's story. That act tends to produce heroism in thousands of little ways throughout the world.

If, as Paulsen says, "an examination of the moral judgments pronounced upon human acts and qualities universally leads to the conception of universal welfare as the principle which governs all determinations of value," and universal welfare depends largely upon the habits of men, then habits wheresoever are of supreme importance; and, because of this importance, men for the most part agree that they should abstain rigorously from all acts or thoughts the normal effects of which are evil, even though they seem at the time possibly harmless.

(3) *Good, but Not so Recognized by Some*

There remains one other class of activities decidedly of moral significance which, from the individual point of view, are good, but from the point of view of some others are evil; and for one to indulge in them may lead to some harm, real or imaginary, to the lives of other persons. Familiar examples of this are golfing on Sunday, going to the movies, reading novels.

Take the question of Sunday observance. The Blue Laws of Connecticut, as reported, insisted that no one should cross the river on the Sabbath but an authorized clergyman. No one must travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, shave, or kiss his or her children on the Sabbath. And why? Certainly not because any such things are taught by Jesus. His teachings are quite the opposite. "The Sabbath," said He, "was made for man and not man for the Sabbath." Neither because of the teachings of the Old Testament; for all through that book the Sabbath is a day of delight, of joy, of holiness, and of rest. That is what the word Sabbath means—rest. But rest means neither

stagnation nor gloom. The Blue Law conception must have crept in through the Puritan reaction against the pomp, show, and ritual of the Church of England, a perfectly natural reaction. The result, however, has been quite a new interpretation of Sunday observance.

Certainly the obligation to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy, does not rest upon the fourth commandment. It is a truism now that the great truths of the Bible are not true because they are in the Bible; they are in the Bible because they are true. The obligation to keep the Sabbath lies rather in its usefulness and necessity to man. It is a demand out of a human need. During the French Revolution it was attempted to substitute one day in ten in place of one day in seven as a Sabbath. The plan failed.

Experience seems to show that it will not do to adopt a purely secular Sabbath, a day of mere frivolity, a time for indiscriminate pleasure seeking. The Sabbath is a time in which to break the enslaving routine of the daily grind. It is opportunity for repose, for acquiring and dispensing food, not for the material only but for the spiritual body as well. It is man's chance to visit the sick and the fatherless, to dream to the cadences of music, to search out the beautiful, to pray. The Sabbath is man's leisure in which to drink at the fountains of enduring hope, to reach unto eternal things. The law must provide that every person shall have one day in seven for his Sabbath.

There is, however, probably little hope in the various laws which aim to regulate the observance of this profitable institution. Mechanical and perfunctory observances with all their dreary forms are futile. It would seem that libraries, art galleries, homes, and all good places should be open on this day above all other days. Macaulay once wrote:

"We are not poorer but richer because we have, for many ages, rested one day in seven. That day is not lost. While industry is suspended, while the exchange is silent, while no smoke rises from the factory, a process is going on as important to the wealth of the nation as any process which is performed on more busy days. Man, machine of machines, is repairing and winding up, so that he returns to his labors with a clearer intellect, with livelier spirit, and with renewed corporeal vigor."

The Sabbath may be a time for brain inspiration, a day in which to leave behind all slavery to materials; a time to listen to spiritual men uttering spiritual things, indeed to utter a few, to feel the heartbeats of some old master on the pages of some story or poem, to listen to birds, the voices of children, the orchestras of woods. As Farrar said out of England:

"Nothing may be so potent as our recurrent Sundays to make us realize our true manhood, our divine prerogative amid the benumbing bondage of dull routine. On a French tomb was once carved this striking epitaph: 'He was born a man; and died a grocer.' No one who saved his Sundays can ever merge the sacredness of his immortality in his ledger or money-bags, or be tempted to forget that behind the laborer or the mechanic stands the man in the dignity of God's image, and with the sign of his redemption marked visibly upon his forehead."

A clergyman has sent to-me his thought about the Sabbath. He says:

"I believe in the Sabbath, which has its grounds in human needs, physical, mental, and spiritual; but I also believe that the sacredness of one day above another is, under the Christian dispensation, as under the old dispensation, merely a concession to human weakness, to be honored only so long as men continue spiritually immature and cannot live on the principle that in God's world all days are equally sacred, and all tasks faithfully performed are holy. In a perfected Christian society we shall know no artificial line separating sacred from secular days or tasks; all history shall be sacred, and none profane."

These are words from a New England clergyman.

There are many good people sincerely opposed to the theater, "movie," or otherwise, and some may think themselves hurt if you attend it. Yet the theater has influenced the world for good during a much longer time than the pulpit. Since the drama began so many centuries before Christ in India and China, men have witnessed the creation of that first theater to Dionysius at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens; the coming of the dramatic and imaginative Æschylus five hundred years before Christ; the serene, pious, lofty, imperially perfect Sophocles a century later; the lesser light, but greater tragedian, the more pathetic, human, and versatile Euripides also in old and classic Attica. Thus it can be shown that actors have held a genuine and in large part a beneficial sway over the beliefs and actions of men.

True, the drama has had its ups and downs. It was practically exterminated by the church in the fourth century of our era, only to be taken up by the church itself in the "Miracle Plays" of the middle age. And then came the awakening of the Renaissance in Italy, which let loose the forces which gave to France the strong, brilliant tragedian Corneille, the gracious color and glorious strength of Racine, and the delicate, subtle, elaborate, Moliere, with his tenderness, irony, and wit.

It was this same flowering in the fourteenth century which later gave to the world out of Elizabethan England our Shakespeare. Of the Puritanic despisers of the theater we are forced to ask, "What shall be done with this man, this Shakespeare, this light of all lights, and seer?" Shakespeare! Master of all the masters in comedy, lyric, and tragedy! Shakespeare! The perfect mirror of all human weakness and strength, of misery and beauty! Shakespeare! Knowing, without seeming ever to have learned, all the philosophies, all the sciences, and all the arts! Shakespeare! Penetrating to the deeps of human nature and revealing man to himself in colors he had never surmised. Shakespeare! The Anglo-Saxon's most wonderful piece of work; himself, "how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in apprehension how like a god!" What shall we do with him, this man who harnesses the passions of men that they do his bidding, this prophet who with Dante epitomizes the faith and practice of Christian civilization everywhere? Certainly we cannot ignore this interpreter of themes so various as the breaking of the ties which bind father and children as in Lear; the ties which bind subject and sovereign as in Macbeth;

the infinity of a human intellect wholly laid bare before us as in Hamlet; the breaking of the ties most sacred of all, those golden threads uniting husband and wife, as in the sad, sad tale of Othello.

The theater is the mouthpiece of this Shakespeare. It is the medium for the expression of all in his noble line, each of whom advances or continues some truth or art enduringly. For some of us attendance upon it is certainly good. But if there are they who will feel grieved and some possibly weakened in their moral life if we support it, what shall we do?

Before answering, let us remind ourselves of those pious persons radically opposed to the reading of all novels and fiction. What of them? In the first place, they seem to have a misconception of what fiction is. Fiction, usually in prose, not dramatic, is a work of the imagination to be sure. It is usually in narrative form, but it is biography, after all. In the best of Dickens, Scott, Eliot, Hawthorne, it is truer than most so-called real biography. As Aristotle says of poetry:

"If it be objected to the poet that he has not represented things conformable to truth, he may answer that he has represented them as they should be. And this is the proper answer. The imitations of poetry should resemble the paintings of Zeuxis: the example should be more perfect than nature. It is not by writing verse or prose that the historian and the poet are distinguished: the work of Herodotus might be versified, but it would still be a species of history. They are distinguished by this, that one relates what has been, the other what might be. On this account poetry is more philosophical and a more excellent thing than history. For poetry is chiefly conversant about general truth, history about particular."

And so of fiction, it is usually more excellent than ordinary fact. But certain pious people do not see this, and the sight of other people reading fiction pains them. What shall one do, and what shall one teach?

In the right enjoyment of the Sabbath, in attending the theater, in reading fiction, in patronizing general athletics, in all other lines of action the normal result of which seems to be nothing but good, the ethical principle seems to be that one defy without ostentation all whims and notions to the contrary. As in the first two cases of actions decidedly of moral importance the principle was abstinence, so it would seem equally clear that here the rule should be indulgence though some harm does seem inevitable.

II. Actions of No Moral Dignity in Themselves

(1) *Yet Thought by Some to be of Moral Dignity*

And then, there are those tantalizing little problems relating to actions of no real moral importance in themselves as we look at them, which, however, many people do consider important.

The oft-quoted Blue Laws said:

"Whoever wears clothes trimmed with silver, gold, or bone lace above one shilling a yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors, and the selectmen shall attach the estate three hundred pounds."

"Whosoever brings cards or dice into the Dominion shall be fined five pounds."

"No one shall eat mince pies, dance, play cards, or play any instrument of music except the drum, trumpet, or Jew-harp."

"No man shall court a maid in person or by letter, without obtaining the consent of the parents; five pounds penalty for the first offense, ten pounds for the second, and for the third imprisonment during the pleasure of the court."

These old laws, real or imaginary, typify a spirit that has had a decided influence upon American life and, for the most part, it must be agreed a most salutary and beneficial one. One must be quite unballasted to ridicule the somber rigorism of the Puritanic spirit. There was a mighty truth behind that, a nation-making truth which history will ever view with consideration and respect.

Some years ago there was a girl brought up in the atmosphere of this unique rigorism, often severe and almost pitiless, who, upon becoming a woman, revolted against it all and left her church for what she believed a more liberal and reasonable faith. After becoming the principal of the oldest normal school in America, she once asked: "Why, when I am looking for a faithful and competent teacher, do I seek a young woman schooled in the Puritanic ways in which I no longer believe?" Indeed, with all his ascetic disregard for the luxuries of this life, there was a sterling worth behind the character of the Puritan, and America has reaped the benefit.

But most men have luxuries which they enjoy. There are legitimate expenditures not absolutely needed and demanded by the stern exigencies of mere existence. No one dares attempt to classify the needs of all classes of people or of any two people. Needs depend upon a variety of circumstances. General Lee would never carry an umbrella; and my itinerant Methodist minister of a great-grandfather made it a practice never even to leave the house without a sermon in his pocket. It is related, is it not, of Diogenes the Cynic that, upon attending what is equivalent to our "Church Fair," he posed himself and, sticking his hands, I suppose, deep in the pocket of his toga, said: "By George! how many things there are here which I do not want!" Yet undoubtedly there were things there needed somewhat by a few; it is sometimes so. There are needs not to be accounted for on the Exchange. Beauty in the useful furniture of the home, in consistently adorned houses, in churches, in dress, in public buildings and parks, beauty in any of the arts is a luxury; but since it is an indulgence which on the whole and in the long run benefits more when indulged than when ignored it is a legitimate luxury, indeed for most of us a necessity.

Relaxing entertainment is often a prime necessity. As is well known, Lincoln's Cabinet called upon him one day and, considering the awful news of war, they were quite surprised to find the President deep, not in political papers or war news, but in one of Artemus Ward's humorous sketches. When the Cabinet entered, Lincoln looked up, read to them with great laughter an extract, swung his large feet off the desk, and drew from a drawer the Emancipation Proclamation. Artemus Ward and Lincoln's inexhaustible appreciation of humor were no small factors in the shaping of the destiny of this nation a half century ago.

There is little doubt that shining one's boots on the Sabbath day, automobiling within the speed limits, keeping a dog or a fast horse lawfully, carrying an unnecessary cane on occasion, smoking for some adults, wearing certain forms of jewelry, a silk hat, even, possibly earrings, are all usually destitute of any intrinsic moral importance in themselves, especially for adults who can afford the expense. Yet some people object to these. They refer us to Paul writing to the people of Corinth, "If meat maketh my brother to stumble [not offend], I will eat no flesh forever more, that I make not my brother to stumble."

Yet it would seem that the life and teachings of Paul in their total relations aim to strengthen, not to weaken, consciences. Paul employs the word "stumble." We were wrong to call it "offend."

Thus the ethical principle usually adopted here by most of us is that in case of actions of no real moral importance in themselves we may indulge.

(2) *Actions Which May Become Evil*

But there is another and somewhat more difficult class of problems among these actions of no real moral importance in themselves, actions which, because of education and environment, do undoubtedly often lead to evil. Of such are games, dancing, and the like.

Of course, card-playing is a feature of some forms of gambling; and gambling contributes to a mania which causes infinite loss, especially among persons least able to stand the loss; toys with the very foundations of one's character, in that it is an attempt to get out of society a living without giving anything in return. It is therefore but a mere form of robbery. The depravity of the gambler's spirit has been illustrated by Horace Walpole's story of the man who dropped down at the door of a club-house in London. When he was carried in, the members of the club began to bet, some that the man was dead, others that he was not. When it was proposed to treat the poor unfortunate for his recovery, the gamblers objected on the ground that "it would affect the fairness of the bet."

Undoubtedly billiards is often a form of gambling. Undoubtedly some people cannot dance together and be decent in thought and feeling. Undoubtedly games of chance pander to the spirit of selfishness, for no one plays for the sake of losing. Undoubtedly a public dance, where any *roué* may go by paying his fee at the door, is no fit place for woman or self-respecting man. Undoubtedly miscellaneous dancing, or an all-night ball, is always vicious. Undoubtedly many a whist party is, as Dr. Munger says, "an organization of inanity." Undoubtedly most horrible abuses cluster around the theater.

But, after all, these are but the abuses of what in themselves are innocent and harmless. So the intelligent man tries to regulate his behavior by intelligent standards. He believes, at all events, that amusements are not by any means the best or even any considerable amount of the best portion of a good man's life. He sees the utter failure of the lives of mere pleasure. He admires the experimenting minority who make books, nature, art, and high behavior paramount. He resents the narrowness which asks is it wrong to play this or that game. He is pleased at the more rational atti-

tude, say, of the girl who will play any game wholesomely and with spirit at the proper time, especially if she reveals at some time or other a little interest in intelligent things, such matters as the women characters of Shakespeare; or in the real life of the Alcotts; or in the best books on art or home-making. He acknowledges that the world is too much bent upon amusements of a light and profitless kind. With Douglas Jarrold, he, too, would that the world might get rid of "this eternal guffaw." Among the frivolous and unhappy searchers after mere pleasure, he seeks out those few sincere and earnest-minded ones who are pursuing and attaining the real prizes of life. Not that he looks upon fun as evil. There is something especially impressive for him in Carlyle's appreciation of the enjoyment in Shakespeare. While not blaming Dante for his misery, yet he with Carlyle likes Shakespeare the better for his laughter. Not that Shakespeare had no sorrows:

"Those sonnets of his will ever testify expressly in what deep waters he had waded, and swum struggling for his life;—as what men like him ever failed to have to do? But observe his mirthfulness, his genuine overflowing love of laughter. Fiery objurgations, words that pierce and burn, are to be found in Shakespeare; yet he is always in measure here; never what Johnson would remark as a specially 'good hater.' But his laughter seems to pour from him in floods; he heaps all manner of ridiculous nicknames on the butt he is bantering, tumbles and tosses him in all sorts of horse-play; you would say, with his heart laughs. Not at mere weakness, at misery, or poverty; never. No man who can laugh, what we call laughing will laugh, and have the credit of wit, that does so. Laughter means sympathy; good laughter is not 'the crackling of thorns under the pot.' Even at stupidity and pretension this Shakespeare does not laugh other than genially. Dogberry and Verges tickle our very hearts; and we dismiss them covered with explosions of laughter; but we like the poor fellows only the better for our laughing; and hope they will get on well there, and continue presidents of the city watch. Such laughter, like sunshine on the deep sea, is very beautiful to me."

The intelligent modern man must have fun and much of it. But experience leads him to see with Ruskin that:

"All real and wholesome enjoyments possible to man have been just as possible to him since he first was made of the earth as they are now. To watch the corn grow and the blossoms set, to draw hard breath over ploughshare and spade, to read, to think, to love, to hope, to pray; these are the things that make men happy."

This intelligent modern man listens to another analytical Englishman:

"There are indeed but few who know how to be idle and innocent, or have a relish of any pleasures that are not criminal; every diversion they take is at the expense of some one virtue, or another, and their very first step out of business is into vice or folly. A man should endeavor, therefore, to make the sphere of his innocent pleasures as wide as possible, that he may retire into them with safety, and find in them such a satisfaction as a wise man would not blush to take."

Surely, experience with behavior leads any careful observer to agree that these words from the genial Addison are perennially significant.

The student of human behavior recognizes that there is a decided difference between mere amusements, which are but the stimulation from the outside, and true enjoyment, which is an inner satisfaction springing from the self-initiated play of one's own interesting consciousness. Real enjoyment cannot depend helplessly for long upon amusing things prepared from without. Our best enjoyment comes from within. Neither is the spirit of cold calculation about the good of it all a sign of merit. The spontaneous overflow of natural fun is the best fun. Looking upon recreations as a business, a serious necessity to be taken as medicine, is usually a painful exhibition of morals on a spree. This seriousness often becomes ludicrous in the playing of games, and exhibits itself disgracefully in anger or petulance when beaten in play. To be sure, games should be played to win if possible; but it is a mean spirit that exults unkindly in victory on the one hand or feels the least bitter in defeat on the other. Play is both legitimate and necessary. It is the genesis of health and of all art. There is, however, an inevitable ennui in all excess. Enjoyment depends utterly upon the attitude one has toward one's work, just as the nature of work depends utterly upon one's attitude toward one's enjoyments.

The criterion of behavior must be sought in the realm of motives. As a real friend once put it, "We must look out for the 'Four W's': the Where, the Why, the When, and the With Whom."

Playing games in one's own home and playing the same in disreputable places are two different cases; hence something depends upon the Where. Playing them in the innocent enjoyment of them and playing them for money suggests that something depends upon the Why. Talking peace when men can listen and reason is one thing, but talking it when guns are trained at your children is another; thus the When is pertinent. Finally, as honest persons do not hob-nob with ruffians or walk the streets with criminals knowingly, so men and nations try to avoid the scandals of evil associations; therefore there is a principle involved in the question of With Whom. Thus in the light of the possible effect of individual behavior upon others it seems to be mandatory that we attend to the W's: the Where, the Why, the When, and the With Whom.

If in the spirit of right reason and courtesy these principles be sanely noted and acted upon, intelligent men decide for the most part that they may safely indulge in those actions the normal effect of which they feel sure is of no intrinsic moral importance; and this though others do not agree. Furthermore, most men accept the principle that this is so even with a line of action which under some conditions undoubtedly becomes evil. They decide that the rule in either case should be, at least on occasion, indulgence.

CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS

There are individual actions of moral dignity in themselves. Some of these actions invariably lead to evil. Many of them are evil for some, but not for all. There are not a few which are good for some of us, but which

other people may consider evil for them. Then there are those actions of no moral dignity in themselves which some people, however, feel are of moral dignity; and, finally, there are those actions innocent enough in themselves which under certain circumstances may become evil. Out of this complex arise a large number of those conflicts which give rise to the madness of which the learned psychiatrist complains in the quotation with which this article begins.

Thus the problem of individual human behavior, in the light of the possible effect such behavior may have upon another, is both somewhat intricate and difficult of solution; but, as Dr. Paton suggests, it is something to know that there is a problem. Some one has said that history is philosophy teaching by example. It is so with life. Every man teaches philosophy to his acquaintances, none the less important even if it is unconsciously done. In "Each and All" Emerson expresses the thought:

"Nor knowest thou what argument
Thy life to thy neighbor's creed hath lent.
All are needed by each one;
Nothing is fair or good alone."

Thus there are incentives enough to cease the living habitually in petty irritation over the little faults in others, to stop striving narrowly and meanly for mere pleasure among the things narrow and mean. Enjoyment, of course enjoyment; but there can be no enjoyment for him who can ignore the miraculous sweep of Beauty as she opens up the glories of dawn, paints with Venetian pageants the recurring eventides, or throws her sublime stars across the mystic night.

Rational individual behavior is only that philanthropic way of living which, conforming as far as possible to generally recognized standards, enables men to hear and to understand the seer and hero from out the realms of books, to see clearly down the fair vistas in the genuine halls of art, to welcome "high behavior in man or maid" around him daily, to love nobly, and to face the future with a creative zest.

The war has taught anew that common sense demands a thrifty prudential concern for the materials of life; but there is also an uncommon sense clearly important, which concerns itself with the genuine enduring things which mold and control the materials. It is there where dwells the life of the spirit that lies the perfected behavior, because it is only there that men find the true, worthy, ultimate forces that overcome death with life.

Thus there is no enduring solution of the problems affecting human behavior which does not start from within. Just as men see on the panorama ever passing through and before them only that which they already have within them to see with, so their influence upon others will be measured not so much by what they try to accomplish in that regard as by just what they really are at the time in sincerity and in truth. The life humbly in process of continuous enrichment is the only life of any enduring influence for good.

Out of some such spirit, in spite of the war, despairing human beings may take up their tasks again, obtain their essential food and clothes and shelter, rear their serviceable creations, and ward off that madness which threatens liberty.

UNFAIR COMPETITION IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND COMMERCE

By HON. HUSTON THOMPSON, FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSIONER

AS THE world began to fight its way out of the miasma produced by the war, it discovered that monopoly was occupying the seats of the mighty and trying to justify its right to them. Reports from the legislative halls and the declarations in the trade journals of the nations demonstrate this.

Great Britain, aroused, has had a preliminary investigation and is now considering the creation of a body similar to our Federal Trade Commission. They are debating the passage of an act in the Danish Parliament to create a body with powers to meet this octopus. Our neighbor, Canada, set the machinery of its Board of Commerce, an agency similar to our Federal Trade Commission, in motion July 7, 1919. Australia has also taken unto itself a commission. We hear through the press that the Argentine is devising ways and means to throttle this barnacle.

It is but natural that monopoly should have slipped in during the war. When nations are attacked by those which have enthroned monopoly the defender must assume a similar artificial state and standardize itself as a single unit. But since war is unnatural and peace the natural state, just so the monopolistic tendency of the unnatural state must now undergo a major operation and competition must be restored.

As the noise of battle receded we heard the mellifluous tones of those who argued for the benefits springing from the unification of competitors. The governmental control that compelled the shoe manufacturers to eliminate two-thirds of the several hundred styles of shoes during war times, or contemplated cutting down the styles of safety razors and lawn-mowers to a single product in a given class, secured a saving that the national peril demanded. The autocratic power of war did that. Would we stay the hand or check the brain of an industry in such a way in peace times when education in the industry and competition could accomplish the same result? It is ever the desire of monopoly when it is in the perfect flower to remain in *statu quo*. Then it cries aloud for a parental form of government under whose wings it can hide. Just now the voice of those seeking parental protection is very articulate.

Evolution of Fair Play in American Business Life

The American business man is human. He is a good sportsman and seeks nothing more than a fair field. There are, however, Philistines in every industry, and when in the stress of the competitive game our sportsman found the Philistine using backstair methods he sometimes thought, if he would survive, he must adopt the same methods. When the heavy hand of the Federal Trade Commission, a new and unknown institution of the Government, threw a lyddite shell in the form of a complaint into an industry at the instigation of some competitor who was going down for the third time, there was immediate resentment. The universal defense was that "everybody is doing it." There surged up and

down the country through the press a continuous attack against this arm of the Government.

When, however, the respondent is given an opportunity by the law to file his answer and the case is tried out and dismissed, or where the little competitor, and oftentimes the big one, is saved by an order of the Commission compelling the wrongdoer to cease from his practices, the attack tends somewhat to diminish.

When it is found that no favorites are played, the good sportsman in the business world rapidly faces about and welcomes the Commission in its position of umpiring competition.

Would you doubt it? Let us lift the curtain and reveal a scene which the American business man 10 years ago would have said was impossible. The place is a bustling western city. There are gathered together 120 representatives of an industry awaiting a call from one of our commissioners. He has summoned them in response to a score of complaints made by men of the industry. Men in the room had both complained to the Commission and been complained of for the same practices. The Commissioner enters and closes the door. He informs those present that from the investigation of the Commission there seems to be a general malady in the trade through unfair methods of competition: that aside from breaking the law these practices will mean ruin to some, injury to all, and suffering to the public, which pays all the bills for all waste. He states to them that he will make no promises as to what the Commission will do in regard to the applications for relief now before it, but suggests that they write out a list of the unfair practices which are known to have been committed in their industry without charging any person as guilty of such. He is met in the true spirit of business sportsmanship, and when he returns after a recess there is submitted to him a list of unfair practices. A majority of the 120 present vote that there are 14 current and rather general unfair practices in their industry. Of their own volition the members individually pledge themselves to refrain from them. The Commission, in turn, receives the schedule as the industry's "trade practice submittal list" of its unfair practices, and accepts it for its own information and guidance.

It is obvious, then, that in controlling its own exporters in foreign countries the United States is protecting the citizens of the foreign countries from any practices such as would be prohibited within our borders and is giving the citizens of foreign countries indirectly benefits that come through the umpiring by the Commission of domestic business.

It will be a great day for America when our export trade stamps upon all goods sent to your countries the words "Made in U. S. A." If American industry domestically can rise to the spirit of fair play, as it does when it openly declares to the Federal Trade Commission the wrong practices which it pledges itself to eliminate, it can certainly, in the fullness of national pride, supervise its exports in such a vigilant way that, having once stamped them with the words "Made in U. S. A.," it will never allow that to go from our shores of which it would be ashamed. "Made in U. S. A." would arouse the *esprit de corps* of American business to watching its exports with an eye jealous of the least imperfection.

An International Trade Commission

After each nation has its own National Trade Commission to follow its competing exporters, there is a final step to be taken before the world's consumers can have the complete benefits of the law of supply and demand. The Commission has already had complaints against speculators selling below sample in your countries. When it finds that they have injured a United States competitor by first of all bidding below cost and then substituting an article below sample, it can compel the offenders to cease. But if they are of the speculative type, whose good name amounts to nothing, and who will shift to another business or seek the trade of another country when stopped by an order of the trade commission, they have nevertheless damaged their United States competitors, injured the purchaser, and hurt the fair name of the United States before the Commission's remedy can be put into effect. Again, the exporters of two nations may contest for trade through some unfair practice. There is yet another difficulty—that of dealing with those who seek a world monopoly and who can injure, not only the consumers in their own country, but those in foreign countries. How shall we meet this situation except by an International Trade Commission?

Some time ago I suggested a tentative plan for such a commission and invited criticism of it. The idea came from seeing how the control of unfair practices and monopoly is yeasting in the minds of officials of many of our great nations. I then tried to picture an International Trade Commission assembled at some capital city to consider complaints between competitors of different nations. It was suggested that a rule could be made requiring the complaints to come through the National Trade Commissions, or commercial departments of the several nations represented. In order that there might be no charge of discrimination, the cause could be tried before representatives of the international body not belonging to either one of the nations whose citizens were litigating.

The definition of what was an unfair trade practice before this Commission could be found in the trade practices already condemned by the laws of many nations, both ancient and modern, the rulings of the respective trade commissions, the "trade practice submittal lists," such as our Commission has already received from some of our industries, the pronouncements of political economists, and, above all, in the common sense of those before whom the case was presented after investigation and hearing. The international commission could publish its findings and either dismiss the complaint, if the charges were groundless, or render its verdict if the complaint was well founded. The conclusion, together with the findings, could then be transmitted to the trade commission, or other proper representatives, of nations composing the international commission. In the universal publicity of the findings of such a body would lie the corrective. The means for universal publicity are on the eve of great advance, should the efforts of the President, under the recent law enacted by Congress, authorizing him to summon an international conference to consider all the international aspects of communication by electricity, bring about adequate facilities for international communication on a fair and equitable

basis. There is every reason to believe that this movement will result in success. It will mean direct contact of the heart beats of one nation with those of another and not the passing of thoughts through the medium of those who might be indifferent or have a sinister motive toward the sender or receiver. It will undoubtedly cause a reduction in the cost of messages, and where your papers and ours have carried stories about the doings of each other once a week or so we will be in daily touch.

I have since been asked who would police the committing of the offenses. The answer is the same as in our domestic business—by the competitor. Is there not every reason to believe that under the inspiration of the respective National Trade Commissions the industries in each nation would write their own "trade practice submittal list" of unfair practices just as they are doing in this country.

I have also been asked if some of the larger nations would not intervene in behalf of one of their citizens where complaint was made by a citizen of a smaller nation. This, I think, is inconceivable, for the publicity of the proceedings, if nothing else, would prevent it.

It has been pointed out that such a plan depends too much on the trust in the altruism of human beings in

the mass. Has there not already been an "International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property," to which three of the Latin American countries and the United States are signatories? Article 10 of this agreement says: "All the contracting countries agree to assure to the members of the Union an effective protection against unfair competition."

Is there not inspiration to be gained from the Convention for Pan-American trade-mark protection—a measure adopted at the Fourth Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires in 1910? It provided for the establishment of two international trade-mark registration bureaus—one comprising eleven republics of the North and Central Americas and the West Indies, with a bureau at Havana, and the other ten republics of the continent of South America, with a bureau at Rio de Janeiro. This trade relationship was conceived for the purpose of extending to merchants and manufacturers of the countries comprising the Pan-American Union a trade-mark protection through international bureaus. Through them all records are to be entered officially and will be exchanged for the mutual co-operation and protection of industrial and commercial property.

INTERNATIONAL CAUSES AND REMEDIES FOR HIGH PRICES

By OBED CALVIN BILLMAN

AMONG existing causes of popular and world-wide discontent, none is more prominent than the prevalent high cost of living, now so manifest in the form of high and constantly advancing prices. This upward movement of prices will continue, and consequently this discontent and social unrest is destined to grow in force and fury, unless the situation is carefully analyzed and properly dealt with. That the advance in prices is general the world over, and therefore not alone chargeable to trusts, middlemen's associations, profiteering, or other local conditions, is evident from consular and other reliable reports from abroad.

Prices are affected by the rapidity with which money circulates. They are affected by the use of supplementary devices, such as bank checks. They are affected by competition and the per capita production of the soil. They are affected by faith, hope, and charity in the realms of speculation and enterprise; but mastering all these factors of prices are the actual amount of gold coin and bullion in sight and the amount in annual output of the mines.

It is believed that for reasons herein indicated the leading nations of the world should be drawn together in conference for the careful consideration and establishment of a stable international standard of value and other appropriate remedies for restoring and maintaining a proper equilibrium in all international relations.

The primary causes of the increasing cost of living, the logical remedies therefor, and the proper methods of applying these remedies are outlined on the opposite page.

The Master Cause, the Increasing Production of Gold

The primary or master cause of the high and *increasing cost of living throughout the world* is the depreciating purchase power of money through the world's enormous and constantly increasing production of gold. In 1900 the world's production was \$254,556,000. In 1916, \$457,006,045, or almost double what it was in 1900.

The weight of the gold dollar remains unchanged, but its value, or purchasing power, does not. It is generally recognized that as the production of gold increased the value of gold must necessarily decrease; but as gold is the standard of value, its depreciation is displayed in its decreasing purchasing power, or, in other words, in a constant appreciation of the things which the standard coins will buy. During the last fifteen years, although the gold dollar has remained the same in size, its purchasing power has fallen during this period to perhaps two-thirds of its former purchasing value. This depreciation in the value of the respective standards of value, or this shrinkage in what Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale University, terms the "monetary yardstick," has injured all those who have received a fixed number of dollars, such as wage-earners, salaried men, savings-bank depositors, and the like.

As a remedy, reference is here made and indorsement given to Professor Fisher's plan for an "international standard of value," to be fixed and regulated by an international monetary commission. As a method of carrying the proposed remedy into effect, I cannot do better than to quote the words of Professor Fisher relative to his plan:

	Causes.	Remedies.	Methods.
The high and increasing cost of living.	(a) The enormous and constantly increasing production of gold, resulting in a "gold standard" of depreciating purchasing power—i. e., a constant appreciation of the price of things which the standard coins will buy.	An international standard of value—i. e., a "stable monetary yardstick."	By the nations of the world getting together and gradually increasing the amount of gold which the standard coins represent, thereby doing away with the constant depreciation of the purchasing power of these coins, and <i>vice versa</i> if reverse conditions demand.
		Increase of wages (a doubtful remedy).	Industrial warfare—i. e., strikes and Labor legislation—i. e., old-age pensions, minimum wage laws, industrial insurance, conciliation boards, etc.
	(a ²) Monetary inflation.		
	(1) Expanding credits in use of "token" or "paper money;" banking credits in the form of deposits subject to check.	Monetary reform.....	A return to basic or hard money.
	(2) Concentration of population in cities, facilitating the more rapid utilization of "token money," checks, etc.	Banking reform.....	Currency reform, guaranty of deposits, etc.
	(b) The breaking down of competition.	Trust regulation	Dissolution, government control, tariff revision downward on trust-controlled commodities. Patent law revision.
		Control of middlemen.....	Abolition of middlemen's agreements. Co-operation.
	(c) The declining per capita production of the soil.	Increased available acreage.....	Reclamation—i. e., irrigation and drainage projects. Conservation—i. e., Federal and State preservation of vast territories.
		Increasing production per acre.....	Scientific and intensive farming—i. e., reclamation, fertilization and conservation of the soil. Vocational education, farm financing.

"My own plan virtually amounts to restoring the seigniorage on gold, that seigniorage to be annually readjusted according to the statistics or index number of the price level. This plan would tend to restrain the coinage of gold through the mints. It would not destroy the gold standard, but merely stabilize it. Gold bullion would still be the ultimate concrete basis of every dollar; but instead of the bullion being fixed, and varying in purchasing power, it would be fixed in purchasing power and varying in weight. The plan would not be subjected to the danger of political manipulation, which has been the weak point of most proposals for producing a monetary stability. It would work as automatically as the mint works."

Monetary Inflation

Closely allied with the first-mentioned cause of the increasing cost of living, and in fact a mere species or result of it, is monetary inflation. The precise extent to which these new supplies of gold, entering for the most part the bank reserves of the principal financial centers, and thus becoming the basis of credit, have affected prices

cannot be definitely determined, as the influence is an intangible one, but it is generally conceded to be one of the universal factors. There can be no doubt, however, that in place of the former fear of the scarcity of gold, such a redundancy has arisen that swollen bank reserves have stimulated loans at a low rate, manufacturing plants have been extended, and the prices of commodities have advanced with a rapidity which has lessened the purchasing power of wages and has brought the world under a true "cross of gold." Furthermore, statistics show that during the last ten years in this country there has been a very great and unusual increase in the amount of business transacted by check. In fact, in large cities bank checks perform from 90 per cent to 95 per cent of the transactions and settlements of business. Furthermore, the concentration of the population in cities has facilitated the rapid utilization of such forms of "token money."

The financial stringency occasioned in this country upon the breaking out of the war in Europe serves to exemplify the above. At the beginning of the last week

in July, 1914, the business world was moving along as usual. By the end of the week the great war of Europe had demolished all the vast machinery of credit and exchange by which modern business is transacted. The headlong effort everywhere was to convert paper into gold and far-off credits into credits at home. The former period of financial inflation and seeming prosperity was being replaced by a period of liquidation—a return to basic or hard money—and gold is the unit of ultimate redemption.

In an article contributed to *The Financier* (February 17, 1917), Professor Fisher tells us that by April, 1918, prices in Russia had risen since the commencement of the war 165 per cent; in Germany, 111 per cent; in France, 87 per cent; in England, 66 per cent, and even in neutral Sweden 46 per cent. The price level in the United States had at that time risen only 19 per cent, but it is now (February 17, 1917) 40 per cent more than before the war.

To the question of what was primarily responsible for the sudden uprising of prices during such time, he says:

"I would reply that the chief causes, both abroad and at home, are (1) growing scarcity of goods, and (2) growing abundance of money. Apparently, the more important of these is, even in Europe, the growing abundance of money. To put it in a nutshell, the whole world is now suffering acutely from war-inflation. In belligerent countries this inflation has been chiefly in the form of paper-money issues, while in neutral countries it has been chiefly in the form of gold imports. The gold flowing to neutral countries like Sweden and the United States is gold displaced by paper money in belligerent countries and attracted to neutrals. . . .

"At the close of war there will undoubtedly be a great revival of interest in the problem of money and monetary standards. This will be due to the paper-money predicaments abroad and the gold predicament here."

The fact that the United States later entered into this great World War did not, as experience and further rising prices prove, change the conditions and factors herein referred to. In fact, it is another aggravating factor or cause in advancing prices.

Two primary remedies have been proposed in connection with the subject of monetary inflation, to wit: (1) Monetary reform, and (2) banking reform. Briefly stated, the first reform may be carried out through a return to basic or hard money, etc., and the second through currency reform, guaranty of deposits, etc.

As the increase of wages has not kept pace with the constantly depreciating purchasing power of money, or, in other words, with the constant appreciation of price of the things which the standard coins will buy, it has been proposed to offset this appreciation in the prices of commodities through an increase of wages. Two primary methods of securing the desired increase of wages are recognized, to wit: (1) Industrial warfare, or, in other words, strikes, such as have typified past policies of labor organizations, or (2) labor legislation in the form of old-age pensions, minimum wage laws, industrial insurance, conciliation boards, etc.

The Breaking Down of Competition

The second great cause of the increasing cost of living is the breaking down of competition. Two primary

remedies have been proposed: (1) Trust regulation, and (2) control of middlemen. As a means of regulating the trusts, a number of remedies have been proposed. One is to dissolve them and re-establish competition, and the other is to reorganize them and put them under government control. A method which might at least curb the great growth of certain trusts would be tariff revision downward on trust-controlled commodities. Still other reformers propose to revise the patent laws.

Another remedy for restoring competition is the control of middlemen, who have in many cases done away with formerly existing competition. This practice of agreements between middlemen has been particularly manifest since the breaking out of the war, and has been particularly noted since the cessation of hostilities; but little has been done to break it up or even discourage it. One method proposed in this connection is the supervision of middlemen's associations, while others propose the abolition of all price agreements. Another method is for the people themselves to furnish competition with the middlemen by means of co-operation among themselves. The new parcels-post law opens up an excellent avenue in this connection.

The Declining Per Capita Production of the Soil

The third great cause of the high and increasing cost of living is the declining per capita production of the soil. The tendency of the people in modern times is to abandon rural communities and aggregate in large cities and devote themselves to manufacturing, commercial, and distributing occupations rather than to rural agricultural and farming development. The result is that there are proportionately fewer people raising the necessities of life. Between 1890 and 1910 the average number of wage-earners in manufacturing pursuits in the United States increased 55 per cent, while those engaged in agriculture increased 40 per cent. The remedies proposed are increased available acreage—and this may be carried out through reclamation and conservation—and last, but by no means least, increased production through scientific and intensive farming.

From the foregoing it is clear that a stable international standard of value must be adopted, together with such uniform currency laws and banking systems as are best calculated to prevent monetary inflation and the attendant and inevitable recurrence of money panics and financial disturbances. Competition should be restored through trust regulation and the control of middlemen, and the per capita production of the soil still further encouraged and extended by reclamation, conservation, vocational education, farm financing, and other effective methods.

THE LEAGUE, THE SENATE, AND THE PRESIDENT

Negotiations Continue—Lord Grey's Letter

In our last issue the story of the negotiations in the Senate was brought down to January 23. They continued with inconsequential results for some time, and with a final understanding on the part of the Democrats that the subject would be brought back for open debate on February 10, if

a requisite number of votes could be had for such action. The conferences that preceded that decision are described below:

Senator Hitchcock, speaking for the Democrats, on January 26, said:

"When the conference assembled Senator Lodge advised the Senators present that he had been called into a meeting by certain Republican Senators, and for that reason had not been able to attend the last conference Friday. He regretted to say that he found it impossible to resume the conference for a compromise except upon the understanding that no change shall be made in the reservation on Article X or on the Monroe Doctrine. The Democratic members retired for a private conference and will make their reply to Senator Lodge Tuesday morning, at a meeting at 10.30.

"The conference up to the time its meetings were interrupted had tentatively agreed upon the preamble and all sections of the reservations except that relating to Article X, the Monroe Doctrine, and one or two minor matters, and an agreement was apparently also consummated on Article X when adjournment suddenly came, followed by the intervention of the irreconcilable Republicans."

Upon this statement Senator Lodge thus commented:

"I have only this to say about the committee meeting this morning: That I said to the committee that there is a very strong feeling among many Senators against any change in the Lodge resolutions, either in words or in substance, and that I thought it only fair to say now what I have already said in public—that there can be no compromise of principle, and that it would be impossible to secure, in my judgment, two-thirds of the Senate if any change was attempted in such articles as II and V, those relating to Article X, and the Monroe Doctrine. I said this was a mere statement of the situation."

On the 27th Senator Hitchcock issued a statement describing the negotiations of that and the previous day. He said:

"The Democratic members of this conference have considered the announcement made by Senator Lodge that he and his associates are not willing to consider any compromise on the Lodge reservation concerning Article X nor on that relating to the Monroe Doctrine.

"In reply we desire to say that we entered upon this conference without any reservations or restrictions, in the hope that we could compromise differences not only on Article X, but on all other reservations. We assumed that the other side of this conference had the same purpose.

"The unexpected interruption of the conference and the decision to refuse any compromise on Article X is all the more surprising because it seemed from expressions on both sides of the table that we were close to a possible compromise on this very important reservation by means of the following draft prepared by several Senators and already assented to by most of the members of the conference on both sides of the table before the interruption:

"The United States assumes no obligation to employ its military or naval forces or the economic boycott to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country under the provisions of Article X or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution provide. Nothing herein shall be deemed to impair the obligation in Article XVI concerning the economic boycott."

Later, two of the Republican conferees, Senators Kellogg and Lenroot, issued a joint statement denying that any one had agreed to the reservation quoted, and to this declaration Senators Lodge and New, the other two Republicans on the bipartisan conference, gave their assent. The statement follows:

"We have seen Senator Hitchcock's statement. The majority of the conference did not agree to the reservation affecting Article X which he published. In fact, Mr. Hitchcock himself would not agree to it. No one agreed to it. It was simply up for general discussion. The conference adjourned until Thursday in the hope something could be worked out. It ought to be understood that all we can do or assume to do is to recommend to our associates."

On January 30, the conference of the leaders of the two groups continuing, Senator Hitchcock presented a draft of a reservation prepared by former President Taft, which read as follows:

"The United States declines to assume any legal or binding obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country under the provisions of Article X, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose; but the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power in the premises, will consider and decide what moral obligation, if any, under the circumstances of any particular case, when it arises, should move the United States, in the interests of world peace and justice, to take action therein, and will provide accordingly."

The proposition was declined by Senator Lodge, and he forthwith issued the following statement:

"Speaking for myself alone, I have only this to say, that I was unable to agree to any change in reservations 2 and 5, dealing with Article X and the Monroe Doctrine. In my opinion, reservation number 2, which provides that we shall assume no obligation of any kind under Article X except the one mentioned in the treaty, that we should ourselves respect the boundaries of other nations, cannot possibly permit of change.

"The change proposed in reservation number 5, in regard to the Monroe Doctrine, was an absolutely vital one, because it was asserted as an official interpretation by the representatives of Great Britain that the Monroe Doctrine under the treaty was to be interpreted by the League. To this I, for one, could never assent, and in view of the statement made in Paris by the British delegation, to which I have referred, I regard the line which it was proposed to strike out as absolutely necessary.

"The United States has always interpreted the Monroe Doctrine alone. It is our policy. No one else has ever attempted to interpret it, and it is something, in my judgment, which ought never to be permitted, even by the most remote implication. If we would strike out that phrase now, after it had been accepted by the Senate, it would lead to a direct inference that we left that question open. The right to interpret the Monroe Doctrine, pertaining to the United States alone, must never be open to question."

Senator Hitchcock's comment on the situation was to this effect:

"Senator Lodge said definitely he could not accept it. We then asked if the Republicans would make a counter-proposal. Senator Lodge replied that he could not make any proposition on Article X other than the one contained in the Lodge program of reservations. He said he could not consent to any modification.

"We did not take up the Monroe Doctrine at all, but Senator Lodge was equally positive that there could be no alterations of that reservation. I suggested that perhaps we could agree on some way of taking the treaty up in the Senate, but Senator Lodge said he did not care to have any meetings on that subject.

"There was no dramatic climax to the conference. It was agreed that unless some compromise could be worked on Article X it would be useless to continue the meetings."

LORD GREY'S LETTER

On Monday, February 2, following the publication of the letter of Lord Grey, Senator Lodge announced that he would move, on February 9, that unanimous consent be given to

have the treaty placed before the Senate, the letter of the British statesman undoubtedly contributing to this decision of the Republican leader, as will be obvious to any one reading it.

Lord Grey is still ambassador designate from Great Britain to the United States, but on a leave of absence in London in consultation with the Prime Minister and other molders of British foreign policy. The letter was addressed to the London *Times*, and technically is the message of a Briton, who happens to have been in Washington and to have studied conditions there, to his fellow-countrymen:

"SIR: Nothing, it seems to me, is more desirable in international politics than a good understanding between the democracy of the United States, on the one hand, and the democracies of Great Britain and the self-governing dominions, and, I hope, we may add Ireland, on the other. Nothing would be more disastrous than a misunderstanding and estrangement.

"There are some aspects of the position in the United States with regard to the League of Nations which are not wholly understood in Great Britain. In the hope that as a result of my recent stay in Washington I may be able to make that position better understood, I venture to offer the following observations. They represent only my own personal opinion and nothing more, and they are given simply as those of a private individual:

"In Great Britain and the allied countries there is naturally impatience and disappointment at the delay of the United States in ratifying the peace treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is perhaps not so generally recognized here that there is also great impatience and disappointment in the United States. Nowhere is the impasse caused by the deadlock between the President and the Senate more keenly regretted than in the United States, where there is a strong and even urgent desire in the public opinion to see a way out of that impasse found which will be both honorable to the United States and helpful to the world. It would be well to understand the real difficulties with which the people of the United States have been confronted. In the clear light of right understanding what seemed the disagreeable features of the situation will assume a more favorable and intelligible aspect.

No Charge of Bad Faith

"Let us first get rid of one possible misunderstanding. No charge of bad faith or repudiating signatures can be brought against the action of the United States Senate. By the American Constitution it is an independent body, an independent element in the treaty-making power. Its refusal to ratify the treaty cannot expose either itself or the country to a charge of bad faith or repudiation.

"Nor is it fair to represent the United States as holding up the treaty solely from motives of party politics, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the other nations for this petty consideration.

"It is true that there are party politics and personal animosities in the United States. An American who saw much of England between 1880 and 1890 said that the present conditions of politics in the United States reminded him of what he had observed in London when Gladstone first advocated home rule for Ireland. Party politics and personal animosities arising out of them operate in every democratic country. They are factors varying from time to time in degree, but always more or less active, and they operate upon every public question which is at all controversial. They are, however, not the sole, or even the prime, cause of the difficulty in the United States about the League of Nations.

"Nor is it true to say that the United States is moved solely by self-interest to the disregard of higher ideals. In the United States, as in other countries, there are cross-currents and backwaters in the national life and motives. When the nation was roused by the war these cross-currents and backwaters were swept into the main stream of action and obliterated, as they were in other countries. With the

reaction to peace and more normal conditions they are again apparent, as they are in other countries. But an American might fairly reply that whereas the self-interest of other countries which have conquered in the war is now apparent in the desire to secure special territorial advantages, the self-interest of the United States take the less aggressive form of desiring to keep itself free from undesirable entanglements, and that it does not lie with other countries to reproach the United States.

"It would be well, therefore, for the reasons both of truth and expediency, to concentrate our attention on the real underlying causes of the Senate's insistence upon reservations in ratifying the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Force of American Traditions

"1. There is in the United States a real conservative feeling for the traditional policy, and one of those traditions consecrated by the advice of Washington is to abstain from foreign and particularly from European entanglements. Even for nations which have been used to European alliances the League of Nations is felt to be something of a new departure.

"This is still more true for the United States, which has hitherto held aloof from all outside alliances. For the League of Nations is not merely a plunge into the unknown, but a plunge into something of which historical advice and traditions have hitherto positively disapproved. It does not say that it will not make this new departure. It recognizes that world conditions have changed, but it desires time to consider, to feel its way and to act with caution. Hence this desire for some qualification and reservation.

"2. The American Constitution not only makes possible, but under certain conditions renders inevitable, a conflict between Executive and Legislatures. It would be possible, as the Covenant of the League of Nations stands, for a President in some future years to commit the United States through the American representative on the Council of the League of Nations to a policy which the Legislature at that time might disapprove.

"The contingency is one which cannot arise in Great Britain, where the Government is daily responsible to the representative authority of the House of Commons and where in case of a conflict between the House of Commons and the Government the latter must either immediately give way or public opinion must decide between them and assert itself by immediate general elections.

"This contingency is therefore not present to our minds, and in ratifying the League of Nations we have no need to make any reservations to provide for a contingency which cannot arise in Great Britain.

"But in the United States it is otherwise. The contingency is within the region of practical politics. They have reason and, if they so desire, the right to provide against it. Reservations with this object are therefore an illustration not only of party politics, but of a great constitutional question which constantly arises between the President and the Senate, and it would be no more fair to label this with the name of party politics than it would be to apply that name to some of the great constitutional struggles which arose between the House of Commons and the executive authority in Great Britain in the days before the question had finally been settled in favor of the House of Commons.

American Aid Essential

"What, then, may we fairly expect from the United States in this great crisis of world policy, for a crisis, indeed, it is? If the participation of the United States was enormously helpful in securing the victory in the critical months of 1918, its help will be even more essential to secure stability in peace. Without the United States the present League of Nations may become little better than a league of the Allies for armed self-defense against a revival of Prussian militarism or against a sinister sequel to Bolshevism in Russia. Bolshevism is despotism, and despotisms have a tendency to become militaristic, as the great French Revolution proved. The great object of the League of Nations is to prevent future wars and to discourage from the beginning the growth of aggressive arguments which would lead to war.

"For this purpose it should operate at once and begin here and now, in the first years of peace, to establish a reputation for justice, moderation, and strength. Without the United States it will have neither the overwhelming physical nor moral force behind it that it should have, or if it has the physical force it will not have the same degree of moral force, for it will be predominantly European, and not a world organization, and it will be tainted with all the inter-racial jealousies of Europe. With the United States in the League of Nations war may be prevented and armaments discouraged, and it will be in the power of the fretful nations of the world to disturb genuine peace. Without the League of Nations the old order of things will revive, the old consequences will recur, there will again be some great catastrophe of war in which the United States will again find itself compelled to intervene for the same reason and at no less or even greater cost than in 1917.

"It would be a mistake to suppose that the American people are prepared or wish to withdraw their influence in world affairs. Americans differ among themselves as to whether they could or ought to have entered the war sooner than they did. It is neither necessary nor profitable for foreigners to discuss this point now. What is common to all Americans and to all foreigners who know the facts is the unselfish, whole-hearted spirit in which the American nation acted when it came into the war. The immediate adoption of compulsory military service and, even more, the rationing of food and fuel in those millions and millions of households over such a vast area, not by compulsion, but by purely voluntary action in response to an appeal which had no compulsion behind it, is a remarkable and even astonishing example of national spirit and idealism.

"That spirit is still there. It is as much a part of the nature and possibilities of the American people as any other characteristic. It is not possible for such a spirit to play such a part as it did in the war and then to relapse and be extinguished altogether. It would be a great mistake to suppose that because the citizens of the United States wish to limit their obligations they therefore propose to themselves to play a small part in the League of Nations. If they enter the League as willing partner with limited obligations, it may well be that American opinion and American action inside the League will be much more fruitful than if they entered as a reluctant partner, who felt that her hand had been forced. It is in this spirit, in this hope, and in this expectation that I think we should approach and are justified in approaching consideration of American reservations.

Men of affairs and especially makers of treaties knew best how often it happens that difficulties which seem most formidable in anticipation and on paper never arise in practice. I think this is likely to be particularly true in the working of the League of Nations. The difficulties or dangers which the Americans foresee in it will probably never arise or be felt by them when they are once in the League. And in the same way the weakening and injury to the League which some of its best friends apprehend from the American reservations would not be felt in practice.

"If the outcome of the long controversy in the Senate has been to offer co-operation in the League of Nations it would be the greatest mistake to refuse that co-operation because conditions are attached to it, and when that co-operation is accepted let it not be accepted in a spirit of pessimism.

"The most vital considerations are that representatives should be appointed to the Council of the League of Nations by all the nations that are members of the Council; that these representatives should be men who are inspired by the ideals for which we entered the war, and that these representatives should be instructed and supported in that same spirit of equity and freedom by the governments and public opinion of the countries which are now partners in peace. If that be the spirit in which the Council of the League of Nations deals with the business that comes before it, there need be no fear that the representative of the United States on that Council will not take part in realizing the hopes with which the League has been founded.

Dominions' Right to Vote

"There is one particular reservation which must give rise to some difficulty in Great Britain and self-governing do-

minions. It is that which has reference to the six British votes in the Assembly of the League of Nations. The self-governing dominions are full members of the League. They will admit, and Great Britain can admit, no qualification whatever of that right. Whatever the self-governing dominions may be in the theory and letter of the Constitution, they have in effect ceased to be colonies in the old sense of the word. They are free communities, independent as regards their own affairs, and partners in those which concern the empire at large.

"It is a special status and there can be no derogation from it. To any provision which makes it clear that none of the British votes can be used in a dispute likely to lead to rupture in which any part of the British Empire is involved, no exception can be taken. That is only a reasonable interpretation of the Covenant as it now stands. If any part of the British Empire is involved in a dispute with the United States, the United States will be unable to vote, and all parts of the British Empire precisely, because they are partners, will be parties to that dispute and equally unable to vote. But as regards this right to vote where they are not parties to the dispute there can be no qualification and there is very general admission that the votes of the self-governing dominions would in most cases be found on the same side as that of the United States.

"It must not be supposed that in the United States there is any tendency to grudge the fact that Canada and the other self-governing dominions of the British Empire have votes, but any person with the smallest understanding of public audiences must realize the feeling created by the statement that the United States with several million more English-speaking citizens than there are in the whole of the British Empire has only one to six votes. I am not concerned to discuss here how this problem of equality of voting may be adjusted in practice; it will not be important. In sentiment and political feeling it is a very powerful factor. We can neither give way about the votes for the self-governing dominions nor can we ignore the real political difficulty in the United States.

"It may be sufficient to observe that the reservation of the United States, as far as known at the time of writing, does not in any way challenge the right of the self-governing dominions to exercise their votes, nor does it state that the United States will necessarily reject the decision to which those votes have been cast. It is therefore possible, I think it is even more than probable, that in practice no dispute will ever arise. Our object is to maintain the status of the self-governing dominions, not to secure a greater British than American vote, and we have no objection in principle to increase of the American vote.

"Your obedient servant, "GREY OF FALLODON."

TREATY AGAIN BEFORE SENATE

On February 9 the Senate, by a vote of 63 to 9, adopted a motion introduced by Senator Lodge, suspending the rules of the Senate and laying the treaty before the body. Democrats joined with Republicans in support of this motion, having been led to this amicable action in part by publication of correspondence between President Wilson and Senator Hitchcock. The nine Senators voting against reconsideration of the treaty were Borah, of Idaho; Brandegee, of Connecticut; France, of Maryland; Gronna, of North Dakota; Knox, of Pennsylvania; McCormick and Sherman, of Illinois; Norris, of Nebraska, and Poindexter, of Washington. By a *viva voce* vote the Senate agreed to rid itself of the authority of the cloture rule in such discussion as might follow the resumption of debate, and the treaty was then sent back to the Committee on Foreign Relations, with Senator Lodge as chairman, for such alterations in phraseology and amendment as the committee might recommend.

On February 8 Senator Hitchcock made public a letter written to him by the President, in which the Executive indicated that modification of the treaty, if made along

certain lines indicated by him, would not be deemed hostile to its intent or compel him to act disapprovingly.

On February 9 petitioners representing organizations claiming 50,000,000 adherents appeared in Washington and formally laid before the President (through his secretary) and before the leaders of the two main factions in the Senate a new appeal for quick action on the treaty along lines of compromise on reservations in dispute, which compromise, they said, had been made easier by the President's latest letter to Senator Hitchcock.

THE PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONGRESS

The second Pan-American Financial Congress, which met in Washington January 19-24, and to which we made formal reference in the January issue, just before it adjourned, issued a series of recommendations to the lawmaking bodies of the several nations represented. Bolivia, Brazil, and Venezuela withheld assent to certain of the suggestions. The Congress's recommendations were as follows:

That the name of the International High Commission be changed to "The Inter-American High Commission," the better to indicate its constituency and sphere of work.

That the report of the transportation committee, recommending increased freight and passenger ocean service to South America, be transmitted to the United States Shipping Board for consideration and action.

That the recommendations dealing with railroad transportation, postal and telegraph facilities be sent to the Inter-American High Commission for action.

That the legislation of certain States of this country be so modified as to permit operation of branches of Latin-American banks within their jurisdiction under proper regulation, so as to secure equality of treatment.

That the Inter-American High Commission study possibility of securing uniformity and equality of treatment in laws regulating foreign corporations in Latin America.

That there be developed increased use of acceptances for the purpose of financial transactions involving import and export of goods. The hope is expressed that the United States will offer a widening market for long-time Latin-American securities.

That the Inter-American High Commission be asked to further establishment of an international gold fund, which plan already has been adopted by several South American republics.

That the Inter-American High Commission bring to the notice of the American governments the desirability of adopting a uniform law on the subject of checks.

That the Inter-American High Commission be asked to study the best method of avoiding simultaneous double taxation of individuals and corporations in Latin-American countries.

That the American countries which have not done so ratify the convention adopted by the International American Congress at Buenos Aires in 1910 for establishment of an international bureau at Havana for Registration of trademarks.

That American countries which have not done so ratify the convention adopted at Buenos Aires in 1910 concerning patents and copyrights.

That the Webb law be amended to permit American companies importing or dealing in raw materials produced abroad to form, under proper government regulations, organizations enabling such companies to compete on terms of equality with companies of other countries associated for the conduct of such business.

That the commercial attaché system be extended, with appropriate training for all branches of the foreign service, as a means of developing commercial relations.

That a simultaneous census be taken by all American

countries at least every 10 years, observing uniformity of statistics.

That the metric system of weights and measures be universally employed, and until such time as that is done articles marked by the standards used in the United States also be marked according to the metric system.

That the plan of arbitration of commercial disputes in effect between the *Bols de Comercio* of Buenos Aires and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States be adopted by all the American countries.

That the Inter-American High Commission be asked to study the creation of an inter-American tribunal for the adjustment of questions of a commercial or financial nature involving two or more American countries and the determination of such questions by law and equity.

That the importation of raw materials into any country shall not be prevented by prohibitive duties.

That the banking interests of the United States study the possibility of financial relief to Europe by repaying Latin-American obligations held in Europe by means of new loans granted in the United States to the respective Latin-American countries.

RUSSIA AND THE POWERS

Blockade Partially Lifted—United States Withdraws Troops

On January 16th the Supreme Council, in Paris, issued the following official communique:

"With the view to remedy the unhappy situation of the people of the interior of Russia now deprived of all manufactured products, the Supreme Council, after taking note of a commission appointed to consider the reopening of certain trading relations with the Russian people, has decided that it would permit the exchange of goods on the basis of reciprocity between the Russian people and allied and neutral countries.

"For this purpose it has decided to give facilities to Russian co-operative organizations which are in direct touch with the people of Russia, so that they may arrange for the importation of clothing, medicine, agricultural machinery, and other necessities of which the Russian people are in sore need, to exchange for grain, flax, etc., of which the Russian people have surplus supplies.

"These arrangements imply no change in the policy of the allied governments toward the Soviet Government."

THE UNITED STATES TO LEAVE SIBERIA

Supplementing previous correspondence, covering a period of many months, and indicating on both sides considerable uncertainty as to what the attitude of Japan and of the United States should be, either acting singly or jointly in eastern Siberia, the United States announced, January 16, that a communication had been sent to Japan in response to one laid before the Washington Government, December 8, by Japan's Ambassador. Comparison of views finally led up to a decision to withdraw the American troops from eastern Siberia, where relations between the Japanese and the American authorities, including the railway commission, have been at times quite strained. The letter added:

"It will be recalled that the purpose of the expedition, as originally conceived by the United States, and expressed in an aide memoire, handed to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, July 17, 1918, were, first, to help the Czecho-Slovak troops, which had, during their retirement along the Siberian Railway, been attacked by the Bolsheviks and enemy prisoners of war in Siberia, to consolidate their forces and effect their repatriation by way of Vladivostok; and, second, to steady any effort at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance.

EVACUATES IN FEBRUARY

"Not only are the Czecho-Slovak troops now successfully advancing in eastern Siberia, but an agreement has been effected between the governments of Great Britain and the United States providing for their repatriation from Vladivostok. American vessels will begin to arrive at that port by February 1, and a contingent of more than 10,000 Czecho-Slovak troops can be immediately embarked. It is expected that evacuation will proceed rapidly thereafter, and from that date the first purpose for which American soldiers were sent to Siberia may be regarded as accomplished.

COMPLICATIONS FEARED

"With respect to the second purpose, namely, the steady-
ing of efforts at self-government or self-defense on the part of the Russians, the Government of the United States is impressed with the political instability and grave uncertainties of the present situation in eastern Siberia, as described in the aide memoire presented by the Japanese Ambassador December 8, and is disposed to the view that further military effort to assist the Russians in the struggle toward self-government may, in the present situation, lead to complications which would have exactly the opposite effect, prolonging possibly the period of readjustment and involving Japan and the United States in ineffective and needless sacrifices. It is felt accordingly to be unlikely that the second purpose for which American troops were sent to Siberia will be longer served by their presence here.

"In view, then, of the fact that the main purpose for which American troops were sent to Siberia is now at an end and of the considerations set forth in the communication of the Japanese Government of December 8, which subsequent events in eastern Siberia have strengthened, the Government of the United States has decided to begin at once arrangements for the concentration of the American forces at Vladivostok, with a view to their embarkation and departure immediately after the leaving of the first important contingent of Czecho-Slovak troops—that is to say, about February 1.

RAILWAY EXPERTS TO WITHDRAW

"Careful consideration has also been given to the possibility of continuing after the departure of the American troops the assistance of American railway experts in the operation of the Transsiberian and Chinese Eastern railways. It will be recalled that it is expressly stipulated in the plan for the supervision of these railways, which was submitted by the Japanese Ambassador at Washington January 15, 1919, that the arrangement should cease upon the withdrawal of the foreign military forces from Siberia, and that all foreign railway experts appointed under the arrangement should then be recalled forthwith. The experience of recent months in the operation of the railways under conditions of unstable civil authority and frequent local military interference furnishes a strong reason for abiding by the terms of the original agreement.

"Arrangements will be made accordingly for the withdrawal of the American railway experts under the same conditions and simultaneously with the departure of the American military forces.

NOT AN END OF CO-OPERATION

"The Government of the United States desires the Japanese Government to know that it regrets the necessity for this decision, because it seems to mark the end, for the time being at least, of co-operative effort by Japan and the United States to assist the Russian people, which had of late begun to bear important results and seemed to give promise for the future. The Government of the United States is most appreciative of the friendly spirit which has animated the Government of Japan in this undertaking, and is convinced that the basis of understanding which has been established will serve in the future to facilitate the common efforts of the two countries to deal with the problems which confront them in Siberia. The Government of the United States does not in the least relinquish the deep interest which it feels in

the political and economic fate of the people of Siberia nor its purpose to co-operate with Japan in the most frank and friendly way in all practical plans which may be worked out for the political and economic rehabilitation of that region."

LETTER BOX

LYNN HAVEN, FLORIDA.

The American Peace Society.

DEAR FRIENDS: Kindly accept my *many* thanks for the privilege of ordering our good PEACE ADVOCATE under old rates. Find inclosed post-office order of one dollar for the ensuing year, which send to the following address and greatly oblige a wonderfully pleased reader.

Sincerely,

ELMINA TITUS.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE FUTURE OF PROTESTANTISM in central Europe is giving much concern to ecclesiastical statesmen bred in the schools of Luther, Calvin, and Arminius, but especially to the followers of Luther. We alluded in our November, 1919, issue to the burdens that the war had laid upon American Lutheranism in taking up some of the religious and humanitarian enterprises that German Lutheran churches had carried on in possessions now non-German under the terms of the Peace Treaty. It is now announced that American-German Lutherans are planning to stand sponsor for an Ecumenical Lutheran Council to be held in the United States this year. Representatives of American and German churches with 75,000,000 adherents will then listen to the report on conditions in central Europe to be made by commissioners from the United States who have spent six months finding out what the precise facts are which the Lutheran clergy and laity face.

President Morehead, of Roanoke College, who has served on this commission, and who is soon to return to Europe to administer such immediate relief as can be given, is quoted as saying that "the Lutheran Church in America must guide the Lutheran Church in Germany, if it is to meet its present problems and remain a power in the world. If we fail, there is a danger that Protestantism there will pass." One of these problems is the change of a great organization from that of a subsidized and tax-supported State church to that of a voluntary-support basis, which is no easy problem, with economic conditions and social propaganda conditions as they now are. Apropos the issue of union of state and church, it is suggestive to find that in Scotland, the land of Knox, where Calvin "stamped his iron heel" so deeply, to quote Oliver Wendell Holmes, the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland, the state-recognized church, have decided to unite, the issues that hitherto divided them having come to be so insignificant compared with the problems now facing the church as a whole in a very secular world. In Czecho-Slavia, as we pointed out (December, 1919), the government has sharply defined this issue by affirming repeatedly, both in its organic law and in its executive's utterances, the separation of church and State; and already a split has come in the ranks of the Roman Catholic Church in consequence of the liberal governmental attitude.

SOVIET RUSSIA has a way of her own in dealing with the "conscientious objector" to war, which, if it is operative, deserves consideration. Here is the plan:

1. Persons who, on account of their religious convictions, cannot take part in military service are bound, subject to the judgment of the National Tribunal, to replace it by an equal period in the service of their comrades, by sanitary service—mainly in the hospitals for contagious diseases—or by other work of public service, at the option of the recruit.

2. The National Tribunal, in giving its judgment for the substitution of civil work for military service, shall demand a report on each case from the United Council of Religious Groups and Communities of Moscow. Evidence shall be given as to whether such religious conviction precludes participation in military service, as well as to the sincerity and honesty of the refractory person.

3. In exceptional cases the United Council of Religious Groups and Communities may apply to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for the complete exemption of a person, without the substitution of any other service whatsoever, if they are able to prove by written documents on the question, and by the life hitherto led by the said person, that such a substitution would be incompatible with his religious convictions.

Supplementary.—The claim for exemption may be made by the person himself or by the United Council. The latter may demand that the case be tried at the National Tribunal in Moscow.

(Signed)

President of the Council of People's Commissars.

LENIN,

KURSKY,

Commissar of Justice.

BONCH BRUYEVITCH,

State Chancellor.

FOTIEVA, *Secretary.*

THE ADULT RESIDENTS OF THE FIRST SCHLESWIG plebiscite zone, voting February 10, by approximately a 3 to 1 vote, decided to resume allegiance to Denmark and say "good-bye" to Germany. Voting in the second plebiscite zone will come March 7 and probably will have the same result. The German press complains that the conditions of the voting were unfair; and adds that it is far easier to annex 6,000 Germans than it is to assimilate them. All of which may be true; but any other outcome of the voting was hardly to be expected. A preponderance of Danes existed, and what more natural than that they should want to become politically what they were culturally and racially!

CHINA'S POLITICAL FUTURE is thought by competent investigators to rest so largely on stabilization of her domestic finances and on rectification of her deeply rooted system of living on funds borrowed abroad, that the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, through their representatives, assembled in Paris last May, agreed that a new international consortium should be formed to aid the Republic in its public enterprises, and this without any one creditor power profiting by the arrangement. It was agreed:

(a) That no country should attempt to cultivate special spheres of influence;

(b) That all existing options held by a member of any

of the national groups should, so far as practicable, be turned into the consortium as a whole;

(c) That the four banking groups of the countries in question should act together in concert and in an effective partnership in the interests of China; and,

(d) That the consortium's operations should deal primarily with loans to the Chinese Republic or to provinces of the Republic, or with loans guaranteed or officially having to do with the Republic or its provinces, and in each instance of character sufficient to warrant a general issue.

Four of the five governments gave quick assent to the principles and details agreed upon in Paris. Japan held off and made special stipulations. Events have since so shaped themselves in northern Asia that Japan has modified her policy of aggression toward China and now is in a more tractable and co-operative mood. Therefore the first steps in this process of co-operation have begun to be registered, and the sailing of Thomas W. Lamont, of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., for Japan and China in mid-February is a sign of the times. Inasmuch as China must consent to some such arrangement as this, the solution thus proposed is encouraging; but, considered abstractly, it has the defect of perpetuating a status in which no people can possibly come to fullest perfection as a political entity. China already has suffered grave injury by the debtor rôle she has filled for so long a time. American influence pretty consistently has been against encouragement of this dependent status. The United States only comes in now by practically dictating the terms, which she is able to do by her combined moral and money power.

CANADA'S PLACE AS A NATION and her right to the representation accorded her under the League of Nations' Covenant have been discussed frankly throughout the British dominions, in the United States Senate, and in Canada since the treaty was signed. The statements in the United States Senate have been hostile in some cases, and they have had their effect on the utterances of Canadian officials, who have replied, though of course they have differentiated between the significance of opinions that are personal and any formal action of the Senate. When the latter comes, then they will speak officially and in no uncertain terms, just as they have to the old guard, British imperialistic politicians and advocates in London, who more or less openly challenge the position insisted upon by Premier Borden at Paris and conceded by Lloyd-George and by the signatory powers. Just what the Canadian position is, as defined by officials now in power at Ottawa, may be inferred from a statement by Hon. N. W. Rowell, president of the Privy Council, a prominent former Liberal who took office in the coalition ministry. He said:

"Great Britain has only one vote and each of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire has a vote in its own right as an original member of the League. Those who contend that Great Britain has six votes wholly ignore the fact that the British Empire is composed of a group of free, self-governing nations of equal status though not of equal power, and that each of these nations is a member of the League and has a right to participate in its deliberations.

Canada's right to membership in the League is well stated in the Republican minority report of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the United States Senate on the Peace Treaty, prepared by Senator McCumber.

"One desires to avoid comparisons, but it is a simple statement of fact to say that in the effort to establish world peace more Canadians fell in battle or died of wounds than soldiers of the United States. Canada asked and Canada received no favors at Paris; she sought only justice and fair play and these have been cheerfully accorded to her by the nations which have ratified the treaty, and I believe that Canada will yet receive the same recognition at the hands of her neighbors to the south."

PROHIBITION OR SEVERE RESTRICTIVE CONTROL of the liquor-making and vending business of Europe is bound to come in Europe on grounds economic if not ethical. The King of England, in his speech opening the present session of Parliament, referred to the matter in grave terms, and in the debate following the address members cited the "dryness" of the United States and of Canada as producing a fiscal superiority for the "reconstruction" process, which could not be overlooked by British statesmen. Neither the terrible experience of the war nor the perilous treasury deficits of the days since the armistice seem to have led John Bull to cease his resort to strong drink. Thus in 1914 he spent £164,000,000; in 1918, £259,000,000; and it is predicted that the figures for 1919 will show the staggering sum of £400,000,000. To these debits there must be added, of course, the sums taxpayers have to pay for the crime and disease that liquor causes. It is figures like these that tend to "chill" American sympathy for Great Britain in any fiscal distress she may be in. The coming Scotch elections are expected to indicate how the tide of opinion is running there in the face of this showing. There the churches and the temperance reformers have awakened and are beginning to follow American tactics in converting electors and in prodding parliamentary representatives. Scotland had her John Knox as well as her Robert Burns, and when the Knoxian qualities of the race are touched, results happen with a grim relentlessness.

AERIAL NAVIGATION OVER SWISS TERRITORY, both for reasons common to all States' welfare and also for those special to this neutral Republic, is to be most stringently regulated. The Federal Council's recent decree orders that all Swiss companies must obtain permits from the government before beginning to construct machines or operate the same; and all foreign builders' applications will be subjected to the strictest sort of investigation. Transport of money, munitions, and explosives over Swiss territory is absolutely forbidden, and to use machines equipped with wireless apparatus will be a reserved right strictly dependent upon federal license.

GERMANY'S FORMER EMPEROR, by a revised decree of the Supreme Council, is to escape trial. Holland, that declined to give him up, is to be his permanent custodian, at some unnamed—as yet—Elba. The Allied Powers also have decided that Germans under indictment by them shall be tried at Leipsic by Germans. Adverse evidence will be furnished, verdicts scrutinized, and in some cases reversed probably.

BOOK REVIEWS

Thoughts of a Psychiatrist on the War and After. By William A. White. Paul B. Hoeber, New York. Pp. 137. \$1.75.

This volume by the professor of nervous and mental diseases, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., and superintendent of a hospital which has handled a very large number of cases of soldiers "shocked" in the recent war, is of a kind not known in the post-war literature of other great combats. It comes, therefore, as a new source of data for any person interested in suppression of war and desiring intelligent information about its effects on the man who fights willingly or unwillingly, on his kindred who have him in mind while he is away and who also have to adjust their lives to innumerable new economic and social conditions while armed peoples grapple with each other.

The first thesis of the author that arrests attention is that it is quite possible to overstate the social crisis following the late war. In volume but not in kind, quantitatively but not qualitatively, it is different. Individuals and small and large groups have in previous years had to undergo just what the world faces now. But today the precise effects of combat on all concerned are registered more accurately than ever before and are being subjected to closer study and analysis.

Facing the present complication of international relations, he argues that of necessity idealistic group action is more difficult when immature standards of national life—not to mention international relations—prevail. Consequently, "forced" agreement on an ideal program, while comforting for a time to the nations with a high standard, nevertheless must tend to become ineffective through the acts of nations with low standards of culture. Individuals and peoples *en masse* do decline in morale following war. Instinct of a rudimentary sort gains ascendancy over reason and conscience. Hate, cruelty, and deceit are condoned. Lust is rampant among those who fight and those who do not. An infantile reaction of antagonism to authority, whether spiritual or secular, comes to the surface, and buildings are defiled and sacred relics of the churches are destroyed. Prayers for the defeat and destruction of foes arise, as among savages. Art comes to the aid of the preacher and creates cartoons and posters of hate. "The long battle for the control of the emotions of instinct by the intelligence seems to have been lost, and man slips back to be again dominated by his feelings." Not the least of these latter is the feeling of fear, which is common enough in its more obvious form as plain cowardice, but to the psychiatrist is registered in mild neuroses and psychotic episodes, to be dealt with by him in the light of psychopathological investigation. But the significant portion of this book is the author's argument, on scientific grounds, that up to the present time war has been inevitable and necessary for the rejuvenescence of the race. Whether it will be in the future "depends upon whether some sublimated forms of procedure can adequately be substituted." He is quite sure that any international organization assuming to control humanity must have for its basis love rather than hate. "Devotion to selfish ends makes enemies; consecration to service invariably commands a following." Or, to put it technically, "Retributions or other punitive measures are useful when addressed to constructive ends. Speaking in physiological terms, they are useful for conditioning behavior along desirable lines after the manner of the conditioned reflex. When used solely for selfish purposes, as a means of self-indulgence in hate and self-exploitation, they can only be expected to be destructive in their final results." Hence the best product of the war will be the granting of a measure of larger opportunity to all the handicapped peoples of the earth and protecting them while they rise.

The Truth About China and Japan. By B. L. Putnam Weale. Dodd, Mead and Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 155, with appendices and maps. \$2.00.

Long service in the Chinese customs, wide travel in the Far East, and memories and experiences of residence in China that date back to his boyhood and have continued

to mature age have made this author one of the best interpreters of China to Europe and America. Moreover, the definiteness of his knowledge, the proved accuracy of so many of his past prophecies, and the way he has of getting light from inner circles of governmental officials, diplomatic agents, and revolutionary leaders, all combine now to give him prestige. The world long ago found out that he was not an admirer of Japan's political theories or methods, and, in addition, that he had no hesitation about denouncing the ethics and scoffing at the wisdom of the Western powers, including Great Britain and the United States, in their relations with both China and Japan. This candor and this loyalty to "the higher law" are shown in this volume. Hence it is not only interesting, it is invigorating. An ace is called an ace and a spade a spade. Lest the reader doubt the opinions as being too subjective, the text of documents, especially "secret treaties," is given, and also statistics showing the steady process of Occidental and Japanese exploitation of China's credit in return for banking, railway, and mining concessions. He is a Weale who leaves welts. His verbal lash falls on diplomats of the kind usually sent to Peking, on bankers who force loans at usurious rates on necessitous borrowers and on statesmen who make China and Korea victims of "commercialized imperialism," to quote his own phrase. As to his judgment on diplomats, it is well to note that he specifically exempts the recent American Minister, Prof. Paul Reinsch, from his indictment.

Mr. Weale demands justice for China and Korea, and also an Occidental policy toward Far Eastern nations that will favor the growth of the republicanism already rooted in China and that is beginning to appear in Japan. He exposes the rule-and-ruin policies of the militarist groups in both China and Japan, and shows how, by common action, they have checked the natural evolution of democracy that might have been expected with the overthrow of the Manchus and the formation of a republic in China. Of course, for a time the chief obstacle to this result was Yuan Shi Ki, who by conviction was a monarchist and by temperament always was for himself, and who vainly tried to become the head of a new line of monarchs. With his death Japan became the most active foe of Chinese republicanism, and by diplomacy and by bribes she has had considerable temporary success; but ultimately she will reap the whirlwind when the republicans of the South and the educated liberals of the North actually get control and China really functions as a democracy.

British War Administration. By *John A. Fairlie*, Oxford University Press, New York City. Pp. 302.

This is a systematic and somewhat comprehensive account of the administrative changes in the government of Great Britain and Ireland caused by the war; but it does not pretend to be inclusive or to cover the period of demobilization and reconstruction that has been entered upon since the armistice. It was produced to meet the immediate needs of persons who, either as administrators in American military and civilian ranks, were suddenly called upon to meet war conditions and responsibilities, or who, as journalists, teachers, and lawmakers were needing information that would enable them to educate the American public as to what the British had to teach the United States as the result of earlier participation in the war. Down to the close of the year 1917 the record is fairly complete. It is an example of a swiftly made hand-book, based on partial data, and meeting a contemporary demand creditably.

Practical Pacifism and Its Adversaries. By *Severin Nordentoft*. With an introduction by *G. K. Chesterton*. Frederick A. Stokes, New York City. Pp. 213. \$1.50, net.

Much, if not most, of this book by the distinguished Dane who is its author was written prior to the war; but as he has not altered his views substantially because of the vast conflict, his recommendations are of interest and have value as expressing the opinions of a publicist (and a physician) of a neutral nation. He stands for a positive and not a negative theory of pacifism in the future. Non-resistance is not his way out; it is a "peace of law" that he demands. Drawing his analogies from his own profession, he prefers an attack

on war in terms that are specific and not general, just as medical science attacks a disease and not disease. He also would get at causes rather than dwell exclusively on results. His motto is "*Persistente causa, persistente effectus.*" To do away with wars based on economic ambitions and assumed or real needs he would usher in free trade.

Dr. Nordentoft has not been content with discussion of his theme in terms of the abstract or of aspiration merely. The reader will find him outlining in precise terms a scheme for a League of Peace, suggesting ways and means of general disarmament, and recommending tentative steps toward making the Hague a center for diplomatic discussion of issues between nations to be conducted by national representatives permanently stationed there. Such an arrangement, he believes, would afford indirect support to the Hague Conference and would form the beginning of an Interstatutory Congress, a beginning of the United States of Europe.

President Wilson. By *Daniel Halévy*. Translated from the French by *Hugh Stokes*. John Lane Co., New York. Pp. 283. \$1.50, net.

The limitations of comment upon an American personage which are almost inevitable in any Frenchman's "study" soon appear in this on the whole interesting and sincere "appreciation." It has about the same value that a study of Clemenceau would have if written by, let us say, Prof. William Lyon Phelps or by Prof. Brander Matthews. The French naturally have wanted to know something about the man who has loomed so large on their horizon during the war and during the peace conference: and this is one of many attempts to meet their desire. It obviously was hurriedly prepared and has no trace of study of the man other than by comparison of his own words and reading of other men's estimates of him. Of course the difficulty of making a book thus made have unity and finish is difficult. Naturally the academic and literary phases of Mr. Wilson's career appeal most to this cultivated Parisian, and here the *obiter dicta* of the author are worth while; he also deals discriminatingly with the service rendered to American education by Mr. Wilson when he was president of Princeton University.

Open Gates to Russia. By *Malcolm W. Davis*. Illustrated from photographs. Harper & Brothers, New York and London. Pp. 315. \$2.00.

Russia presents three outstanding facts of importance to us all: she is one of the world's main sources of raw materials; she is made up of an impressive population abundantly able to produce; and, in the language of William T. Goode, she "is at this moment the laboratory in which the greatest political experiment in the history of the world is being tried." We need to know this land, intimately, out of first-hand information. This book by Mr. Davis, formerly Assistant Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, is a sympathetic first-hand account of Russia, its immediate necessities, its enduring needs, and certain aspects of her perennial interest. While some parts of the book could be improved from a standpoint of coherence and clearness, especially in the earlier chapters, the clarity and importance of the treatment increase, especially following Chapter 3.

The author having been absent from America for approximately two years, is evidently feeling his way while addressing himself to America's attitude toward awakening Russia, and in a measure, also, while addressing himself to Russia and the world struggle; but he has carefully studied the reconstructive forces latent in that great land—a fact which appears patently in those chapters relating to the agrarian problem, to transportation, and to the Russian character. The thirst for education and social reconstruction are particularly illuminating and suggestive chapters. The reader interested in such questions as the failure of Kerensky, the future of the Bolsheviki, the fate of Siberia, the importance of the government at Omsk, will have to turn to other books; but the matters with which Mr. Davis does deal are of equal if not greater importance for us who are convinced of the injustice of the Churchills in England, and of American ignorance concerning this great land of the future.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A GOVERNED WORLD

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, the Supreme Court of the United States, and practically every accredited peace society and constructive peaceworker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS.

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas, according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law and subordinated to law, as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof, are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein, and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations, it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence, but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE.

1. The call of a Third Hague Conference, to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

2. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference, which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

3. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

4. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

5. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the declaration of the rights and duties of nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the powers for this purpose.

7. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

8. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

9. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

10. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinion of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

AN ALLIANCE TO ENFORCE PEACE, A WAR ALLIANCE

Fourteen Reasons Why it is Impracticable as an Agency for International Peace

IN THE second paragraph of his letter of March 8 to Senator Hitchcock, President Woodrow Wilson pleads for an alliance to enforce peace among the nations. He says:

"There is no escaping the moral obligations which are expressed in positive terms in this article [article 10] of the Covenant. We won a moral victory over Germany far greater even than the military victory won on the field of battle, because the opinion of the whole world swung to our support and the support of the nations associated with us in the great struggle. It did so because of our common profession and promise that we meant to establish 'an organization of peace which should make it certain that the combined power of free nations would check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which *all must submit* and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned *shall be sanctioned*.' This promise and assurance were written into the preliminaries of the armistice and into the preliminaries of the peace itself and constitute one of the most sacred obligations ever assumed by any nation or body of nations. It is unthinkable that America should set the example of ignoring such a solemn moral engagement."

The spirit of this paragraph shows that Mr. Wilson looks upon the Covenant of the League of Nations as a League to Enforce Peace, "a definite tribunal of opinion to which *all must submit* and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall *be sanctioned*." True, the phrase "tribunal of opinion" is an obscure one; but the words "must submit" and "sanctioned" are definite words in international law and practice. With an indirection not wholly complimentary to the judgment of the people, Mr. Wilson has persistently refused definitely to describe his proposed League of Nations as a League to Enforce Peace. But if after reading this quotation there should be any doubt left in our minds, it is clear that Mr. Wilson utterly removes it later in the same letter, in which he fervently favors that we "contribute our *overwhelming moral and material forces* to the establishing of an international régime in which our own ideals of justice and right *may be made to prevail*." Surely that language is unmistakable. We are now aware that our President proposes an alliance of nine powers dominated by five men to enforce peace among the nations. We might have known this, for Article X of the Covenant is an appeal to naked force; and long ago the President told us in Paris that "force" is there in the Covenant, "in the background," but there.

Our judgment always has been, and still is, that any such solution of the problem of international peace is impossible. We hold to this view because of certain definite reasons—reasons which we have tried to express from time to time, but reasons which evidently need to be expressed frequently.

Our first reason for believing such a scheme to be impracticable, and therefore impossible, is that if the United States should become a party to such an alliance—we call it an alliance because it is in no sense a league of the nations—it by that act agrees to the establishment of an international body, to which body will be given power, and that with the consent of the United States, to wage war not only against our enemies, but against the United States. It is inescapable that if we can enforce peace there, they can enforce peace here; and that, be it said again, with the advice and consent of the United States. Speaking in the New York Convention and urging the ratification of the Constitution, Mr. Alexander Hamilton asked, "Can we believe that one State will ever suffer itself to be used as an instrument

of coercion? The thing is a dream, it is impossible." Since it is not reasonable to expect that the United States Senate or any other body of intelligent Americans would agree to such an unlimited super-organization, making the United States "an instrument of coercion," we believe the whole scheme to be impracticable.

Our second reason for believing such an alliance to be impracticable lies in the fact that the United States Supreme Court, itself an international court in all issues joined between States, and therefore our one great object-lesson, does not find it necessary or possible to enforce its decrees against individual States. Its decrees against the States are enforced, however, and that by virtue of the only sanction outside the sanction of war in issues between States, namely, the sanction of public opinion. The armies of the United States have no relation to the findings of the United States Supreme Court as against States. There is no potential force behind the Supreme Court of the United States in its decisions against States, except the force of public opinion; and that force we find to be quite adequate. Any other force is unthinkable. Since peace is maintained thus between forty-eight States in America, and since wisdom has been unable to devise any other successful way of maintaining peace between States, again the inescapable conclusion must be that any alliance to enforce peace between States is unthinkable.

Our third reason for believing the scheme of an alliance to enforce peace among nations to be impracticable is that all such plans, including this Paris plan, overlook the fact that the teachings of all history and of all political science demonstrate the necessity for first establishing a lawmaking organ before setting up an executive with power to wage war upon States. Offensive and defensive alliances are the methods of war; they cannot be the ways of peace. In that one great permanently successful international conference of 1787, the first task of the fathers was to provide for a legislative body. The international conferences of 1899 and 1907 at The Hague were in nature legislative. Any successful judicial or executive arm of the nations must be established by the methods of legislation. Since this proposal out of Paris plans to reverse the historical methods of justice, by beginning with force rather than law, it is both impracticable and impossible.

Our fourth reason is that an international force may, and in all probability will be found to be quite unnecessary when once an international legislature and an international court, both pleaded for by William Ladd nearly a century ago, and all but realized at The Hague, are really evolved and put to work. To quote again from Hamilton, "to coerce the States is one of the maddest

projects that was ever devised." The history of American political achievement shows this to have been the outcome in the great international experiment most familiar to us, a method by which peace is maintained between forty-eight free, sovereign, and independent States, and that without coercion.

Our fifth reason is that the World War, as in the case of all wars, proves conclusively that preparedness to use force does not necessarily operate in time of international crises to restrain nations from going to war. There is no difference between co-operative force and competitive force, because co-operative force is wholly unnecessary except as it be planned for competitive use. Any alliance, therefore, to enforce peace is a menace to peace; for, as Mr. Madison wrote in May, 1787, "the more he reflected on the use of force, the more he doubted the practicability, the justice, and the efficacy of it when applied to people collectively and not individually. A union of the States containing such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction."

Our sixth reason for believing this alliance to enforce peace to be impracticable lies in the fact that our Federal Constitution would have first to be modified in so many particulars that the people of the United States would not submit to it. For example, article 1, section 8, of our Constitution provides that the Congress shall have the power to "declare war," "raise and support armies," and that the Congress shall have the power to provide for calling forth the militia to "repel invasion." When we recall that this proposed alliance to enforce peace might be directed against us, it is manifest that before we could approve of delegating this authority of Congress to a group outside the United States, that this section of our Constitution would have to be changed.

Our seventh reason is that the same Constitution further provides, in article 3, section 3, that "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort," and that, therefore, before the Congress could grant to an outside body of men the authority to levy war against this country, or to adhere to our enemies, giving them aid and comfort, it would be necessary, if Congress would avoid the crime of treason, to change this section of our Constitution.

Our eighth reason is based upon article 4, section 4, of this instrument, which provides: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion." Since this is so, before we could delegate to an outside body of men the authority, under any circumstances whatsoever, to invade a State of the American Union, and that is what an alliance to enforce

peace must necessarily mean, it would be necessary to revise this section of our Constitution.

Our ninth reason rests upon article 2, section 2, of our Constitution, which provides that "the President of the United States shall have power, by and with the consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." Since it has been held that the treaty-making power does not extend to the point of destroying the fundamental laws of the land, that a treaty to annihilate the sovereignty of the American people or to deprive them of their constitutional powers would be void, it would be necessary to change our Constitution here also before we could expect the United States Senate to ratify by a two-thirds vote any plan which contemplates such a fundamental change in our whole political structure as proposed in this covenant to enforce peace. Before such an international alliance could be approved by the United States it would, therefore, be necessary to change the Constitution probably in other, but certainly in these four, particulars.

Our tenth reason is that the proposed alliance to enforce peace comes before us upon the assumption that the people of the United States, through their representatives in the United States Senate, can be prevailed upon to accept a scheme which will thus materially curtail the constitutional prerogatives of Congress, subordinate that body to an alliance known to be inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and change both in fact and in theory the form and substance of this great, successful American Republic.

Our eleventh reason is that the advocates of such an international organization of force as a means of restricting wars do not seem to realize that the whole conception of it is very old, and that it has never been seriously or popularly received. Mr. Wilson himself says that "it is a new doctrine in world affairs." And yet there were the "Greek councils"; there was Dante's proposal of world federation backed by force in the 14th century; there was the Great Design, attributed to Henry IV of France, embodying the same principles, in 1601; there was, a few years later, Hugo Grotius suggesting the importance of "certain congresses of Christian powers in which the controversies among some of them may be decided by others who are interested, and in which measures may be taken to *compel the parties* to accept peace upon equitable terms"; there was William Penn's plan of 1693, proposing an international force for the maintenance of peace in Europe; there were Saint Pierre and Jean Jacques Rousseau with similar plans in the early 18th century; there was Robert Stewart, better known as Viscount Castlereagh, who went to the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, for the purpose of establishing an armed

concert of Europe. The proposal seems, therefore, to be both old and discredited.

Our twelfth reason is, not that such a plan strikes at the heart of the Monroe Doctrine; not that it does violence to our ancient policy of avoiding entangling alliances—we could well afford to give up both of these for the peace of the world—but it is that an international force such as is here contemplated makes the solution of the problem of war more difficult by subverting the logic of history, by complicating the whole situation with a threatening factor quite unknown and quite unnecessary; for, again to quote Mr. Madison, "the practicability of making laws, with coercive sanctions, for the States as political bodies had been exploded on all hands."

Our thirteenth reason is that the advocates of such an international menace ignore the fact that it is not fear, but justice, that paves the way for peace; that it is not chimeras, but the centripetal forces of an enlightened self-interest, that really count, personally, nationally, internationally—a self-interest sufficiently enlightened to place rights and duties in harmonious relation.

And, finally, our fourteenth and last reason is that it is the efficiency of public opinion, generally granted to be the ultimate executive force behind all law, that executive to which Cicero referred as "Queen of the World," which must be relied upon to organize the nations unto their peace and safety. Cardinal Fleury, prime minister to Louis XV of France, when presented with the scheme for world peace proposed by Saint Pierre, is said to have pleasantly remarked, that the document should have a preliminary article providing for the education of missionaries "to dispose the hearts of the princes of Europe to submit to such a diet." This discriminating suggestion of the experienced prime minister seems to suggest still further the insurmountable difficulties in the way of establishing any hopeful international alliance to enforce a world peace.

THE PRESIDENT'S MISTAKE

WE ARE forced to think on Mr. Wilson's mistakes, not because Mr. Wilson makes them, but because they have threatened the thing with which we are most vitally concerned, namely, an effective Society of Nations. While the President's mistakes have been very many, there is one outstanding and particularly harmful. We do not refer to his extra-constitutional assumption of the duties of a plenipotentiary at Paris. We do not refer to his inexcusable attempt to differentiate between "legal" and "moral" responsibilities. We do not refer to his fallacious reasoning in the interest of an impossible League to Enforce Peace. We are not

thinking of the self-contradictory and inconsistent interpretations of the Covenant which Mr. Wilson has given to us from time to time. We are willing for the present to close our eyes to his astonishing statement that this was a "people's treaty," and that we must "take it or leave it." What we are thinking of here is his inexcusable attitude toward the United States Senate.

The President, showing his repeated irritation at the United States Senate, was not in a dignified position. The United States Senate is a body of elected representatives of the people of this land, and its inquiry into the nature of this wrongfully named League of Nations was in direct fulfillment of its duty under the terms of the United States Constitution. In their representative capacity, the members of the Senate had a right and a duty to inquire into the nature and origin of the treaty; into the documents, published or secret; into the diplomatic methods, records, and negotiations; for without these facts the members of the Senate could not have placed the responsibility for the terms of the treaty, given their "advice" or "consent," nor have planned with wisdom the nation's international policy. That the United States Senate did inquire into the history and significance of the policy proposed by this treaty constituted a most fundamental thing in liberal foreign policy, for it was the only means by which the people of the United States could have spoken through their representatives and come to a meeting of minds. For the President to ignore and deride the Senate was as unnecessary as it was unwise, futile as it was inexcusable.

The United States Senate has rendered a service to the Society of Nations that is yet to be. The "reservations" revealed no opposition to the principle of a Society of Nations. Indeed, from our point of view, they showed a sentiment quite the contrary. They would have made a real League possible. True, they eliminated certain alleged terrifying "guarantees" and removed from our list of duties the doleful task of administering the treaty with Germany. And now, by rejecting the impossible thing, the Senate has left the way open for a legislative Conference of all the Nations to the upbuilding of international law and equity in conformity with tried and familiar methods.

We have pointed out from time to time that a league to enforce peace is a contradiction in terms. The proposed Covenant of the League of Nations as originally submitted to the Senate would have established a league to enforce peace and increased the possibilities of war. The changes proposed by the Senate would have removed from the League this unthinkable element of force, excused America from an irretrievable commitment to the extreme policy of the treaty, and paved the way for

a real society of nations based upon the consent of all. The great error of the President lay in his failure to see this. Having failed in this, his treaty, so far as the United States is concerned, is dead. It is better so.

FIRST BY LEGISLATION

IF WE are to follow the lamp of experience, any successful international organization for the maintenance of peace between the nations must begin with legislation. The details of procedure would be very simple. All the nations would send duly accredited delegates to a common conference, where they together, as a result of discussion, would draft in definite language rules of law relating to concrete needs and situations. After adoption by the conference, these proposed statutes would be laid before the respective powers for ratification. If ratified, the proposed statutes would then become law for all ratifying nations. By the means of such laws, passed and ratified in such ways, other international organs may be set up as time may prove to be necessary. This method of going about the business is not only simple, but it has been successfully tried by a thousand and one different international organizations, particularly by The Hague conferences.

By such a method no insuperable difficulties, such as confront us anent the proposed League of Nations, could possibly arise. We have no doubt that this is the reason why Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri, speaking in the United States Senate February 26, 1920, said: "I unhesitatingly declare that the instrument that was proposed by the *American Peace Society* could be passed in the Senate in one day's time." Senator Reed was referring to the declaration of principles adopted by this Society and run continuously on the inside of the front cover of this magazine since America entered the war. Indeed, the Senator incorporated our International Program of Peace Through Justice in his address. In his speech, which consumed nearly the entire session, the Senator also pertinently remarked:

"Mr. President, I have referred in the preceding remarks to the principle advocated by the *American Peace Society*, not because it was the only organization advocating the principles referred to, but on account of its activity and importance. It is proper to add that the principles by it advanced were those which have been upon the tongues and pens of distinguished men of this and other countries for many years. They were the principles sought to be wrought in agreement at The Hague Convention, where the foundations were laid for their ultimate acceptance. Scarcely a modern writer of note or recognized thinker ever went beyond those principles up to the very time the President departed for Europe. From all that was said prior to the closing of the doors of the peace conference, when the doc-

trine of 'open covenants, openly arrived at,' was supplanted by the policy of 'secret agreements, secretly arrived at,' the public had a right to believe, and did believe, that the fundamental principles of the league would be in accordance with these well-known and long-advocated policies."

By beginning in the natural way; namely, by the instrument of an international lawmaking body, all the difficulties now paralyzing reason would largely disappear. The details of organization, the selection of officers, the adjustment of finances, questions of exclusion and control; all elements involving personal equation; questions of representation, reduction of armaments, codes, guarantees, tariff control, waterways, neutrality, and the infinite number of others, would be settled in accordance with the principles of law and equity; and such laws, being the product of voluntary and co-operative beings, could through the years gradually reveal the ways to accomplish what now seems to be the impossible. Such a method of procedure could threaten in no sense the world as would any alliance for the enforcement of peace. It would be in conformity with the well-known principle that compulsory arbitration, compulsion and conciliation, are mutually exclusive terms and self-contradictory in nature. Presenting no fears, even of economic pressure, it would generate no dangerous hostilities, but would be a continuation of that very significant and familiar accomplishment most conspicuously set forth in that most illuminating "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" adopted at The Hague and ratified by the nations in 1899. As said by Mr. Charles E. Hughes, speaking with reference to the Adamson Law at Green Bay, Wisconsin, September 20, 1916: "All we have to do is to stand firmly for principle, and we can get justice done."

LET US MAKE SURE NOW

THE DAVY CROCKETT strain in us demands that before we go ahead we be sure we are right. To those who argue that we can safely accept the Covenant of the League of Nations, bad as it is agreed to be, because after we have signed it we can then proceed to patch it up, we would offer a word of warning. We would remind them of a single stubborn fact. That fact is this: When the United States signs the instrument she signs a treaty and assumes under it all treaty obligations. This means that she assumes every possible obligation, moral and legal, to abide by the terms of the treaty. When President Wilson or any one else advises us that when we have signed the treaty we have assumed no legal, but simply a moral, obligation, he renders a disservice to our thinking, an insult, indeed, to the moral intelligence of every right-minded American. The

second clause of article 6 of the United States Constitution provides that all treaties under the authority of the United States are the "supreme law of the land"; that, further, "the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." If, by signing the treaty, we become parties to this League of Nations, it becomes our moral and our legal obligation to do everything in our power to comply with the recommendations of the Council. In concrete terms that simply means that if the Council recommends that the United States shall send its armies to Abyssinia, we shall be legally and morally bound to do just that thing. A group of nine men dominated by five will have legislative, judicial, and executive power to decide whether or not the United States shall do that thing. It is conceivable that a situation might arise where the United States ought to send an army to Abyssinia; and if we, the American people, should feel that it was our duty to do that, we would do it; but that decision should be made, in our judgment, by the Congress of the United States, representing the people of the United States, and not by any group of five men sitting in Geneva or elsewhere. Davy Crockett's words were, "Be sure you're right, then go ahead." That has the American ring about it. Before we become a part of this alliance to enforce peace, let us first make sure of all that it means, for once the American people are convinced that a given course is right, they may be trusted to go ahead. They did it in the World War. They would do it again. But they knew where they were going then.

ENGLISH POETS AND THE WAR

DURING THE WAR there were poets who defended it, stimulated enlistment in it, and prophesied great things from it. Since it closed, the current of comment by the singers has been quite adverse. Their mood, especially those of them who actually fought in Europe, is one of "pacifism," of contempt for the bellicose arm-chair ranters for war who stayed at home, and a terrible realism in depicting their own and other soldiers' experiences.

"You hope that we shall tell you that they found their happiness in fighting,

Or that they died with a song on their lips,

Or that we shall use the old familiar phrases

With which your paid servants please you in the press:

But we are poets

And shall tell the truth."

Thus speaks Osbert Sitwell in "Argonaut and Juggernaut."

Even more poignantly rebellious is Siegfried Sassoon,

who began his caustic criticism before the war closed, and who keeps it up in his latest volume. Likewise in Robert Nichols' verse you get the same affirmation of the hideousness and futility of the process.

The significance of this revolt is that it comes from youth, and they are men of a social caste that hitherto has glorified almost all the wars in which Great Britain has shared. But no longer do these men speak the "Rule Britannia" dialect.

"HUMANIZING" AN ARMY

SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER on February 26th issued a statement, or "order," through the General Staff office, with which officers were charged to "familiarize themselves at once." Technically considered, it is a memorandum on the "treatment of recruits," who, by the way, are not forthcoming now in a way to please the War Department.

Following is the text of the order:

"The treatment of the new soldier must be based on the human element much more than has been the case in the past. We have given our pledge that the new army shall be a really democratic institution, not a thing apart from the people, but essentially a part of the people, by and for whom it exists, and it is incumbent upon every officer and non-commissioned officer of the service to do his utmost to bring this about, not only in drill and discipline, but also in human interest and sympathy for the thoughts and feelings of the young civilian who dons our uniform."

The inferential admissions of this document as to past practices are significant. We shall not attempt to say precisely how much its issuance is due to the widespread revolt of non-professional officers and drafted privates, who served in the A. E. F., against the temper and the tactics of the West Point "regulars" under whom they acted at home and abroad—a revolt that smouldered in days of war, but has flamed up and out since the armistice. That this fierce resentment against the "caste" system of the regular army and the "machine" conception of the private, which the West Pointer has come to hold through long years of unchallenged power, has had much to do with the present demand for "humanization," we have little doubt. Even a General Staff knows when to pay at least mock obeisance to democracy and humanity.

We are interested in another phrase in this order. It is the one in which Secretary Baker says that the country has given a pledge that the army shall be a "democratic institution." We can understand how an army can begin to form and function in a manner approximating democratic rule; but that it can stay so, or function efficiently from the military standpoint, while so managed, we

doubt. Soviet Russia has tried it and swiftly seen a most autocratic form of army rule come to pass to meet alleged or real national needs.

Militarism and autocracy are Siamese twins. However, we have no objection to an effort to humanize the autocratic ideal so far as it may be done; but we do not expect to see colonels and privates fraternizing, or army-post administration decided by a referendum of officers and privates, or court-martial justice rival in equity that decreed by civilian courts. Lead is still lead and gold is still gold, despite the latest proof that they have unsuspected affinities and are neither of them matter, but only differing modes of motion. An army barrack is not a home and never can be made one; and a system that has for its corner-stone unquestioning, unreasoning obedience cannot be expected to function like a free State.

HOPEFUL WORDS FROM JAPAN

THE JAPANESE correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* strikes a reassuring chord from out of what has sounded to us as an inharmonious orchestra in Japan. He tells us that Premier Hara is showing considerable determination in his efforts to get the government of Japan out of the control of the army. We are given a picture of the popular agitation against the old iron-fisted soldier faction which has tried to make a second Germany out of Japan. He expresses the view that Japan "is rapidly joining with the rest of the world in its hatred and contempt of anything which savors of Prussianism."

It appears that Ichizo Hattori, formerly governor of Hyogo prefecture and now a member of the Diet, has recently made a strong attack in open session on the militarists, accusing the war office of constantly interfering in secret with Japan's foreign relations, and that to the serious detriment of the reputation of Japan abroad. It is true that the war minister denied these charges; but we are convinced by what this correspondent says, and by certain other facts which have reached us, that there is a growing tendency on the part of the Japanese public to disagree with the views of the war minister. Some of the newspapers, such as the *Yomiura*, are discussing the whole matter with unusual frankness, speaking in concrete terms about such things as Japanese diplomacy in China and the unscrupulous activities of militarists, especially also in China.

Mr. Osaki, having recently returned to Japan after an extended journey through America and Europe, has spoken very critically of Japan, accusing her of being a "Fuji standing upside down." Among other things Mr. Osaki said:

"It cannot be denied that there has been a positive tendency in Japan to regard military force as a universal panacea for all international ills. In the past Japan has frequently had recourse to military force in international questions, but the general tendency of the world has now changed, since the great war has demonstrated beyond a doubt that a strong army and navy can hardly guarantee the ascendancy of a country. If military force could satisfactorily solve all international questions, such problems as the Shantung question and the China boycott would have been settled long ago."

It appears also that Mr. Nagashima, member of the Diet, has demanded the establishment of a Foreign Relations Committee, an innovation indeed.

But the remarkable thing about the whole situation seems to be the wide welcome from the public at large and by the press to the views thus expressed against the militarists.

COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

THE LATEST formal action by Congress relative to the plan to have compulsory universal military training of the youth of the United States "side steps" the issue. Two factors of the situation have caused this performance: the condition of the Treasury and the disinclination of the party managers to have any additional complexity added to an already tangled and disturbed state of affairs in a vexing presidential campaign.

With estimates of the cost of the innovation—in times of peace—ranging anywhere from \$700,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 annually, lawmakers who live in fear of irate and already heavily burdened taxpayers, and who know from the estimates of expert congressional and Treasury officials that the government faces a deficit of from three to five billion dollars next year, are not prepared to back the "militarists" who wish peace conscription.

As for the politicians, they have begun to hear from the farmers, the manual workers, the "intelligentia," the women, and the returned soldiers. The latter, it was supposed, would be strong supporters of the project. Some of them are, but more of them are not. Their experiences in Europe and in the home camps have been educational. Like the rank and file of the British and French armies, they are "fed up" on war and cannot be counted upon for future offensive action or for loyalty to a military policy.

If many of the candidates for the Presidency could have their way, they would avoid taking sides on this issue now. But the supporters of the candidacy of General Wood, of the United States Army, do not intend to let them evade facing the issue. He does not. He is for

the plan—body, mind, heart, and soul. They want to know whether his rivals are, and they keep writing formal letters to the would-be neutrals.

Their tactics are quite legitimate. We trust that the Wood backers will continue to prod until they get some positive answers. The electors in this campaign have a right to know what the several candidates think. Planks in party platforms illuminate the way partly; but it is in the man more than in the platform that voters are now most interested; for a platform may be ignored or forgotten; but a man of the requisite presidential age does not change his spots. If he is a leopard, he remains so.

THE REAL RUSSIA

SINCE we last went to press the Russia of the Soviets has so strengthened itself in a military way that there is no longer any formidable military opposition to it within the nation, nor any disposition of the Allied Powers further to spend money, supplies, and men in aiding elements of the population that resist the Soviet control. Nor is this all. Great Britain, Italy, and France, to a less degree, have informally, if not formally, agreed to quasi-recognition of the State dominated by Lenin and Trotsky; and Japan and the United States have agreed in this, at least, that they are withdrawing troops from Siberia and letting the situation take what shape it will along Russian nationalistic lines.

These governmental decisions, so pregnant with importance, because pointing toward cessation of internal Russian strife and also toward a radical alteration of the economic condition of Europe and northern Asia, have been arrived at partly because of necessity and partly because of the appeals of reason or commercial cupidity. The masses of the people in the Allied and Associated nations will not support further warfare against the Russian masses. Moreover, all latest reports from Russia indicate a greater degree of political stability and economic health there than conservative journals and their correspondents have been willing to report and admit. Last, but not least, the Russian market is vast, and priority of entrance into the field means much wealth to the pioneer trading nation.

Having decided no longer to "kick against the pricks," Europe has at last agreed to do what she should have done years ago, namely, send into Russia a representative commission backed with the moral support of the nations interested. Reliance in part upon the Labor Section of the League of Nations is interesting. Delegates so appointed may command treatment from the Soviet government that a commission of "intellectuals," professional public officials, or diplomats of the old school

could probably not count upon. We hope the men sent will be of a moderate and not a radical type; that they will know what to seek for in the way of information and how to interpret it when they find it.

"Real Russia" has been a *terra incognita* to the world since the Revolution, so narrowly partisan and class-conscious have been most of the investigators and commentators who have pretended to tell the world what really was being done in the vast Slavic domain. Honest-minded visitors have too often been denied expression. Governments have relied too exclusively on "intelligence" officers with an almost inevitable bias, owing to their class affiliations and economic preferences. Radicals have gone daft over experiments that had a Utopian dress but a gross body within the libertarian attire. For lack of light, partisans of monarchy, constitutional representative government, and democracy with the group as the basic unit, have been bespattering each other with mud. Powers that controlled navies have kept up a blockade that has put an end to the lives of hundreds of thousands of non-combatants. Wounds have been made that will leave permanent scars, reminding former friends among the nations that they have been enemies, as, for instance, Russia beset by republican France and the United States.

The chapter is one discrediting human nature, political idealism, "open diplomacy," and 20th century journalism.

TAKE NOT THE OPPORTUNITY FROM FRANCE

INTERNATIONAL magnanimity towards central Europe can be initiated only by France.

It is complained, especially by such persons as Mr. Maynard Keynes, in his "The Economic Consequences of Peace," and by Norman Angell, in his "The Peace Treaty and the Economic Chaos of Europe," that M. Clemenceau was opposed to Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, and that throughout the Peace Conference at Paris he drove steadily at one object, namely, to render Germany impotent by means of accumulative poverty and famine. It is pointed out that the population of Germany has increased since 1870 from forty million to nearly seventy million. To feed such a population from within her own borders or to obtain sufficient raw materials from her own resources is impossible. The impressive manufacturing activity of Germany is dependent upon imports. The Paris Treaty aims to cripple Germany's manufacturing industry by making it impossible for her to import either food or raw materials; because, since modern manufacturing depends upon coal, iron, and transportation, M. Clemenceau's statesman-

ship at Paris was bent upon making it impossible for Germany to obtain coal, iron, or transports. It is argued that Germany requires 140,000,000 tons of coal yearly if she is to renew her manufacturing on a scale equal to that of 1914. The loss of the coal mines of the Saar Valley, the obligation of Germany to furnish coal to France, Italy, and to other allies, and the reduction of Germany's territory has reduced the annual coal supply in Germany to 60,000,000 tons. Germany's loss of Alsace-Lorraine means a reduction of three-fourths of her iron supply. Under the terms of the treaty, Germany's mercantile marine practically disappears from the seas. In the light of these facts, Professor Starling reported, in his official calculations, to the British Government that Germany is in position at the present moment to feed less than one-half of her population. Because of her losses in coal, iron, and means of transportation, it is believed that if the present terms of the treaty are enforced that 15,000,000 of the German people will starve to death.

We are presented thus with a distressing picture indeed. Instead of an increasing birth rate, Germany is already face to face with a declining birth rate. Babies are fed a mixture of spinach and water, because neither milk nor other food can be had. New-born children are wrapped in newspapers for the want of other clothes. We are presented with the picture of "starving women tearing in pieces a horse fallen in the street, and eating its raw flesh; the appearance of tuberculosis in shapes hitherto unprecedented, attacking the whole body simultaneously and finally manifesting itself in purulent dissolution." As an economic proposition we are asked, What is to become of this country? It was the best customer of Italy, Belgium, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, and Russia; the second best customer of Great Britain; the third best customer of France. Mr. Norman Angell uses these ominous words:

"A moment's reflection should convince us that a racially and nationally cohesive block of seventy millions, with a gift for discipline and organization, surrounded by smaller States, most of whom are in bitter conflict with one another, cannot be condemned to slow starvation. Somehow, somewhere, they would find a means of breaking out of their prison. By our action we should have given them a righteous cause for war. Then, indeed, they would be fighting for their homes, their women-folk, their little ones, and the war would be waged by a ferocity measured by the ferocity of the doctrine—our doctrine—against which it would be a revolt."

We have no doubt of the substantial accuracy of this picture and we agree that it is terrible. On the top of it all is the new spirit of revenge, transferred now to Germany. The dangers along the Rhine persist. What is to be done?

In the light of the nearly a thousand years of attacks and counter-attacks across this river, it does not seem desirable that the United States should recommend the amelioration of the terms imposed upon Germany. We do not sympathize with Mr. Maynard Keynes nor with Mr. Normal Angell in permitting their lively sympathies for the German suffering to blind them to the suffering in France. France has suffered far more than Germany. Let us get that in our minds. From our point of view, furthermore, the cause of it all started with Germany. It is difficult to understand why we hear so much of the sufferings in Germany and so little of the sufferings in France. A correspondent writes out of eastern France: "The situation is still grave; practically no coal, nor furniture, and no milk. How on earth are we to feed all the tiny babies during the winter, with condensed milk three francs a tin, and very ordinary at that? . . . The economic and financial situation is frightful. Germany does not fulfill the treaty, and it appears that seventy-five years will be necessary to clear and rebuild everything. Seventy-five years! How on earth can France wait? The rate of exchange prevents us from asking help, materials, etc., so it would seem that we shall have to go to Germany for all we need. It's a farce, a cruel, unjust, disgusting farce. . . . After Mr. Wilson has obliged us to go in for the famous League against our own convictions, it really seems a joke, too."

Our feeling is that since there can be no permanent solution of the situation in central Europe save in terms of a peace of reconciliation; and since there can be no feeling of reconciliation within central Europe except through some magnanimous act of the victor, that magnanimous act would be most effective were it to come from France. There can be no real magnanimity from any other source. If, therefore, there are to be any proposals looking toward amelioration of the terms of the treaty, toward "forgiveness" of indebtedness, those steps should be taken first by France. Let the rest of us wait, therefore, upon France in this matter. There is where the magnanimity must start if it is to start anywhere. And France can be magnanimous. There is no doubt of that. Until that magnanimity is forthcoming, England, Italy, and America will do well to remember the devastations, the hungry children, and the dead scattered over pathetic France. Since France did not begin this war; since she has been the innocent sufferer of the greatest of wrongs; since only friendship can heal the wounds; and since friendship can only follow where kindness and magnanimity lead the way, our feeling is that the first step toward that peace of reconciliation, which is the only conceivable basis for peace, must be taken voluntarily by the nation most in danger and by the people who have suffered most.

THE WORLD is not ready for an international organization with unlimited jurisdiction of indefinite definition.

PRESENT DAY international conditions recall the cynical remark of Lord Salisbury, that "national gratitude is a bird whose only natural habitat is the after-dinner speech."

SINCE "MUSIC hath power to soothe the savage breast," it is well to note and to welcome an "international" movement in the realm of music. The International Gregorian Congress will meet in New York City June 1-3.

MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD complains that "our untrained men were killed in the war." Are trained men invulnerable to bullets and poison gas, General? The same experienced statesman remarks that "military training is not compulsory training in militarism." General, who are the militarists anyway?

THE BLANKET guarantees under article 10 would have been much more acceptable at this stage of international development had they been specific guarantees in the interest of French safety along the Rhine and of the new republics recently set up.

THE SORT of thing the League of Nations—indeed, every idealistic plan—needs is the establishment of an idea of public right as the governing idea of world politics.

IF THE Council and Assembly are to be, as some claim they will become, mere councils of conciliation, it is the business of a strong and successful federal government such as the United States to make sure of this in advance.

MR. GILBERT K. CHESTERTON in one of his characteristic interviews, emphasizing as usual the superiority of the past to the present, says that "the American Declaration of Independence is soaked in classical antiquity." It is true that Jefferson did know something of the classics; but his chief inspiration was a very recent form of French philosophy; and as for the other signers, most of them went no farther back in their philosophy of revolt than their own experiences as English colonials applying the fundamentals of British law and order and liberty. You cannot make anything Greek or Roman out of the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of 1789.

THE PEOPLE all over the United States are demanding decreased taxation, and everybody on the payroll is demanding an increase of salary. How can you reconcile these two demands? said a Congressman in the debate on the Soldiers' Bonus Bill. You cannot satisfy both except you begin way back and teach anew that war depletes treasuries, inflates currencies, upsets family budgets, and makes it sure that lawmakers must face just such an impasse.

THE AMERICAN ARMY in France dealt so fairly and humanly with such German prisoners as came under its control or as they met the captives in camps run by the Allies that now the United States is profiting by the record thus made. As these former prisoners return home they contrast their lot with men who came under the rule of captors of other nations, men who showed hate, not magnanimity and sportsmanship. Justice is a form of capital that pays large dividends in kind. Hate likewise.

THE CANTONS of Switzerland, like the States of the American Union, are free, sovereign, and independent unities. But, quite as in that development of arbitration under the Roman civil law leading to a permanent judiciary out of which developed the Pax Romana, there was a similar development in Helvetia. From 1291 to 1848, disputes between the Cantons of Switzerland were settled in accordance with the principles of arbitration. Then was established a permanent federal tribunal with jurisdiction of civil situations between Cantons; then later over disputes of a public nature. This represents a development similar to that in the United States of America.

THE PREMIER OF JAPAN, in his speech opening Parliament in January, commented on the recent imperial rescript, and said that he was "filled with awe at the profundity and comprehensiveness of the utterances from the throne." This from a Liberal and "Commoner" Prime Minister. Japan cannot adjust herself to the West until she quits this sort of fawning. Unfortunately she has a state religion, the religion of a dynasty heaven-derived; and that, too, must go. At least that is the way it seems to us.

THE LEAGUE so long under discussion in the Senate is seen to have been a radical innovation upon one of America's most treasured political theories, the theory of representative government. There is no doubt that the proposed League of Nations is in form and sub-

stance of the nature of a world empire. That the language of *compulsion* has been softened into the language of a *promise* does not alter the essential accuracy of such a characterization. Leaving out the methods of legislation and of judicial processes, as it does, it is purely executive in its nature; that is to say, being unhampered by either law or court, it is Prussian in its conception and in its dangers.

LEST WE FORGET, there remains the Administrative Council of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Forty-three nations signed the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, October 18, 1907, twenty-six of whom have ratified the instrument. Our members of the Court are: Hon. George Gray, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Hon. Elihu Root, and Hon. John Bassett Moore. In one more year the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague will be twenty-one years of age.

THE INEVITABLE movement among nations is toward the settlement of their disputes by arbitration; thence by judicial processes in a permanent court presided over by permanent judges clothed with all the sanctity of judicial responsibility and adjudicating issues between the nations in accordance with the principles of law and equity, which principles of law and equity shall represent the action of accredited representatives of the peoples. Such a movement constitutes the hope of the nations in their attempts to overcome the destructive methods of war. It is a fundamental fact that justice has no relation to might or majority. The evolution of international peace will proceed as it has proceeded between the Swiss Cantons, the parts of the British Empire, and the free, sovereign, independent States of the American Union.

HOW THEY do keep reverting to The Hague as a place for legitimate internationalism to find its solutions. Here is Mr. Frederick Harrison admitting that the plan for trial of Germans under Article 228 of the Treaty is unworkable now and urging that a court be set up at The Hague, made up of the neutral powers only, at which the Entente powers should appear as accusers and their recent German enemy as defendants. A better way has been agreed upon; but the fact that this Liberal veteran talks thus of The Hague indicates that there are still Britons who recall that that city has a recent history which will always make it memorable in the history of international jurisprudence. The nations will come back to it, probably before long. It is inevitable.

BRITISH COLUMBIA and the State of Washington propose to make a park on the boundary line, into which resort their fine State and provincial highway systems will lead from the south and from the north. In the park they plan to erect a suitable memorial of a century and more of peace between Canada and the United States. Fine idea, fine plan of execution, and fine environment!

J. ROBERTSON SCOTT, eminent as a Western journalist, living and writing in Japan, writing in the latest bulletin of the Japan Society, N. Y. City, says that the fundamental reason why Asia is a mystery to the West and the West is a mystery to Asia is because of distrust of each other's morality. How inevitably all problems of international relations come back to ethical tests for final settlement. Mr. Scott's sense of personal duty at this grave juncture in history is taking him back to Asia to establish a review that will help break down the distrust and dispel the mystery. Why? Because war, that flows out of distrust and alienation, must be avoided if progress is not to prove to be a dream and civilization an illusion.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT has been holding an "Essay Contest," in which the students of all schools, except colleges and universities, whether public, private, sectarian, or non-sectarian, were invited to participate. The subject chosen was "What are the Benefits of an Enlistment in the United States Army?" The board of judges was composed of Secretary Baker, General Peyton C. March, General John J. Pershing. The principals of all schools were urged to co-operate in every way possible in this great contest conducted by the officers of the Army Recruiting Service. One instinctively wonders why so much energy has to be spent in order to recruit our army and navy forces. We judge that the common sense of our young men is something of a factor in the situation.

THE PICTURE of one man voting in a foreign city, one only of five, deciding the fate of over 100,000,000 of people, has not appealed to the majority of the American people. In short, the unrepresentative action providing for the whole project has seemed like a leap in the dark, a rehabilitation of that ancient and outgrown system of one-man power, a system invariably ending in riot and revolution. The American people are accustomed to the negotiations of treaties by the method of commissioners reporting to the President, who in turn submits the instrument for the advice and consent of the Senate. They have not been able to un-

derstand, and they have not therefore been able to approve, of the President's appointing himself as his own ambassador to Paris; but, more particularly, they have not been able to accept the principle of one-man power—a theory peculiar to the "League" itself.

WHEN THE HISTORY of the period through which Americans are passing comes to be written by a historian who can view men and their deeds with something approximating objective dispassionateness, it will be seen that some of our wisest counselors in the United States were business men and financiers of large caliber—men like Mr. Hoover, Mr. Vanderlip, and Mr. Davison, all of whom have studied conditions in Europe at first hand. For instance, contemplate the words of Mr. Vanderlip, addressed to the Economic Club of New York City, February 25. He said: "The world will never be safe for democracy until democracy is intelligent." He added the opinion that if the \$750,000,000 which the majority party in the Senate wish to spend on universal military training were "put into universal training in the principles of government and economics, America will be safe for democracy."

GERMAN-AMERICAN as well as German comment upon the service that the American Friends are rendering in Germany as almoners of funds contributed in the United States and of supplies furnished by Mr. Hoover is fervently appreciative, and there bids fair to be no finer chapter in the history of the Quakers of the United States than this one. Their constructive, social, soul-cheering work done in Russia and in France during the war had fitted them experimentally for this work in Germany; and their humane attitude toward all persons, their evident piety as well as good-will, and their special beliefs make them welcome in a peculiar way to a people as distraught, suspicious, and undecided as to the meaning of life as many of the Germans are now. One of the workers in this cause is a member of the New Hampshire Peace Society, Rev. F. T. Libbey, of the faculty of Phillips Exeter Academy, himself not a Quaker. He has had experience working in France under the Friends' Service Committee, and leaves the country again in April, to visit the six countries where the Friends are carrying on this relief work.

CAREFUL READERS of the ADVOCATE during the past two months will have noted that, however moribund the "peace" societies of other States may be, the New Hampshire Society is busy functioning. It is finding that public opinion is more tolerant than it was dur-

ing the war; that organizations of an educational sort welcome discussion of the conflicting issues involved in the League of Nations' plan, and that substantial people of the New Hampshire communities are willing to hold office in the society and work for it. The hope that the 1914-'18 combat was really a "war against war," and that when peace finally came it would disclose a world so nauseated by war that it would "turn from its vomit," to use a good scriptural phrase, is passing. There were persons, who in ordinary times show much discrimination, who were saying, no longer than fifteen months ago, that it was time to "scrap" the peace societies. The grim fact seems to be that never were they more needed.

A WRITER in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 5, 1920, has expressed himself frankly about the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock's "The League of Nations." Mr. Pollock, having taken the position in his book that Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations simply makes it possible for the Council to "advise" rather than to "prescribe" the action to be taken by each member of the League, the critic now pertinently remarks, "But this does not get over the fact that the obligation remains." The critic also suggests another thing, something that had escaped our attention, namely, that the British dominions and India, by putting their signatures to the Covenant, have thereby appointed themselves to defend Poland, Roumania, and Czechoslovakia against external aggression, "while they have no corresponding obligations, either conciliatory or by treaty, to defend the mother country." He also adds significantly the following remark: "The author makes no reference to the agreement of November 5, 1918, by which the Allies accepted the 'Wilson terms' as the basis for the armistice. It would be interesting to know what he regards as the standing of that agreement in international law and what he thinks of its undoubted violation in the Treaty of Versailles."

GIVEN an army, what does common sense dictate as to care for the moral and spiritual welfare of the soldiers? Experimentation, during 1914-'18, with the traditional system of chaplains and also with a newly created set of agencies managed by laymen, taught the American War Department much that never before had been dreamed of in its philosophy. It is now making the army's morale department include much of the service rendered by the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and similar organizations, and it is maintaining a training school for chaplains at Camp Sherman, Ohio. The "sects" no longer can unload upon the army men who had failed as clergymen in civil life. Where light now is needed seems to be in Congress, and it is against that

citadel of conservative parsimony that the Federal Council of Churches and its allies are driving. They plan to secure for the chaplains the rank, pay, and defined status that they must have if the army is to get men of caliber for a work that at best is difficult and unrewarded.

CLEMENCEAU had his virtues as a war premier and certain defects as a peace negotiator, but he must be given credit for declining the gift from France of an estate in his native Vendee. "I will not accept a reward for anything I have been able to do for France," he said. The American Legion of Honor officials and the rank and file of the A. E. F. would do well to con this saying, as they assail Congress in behalf of a "bonus" system that involves the expenditure of several billions.

GERMANY'S academic and political agents and agencies were so closely intertwined under the old monarchical régime that it was inevitable that when the war came the university professors should be the most ardent "patriots" and defenders of the imperial policy. Probably nothing equaled in its "shock" effect upon Great Britain and the United States the manifesto issued by men like Harnack, Ostwald, and Meyer, in which not only the national policy, but the military tactics used in the Belgian invasion were approved. Today, under a republican régime, with a former saddler for President, the German university professor has to adjust himself to quite a different social and political environment; and for many of them the process will be difficult. There is nothing admirable in the way both the students and the authorities of Berlin University have dealt with Nicolai, the biologist, author of "Biology and War" and a sharp critic of the militarist policy of the old régime. At first welcomed back from his safe retreat in Switzerland, he at last has been told to quit his academic post; and since he says that he would like to live and teach in the United States, why not find an opening for him here?

THE *Evening Post* of New York is quite pleased with that portion of the report of the Industrial Conference which leaves the enforcement of unanimous findings by the National Board of Appeal wholly to the good faith of the parties who have agreed to abide by such decision. In a recent editorial in this paper we read: "If industry wants peace, the way of peace has been pointed out. If it wants war, no set of machinery will prevent war." Surely that is sound doctrine. But of this valiant defender of the alliance to enforce peace proposed in the Covenant of the League of Nations, we would respectfully inquire why the same principle does not apply in the matter of international disputes?

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS*

By HERBERT A. SMITH, OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT has rendered a noteworthy service to the cause of international justice by publishing, in a convenient form, with a reasoned analysis, the collected decisions of the American Supreme Court upon the controversies that have arisen between the States of the Union.¹ As we all know, a vast amount of useful work has been done in the course of the last hundred years by the various commissions that have been appointed from time to time to arbitrate upon international disputes. The Supreme Court, however, differs from these commissions in that it is the first instance of an interstate tribunal which has been permanently constituted to deal with whatever controversies may present themselves. Arbitration commissions are specially composed *ad hoc* to decide upon the merits of particular disputes, and the judges are for the most part selected directly by the parties to the controversy. The Supreme Court derives its authority, not by delegation from the immediate parties, but from the corporate will of all the federating States of the American Union.

Upon this important question the Covenant of the League of Nations affords us no clear guidance. The language used seems rather to indicate a resort to the arbitral procedure which has already been employed under the Hague conventions. If this be so, then the League will not carry us much farther than we have already gone. In private litigation every one knows the difference between the awards of arbitrators appointed by the parties and the judgments of a court deriving its authority from the State. The distinction is equally applicable to the conduct of international disputes. So long as the parties continue to nominate the judges, the moral authority of the tribunal will be that of arbitrators and nothing more. The stream cannot rise higher than its source.

In the present temper of the world it seems in the highest degree unlikely that the nations will consent to entrust their disputes unreservedly to the decision of judges over whom they have no control. To provide on paper for a permanent court is a comparatively easy matter. But the court will not be an effective instrument for the regular settlement of international disputes unless and until the temper of the civilized world is so changed that men will recognize in the League of Nations a moral authority superior to that of the individual States composing the League.

As at present constituted the League of Nations has many points of resemblance to the short-lived "Confederation," which preceded the "more perfect union" of the present Constitution. In the Confederation the Congress was to be constituted on the principle of "one State one vote," and disputes between the States were

to be decided by arbitration commissions appointed *ad hoc*. Each State retained control of its own military forces and reserved the right in an emergency to decide for itself upon questions of peace and war. The weakness of the Confederation lay in the general refusal to recognize in Congress any moral authority superior to that of the individual States. Even after the acceptance of the Constitution the authority of the Federal Government was weakened for many years by the persistence of the doctrine of "State rights," and this weakness was evidenced by the general unwillingness to accept the Supreme Court as the final arbiter of interstate disputes. Although the time was one of many controversies, no final decision was given by the Court in any case between two States until the bill of Rhode Island against Massachusetts was dismissed in 1846.² The essential unity of the American nation was ultimately decided, not by the Supreme Court, but by the Civil War.

The case just mentioned is worthy of careful study in the pages of Dr. Scott's work. The dispute was one of long standing concerning the true location of a boundary line, and the bill of Rhode Island was filed in 1833.³ Massachusetts met the bill with an unqualified denial that the Supreme Court had any jurisdiction over the controversy at all, and threw every obstacle in the way of a final decision upon the merits of the case. The question of jurisdiction was not decided until 1838,⁴ and the bill was not finally dismissed until 1846. That such a controversy should have been possible shows clearly how unfamiliar and unwelcome to the American mind at that time was the idea that controversies between the States could be settled by the decision of Federal judges. The development of this idea and the corresponding growth of confidence in the Supreme Court took a very long time.

Of the remaining interstate cases in Dr. Scott's collection only one was pressed to a decision in the period prior to the Civil War. This was a somewhat curious case, in which the State of Kentucky sought a *mandamus* to compel Governor Dennison of Ohio to deliver up a fugitive from justice, whose crime consisted in assisting the escape of a slave from Kentucky into Ohio.⁵ The opinion of the Court in refusing the application is an interesting illustration of the attempt to reconcile the conflicting doctrines of Federal and State rights. Taney, C. J., laid down that it was the absolute duty of the Governor, under the Federal Constitution, to deliver up every fugitive, and that he had no right to exercise any discretion as to the merits of particular applications. On the other hand, if the Governor chose to neglect this duty, there was no power either in the Court or in any department of the Federal Government to compel him to perform it. It is greatly to be feared that any tribunal established under the League of Nations will occasionally find itself in the same dilemma.

After the Civil War a remarkable change at once becomes evident. Fourteen boundaries have been definitely fixed by the Court in the period from 1870 to 1918, and final decisions have been given in a number of other suits arising out of various causes. The con-

* This article, reprinted from the Columbia Law Review for January, 1920, is so peculiarly consonant with the principles of the American Peace Society that it is reproduced here in its entirety.—THE EDITORS.

¹ Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union. 3 volumes. Oxford University Press, New York.

² (1846) 4 How. (45 U. S.), 591.

³ (1833) 7 Pet. (32 U. S.), 651.

⁴ (1838) 12 Pet. (37 U. S.), 657 and 755.

⁵ (1860) 65 U. S., 66.

ception of the essential unity of the American nation had now taken a firm hold upon the public mind, and this led to an acknowledgment that the National Government had a moral authority superior to that of the individual States and could therefore adjudicate upon disputes between them. From this we may infer that no international tribunal can command a position analogous to that of the American Supreme Court unless and until the public opinion of the civilized world is prepared to acknowledge in the League of Nations a corporate unity, a kind of super-State, wielding a moral authority different from and superior to that of the States composing the League. How far we are still removed from such a conception every man can judge for himself.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty of all lies in the problem of enforcing the decrees of a court which addresses its commands to litigants more powerful than itself. To me this appears as the most interesting topic in Dr. Scott's book, and the most important in its bearing upon the problems of our own day.

Upon this vital question the Constitution is silent, and the Covenant of the League of Nations speaks only with the most timid hesitation. Doubtless the Fathers of the Constitution were wise in their generation. An attempt in 1787 to provide explicitly for the coercion of States by the Federal power would certainly have wrecked any proposals for a "more perfect union." But it was not long before the question came to the front. In 1792 one Chisholm brought an action against the State of Georgia upon a money claim, and in the next year a majority of the Supreme Court admitted his claim.⁶ To this Georgia replied in no uncertain voice. She flatly denied the jurisdiction of the Court and threatened the direst penalties against any one who should have the temerity to enforce the judgment. Public opinion in the Union supported her in her resistance, and the Eleventh Amendment was passed to restrain the zeal of the Supreme Court and prevent a repetition of the affront to the dignity of a "sovereign" State.

For many years American opinion undoubtedly shared the view that neither the Supreme Court nor any other department of the National Government had any right to coerce a State. In No. 81 of the *Federalist*, Hamilton had strongly protested that the very idea of coercion was unthinkable. Encouraged by her successful resistance in the Chisholm case, Georgia pursued her own imperious way. She oppressed the unfortunate Cherokee Indians in flagrant disregard of solemn treaties that pledged the honor of the United States, and treated as waste paper the writs by which the Supreme Court sought to stay the proceedings of her officers. The Court was unpopular and was regarded as the enemy of democratic institutions. Guided by Marshall's powerful mind, it had adopted a strongly "Federalist" reading of the Constitution, and President Van Buren was undoubtedly right when he said that if the people could have foreseen its judgments they would never have consented to its erection. President Jackson was carried into office in 1829 on a great wave of popular feeling, which demanded a vigorous reassertion of State rights,

and he supported Georgia in her resistance to the decrees of the Supreme Court.

On the other hand, the period since the Civil War is marked by a general willingness, not only to invoke the judgment of the Court, but to submit to its decrees. Only in one case has any real reluctance been shown. In 1915 Virginia obtained a judgment against West Virginia for over twelve million dollars—a debt which had been first created on the formation of the younger State in 1863.⁷ For the next four years West Virginia tried every means that the ingenuity of her counsel could suggest to escape compliance with this decree. At one time it seemed as if the question of the enforcement of judgments, so long evaded, must be forced to a decision. In 1918 the Supreme Court went so far as to declare, in the abstract, that the Federal Government had the right to enforce upon a State compliance with decrees of the Federal judiciary.⁸ But the ruling was left in the abstract. The ways and means of execution were not defined. In 1919 West Virginia came to a tardy repentance and arranged for the levy of a tax to satisfy the judgment. So the great question remains undetermined, and it is to be hoped that no State will venture again to evade its bounden duty under the Constitution of the United States.

Such are some of the problems that have faced the Supreme Court of the United States in the discharge of its high function as an interstate tribunal. The limits of a review preclude a more detailed examination of these questions, and I hope that I have said enough to send the reader to the pages of Dr. Scott's analysis. It is evident that the difficulties which have confronted the American Supreme Court will be magnified tenfold for any permanent tribunal that is charged with the duty of settling disputes among the nations of the world. Even in their early and most troubled days, the States of the American Union were united by the consciousness of a common origin and purpose and by countless bonds of race, language, and institutions. The international court of the future will have to deal with nations that are separated by every circumstance that can act as a cause of disunion among men.

But to say this is not to utter a cry of despair. The path is difficult, and it would be foolish to ignore the difficulties; but it is not impossible. We must not look for immediate results. It took the best part of a century to establish confidence in the American Supreme Court under conditions infinitely more favorable. Our immediate duty is to convince the world that in all normal cases the judicial settlement of international disputes is the only right method. Of course, we must recognize that there may be exceptions, just as we know that there are times when the most peaceful citizen may have to fight for his life against a burglar. But if we can establish a court upon sound foundations, and if the court can justify itself before men by the wisdom and justice of its decisions, then we may hope that it will, as time goes on, gradually draw an increasing number of cases to its bar, until at last all normal causes of dispute among the nations are settled by peaceful means. Such is the lesson to be read in the history of the Supreme Court of the United States.

⁶ (1793) 2 Dall. (2 U. S.), 419.

⁷ (1915) 238 U. S., 202, 236.

⁸ (1918) 246 U. S., 565.

LIBERTY UNDER LAW

HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Former Justice of the United States Supreme Court

(From an address given by him in February, entitled "The Antidote for Bolshevism," and printed in the *Christian Statesman* for March.)

OF COURSE, we can have no involuntary servitude in this country. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was intended to render impossible any state of bondage, to make labor free and abolish slavery of whatever name or form. But the right thus secured is an individual right. The right of individual freedom of action protected by the Constitution—the right of an individual to work or to cease to work at his will—is one thing; the right to combine with others to strike for the purpose of enforcing demands is quite another. The latter right is not protected by the Constitution as an absolute right and, like the right of employers to act in concert or combination, is subject to such reasonable restraint as the legislative discretion may find to be necessary for the protection of the vital interests of society. Our institutions of freedom do not render us impotent to protect ourselves against the domination of any combination or any concert threatening to destroy communities by interrupting their facilities of communication or by stopping their necessary supplies. Organized power of capital or labor cannot be permitted to work its own will to the injury of the public.

We need a permanent solution of these problems. War legislation is not permanent, and war remedies merely attest a need which may survive them. The industrial situation in its relation to basic industries, no less than in the case of transportation, needs comprehensive treatment. If in these vital matters concerted action to obtain redress of grievances is to be placed under limitations in order to protect the public, then the public must perform its duty through its appropriate organs in making adequate provisions for the peaceful and fair settlement of industrial disputes through agencies fairly representing all concerned in such disputes. In ordinary civic relations we have substituted courts and the processes of justice for the strong arm and vigilance committee. The time is at hand when we must furnish suitable machinery for industrial justice, at least so far as those vital enterprises are concerned upon which our life depends. It should not be impossible to do this, if we are sincere in our demands for justice. The processes of justice imply the creation of impartial tribunals and the opportunities for fair consideration. They imply that the parties to the dispute cannot take the law into their own hands and sacrifice the peace and well being of the community to their contentions. The problem is often discussed as though it simply concerned employers and employees. Stockholders may be able to stand the conflict; employees may have the benefit of strike funds. It is the people who suffer, and when the public need is traceable to a removable cause it is the part of wisdom to take just and effective measures to remove that cause, and a most important measure to that end is to provide instrumentalities of industrial justice in relation to these essential activities. With the

apostles of violence silenced, the schemes of inciters to disorder and revolution frustrated, law and order preserved, with an inflexible demand for loyalty on the part of public servants, with provision for the peaceful and just settlement of industrial disputes, thus making possible effective measures against interruption of essential services to the community, we should go far toward making class rule impossible.

But all that I have said implies the existence of a sound and dominant democratic sentiment. Protective measures cannot be provided, still less maintained, unless throughout our country there is a deep-seated affection for the Republic, an earnest desire for stability, and appreciation of the only way in which there can be rational progress. It is not enough to secure a temporary peace, important as that is. If the seeds of wrong reason, of distrust and discontent, are sown and the soil is congenial, we must expect the harvest.

The time has come for a better appreciation of our economic order. What is good must be understood and candidly and fearlessly defended; what is bad cannot last save by the rule of force, which will make the class struggle inevitable. Fortunately, our prosperity has been so great and so widely shared that throughout the country the conserving forces predominate and an intelligent hearing is assured. Those who have a stake in stability far outnumber the vain dreamers or those who seek profit in fomenting discontent. And, on every hand, with an unexampled freedom of opportunity, experience is constantly teaching its salutary lessons.

INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

There are certain primary truths which must constantly be kept before our people. The ultimate economic gain must be found in production and thrift. The world waits for increased productivity. We may enjoy a prosperity beyond anything hitherto known, if only we will work and save. Agitation that curtails production helps no one, least of all the workers. For every wage increase, for every improvement in conditions of labor, for every protection against sickness, old age, and death, for every betterment in civic facilities, for the care of the weak and helpless, for all the helpful ministrations we desire to multiply, we must look to production to pay the bill. Can we not drive home the lesson that decreased productivity means disaster to all?

Production requires expert knowledge, skillful management, the rewarding of invention and initiative, and it also requires contented labor. It is idle to expect prosperity if any of these conditions are absent. Even the Bolsheviks have found the necessity of having highly paid specialists. Is there anything surer than that there will be no prosperity for industry on a dead level? The man who knows must be paid; the man of genius in enterprise must be kindled with ambition and suitably rewarded. The great adventure must make its appeal. Our land is dotted with successful industries opening broad opportunities of labor which were only made possible by the vision of men who were willing to take risks because of the rich promise of success. As I have elsewhere said, there is no alchemy which can transmute into communal riches the poverty of individual hopes. Our people are intelligent enough to appreciate this. The history of enterprise is an open book. The essence

of the matter is—and let it be insistently proclaimed and explained, so that instead of a mere tradition we shall have reasoned conviction to combat the apostles of delusion—that if you would have adequate production to make progress possible, taking human nature as it is and as it is likely to remain, you must have the constant incentive to exceptional endeavor in exceptional reward; you must recognize the service of brains as well as the service of brawn; you must secure the rights of property honestly acquired; you must protect every man's savings which concretely represent the gains of effort; you must give capital, which represents the investment of those savings, a fair return; you must keep open the avenues to endeavor, so that there is reasonable assurance that every one who can render a service to society has a chance to render it, and an expectation of proper consideration if it is rendered; and that thus only you will make possible that constant development of productive activity in agriculture, in mining, in industry, in commerce, which creates prosperity and gives opportunity for improving labor conditions.

It is equally necessary to productivity, as I have said, to have contented labor, and this means that upon economic, no less than upon humane, grounds it is most important to avoid dislocation and interruption through disregard of the demands for fair treatment of labor. Reasonable hours, fair wages, proper housing, protection against injury and disease, provision for old age and for families in case of the death of the breadwinners—these are reasonable demands the meeting of which will conduce to contentment and efficiency. Justice to labor is a vital part of any program of ample production.

JUSTICE, LABOR, AND THE COURTS

But justice must have its organs. It is easy to say "Do what is fair," but the question remains, "What is the fair thing to do?" It is inevitable that there should be disagreement, and the difficulty is to resolve the controversy by the processes of reason. "Come, let us reason together," is the watchword of democracy; it should be the watchword of our industrial life. Labor has a right to the security of the processes of reason and so has capital. We have made little progress in providing the machinery for industrial justice, and in this respect we are still uncivilized. We are still at the stage corresponding to that of trial by battle and trial by ordeal in the early law of procedure. But we cannot go on indefinitely in this way. What is absolutely necessary, as I have pointed out in the case of the basic industries upon which the community's life depends, is clearly advisable throughout the field of industrial activity—although when the vital interest of the community is not involved, the plan should not go further than to facilitate and enforce agreements.

I believe in the recognition of the right of collective bargaining on the part of labor through representatives of their own choosing. The qualifications may be made that these should be proper representatives and not those who aim at the demoralization of our industrial life and use labor disputes as a means to promote sinister designs. Employers and employees should favor the speediest and most direct method of getting at the facts in controversy. It is a hardy issue that survives the painstaking examination of the facts, and it cannot be doubted that

the provision of representative instrumentalities of conference and conciliation will be of the greatest benefit to labor as well as capital. Labor has nothing to gain by the unnecessary interruption of industry. While the same sanctions may not be justified when the interests of the community are not so vitally concerned as in the case of public utilities and basic industries, there should be the greatest readiness to secure voluntary co-operation through boards and representative councils by which disputes may be settled peacefully. It is no time for artificialities or narrow views. Fair inquiry should result in agreement, and agreements when made should be binding and enforced under apt provisions of law. The class spirit thrives on the sense of injustice, and it is in unredressed grievances that agitators and disturbers of peace find their opportunity. As Sidney Smith said, there is no use in trying to make those content whose game is not to be content. But the American workman is well disposed, intelligent, and sensible. He wants work and fair treatment and is not looking for trouble. It is true that the class spirit is easily aroused. Meet it with the vigorous assertion of the community spirit and by providing so far as possible the machinery of industrial justice.

LIMITS OF CONTROL BY LABOR

The participation of labor in management is often suggested thoughtlessly. I see little prospect of a successful voyage in having the seaman divide the captain's responsibility in navigating the vessel. Skillful management is the prime condition of success, and it will not be to the advantage of labor to embarrass the discharge of executive functions or to attempt to share responsibility for business policy. And if labor is treated fairly in all the matters that directly concern labor, it is to the interest of labor that the freedom of enterprise should not be restricted. The object really sought, I take it, is the assurance of fair wages, reasonable hours, and proper working conditions. The provision for suitable representation in dealing with all disputes which may arise as to such matters, the creation of boards of inquiry or councils of conciliation, the fair ascertainment of facts, and the reaching of agreements through appropriate conference—these are the safeguards to which labor is fairly entitled and through which enterprise may find the stability essential to its prosperity.

Education, said a great writer recently, is the first concern of democracy. Undoubtedly we are suffering much at the hands of the intelligent, and it is dangerous to tempt the most well-informed to abuse conscious power. But the conspiracies of the intelligent can be met only by the diffusion of knowledge. It should not be difficult to have it understood that the community will not tolerate the suppression of its interest by force or organized power of any sort, whether of capital or labor, and in an intelligent commonwealth we may expect attention to the voice of reason and the lessons of experience. The remedy is to repress the Hunnish spirit and keep the schools full. But education should have direction, and in a republic the institutions and fundamental principles of the republic should be made clear to every one. We have had too much stress in our schools upon learning the anatomy of government and too little upon the inculcation of the spirit of democracy.

We need more attention to the culture of the democratic spirit, the study of the principles of democratic government, and of the special guaranties of our representative system.

THE VISION OF THE ETERNAL

And in teaching the principles of democracy, it must never be overlooked that while democracy implies the rule of the majority the success of the great experiment will depend on the self-restraint alike of individuals and majorities. It is our peculiar fortune as a people that we have guaranteed to the helpless individual, in the most hopeless minority, the exercise of certain unalienable rights, and have erected tribunals, whose duty it is to sustain them. But it must never be forgotten that this willingness to recognize the essential rights of individuals, this capacity for self-restraint, is nurtured not merely by education, but by the precepts of religion. It is significant that in the most recent declaration of purpose to overturn the Government of the United States the conspirators have declared their hatred of religion. The perpetuity of democracy depends on the sentiment of brotherhood, and finds its strong support in the faith which inspires a sweet reasonableness and the love of service. It is the endeavor to understand each other, to help each other, to brighten the lives of our fellows, to succor the distressed, to give courage to the faint-hearted, to raise the fallen, to bind up the wounds of those who have suffered from disease and vice that manifests the democratic spirit. And that spirit is essentially the religious spirit. A community without religious faith is doomed to materialism and the bitter warfare of class selfishness. There can be no peace in society without the vision of the Eternal.

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT ENDURING PEACE

By THEODORE STANFIELD

ONCE again mankind longs for enduring peace and sadly recognizes that it is not in sight. All are agreed that no proposal that insures a lasting peace and justifies disarmament has been forthcoming from any quarter. What are we going to do about it?

For centuries the subject has been studied and several attempts to establish peace for all time have been made. All have failed. "Grim-visaged war" is still our curse.

Why has the preventive of war not been found? Have previous studies and attempts been conducted by scientific methods? Has history, which is a record of almost continuous warfare, been subjected to such methods of inquiry? Has the problem been approached objectively or subjectively? Do we understand how it can be that humanity has advanced coincident with war? Have previous attempts to prevent war been directed at its primary causes, its secondary causes, or its manifestations? What is the primary cause of war?

In Immanuel Kant's writings the primary cause of war is illuminatingly treated. His views can perhaps be best presented in brief by quoting the following from Dwight W. Morrow's book, "The Society of Free States":

"Man, unlike the other animals, is endowed with reason. He does not, however, act always in accordance with his reason. Rather are his acts fitful, sometimes guided by reason, sometimes by instinct. We must believe, however, that all the capacities which Nature has implanted in any creature are destined to unfold themselves if sufficient time be allowed. And this must be true of man's natural capacity to use his reason, which will be fully developed if we allow sufficient time.

"But man's reason develops only by its constant exercise; by failures and successes it gradually advances from one stage of insight to another. No man within the short span of life allotted him can get enough experiments with his reason to enable him to live completely in accordance with that high faculty. To live rationally, however, is always his goal, and he may hope to make such progress that his children may start from a higher level than that from which he started. Thus, the goal which, for lack of experience, he himself can never attain, the race to which he belongs may ultimately reach. And by the quality of his own life he may advance the species toward that ultimate goal.

"It seems as if Nature had intended, not that man should have an *agrecable* life, but a *hard* life. Nature, having endowed man with reason, left him without the natural weapons which are part of the equipment of the animals that act by instinct. Man must invent his own covering, his own shelter, his own means of security. He must struggle from the greatest crudeness of life to his highest capabilities and to internal perfection in his habit of thought. Moreover, he must continue the struggle, though the weary toll be for the sake of those who come after him, that they may live in the dwelling upon which he and his long line of forefathers have labored.

"The two great human qualities which drive the individual forward in this self-culture are the social instinct and the self-assertive instinct. Man has a strong inclination to associate himself with his fellows. He has, however, also a strong inclination to individualize himself—to outstrip his fellows. He expects others to resist him, just as he knows that he is inclined to resist others. And this mutual antagonism awakens the powers of man, overcomes his propensity to indolence, impels him through desire for honor, or power, or wealth, to strive after rank among his fellow-men. His desire for possession, his envious jealousy and vanity, even his love of power, are the qualities which have lifted him from the simplicity of an Arcadian shepherd life. Man is social and desires concord, but man is competitive and is driven to strife. He desires to live in peace with his fellows, and he fights with his fellows in order that he may have peace.

"But it is impossible for men long to exist beside one another in wild, lawless freedom. By the very evils involved in lawless liberty man is compelled (not necessarily consciously) to pass from a state of lawlessness and to enter into a civil constitution in which the germs of his humanity can be unfolded. The greatest practical problem for the human race is, therefore, the establishment of a civil society universally administering right in accordance with law. This requires a society which permits the greatest liberty, and to that extent involves antagonism of its members, and a society which at the same time determines the limits of individual liberty in order that it may coexist with the liberty of others. The attainment of a civil constitution in which liberty and order would be perfectly

adjusted is the highest problem prescribed by Nature for the human species. It is likewise the most difficult problem and will be the last to be completely solved by the human race. For, as a rational being, man desires a law which shall fix the bounds of his freedom; as a selfish animal, he disregards that law or attempts to exempt himself from it. How is he to be governed? His ruler may be one man, or a group of men, or the whole body of the State of which he is a member; but whether he is governed by an autocracy, or an aristocracy, or a democracy, in any case the governor is human and, like himself, is governed by instinct as well as by reason. The highest authority must be just and at the same time human. Begin and end where he may, therefore, it is not easy to see how man can place over himself any supreme authority that will be entirely just, whether that authority be one person or the whole society of the State. Until man himself fully exercises his capacity to reason, the world-old question will continue to be asked, "Who is to govern the governor?"

"The establishment of the perfect civil constitution of a single State is dependent upon the proper regulation of the external relations between States, and without the solution of the external problem the internal problem cannot be solved. It is obvious that a State cannot administer right in accordance with law, however perfect its constitution, if it is interrupted by the acts of other States. States, like individuals, are both social and unsocial. They desire relationships with their neighbors and they desire to excel and surpass their neighbors. Through wars, and the never-relaxed preparation for wars, and the burden of debt and devastation left by war, separate States will be driven into unions. And in this process Nature does not and cannot hurry. If too soon all the States should be fused into a single State by the force of one power that had overgrown the rest and subjected them to its sway, the evils of despotism would ensue, the laws would lose their definiteness and fairness of application as the range of government became enlarged, and despotism would end in anarchy. But Nature, by differences of language and religion, works to keep men from forming the universal State too soon. As civilization increases, as men become more and more alike in principles and get more and more of an understanding of one another and of their differences, the final federation of States will be developed."

Must mankind patiently wait and suffer until reason reigns supreme? Must the human being remain passive like vegetables and animals? Should he not use his consciousness and intelligence to organize all the powers and learning of mankind to find and establish the common bond of all human beings and make a continuous effort to create enduring peace? Why should not the nations, their universities, and men generally co-operate to solve these questions?

The material for study being the history of mankind, they would naturally turn to historians for the general principles which have been found to govern human advancement. Unfortunately, history is still an art and not yet a science. However, modern historians realize that history should and can be developed into a science, just as, for instance, chemistry, geology, and astronomy have been. Professor Taggart, formerly Professor of History at the University of California, in a recent book entitled "The Processes of History," examines the pre-

vious conceptions of history and suggests methods of scientific research to establish the processes of history. Here we have, I think, a starting point for a rational inquiry into the nature of war. He reaches the interesting hypothesis:

"That human advancement follows upon the mental release of members of a group or of a single individual from the authority of an established system of ideas. This release has in the past been occasioned through the breaking down of previous idea systems by prolonged struggles between opposing groups which have been brought into conflict as a result of the involuntary movement of peoples. What follows is the building up of a new idea system which is not a simple accumulation of the knowledge previously accepted, but the product of critical activity stirred by conflicting elements in the opposed idea systems."

Here war appears as functioning for human advancement, somewhat like a catalytic reagent, and the problem would be to find a better one.

Men come and go, nations rise and fall, and there remains progress in the form of ideas. Objectively regarded, man lives to develop, improve, and increase the heritage of ideas. This would apply to every human being, whether conscious thereof or not. All are on the same planet and no one knows either its first cause or ultimate end. Our common bond, whether we realize it or not, is that we all crave to solve this riddle of our universe. This bond will endure until the riddle is answered or human beings cease to exist on this earth.

Have not previous efforts been directed toward preventing war and not toward establishing some relationship among men that will counteract the causes of war? Have previous efforts not dealt with the differences and disputes that arise, instead of the creation of some visible symbol of the solidarity of the human race that would make such differences and disputes pale into relative insignificance? Have previous efforts built upon what draws men together, or what drives them apart?

To a philosopher visiting us from our sister planet, Mars, it might indeed appear miraculous that we puny creatures, not six feet high, on a sphere over forty-two million feet in diameter, have discovered so much about our surroundings and the far-distant stars. But would he not be amazed to find that, with so much more of vital interest to learn, we should be given to killing one another instead of working together for the common end? Would he not, perhaps, if urged, offer the suggestion, based upon the experience of the Martians, that we should form a "Society of Human Beings," with a permanent center in, say, the United States, the home of all races, and there let the common efforts of all men focus? Furthermore, that all scientific, artistic, and social ideas should have their meeting-place there, so that men would become conscious of their common object. Then they would work together toward that end and realize their comradeship in the great adventure of life on the planet Earth. Truth would sit in judgment, and the common aim would then be the incentive and motive of endeavor. Ideas, various and conflicting, would meet for comparison, analysis, and discrimination. Might he not suggest that pure science should have its research establishment there, supported by all nations and encouraged by honors and prizes; applied science

its laboratories and world-wide patent office; the schools and universities their common home; art its incentives and rewards for creative efforts; the world's theater, concert and exhibition halls; there scholars, priests, and statesmen could meet. Our Martian philosopher might perhaps point out that the friendly contact and joint effort would lead human beings to appreciate and respect each other's differing talents as a valuable contribution to the same cause. Perchance he would remark upon the necessity of a common language at this center, and upon our reply that repeated efforts to establish one had utterly failed, he would naturally advise us to try English, because the majority of civilized people speak it, and the proceedings could, of course, be translated into all languages.

As beings supposedly superior to all others, let us not stake our existence on empirical experiment, but apply ourselves promptly and energetically to organize the world for a scientific and continuous research into the problem of creating "peace on earth, good-will to men."

ENGLISH SHOULD BECOME THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE

By KNUT SANDSTEDT

The following communication, representing answers of various scientists to a questionnaire prepared and sent out by the Northern Peace Union, has been sent to us from Stockholm by Dr. Knut Sandstedt, of the *Svenska Fredsoch Skiljedomsforningen, Referingsgatan 74, Stockholm, C.*—THE EDITORS.

THE Board of the Northern Peace Union, Stockholm, has set on foot an inquiry among the philologists of the universities in different countries as to what language, living or dead, would, in their opinion, be the best and have the greatest prospects of being accepted as a common language of correspondence and conservation, in addition to the vernacular of each separate nation.

Up to date, 34 answers have been sent in, and of these 26 correspondents have declared themselves against the artificial languages—Ido, Esperanto, Volapük—and instead expressed their opinion that English is the language that has the greatest prospect of becoming an universal language. Two have proposed French, one German, one Latin, one Esperanto, and three Ido.

The professor of Sanscrit and comparative philology at the University of Lund, Sweden, Nils Flensburg, writes:

"For my part, I am fully convinced that, especially under present circumstances, English would be most appropriate and would have the best chances of being accepted as the international world language. It is spoken by the two nations, the English and the Americans, who now, after the Allied victory, will politically play a still more important rôle than before; it is also the language most generally used by the business world, and is, moreover, the most prevalent in all parts of the globe. The mastery of this language would not only serve a practical object, but also make possible a closer acquaintance with a literature which, compared with that of all the other European countries, prob-

ably possesses the highest educational value as well as the greatest beauty.

"As to the general opinion in this matter among the philologists, I dare not give you any definite answer. I believe, however, that the majority are rather skeptical regarding the artificial languages, such as Volapük, Esperanto, Ido, etc., and in the main agree to the objections as to their use formulated by, for instance, Brugmann and Leskien in their joint pamphlet, 'Zur Kritik der künstlichen Weltsprachen' (Strassburg, Trübner, 1907)."

A similar opinion has been expressed by Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, Upsala, and the Bishop of Copenhagen, N. Osterfeld; the professor at the University in Copenhagen, Wilh. Grönbeck; the professor at the high school in Stockholm, Carl Benedicks; the general secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, Chr. L. Lange, Kristiania; the professor at the University in Leiden, G. C. Uhlanbeck; the professor at the University in Graz, Josef Mesk; the President of the Norwegian Peace Society; the Governor of Kristiania, Håkon Løken; the President of the Danish Peace Society, Deputy Niels Peterson, Copenhagen; Professor Halvdan Cout, Kristiania; the professor of the University in Lovain, A. J. Cornoy; the Chamber of Commerce in Kristiania, in Gevle, in Bruen (Tjecko-Slovakia), and in Amsterdam.

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

VI

Our Demand for Veracity

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY

ONE of our chief concerns is the expert. We are suspicious of him. His "facts" are not always convincing. Mr. Henry Ford is sure that history is "bunk." In their candid moments, perhaps a majority of the teachers of history will agree with him. The census methods employed by the various nations are so lacking in uniformity and refinement that a graphic study of civilization does not exist; no "graphs" of civilization can be made. A professor of economics in one of our large universities confessed to me not long since that his science rests upon no established body of facts. Some of the work in sociology may be scientific in nature, but it is only by a rather loose handling of terminology that we may speak of a "science of sociology." We are continually referring to civilization without knowing even the meaning of the word, failing to recognize that there exist as yet no means of measuring it. Prof. Norman King Smith, successor to Prof. Pringle-Pattison, né Andrew Seth, of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, throughout his inaugural address, in which he devotes himself to the present condition of philosophy, gives no indication of the outcome of the age-long struggle between skepticism, naturalism, and idealism. Idealist though he confesses himself to be, he seems to have a warm spot in his heart for both skepticism and naturalism. He seems to comfort his soul in a kind of ethereal eclecticism which savors of a barren ideality. Even the physical sciences, thought to be so impregnable in the 80's and 90's, are recognized now to be febrile and un-

certain, their devotees despairing of ever settling upon any physical bases for the flood of new facts pouring from the laboratories. It is frequently charged, and it is difficult to refute the charge, that our essays and philosophies get nowhere. Our absolutes and universals are claimed to be emotional aspirations merely. Our educationists pride themselves upon the accomplishments during the last fifty years, accomplishments which have given to the schools their laboratories, tools, machines, arts, play apparatus, magnificent buildings, compulsory school laws, college graduates for teachers; and yet the schools were never more criticised from within and from without than today. With all its sciences and philosophies and education and religion, what we call civilization finds itself in the midst of a head-on collision with what may be, for all we know, irresistible forces of an entirely different nature.

Writing in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for February, 1920, Mr. Jackson H. Ralston complains that "we lack the essence of honesty, . . . intelligent square dealing." He complains of the abstractions of the pulpit, the opportunism of statesmen, and the inattention of universities to "experimental applied honesty." Refusing to face our shortcomings, we are, like other cowards, "shot in the back."

But is our social situation hopeless? I think not. Through these papers I have tried to show that the world war, with its flood of miseries, has left us hopeful still of public education; of attaining unto truth; of the inherent dignity in human character; of our zeal for self-culture; and of an evolution in rational individual behavior. With Mr. Ralston's complaint in mind, I would express the further opinion that the war has not destroyed our common demand of our fellows and of our arts that they give to us a sound and wholesome veracity.

CONDITIONS OF THE PROBLEM

By veracity is meant truthfulness, to understand which is not simple. There is no little haziness in our thinking about it. For illustration: What is a lie? What, if any, are the distinctions between deceptions and lies? What are the different degrees of the lie? Wherein is the evil of lying? Is it ever proper to lie? How are we to treat the lie in our instruction of the young?

To define the lie is as difficult as it is to define any abstract thing. In ordinary phrase, however, a lie is thought of as a deception of any kind, a form of evil which all the moralists treat with austere rigor. Immanuel Kant condemned all intentional deceptions of any kind with the greatest severity. Fichte was a German metaphysician who would have objected to Von Bethmann-Hollweg's scrap-of-paper disregard of the truth, for it was he who said, "I would not break my word to save humanity itself." Mark Hopkins, the Thomas Arnold of America, in his "Law of Love," has a chapter entitled "The Right of Truth," in which he sets forth that all human interests connect themselves with truth; that men act on expectation founded necessarily in truth, else such expectation would die of its own inconsistency and cease to be a motive for action at all; that when any legitimate end of another depends on his being told the truth, he has a right to the truth; that this must be so or the area of rights would cease

utterly to exist. Paulsen, whose chapter on "Veracity" covers the whole field with great clarity, in one place defines the lie as meaning "willingly and wittingly to tell an untruth in order to deceive others." It might easily have been a Sunday School pupil who defined the lie as "an abomination unto the Lord and a very present help in time of trouble"; but no writer would dare to defend lying, be it personal, community, or international lying.

Yet all deceptions are not lies. Unintentional deceptions cannot be lies. Certain intentional deceptions cannot be called lies. For example: Is it legitimate for a physician to tell a patient ill, say, near unto death with nervous prostration, that her illness is but temporary and slight, and that she will speedily recover? Assuming that the physician administers this deception as he would administer a medicine, is his deception a lie?

Paulsen tells us of a stage manager in a theater of Zurich who, upon learning that the theater was afire, stepped before the scenes and announced that, owing to the sudden illness of one of the actors, the performance would have to be suspended. The building was safely vacated in a short time, after which it burned to the ground. Let us assume that by that deception thousands of lives were saved. Was the deception a lie?

In the third book of "Pliny's Letters," chapter XVI, is a searchingly pathetic picture. Poitus, near unto death, was seen to depend for his life upon the news, announced to him frequently, of the bravery of his two sons upon the field of battles then going on—news which his attentive wife, Arria, gladly brought to him. This brave Arria enjoyed telling her husband of the valiant sons, especially as she saw the tonic effect upon Poitus. But one day the news came that both sons had been killed. Yet the courageous woman went to Poitus and told him smilingly, as had been her custom, stories of new heroisms, saying that all was well with the noble boys. After this she left the room and fainted away. Was this deception a lie?

The possible situations bringing the inquiry near to us are many. A murderer is decoyed into the arms of the law. A man in an extremely dangerous position is deceived for a moment that his life may be saved. You promise me that you will meet me at the 5.40 train for New York, but on the way across the bridge you notice a child drowning. If you stop to save the child, you will certainly miss the train and break your promise. A teacher tells his pupils that before they can add or subtract numbers they must first place tens under tens and hundreds under hundreds. To call such deceptions lies would not be just.

Or, again, suppose a man well-nigh broken with troubles deceives others into believing him happy and cheerful, is he a liar? Discussing such a situation, Paulsen asks if we are, indeed, required to show everything we feel. He states the case thus: "Ought I, then, to tell a friend who has an unfortunate leaning to art, when he presents me with a picture as a birthday gift: 'My dear friend, your intentions are undoubtedly good, but I wish you would spare me?' Or shall I declare, when he expects me to say something about the present: 'Unfortunately, I cannot tell you anything, for if I told you the truth you would be angry, but if I didn't tell the truth this would be contrary to the moral law?'"

Take the case of children's deceptions. A small boy, wishing to keep a trinket for himself, hides it, and when his mother asks him where it is he shakes his head absent-mindedly. Another child informs his mother that he is a general in the army, or that his doll is crying. Sentimental Tommy tried to make his pal, Corp, believe that because Corp's mother was dead that his own mother was a "deader," too, with the thought that such would make him also a person of interest.

There are persons who would say of such childish deceptions that they spring from inadequate appreciation of what truth and falsity really are; that they start in play, which for the child is his only reality. Some grow out of the spirit illustrated by Stevenson's joyous Innes in "The Weir of Hermiston," who, it will be remembered, enjoyed immeasurably "the mere pleasure of beholding interested faces." Some deceptions spring from a fondness for dramatic situations; some from a mere wish to please and to be admired for it; some from a fear of giving offense; some from the fear of punishment; some from a familiarity with certain methods of correction in home or school, from an instinctive will to self-protection. It is pointed out that the more severely austere the authority over children, the more untruthful they will usually be. In any event, to call the untruthfulness of children, under such categories, lies would do violence to common sense.

Manifestly, there is a difference between deceptions and lies. Perhaps we may agree that a lie is any vicious intention to deceive. If we accept this interpretation, a lie may be told in words, in action, in attitude, in silence, in dissimulation. Dishonesty of this kind, the lie, is always vicious. Thus defined, a lie is, as Kant says, "the abandonment of one's dignity as a man and on the level with suicide." The lie is vicious because it destroys man's confidence in man, striking, therefore, at the very heart of human society. Lies are to the mental, moral, and social medium of exchange what spurious coin is to the commercial medium of exchange. The lie is thus the most serious possible poison in the home, community, or state, because it strikes at the system of credits and confidences upon which the whole social structure rests. A liar, therefore, is a composite of all the mean things, including cowardice and theft; cowardice, because afraid of truth; theft, because of an attempt to get what does not properly belong to him.

But as for the deceptions, half truths, peccadillos, some examples of which have been briefly stated, they are not lies, because they do not spring from vicious intentions. A deception becomes a lie when begotten by that vicious intention to deceive which destroys confidence and leads to the destruction of the social organism. The little deceptions of children are, therefore, not lies in any interpretation. While it is true that children cannot be too honest; while it is easier and pleasanter to be truthful; while any form of deception tends ever to defeat its own ends; while we are all aware of

"What a tangled web we weave

When first we practice to deceive;"

yet the old proverb remains true that "children and foibles cannot lye."

We still condemn lies. Nothing that has happened

during the war has dimmed our confidence in that real veracity which is the antithesis of the lie.

LARGER IMPLICATIONS OF VERACITY

But there are other and larger implications arising out of our demand for veracity. Shortly after the Civil War, Mr. E. P. Whipple wrote an interesting essay on "Shoddy," in which he said:

"In whatever direction we look, we detect this pernicious element (shoddy) at work, waging continual war against the creative forces of civilization. In politics, it substitutes expedients for principles; in generalship, bulletins for abilities; in society, manners for merit; in business, tricks for enterprise; in literature, form for substance and puerilities for power; in morals and religion, truisms for truth, shadows for substance, memory for insight, and the discipline of death for the communication of life. In all, it shows itself capable of producing nothing which is not a tissue of woven lies, and which does not drop into dishonored rags as soon as it is put to the test of use."

Mr. Whipple went on to say that the Civil War "has taught us, in letters of fire and blood, the policy of freedom, the expediency of justice, the worth of reality, and the worthlessness of sham."

In the light of this other and much more destructive war, these words out of that distressful period must give us pause. Shoddy we still have in our clothing, in our daily speech, in our politics and statesmanship; but the fire and blood, because of their horrors and injustices, have led us to demand newer and greater freedom, a deeper justice, a worthier reality. Behind the editorials, the magazine and public utterances, there is still evidence of the enthusiastic belief that "great is truth and mighty above all things." Men still agree with Bacon, that "no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth." Veracious men we still have, men undisturbed by the casuistries of lying, genuine men, with whom truth is instinctive. In our literature, art, life, all worthy achievement is seen still to depend upon the spirit of veracity. Deep or sane emotions must start from a profound veracity. Men count only that literature to be great which springs from veracious wisdom and knowledge. So they still turn to Shakespeare for their genuine drafts out of human life. They find their best pictures of Victorian England, not in the histories, but in the ultimate veracities of Tennyson and Browning. Men still know that only genuineness constitutes worth, and that art is more interpretive than figures.

The war has done nothing to destroy the satisfying exposition of this truth expressed by the "Poet" in Goethe's "*Vorspiel auf dem theatre*." Let us recall that situation. Goethe prefaces his Faust with three ante-chambers, or vestibules, a literary trilogy, each part of which gathers up some real struggle in the actual life of Goethe himself. The first of the three is the *Zuignung*, the second is the *Vorspiel auf dem theatre*, and the third is the *Prolog im Himmel*. In the second, the Prelude on the Stage, the Manager, the Actor, and the Poet are represented as discussing the kind of play that shall be presented. The Actor has no sympathy with the Poet's love for posterity, but urges that we should live today and win popularity by giving what the people

desire, letting the future take care of itself. The Manager, on the other hand, measures a drama and its value by the receipts from the box office. Away with dramatic art, classic unities, frills; away with dreams, beauty, feeling, culture, refinement, progress. Please the multitude. Keep down the expenses. Give us the receipts. Thus speaks the Manager.

Then listen to the Poet:

"Oh! speak not to me of that motley multitude, at whose very aspect one's spirit takes flight. Veil from me that surging throng, which draws us, against our will, into the whirlpool. No! conduct me to the quiet, heavenly nook, where alone pure enjoyment blooms for the poet—where love and friendship, with godlike hand, create and cherish the bliss of our hearts. Ah! what there hath gushed from us in the depths of the breast, what the lip coyly whispered to itself—now failing, and now perchance succeeding—the wild moment's sway swallows up. Often only when it has endured through ages does it appear in completed form. What glitters is born for the moment; the genuine remains unlost to posterity. . . . Begone and seek thyself another servant! The poet, forsooth, is wantonly to sport away for thy sake the highest right, the right of man, which Nature bestows upon him! By what stirs he every heart? By what means subdues he every element? Is it not the harmony—which bursts from out his breast, and draws the world back again into his heart? When Nature, ceaselessly winding, forces the thread's interminable length upon the spindle; when the confused multitude of all beings jangles out of tune and harsh—who, life-infusing, so disposes the ever equably-flowing series, that it moves rhythmically? Who calls the individual to the general consecration—where it strikes in glorious harmony? Who bids the tempest rage to passions? the evening-red glow in the pensive spirit? Who scatters on the loved one's path all beauteous blossomings of spring? Who wreathes the unmeaning green leaves into a garland of honor for deserts of all kinds? Who ensures Olympus? unites the gods? Man's power revealed in the Poet."

Thus the voice of the Poet expresses still our highest conception of the present and of the day yet to be. Men will still go on responding to that appeal. They will still turn to their Bibles, to Homer's Iliad, Sophocles' Antigone, Plato's Republic, Dante's Divine Comedy, Shakespeare's Hamlet, Goethe's Faust, Emerson's Nature, as the immortal works in literature—immortal because they have grasped the immortal themes, world-embracing themes, themes true to the highest sentiments of the human heart, themes growing out of the eternal veracity of things. Men still know that art cannot be false.

As others have pointed out, Pope's Essay on Man is, as an essay, false and misleading, the only thing causing the poem to live being its veracious epigrams. Thus instinctively do men demand veracity of an author. For this reason they refuse to read Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimation of Immortality" or some of Shelley's pure dreams and rhapsodies. Men still know that any art must spring from the deep and abiding veracities of human life, and so they demand it. Art which does not thus spring is puerile and shoddy.

The great masterpieces in literature depict genuine

human characters acting under real and natural laws. Prof. C. T. Winchester, comparing, with reference to this requirement, Scott's romantic poetry with Byron's oriental poems—Lady of the Lake or Marmion with Conrad or Lara—remarks:

"Doubtless neither poet represents the manners and customs, the outward circumstances, of any age with exact historic fidelity. There probably never were any such conditions as those described in the Lady of the Lake, and the average chieftain of the Scottish border was probably, as Macaulay says, little better than a bare-legged cattle thief. But there are such *men* as Marmion and Douglas and Roderick Dhu and the rest of Scott's heroes; there are such virtues, and they find healthy exercise and win genuine admiration, through all ages, in very much the same way. While, on the other hand, there never were any such men as Byron's Conrads and Laras, and never could be. These lofty, self-communing pirates and cut-throats who 'combine one virtue with a thousand crimes' are only the morbid imaginings of a powerful but ill-balanced nature in peevish revolt against society. In the one case the poetry is based on wholesome, universal truths of human nature; in the other, it has really no basis in truth at all; and hence, however popular it may be during a period of social ferment, it is sure to prove hollow at last."

The trouble with yellow journalism, yellow novels, yellow music, yellow theaters, is not that they are interesting, but that they are unreal, impossible, beastly, and therefore utterly debasing. There is not enough of real human life in them. It is said that if Walt Whitman had only known a little more he would have been the greatest lyricist of all time. Matthew Arnold conceived that the English poets at the beginning of the 19th century simply did not know enough. We find passion, imagination, and music in their work, he says, but there is not enough broad knowledge of life in them. They lack in veracity.

In the field of painting and sculpture, also, this particularly holds true, naturally as the law of gravitation. In his "Mornings in Florence," Ruskin takes us up to Giotto's parish church, Santa Maria Novella, and there in the apse he talks to us of the frescoes by Ghirlandajo. He explains to us how this would-be artist was to the end of his life a mere goldsmith "with a gift for portraiture," nothing more. He grants that in these frescoes, in the perspective of the wall, in that whole city of Florence, painted with infinite pains as a background, in that Luca della Robbia style of bas-relief, in the carving of the pilasters, in the embroidery of the dresses and many similar conceits, the man has come within just a point of doing the work as well as it could be done, and that it is done *just* as well as Ghirlandajo could do it. Ruskin goes on: "But the point in which it *just* misses being done as well as it can be done is the vital point. And it is all simply—good for nothing." The much-praised draperies hang as from two clothes-pegs; they are not true. The Madonna is not meek, only stupid; she is not true.

Over against Ghirlandajo, Ruskin calls us to witness, in a small recess behind a tomb, very close to the ground, yet in excellent light, two small frescoes, "only about four feet wide each, in odd-shaped bits of wall—quarters of circles; representing—that on the left, the Meeting

of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate; and that on the right, the Birth of the Virgin."

"No flourish of trumpets here, at any rate, you think! No gold on the gate; and, for the birth of the Virgin—is this all! Goodness! nothing to be seen, whatever, of bas-reliefs, nor fine dresses, nor graceful pourings out of water, nor processions of visitors?"

"No. There's but one thing you can see here, which you didn't in Ghirlandajo's fresco, unless you were very clever and looked hard for it—the baby! And you are never likely to see a more true piece of Glotto's work in this world."

"A round-faced, small-eyed little thing, tied up in a bundle!"

"Yes, Glotto was of the opinion she must have appeared really not much else than that. But look at the servant who has just finished dressing her;—awe-struck, full of love and wonder, putting her hand softly on the child's head." . . .

And so Ruskin goes on with his suggestive descriptions of the nurse, St. Anne, the midwife, and closes with:

"At the door a single acquaintance is coming in to see the child. Of ornament, there is only the entirely simple outline of the vase which the servant carries; of color, two or three masses of sober red and pure white, with brown and gray."

"That is all. And if you can be pleased with this, you can see Florence. But if not, by all means amuse yourself there, if you find it amusing, as long as you like; you can never see it."

In spite of the war, men will, like Ruskin, go on trying to separate the chaff from the grain, battling against sham and shoddy in their attempt to attain unto veracity. As they attribute Giotto's success as a forerunner of modern art to the genuineness of the man, to his power to see and interpret things as they really were, to his consummate veracity, so they will continue their search for success in the same spirit.

In the Rospigliosi Palace in Rome is Guido Reni's Aurora and the Hours, one of the world's ten masterpieces, sixteenth century fresco expression of a great veracity. It pictures sufficiently the epic drama of the recurring days. Aurora leads the procession, scattering across the night the roses and other flowers of dawn. On her way she beckons back to Lucifer, the morning star, torch-bearer of the majestic Phœbus, the lordly Sun. And this Phœbus, beautiful, sits godlike in his chariot, guiding with single hand his prancing steeds on their daily journey across the world. The seven hours, bewitching variety of rhythmic grace, dance with stately step on the twilight clouds around the car of day—the first in the robust vigor and joy of the new life of the morning, the last, with wistful, pleading, backward glances out of the eventide, patiently wonders when all this weary round of time shall cease. Men can feel but not describe the veracity of this picture. Every fold of drapery, every curve of muscle and sweep of limb, every glance and expression, every sentiment of the whole, is felt to be enduringly true. The picture lives because these things are so.

Thus out of an essential veracity art interprets man to himself. If veracity is a plant of Paradise—and perhaps it is—as George Eliot would have said, its seeds are

planted this side of the walls. If, as this woman did say, "We cannot command veracity at will; the power of seeing and reporting truly is a form of health that has to be delicately guarded"; if, as an ancient rabbi has solemnly said, "The penalty of untruth is untruth," if, as Paley has written somewhere, "I have seldom known any one who deserted truth in trifles that could be trusted in matters of great importance"; if achievement and peace can only accompany that freedom where veracity operates of itself, then men will agree that greatness is veracity. The untruthful man or nation can never be great. This must have been the thought in Huxley's mind when he said, "Veracity is the heart of morality."

The saintly Francis of Assisi proclaimed, and boldly, with astonishing success, the brotherhood of the human race, the equality of men, the tender human relations between Mary and her Child. He saw plainly the face of God in the face of his brother, the sun, and in the faces of his sisters, the birds. This large veracity of Francis led men out of their solitudes into the market-places, reared many churches, added new life to the pictorial arts, inspired Dante and the after poets, brought friars and burghers together, and awoke ten classical Byzantine sleeping centuries to the morning of the Italian Renaissance. The veracity of Francis changed the course of human history.

It is veracity that counts. It was the veracity of him that led Turner from Claudesque formalism in art to nature. It was an elemental veracity that opened the eyes of Wordsworth to the pedantry of the classical school of poets in the eighteenth century of English letters, and led him to break from the style of Pope and Gray, to write in the language of the common people, to picture reality as in *The Brothers, Michael, Tintern Abbey*. It was this veracity which, through Wordsworth, reached down the after years, giving substance to literature.

And the lack of this veracity may become a tragedy. It was the want of it that crippled the hand of Andrea del Sarto, "the faultless painter" of Florence, in his futile attempts to reach beyond himself. In getting cheap love, he saw Heaven elude his grasp. When it was too late, he saw his own soul, that vexed, helpless, resigned melancholy thing, with its insight, broken sorrows, sudden joys, pursuing uncontented life; he saw it forsaking, relentlessly forsaking, him. Out of his bitterness he cries that Raphael, Angelo, Titian, Leonardo reach a heaven shut out from him, though they cannot draw like him. He knows that his handwork is perfect, but as he says:

"There burns a truer light of God in them,

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for? All is silver-gray,
Placid and perfect with my art: the worse!"

THE DEMAND FOR VERACITY SURVIVES

Realizing thus the high merit of veracity, men detest shoddy, be it in cloth, in speech, in conduct, in art. The wooden house sanded to represent stone; the cellar walls plastered and traced to represent heavy masonry; the tin fronts to buildings worked into flimsy imitation of brick; both wooden lintels and keystones in car-

penry designed to represent Gothic stone effects; none of these things can become popular. We instinctively resent those works in paper or fresco designed to deceive us into believing that there are arches which are not arches, fair hanging draperies which are not draperies at all. So false are these things that we resent them, especially in churches.

The demand for veracity survives. There are still men who strive to live in consistent regard for the truth. They know full well that the habit of drawing distinctions between harmless and harmful, slight and great, unintentional and intentional deceptions is an irrational, a silly business. They know that veracity, like any virtue, comes only with the practice of it in the little things. They know that veracity is a valuable quality, because out of it spring those other essential things, such as chivalry, *noblesse oblige*, statesmanship. They know that the successful life is the life actively in pursuit of veracity. They know, as some one has said, that "gossip, flattery, slander, deceit, all spring from a slovenly mind that has not been trained in the power of truthful statement." They know that cynicism, ridicule, bitterness are unjustified because they are contrary to that eternal veracity which is the substance of successful homes, cities, States.

Men still know, and because of the war they know it more certainly, that secret treaties, fiat constitutions, governments by men only or by special privilege merely; that ill-considered political theories, unjust laws, and selfish ambitions must all give way at last. In their places must be substituted all needful publicity, the adaptation of tried methods of successful government,

the intelligent rule of an enlightened majority, scientific statesmanship devoted to the general welfare. Men instinctively demand these things in the name of freedom. In a sense, therefore, Mr. Ralston's "experimental honesty" is and always has been on the ways. On the whole and in the long run, men attain unto a greater and greater coherence because of a greater and greater enlightened self-interest, if for no other reason. When men argue that States are creatures of law, subordinate to the law; that they are interdependent, both as to their rights and as to their duties, they are pleading for an "experimental applied honesty." Men distrust their emotions and prejudices, for fear of dilettantism. Their instinctive leaning toward veracity leads them to demand brains with feelings, an "applied honesty." The more intelligent men become, the more they aim to buttress their principles upon knowledge. They applaud common sense in high places; and common sense means to them the substitution of organized facts and reason for the guess. When once upon a time a "doctor of the law, had in honor of all the people," stood up in the council and stated of the men in danger of their lives that "if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown: but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God," of course, "to him they agreed," for Gamaliel trusted the case to veracity. Men will go on listening to their Gamaliels; and the Gamaliels will continue to arise, condemning hypocrisies and unrealities, making easier the way for the feet of that Justice whose fruitful and eternal spirit is veracity.

U. S. SENATE AGAIN REJECTS TREATY

From July 10, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations have been before the Senate. On November 19 the Senate rejected it by a vote of 41 to 51. On January 15 bipartisan conferences began which lasted two weeks and ended in disagreement on all except minor reservations. On February 9 the Senate reconsidered the vote by which ratification was rejected in November and the treaty was recommitted to the Foreign Relations Committee. A day later it was reported back to the Senate with reservations essentially the same as those originally urged by the Foreign Relations Committee, and on the 16th debate was resumed and has continued with practically no intermission.

On March 18, under pressure of public opinion too powerful to resist longer, the last of fifteen reservations agreed to in committee of the whole were reported to the Senate and were adopted; and a resolution calling for a vote on qualified ratification of the treaty as a whole was introduced by Senator Lodge and was adopted.

On the 19th, by a vote of 35 to 49, 56 votes being necessary for ratification, the Senate declined to ratify with the reservations; and later, by a vote of 47 to 37, passed the following resolution, introduced by Senator Lodge:

"That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the Treaty of Peace with Germany, signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully

inform the President that the Senate has failed to ratify said treaty, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority required therefor."

A formal letter from President Wilson, dated March 8, to Senator Hitchcock and other informal expressions of opinion by the Executive had made it clear to the Senators that he was still insistent on ratification of the treaty without reservations, such as the debate had made it clear a majority of the Senators would probably insist upon, and the Senate voted, knowing this fact as to the President's attitude. The requisite number of votes to defeat the treaty finally came from Democratic Senators loyal to the President, and from another group, mainly Republicans, and known colloquially as "irreconcilables" and "bitter enders," who, from the first, have opposed the treaty's ratification in any form, deeming it perilous to national interests and as setting up a "superstate."

The final alignment of men and parties on the issue follows:

FOR RATIFICATION

REPUBLICANS: Ball, Calder, Capper, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Jones (Wash.), Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McLean, McNary, New, Page, Phipps, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson. Total, 28.

DEMOCRATS: Ashurst, Beckham, Fletcher, Gore, Henderson, Kendrick, King, Myers, Nugent, Owen, Pittman, Phelan,

Chamberlain, Pomerene, Ransdell, Smith (Ga.), Smith (Md.), Trammell, Walsh (Mass.), Walsh (Mont.), Wolcott. Total, 21. Total for ratification, 49.

AGAINST RATIFICATION

REPUBLICANS: Borah, Brandegee, Fernald, France, Gronna, Johnson (Calif.), Knox, La Follette, McCormick, Moses, Norris, Sherman. Total, 12.

DEMOCRATS: Comer, Culberson, Dial, Gay, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Hitchcock, Johnson (S. Dak.), Kirby, McKellar, Smith (S. C.), Overman, Reed, Robinson, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Stanley, Swanson, Thomas, Underwood, Williams. Total, 23. Total against ratification, 35.

The resolution of qualified ratification of the treaty as it came before the Senate for final action was as follows:

"Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by the Allied and Associated Powers, and a failure on the part of the Allied and Associated Powers to make objection to said reservations and understandings prior to the deposit of ratification by the United States shall be taken as a full and final acceptance of such reservations and understandings by said Powers:

"(1) The United States so understands and construes Article I that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

ARTICLE X RESERVATION

"(2) The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of its military or naval forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination, or to interfere in any way in controversies between nations, including all controversies relating to territorial integrity or political independence, whether members of the League or not, under the provisions of Article X, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States, under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall, in the exercise of full liberty of action, by act or joint resolution so provide.

"(3) No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article 22, Part I, or any other provision of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

"(4) The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other Power.

DECLARES MONROE DOCTRINE UNAFFECTED

"(5) The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or by the Council of the League

of Nations, provided for in said Treaty of Peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said Doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said Treaty of Peace with Germany.

"(6) The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles.

"(7) No person is or shall be authorized to represent the United States, nor shall any citizen of the United States be eligible, as a member of any body or agency established or authorized by said Treaty of Peace with Germany, except pursuant to an act of the Congress of the United States providing for his appointment and defining his powers and duties.

"(8) The United States understands that the reparation commission will regulate or interfere with reports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

"(9) The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States: Provided that the foregoing limitation shall not apply to the United States' proportionate share of the expense of the office force and salary of the secretary general.

"(10) No plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the Council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article VIII shall be held as binding the United States until the same shall have been accepted by Congress, and the United States reserves the right to increase its armament without the consent of the Council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

"(11) The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a Covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than such Covenant-breaking State to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

"(12) Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the Treaty of Peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

"(13) The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII (Articles 357 to 427, inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII, and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

"(14) Until Part I, being the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has previously given its consent, by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote.

"The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and

any member of the League if such member or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire, united with it politically has voted.

"(15) In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations."

AN AGRARIAN-JUNKER FLARE-UP FAILS —"THE RED TERROR" APPEARS

On March 13, with no bloodshed, control of the government of Germany in the national capital passed from the Ebert Ministry to one which had back of it the Junker and military parties. The armed forces that brought this result to pass were commanded by General Baron von Luettwitz, who as soon as the new government was proclaimed was made commander-in-chief of the army by Chancellor Wolfgang Kapp.

The text of the proclamation issued on the 13th by Chancellor and Premier Kapp was as follows:

"The overthrow of the (Ebert) government must not be taken as a reactionary step imposed upon the country. It is a progressive measure of patriotic Germans of all parties with a view to re-establishing law, order, discipline, and honest government in Germany.

"It is an overdue attempt to lay the foundations for the economic resuscitation of Germany, enabling her to fulfill those conditions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles which are reasonable and not self-destructive.

"Inspired by a zeal and desire for the benefit of the whole German people, they (the organizers of the revolution) have invited and heartily accept the co-operation of the Independents for the creation and elaboration of laws for the benefit of the working classes.

"Neither Germany nor Europe can continue to exist under present conditions. The government now happily suppressed overburdened our people with taxation grievous to bear, while it utterly failed to create conditions conducive to increased conditions.

"Under the cloak of deceitful catch-words and popular phrases, they (the members of the Ebert Cabinet) constituted in deed and in truth a reactionary government. They proclaimed the freedom of the press, but all the time they suppressed the papers which dared to criticize them.

"They proclaimed the freedom of the individual, but they continually arrested people for political opinions.

"They loudly proclaimed that the republic is and must be a rule by the people, yet they refused, in flagrant violation of our constitution, to dissolve the national assembly and appeal to the electorate.

"Last but not least, a government whose chief spokesman is a man like Erzberger must be swept aside. Our people are groaning under intolerable conditions.

"The high cost of living and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient food have created dishonest trading and reprehensible practices to an extent not fully appreciated in foreign countries.

"We are on the brink of economic and moral collapse.

"If the world is really convinced of the necessity of rebuilding economic Germany—and that such is the case we have been fully assured during the past week or two—then they (the other nations) will welcome the substitution of an honest government for a dishonest one.

"But be this as it may, the change of government is a purely internal and purely German question, which concerns only the German people.

"At the same time we readily recognize that foreign countries have a vital interest in not having a government in Germany which would or might in any way endanger the peace of Europe.

"The present government is bent upon preserving both internal and external peace, and to prevent a recurrence of the mistakes of the past or a return to the methods of the government now happily defunct and obsolete.

"(Signed)

WOLFGANG KAPP,

"Imperial Chancellor and Premier of Prussia."

It is important to note that this proclamation came from an official of Prussia, still endeavoring to speak authoritatively, as of yore, for Germany, whereas as a matter of fact conditions prior to this counter-revolution had revealed a distinct unwillingness of many of the States of the former empire to submit longer to Prussia domination, and this proclamation from the first was relatively ineffective in south Germany.

When President Ebert withdrew from Berlin on the 13th, taking with him most of his cabinet and especially his Minister of Defense, Herr Noske, he first went to Dresden and later to Stuttgart. From the former city, in behalf of the Socialist Republic, he issued the following proclamation, calling for a general strike:

"WORKMEN, COMRADES: The military revolt has come. Erhardt's naval division is marching on Berlin to enforce the reorganization of the imperial government. The mercenary troops, who were afraid of the disbandment which had been ordered, desire to put the reactionaries into the ministerial posts.

"We refuse to bow to this military constraint. We did not make the revolution in order to recognize again today the bloody government of mercenaries. We enter into no covenant with the Baltic criminals. Workmen, comrades, we should be ashamed to look you in the face if we were capable of acting otherwise.

"We say, 'No!' And again, 'No!' You must indorse what we have done. We carried out your views. Now use every means to destroy this return of bloody reaction.

"Strike. Cease to work. Throttle this military dictatorship. Fight with all your means for the preservation of the republic. Put aside all division. There is only one means against the return of Wilhelm II. Paralyze all economic life. Not a hand must move. No proletariat shall help the military dictatorship."

"Let there be a general strike along the entire line. Let the proletariat act as a unit."

The manifesto was signed by President Ebert, Premier Bauer, Gustav Noske, the Minister of Defense; Herr Schlike, the Minister of Labor; Dr. Schmidt, the Minister of Food; Dr. Eduard David, minister without portfolio, and Dr. Herman Mueller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Social Democratic members of the government, and by Otto Wels for the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party.

On the 14th Chancellor Kapp issued a statement promising to order an election of a new Reichstag as soon as order was restored, and adding that emergency decrees would only be issued to protect the economic life of the country against usurious exploitation and corruption. He promised that the trial of the prisoners at Leipsic would proceed and that the censorship would be relaxed.

This transformation of the German situation, presaging a possible return of the monarchy and at best a civil war in Germany, at once forced Marshal Foch and the Allies to a conference, held in Paris on the 15th, after which he traveled Rhineward, toward the troops which might be used to invade Germany were the decision so to do once made. M. Millerand, the French premier, improved the opportunity to reiterate that France now more than ever expected the full terms of the Versailles Treaty to be kept, and would the more steadfastly resist any attempt of her Allies to modify

those demands or make it easier for Germany to "come back."

In Holland steps were at once taken by the government to guard with stricter care the former German Emperor and prevent any escape or collusive action with the Kapp Ministry.

British official and journalistic opinion from the first was somewhat sceptical as to the success of the revolt; but it did not overlook precautions of a military and naval sort.

By the 15th the general strike ordered by Ebert was beginning to show its head and clashes between the group in power and the group recently ejected had begun. Not only did the railway workers make it clear to the Kapp government that they were opposed to them; they also asserted their intention to co-operate in putting an end to transportation.

On the 15th and 16th evidence accumulated that neither General Hindenburgh nor General Ludendorff could be counted upon by the Kapp Ministry to assume any responsibility for the uprising or share any of its perils. The anti-Prussian sentiment of the States of middle and south Germany came to the surface in a variety of ways, and all the time Noske kept marshalling a military force that was irresistible. Moreover, even in Berlin the Ebert authority was still so strong with the subordinates that he had left behind that they refused to take orders from Kapp or to pay from the treasury his drafts for payment of his troops.

On the 17th Kapp, the self-appointed chancellor, resigned, in terms intimating that negotiations between his group and the Ebert government had been under way and with some success, and also indicating the dread felt of the "Red Terror" or Spartacist uprisings. The text of the official communique follows:

"The Bauer government, having voluntarily decided to fulfill the most essential political demands addressed to it, the rejection of which on Saturday led to the establishment of the Kapp government, Chancellor Kapp considers his mission fulfilled and retires, with the object of bringing about internal peace.

"General von Lutwitz has retired for similar reasons.

"In this they are moved by the conviction of the extreme necessity of the fatherland, which demands solid union of all against the annihilating danger of Bolshevism."

The basis of the agreement referred to in this statement is said to have been the following points:

First. Reichstag elections to be held in June at the latest.

Second. An imperial president to be elected in accordance with the Constitution by the people.

Third. Thorough reorganization of the Imperial government.

Coincident with these acts by the more conservative elements of the population were others by the Communists and Independent Socialists of the extreme left that by the time the Kapp revolt failed had forced on Ebert and his Ministry a far more grave problem, namely, control or suppression of groups urging substitution of the Soviet form of government. In Westphalia, the Ruhr district, Saxony, and wherever there were large industrial centers, "councils of workmen" had endeavored to secure control of local government and had succeeded in some cases. In Berlin itself, on the night of the 17th, a struggle between the forces of the Spartacists and the government began. Citizens began to pack their goods and prepare for flight. The trades-unionists of the city forwarded to President Ebert the terms on which they would stand for peace. They were:

Resignation of Gustav Noske as Minister of Defense.
Sentencing of the militarist plotters for high treason—which means death.

No amnesty for the militarists.

Retirement of the troops from Berlin.

Co-operation of the trade unions in forming a new government.

MILITARISM—PRO AND CON.

The glory of military training is brought vividly to consciousness by the following, clipped from the *Congressional Record* of February 17, 1920:

MR. GORE: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *Record* a letter from Mr. H. H. Gross, of Chicago, to farmers of Oklahoma, and an answer to that letter from the president of the State Farmers' Union, Hon. John Simpson.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter is as follows:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE,
CHICAGO, January 19, 1920.

MR. D. K. HIEBERT,
Weatherford, Okla.

DEAR SIR: I thank you very much for your letter of the 15th. I think I will have it framed and hang it in my office as a literary production. If there were not so many misspelled words in it and so many meaningless sentences, one might have some respect for your opinion.

I question very much whether you have a copy of the bill, or, if you have, whether your judgment would be good regarding it. The American Legion, representing 4,000,000 boys, at their convention in Minneapolis, indorsed universal training. State after State convention did the same thing. I sent out circular letters to hundreds of boys in different parts of the country, and 95 per cent were favorable to the proposition. You do not know what you are talking about!

I know this: There is a definite and vicious propaganda being carried forward, with Russian and probably German money, to break down the morale of the American people, lull them into a sense of false security by the statement that there are to be no more wars, and that we may as well chance the future as we did the past, and an effort is being made to get in their work in the various industries.

By the way, I was told a few days ago that quite a number of men in your neck of the woods came pretty nearly going to jail for attempting to interfere with the selective draft. Do you know who they are?

As to the merits of the question, the administration favors universal military and vocational training. General Pershing does so, and every military man in the country. The Members of Congress who have been on the committees and spent months in investigating the subject all know it is the thing to do. Some of them are afraid of their constituents and so hesitate.

Do you not think you are assuming a great deal to pass arbitrarily upon one of the great questions of the world, that is being urged by men who are 100 per cent loyal—men of experience, men who know enough to realize that the safety of this nation requires that it should be in a position to defend itself, and if it is in that position no other nation will trouble it?

I hope you know more about farming than you know about legislation. As far as I am concerned, this ends our correspondence; say what you like or do what you please.

Yours truly, H. H. Gross, *President.*

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND
CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,
OKLAHOMA DIVISION, February 9, 1920.

MR. HOWARD H. GROSS,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of January 19 to Mr. D. K. Hiebert, of Corn, Okla., is a splendid illustration of the arrogance

and insolence of militarism. I know this old farmer. He and his wife and children in the heat and dirt of the long summer days produced wheat each year of the terrible war sufficient to feed 500 soldier boys every day of that time.

Now, during that awful two years you never produced a loaf of bread. All you did to win the war was hot-air service, four-minute speeches in 10-cent theaters. So far as whipping the Kaiser, it would have been easier to do if you had been dead, for what you ate would have fed a soldier.

Mr. Gross, there are so many old farmers in this country who spell like D. K. Hiebert that it spells defeat for the "compulsory military training" program you and your associates are trying to saddle on the taxpayers of this nation.

Mr. Gross, the farmers are on the job, ready to meet you and your league in any kind of a contest, from a spelling match up.

Yours truly,

JOHN SIMPSON.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

REPUBLICANISM IN GERMANY, as defined in the present constitution, is quite different from the American or French models. It has not the "federated-states" character of the democracy of the United States. That there is considerable sentiment favoring such a form of republic in many of the smaller States that formerly resented Prussian hegemony, and that now decline to come willingly into line with the power centralized in Berlin, is shown by the recent action of the citizens of Schleswig-Holstein. They went on record in early March as preferring that any portion of the domain that remains German after the next plebiscite shall not be attached to Prussia, but be autonomous. Dr. Rudolph Musz, a clergyman of Flensburg, who is leading in this demand, in an interview in *Politiken*, the Danish journal of influences, has recently said:

"All of the 200 delegates who attended the recent meeting at Rendsburg were agreed that, whether we remained attached to Prussia or became distinctively Hanoverians or Schleswig-Holsteiners, our territory would always remain a part of the German nation. Hamburg and Lubeck may become incorporated in our movement, and I believe that all the German nationalities—the Hanoverians, the Hessians, the Mecklenburgers, the Westphalians, the Pomeranians—will demand home rule as we of Schleswig-Holstein are doing, and that Germany will gradually develop into a federated republic like the United States of America."

In the plebiscite vote taken March 12 the victory went to the Germans.

BOLSHEVISM AND MOHAMMEDANISM are antipodal in their philosophies and ideals, according to the formal statement of the Central Committee of the Moslem Theological Academies. The cause of the issuance of this decree undoubtedly has been the propaganda labors of the Russian Soviet Government in western and central Asia, and especially in India. The text of the statement says:

"The attention of statesmen who are deciding the destinies of nations is at present engaged chiefly with the question of Bolshevism," the statement says. "Be the principles of Bolshevism good or evil, the fact is that their application is harmful to humanity. The social life of the individual and the rights of property make it impossible for the principles of Bolshevism to conform to the principles of Islam.

"Islam requires happiness, tranquillity, and general progress, and therefore it forbids taking the life or property of another, and most emphatically insures the rights of individuals and communities. Consequently it is the ruling of Islam that every individual has the right to dispose of his property during his lifetime or direct its disposition by will after death. The attitude of Islam may be summed up by saying it is the duty of the Khalifat, in the interest of the Moslem religion, to oppose Bolshevism as a danger that threatens civilization, justice, and right."

RIGHT OF ACCESS TO THE SEA by all "pocketed" nations is a claim of ethics and law which internationalists of tomorrow must face in a different temper from the past and with more toleration and acquiescence. The issue is being raised in South America now by Bolivia's announcement of her willingness to go before any tribunal and argue out the case with Peru and Chile, she pledging in advance that the cost assessed upon her by such a settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy will be gladly borne. This offer she makes, "not against Chile or Peru, but in the name of her undeniable right to life, to an independent access to the world's commerce, conscious that she is not injuring anybody's interest nor seeking anything new." For, as she proceeds to argue, "A nation without a port through which its economic and commercial life can find a proper and independent contact with other countries will eventually fight to have one, or else cease to be a sovereign State." Such is the alternative thrust upon the marooned nation; and wise statecraft at least provides for "corridors" to the sea, when, for alleged reasons of nationalism, there is no disposition to grant more territory.

THE CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES opened in Geneva, March 2, with representatives of 27 countries in all parts of the world present. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey were not on the list at the roll-call; but plans were made for their conditional admission later. The League of Nations was formally represented, and its delegates brought to the Congress the assurance that the League intends to co-operate fully and heartily with whatever plans may be agreed upon for the defense of public health and prevention of epidemics throughout the world. The United States delegation was headed by Henry P. Davidson, the New York banker, formerly with the Morgan banking firm, who enlisted in the Red Cross work early in the war and who has since given himself and his fortune to the cause. Other members were Elliot Wadsworth, of Boston; Mrs. Helen Draper, of New York; Wiloughby Walling, of Chicago; Robert E. Olds, of St. Paul, Minn., and Thomas E. Green, Director of the Speakers' Bureau of the American Red Cross and member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society.

THE PAPACY, now as formerly, by direct or indirect action, is a factor in world politics and in shaping international relations and national changes. Its power may not be as great as it was, but it is still far from negligible. Some of the post-war disclosures of the altered status of the Roman Catholic Church, due to the gigantic conflict of the peoples and governments, have been interesting and prophetic. Thus, on March 11 a bill was

introduced in the Chamber of Deputies by the government reestablishing relations between France and the Vatican. The step is "justified by national interests," said the Millerand Ministry, which stands sponsor for the project. Without in any way modifying the lay régime or the Church and State Separation law, the "gesture" from the Republic toward the Vatican does indicate that on both sides there has been a decided modification of the hostility that existed prior to the war. France has discovered during the conflict that her sons who are of the venerable church are loyal to the secular State when it comes to distinctly national and civic interests; and the Roman authorities have seen that the church has much to gain and nothing to lose by close contact with the French Government. In Italy, since the war as well as during the latter stages of the armed strife, the Quirinal and the Vatican have been drawing together, the latter coming to the aid of the established, monarchial form of government with a bloc of voters conservative in type, and the former making minor concessions gratifying to the *amour propre* of the clerical forces without reestablishing their old power.

SAN SALVADOR AND VENEZUELA were the last of the thirteen nations invited to join the League of Nations to file acceptances. San Salvador in so doing expressed her position in the following terms, which are likely to grow in historical importance as time goes on:

"Whereas Salvador has been invited to join the League of Nations, which forms part of the Treaty of Peace between the allied powers and Germany, signed at Versailles on June 29, 1919; that in this solemn convention arbitration is proclaimed as being the only means by which peace can be maintained between the nations, and the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and other essential attributes of free nations which, like Salvador, are jealous guardians of these fundamental and immortal rights, be maintained;

"Therefore, as the Government of the United States of America, on application by the Government of Salvador, has defined the Monroe Doctrine as being the highest expression of the liberty, independence, sovereignty, equality, and territorial integrity of the nations of the American continent, and as the interpretation gives satisfaction to the national sentiments of Salvador with regard to this said doctrine, which has been incorporated into the international treaties referred to, that, keeping in view and considering the memorable speech of President Woodrow Wilson before the delegates of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, which took place at Washington on December 27, 1915, and January 8, 1916, which speech is contained in the official note handed to the Salvadorean Legation in Washington by the Department of State of the United States of America, which contains the aforesaid interpretation; therefore, by virtue of our constitutional powers and in conformity therewith, be it decreed:

"Article 1. The Republic of Salvador, by means of this solemn declaration, accepts and adheres to the international treaty known as the League of Nations.

"Article 2. This declaration is entrusted to the Secretary of the League and forms part of the first article of the treaty.

"Article 3. This account is given with this decree to the National Legislative Assembly in their present ordinary session."

IF ONE IS IN THE LEAST DOUBT about the intensity of the spirit of resentment in Germany over the conditions of peace, he has but to read some of the literature coming out of Germany. We are in receipt of a pamphlet entitled "The Impossible Peace," published under the auspices of *Die Brücke*, setting forth the opinions of leading men and women in the German East. The opinions are variously expressed, but they are unanimous in one particular, they condemn for the most part with great violence what they consider to be the great injustice of the treaty. This copy of *Die Brücke* consists of eighty-eight pages, containing many letters from prominent men and women, letters brought together by Dr. W. Brönnner, editor. It is published in Danzig.

KOREA'S PLACE AS AN "INTEGRAL PARTY" with Japan "in the same empire" was formally pledged August 20 by an imperial rescript, which also admitted that the Korean revolt of March had hastened previously contemplated changes. Premier Hara, who coupled with this statement of the sovereign one of his own as parliamentary leader, if he had cared to, might also have announced the conceded fact that the rescript came as a consequence of the publicity given to conditions in Korea and to the brutalities visited upon natives, and especially Christians. As tangible proof of the change of Japan's policy, a new governor-general, Baron Saito, was named to take the place of the rigorous and harsh Marshal Husegawa, the new appointee being a naval commander of eminence with liberal tendencies. Opposition from "the clans" to a civilian could not be overcome. It also was announced that the gendarmerie would be replaced by a force of civil police under the control of local governors, "except in districts where immediate elimination was inadvisable." No departure, however, was hinted at that would point toward the independence of Korea, and no suggestions were given as to how the two peoples "were to form equally integral parts of the same empire." On September 3, as Baron Saito and his wife made their first appearance in Seoul, a bomb was thrown which exploded under his carriage without injuring him. His formal official utterances following this untoward event disclosed no alteration of his meliorating purpose; but it can hardly fail to have some hardening effect on Japanese public opinion. The practical answer of the officials of "the Republic of Korea," who claim to speak for 19,000,000 persons now held in bondage, to the announced program of reform set forth by Premier Hara was given in a proclamation issued from Washington August 31 and signed by Dr. Syngman Rhee. It announced refusal "to become an integral or component part of the Japanese Empire in any form." In consideration of this internal problem which Japan faces and her difficulties arising from the Shantung Province dispute, reckoning must be made with the bitter fight now under way at Tokio among political leaders, journalists, and statesmen as to whether Japan herself

is to be modernized and democratized or not. Economic conditions are such that progressive, and even radical, opinions are finding freer expression than at any prior time. But even so, Premier Hara, with all his progressive tendencies and liberal intentions, dare not urge now any recognition of the Korean demand for independence.

IRISH HOME RULE, as prescribed by the ministry's bill, made public February 27, is thus defined in an authoritative press report, skeletonized for purposes of condensation:

By its provisions two parliaments would be set up, one for the north of Ireland and the other for the south of Ireland, the northern parliament to consist of 52 members and the southern of 128 members. The representatives in the Imperial Parliament would be 12 for north Ireland and 30 for south Ireland, necessitating the reapportionment of Ireland, which is provided for in the bill.

The northern area would be composed of the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone and the boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry.

A "Council for Ireland" composed of 40 members, half of whom would be selected by each of the parliaments, is also provided for in the bill. The legislative powers of the new council would be only those granted it by the two legislatures, but the framers of the bill hope it will form a nucleus around which would be built one parliament for the whole of Ireland. Almost unlimited executive, legislative, and judicial powers are provided for such a united parliament, but the powers to be conferred on the separate parliaments would be considerably curtailed. Responsibility for organizing the united parliament and the power to create it are left entirely with the two legislatures. The bill provides that the united parliament, if formed, would control the customs and excise.

At the outset, according to the bill, the parliaments would have full control of education, local government, and the land policy, agriculture, roads and bridges, transportation, old-age pensions, insurance, municipal affairs, housing, hospitals, and licenses. All the judicial offices would be controlled by the Irish Parliament, each body controlling the offices in its own district, but there would be a court of appeal for the whole of Ireland, presided over by the Lord Chancellor.

What the government considers one of the chief safeguards in drafting the powers of the parliament is a provision specifically prohibiting either body from establishing any particular religious creed or penalizing any one for belonging to or not belonging to any religious denomination.

When announced, this plan at once drew the fire of all parties and factions and for a time in mid March seemed to have no friends. Pending its formal debate in the House of Commons, terrible deeds of violence and assassination were being committed in Ireland, the constabulary, the military and the Sinn Feiners all being guilty. Mr. Asquith, returning to public life and a seat in the House of Commons, promptly registered his opposition to the plan, as did Sir Horace Plunkett, than whom Ireland has no saner guide or truer friend. Ulster, that has opposed all other

schemes, speaking through Sir Edward Carson, first gave qualified assent, and later full assent to the plan.

In the United States, for purposes of politics and in obedience to pressure from the Sinn Fein sympathizers, stirred to action by the presence and words of De Valera, the President of the Irish Republic, the Senate permitted long and bitter tirades against Great Britain for its Irish policy; and in the final action of the Senate on the treaty a reservation was inserted and passed which read thus:

In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany, the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice, adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

KERENSKY, THE RUSSIAN "MODERATE," who is in residence in England, where so many Russian liberals have found refuge in days gone by, together with five other members of the first All-Russian Constituent Assembly, and endorsed by officials of the Union for the Regeneration of Russia and of the Russian Republican League, has sent forth a call to the democracies of Europe and America, which is clamant. For Russia's sake and for civilization's sake, these men say:

"The governments of free countries should proclaim openly that they will not recognize any government in Russia that has the character of a personal or class dictatorship, particularly a military dictatorship which does not recognize the sovereign will of the people, and which does not carry out any measures to bring about the realization of a democratic government.

"The governments of free countries should proclaim clearly and definitely that they will employ no methods of interference with the affairs of Russia that would violate her sovereign rights, or that would help separate classes or groups of persons to further their personal interests at the expense of the welfare of the whole country.

"In order to translate such a proclamation into a reality and to end the civil war at the earliest possible moment, it would be essential that the powers should help with supplies and products only such provisional governments in Russia as would recognize the sovereign will of the people, that would consider themselves in duty bound to convoke, immediately after the cessation of civil war, an All-Russian Constituent Assembly upon the basis of a general, direct, equal, and secret suffrage.

"Such provisional governments in Russia today as would not undertake the obligation of calling a constituent assembly, or would not introduce the government measures outlined above, should not be aided by the governments of free peoples, as such governments will be the cause of the continuation of civil war in Russia, and by their mere existence conflict with the very idea of the League of Nations.

"Finally, for the purpose of a united representation of the free nations to Russia in order to explain the democratic objects and aims of the powers to the Russian people, a mission should be sent to Russia, composed of representa-

tives of these powers, including also representatives of organized labor and democracy. Such a mission should give the peoples of Russia, its governments, and the democracies of the world the assurance that the help given has no other aim than the general good, and is inspired by lofty and disinterested motives."

CANADA'S PARLIAMENT RATIFIED THE TREATY of Peace with Germany and the League of Nations' Covenant, after a debate that extended several days and that drew into the formal discussion the Premier, whose share in the negotiations at Paris was more important, probably, than that of any other representative of the dominions save General Smuts. The debate ranged over many phases of the Paris compact, but it also dealt with internal problems of the British Empire and the status of the dominions in the light of changes wrought by the war. Speaking in general terms, it was made clear that, so far as Canada is concerned, her nationalistic spirit has been intensified, yet without any growth in "separatism," such as the earlier Canadian Liberalism stood for. Her status in the proposed League of Nations is less clearly outlined; and the same may be said of the other dominions and colonies. While admitted as original members of the League under Article I of the Covenant and in the Assembly having apparently full national rights, it has been contended by President Wilson, both in his interview with the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and in his speeches during his tour in the interior and West, that in all action taken by the Council of the proposed League the British Empire would count as the diplomatic unit, the implication being that Great Britain alone could vote the will of her own people and those of the dominions and colonies; yet there is on record the following memorandum obtained by the Canadian premier while in Paris:

"The question having been raised as to the meaning of Article IV of the League of Nations Covenant, we have been requested by Sir Robert Borden to state whether we concur in his view that upon the true construction of the first and second paragraphs of that article representatives of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the Council. We have no hesitation in expressing our entire concurrence in this view. If there were any doubt, it would be entirely removed by the fact that the articles are not subject to a narrow or technical construction.

"G. CLEMENCEAU,

"WOODROW WILSON,

"D. LLOYD GEORGE.

"Dated at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, the 6th day of May, 1919."

More recently the spokesman of the Coalition Ministry, in a debate in Parliament, based largely on issues raised by the United States Senate's denial of American sanction to the provision of the treaty giving Canada a right of vote in the League of Nations' Assembly, has said that Canada intends to insist upon her rights. He also went farther and practically said that

if British officials in London, for reasons of policy, decided to admit the contention of the United States, Canada would not recede.

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES, as defined by the Japanese Ambassador to the United States, K. Shidehara, in an address before the Far East Association of New York, March 5, is interesting, because it is one of his first expressions of opinion of a quasi-official sort, and also because of his comment on the reports describing Japan as still "militaristic." He said:

"I am not insensible of a certain undertow of detraction, of which Japan has recently been made the object. One of the most mischievous stories in wide circulation is that Japan is under the influence of militarism. The accusation is wholly unjustified.

"When Japan entered the family of nations after unmolested enjoyment of peace for several centuries without any foreign entanglements, she was grieved to find that the outside world was full of aggressive tendencies. She found that there were not a few imperialistic nations ready to take advantage of her weak and defenseless condition. She was constantly subjected to threats and indignities without just cause or provocation. This condition led to defensive military preparations.

"But times are now altered. Public attention is being fixed on the more productive branches of human activities, and all political parties, without distinction, will certainly rise up at once against any plan, if ever made, which would place undue importance on military necessity, beyond what is absolutely essential to the maintenance of Japan's national safety and to the fulfillment of her international obligations.

"At the same time, the treaty of peace has inspired us with hope and confidence, and Japan clearly realizes—indeed, every nation must realize—that any attempt by any country at aggression and territorial aggrandizement is not only doomed to failure, but will undoubtedly prove to that country a source of endless difficulties and complications."

GREAT BRITAIN'S MODIFIED ATTITUDE toward the Soviet Government of Russia, which attitude Italy approves, France opposes, and the United States as yet shows no signs of adopting, is said to have found formal expression in the negotiations of James O'Grady and Maxim Litvinoff, held at Copenhagen. They, it is reported, debated a program of which the following is said to be the skeleton of principles:

First. Tacit recognition of the Maximalist political régime.

Second. Non-interference by Great Britain with respect to the internal condition of those countries separated from former Russian rule on the west, namely, Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Poland.

Third. Non-interference by Great Britain in the affairs of Siberia.

Fourth. Demobilization of the Red army.

Fifth. A promise by the Bolsheviks to recognize the independence of the meridional republics, especially Georgia.

Sixth. Non-interference by Russia with the territories on the frontiers of Georgia and Persia.

Seventh. Payment in gold for goods exported or imported between Russia and Great Britain.

Eighth. A régime of commercial equality for Russia and Great Britain in the autonomous States on the western front.

AT A GENERAL COUNCIL of the League of Nations Union, held in London March 5, over which Lord Cecil presided, it was voted that any international control established either over the Straits or Constantinople, should be subject to the League of Nations. It also was reiterated that Turkish rule over subject nationalities should be abolished, and that the latter should be placed under the tutelage of one or more of the mandatory powers of the League of Nations, in accordance with Article XXII of the League of Nations Covenant.

This statement of objections to continuance of the Sultan's power over Christian populations had its echo in formal protests to the Supreme Council by the leaders of the Anglican and Nonconformist churches of England and also in a letter from the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States to the Archbishop of Canterbury to this effect:

"We are grateful for your leadership in the crusade against the proposed retention of the Turks in Constantinople and the spoliation of Armenia. Any compromise with the Turks will be a condonation of crime and will outrage the conscience of Christendom. We believe that Armenia, land-locked and robbed of her fairest portions, cannot achieve real independence or self-support.

"We respectfully, but energetically, protest against the proposed measures and appeal to the people of Great Britain to prevent the perpetration of a fresh act of injustice against the martyr, Armenia. The American people have always placed implicit faith in the pledges of Great Britain. We cannot believe that Great Britain will disappoint us by failing to do full justice to Armenia."

LETTER BOX

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 12, 1920.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE:

In the issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for January the Editor says on page three: "The Sterling bill (S. 3317) as passed by the Senate, now before the Judiciary Committee of the House, provides that it shall be 'Unlawful for any person to advise or advocate the overthrow . . . by force or violence . . . of the Government of the United States, or to advise or advocate a change in the Constitution of the United States, or resistance to the authority thereof by force or violence or by physical injury to person or property.' Such language enacted into law, however worthy the motives of the author, will defeat its own ends. What, for example, does the Senator mean by 'force'? Furthermore, after a careful reading of the bill, we are convinced that it provides that it shall be unlawful for any person to 'advise or advocate a change in the form of government or the Constitution of the United States.' Good lawyers agree that it means just that. If that is so, and such language becomes the law of the land, what becomes of that other language, out of which has grown pretty much all of what we call

American liberty, namely, that 'governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to those ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness'?"

It seems to me that the Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has not given the above-quoted clause from the Sterling bill that construction which the words clearly import and which the author clearly intended. The unlawful acts provided against in the bill are the advocacy of the "overthrow, by force or violence, of the Government of the United States," not the expression of an opinion that the present form of government of the United States is undesirable and should be changed; the advocacy of "a change in the form of government in the Constitution of the United States or resistance to the authority thereof by force or violence or by physical injury to person or property," not the advocacy of amendments to the Constitution of the United States by the simple, easy, and peaceful means provided for by that instrument for effecting a change in that Constitution.

As a lawyer of many years' standing and study of the construction of statutory law, I think that the only rational construction to be put on the quoted clause of the Sterling bill is that the advising and advocating of changes in our government provided against are those to be accomplished by force or violence or by physical injury to person or property.

The Editor asks in the article quoted from, "What does the Senate mean by 'force'?" In the connection in which the word is used, there can be but one meaning—an illegal force. Not the moral force of an opinion, but force not peaceful. "Force," "violence," "physical injury to person or property," as used in the text, are simply cumulative expressions of the same idea and have substantially the same meaning.

I firmly believe that our Supreme Court, if the question should ever be presented to them, will not construe the meaning of the Sterling bill in any other way than that above indicated.

There is much agitation at present over the question of the limitation of free speech. Men have been excluded from legislative bodies for expressing and advocating radical changes in our State and national governments, but it will be found that in each case violence forms a part of their scheme of reform, to be resorted to if the people do not tamely agree to the radical ideas of the would-be reformers. This the American people will not consent to.

LE ROY PARKER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., February 14, 1920.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

FRIENDS: Please find enclosed check for \$5. From this sum please prepay a year's subscription to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for E. B. R. Please similarly prepay a year's subscription for the library of the Hollywood High School, Los Angeles. . . . We are giving the above subscriptions as a graduating present. We lean upon the *ADVOCATE*.

S. S. M.

GLOUCESTER, MASS., March 10.

EDITOR THE *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*:

Referring to the article on page 53 of the February issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, on "Honesty," by J. H. R., it seems to me that it goes too far toward anarchy, and instead of promoting peace would in practice bring war. When you take away property rights you destroy the incentive to labor and industry.

I hope this will not be the trend of your paper, as I think it is not in the direction of peace. I have no desire for argument. I simply wish to register my protest.

Yours truly,

NATHANIEL BABSON.

BOOK REVIEWS

OUR AMERICA. By Waldo Frank. Bond and Liverlight, New York City. Pp. 232. \$2.00 net.

This book is the effort of its author to interpret contemporary United States life to "Young France," which extended an invitation to him to essay the task through Gaston Galliard, director of the publishing house of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, and Jacques Copeau, formerly director of the magazine of the same publishing house, but for two recent seasons head of the *Theatre du Vieux Colombier*, in New York City. The author is a man in whom the democratic, international, universalizing instinct is strong and who comes at his task of explaining his nation to a Gaul without any of the prepossessions of the older racial, cultural stocks that hitherto have dominated the country, intellectually, religiously, and politically. Consequently his mingled denunciations of and slurs upon standards of the past in ethics, literature, and government will be irritating to the conservatives.

As a sign of the ferment that exists in the minds of the younger generation and the degree of revolt that has been attained the "study" has its value. It is brilliantly written, often with very keen insight. If it damns the New England of the past and the Puritan of today, it is scarcely less drastic in its attack on the sordid commercialism of New York and Chicago. One of the most informing chapters of the book is the one on "The Chosen People"—a study of Judaism and Jewry as modified by the American environment.

AT A DOLLAR A YEAR. By Robert L. Raymond. Marshall Jones Co., Boston. Pp. 239. \$1.50 net.

The heroes among the "swivel-chair" workers in Washington during the war get their due recognition in this collection of short stories by a civilian who was part of that which he describes. The ironies, the humors, the absurdities, the nobilities, and the efficiencies of the mighty process by which the A. E. F. was mobilized, fed, clothed, armed, transported, and inspired are set forth, not omitting the Red Cross chapter of the glory. It is well that the record of many of the subtler, finer phases of the war chapter in our national life should have been preserved in this fictional form. The statistician, the formal historian, the journalist of the period each had his work to do. The dramatist, the novelist, the painter, and sculptor, all using a large canvas, will work on the rich material at hand for a long time to come. Mr. Raymond, using a less pretentious medium and a smaller canvas, already has registered success.

THE DEGRADATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC DOGMA. By Henry Adams. Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. 311. \$2.50.

Since his death Henry Adams has become one of the most famous of Americans of his era, and this chiefly because of an autobiography, unusual in form, admirable in style, and disclosing the inner thought on profound subjects of a man born to the American "purple." Naturally his countrymen are now showing interest in all of his intellectual output; and this book on the alleged effect modern scientific discovery and modern philosophy have had on the dogma that the "Voice of the People is the Voice of God" is a sop thrown to the public in order to meet that curiosity.

For our part, we must confess inability to find either in the data marshaled by the author or in his reasonings thereon anything justifying the claims made by him and by the editor of the book, his brother, Brook Adams. Being a patriot, a pessimist, and a pseudo-philosopher, Henry Adams, coming under the spell of science in his old age after a flirtation with medieval religious mysticism, came to see in the condition of mankind at large naught that was good or conducive to optimism.

A book that sets forth this thesis as to democracy's failure of course comes as sweet balm at a time like this to console persons who deprecate the fall of the Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs, who would like to see reactionary parties in France, Great Britain, and the United States win back the reins of power, and who see no light for humanity save in existence defined in terms of scientific efficiency.

The editor of the book has used his opportunity to disclose

much information about himself, his brother Henry, his grandfather John Quincy Adams, and the Adams family in general, some of which information is valuable and some not. Noah's sons covered his nakedness and it was accounted unto them for righteousness; but the three sons of Charles Francis Adams—Charles, Henry, and Brooks—in their obsession for veracity and in their intellectual revolt against the faith in which they were reared, have gone a long way toward a realism in discussion of family affairs which can only be described as "group nudity." The objective historian's verdict on John Quincy Adams' career, already registered in history after history, is not that he was a failure, as his grandson tries to make it appear that he thought he was. As a matter of fact, he will live much longer on the roll of fame as a doer of history than all his hypercritical grandsons.

INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS. By Paul Morgan Ogilvie. The Macmillan Co., New York City. Pp. 171, with reference manual, indices, etc. \$3.00.

The author of this essay and the maker of its accompanying exceedingly useful lists of the inland international waterways of the world and of all treaties and laws governing the international use of these waters deserves credit for producing precisely the sort of book he tried to make. The chapters dealing with the history of maritime law, its evolution and present status, are clear, compact, and yet comprehensive. The layman will find them readable. The professional student of this branch of law will find them safe. They have to do with ancient Phenicia and Carthage, to be sure, but they also express positive opinions about the conduct of the Allies in the late war in their rough-handed sweeping away of all considerations of law and tradition, when it came to restriction of freedom of the seas and use of the blockade. The author leaves no reader in doubt as to the damaging and reactionary effect upon the law of equity and right, which custom and conscience had slowly built up, that the 1914-'19 record has had; nor has he any scruple about plainly depicting the indefensible tactics of Great Britain during several centuries, in which she defied both earlier and later ideals of maritime equality in order to build up her empire.

The main argument of the book, however, has to do with the rise and ultimate acceptance of the doctrine that arterial inland waterways should be free to a world's trade; and also, though to lesser extent, it deals with the emerging new ideal, which contends that where States lack outlets to the sea and inlets for internal navigation traffic, they must be provided with them by concessions of territory made by States having coasts that can be partitioned and so used. This theory has been defined by President Wilson in these words: "Every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself."

DEUTSCHLANDS FINANZIELLE VERPFLICHTUNGEN AUS DEM FRIEDENS-VERTRAGE. By Dr. Carl Melchior. Edited by the German Society for the League of Nations. Hans Robert Engelmann, Berlin. M. 1.36.

This is the first of a series of pamphlets to be called the "Burden of Peace." It deals with Germany's financial obligation under the Peace Treaty. The author, Dr. Carl Melchior, was financial member of the peace delegation. The purpose of the series is to bring before the public the problems of the Peace Treaty, and that in popular language, especially to the end that there may be a revision of the Peace Treaty. It appears from the pamphlet that the majority of the German people do not yet know the Peace Treaty.

This series of pamphlets is but one indication of the German will to be heard wherever men and women may be listening. Further evidences of German intellectual activity are indicated by such pamphlets published under the heading *Deutschland Und Das Völkerrecht*, prepared by O. Nippold, with such captions as the following: *Die Grundsätze Der Deutschen Kriegführung*, or *Die Verletzung Der Neutralität Luxemburgs Und Belgiens*.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES (Formerly Woman's Peace Party)

OBJECT.

To organize support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at The Hague in 1915 and in Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further Peace, Internationalism, and the Freedom of Women.

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International Office, 19 Bd Georges-Favou, Geneva, Switzerland.

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- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
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| Canada. | New Zealand. |
| Denmark. | Norway. |
| Finland. | Poland. |
| France. | Sweden. |
| Germany. | Switzerland. |
| Great Britain. | United States. |
| Hungary. | |

GENERAL OBJECTS.

To promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

SPECIAL OBJECTS.

Those indicated by the standing committees and for immediate action to oppose universal compulsory military training; to oppose all invasions of constitutional rights, free speech, free press, and assembly and minority representation in legislative bodies; to oppose invasion of Mexico for purposes of war; to work to amend the League of Nations Covenant, if it is ratified by the United States, and if not so ratified, to secure a true Concert of Nations to substitute Law for War.

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- Pan American Relations.
- Labor.
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- Finance: Chairman, Mrs. Marion B. Cothren, 144 East 40th Street, New York City.

All American women are urged to join this Section for U. S. A. of the Women's International League by use of the appended slip.

Date

I hereby enclose one dollar for membership in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for U. S. A., for the year 1920.

Name

Address

Make checks payable to W. I. L. P. F., Section for U. S. A., and send to Eleanor Daggett Karsten, Executive Secretary, Room 1616, 33 West 42nd Street, New York City.

(Adv.)

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A GOVERNED WORLD

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, the Supreme Court of the United States, and practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS.

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas, according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law and subordinated to law, as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof, are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein, and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations, it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence, but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE.

1. The call of a Third Hague Conference, to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

2. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference, which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

3. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

4. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

5. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the declaration of the rights and duties of nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the powers for this purpose.

7. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

8. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

9. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

10. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinion of mankind."

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OUR NINETY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

An Announcement

THE Ninety-second Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society will be held in Washington, Saturday, May 29. At the dinner on the evening of that day, we are pleased to announce, there will be an annual address dealing with the enduring bases of foreign policy, an address which all will recognize as authoritative. It may be added that by having such an annual address the Society is returning to a custom which made the American Peace Society famous before the Civil War. In other words, the address will be in the apostolic line of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who delivered his essay on "War" before the American Peace Society in 1838; of William Ellery Channing; of Charles Sumner, who delivered the annual address in 1849; and of other notable addresses by such men as William Jay, Josiah Quincy, A. P. Peabody, Gerrit Smith, Samuel J. May, Amasa Walker, Thomas C. Upham, Elihu Burritt, Thomas S. Grimke, William Ladd. This particular annual address, coming at this time, will undoubtedly attract attention and influence opinion not only in this country but abroad.

The regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society will be held at the Society's headquarters Friday, the 28th. The Board of Directors will meet at the same place Saturday morning, May 29, at 10.30, when the usual reports will be made and the officers elected. Members of the Society wishing to attend the dinner, the price of which will not exceed \$5.00, are asked to notify the Secretary at the earliest possible time.

THE SECRETARY.

OUR CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

IN OUR leading editorial for November, 1919, we argued for a conference of all the nations as the way out of our present difficulties due to the entanglements over the League of Nations. The views there expressed have reappeared in magazines both in this country and Europe.

There are evidences that such views are finding lodgment in fruitful soil in the fields of practical politics. February 20 the Republican Party of the State of New York adopted in its platform a plank calling for the institution of an International High Court of Justice to hear and to decide international justiciable questions in accordance with principles of law and equity, an international conference meeting at stated intervals to revise the rules of international law and conduct, "and to urge upon the civilized nations, as a long step forward in promoting permanent peace, their assent to such a code of law defining the rights and duties of nations, such as was adopted by the American Institute of International Law at Havana, Republic of Cuba, on January 23, 1917, known as the Recommendations of Havana." The Recommendations of Havana are the ten paragraphs under the caption, "An International Program of Peace Through Justice," appearing regularly on the inside front cover of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* since our entry into the war.

April 10 Governor Lowden, of Illinois, his State's candidate for the Republican nomination for President, delivered a speech in Chicago, in which he advocated the abandonment of many of the principles of the League of Nations and urged the resumption of the workings of the Hague Conference, providing the necessary judicial machinery for the settlement of international disputes. The Governor said:

"When the war was over," said Governor Lowden, "the whole world was in a state of suspense as to what might happen after war. During those strenuous months of struggle, when the flower of our young manhood was offering itself upon the battlefields of Europe, it was hoped that in some way out of that colossal conflict might come a better understanding, better international relations, with the possibility of less frequent wars for the future. So to many of us it seemed that the time was ripe for taking up the work of The Hague international conferences, providing for judicial machinery for the settlement of international disputes, codifying international law so far as it was possible, bringing about closer relations between the nations, to the end that peace might prevail among the nations of the earth.

"I have always felt that we overlooked the opportunity of a lifetime in that we did not take up the great work of The Hague conferences where they left off and go on to the creation of international courts, so that we might arbitrate our international differences rather than fight them out on bloody battlefields.

"We are in favor of peace; we want the friendship of every nation on the face of the globe; we are looking for friends, but we are not looking for partners. We prefer to maintain our own independence and preserve our own sovereignty under the dome of our own Capitol at Washington.

"I still hope that when the Republican Party is in power we shall proceed to establish this machinery for the adjustment of international differences. I still hope that the Republican Party will have the wisdom and the courage to take up the great work of The Hague conferences, and carry that work on until the wars of the future shall be reduced to a minimum."

Here we have sane views from an influential quarter. They are views destined to fructify increasingly. We are informed that the supporters of Governor Lowden agree that an international conference in the future could not fail to prevent war, as was the case in 1914, because of the prestige of America, of the experiences since 1914, and of the patent need of just that kind of an organization. Senator Hiram Johnson, another presidential possibility, in an address delivered in Paterson, N. J., April 8, also declared that he would "welcome an expansion of the Hague tribunal or an international forum." For such practical matters as adjusting the chaotic conditions of exchange, plans have been perfected for a conference of representative financiers from all the nations to be held within a month in the city of Brussels. Surely the details of international equities and of international law outside the realms of finance are no less practical, pressing, or amenable to similar treatment. If international finance can be regulated only by a conference of representatives of all the nations, the same thing must be true of international trade, of international law, and hence of international peace.

Now is the time for constructive effort in the interest of a genuine and practicable foreign policy, a foreign policy true to the traditions of America's best. To our readers we plead for the widest dissemination of what that best means, for it is very pertinent just now to the future of the world. And this best is not hard to find. Neither is it strange nor difficult to understand. The *ADVOCATE* offers no apology for presenting in this number the three significant expressions from three significant men of a significant past, for our constructive foreign policy of the future must develop from that very successful foreign policy of a most wise and honorable past.

THE WAY IT ACTUALLY WORKS

GREAT BRITAIN is a member of the League of Nations, Article X and all. This has been true since January 10 last. It is therefore of interest to make inquiry of Britain's success in promoting the peace of the world under its provisions. In a recent debate in the House of Commons, when the army estimates were up for discussion, it was pointed out that the new regular army is altogether insufficient for the defense of the "new empire." It was pointed out that the obligations which Great Britain has accepted as mandatory for the League of Nations would have to be met, and that under Article X of the Covenant it was the duty of Great Britain to go to the assistance of any member of the League who might find itself in trouble. Hence there must be a larger army and navy than ever for Britain.

When we remember that the new regular army of Great Britain is 200,000 stronger than the regular army before the war, these facts seem of still more significance.

When it is recalled that the object of warring with Germany was to crush Prussian militarism, after which we could all then live without carrying upon our shoulders the overpowering armies and navies; when we recall that the Covenant of the League of Nations was to make the way simple for the disarmament of the nations; when we recall that with the Germans being defeated, arbitration was to put an end to combat, it is interesting to note this demand out of Great Britain for the greatest defensive force in her history. Mr. Churchill, with eyes open to the facts, realizes that there are more dangers of war now than in 1914. The imperial schemes of Britain, seemingly enhanced under the Covenant, demand the use of an increased force, we are told, along the frontiers and in the Asiatic wars. Thus the Covenant of the League of Nations seems to promote that very imperialism which is the mother of wars. There is no getting around the fact that under the terms of the Covenant Britain is proceeding to keep peoples in subjection by military force, with the result that instead of the danger of militarism being less in Britain than before the war, it is greater. That is the way it works.

In the meantime, it is interesting to note, the Germans have taken hold of their militarists and gently thrown them down the back stairs. April 11, there was received in Paris a statement from a member of the Executive Council at Düsseldorf containing these suggestive words:

"The soldiers of the Reichswehr are brigands and mercenaries. We prefer the coming of the Allies' troops to the Reichswehr. The treaty was too severe on us Germans in

an economic way, but not severe enough in the military clauses, for the Germans themselves want to be rid of militarists."

That is the way it works in a nation outside the League of Nations. Such are our manners and our times.

CAN THE CONGRESS DECLARE PEACE?

CONGRESS can declare war. Can Congress declare peace? At this writing, that is the problem facing the United States.

Congress is proceeding to act on the theory that it has the power, for on the second anniversary declaring the existence of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States—that is to say, April 6—the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives reported a joint resolution providing for the termination of a state of war between this country and Germany, permitting under certain conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes.

Our belief is that Congress should have, and in fact does have, the right to declare peace. True, war is ordinarily ended either by the utter subjugation of one of the two contesting parties, or by treaty. In this case the tried and familiar method would be, as we have attempted twice unsuccessfully to do, namely, to establish the peace by treaty. If we were to pursue that method, we would have to proceed under that section of the Constitution which vests the treaty-making power in the President and the Senate. Under that section of the Constitution, treaty is not defined, neither is any class of treaties withdrawn. The presumption is, however, and always has been, that all treaties between the United States and other countries are to be made by the President and the Senate—that is to say, negotiated by the President or his authorized agents and submitted by the President to the Senate for its advice and consent to their ratification.

There are two points of view from which a treaty may be considered: First, from the point of view that it is a law; secondly, from the point of view that it is a contract. Article VI of the Constitution provides that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States . . . and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land."

As far as the United States is concerned, a treaty is a law. As such, it repeals all existing laws contrary to its terms, and is itself repealed by any law or subsequent treaty inconsistent with its terms. Considered as law,

a treaty only has force and effect within the jurisdiction of the enacting country, being thus quite outside the jurisdiction of any other country. As such, it is a national and unilateral act.

But from the point of view that a treaty is a contract, it is a bilateral act, requiring two or more parties, upon both of whom it is binding because of their mutual consent to it. Differing from the contract of municipal law, the consent may be voluntary or imposed. It is an international act, having force and effect within the jurisdiction of the parties thereto, whereas an act of Congress, whether it be an ordinary statute or a joint resolution, has only force and effect of law within the United States. A treaty to which we are a party has force and effect within the United States and in the other contracting country or countries. As far as the United States is concerned, a law or treaty has equal force within the jurisdiction of the United States; and, as the last expression of the sovereign will, whether it be expressed in treaty, statute, or resolution, it is binding on all citizens of the United States. A treaty of peace between the United States and another country, with which the United States is at war, ends the war, because the treaty has the force and effect of a statute and as such repeals the former act of Congress declaring the condition of war to exist. If the United States is to end the war by treaty, then such treaty must be negotiated by the President and advised and consented to by two-thirds of the Senators present.

But by the practice and law of nations, which is a part of the law of our land, war is ended in ways other than by treaty. If a war is not ended by treaty, an act of Congress, as the latest expression of the sovereign will, may end war. This means that war may be ended by the United States with another country without the formality of a treaty. For example, it has been held in an unbroken series of decisions (from the Prize Cases, in 2 Black's Reports, 635, to *Young, assignee of Collie*, in 97 U. S. Reports, 39) that the Civil War in all hostile operations must be regarded as an international war (*Stovall, adm'r, v. U. S.*, 1891, 26 Ct. Cl., 226, 240). Yet, as stated by Mr. Justice Grier, in the Prize Cases (2 Black, 668), decided in 1862:

"By the Constitution Congress alone has the power to declare a national or foreign war. It cannot declare war against a State, or any number of States, by virtue of any clause in the Constitution."

But the Civil War, universally regarded as a war in the international sense, and in which the nations of the world proclaimed their neutrality, was not ended by a treaty. It ended not by treaty, but by proclamation (*The Protector*, 1871, 12 Wallace, 700).

In a war between two States which resulted in the absorption of one by the other, it would necessarily end without a treaty. The war might continue in theory, although not in fact, because of the impossibility of concluding a treaty. But even where a treaty is possible, but has not been made, war is ended between the belligerent countries by a mere failure to continue hostilities. This method of ending war is recognized by the United States in a comparatively recent and famous case.

Secretary of State Seward laid down the general principle and applied it within the narrow compass of a couple of paragraphs.

In the first, he said:

"It is certain that a condition of war can be raised without an authoritative declaration of war, and, on the other hand, the situation of peace may be restored by the long suspension of hostilities without a treaty of peace being made. History is full of such occurrences. What period of suspension of war is necessary to justify the presumption of the restoration of peace has never yet been settled, and must in every case be determined with reference to collateral facts and circumstances." (Moore's International Law Digest, Vol. VII, p. 336.)

In the second:

"The proceeds of Spain and Chili which have been referred to, although conclusive, require an explanation on the part of either of those powers which shall insist that the condition of war still exists. Peru, equally with Spain, has as absolute a right to decline the good offices or mediation of the United States for peace, as either has to accept the same. The refusal of either would be inconclusive as an evidence of determination to resume or continue the war. It is the interest of the United States, and of all nations, that the return of peace, however it may be brought about, shall be accepted whenever it has become clearly established. Whenever the United States shall find itself obliged to decide the question whether the war still exists between Spain and Peru, or whether that war has come to an end, it will make that decision only after having carefully examined all the pertinent facts which shall be within its reach, and after having been given due consideration to such representation as shall have been made by the several parties interested." (Moore's International Law Digest, Vol. VII, pp. 336-377.)

It is true that the present situation is unusual. In the present case hostilities with Germany ceased on November 11, 1918, by an armistice to which the United States was a party. The other belligerents formally concluded peace with Germany on January 10, 1920, by deposit of ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles. The United States was a party to this treaty. But the Senate has twice refused to advise and consent to its ratification (November 19, 1919; March 19, 1920). The United States is, therefore, technically at war with Germany, although hostilities are suspended. This situa-

tion has lasted for approximately seventeen months, and there seems to be no intention on the part of either belligerent to denounce the armistice and begin hostilities. A joint resolution of the Congress, expressing an intent that the war has ended or will be considered as ended on a certain date, will, under actual circumstances, merely register or recognize a fact. It would not be a treaty, inasmuch as it would only bind the United States and would not bind Germany at one and the same time, as would a treaty to which the United States and Germany were ratifying parties.

But while the situation with us is peculiar, it is not wholly without precedent. The United States and the Republic of Texas concluded a treaty on April 12, 1844, by virtue of which Texas was to be annexed to the United States. June 8, 1844, the Senate refused to advise and consent to the treaty. The purpose of the contracting parties was accomplished by a joint resolution of the United States Congress, adopted March 1, 1845. Speaking with reference to this treaty, the then Secretary of State, Mr. John C. Calhoun, stated that the purpose sought to be effected by the treaty could be accomplished by a joint resolution, which would have the advantage of requiring only a majority of the two Houses of Congress instead of two-thirds of the Senate. It would seem, therefore, that there are methods other than of the treaty by which war may be terminated.

Opponents of this method have pointed out that the Federal Convention of 1787 voted down a proposal to have peace declared by the Congress, and that, therefore, war can be ended constitutionally only by a treaty of peace negotiated by the President, advised and consented to by two-thirds of the Senate.

As we have seen, however, war may be ended in other ways than by treaty. This is an established principle of international law, which international law is recognized by the United States as a part of its municipal law. For this reason the United States is free to end war in a manner other than by treaty.

But the action of the Convention of 1787 has been misinterpreted. In the session of August 17, 1787, Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, moved "to give the legislature the power of peace, as they were to have that of war." Mr. Butler's motion, seconded by Mr. Gerry, was voted down by the ten States participating in the vote; but, we may recall, the power also of the legislature to grant a charter of incorporation was, on the 14th of September, proposed and rejected. And yet, in spite of this fact, the Supreme Court approved the incorporation of the Bank of the United States in the leading case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*, in 1819 (4 Wheaton, 316), reaffirmed in what may be considered to be an appeal from

this decision in *Osborn v. Bank of the United States*, 1824 (9 Wheaton, 738). The point of this is that, since it was thus established that the bank was incidental to the power of raising revenue, the power to end war, the avowed purpose of which is to establish peace, would seem to be incidental to the war power itself.

But the principal point to be borne in mind is that under international law war may be ended without a treaty, and international law is a part of our law. In the case known as *Paquette Habana*, 175 U. S., 677, 700, decided in 1899, it was held:

"International law is a part of our law and must be ascertained and administered by the courts of justice of appropriate jurisdiction, as often as questions of right depending upon it are duly presented for their determination."

This very point of view seems to have been foreseen by Mr. Madison, who in 1787 proposed in the session of September 7 of the Federal Convention that treaties of peace should be made by less than a two-thirds vote and without the concurrence of the President. As reported by himself, he said:

"The President would necessarily derive so much power and importance from a state of war that he might be tempted, if authorized, to impede a treaty of peace."

If, as in the case of Texas, a joint resolution of the two Houses was found to be an acceptable and effective substitute for a treaty which had failed, it would seem that in the case of Germany a joint resolution might likewise be found to be an acceptable and effective substitute for a treaty which has twice failed.

It seems to us that the explanations accompanying the joint resolution now before the House are both germane and convincing. Undoubtedly, as pointed out by Oppenheim, Phillipson, and Mr. Seward, wars may be terminated otherwise than by treaty. Since this is so, the Congress seems now to be headed in the right direction, and the end of the technical state of war between the United States and Germany seems to be in sight.

FINANCING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

NOT being a member of the League of Nations, the United States as yet has not had to face any of the fiscal and administrative problems involved in its maintenance; but, of course, nations that have joined it must now be meeting these practical, if lesser, aspects of its functioning.

We had supposed that the normal course in meeting this need would be similar to that followed by the Pan-American Union. In that case direct appropriations from the national treasuries of the countries represented

follow as a matter of course year by year. Certainly it is not to be presumed that a league of nations is to be financed by the voluntary offerings of citizens of the countries admitted; nor, once constituted and formally adhered to by any nation, should there be any necessity of a private organization to work in propaganda ways for maintenance of the League. Whatever discussion of the merit of adherence to or of the desirability of withdrawal may follow, surely it will go on in the national legislature or be reflected in executive utterances.

This comment is suggested by an appeal of the League of Nations' Union of Great Britain for a national fund of \$500,000 to support the League. It is signed by Premier Lloyd-George, Viscount Grey, former Premier Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil, and J. R. Clydes, the leader of the trades-unionists. Surely no such sum is needed for an educational campaign, now or in the future. If it is, then the British public can hardly be as unanimous for the League as it has been said to be.

LATIN-AMERICA AND ARBITRATION

ON PAGE — we print the text of a communication to the States of Central and of South America planned to be sent by Salvador.

Were its origin different, it would be subject to more detailed examination by the people of the United States and their government than it is now likely to receive. Brazil, the Argentine Republic, or Chile sending forth such a call would have a far more weighty effect. Yet the fact remains that it has yet to be proved that Salvador is not acting for the larger Latin-American powers, who have sent out this feeler to note its effect in Washington. It indicates a state of mind rebellious against the reiterated intention of the United States to continue to assert the Monroe Doctrine in its most paternal rather than fraternal form.

More specifically analyzed, the Salvadorian plan is interesting, because of the stress it puts upon juridical methods of settling all disputes between the Latin-American nations—a process that involves creation of a court competent to deal with any issues that may come before it. The Latin-American is not a lover of war. He has memories of his long struggle against Spain, which so decimated the Iberian stock in some of the countries that they never have functioned efficiently as they otherwise might. The Latin-American recalls the innumerable "revolutions" that have characterized the historical development of South American republicanism down to a comparatively recent time. He knows that these factional fights, involving loss of life, have been disastrous economically as well as politically. He wants an end put to civil war.

The next step is easy, and he takes it. He dislikes to think of the Americas passing through any such "reconstruction" experience as Europe has had since 1914. Therefore he now pleads for resort to reason, not to force, to trained investigators of facts and not to rhetorical partisans and beaters of the drums of war. Having created his judicial and arbitral tribunal, he wants it to hold its sessions on soil conquered and held by Latins. If there is to be a Pan-America capital, he wants it to be nearer the regions where Latins dominate.

This is a straw that it will be well to watch float down the stream of time. Races that have produced a Drago of the Argentine and a Barbosa of Brazil need not dread experimenting with their own system of league formation for juridical ends.

At a time when neither Europe nor the United States seem to have much vital faith in an international court competent to deal with international disputes, and thus to avoid wars, it is refreshing to see Latin-America considering what its policy is to be.

FRANCE

AFTER the experiences following August 1, 1914, it is natural to expect evidence of nervousness in France. We have no doubt that the speech by the former Premier, Jean Louis Barthou, March 26, delivered in the Chamber of Deputies during a discussion of French foreign policy, expressed views widely current not only in France, but in England also. It is probably true that French merchants are interested in the cotton of Adana and in the oil of Mosul, in consequence of which there is a real bone of contention between France and England, and that is Syria. It is a familiar fact that, while France breasted Germany during those distressful years, England was overthrowing the Turks in Asia Minor and laying the ground for claims to the vast reservoirs of wealth in that section of the world. This is a fact to be considered in any attempt to analyze the present strained relations between France and England. But let it not be overlooked that France has suffered; still suffers. It may be true, as the Deputy Minister of Public Works, M. Le Trocquer, says, that Great Britain has promised France, out of the English stock of coal available for disposal, 60 per cent, instead of the 20 previously promised, and that at a special price; but the fact remains that the treaty guaranteeing English and American protection for France along the east is a dead letter. While England has obtained security by the destruction of the German fleet, it is also a fact that, as M. Barthou said, "France stands alone." This ought not to be so. We are convinced that France is not a militaristic nation, and that she desires no conquests;

but we are also clearly convinced that France feels the justice of her demand that she should be reimbursed for the losses which have come to her as a result of the ruthless attack across her industrial areas. France is entitled to reparation. We all said this during the war. It was provided for in the treaty ending the war. We should not forget it now. Our view is that France should obtain these reparations in discussion with the Allies if possible, and that she will receive them that way; but, failing this now, we find it difficult to criticize her for moving her troops across the Rhine. It is wholly unjust that England should be credited with all the generosity toward Germany, and that France should be charged with all the sternness toward that arch aggressor. That is not fair to France. France has grievances well known and justified. The French are intelligent, free of sentimentalism, interested in realities, and swift to execute ideas. It is natural, after the experiences of this war, after the failure of Germany to fulfill her engagements, and in the light of the history of a thousand years, that France should desire to know where she stands and that there should be a Nationalist Party favoring military occupation of the Ruhr basin. In the absence of any agreed evidence of support from the outside, it is easy to understand why France should take upon herself the enforcement of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. We confess to a feeling of pride and sympathy with the former Premier when he said: "Great Britain knows how to defend her interests. France is still strong enough to defend herself with her allies if they agree and without them if they withdraw." That utterance was dignified, justified, French. It is said that the Frenchman is conceited only as regards France. There is nothing, certainly, of the American brag and bunkum in him. The utterance of M. Barthou was not sharp or strident. It was out of the Frenchman in him. The one thing the French may be expected to do is to stand by *La Patrie*. The five years of war will reach their climax of infamy if, deprived of protection from further attacks on her east, France, *la duce France*, is left alone to obtain those reparations agreed to by all the belligerents in the Treaty of Versailles.

SYRIA'S CLAIM

ONE of the most dramatic, and for a time disturbing, incidents of the month has been the assertion by Prince Feisal of autonomy of an Arabian State in Syria, his elevation to the headship of the same, and his defiance of Great Britain and France in their determination to partition territory nominally Turkish but which the Arabs now claim must be ruled by Arabs.

Proceeding to Paris following his assertion of his

people's claims, Feisul has been dealing with the representatives of France, and his latest utterances indicate some modification of his insistence. What these claims originally were may be inferred from the appeal which he sent to President Wilson and the Government of the United States. It said:

"The Arab district, namely, Syria, including Palestine, Hedjaz, and Mesopotamia, which has suffered for centuries under Turkish misrule, unable to get justice, has revolted against the Caliph's call and rendered the call of Islam for a holy war void in the Mohammedan world.

"This was done by the Arabs for a realization of the aspirations and rights which the Allies, especially Great Britain, acknowledged and promised to secure for us. The principles laid down by you were gladly accepted by the Allies, who admitted that the war was one of liberation and not of conquest. The liberated nations, especially Syria, were assured that they would be given the right to choose the power they desired to assist them in government.

"The Arabs rushed into the World War upon these principles, in full confidence of the clear promises of the Allies that the Arabs would be given liberty. After the armistice, a secret treaty, unknown to the Arabs, divided Syria into four zones, under different administrations, which made the population furious. But public excitement was quieted by assurances that these divisions were temporary, and that they would vanish with the military government.

"Because of the great danger of having all Syria inflamed into insurrection, it was necessary to call a constituent assembly, elected by the nation, which proclaimed the country's independence and elected me chief, thus assuring peace to the country, which conforms to the promises and declarations of the Allies.

"We want only our rights, conferred by nature and by our great sacrifices in the war. We entertain the hope that the Allies will receive our new regulations with pleasure and endeavor to remove the obstacles which might hinder our progress. We desire nothing except to live peacefully in a peaceful world. Owing to the present situation, I hope you will assist us in defending our case and render a decision in conformity with your principles.

"We intend to safeguard the interests of the Allies in our country and protect the rights of all foreigners. The definitely arranged division of Syria into various parts is detrimental to our national life. It is impossible, for both political and economic reasons, to have peace without liberty and unity."

INCREASING THE SPEED

THE BIG BERTHAS bombarded Paris from a distance of approximately seventy-five miles. A French lieutenant, Delamare-Maze, has invented a contrivance by which it will be possible to double the range of guns of the pattern of the Big Berthas. It is reported that the velocity of the shell will be increased from 2,625 feet to 4,625 feet a second and the range lengthened to 150 miles. This is evidently a serious matter, for the French Government has purchased the patent. There-

fore this instrument of destruction is a thing to be reckoned with.

So the merry game goes on. Shortly there will be practically no limit to the destruction possible to life and property which an enemy will be able to inflict. As the *London Times* complains in its number for April 2:

"London, for instance, could be bombarded by batteries of new guns stationed at Zeebrugge or mounted on ships cruising far from land in the North Sea; and at the same time be bombed by a fleet of thousands of airplanes carrying far heavier supplies of far more destructive explosives than anything yet seen. The prospects, especially for big towns, which would certainly be the first objectives to be attacked, is appalling. Whole areas would be wiped out, with their human populations, and it is conceivable that an unscrupulous power, making an unjustified attack, might so take its intended victim by surprise as to end the war almost before it began. . . . War is destined to become a much more serious menace than it has been to the prosperity and happiness of the world."

Yes, that is the plain fact.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING DEFEATED

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES on February 25 so reacted to the report of its Committee on Military Affairs, favoring compulsory military training of the youth of the land, that it was decided to eliminate the section from the army bill, for which the House later stood sponsor.

In the Senate friends of compulsory training also controlled the Committee on Military Affairs, and hence the Senate's army bill included provisions making the compulsory system operative in 1921, at a cost which, at the lowest, meant not less than \$700,000,000 a year.

Debate of this bill and its section for continuing in times of peace the system used in "the selective service" of the "World War" opened early in April, Senator Wadsworth, of New York, championing the measure, and Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, attacking it. Two days' debate indicated so clearly that the plan for setting up conscription in the United States could not pass through the Senate as at present constituted and with world conditions as they now are, that it was agreed to drop the section fixing the system on the nation. The proposed increase of the military forces, it was decided, is to be left to the voluntary action of individuals, for whom special provisions are to be made in the way of military training and general and vocational education at specified times and regular seasons.

It was in vain that champions of the compulsory system cited, with more or less justification, the claim that the President and the Secretary of War favored the

compulsory plan. Opponents, with equal facility of quotation, showed that the President also had called upon his party followers in Congress to postpone definite decision on so important a matter until the world condition altered and it was clear just what the military policy of the country should be.

The decisive defeat of the party of "compulsion" is due, in our opinion, to three facts:

First. Much of the evidence accumulated by Congress relative to the conduct of the war, the treatment suffered by privates and subordinate officers, and the caste spirit of the "regular" officers has made it impossible to get some of the lawmakers to support any plan which forces youth into a life that is prophetic during days of peace of such experiences in time of war.

Second. A very large proportion of the men who formed the A. E. F. and a much larger proportion of their kinsfolk, who have had a chance to study the war's effect upon the youths who went forth, are, as voters, dead set against America taking up with a policy that has cursed Europe and that England already has indicated she dare not continue. These voters, old and new, who are to shape largely the outcome of the coming elections, have let lawmakers know what they want and what they do not want; and the lawmakers have obeyed their intimations.

Third. The wisest of the party leaders and the most statesmanlike of the legislators, facing a deficit of from \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 in the national accounts for the present fiscal year and knowing that the people are muttering and preparing to punish parties or persons who add anything to the taxes dared not propose adding an item of expenditure that, at a minimum estimate, meant an increase of \$700,000,000 a year. To do so meant personal, political suicide, and also would handicap their party in the coming election. Arguments as to the necessity of "preparedness" against foes abroad—named or suspected—had no effect on this group of opportunists.

That other motives influenced some of the Senators we doubt not. We have confined our comment to three that we know had weight. But it would be unfair to seem to intimate that all the votes were prudential and based on policy or on knowledge recently acquired and specially applicable to these times. Some Senators voted because of deep-rooted moral conviction that once the militarist camel got his nose under the flap of the tent he would never be dislodged. They had had all their beliefs respecting the unfortunate effects of enforced life in barracks and under the discipline of absolutists confirmed by the testimony of the youths who made the best records in the "selective service." They

did not and they do not believe that the army is the best school for American youth, however illiterate, physically defective, or without institutional civic morale they may be. These Senators voted for a voluntary system with a clear conscience, as the lesser of two evils. But neither the Germany of yesterday nor the France of today is their model State for America to copy.

THE publication by Mr. Roosevelt's literary executor in *Scribner's Magazine* of much of the correspondence between the former President and the sovereigns of Europe is enabling his countrymen to see how much he did in the way of shaping the national foreign policy without taking the public into his confidence. Thus, in connection with the Algeciras conference, it is claimed by Mr. Roosevelt that at the solicitation of the then Kaiser he promoted the calling of the conference; that he, Roosevelt, drew up the terms of settlement which were adopted, and that he "fairly compelled the Kaiser to give his unwilling consent to them." Here is a clue that we would like to see followed up by some investigator. It shows the United States, by executive action exclusively, sharing in shaping European and African policy.

GOOD sense respecting study of German in the schools was shown by the House of Representatives, March 29, when considering the District of Columbia appropriation bill. As reported from the committee, none of the money set apart for the Washington schools was to be paid to any teacher imparting instruction in the German language. But "the war is over, and the sooner we admit it the greater self-respect we will have in future years," said Congressman Mann, who led a successful fight to have this provision stricken out of the bill.

IN THE March number of the *ADVOCATE* we called attention to the action of the Senate of the University of Berlin in punishing Prof. G. F. Nicolai, author of "The Biology of War," because of his candor during the war in pointing out the baneful effects of militarism upon German national life, resulting in her present defeat and disaster. We noted that he seemed inclined to come hitherward to find academic freedom. It is a pleasure to be able to chronicle that the Prussian Minister of Education at once rebuked the Berlin University Senate; insisted that Professor Nicolai should be conceded all his rights; and informed the Senate that the Department fully intended to protect academic freedom in the universities.

MEXICO's government has sent a commission to the United States to study the working of the Boy Scout movement, intending to use the material gathered in drafting a law that will make the Boy Scouts of Mexico subservient to the Department of War and a distinct part of the military arm of the republic. Is this the logic of the premises on which the argument for the Boy Scout movement is based?

ECUADOR and Colombia recently came to an agreement on a boundary dispute. On April 4 the fact was made the occasion of a fête day in both countries. Moreover, the presidents of the two countries proceeded to the frontier, and while national hymns were played by bands and while military contingents of the two countries saluted each the other, the cornerstone of a monument commemorating the event was laid. They do things admirably in Latin America, with due regard for symbolism and civic ritualism and their subtle effect on national psychology.

THE only woman seeking for nomination and election to the United States Senate, Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, is opposed to the Treaty of Versailles; is in favor of a league of peace of all nations; would restore the pre-war rights of free speech, press, and assembly; would release all political prisoners and conscientious objectors, and would tax war-made millionaires to pay the costs of the war. Ozonic clarity this, anyhow.

EASTER DAY in Jerusalem saw a fight, with 188 casualties, mostly minor; but all symbolical of that "state of peace" which exists not only in the Sacred City of Jew, Christian, Moslem, and modern Zionist, but in the world at large as well.

M. ANDRÉ TARDIEU, French High Commissioner in the United States during the war and one of the Peace Commissioners at the Quai D'Orsay, renders a service by calling upon the French people to oppose the anti-American campaign in France. It is, as he says, both "dangerous and absurd." We of America, on the other hand, can never forget what France was to us over a century ago, or her unforgettable heroism along the Marne, the Yser, at Verdun. How can any American forget that along those terrible stretches countless French boys bared their breasts to German bullets until America could arrive? Mr. Wilson should speak no unkind word of France. We agree with M. Tardieu that, "having had the privilege of presiding

over these efforts on both sides of the ocean, I have the right to say that the service mutually rendered and received witnesses the great ability for collaboration of the two nations." Let the federation of the Boy Scouts of America with the Boy Scouts of France go on. Let the interchange between schools take place. As this French official adds, "If the two republics fail to draw from war and peace the mutual benefits they should, they will be unworthy of their past and unworthy of their future."

THE HISTORIAN of the "World War" in all its phases may have to come to the United States for material; for, with characteristic enterprise and lavish expenditure of funds, some of our universities and some of our private citizens have seen to it that data of all sorts should be gathered abroad and at home, suitably housed, and put in shape for quick and informing use by investigators. Princeton University, for instance, is said to have a collection that already numbers 1,000,000 titles if articles in periodicals are included. For this she owes a debt of gratitude to two alumni, one of them a governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Harvard and Yale are in the same class of collectors and are planning to collaborate with Princeton, so as to avoid undue duplication. Princeton is specializing in international law and economics.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the delegates of the peace societies will be held in Europe under the auspices of the Bureau International de la Paix, Berne, May 22. This meeting should be of interest, especially in the light of the opposition from certain quarters to the resolution adopted September last by the Council, fixing the responsibility of the war upon Germany; also in the light of the fact that there is a growing opinion that a constructive program for the union of the peace workers should not suffer again its fate of 1914.

TESTIMONY from British, Canadian, and American social welfare workers and from officials who have to administer relief funds and deal with the consequences of marital differences is virtually unanimous that a comparatively small number of the war-time marriages are proving to be happy or permanent unions. The disillusionment that comes with peace, its duties, its grim realities, its recurrence to such old-fashioned affairs as maternity, family support, and adjustment of temperaments and tempers, is proving hard for thousands of women and men who allowed the romantic aspects of war to set aside the safeguards of reason. This difficulty of substituting for the allurements of

khaki the reality of homespun is not confined to privates' and subordinate officers' war brides. It reaches up into the ranks of the higher officers and the women war workers in high administrative positions. Nor, since we are alluding to this matter of marriage, can it be forgotten how many cases are now being chronicled, in the courts and in the press, of wives who are seeking separation or divorce from husbands who had only to land in home camps or foreign ports to prove unfaithful to their vows of constancy.

SECRETARY ALEXANDER, of the Department of Commerce, protesting against a proposed plan for merging with the Department of State many of the bureaus for foreign trade now under his jurisdiction, and also making known his inability to favor, as a matter of theory, closer relations of the diplomatic and consular arms of the State Department, goes on record unequivocally. "In my opinion," he says, "it is a grave mistake to join too closely diplomacy and commerce. It is both a bad thing for diplomacy and a bad thing for commerce." His basic reason for this opposition is that diplomacy, when made the secret servant of trade, degenerates; and, on the other hand, successful trade cannot wait on "the necessary dignity, secrecy, and careful circumspection of diplomacy." This criticism cuts both ways, but its origin makes it worth noting.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

By GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, SEPTEMBER 17, 1796¹

OBSERVE good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be culti-

vated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak toward a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp

¹Richardson, James D.: "A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents," 1789-1897, vol. 1, pp. 221-223. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896-1899.

the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enemies.

Our detached and distinct situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisition upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 4, 1801

ABOUT to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever State or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations,

¹ Richardson: "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. 1, pp. 323-324.

entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MESSAGE

By JAMES MONROE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, DECEMBER 5, 1823

AT THE proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with its government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and main-

¹ Richardson: "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. 2, pp. 209, 218, 219.

tain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to so do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference.

They saw that to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. This constrained them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand and know the penalties of transgressing them.

RICHARD HOOKER,

Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, 1594.

AN AMERICAN IDEA OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By JAMES L. TRYON, Ph. D., Cambridge, Mass.

WHAT is the American idea of a league of nations? Who can say? One can tell what *an* American idea of a league of nations is with more confidence than he can state what *the* American idea of it is. The attitude of the United States Senate has shown that no American, not even the President himself, can with certainty, beforehand and uninstructed, assure other nations what kind of league his entire country, or the political party of which he is the leader, will unqualifiedly accept. But of several plans of a league we may say, "This is or was *an* American idea." We may say it of the original platform of the League to Enforce Peace, because it had a large number of adherents in America. We may say it of the Covenant of the League of Nations, because, though it resembles the outline of a proposed league of the same name that was put forward by the British leader, General Smuts, it was based in part on the plan of the League to Enforce Peace and in part on proposals made by our President, notably, if we are rightly informed, the guarantee of territorial integrity and independence, and was urged by him upon Europe as one of the prime objectives of the war and one of the chief points to be realized in the settlement of peace. We may say it of the Covenant as amended by the Lodge reservations, because they Americanized the spirit of that document by safeguarding the interests of the United States. And we may say it particularly of at least one other important plan that is not so well known as these proposals, but that cannot fail to receive first consideration if the Covenant fails of acceptance and we begin the agitation for world reconstruction anew. This plan was offered by the American Institute of International Law in its *Recommendations of Habana Concerning International Organization*, January 23, 1917.

The plan of the American Institute of International Law may be called the historic plan of the world-peace movement for international reconstruction, because it represents a continuity of thought and development on this subject from the beginning. The proposal for better international organization is not new and we must not let it appear to be; it has a long and honorable history which is sometimes overlooked. The new element in it is not in its aim, which is peace with justice, but in new methods of accomplishing its aim. A plan for a congress and court of nations, arbitration, mediation, and the codification of international law, although in some of its aspects primarily European, was elaborated by William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, and presented to the crowned heads of Europe before most of our public men were born. Substantially this plan, based on past political experience in the life of nations, but adapted to the growing needs of the times, was in process of general acceptance through the action of the Hague conferences, with which it harmonized. But it has also corresponded with the foreign policy of the United States, from the days of Washington through a succession of Presidents and Secretaries of State. Secretary Root, in our own time, urged upon the Amer-

ican delegates to the second Hague conference this continuous development of the peace idea and, with the success of the Supreme Court of the United States in mind, outlined in principle what the conference drafted and conditionally adopted as the Court of Arbitral Justice. This tribunal, when instituted by further diplomatic action, was to be a judicial court of arbitration as distinguished from the present Hague court, which, however, was also to remain operative as the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The system adopted at the Hague was that of a diplomatic-judicial organization, whose crowning feature for our present day was first of all to be a court of international justice. This was always to be ready to try controversies between nations and render judgment on the basis of law; but no internationalized force was to be put at the disposal of the court for the enforcement of its decisions. The nations were supposed to accept these decisions in good faith, and, furthermore, to be moved to accept them both because of the justice which they proclaimed and because of the compelling influence of an enlightened international public opinion which was in process of education.

But with the outbreak of the World War, which the Hague system did not prevent, all thought of reconstruction on that basis was by many earnest and not a few impatient people thrown into the background and another system with new organs, especially an executive department, supported by international force, was proposed as an altogether better idea than that which was said to have failed. This new system, after having various titles in this country and Great Britain, was finally given the name of the league of nations and the Hague was forgotten as if it had never been. But why the Hague system should be so severely condemned, especially when a good part of it would have to be perpetuated in any reconstruction that, short of world federation, for which we are not ready, marked real progress toward peace with justice, it is difficult to understand; and why no mention was made of the Hague conferences, the court of the conventions, even of the convention relating to the regulation of war, the violation of which was an offense to mankind, has never been satisfactorily explained. The Hague system had been useful in preventing armed conflict and, as in the case of Russia and Japan, in ending war when once begun, but it did not pretend to put an end to all war; the very fact that treaties for the regulation of war and the observance of neutrality were made at the conferences showed that the statesmen who participated in them knew that the day of universal peace had not arrived, but that war might in some evil moment return, in which case its cruelties should be limited as much as possible and the rights and duties of neutrals fixed. Let us hope that after we have established the League of Nations, with Geneva as the world capital, and erected buildings at great expense, we shall not within a few years begin another reconstruction that will leave out the name both of the League and the capital as if they and the high ideas which we now associate with them had gone out of our minds altogether. This indeed would be a tragic experience, and let us not look for it; but it cannot help being suggested.

Some publicists and not a few statesmen have de-

clared that if an international force pledged to act in case of emergency could have been summoned, the attack of Austria on Serbia and the invasion of Belgium by Germany could not have happened. But such a force was not wanted or it might have been available. There was neither in 1899 nor in 1907, the dates of the Hague conferences, any more than in August, 1914, a willingness on the part of the family of nations to subscribe to a general agreement to provide for the use of an international army and navy, usually called, or miscalled, an international police. That idea was in the minds of several distinguished publicists who were receiving a hearing, but there was not sentiment enough for it among the governments to put it into the form of law. There were good reasons for this; for since the days of the Holy Alliance, of Metternich and his autocratic allies, international police had been discredited, especially by liberal-minded men. In those days it had been used by reactionary rulers to interfere in the domestic affairs of neighboring States to put down revolutionists who were seeking constitutional freedom and to prevent the growth of national spirit where men of the same race wanted to live under the same flag. The people of Italy and Spain were its victims; the nations of Latin America were, fortunately, saved by the Monroe Doctrine and other conditions from sharing the same fate as their European brothers. Meantime there had grown up a belief that international police permanently organized, whether available as national contingents or as a collective force, under international executive direction, would mean the loss of national independence and sovereignty, which in our day all States have prized; and no nation was willing to put itself in a position to be sacrificed. The idea of a general guarantee of territorial integrity and independence, except by single States for protectorates or weaker States, or by an alliance for temporary purposes, was, as a rule, thought to be impracticable, although there were special cases of permanently neutralized States, like Belgium and Switzerland, that lived under a guarantee of a limited number of nations. International conditions before the war were unfavorable for a general guarantee. A guarantee of the entire *status quo* as the foundation of a new world order was deemed unthinkable by men who realized how unsatisfactory was the map of the world, and especially of Europe, with Alsace-Lorraine in the hands of Germany, with the Balkan peoples dissatisfied, and with other races having dreams of nationality unrealized. And even now a general guarantee is believed by many students of this subject to be a matter about which the United States should be cautious in sharing unless it wishes to send its troops back to Europe to enforce it, although a limited temporary guarantee, such as an assurance to France that if unrighteously attacked, as in 1914, America would go to her rescue, is believed by some statesmen to be feasible.

While, however, the World War was under way and a belief was growing in this country, and in Great Britain especially, though to some extent in other countries, as shown by the organization of societies in France and Holland, that an international force would tend to prevent future wars and should be provided for in the reconstruction of a peace system after the great conflict was over, the American Institute of International Law,

in its *Recommendations of Habana Concerning International Organization*, proposed a plan that was founded upon the historic idea, the development of the Hague conferences, without the sanction of force. The American Institute of International Law is comprised of distinguished publicists, eminent lawyers, former ministers of state, and some judges of the Hague court, elected from the twenty-one republics of Pan America, including the United States. It is therefore a respectable body of authority whose views on international questions deserve consideration. It did not, however, offer its scheme as a finality or as a panacea, but with a certain degree of modesty and open-mindedness put it forth as a minimum basis for discussion of the problems of international reorganization.*

There are certain noteworthy characteristics about this plan and some omissions in it that deserve consideration. But we should remember that it is only a briefly stated basis for discussion; not a detailed draft or treaty. If it were a treaty, or were embodied in a series of treaties, like the treaty with Germany or the Hague conventions, it would be extensively developed. The plan proposes the continuance of the society of nations as an association of independent States upon an equal basis before the law. It does not recognize the primacy of the Great Powers as of right, nor does it name any dependant group of them as they emerge from the World War. The war was not ended when these suggestions were made; but, even if it had been, the theory underlying the plan is that of a reorganization of the whole family of nations on an equal footing. It precludes the leadership of any one State as of right, for example, the right of Russia, because she initiated the Hague conferences, to preside over them through the instrumentality of a Russian chairman, as was the case in 1899 and 1907, to the parliamentary advantage of Russia. The feature of the plan that provides for a judicial union not only admits regularly recognized independent nations to membership, but self-governing dominions that are attached to empires, as is the case with the Universal Postal Union, which is taken as a model. But as the court to be created is a legal rather than a political body, a court of judges and not a congress of delegates, and its rule is to be in accordance with law instead of being subject to expediency; and as the court is likely to be small and representative of the interests of the whole body of States organized in the union rather than of the interests of particular States, this apparent irregularity of membership may offer no insurmountable objection. The plan says nothing about the concentration of the scattered administrative unions at a single capital; but there seems to be no opposition to this idea in principle, provided such concentration is desired. The council of conciliation that would be set up might represent the extension to the family of nations of the principle of the Bryan treaties for the advancement of peace, several of which have been adopted between the United States and other countries, but modifications might have to be made to suit the world as a whole. The plan does not prohibit or renounce the use of force, but it emphasizes public opinion as a sanction. The court itself is not empowered to use force

against a disobedient State. Public opinion, naturally, would command the acceptance of a wise and just decision if hesitancy to obey were shown, and we know that it brings millions of armed men into the field once its sense of right is violated, for, as the World War has shown, nations will rally to the support of right whether there is or is not a previously organized international force already to be summoned to action. This plan says nothing about the Monroe Doctrine, but we should expect a reservation on this point as strong as that which is attached to the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This plan says nothing about the limitation of armaments—a matter that the Hague conferences did not deal with except in the form of a study of the question and resolutions in favor of the idea of a limitation—but the idea may be taken up whenever the nations are ready to consider it. This plan does not insist upon the registration and publication of all kinds of treaties, nor does it authorize the conferences to consider harmful treaties; and by it no broad inquisitorial jurisdiction is given to the association of States or to any council created to act in case of war or threat of war. But these are matters for development when the nations are quite willing to have their affairs adjusted by an association that is clothed with political and executive as well as judicial power. This plan establishes no system of mandatory or trustee States for conquered colonies, backward States, or weak peoples that need guidance in the management of their affairs; but it does not preclude such arrangement at the proper time. But a more complete form of internationalization than the mandatory system provides, and one that is above suspicion of national advantage gained by territorial allotments made under the peace treaty, may eventually receive public approval. Guarantees of territorial integrity and independence are not found in this plan, but they would more properly come with conditions farther advanced toward world federation than we have actually reached. They belong to an age of general pacification, when nations, great and small, are satisfied with their place in the international system perhaps when they have adopted standardized forms of governments—*e. g.*, republics—if that time ever comes, and when the occasional law-breaker may be served notice that invasion of another State or the imposition of an imperial form of government is likely to meet with international resistance.

The plan of the American Institute of International Law looks forward to a world legislature, but for the present confines itself to a diplomatic conference. It would give power now to recommend and later perhaps to declare law; and it takes a step toward a world executive by proposing an executive committee that shall be charged with securing the ratification of conventions adopted by the conferences and with influencing unity of action among the governments. This committee might be made up at first of the diplomatic representatives of the nations at The Hague or at some other capital; for example, new duties could be conferred upon the Permanent Administrative Council of the present Hague court until a different executive body is established. In other words, the plan is in harmony with the idea of establishing the three usually accepted departments of government—legislative, executive, and judi-

* See inside cover (page 110).

cial—but at present is concerned with the practical question of establishing a system that is adapted to a society of independent States. It assumes, like the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, that these States recognize the principle of solidarity, and that they have respect for law, and that they desire to co-operate, but prefer to remain free. And this is also the historic American peace idea.

The Plan of the Covenant of the League of Nations

The plan of the American Institute of International Law, the historic American plan for reconstruction, was not, however, adopted by the Peace Conference at Paris, although necessarily some of the principles contained in the new plan are inherited from the past. The Covenant of the League of Nations was based upon the scheme devised and interpreted by General Smuts, who represented Great Britain, but contained new matter which had the approval of some eminent publicists in this country and elsewhere, as, for example, Article 10, as well as additions, that have been attributed to the President. Some details must also have been suggested by various members of the drafting committee, although we are not told by what members.

As first proposed, this plan was both warmly praised and severely criticised here. It was then amended and submitted to the United States Senate for advice and consent to ratification. Various reservations, some of them practically in the nature of amendments, were proposed, the most notable of which were associated with the name of Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and are identified with his policy. These reservations were not accepted, and it was impossible to secure a two-thirds majority, as required by our Constitution, to get the consent of the Senate to ratification, either with or without them.

The Lodge reservations help to protect the sovereignty and independence of the United States, but hardly do more than that. They expressly make the action of Congress necessary to participation in war by this country in response to a call from the League, so far as possible prevent Europe, through the League, from interfering with the Monroe Doctrine, or even from interpreting it without our consent, the Covenant possibly being against our exclusive customary claim in this matter; they except from consideration by the League, its organs or other Powers, purely American domestic questions, some of which are specified; make necessary some legislation by Congress with regard to the appointment and authorization of commissions, including in some cases confirmation by the Senate; and require the consent of Congress for certain expenditures that might be involved in our participation in the work of the League, while in case of war or invasion of the United States allow us to increase our armaments at discretion. The reservations restrict the effect on the United States of the extra voting power of Great Britain and her self-governing dominions when either the Empire or the colonies participate in an election or decision of a question upon which votes are taken; and lay down a necessary prerequisite that at least three of the Great Powers that won the war shall accept these conditions. There are also other reservations, one of the most important

of which is the clause relating to the reversions of the rights of Germany in Shantung. These, it is generally admitted, should go back to China, the original owner, instead of to Japan, the conquering possessor, the claims of which nation might have to be defended later by the League and therefore by the United States, if now approved.

But even with the Lodge reservations the general organs of the League and its powers as regards the rest of the world are practically unaffected; its authority to act, and even to intervene in case of war or threat of war anywhere in the world outside the United States, and possibly even here, is practically intact; the enforcement features, the guarantees of territorial integrity and independence, upholding the present *status quo* as the future world order; the system of mandatory or trustee States for weak, backward peoples, or conquered colonies, and the authority to examine and revise treaties, as well as to deal with international situations generally, without, however, restrictions such as might be provided by a declaration of the rights of nations and of individuals; these are all still in the Covenant of the League of Nations. An examination of the Covenant shows that as qualified by the Lodge reservations it has not been destroyed, as many people have thought, but has simply been Americanized, and even now is far in advance of the basis proposed by the American Institute of International Law, and therefore of the historic American program for the discussion of world reconstruction.

Under these circumstances it is a question whether from the point of view of those who prefer the Covenant to the historic American plan, or to any other plan, there has not been a first-class mistake made in opposing the Lodge resolutions and one that it may take years to correct, for sentiment for the naked Covenant itself seems to be waning in this country every day. Doubtless refusal to accept the Lodge reservations was due in part to a fear that if the United States were permitted to put them on the Covenant other nations might ask for reservations of their own until by process of amendment the constitution of the League would be so weakened that it would amount to nothing; but if other countries desire to make reservations the implication must be that not only America, but the rest of the world is being asked to do something reluctantly, and that therefore there is a danger that pledges are being made that will not be kept, which is the very point that, so far as this country is concerned, we should be on our guard against; for we must take no obligation that we do not intend to keep. If we do take upon ourselves obligations and do not keep them, we lay ourselves liable under the terms of the League, as Covenant-breakers, to be invaded or ostracized and possibly ruined by the organized nations of the world.

What May Be Done if the League Covenant Is Not Ratified

If the treaty with Germany, embodying the Covenant, and qualified, so far as the United States is concerned, by the Lodge reservations or their substantial equivalent, is ratified—that is, if we adopt the Covenant in the only form that now seems possible—we shall expect to give the League a fair trial. Such further proposals as are made for international reconstruction may be ex-

pected to take the form of amendments later, for which the Covenant fortunately provides, rather than popular agitation for a new constitution, unless perchance we should have another great war followed by another reconstruction. But nobody can expect an international any more than a national constitution to remain unaltered. A movement especially in the direction of a declaration of rights of nations and of individuals or races, such as may now be found in substance in some of the special treaties made between the Allied and Associated Powers and other nations, but not appearing in the Covenant as applicable to all nations; a discussion of the redistribution of territory, colonial and other kinds, together with claims of some nationalities for nationhood or local independence in a federation and efforts to take the control of the League from a few select Powers in order to make it more strictly democratic and equitable may be expected.

But if the Covenant is lost the movement for world peace will not stop; for it is too great a movement to die as the result of such failure. It is bound to go on and in the end will become more unified than ever before. It will be revived with vigor in due season and new plans for reconstruction, probably of a more moderate character, will be proposed. In case we have to make a new start the plan of the American Institute of International Law, the plan that has historical continuity, which offers many points of agreement and few for controversy, either in this country or among the nations of the world, but from which we have departed in choosing the Covenant, though that document itself reproduces some historic ideas, should be brought to the attention of the governments.

If a new constitution were proposed, it may be assumed that it would not be formulated immediately, but possibly within two or three years, or after the world situation has settled down. In that case it would be easier than it is now to follow the Hague rule and admit all nations to membership at the outset. Such an arrangement might be objectionable to the Powers that are now in control; but if we could agree upon a readjustment, there might be this compensating advantage, in the long run, that the international governments we should set up would be based upon the willing consent of all the nations that subscribed to it, and might be expected in time of crisis to receive loyal support, such as might not be forthcoming under a constitution made by some Powers and at first controlled by them, but excluding others or admitting them in principle, but not in fact, or leaving them for a time as probationers. Whether such new constitution would include the mandatory system, the territorial guarantees of Article 10, which are closely connected with it, a system of enforcement by boycott and the military arm, and an international council in which the Great Powers preponderate as of right; and whether it would confer a world-wide jurisdiction over matters of peace and war, and provide for the revision of treaties may be doubtful, unless the world is ready as a whole to form a political as distinguished from a judicial union, which was what we appeared to be on the point of organizing when the problem of reconstruction was interrupted by the war; but the principles of conciliation, investigation, arbitration, administrative unions, whether separate or conceen-

trated at a capital, and the idea of a better organization of the family of nations, together with a wide-spread determination to insist upon respect for law and the rights of nationalities are here to stay.

And what more can we say? Of course, we may be criticized by Europe for hesitating to adopt or for actually rejecting what appeared to be our own idea, a league of nations to secure peace; but it must be remembered that the form which this idea was given in the proposed international constitution of the League of Nations was not the idea of all the American people, and went far beyond our traditional relationship with the rest of the world, much farther than we are all prepared to go at this particular time, but perhaps no farther than we shall be ready to go at a later time. We must not disparage the Covenant as a political achievement from the point of view of securing agreement to a proposed constitution. But the peace question is not one that the machinery of constitutions alone can solve. Conditions as well as constitutions are necessary to world peace. It is a practical question in the solution of which certain international factors have to be carefully considered. The character of nations must be accurately understood. Their policies, motives, standards, and interests must be assessed in the light of history, clearly comprehended and calmly judged.

Have the ethical standards of all the nations been absolutely purified and changed by the war? Is the spirit of empire dead, or has it survived to show itself again in new though less objectionable forms than those of old? And if the thirst for empire still exists, is permanent peace with justice possible? Here is an important consideration. When nations are satisfied with their territory, markets, and commercial privileges; when nationalities that desire unity and justice have been given their rights; when races that seek their freedom feel that they have it, we shall be farther along the road to peace than we are today and in a better position to adopt a constitution of world union based on force. But while there are national spheres of influence in foreign territory, an irredenta to be regained and subjugated peoples to be freed, while rights are withheld against the consent of nations that claim them, can we expect stability, even though we try to fix it in a constitution? And can the United States, without carefully safeguarding its life and its interests, by at least a recognition of the limitations of our own Constitution in regard to participation in war, undertake to guarantee the international *status quo*?

But it will be asked by earnest men who will be greatly disappointed if the United States should refuse to ratify the Covenant, "Shall we remain in isolation and shrink from our duty to help the world?" We cannot remain in isolation. We know that we do not expect to become isolated. We could not separate ourselves from the rest of the world if we would. We shall do our duty in any case. And let no nation think that because we appear to hesitate over the Covenant we shall refrain from cooperation in the interest of our country and the welfare of the world if the same or a similar set of circumstances, such as the unjustified invasion of Belgium or France, should occur. But we want to reserve the right to attend to our own affairs. We are willing to concede the same privilege to other nations. We want

to keep out of the antagonisms of Europe and we want Europe to keep out of our affairs. There has been no substantial change among our people as a whole in regard to those fundamental principles of policy that we received from our fathers and that have proved to make for our peace. If Europe needs us we stand ready to help her, but we prefer to remain free. We are willing to co-operate, but unwilling to be controlled. And we are unlikely for the present to join any union that compromises the independence of the United States or obligates this country to share the control of the world.

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

VII

The Human Struggle for a Moral Ideal

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

COMMON CONCEPTIONS OF THE MORAL IDEAL

IF ONE were to summarize writings dealing with the moral elements of personal success, such a summary, I think, would be seen to consist substantially of four qualities, namely, worship, love, labor, and a creative self-sacrifice. And one must confess that this is an inclusive category.

Reverence

True, we must accept worship as an aspect of any moral ideal, for religion and morality do not differ in kind. If we were to put the matter into the form of mathematics, we might say that morality is to religion as the seed is to the fruit. This is why reverence occupies a place so important in the writings of the moralists. There is a veneration touched with fear when we stand in the presence of beauty, goodness, truth; or when we think upon the Unknown. This is reverence. We shall grant that there is a difference between the forms or rituals and the blood or sinews of real reverence. Not that the forms and rituals are in and of themselves evil; but that in poetry, music, art, behavior, the forms and rituals are but the means to higher ends; that, as Gladstone once put it, "Nothing can make ritual safe except the strict observance of its purpose, namely, that it shall supply wings to the human soul in its callow efforts at upward flight." There is in us a substance of things hoped for; a high human feeling, reaching, for the want of a better phrase, toward the stars; a realization of a weakness supported by an unflinching strength; a companionship with the poets as "from the naked top of some bold headland" they behold "the sun rise up and bathe the world in light"; an unwordable poem in us when, alone by the sea, or beneath the night sky, or when beholding the wood rose, we love it and leave it on its stalk. This is reverence, the forerunner of worship. The systematization of it has given rise to the religions. When seen in others, it is a beautiful thing; for he who feels it, who is it, unconsciously radiates it. It is the secret of great teachers. The Gamaliels in education all had it. It is an essential fact in the rise of successful States. As Senator Hoar said in his oration on Robert Burns:

"No race or nation will ever be great, or will long maintain greatness, unless it holds fast to the faith in a living God, in a beneficent Providence, and in a personal immortality. To man as to nation, every gift of noblest origin is breathed upon by this hope's perpetual breath. I am not here to make an argument. I only affirm a fact. Where this faith lives are found courage, manhood, power. When this faith dies, courage, manhood, power die with it."

Love

Any moral ideal must include also a systematic growth of those affections which beget kindness in thought and deed. In all the arts much is made of love, of its endurance, forgiveness, trust; of its waiting, suffering, questioning, silence; of its freshness as of the dawn, the sacred perfume of it, its infinity. This great thing of the heart, often winged with fire, is the theme of poetry, of music, and of all the graphic expression of genius. It is the majestic miracle of life. At its best it is the little Eppie entering from out the night to melt the Silas Marner within us. If there be a Savior of the world it is love. It makes homes, schools, and all the personal relations tolerable. It is the one mark of genuine superiority. It is the hope of overcoming competition and conflict with co-operation and justice. It is the only quality in us which gives and which gets in the giving. It takes the "common man" and raises him above the contempt shown in the ancient arts, in the poems of Dante and Shakespeare, and gives to him the place faintly dreamed of by the revolutionists through the long past of aspiring revolutions.

Labor

And labor? Of course, labor. Life depends upon production, transportation, care of the young. These things demand labor. Then, too, there is in all healthy individuals an instinct for a personal perfection, a moral self-development calling for cleanliness in body and behavior, for strength and kindness, all of which demand application and industry. This is true not only of the principal things, but of the petty details, the unseen behaviors which bring neither praise nor recognition. This instinct says to us that we must rise above envies, jealousies, foolish prides, shams, gloatings over the misfortunes of others, even of our enemies. This perfection, demanding much labor, is seen to be good will; not a silly thing, but that good will which is sane enough to make a stern decision, if need be; a good will which can look to the welfare of others with self-forgetting generosity; a good will that finds greatness in little things:

"I have owed to them,
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart,
. . . feelings, too,
Of unremembered pleasure such, perhaps,
As have no slight or trivial influence
On that best portion of a good man's life,
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love."

If we are to attain unto that perfection which understands the other fellow, which bases judgments upon facts seen in their right relations; if we are to overcome

irritation, snappishness, insolence, heedlessness; if we are to attain unto those courtesies which make homes and societies agreeable and safe; if we are to attain unto that excellence in the hidden portions as did Phidias with the unseen parts of the statuary in the pediments of the Parthenon, we must labor. To labor for perfection is seen to be an element of the moral ideal, because it is the beginning of progress and of the conservation of life. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," is a cry out of the very heart of humanity.

A will honorably to achieve something worth while is an essential element of the moral ideal. Hence men are seen to turn toward a morally scientific frame of mind—an open, honest judicial attitude toward life, abhorring quackery. Men find consolation in their devotions to moral ideals, positive and ardent. As Plutarch said, excusing the time and pains spent on writing his lives of illustrious men: "Virtue, by the bare statement of its aims, can so affect men's minds as to create at the same time admiration of the things done and desire to imitate the doers of them." In this will to achieve, hero-worship plays its part. Out of hero-worship springs principles which are more than pious professions, a manliness which is "neither a dream nor an outgrown fashion of an earlier age." The great Arnold of Rugby set before his boys two supreme ideals—moral thoughtfulness and devotion to duty. The strength of Greek and Roman grew out of the recitals to youth of the heroic deeds of the fathers. It is the abstract in characters of history and literature that men adore and emulate. Inspired by them, men go forth to labor and achieve.

Creative Unselfishness

This important element of labor often becomes a strenuous business. Virtue is a virile thing. Most of our fears are pitiful. To pay one's debts, to support one's own, and to keep out of jail require a measure of hardness, a certain kind of strenuous "sand," that can get results and thwart shysters. Titian's picture of the "Christ and Judas" excels them all in this; through the love and holiness of that face is a certain worldly wisdom which says, "I know you Judas." Shaw does us a service by calling attention to the fact that a "gentle Jesus meek and mild" is a "sniveling modern invention." Surely Jesus must have been fascinating, robust, and buoyant. To be a saint does not imply that one must be a ninny or a weakling. It is often necessary to stand up under the fire of criticism, for example, whether that criticism be just or unjust. The best answer to criticism, like the best answer to praise, is hard work, attention to business. If men are not responsible for their feelings, appetites, passions, they are responsible for their slacks in will. Sloth and dishonesty are as cowardice in the captain who abandons his passengers aboard a sinking ship.

Thus the moral ideal must include a creative self-sacrifice, which means from of old, to make sacred. Duty is a natural law the observance of which is mandatory; but, if creative, it is or should be pleasant. There is no morality in the performance of duty through fear, on the one hand, or through priggishness, on the other. The performance of duty is never weakness; but,

furthermore, it is never a choice of evils. Duty can never be a real self-denial, however much it may be relatively so. Arguing from the law of evolution, Spencer once wrote:

"Pleasure being producible by the exercise of any structure which is adjusted to its special end, he will see the necessary implication to be that, supposing it consistent with the maintenance of life, there is no kindly activity which will not become a source of pleasure if continued; and that therefore pleasure will eventually accompany every mode."

Therefore creative sacrifice, goodness, is not real self-denial. The Christian religion would have more followers if it were not pictured as so thorny, meek, and unhappy. A practical goodness, a goodness that harmonizes flesh and spirit, that unites the Greek and Christian in us, that flows, ever fresh and beautiful, "forth from the eternal heart," the creative self-sacrificing life is not the self-denying life. It is, indeed, the only life of any real getting.

"And thus looking within and around me, I ever renew
(With that stoop of the soul which in bending upraises it too)

The submission of man's nothing perfect to God's all complete,

As by each new obelance in spirit I climb to his feet."

THE AGE-LONG STRUGGLE

Thus worship, love, labor, and creative self-sacrifice are agreed to be elements in the moral ideal. To study these things reveals the fact that the most interesting problem for man is himself. The history of them is fascinating, because it shows man in his high quest for life—a quest which has given to us the ancient Faust Saga, the war of the Titans and giants, the revolt of Prometheus, the social endeavors, politics, arts, schools, religions. If men are doomed to failure in their attempts to pierce the gloom, it is human to protest, to struggle against the limitations, to strive to see. The inmost sentiment of the human heart has always been a question. With Goethe, we must all ask, "How may I learn what holds the earth together 'in its inmost core'?" Once we begin these inquiries, there is no end. How may I cease rummaging in empty words? What in life is really worth while? Is there a goal? Is there an open road? What means my life? To say that we must worship, love, labor, and create through self-sacrifice, therefore, is not all. Why are they necessary? These things must be explained, men say. And so men have tried to explain. And there have been many explanations. Since, to use Eucken's fine phrase, "the past, rightly understood, is no mere past," let us recall something of the three great human interpretations of the moral ideal.

Pleasure

The first attempt to phrase the moral aim is known as the pleasure ideal. It has had many interpreters and many interpretations; but the conclusion of them all has been that we are on this world to get pleasure. Even if we measure our actions by prudence, foresight, and calculation, the prudence, foresight, and calculation are that we may attain unto pleasure. Since the earliest

dawn of serious writing, there have been men content to eliminate any necessity even for calculation—men convinced that the sensation of the moment is life's only ultimate reality. Believing this, the moral ideal for them has meant simply a surrender to the present. Since we only live from moment to moment, let us live the moment and be happy in it, at all hazards. Away with pain and despair. Away with any prudential concern over the ideal welfare. Away with tears of tomorrow which may never come. Away with all the fretful problems. Let us welcome each dying hour as a sweet end in itself. Let us welcome today and now. True dignity is found only in the sentient life; in a disregard for the future; in a perfect preoccupation of the moment. To live is to feel. Life is measured only by the intensity of its passions.

This doctrine is not peculiar alone to Horace, Omar, Ecclesiastes. It pictures the child mind everywhere. Indeed, it seems to be a device of Nature for keeping children healthy and strong. But, beneficial as it is for the child, satiety, if not reason, reveals its limitations. For the rational adult the realization that he is a thinking being has led him to modify this pure pleasure conception of the moral ideal. Even if pleasure is the moral ideal, it is not the pleasure of the moment, but the total pleasure of a complete life that marks the purpose behind the "weary weight of all this unintelligible world."

Play, unrestrained delight, comfort, peace—these are the attributes of the moral ideal taught by Epicurus and his followers. But this ancient interpretation of the moral ideal—not extinct, let it be said—was easily seen to over-emphasize the self to the exclusion of the common good. Pleasure was thought of primarily in terms of quantity, little attention being given to its quality. Upon analysis, especially upon trial, the meaning of pleasure itself was seen to be vague; and, as was inevitable, the whole tendency of its followers was toward an inescapable doubt and pessimism.

In later times, therefore, there have been many attempts to patch up the pleasure interpretation of the moral ideal. It is still widely believed possible to make it suffice as a workable expression of a livable moral ideal. These newer interpretations have pointed to Christianity, especially to the evolutionary doctrines of science, assuring us that here are grounds for optimism. When we are told that the moral ideal is pleasure, we are informed that pleasure means the greatest pleasure of the greatest number; not personal pleasure, but general pleasure. Thus there is a higher kind of pleasure, pleasure graded on the basis of quality, not of quantity. But the inevitable corollary of views even such as these show that all our activities, even our altruistic ones, spring from selfish considerations, from utilitarian motives only.

And yet there must have been unselfishness before it could have been discovered that there is any pleasure or utility in being unselfish. It is not true that our altruisms always make for our good. There are heroisms devoid of self-calculating motives. The moral is not always useful. Virtue is primarily a matter of motives. There is a vicariousness in what Wundt calls the "social will" that pleasure does not account for. So the pleasure ideal has never held an undisputed sway.

Intellect

Of course, it must be granted that we are creatures of varying sensibilities; but there are aspects of the moral ideal outside of pleasures. This, too, has been realized from of old. The worthiest things of life were found by Aristotle and Plato to consist not of the life of sentient pleasures so much as of the life of what they chose to call "pure reason." Hence, alongside the search of "pleasure for pleasure's sake," there arose the demand, "duty for duty's sake." The extreme expression of this later view has been founded in the belief that the moral ideal is not of the sensibilities at all; but, rather, that it is in a purely rational life, a life of insight and self-knowledge. Knowledge is virtue; virtue is knowledge. That was the fundamental teaching of Socrates. Thus the moral ideal and the life of "right reason" have been believed to be one and the same thing. The Cynics looked upon pleasure, when sought for its own sake, as an evil. Hence there developed, among a large school of thinkers, an ostentatious contempt for pleasure. The far more influential Stoics did not, however, accept this extreme view. They believed in conformity to custom; in a universal spiritual kingdom; in the principle that men should live according to Nature. And this Nature they conceived to be a living soul, the highest expression of which is man and the gods. Repose of mind, self-control, rather than living happily or even living at all, became their goal. Wisdom under universal law; virtue, conscience, which was felt to be the measure of all right action; charity conceived of as a duty; perfect freedom, which knows neither grief nor anxiety; serenity, poise, right-mindedness, obedience to the laws of Nature—these constitute the Stoic's conception of the moral ideal. Thus taught Aurelius, Seneca, Epictetus. As Epictetus wrote:

"Everything has two handles, one by which it may be borne, another by which it cannot. If your brother acts unjustly, do not lay hold of the affair by the handle of his injustice, for by that it cannot be borne; but rather by the opposite—that he is your brother; that he was brought up with you; and thus you will lay hold on it as it is to be borne."

This intellectual interpretation of the moral ideal gave rise also to the Ascetics, who abandoned as far as possible all sentient life for the hermit's cell, dens in the desert, starvation, vigilance, and, like Simeon Stylites, for indescribable physical tortures. As Edwin Arnold makes to say the fair Buddha, sitting under his tree watching through the night:

"man

With senses naked to the sensible,
A helpless mirror of all shows which pass
Across his heart; and so Vedana grows—
'Sense-life'—false in its gladness, fell in sadness,
But sad or glad, the Mother of Desire,
Trishna, that thirst which makes the living drunk
Deeper and deeper of the false salt waves
Whereon they float, pleasures, ambitions, wealth
Praise, fame, or domination, conquest, love;
Rich meats and robes, and fair abodes, and pride
Of ancient lines, and lust of days, and strife
To live, and sins that flow from strife, some sweet.

Some bitter. Thus Life's thirst quenches itself
With draughts which double thirst, but who is wise
Tears from his soul this Trishna . . .

And so constraining passions that they die
Famished . . .
Until—greater than Kings, than Gods more glad!—
The aching craze to live ends, and life glides—
Lifeless—to nameless quiet, nameless joy,
Blessed Nirvana—sinless, stirless rest—
That change which never changes!"

In Nietzsche's "Thus Spake Zarathustra"—a book which has been compared with Pilgrim's Progress and with Piers Ploughman—this purely rational interpretation of the moral ideal also appears. Zarathustra is represented to us as living apart with an eagle, always symbolic of pride, and with a serpent, always symbolic of wisdom, the ideal type of the man that is to be—man with no relation to humanity save a rather loose regard for his disciples. It is this impersonation of authority who condemns with startling invective the pleasure ideal—indeed, everything modern—as altogether bad. It is from this incarnation of the man yet to be, this "Übermensch," Beyond-man, that Nietzsche learns a new rationalism, a rationalism which finds the moral ideal in the worship of this very Beyond-man, this Zarathustra, stalwart and beautiful—man with all the Titan graces of the ancient Greek, of Odin, of Napoleon; this man that is yet to be. Nietzsche's idea of freedom means to him—

"The will to be responsible for one's self; to keep the distance which separates one from another; to become more indifferent to hardship, severity, privation, and even to life; to be ready to sacrifice men for one's cause, one's self not excepted. . . . The man who has become free, how much more the spirit which has become free, treads under foot the contemptible species of well being dreamt of by shopkeepers, Christians, cows, women, Englishmen, and all other democrats. The free man is a warrior."

For Nietzsche man is a bridge, not a goal; a means to a nobler race yet to be.

"I teach you the Beyond-man. Man is something to be surpassed. What have you done to surpass him? All things hitherto have created something beyond themselves; and are ye going to be the ebb of this great tide, and rather revert to the animal than surpass man? What with the man is the ape? A joke and a sore shame. Man shall be the same for Beyond-man, a joke and a sore shame."

Nietzsche believes further that the weak must perish, and that they should be helped to do so; that, indeed, sympathy for the weak is a crime; that Christianity is the "most subterranean conspiracy that ever has existed—against healthiness, beauty, well-constitutedness, courage, intellect, benevolence of soul, against life itself."

Tolstoi, attempting to be genuinely Christian, taught a similar doctrine, though in a manner quite different. Soldier, adventurer in youth, artist, virile soul, admired genius, restless over the seeming rational and sentient dualism of this life, he finally despaired over it all and saw in his life nothing but the indulgence of his pas-

sions, a thing wholly without meaning. He saw himself a parasite, living upon the toil, blood, and sweat of a multitude seemingly happier than he. Forsaking the glamour of court life, studying the philosophy of Schopenhauer, he grew to feel that he must live the truth as he saw the truth, and that he must renounce all self-glorification for that heavy labor which only brings unrepining content. Marrying himself consistently to toil, poverty, non-resistance to evil, and to a universal sympathy and love, he strove to live a life of rational consistency, perfectly willing to go forward and quite prepared to die, believing that only that love is true love which knows no limit to sacrifice, even unto death.

Both Nietzsche and Tolstoi saw in the tendency of the times nothing but hopeless chaos. While Tolstoi taught a gospel of love, sympathy, and self-negation, Nietzsche, with pride and contempt, stood for a perfect self-assertion. But since they both disdained the claims of the sentient life, they were the antithesis and the complement of each other. If Nietzsche was a Stoic, Tolstoi was an Ascetic. Both were sternly arrayed against the pleasure interpretation of the moral ideal.

To list the opponents of the pleasure ideal is impossible. Of Kant, with his faith in *a priori* knowledge; with his search for reality in the realm of thought only; with his world depending upon pure reason merely; with his trinity of good will, freedom, and practical reason, there have been many followers. These followers have given to us many intuitive and speculative theories. Emphasizing duty, which they have failed to define; professing high heavenly conversations which few can understand, they have led us into a mystic maze where sacred and secular, finite and infinite, body and spirit, seem inextricably mixed.

It must be granted, however, that Kant's influence is at the foundation of that intellectual freedom which now nearly a century ago spread to America, a freedom which reached a high level in our Emerson:

"The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we through their eyes. Why should we not also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should we not have a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition, and a religion by revelation to us, and not the history of theirs?"

But neither pleasure nor pure reason has answered the questions put by man in his search for his moral ideal. The tendency of the pleasure interpretation of the moral ideal is to over-emphasize realism, materialism, sensibility, the flesh; while the rationalists, frequently called, and strangely enough, the "naturalists," tend to dwell overmuch on reasons, idealisms, supernaturalisms, spiritisms, and utopias. The former consist for the most part of unrelated particulars without much system; the latter of an elaborate system without many particulars to systematize. To borrow two words from the older psychologists, the former is perceptual and the latter conceptual.

For these reasons it is argued that neither can be the final interpretation of the moral ideal. Since each leaves the other out and since there is truth in each, each is in error. The seeming dualism between them is only in the seeming. Stoic and Bacchus dwell in most of us. If some seem to be spontaneous, passionate, im-

pulsive, cavalier, luxurious, warm-blooded, realistic; and others cold, prudential, intellectual, puritanic, idealistic, it simply means that some men seem to belong more to one class than the other. Indeed, most of us can belong to one of these groups on Saturday and to the other on Sunday.

True Happiness

So it is argued that both the pleasure and the intellectual interpretation of the moral ideal break down. There must, therefore, be a third and a better interpretation. If we grant that there are facts to support the theory that the moral ideal must consist in the gratification of self, on the one hand, and that there are facts to support the theory that the moral ideal must take the direction indicated by the intellect only, on the other, then it must be agreed that each set of facts is inadequate for a satisfying interpretation of the total self, of a unified life, of a rational sentiency which is more than a life either of mere feeling or mere reason. Surely there must be a self-realization which includes both the sentient and the rational; hence, therefore, the total life. Flesh cannot ignore reason; neither can reason reject the demands of the flesh. Reason must recognize the existence of flesh and make the best of its rationalism. The practical job seems to be to create a life neither bestial, on the one hand, nor ascetic, on the other, but perfectly rounded and human. If the pursuit of pleasure tends to become ignoble, the evil is primarily in excess and abuse of what probably is divine. As Nietzsche says of the appetites:

"To annihilate passion and desires merely in order to obviate their folly and its unpleasant results appears to us at present to be simply an acute form of folly. We no longer admire the dentist who pulls out teeth that they may not ache. . . . To attack passions at the root means to attack life itself at the root."

Thus, through some spiritualization of desire, men struggle to find a higher interpretation of the moral ideal than is conceived of by those who pursue pleasure only, or by those who seek their goal merely by the methods of reason.

There must be a more permanent and universal moral ideal than either of these—an ideal which, including both of them, can create a life of body and spirit, as, say, did Browning with his harmony of the rational and sentient self, dynamically conceived. It is there where lies the larger interpretation of man's moral ideal. Perhaps the best word to express this synthetic ideal is happiness, by which is meant more than the sum of our pleasures, more than the findings of logic. As some one has said:

"Not in a life dominated solely by the feeling of sympathy, which rejects all pleasurable activity and offers to others what it refuses to itself; still less in a life of cold and loveless egotism and scornful pride; not in self-assertion alone nor in self-negation is the truly moral life. The true good of man—the principle and goal of ethics, transcending the antithesis of altruism and egoism—is a common good, realized in a society so organized as to give effect to the equal rights of all its members which belong to them in virtue of their common humanity, while affording oppor-

tunities for the development of the faculties with which men are so unequally endowed and giving scope for their exercise in the service of the whole."

This is nearer the lesson of happiness. It is the lesson missed by Tito Melema, but learned through much misery by the unhappy Faust. It is the theme of Tannhauser, and the conclusion of old age as it reckons up its gains and losses in "Rabbi Ben Ezra."

The moral ideal arises from no mere innate desire of grasping it. It is not a goal. It is an acquisition. If this ideal comes to us neither from the body nor from the mind, but from a synthesis of the two, then duty, whatever that may mean, the duty to see clearly, to feel truly, to create beautifully, can be apprehended only by a morally scientific and enthusiastic devotion to the problem of duty itself. Happiness includes the supreme duty to study duty. The moral ideal becomes thus, in a measure, the pursuit of duty, the performance of all duties, including the duty to study duty. This is why the moral ideal is not so much a bequest as a conquest; not so much a limited thing as a dynamic proportion. And the pursuit of it is the goal itself.

"Not of the sunlight,
Not of the moonlight,
Not of the starlight!
O young mariner,
Down to the haven
Call your companions,
Launch your vessel,
And crowd your canvas,
And, ere it vanishes
Over the margin,
After it, follow it,
Follow the Glean!"

If, as Bergson says, "deduction succeeds in things moral only metaphorically," yet there is nothing to be gained by being skeptical of attaining unto this dynamically proportioned and ever-evolving moral ideal. If with Spencer, Comte, and the other skeptics we agree that we can know nothing of ultimate reality, yet we may believe that there are persons evolving through the stock experiences of the race. If this be so, then we may believe in a gradual unfolding of a genuine, human, and attainable moral ideal. Where men avoid fanaticisms and false statements they may trust themselves in their attempts to reach, outside the domains of pleasure on the one hand or of pure reason on the other, unto this moral ideal. "Humanism" was the name employed by Schiller to express what I have called this third interpretation of the moral ideal. Dewey has variously named it "instrumentalism" and "experimentalism," by which he evidently means a philosophy of the open mind. This "open-mind" interpretation, when systematized and raised to a philosophy, is what we now know as pragmatism. This pragmatism is predicated upon what seems to be a fact, namely, that anticipation is of more moral significance than recollection. The past is worthy if not only then primarily as an "instrument" for the successful attaining of the future. If we do not agree with the pragmatists, that the past is wholly dead, yet we may agree that reality for the most part lies before us. Intelligence, if it be intelligence, is "creative." But it is

equally true that if body and mind are to attain unto that synthetic ideal suggested by Tennyson's "Gleam," the task seems to be to find the course which will do for us two things, namely, enable us to realize the creative aspirations of our yesterdays, and strengthen us to make out of the opportunities of today and of tomorrow a worthy and a total life. To do this it is not necessary to settle the unsettleable. We may let the philosophers bury their dead. If we are shut out from knowing the meaning of man in his relation to his world; if we cannot understand the relations between mind and matter; between appearance and reality; between consciousness and the objects of consciousness; between the eternal and the temporal, we may, however, guide our course with a full realization that the moral ideal must mean that man is more than a consumer of pleasures; that he is more than a thinker of thoughts; that he is a creator of life.

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

The war has not destroyed the attempts of men to reach unto such a moral ideal. Notwithstanding our compulsory school-attendance laws, which compel all our children between six and fifteen now to attend school, there is less bullying, less crookedness, and less vulgarity among our school boys and girls than in the days of the old red school-house, with its students primarily of a single race and with its voluntary attendance. The demand for a better character-training is the one thing upon which practically all educational leaders agree. Immoralities, personal or public, have never been more universally condemned than today. Constructive work in behalf of a prophylactic social hygiene has never been more hopeful. Our departments of charity, of corrections, of mental hygiene, and of related activities have never received so much thoughtful attention from the State as now. Our social institutions are less and less under the influence of petty politics and more and more under scientific direction and control. The consolidation and co-ordination of welfare agencies are becoming more and more hopefully a fact. Not only our churches and schools, but the army itself is emphasizing as never before in history the importance of cleanliness in body and habits; of strength, industry, obedience; of fairness to self and to the State; of bravery, modesty, truthfulness, and achievement.

These things are not of theoretical concern merely; they are matters of practical interest and accomplishment. Such questions as minimum standards for child welfare in employment; standards affecting the age, educational attainments, physical condition, and hours of employment—these are studied and reported upon by a children's bureau of the United States Department of Labor, with the effect that legislatures act more intelligently. Because of this an advance is made. State interest in minimum standards for the health of mothers and children is also a concrete and hopeful fact.

The will to reduce infant mortality; the sanitation of public buildings; the public recreational facilities; public clinics; legal protection from the evils of uncontrolled vice and exploitation—these are all direct evidences of a very present moral ideal. The very phrases "adequate income," "State supervision," "juvenile courts," indicate the practical content of that moral

ideal. When we are told of the necessity for an adequate wage for the father; for wholesome and pleasant housing and living conditions; for the abolition of racial discrimination; for the control of commercialized amusements; for the requirement that child-welfare measures in every State shall receive reconsideration at reasonable intervals, and that social legislation should be framed by those familiar with the conditions and needs of society, we realize that back of all this splendid effort is an abiding, practical, creative moral ideal. One has but to look around one daily to see on every hand reverential, loving, laboring, self-sacrificing expressions of a common moral ideal.

We have been told frequently and from high station that this was a war to end war. We hope it was. In a sense, it was fought for, of, and by moral ideas. And yet the war itself was a direct product of a totally irrational moral world ideal; or rather, because of an absence of the right compelling moral ideal. War is rooted and developed under the influences of a systematic fomentation, over a wide area, of international suspicions, envies, hatreds. That is the lesson of the war. Out of his reverences, loves, labors, and constructive sacrifices; out of his health and thought, his flesh and spirit, man will construct for himself a better-ordered world because of the clearer visions of his moral ideal which the war has now brought to him. In three concluding papers I shall attempt to show that this moral ideal includes also the aspirations of democracy, the social purpose, and the will to end war.

GERMANY, FRANCE, AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Radicals and German Republic Clash—Ruhr Region Entered by Germany—France Protests and Then Acts—Appeal to the League

In our March issue we described the events in Germany which finally led to the defeat of the Junker uprising against the Ebert Ministry and the Republic and the return to power of the Noske-Ebert combination. Hardly, however, had the reactionaries of the right been defeated when trouble for the government arose from a "Spartacan" uprising of communists. The "White Terror" having been defeated, the "Red Terror" appeared. The uprising took on serious proportions for a time and threatened to overturn the Ebert Ministry. It did compel the retirement of Noske, the Minister of War, and it forced from President Ebert, in conferences held March 19-20, concessions that much strengthened the grip of the Labor Party upon the government.

In the Ruhr region, for a time, the government suffered nothing but reverses, and in its final effort to down the radicals it so massed and used its troops as to excite not only the fear of the Communists, but also of France. She distrusted the surface indications of the combat; she believed that if the government once got a large body of soldiery and arms in the district, even though on the pretext of downing revolt against the government, she would not retire

when the revolt was suppressed. France therefore began to remobilize her forces held near the German border, and by diplomacy she endeavored to induce Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium to act with her if it become necessary to act against Germany, should she even seem to infringe on prohibitions against her use of military force in the Ruhr district. The failure of her associates and allies in the war to respond promptly to her plea and the many signs that she thought she saw on every hand of a disposition to be lenient with Germany and trustful of her word finally led the French Ministry to decide to act alone.

On April 4 the French Government issued the following statement:

"The military measures which the French Government plans have for their sole object the forcing of Germany to respect articles 42 and 44 of the Peace Treaty, which forbid their presence in the zone 50 kilometers east of the Rhine. They are, therefore, exclusively restrictive measures."

The next day a statement reiterating that France had no hostile designs against Germany; that it wished restoration of normal relations, and fully understood the difficulties of the Berlin Government, was published. It claimed, however, that the militarist party had proved all-powerful, and that it had not feared to "infringe the imperative and most solemn stipulations of the Versailles Treaty." The note added:

"The sequence of facts follows: The first request for permission for the entry of extra troops into the Ruhr district was made just after the insurgent movement by the military authorities on March 15. It was renewed from Berlin on March 17, in the name of the legitimate government, by von Haniel, who had remained in Berlin with the consent, at least implied, of the insurgent government.

"All information from the allied missions, and, again, the day before yesterday, from the High Commissioners at Coblenz, does not cease to show that German military intervention is uncalled for by the situation, and it would be attended with the gravest dangers from the point of view of security both for the population and the men in the field."

The note then pointed out that if the German Government had carried out the disarmament clauses of the treaty, there would have been neither the Kapp insurrection nor a Red army in the Ruhr, and said that articles 42 and 44 are an indispensable safeguard such as article I of the Franco-Anglo-American Convention defines as a *casus fœderis* insufficient to assure the protection of France. It concludes:

"The situation created by the abrupt offensive of the German troops in the Ruhr obliges the French Government today to consider military measures the execution of which cannot be deferred. The sole object of these measures is to bring Germany to a due respect of the treaty; they are exclusively of coercive and precautionary character."

On the 6th, at 5 a. m., French troops from Morocco, under the leadership of General Degoutte, entered Frankfort and Darmstadt, and a few hours later Homburg, Hanau, and Dieburg and the surrounding country also had been occupied. They did so under orders conforming to the text of the following letter handed to Herr Mayer, the German Chargé in Paris, which said, Premier Millerand speaking:

"By my letter of April 2 I asked you to insist to your government on the withdrawal of the German troops which unduly had penetrated the neutral zone fixed by article 42 of the Treaty of Versailles.

"My request remaining without effect, I have the honor to inform you that the commander-in-chief of the army on the Rhine has received an order to occupy immediately the cities of Frankfort, Homburg, Hanau, Darmstadt, and Dieburg.

"This occupation will end as soon as the German troops shall have completely evacuated the neutral zone."

The same day France sent to the governments of all nations where France is represented diplomatically a statement justifying her action similar in tenor to that cited above.

Germany at once sent forth a statement through Chancellor Mueller, from which we quote:

"The German Government is responsible for the lives and liberties of its countrymen. It, there

"The German Government hopes that the Allied governments will not fail to recognize that Germany is forced [to take this action] by a situation imperatively demanding intervention in districts under its jurisdiction and in which every hour of delay may involve irreparable disaster. It also considers that it is not acting contrary to the spirit of the Peace Treaty, whose stipulations have the purpose of promoting the peace of the world and are surely not opposed to a temporary measure of protection, which has no aggressive tendencies.

"The German Government continues firmly resolved loyally to respect its engagements, but for this purpose the speedy restoration of a state of authority is required in a region where law and order are fundamental and antecedent to conditions for the execution of the most important stipulations of the Peace Treaty."

On the 7th the action of France was formally brought before the conference of ambassadors, which heard a statement of the French position by Premier Millerand and then adjourned to give the governments represented at the conference an opportunity to determine their action. The same day Germany formally appealed her case to the League of Nations, doing so under the provisions of Article XI.

The note which Premier Millerand read to the ambassadors said:

"Before occupying Frankfort, Darmstadt, and other cities, the French Government took great care, as it was bound to do, to inform and consult with the Allies. Many times since the treaty has come into force France has proved its desire to maintain close co-operation with the Allies by waiving its point of view and accepting theirs.

"France was forced to act when faced not only by direct violation of the general stipulations of the Versailles Treaty concerning all the Allies, especially France, owing to its geographical position, but also by the failure of Germany to keep the promise given to her personally by a representative of the German Government in conversations which were engaged in at the request of the latter.

"On March 28 the French Premier declared from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies that France, which was still awaiting the beginning of the realization of the most urgent reparations, could not delay indefinitely making decisions which were imperative. On March 28 Dr. Goepfert informed the French Government that the German Government had not considered in any way the possibility of sending additional troops to the Ruhr Valley without the authorization of the French Government.

"On April 2 Premier Millerand confirmed to the German chargé d'affaires the decision that the French Government could not, as far as it was concerned, give such authorization unless French troops should be authorized to occupy simultaneously Frankfort, Darmstadt, Homburg, Hanau, and Dieburg.

"On April 3, Dr. Goepfert admitted that Reichswehr troops superior to the effectives fixed by the decision of

August 9, 1919, had penetrated the Ruhr, and asked in the name of the German Government that the formal authorization necessary to that effect be given to the German Government after the act had been accomplished.

"The same day, at Berlin, Under Secretary of State von Hanlet informed General Barthelemy, who replaced General Nollet, that the German Government had given entire freedom of action to Commissioner Severing regarding the use of troops concentrated for the purpose of operations in the Ruhr Valley, and assumed the responsibility for their action in the neutral zone.

"The French Government immediately informed its allies of this communication, confirmed by its own information, calling attention to the fact that the German Government was violating article 44 of the treaty—a violation constituting a *casus belli* and expressing the hope that the allied governments would recognize the necessity of immediate action and would lend assistance to France in an effective manner for the execution of military measures which could not be avoided or deferred.

"It was not the first time the French Government had warned its allies of that necessity. As early as March 23 the French Government brought the proposition of occupying Frankfort and other cities before the council in London, which expressed the opinion on March 25 that the moment was not timely.

"The German Government addressed itself directly to the French Government to obtain authorization to send troops to the Ruhr Valley. The French Government had no reason to authorize such infraction of the treaty, inasmuch as its own information concurred with that of its allies in deciding that the military occupation of the Ruhr was useless and dangerous.

"Facts demonstrate that the initiative in that operation must be attributed to the German military party. It was Kapp's government which took the initiative. It was the military party, which, despite the strong objections brought forward in the German Government itself against the projected intervention, affirmed the impossibility of re-establishing order without additional troops in the Ruhr.

"France was thus faced with a measure which, in the unanimous opinion of the allies, could not be executed without previous authorization, which was not justified by the circumstances, and which the German Government had taken a formal engagement toward France never to attempt without its authorization.

"The measure took an especially serious aspect, owing to the fact that the allies had been unable to obtain, despite their insistence, execution of the clauses of the treaty relative to German disarmament.

"The French Government thus acted in the general interest, as well as in the interest of France; it was necessary that it should take, in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, a measure indispensable to its own security. There is no need to recall that it is resolved to evacuate the occupied cities as soon as the German troops have completely quit the Ruhr.

"The French Government's attitude is justified by the action of the German Government. It does not modify, however, its dispositions toward Germany, with which it hopes to enter into commercial relations on a basis of economic co-operation, from which the European situation can only benefit.

"France, in taking measures for the occupation, was not inspired by hostile thought toward Germany, and reiterates the assurance that it wishes to renew with Germany as soon as possible normal relations on a basis of economic agreement. It expresses its readiness to receive favorably any serious proposal which might come from Germany, in view of the fact that under certain circumstances France might even take the initiative in that direction."

FRANCE AND THE ALLIES' ATTITUDE

On April 8 a statement was sent forth from the British authorities, following a conference between the French ambassador and Premier Lloyd-George. It was to the effect

that France, in invading the Ruhr district, acted entirely on her own initiative; that Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Belgium were all opposed to the plan, and that France's action had caused a delicate situation. France's good faith in acting as she had was admitted in this statement, but it was added, by way of comment:

"The immediate result is that the responsibility for her action cannot be shared by the allies as a whole, and certainly there is no intention on the part of the British Government to allow British soldiers to act as police between hostile German factions and incur all the odium of such a position, to say nothing of its risks."

The statement concludes:

"If, and when, France's suspicions of Germany's ulterior motives and deliberate flaunting of the terms of the peace treaty become accomplished facts, the allies would doubtless be prepared to act instantly and vigorously in concert to vindicate the position and respect for the provisions of the treaty. But for the time being it may be taken that no British soldier will participate in the occupation of German cities in the neutral zone."

The same day it was intimated from Brussels that Belgium was not arrayed against France and would join her in occupation of German territory. On the 9th this proved to be a fact, since a battalion of Belgian troops was added to the French forces and the Belgian railways were put at the service of France.

As for the United States, reports from Paris on the 10th indicate that the Washington Government had asked France for a statement of her intentions, but had not delivered any ultimatum or formal decision.

FRANCE FURTHER EXPOUNDS HER ARGUMENT

On April 10 Premier Millerand, eager to meet the criticism of public opinion beyond France, issued the following statement of the Republic's case:

"France's position is absolutely simple. We were in the presence of a series of German violations of the treaty, the last of which affects precisely those articles of the treaty which were covered by the French-British-American agreement, under which England and America were to come to our assistance.

"I enumerated to the French Chamber on March 26 the German violations—failure to deliver coal as agreed under the treaty, refusal to surrender those guilty of atrocities, failure to comply with the terms of the articles on reparations, and refusal to disarm. I said then that France could not always accept passively violations of the treaty.

"The German Government asked permission to send troops into the Ruhr. Why? Because they knew that the sending of troops into that region was forbidden by the treaty. We refused to give that permission. Nevertheless, the German Government ordered troops into the Ruhr. The only thing possible for us to do was immediately to occupy Frankfort and the other German cities.

"We had given notice to our allies that we intended to do so and they had not objected. Our information was absolutely clear and authoritative that the sending of troops into the Ruhr district was not necessary in the interest of public order. They were being sent there simply as an infraction of the treaty.

"France's position is quite different from that of America and England. We are living next door to Germany, and we feel the danger of our position in a way in which America could not feel it. Why has Belgium taken an identical position with France? Because the Belgian people are in the same dangerous situation. They are living next door to Germany and are obliged to protect themselves."

FRANCE REPLIES TO GREAT BRITAIN

On April 10 France sent the following communication to Great Britain:

"The French Government affirms first of all that no doubt can be felt of the loyalty of its attitude. The allies have been constantly informed of its policy. The French Government has always opposed the entry of supplementary German troops into the Ruhr region and has added that the authorization for such an entry must have a counterpart in the occupation of Frankfort and Darmstadt.

"On April 3 its representatives in all the allied capitals informed the governments to which they were accredited (at the same time a copy being sent to the allied representatives in Paris) that Marshal Foch's measures could no longer be postponed. Furthermore, the French Government recalled that the matter concerned the violation of one of the most solemn clauses of the treaty signed by France, and that the German Government had formally recognized that formal authorization, given in advance, was necessary for such a derogation, and that France had the right to ask for territorial guarantees.

"How could the Government of France have been satisfied with the German promise to withdraw the troops when order had been restored? Neither for reparation nor for the delivery of the war-guilt, nor for coal have the allies received the stipulated satisfaction.

"The question could be asked when the British Government, which no doubt has not measured the danger of these systematic violations, would step in the path of concessions. France, in any case, was obliged to say, 'That is enough.'

"The French Government is no less convinced than the English Government of the essential necessities of maintaining unity of the allies for the application of the treaty with Germany. This close concert of France and England appears to France equally indispensable for the equitable solution of the vast problems which are presented at this moment in the world—in Russia, the Baltic, Asia Minor, and all Islam."

The note closes with assurances that the French Government, for the promotion of these ends, declares itself entirely disposed, before acting, to be assured of the consent of the allies in all interallied questions which the execution of the treaty raises.

The text of the sections of the Versailles Treaty under which France assumed authority to act independently of the Allies is as follows:

"Article 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

"Article 43. In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military maneuvers of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

"Article 44. In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as well calculated to disturb the peace of the world."

STATUS OF AMERICAN TROOPS

The status of the American troops on the Rhine, numbering on March 26, 726 officers and 16,756 privates, was defined by President Wilson in a communication sent to Congress April 1. He said:

"The American forces in Germany are at present operating under the terms of the original armistice and the subsequent convention prolonging the armistice. After the formation of the Rhineland Commission, the question arose

as to whether its ordinances should govern in the American sector and the representatives of the State Department and the commanding general of the American forces in Germany were instructed as follows:

"This government cannot admit jurisdiction of that commission over portions of Rhenish provinces occupied by the American forces. Consequently, neither you (representatives of the State Department) nor General Allen should issue any ordinances which conflict with or exceed the terms of the armistice, which the department (of state) regards as continuing in force as to the United States. You should, however, maintain the closest touch with the high commission and endeavor in so far as possible to conform administrative régime within territory occupied by American forces to régime adopted by high commission for other portions of occupied territory. There is no objection to your sitting informally with high commission, provided you are requested to do so, nor of continuing your activities, as well as those of your staff, in connection with special committees to handle distribution of coal, etc. Ordinances, orders, regulations, etc., relating to financial and economic matters, including those similar to one adopted by high commission, which it is desired to put into force in territory occupied by American forces should be issued by General Allen as commanding general of American forces in Germany, but only after having first been approved by you. In general, endeavor to cooperate fully with high commission and avoid all friction with that body, while at same time make it perfectly clear that you are still operating under the armistice.

On April 12 the United States issued a statement to the effect that "an informal exchange of advices between the United States and the Allies on the Ruhr Valley decision had taken place, and it is hoped that the *status quo* will be restored without serious lesions."

CONGRESS AND THE PEACE TREATY

Action of the Executive with respect to the League of Nations Covenant and the Treaty of Peace, since we chronicled last month the Senate's second rejection of the treaty, has been confined to quasi-official statements intimating that any action taken by the House in an effort to terminate war would be blocked by him with a veto if necessary. There also have been reports that the President intends to return the treaty to the Senate; and also rumors that when the House's joint resolution to end the war comes before the Senate it will be the subject of amendments calculated by the Democrats who oppose the measure to make the resolution unpopular, whether the amendments are adopted or rejected.

On the other hand, in the House there has been a serious debate and a very important vote, the meaning of which we comment upon editorially. First approved by a majority of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House, then given a place on the debate list, and finally enacted April 9, the joint resolution was passed in the following form:

Joint resolution terminating the state of war declared to exist April 6, 1917, between the Imperial German Government and the United States, permitting on conditions the resumption of reciprocal trade with Germany, and for other purposes.

Whereas the President of the United States, in the performance of his constitutional duty to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, has advised the Congress that the war with the Imperial German Government has ended:

Resolved, etc., That the state of war declared to exist

between the Imperial German Government and the United States by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

SEC. 2. That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions, or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

SEC. 3. That with a view to secure reciprocal trade with the German Government and its nationals, and for this purpose, it is hereby provided that unless within 45 days from the date when this resolution becomes effective the German Government shall duly notify the President of the United States that it has declared a termination of the war with the United States and that it waives and renounces on behalf of itself and its nationals any claim, demand, right, or benefit against the United States or its nationals that it or they would not have had the right to assert had the United States ratified the treaty of Versailles, the President of the United States shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to proclaim the fact that the German Government has not given the notification hereinbefore mentioned, and thereupon and until the President shall have proclaimed the receipt of such notification commercial intercourse between the United States and Germany and the making of loans or credits and the furnishing of financial assistance or supplies to the German Government or the inhabitants of Germany, directly or indirectly, by the Government or the inhabitants of the United States shall, except with the license of the President, be prohibited.

SEC. 4. That whoever shall willfully violate the foregoing prohibition whenever the same shall be in force shall upon conviction be fined not more than \$10,000, or, if a natural person, imprisoned for not more than two years, or both; and the officer, director, or agent of any corporation who knowingly participates in such violation shall be punished by a like fine, imprisonment, or both, and any property, funds, securities, papers, or other articles or documents, or any vessel, together with her tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment, concerned in such violation, shall be forfeited to the United States.

SEC. 5. That nothing herein contained shall be construed as a waiver by the United States of any rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages to which the United States has become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed November 11, 1918, or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States by reason of its participation in the war, or otherwise, and all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and seizures imposed or made by the United States are hereby ratified, confirmed, and maintained.

The vote by which this resolution passed was 242 yeas and 150 nays, two answering "present" and 33 members not voting. With but very few exceptions, both in the debate and in the voting, the alignment was according to party lines, the Republicans voting for and the Democrats against the resolution.

On April 12 the resolution was received by the Senate, and was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee without discussion. It will be ten days at least, probably, before the resolution is reported out.

On April 14 Senator McCumber, of North Dakota, introduced a resolution to be substituted for the House resolution. It provides for trade with Germany, but makes no reference to the treaty and would be no bar to its ratification. It reflects the attitude of the "mild reservationists."

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

The annual meeting of the American section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in session in Chicago, April 23-24, has been discussing important details of reconstruction of its administrative machinery, revision of its constitution, choice of headquarters, and the employment of a salaried executive. A report of its deliberations we will publish next month. In the official call for this gathering it was stated:

In 1915 we declared that as women we desired to serve this great cause of just and permanent peace because "as women we felt a peculiar revolt against the cruelty and waste of war"; and although we would not prolong the segregated efforts of the sexes for social ends we felt that we women, so long ignored in all choices that made war, might strengthen each other best for protest and effort if we could have an inner circle of devotion of our very own in the many-sided international movement.

Today, in 1920, the fruits of "collective homicide" are before us. The ruthless sacrifice of life, of health, of treasure, of childhood asset of the future generations, of the feeling of human brotherhood, and the will to live at peace with all men—these are beyond any loss the most frightful dream could picture.

And in our own land the reactionary influences hold us back at once from any adequate relief of the world's misery and from any effective reorganization of the forces of normal life to prevent a continuance of war and preparation for future war.

More than this, we are suffering from hysterical fear and suspicion, one class of another, that lead to denial of the constitutional rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly, that lead to cruel and senseless raids and deportations, and that threaten the inmost defenses of our democratic ideals. We, therefore, lack the guidance of that many-sided truth that "above all things, in open struggle with error, always beareth away the victory." We are on the verge of a presidential campaign. We have millions of new voters among the women of this land. We have great bodies of organized womanhood already pledged to philanthropic effort, to educational advance, to better labor conditions, to full legal rights of women and the saving of child life, and to a finer political method and spirit of action. All that these women are pledged to accomplish may be nullified in a moment when men are set to kill one another by wholesale as the most sacred of duties.

Unless the women now invested with full power and responsibility of citizenship can rise to the supreme need of the hour, the need for clear thinking and fearless speaking concerning these ordered ways of legal and political, of commercial and industrial, of educational and social organization of world interests to the end of just and permanent peace, they are building upon the sand.

However strong a hold the "mysticism of militarism" still has upon the common imagination, those who have suffered most during these last years have learned that we must not have another world war. They understand that we must end the fragments of little wars that still further ravage desolate and bankrupt nations. We all are convinced that we must learn a better way of living and working together. Men and women in comradeship must find and make straight that way. But women—women of all races and peoples—may well for a while at least work somewhat by themselves until they become strong and commanding in their power of motherhood to declare that this obsolete legalizing of human slaughter must be outgrown.

The program of this section of this international organization, as defined by the executive board at its meeting in New York, March 4, 1920, was as follows:

1. Fight the world famine (a) by philanthropic contributions and government loans; (b) by spreading information concerning the lamentable conditions in starving Europe.

2. Stand for our constitutional rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, and minority representation in legislature.

3. Support bills for universal physical education without military training; oppose military training in our schools and compulsory military service.

4. Urge through all official channels the repatriation of all prisoners of war, especially the many thousands languishing in Siberia.

5. Protest against the spirit and methods of "raids" and seizure for deportation and exile, and do all in our power to allay the hysteria and panic which make these possible.

6. Appeal for the immediate release from prison of political offenders whose only offense is opposition to war.

7. Permeate the Americanization movement with the spirit of appreciation of the gifts of many races to our national life.

8. If the League of Nations Covenant is signed by the United States, work for its amendment along lines of equality of rights among nations and true union of peoples to abolish war. If it is not signed, work for the third Hague Conference and a better League of Nations.

9. Support morally and financially the International headquarters at Geneva and circulate the publications of the Women's International League.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

OPPOSITION TO RECOGNITION OF SOVIET-CONTROLLED Russia by the United States Government was expressed in a petition to President Wilson, March 28, the signers being 300 citizens of eminence, mainly of the trading, manufacturing, professional, and "moderate" reformers groups. The signers said that they believed that

"recognition of Soviet Russia would be a repudiation of all that our national life has represented for 150 years and of all the spiritual ideals for which modern civilization has striven for 2,000 years.

"Aiming to destroy the bulwarks of morality and social order, soviet tenets have attempted to interdict the teaching of religion, disfranchised the clergy, and made marriage a mere civil contract which may be broken by either party. Its system and franchise destroy representative government, which, since the Magna Charta, the world has come to regard as the first essential political factor of the modern state. Its program breaks every law of economics and in practice destroys production.

"The fundamental principle and purpose of the Bolshevik propaganda abroad is world revolution, whether that propaganda is carried on by official soviet representatives, by political parties which belong to their communist international, or by independent organizations that support sovietism because of its temporary ability to maintain its power. Bolshevism by all of its decrees, publications, and acknowledged acts has demonstrated that it is a destructive movement, depending for its success in Russia upon terrorism and a minority dictatorship, and in foreign countries upon support and sympathy obtained through propaganda. Zinoviev himself, while president of the Petrograd Soviet, declared that the very existence of the Soviet régime is a menace to all other governments.

"Where government is most stable, as in America, every element of disloyalty, disorder, and discontent is stimulated by this propaganda. Where government is unstable, as in Germany, revolutionists are subsidized and aided and an early soviet revolution is confidently reckoned upon. Even

if only temporarily successful, such an overturn, which might become an upheaval in all Central Europe, would be a world calamity. Civilization must face and meet this deadly challenge. Concessions of any kind whatever can only encourage the enemy.

"With the recognition of the soviet régime, the presence of an Ambassador and consular agents enjoying immunities (each a center of intrigue), the propaganda of the Lenin-Trotsky régime against civilization, already working through so many radical and pseudo-liberal organizations, and recently augmented by an endless stream of inspired press stories from Moscow and Petrograd, would be further ramified and dangerously extended. It is their declared intention first to undermine and then to gain control of the organized labor unrest, the stimulation of 'strikes of protest' 'into general political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the State.'

"Thus we have in our own country, waging deadly and underground warfare against us, an enemy more dangerous and with objects infinitely more far-reaching and inimical than was imperial Germany with her host of agents and spies.

"We therefore believe that the people of the United States, acting through their Government at Washington, should now, once and for all, declare that they cannot consent to admit into the family of nations or in any other way countenance this 'government' of violence and terror.

"There must be no compromise between American democracy and Russian Bolshevism."

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, which was to have held its first meeting since the assembly in Bucharest in 1913, in the capital of Spain, has now been summoned to meet in Geneva, June 6-12. The influences thwarting the Madrid plan at the last moment were in part political and in part ecclesiastical. As with the organization of equal suffragists in the United States at their last meeting so with this Geneva conference; the main business will be to decide on a future policy and name inasmuch as so much of Europe and America has been won to the principle and practice of sex equality in civic rights. Some members—to quote from an article by Ida Husted Harper in the *New York Evening Post*—urge disbanding. Others would merge the organization with the International Council of Women. Yet others, following the British and American example, would maintain the autonomy of the alliance, but broaden its range of action, by drawing up a woman's charter for the world and then contending for it. Incidentally an alliance so organized would watch the operations of the League of Nations and see that the provisions laid down as governing it are practically applied with the same equality in choice of the League's agents that the covenant provides for. The proposed alliance also would see that women are properly represented in the International Labor Department of the League; and that wherever mandates are given, in backward regions of the world, women's rights are protected.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Alliance, in her call for this gathering, said:

"I want to add my solicitation to theirs that the eighth congress will see our old-time band of international suffragists reunited without a break; that the old-time spirit

of comradeship and world helpfulness will be as sincere and unselfish as ever; that the confidence in the fundamental good sense of the average of the people of all nationalities is still unshaken; and that the hope in the ultimate peace, harmony, and progress of the world still lives in the souls of all to inspire and to lead us on.

"Many of us have literally given our 'lives and fortunes' to secure for our sex a ballot's share in the making of the public welfare of our respective nations. That ballot has been won over a large part of the civilized world since last we met. Women, children, and the home as well as the general welfare of our several countries will be safer and saner if the women who have sacrificed their all to win the vote shall now counsel together as to the wisest way to use it for the common good of all.

"Let us therefore meet once more, not only as friends, but as guardians of the great democratic liberty now intrusted to the women of many nations.

"The world never needed women as it needs them now nor were women ever so well equipped to serve. Can we not vow together that neither the suspicion and hatred born of war, nor the selfish bitterness grown out of our own war experiences, shall blind our eyes to the higher vision of women of all nations working together to achieve a higher civilization for each and every land."

CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN NATIONALISM is not to be of chauvinistic, egoistic kind, if President Masaryk has his way. In a recent speech to the National Assembly of the young State he said:

"It is the duty of our (Czecho-Slovak) public men to grasp the organization and development of the whole human race. It is our duty to synchronize our national aspirations with the aspirations of mankind.

"There is one rule for us to follow in the economic and political interests of the Republic—to pursue a European, a humanitarian, and a world policy, and thus be truly Czecho-Slovak and Slavic.

"Within the bounds of our country we have considerable portions of other nationalities, and this affords us an opportunity to make our Republic an excellent example of true humanitarian practice.

"The language question and the natural difficulties involved in its solution should not frighten us. For a modern democratic State, language is significant only in administration. We will correctly solve the problems of languages and minorities if we make them questions not of politics, as was the case in Austria-Hungary, but proper subjects of administration."

JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF THE CITY OF VLADIVOSTOK, Siberia, April 4, was not accomplished without use of force, adherents of the "provisional government" resisting. Japan's claims prior to the action were summarized in a call by General Takyangi for compliance with the following demands:

To furnish food, transportation, and barracks for the Japanese; to ratify all agreements between the Japanese and the Russian governments and commanders; immunity of all supporting Japanese military movement; avoidance of any anti-Japanese movements, including any threatening demonstrations in connection with Manchuria and Korea; suppres-

sion also of any anti-Japanese subjects, including their lives, property, and other rights.

The real major reason for this step, in which Japan evidently is to have the backing of her Allies in the war, and also the United States, is to keep control of the port of entry for eastern Siberia and prevent it from passing into the hands of the Bolshevik rulers of Russia and their adherents in Siberia. The Powers evidently argue that, until the basis of commercial and political understanding with Russia is decided upon formally and they are ready to act concertedly one way or the other, they must not fail to keep control of the strategic port. Japan, late in March, had gone on record pledging herself to withdraw her troops from Siberia as soon as the Czecho-Slavic army had been retired. The last of the American troops are now out of Siberia, General Graves and his staff who were the last to go, getting an ovation from the Russians as they left.

JAPAN'S GENERAL ELECTIONS IN MAY are to be of historic importance, as all her leading statesmen and the best-informed foreign observers in Japan realize. The issues of militarism vs. militarism, freedom of restriction of speech and publication, limited or universal suffrage, amity with or hostility to China, and sincere co-operation with or secret opposition to the United States are all involved in the decision. For this reason the following utterance of Premier Takashi Hara, made to the pro-government party March 17, is unusually significant. When he took office a year ago he was looked upon as quite radical. Being a "commoner," it was supposed that he would lead in the progressive democratic evolution of the country. But the pace has been too fast for him. He is now a "Moderate," with leanings toward the Right rather than the Left, as his speech indicates. He said:

"Universal suffrage, advocated by the opposition, aims at the destruction of social class distinction, and even proposes to tamper with the conscription system, which is the very basis of the country's defense, if speeches in the House of Deputies serve as an index.

"A ridiculous rumor is in circulation that the Seiyu-kai will purchase votes, and that the party, abusing government authority, will contrive to so manage matters as to score over the opposition. It need hardly be stated that we will fight always on the basis of fairness and policy."

LIBERALIZING DENMARK'S POLITICAL STRUCTURE was a process that King Christian had to face, willy nilly, during the interval between March 20 and April 5. He had the alternative of doing so or losing his throne, and he naturally chose the course that his people preferred. The demand of the Social Democrats for electoral reform was the basic cause of the uprising, not his interference with a cabinet that had the confidence of the people; but the movement finally became general, included the many parties with liberal and democratic leanings, and it compassed its end by a threat of a general strike. The King has kept his pledge, made after an all-night face-to-face session with the party leaders, and the cabinet now in control is chiefly made up of Social Democrats with administrative experience as well as advanced political theories. The fight for electoral

reform in Denmark goes back to 1914 and was directed mainly at the upper house. Just as the war opened a law was carried giving an elective basis to this body; but conservative influences blocked putting the law into effect.

GUATEMALA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS for several years have been the most troubled of any of the Central American States, owing to the arbitrary attitude of Estrada Cabrera, its President. Pressure from within and from without the Republic has recently led this executive to pledge that in the elections of 1922 all rights guaranteed citizens by the constitution will be fully recognized by him, and independent action by voters will not be followed by interference with their liberty, as in the past. Commenting upon this welcome change of attitude, the Government of the United States, through Minister Benton McMillin, has issued the following statement:

"The steady policy of the Government of the United States is to encourage constitutional government and free elections in Central America. Having interest, therefore, in the constitutional progress of Guatemala, the Government of the United States has learned with pleasure of the proclamation of President Estrada Cabrera regarding constitutional guarantees and has confidence, in view of the statements just made to the government by President Cabrera, that he will faithfully carry out the reforms proclaimed.

"The Government of the United States is opposed to revolutionary measures, and firmly believes, in view of President Cabrera's proclamation, there is no excuse for starting a revolutionary measure in Guatemala."

THE FUTURE OF UKRAINE, with its 330,000 square miles of territory and its 40,000,000 population and untouched enormous physical resources, is one of the problems that neither the Allies nor the United States has squarely faced. American governmental influence, like the European, has been cool toward doing anything aiding political disintegration of Russia; but the Ukrainian Commission, representing 1,000,000 Ukrainians living in the United States, has steadily worked for recognition of the new State by the United States, claiming that its people and present rulers are quite ready to have its boundaries settled by a plebiscite or by an impartial American and Allied commission. They are willing to assume 30 per cent of the Russian debt as it existed prior to the Revolution of 1917. As yet, the President and Department of State have not acted favorably on this petition of the Ukrainians in the United States; but Senator King, of Utah, has introduced a bill in Congress which, if enacted, will give to Ukraina the same sort of support that reconstituted Poland, Jugo-Slavia, and Czecho-Slavia have had from the United States.

EDUCATING THE CHILDREN OF HER FALLEN SOLDIERS is the way Western Australia has decided to memorialize the dead who helped defeat Germany. A *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent in Perth says that the plan, approved by the people, had its roots in the decisions of a picked group of educators assembled two years ago. The correspondent says:

"A Soldiers' Children Scholarship Trust includes in its personnel the State Governor, as chairman, the Lieutenant-

Governor, the Chief Justice, the Minister for Education, and representatives of the Returned Soldiers' Association, and the Friendly Union of Soldiers' Wives. The objects of the trust are:

"(a) To arrange for the business, secondary, higher technical, and university education of the children of fallen and incapacitated soldiers by means of free scholarships;

"(b) To arrange for the professional employment of students so educated when desired;

"(c) To arrange for the employment of students educated in business colleges;

"(d) To arrange for apprenticeship to selected trades and businesses where desired.

"At present a total of 126 scholarships is available, the tenures varying from one to five years. One hundred of the scholarships are granted annually, and 27 every three years. The total capital value of the scholarships is nearly £300,000, and the annual tenure value £10,000. Scholarships to the value of over £12,000 have been already allotted, and the number of children under instruction is 120. It is anticipated that the beneficiaries will number between 2,000 and 3,000, and that the scheme will be worked out in about 30 years."

THE RUSSIAN SOCIETY FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, with headquarters in Paris and made up mainly of anti-Bolsheviks, has issued the following document, signed by many former members of the Constitutional-Democrat party and by members of the Provisional Government that followed the downfall of the Czar, men like Prince G. Lvoff, L. I. Petrunkevich, Nicholas V. Tchakovsky, and by Catherine Breshkovsky, the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution." These persons say:

"(1) Only States which are based upon the principle of popular rule may become members of the League.

"(2) The representation of the members of the League in all principal organs to be based upon democratic principles.

"(3) War to be definitely excluded from the means of settling international disputes, and all conflicts between States to be decided by an international court or through the organs of the League of Nations.

"(4) The League must realize the idea of general disarmament and be endowed with a real force for the enactment of its decisions.

"(5) The League must seek methods and create required organs for the strengthening of the principles of economic solidarity and co-operation between nations and likewise the rendering of broad economic and financial aid to those countries which have suffered the greatest losses in the World War, for the purpose of their quickest material rehabilitation.

"(6) The League, through its proper organs, must fulfill the aim of the establishment and codification of the rules of international law.

"(7) The League must aid in the international solution of social problems, particularly problems of labor legislation.

"(8) The League must guarantee the protection of the freedom of person and the principal rights of civil liberties in all respects.

"(9) The League must create the guarantee of the inviolability of the rights of national minorities and co-operate in the just realization of the principle of self-determination of nations and the establishment of orderly and free national self-expression.

"(10) The League must follow unswervingly the principle of regarding as null and void all secret treaties and all such which are incompatible with its aims."

ARMENIA'S FRIENDS in the United States, banded together in the Committee for the Independence of Armenia, on March 2, issued the following appeal:

"To Our Fellow-Countrymen:

"The Allied premiers in London have tentatively planned the following partition of Armenian territories:

"They propose to divide Armenia into four unequal parts. Its Mediterranean littoral, its richest portion, has been assigned to France; its central provinces have been annexed to a proposed Kurdish State under British protection. Its northwestern portions have been left under Turkish sovereignty.

"And what remains of it is made into an Armenian Republic, which comprises about one-tenth of Turkish Armenia and parts of Russian Armenia. Proposed Armenia, thus shut off from her littorals on both the Black and Mediterranean seas and robbed of her chief resources, cannot achieve real independence or self-support as a nation.

"It is our duty to make a solemn appeal to the liberal opinion of the world to join us in the demand that the rule of the Turk be brought to an end in Armenia, and that Armenia, from Ararat down to the Sicilian coast, be given unlimited opportunity for autonomous development.

"For over three-quarters of a century Armenia has been the object of our special solicitude. Since 1915 we have given tens of millions of dollars for the relief of her people in the hope that the promises for the independence of Armenia would be fulfilled. We led the Armenians to believe that their case would be wholeheartedly defended by us, and they now look to us to secure full justice.

"Therefore we urge that meetings be held throughout America to protest against the decimation of Armenia, and the churches, civic, commercial, and other bodies and all citizens telegraph the President, their Senators and Congressmen, to the end that this ancient martyr-nation may be liberated and preserved."

On Congress this appeal had no effect. In the period just before the vote that caused a second rejection of the Peace Treaty, when special friends of Egypt, Ireland, China, and other nations were introducing their resolutions insisting on more or less "self-determination" for them as "nationalities," no voice was raised for Armenia. Nor has the resolution "fathered" by Senator King of Utah and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, March 3, ever been reported out. The congressional attitude has been one of "waiting" until it was made clear just what the European powers planned to do in the matter of keeping pledges and repudiating secret treaties, and the State Department has confined itself to letting Europe know that there was little hope of the United States assenting to mandatory control of Turkey or of Armenia.

LATIN-AMERICAN PLANS for a distinct policy, separate from the United States and any implications of the Monroe Doctrine, are hinted at in a communication

planned to be despatched to the States of Central and South America by Salvador in March, the same being the formal decree of the national legislature. It is now said that premature publication in Mexico held up formal sending of the note. It read:

"The executive is hereby authorized to address the chancelleries of the Latin-American countries, through whatever instrumentalities he may deem most suitable, with a view to bringing to their knowledge and consideration the establishment of a court of arbitration to settle international difficulties of any nature arising among the signatory powers, subject to the following conditions:

"1. Each of the signatory powers shall name, through its respective legislative branch, a judicial representative, who shall serve for the period fixed by its constitution. The seat of the court shall be chosen by the governments.

"2. The signatory powers shall submit to the court all questions that might give rise to international complications whenever they cannot be settled by the members involved. In the event of a conflict arising between the signatory powers and another nation not signatory to the court, and no agreement having been reached, the signatory powers shall place all the documents in the case at the disposal of the court, which shall proceed as it deems best toward the settlement of the difficulty.

"If, unfortunately, this friendly settlement should fail, notice thereof shall be given to the signatory powers, so that they make common cause and order the closing of their ports to the trade of the offending country, and should this not prove adequate they shall be bound to render assistance with their land and sea forces. The country benefited shall be obliged to bear the expenses according to its resources and in the discretion of the court.

"3. The court shall aid in the construction of ships among the signatory powers which do not now possess them; these shall be devoted in times of peace to trade purposes and during the war to coastwise defense.

"4. Should civil war break out in a signatory power the court may intervene to bring about a cessation of the horrors whenever it shall deem it necessary, and the other powers shall lend their aid as may be determined.

"5. The court shall devote special attention to the enactment of adequate uniform legislation among the signatory powers and to stimulating the friendliest possible relations.

"6. The executive is hereby authorized to offer the capital of the Republic to the other nations in the event that no other be chosen, for the first meeting, and to pay the necessary expenses.

"7. Immediately after the installation of the Latin-American court, the Central American Court of Justice of Cartago, the International Bureau of Guatemala, and the International Bureau of American Republics (the Pan-American Union), with its seat in Washington, shall cease to function should the court so decide."

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE becomes a most vital phase of post-war business whenever and wherever the nations fight. The histories of the past have paid little attention to this fact, most chroniclers conceiving it to be their duty to tell about the political and military consequences of the combats. What the masses who have

fought and paid taxes and what the controllers of loanable funds have done usually has been deemed of little consequence. But this war has altered the situation. Grave as are the internal difficulties and disputes which the victors and the defeated nations face, they are insignificant compared with the problem of preserving and conserving Europe's credit and making provision for ultimate extinction of her debt. It is not surprising, therefore, that the chambers of commerce of the nations that were associated in defeating Germany have arranged for a world session to be held in Paris in May, and that a world's financial conference, to which forty nations are to be asked to send delegates, has been called to meet in Brussels also during May, and this under the auspices of the League of Nations. The list of nations invited to the Brussels conference is more inclusive than the chambers of commerce list and includes the neutral as well as all the belligerent powers. The plan calls for the fullest and frankest statements by the governments of these countries as to their budgets.

LETTER BOX

AUBURNDALE, MASS., April 6, 1920.

EDITOR ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

DEAR SIR: I write to express the pleasure I have received in the recent numbers of the paper. I hope that you will go on and make this periodical the most dignified and many-sided of all papers devoted to the work of world organization, according to the lines marked out in recent numbers.

I am especially interested in Prof. H. A. Smith's article in the March number. I confess that I have become a convert to the idea that the use of force to bring in world organization is impracticable.

Enclosed find check for \$1.50 to pay for subscription to the *ADVOCATE* for one year (here the writer gives the address of a society in Massachusetts).

HORACE DUTTON.

DENTON, TEXAS.

EDITOR ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

DEAR SIR: The front page of your magazine bears the following words: "Advocate of Peace through Justice." These are ponderous words which few understand. Is the natural man capable of reaching a high standard of justice without help from above? The natural man is greedy, rapacious, and will stop at no obstacle to accumulate his pile unless he is governed by a higher law which is found in the message of Christ. All human schemes with Christ left out are bubbles. If the world were to put on the spirit of the World Teacher and Redeemer, then it would hasten to be just to all—to the foreigner, the individual, the corporation. No tyranny would be possible at home or toward foreign nations. All this is possible through the Gospel, which tells us that we are all brothers and children of one Father.

Would it not be a short cut to domestic and international peace to erect schools the world over in which the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man would be the main study? Would not such schools benefit the world more than the military ones? Can morality and the higher laws be taught in barracks? How many such schools could have been erected with the money spent in the last war, which put this globe on the brink of ruin and put the flower of manhood in the grave?

God gave us reason to govern the world in such a way that it would be a joy for heaven to look upon. In what state do the angels see us now? Are we not a distressing sight to them?

RAYMOND VERNIMONT,
Catholic Priest.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MOTHERS AND
PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 8, 1920.

MR. ARTHUR DEERIN CALL.

MY DEAR MR. CALL: I have read the last number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* with a great deal of interest and warm approval of the attitude of this magazine on the League of Nations and the peace treaty and on compulsory military training.

I wish to congratulate you on such an excellent number of the magazine. I hope that you will use your influence in preventing the passage of the military bills that are now before Congress. I have secured the co-operation of the League of Women Voters and the National Council of Women, representing thirty-one national organizations, who have promised to use their influence against them.

I have also secured their hearty endorsement of and their promise to work for the physical education bill, which has been introduced by the Physical Education Service of the Bureau of Education. If this bill passes it will provide good physical training for all boys and girls.

I heard General Wood say in an address given at Battle Creek, Mich., that the army would take all the boys at eighteen years of age and make them physically fit. I believe that it is not the business of the army to take up educational work which should cover the years before eighteen; that we should not have to make over our boys.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. F.) H. R. SCHOFF,
President.

3418 Baring Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Correspondence with Mexican Youth

Mary N. Chase, secretary for the Promotion of International Amity in Proctor Academy, Andover, N. H., has recently started correspondence with pupils in Friends schools in C. Victoria, Mexico. At the suggestion of Ambassador Y. Bonillas, letters have been sent to thirty-six governors in Mexico regarding such correspondence. The following letter from General José E. Santos, governor of Nuevo Leon, has been received:

MONTERREY, NUEVO LEON, March 17, 1920.

MISS MARY N. CHASE,

Andover, N. H., U. S. A.

RESPECTED MADAM: I received with much pleasure and read with unusual interest your courteous letter of the 8th inst., which by the suggestion of Ambassador Bonillas you addressed to me.

Being advised of the object which your society is promoting, I am pleased to inform you that I am arranging to make public the purposes of the Society for the Promotion of International Amity. In fact, I have already sent your courteous letter to the State Director General of Primary Instruction, since the aim of such a society is of the noblest character, inasmuch as it tends to effect a rapprochement (bringing together) and a good understanding between the people of the United States and Mexico.

Please accept the assurance of my highest regard.

(Signed)

JOSÉ E. SANTOS.

A Committee on Mexican Relations has been formed in Proctor Academy and a Mexican student in Cambridge, Mass., will address the school on Mexico in the near future.

Miss Mary N. Chase, Andover, N. H., will be pleased to answer any inquiries regarding this important movement to promote friendly relations with Mexico, a country that, inasmuch as it is facing an election of a president, is now in a specially tense condition of conflict. To this a peril from civil war by Sonora's secession threatens.

BOOK REVIEWS

BEFORE THE WAR. By *Viscount Haldane*, K. T., O. M. Funk and Wagnalls, New York City. Pp. 223.

This Scotch metaphysician, jurist, and man of affairs, eminent in British political life as a Liberal of the older type, but who is now showing unpredicted sympathy for a new Labor party, served as Secretary of State for War from 1905 to 1912, and was Lord High Chancellor from 1912 to 1915. To him the British people owed a territorial army, which if they had not had it during August and September, 1914, and been able to place it with dispatch and full force on the Continent, Germany probably would have captured Paris.

Because of his statesmanlike handling of the British military "preparedness" policy in pre-war days, Lord Haldane came to know much about the national foreign policy and its bearings upon possible German military aggression. His personal preference as a student and thinker had brought him intimately in contact with the higher ranges of German thought and had won for him recognition in the German academic world. Thus equipped, he was the natural choice of the British Government for those quasi-official, tentative, personally executed commissions to Berlin which were common during the last years of the last century and the early years of this century.

The serious British endeavor, as Viscount Haldane makes clear in this book, was to come to an understanding with Germany respecting growth of naval power, satisfaction of the Teutonic desire for a "place in the sun," and establishing of a *modus vivendi* by which the two rival nations might avoid war while satisfying legitimate national aspirations.

This book is the narrative, mainly, of these negotiations, and because the story comes from a chief actor in the play that turned out to be a tragedy, it is the more valuable.

During the early stages of the war Viscount Haldane had to suffer misunderstandings and some measure of journalistic denunciation, because in pre-war days he had been a champion of Anglo-German friendship. He was, and he still is, such a champion. In the epilogue of this book he pleads for a treatment of the Central Powers that while just will not be of a kind to insure coming hostilities. To forget may be impossible; but to forgive need not be, providing it is preceded by signs of contrition and fruits meet for repentance by Germany and Austria.

OUR WAR WITH GERMANY—A HISTORY. By *John Spencer Bassett*. Alfred A. Knopf. New York. Pp. 378.

Professor Bassett is known to students of American history as the competent author of excellent works on "The Federalist System," "The Middle Group of American Historians," and a life of Andrew Jackson. In his book, "The Lost Fruits of Waterloo," he branched out into a study of European history that at once indicated that he could master the intricacies of military and diplomatic maneuverings and the remote as well as the immediate consequences of historic events.

In this history of the War of 1914-18, "The World War," he has done his work well, but fully aware that he is basing his conclusions on partial data. He has had a popular rather than a learned audience chiefly in mind, deeming it best, doubtless, to make his chronicle one that the American citizen who still reads books can understand and also find some satisfaction in reading. He has tried to be fair, as becometh a scholar, and to deal with matters now in controversy with as much objectivity as is possible.

The swift process of time since August, 1914, with its unprecedented happenings, violent alternations of fear and hope, mobilization and dispersion of hosts of men, arraying of peoples as well as of armies against each other, and the delays, intricacies, disillusionments, and passions of the peace negotiations and treaty-making process, has wrought in most of his countrymen a present state of mind that is chaotic, contemporary, and comparatively unmindful of what has gone before. To such this book comes as a God-send to recall past states of emotion and conviction. By it they can stabilize themselves somewhat and recall where they were, so as to better understand where and why they

are where they are. Even the author admits his inability to keep a true perspective in such a welter of mixed motives (political, partisan, national, racial, and religious) as faces the chronicler. But his main conclusions are such as to make for optimism so far as the American record and the American program are concerned. Our nation has been right and, as he believes, our national acts also, at least down to the opening of the Peace Conference. Beyond that period he does not go with his judgment, though his chronicle covers presentation of the treaty to the Senate.

LAW IN THE MODERN STATE. By *Leon Duguit*. Introduction by *Harold Laski*. B. W. Huebsch. New York City. Pp. 245. \$2.50.

The Harvard University professor, who has acted as co-translator with his wife in making this book accessible to an English-reading public and who also writes the introduction, is himself an exponent of the dynamic theory of law's and government's evolution which the eminent French jurist among his contemporaries stands for pre-eminently. The value of Mr. Laski's introduction is his relation of the French theory to the views of American and British thinkers who, coming at the subject in a less doctrinaire and more practical way, are arriving at the same conclusions. Conspicuous among Americans so inclined are Mr. Justice Holmes, of the Supreme Court, and Dean Roscoe Pound, of the Harvard Law School, and Mr. Herbert Croly, of the New Republic.

Whether American, British, or French, the "school" holds that the older theory of representative government has broken down, and that law and government must adjust themselves to community (large or small) aspirations that cannot longer be expressed in terms purely political. Economic federalism looms on the horizon as a theory, held by many of the younger political scientists and jurists. It also is a practical fact because of the Russian revolution and the emergence of the new type of society which has followed. The State hereafter, they say, must be interpreted in terms of sociology or social interdependence. The sovereignty and personality of the State are denied. Rights as such are minimized or ignored; emphasis is put on duties. Statutes are simply legislative determination of functions to be done by individuals to serve a public need. Administrative acts are simply the fulfilment of statutes. In short, to quote Duguit, a "realistic and socialized legal system replaces an earlier system that was at once abstract and individualist in character." "If man has rights, he can only have them from his social environment; he cannot impose his rights upon it." Any ruling class, therefore, present or future, has "no subjective sovereignty. It has a power which it exerts in return for the organization of those public services which are consistently to respond to the public need. Its acts have neither force nor legal value save as they contribute to this end. . . . The State is no longer a sovereign power issuing its commands. It is a group of individuals who must use the force they possess to supply the public need."

Which is precisely the argument that Treitsche used in defense of his group in Germany, and that Lenin is now using in Russia to back up his group.

LIBERALISM IN AMERICA. ITS ORIGIN, ITS CONTEMPORARY COLLAPSE, ITS FUTURE. By *Harold Stearns*. Boni and Liveright, New York City. Pp. 232. \$1.75.

Mr. Stearns formerly aided in editing *The Dial*, in its New York days, when it was competing with *The New Republic* and *The Nation* as an organ of dissent. He is of a group of young Americans of unquestioned American lineage who are competing with the Jewish-American "intellectuals" in efforts to make the New America quite different from the Old. But Mr. Stearns, like Mr. Croly, of *The New Republic*, is an evolutionist, not a revolutionist; a liberal, not a radical; and he is quite satisfied with the theory of the older Liberalism of Europe and the United States, but finds fault with its present strategy and tactics.

Being this sort of a "reformer," he finds himself lonesome today, facing the attack on individualism and on individual "rights" which comes from the doctrinaire socialist, and also from the pragmatic citizen who likes prohibition because it

works well, who economically defends conscription because it "was inevitable," and who decides all issues of the hour in the light of "public interest" defined by a majority.

There is much in this book dealing with conscription and the psychological aspects of "patriotism" and war which a pacifist of the older type will do well to read. On the whole, he will be established in his former faith that there are "concepts of justice, liberty, and regard for truth itself" which do not change with the generations. He will discover in its author a trenchant critic of militarism, of compromise in affairs of State, and of the arrogance of "intellectuals," whether liberal or otherwise.

FRANCE AND OURSELVES. INTERPRETATIVE STUDIES, 1917-1919. By *Herbert Adams Gibbon*. The Century Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 286. \$1.50.

Written for American, English, and French periodicals, these studies of France, of French statesmen, and of the foreign relations of France, especially with the United States, have a unity of spirit commendable in the author. He is a believer in France, quite candid in expressing his love, and equally free in reproving his countrymen or warning them against offences against France and Frenchmen.

THE SPIRIT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE. By *Maj. Gen. E. H. Crowder, U. S. A., Provost Marshal General*. The Century Co., N. Y. Pp. 367. \$2.00.

The marvel of mobilization of the World War undoubtedly was the creation of the army of the United States, numbering more than 4,000,000 men, and the despatching of half of them across the Atlantic to the seat of war. To our Associated Powers as well as to the Central Powers, it was the "feat magnificent," for which they were not prepared. Basically, so far as law and morals went, it was made possible by what General Crowder in this book politely calls the "selective service," not caring to use the word draft or the term "compulsory military training." To him, as a long-time student of the many systems of compulsory military service in use in Europe and also as master of the art of organization and execution of military policies, naturally fell the task of drafting the law passed by Congress, which was carried into execution by the War Department and its army of civilian aides in the local communities.

As a definitive statement of the record achieved, the methods used, and the aims kept in mind, this book will be read far and wide, in Europe and Asia as well as in this country. The author, however, is not content with looking around him and backward. He looks ahead and finds in the democratization of the people who were drafted, in their unity of purpose in a common privileged task, and in the mutual understandings set up by enforced contacts of the army, lessons for the citizenship of the country in times of peace. His vague ideals thus voiced are not given very concrete expression; but the man's pride in his administrative achievement during the war is so deeply rooted in his consciousness that he can readily posit his hopes for a better world on imitation of the "selective service ideal." A person able to look at the mobilization of the army more objectively might well hesitate about "wishing" the process of compulsory service upon normal civilian life. General Crowder admits that the relatively small amount of resistance to the act was due to a mood of national exaltation and moral elevation. It was not based on any change of fundamental attitude, rational in its origin. The moral passion has passed, as national morale has slumped following the armistice, and the plan for compulsory military training of the youth of the country in times of peace is being resolutely fought in Congress.

A HANDBOOK TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *Sir Geoffrey Butler*, with an Introduction by Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil. Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 80. \$1.75 net.

The official relation which the author of this quasi-official book bears to the League of Nations, of which Sir Eric

Drummond is secretary, makes it valuable as a statement of the mechanism of the Paris Treaty and League Covenant, as a text of the document, and as a commentary upon it. It shows how the League's officials are beginning to interpret their duties. Written by an Englishman, primarily for Britons, it naturally, though not defensibly, ignores American aspects of the situation; it makes little or no reference to American writers on international law, and it cites practically no American thinkers or doers in the field of international jurisprudence and arbitration. Mr. Butler is an undersecretary of the League and officiated as such at the International Labor Conference in Washington.

PARLIAMENT AND REVOLUTION. By *J. Ramsay Macdonald*. Scott & Seltzer, New York City. Pp. 180. \$1.50 net.

This is the first of a series in a new Library of Social Science which this new firm will publish. In it the distinguished leader of British labor argues against the dictatorship and centralized, autocratic form of government which Lenin and Trotsky preach and practice. In it he urges on the powerful social group, which he teaches the merits of a representative form of democracy adapted to contemporary needs and political demands. His theory is that "the Socialist movement, on account of the complexity of the problems it raises, of the unexplored regions of conduct which it has to traverse, of the assumptions which it has to make because experience has not been acquired, is of all movements the one which ought never to lose a footing on reality while it stretches out to attain an ideal, one which ought never to lose balance in its progressive efforts."

He is frank enough to confess that "the mass mind can be moved by the highest moral idealism and at the same time be inflamed by the blindest passions. It is both absurdly generous and brutally cruel; it is non-rational and irresponsible; it is blind to contradictions and inconsistencies because emotion is not a continuous process of the intelligence, but a response to passing and temporary influences; it is a continual condition of self-flattery."

For proof of this he points to the post-war reactions of Great Britain under the spell of Lloyd-George, which swept into the national lawmaking body at the last election such a reactionary, conservative majority. He argues for the "evolutionary movement of the constructive reason" at a time when war has destroyed the social *status quo*. He wants labor to be wise enough to seize this opportunity to make "organic social change." He wants the democracy of tomorrow to have a higher conception of its duty than to merely subject capitalism to punishment and extinction. He wants no rule of "proletarian tyranny preliminary to a reign of liberty." He has no more sympathy with property tests for the franchise than he has for educational, religious, age, or military tests for the same privilege.

For him the Soviet system of democracy is inferior to the British, because "it is a pyramid of local governing authorities topped by what is to all intents and purposes a national executive, whereas the parliamentary system is directly based upon national opinion and gives validity to numerous municipal administrative bodies." The Russian form is indirect; the British direct. One is national; the other parochial.

This book, read in connection with the one by the French thinker Duguit, also reviewed in this issue of the *Advocate*, is interesting because of its discussion of the territorial *vs.* trade theory of representation in parliamentary bodies. Macdonald is against a change because "society is greater than any industry; every industry exists only in relation to every other industry; the complete economic unity must always be considered." Nevertheless, he admits the faults of the representative system based on the territorial unit; and his solution is a second chamber, based on the Soviet theory of the franchise, that is an upper house representing groups.

A more searching discussion from the practical standpoint of a man whose theories do not run ahead of the facts of life has not been written in English for persons who wish to understand why the British democracy is not to follow the Russian methods or theories.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES (Formerly Woman's Peace Party)

OBJECT.

To organize support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at The Hague in 1915 and in Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further Peace, Internationalism, and the Freedom of Women.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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Miss Grace Abbott, Illinois.
Miss Lillian D. Waid, New York.

International Office, 19 Bd Georges-Favon, Geneva, Switzerland.

NATIONAL SECTIONS.

Australia.	India (British).
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Canada.	New Zealand.
Denmark.	Norway.
Finland.	Poland.
France.	Sweden.
Germany.	Switzerland.
Great Britain.	United States.
Hungary.	

GENERAL OBJECTS.

To promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

SPECIAL OBJECTS.

Those indicated by the standing committees and for immediate action to oppose universal compulsory military training; to oppose all invasions of constitutional rights, free speech, free press, and assembly and minority representation in legislative bodies; to oppose invasion of Mexico for purposes of war; to work to amend the League of Nations Covenant, if it is ratified by the United States, and if not so ratified, to secure a true Concert of Nations to substitute Law for War.

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League of Nations.
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Universal Free Trade.
Citizenship: To Permeate the Americanization Movement with the Spirit of Internationalism.
Pan American Relations.
Labor.
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Finance: Chairman, Mrs. Marlon B. Cothren, 144 East 40th Street, New York City.

All American women are urged to join this Section for U. S. A. of the Women's International League by use of the appended slip.

Date

I hereby enclose one dollar for membership in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for U. S. A., for the year 1920.

Name

Address

Make checks payable to W. I. L. P. F., Section for U. S. A., and send to Eleanor Daggett Karsten, Executive Secretary, Room 1616, 33 West 42nd Street, New York City.

(Adv.)

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A GOVERNED WORLD

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, the Supreme Court of the United States, and practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS.

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas, according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law and subordinated to law, as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof, are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein, and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations, it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence, but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE.

1. The call of a Third Hague Conference, to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

2. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference, which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

3. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

4. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

5. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the declaration of the rights and duties of nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the powers for this purpose.

7. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

8. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

9. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

10. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinion of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

SINCE those epic days of our first President, America has had a foreign policy. For the most part it has been a dignified and a successful foreign policy. For this reason, the annual meeting of the American Peace Society, to be held the twenty-ninth of this month, will have for part of its program the discussion of that policy to the end that we may see more clearly what a constructive foreign policy for us now must mean. The time for simply opposing the sort of foreign policy provided for in the Treaty of Versailles is past. Our "anti" talk must now give way to something more positive. Hence we need to take account of stock.

Before any constructive foreign policy can be even hopefully discussed it will first be necessary that we know exactly what American foreign policy has been. There must be no confusion about that. Because of this fact we are pleased to note the reception of a little volume issued by the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, entitled *American Foreign Policy*. This volume of 128 pages, bound in boards, meets the obvious need to which we have just referred. Here are found official statements by successive presidents and secretaries of State, statements which we now know have been formally or tacitly accepted by the people of the United States as expressions of their collective judgment as to foreign affairs. We find here statements which we now

realize were of the very substance of the nation's policy, classic declarations of that policy, such as those found in President Washington's Farewell Address; in Thomas Jefferson's First Inaugural; in James Monroe's Seventh Annual Message; in James K. Polk's First Annual Message; in James Buchanan's Second Annual Message; in Ulysses S. Grant's Special Message to the Senate, May 31, 1870; in James G. Blaine's call for the First International American Conference, his Address of Welcome, and his Closing Address before the Conference; in Grover Cleveland's Third Annual Message; in John Hay's Memorandum to the Imperial German Embassy; in Theodore Roosevelt's Fourth Annual Message, together with his special message to the Senate, February 15, 1905; in Elihu Root's address on "The Real Monroe Doctrine." The vitally relevant portions of these papers are all here.

Notwithstanding the tendency to overlook or minimize the important constructive work of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907; notwithstanding, as President Nicholas Murray Butler says in the Introduction, the great war appears to have brushed rudely aside "the definite assurances and the high hopes which were the result of those two conferences," notwithstanding these facts, it is undoubtedly true, as it will yet appear, "that the work of the Hague Conferences remains as the surest foundation for any new plan of international co-operation that is really practicable. A restudy by Americans of the work of the two Hague Conferences is vitally important, since it is from that work that the new task of construction must start." Thus there has been wisely incorporated in this volume those significant facts of the two conferences relating to our constructive foreign policy. Here we have Secretary Hay's instructions to the American delegates to the Hague Conference of 1899, and the reports of this delegation to the Secretary of State; the instructions to the American delegates in 1907, and the report of the delegates, and other papers, all significant expressions of American foreign policies.

That the picture of America's foreign policy up to the entrance of the United States upon the World War may be complete, the book wisely contains also the "Recommendations of Habana Concerning International Organization" adopted by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917, recommendations which, it may be added, were adopted the day before in Washington by the American Peace Society. Accompanying these

"Recommendations" is what President Butler appropriately calls a "luminous commentary," by James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The book closes with the provision of law declaring the international policy of the United States, a provision found in the "Statutes at Large of the United States," volume 39 (64th Congress), page 618, a statute framed and introduced by two members of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, the Honorable James L. Slayden and Honorable Walter L. Hensley.

In these piping times when our views relating to the outside world seem to be suspended between the dilemma of an irreconcilable President on the one hand and an irreconcilable opposition on the other; at a time when a war is being waged between Poland and Russia along a battle front of 400 miles, with the possibility of extending itself through Finland and on to the Baltic; at a time when the Italian Premier has fallen because of his leaning toward a reconciliation with the Russian Bolsheviks; at a time when the acid tests of an enlightened foreign policy seem all to have broken down, the supreme duty of intelligent America is to acquaint herself with the foreign policy that has been hers, for any successful policy for the years immediately before us can be developed only out of a perfect familiarity with those foreign policies, be they policies which have failed, or those which have succeeded.

LET THE WAR HYSTERIA CEASE

IT IS time for the hysterias of war to cease. Searching houses, seizing property, arresting persons without warrant, is war. As a writer in the *New Republic* phrases it:

"Mr. Palmer and his counselors and agents have inspired and have conducted a reign of mass-law, of mass-inquiries, mass-searches, mass-seizures, mass-raids, mass-arrests, mass-incarcerations, violating in principle the spirit of law and violating inhumanly in practice the specific purposes of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution—all to the knowledge of members of the House of Representatives and all without impeachment by the House."

Such behavior, characteristic of war, should not be possible in times of peace.

A resolution has been introduced into the House of Representatives proposing the impeachment of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, because Mr. Post has dismissed some of the aliens charged with offenses said to warrant their exportation. The resolution against Mr. Post does not charge any corrupt or wrongful conduct. The only suggestion urged against him is that he has erred in the exercise of his judgment as a quasi-

judicial officer. It is not proved that he has even misinterpreted the law, or that he has disobeyed or departed in any respect from the instructions of his superior officer, the Secretary of Labor. On the contrary, it appears that the specific American things which Mr. Post has done are to refuse to exact excessive bail; to refuse to compel men to be witnesses against themselves; to insist upon speedy hearings for the accused; to insist upon due process of law in each case, assuming the presumption of innocence provided for under the principles of American freedom; to refuse to recognize the validity of illegal searches and seizures; to require that the accused be informed of the nature of the accusation against him; to grant the right of the accused to counsel. Surely such a behavior is warranted by the laws laid down by the courts. To condemn Mr. Post for such behavior is simply war hysteria.

At this writing we are informed, however, that the House committee, abandoning the impeachment proceedings, will probably censure Mr. Post and recommend his removal. Even this is an extra-constitutional usurpation of authority on the part of the committee. With the exception of its power to impeach, the Congress is not a condemning but a legislative body. From our point of view, it seems quite absurd and indefensible for a committee of Congress formally to criticize an officer of another division of the government, equal and co-ordinate with the legislative. It would be not only extra-constitutional, it would be a meddling and improper interference. Such a committee has no more right to behave in such a way than it would have to recommend to the President its candidate for the position of Secretary of State. Action against Mr. Post seems to us a part and parcel of the war hysteria.

What is needed now is not repression, but discussion. As Mr. Glenn Frank, writing in the *Century* for July, 1919, turns the thought:

"Government by discussion breaks down the tyranny of fixed custom; continuous public debate on public problems is the root of change and progress; community discussion breeds tolerance; it makes for steady, instead of intermittent, progress. In fact, common counsel, public debate, community discussion, call it what you will, underlies the constructive solution of all the vexed situations that a nation faces in a time of readjustment and change."

We need to return now to the rights of the forum, lyceum, chautauqua, and free speech everywhere. The movement among universities for public discussion, package libraries, and informing service of the University Extension divisions in the States is in the right direction. We are told that the State universities find it possible to conduct some kind of public discussion and informing service now in practically every State, and

this for the benefit of the whole people. As the free schools constitute the paramount idea in our democratic tradition, the participation by all in the give and take of public discussion should be encouraged, not discouraged. The very life of our democracy depends upon that.

THE TASK FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Council of the League of Nations is carrying on; but whether upward or downward remains to be seen. At this writing the fifth session of the Council is meeting in Rome, but its friends recognize its handicaps. It has not been able to perform its chief function of avoiding war, illustrated by the concrete war now on between Russia and Poland. Indeed, we are told that it is not planning even to discuss that war at the meeting in Rome. The Council was unable to avoid the Ruhr Valley incident, which the Germans reasonably claim was definitely the business of the League to avoid. The real international work in Europe is being done not by the League, but by the allied Supreme Council—a war organization dominated by England and France.

European indifference to the League is acknowledged by its friends. As Charles A. Selden, cabling to the *New York Evening Post*, admits, the friends of the League are for the most part convinced that the big questions must be left alone, on the ground that it would be fatal to undertake anything at this time "that would break the League's back." Mr. Selden adds: "They realize and admit that the League has not yet come into its own; that it is having a none-too-robust infancy, and that it is placed in an awkward position by the temporary indifference of the people and the long-continued activity of the Supreme Council."

While it is hoped in Europe that the United States, having retired permanently from the Allied Supreme Council, will eventually come into the League; that the League will continue to do effective and useful work of a non-political, non-controversial sort, thus fulfilling its secondary purpose, all are quite aware of the handicaps due to the marked reactions toward nationalism in all countries, and to the complications of internal politics. An organization without as yet a local habitation, the outlook for the League is not bright. The commonwealths of Europe are concerned primarily, at the moment, with their own political and economic problems, problems producing a profound depression and unrest, as also much human misery. Great Britain has experienced a setback of its hopes in the League, indeed of its hopes in treaties of peace generally.

The Round Table, a quarterly review of the politics of the British Commonwealth, acknowledges in its March number that the American Senate has in its reservations to the treaty expressed the views of all the signatories. Because of the covenant, England realizes that she is now in an equivocal position. She sees that the covenant is both too vague and too precise; that the *freedom* planned for under certain sections of the covenant may be lost under the operation of other sections, providing for *joint action*. As a result of the treaty, the British Dominions have become more self-centralized and less co-operative.

Already there is a growing demand in Britain for a revision of the obligations under the League. Britain believes that her pledges are too strong; that England should do her utmost to guarantee peace, liberty, and law throughout the world, but that this cannot be accomplished by quixotic obligations to foreign States. It is more and more agreed that Britain has assumed under the treaty responsibilities which she cannot discharge; that the time is at hand for her definitely to denounce the idea that the League of Nations may normally enforce its opinions by military or economic pressure upon recalcitrant States. It is argued that the Imperial War Cabinet of Great Britain must go on, and that Britain's action under the treaty must be directed solely by her own judgment. It must be said that these are discouraging facts for the League.

And yet Great Britain will do everything in her power to assist and to develop the simpler mechanisms of international dealing embodied in the League. The same thing is true of France, of Germany, of the United States, and of the rest of the world. In our judgment, the Council of the League should concentrate its attention upon this encouraging fact. In this stage of international development it is not necessary to insist that nations must in the name of international peace mortgage their freedom and judgment of action under an international covenant. Discussion there must be. Mechanism for the development and extension of the discussion, and of the habit of international co-operation, must be provided. An atmosphere of fairness and good-will, too, is indispensable. Great Britain realizes that for the maintaining of peace within her own empire it will be necessary for a "continuous consultation and co-operation by ministers responsible to all the British parliaments." If that is so of the British Empire, it is so of the society of all the nations. If only the Council of the League should see its way clear to turn its attention to the development of its assembly into a periodic conference of all the nations to the upbuilding of international law, and then to turn in and help to develop the work of the Hague conferences into the

International Court of Justice, the League would by such action be in the way of salvaging from the World War the things for which democracy went forth to achieve.

In our judgment, therefore, the friends of the League are right in leaving the war matters to the Supreme War Council, and in taking upon themselves primarily the task of setting up in the name of peaceable settlement those law-making and law-interpreting organs so indispensable to that justice between nations which lessens the chances of war. By eliminating the impossible features of the Covenant and concentrating upon the known and accepted methods of international settlements, the friends of the League may yet render a service to the cause nearest of all causes to the troubled heart of the world.

A COMPULSORY LABOR ARMY

BULGARIA'S INDUSTRIALIZED ARMY deserves attention by students of problems of national policing and defense. It is the child of the brain and heart of Alexander Stambolisky, leader of the Agrarian Party and now Premier, who had the nerve as far back as September, 1915, to tell the then powerful Czar Ferdinand, "If this nation is led into such another adventure as the second Balkan war, there will be heads rolling in Sofia."

His policy now is not one of universal military training, but of universal education. "Instead of officers, teachers"; that is his brief creed. Consequently, against the opposition of the few surviving Royalists on the one hand and the Communists on the other, he is drafting the young men, as they reach the usual age of conscription, for service as laborers instead of as soldiers. Experts will guide them in carrying out irrigation plans in arid districts. Others will reforest denuded mountains. More will be detailed to build roads and highways, school-houses and public buildings. There is to be compulsion, but for social and constructive ends.

Undergoing this labor by day, the conscripts will be taught at night. They will be supported by taxes, but with what different economic results to the kingdom! Production, the world's crying need at this hour, will rise; scientific agriculture and craftsmanship will become diffused; men will be kept in contact with nature, and not live in town barracks and become social parasites. All classes must serve their time, and will thus learn habits of democracy.

The Soviet Government's recent swift shifting of several of the Russian army corps from the rôle of soldiers to that of workers, under strict discipline, engaged in economic restoration of the country, is a variant on Stambolisky's theory.

The United States is suffering today from underproduction, caused to a considerable extent by migration from the country to the city of the workers on the farms, including the youth who went to France, saw London and New York, and cannot be induced to take up agriculture again. Of course, it would be asking altogether too much to expect the enlisted men of our regular army, now at army posts going through the routine drill and becoming parasites of the consuming class, to serve the country as workers, just as the army is being used in Bulgaria. It wouldn't be dignified.

THE PEOPLE AGAINST WAR

IN OUR department of Book Reviews we comment upon some of the important aspects of a posthumous book by the ablest civilian writer this country has ever had on the art, science, and history of war, the late Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Harvard University. He had been selected by the government to assemble and edit the official history of the A. E. F. and he had begun his work at the War College. But the strain of twelve months at the front as an observer on General Pershing's staff, plus his burdens as an author, had weakened him, and he succumbed to an attack that under normal conditions could have been repelled.

It is quite clear from occasional terms used by Professor Johnston that he was of the school of experts who wished beyond all things that they did not have to bow to the will of popularly elected governments chosen by "semi-educated people." With a distinctly Prussian or British note characteristic of imperialism, Teuton, or Saxon, he registered this feeling. But at the same time he recognized the fact that revolutions do not go backward; that it is useless to kick against the pricks, and that the war of tomorrow has to be fought with a new social psychology in mind.

Thus he frankly admitted that an "armed citizen" army cannot or will not support the psychological strain of protracted and negative military operations. Germany found this out to her despair in the recent war. Professor Johnston also understood that the "ordinary citizens of France, Germany, and England (and he might have added the United States.—EDITOR) has had it wrought deeply into his consciousness that it is worse than unprofitable to take the field as a soldier." Hence he believed it "almost certain that in the event of threatening war public opinion will enforce a pacific solution by some means or other. Not for at least a generation to come is it at all probable that the unmilitary west Europeans will permit their governments to get them into the trenches again."

We incline to agree with Professor Johnston, but

would attribute this attitude more to conscious and less to subconscious influences than he does. The post-war literature, whether of fiction, poetry, essay, or reasoned treatise form, is hostile, as never before, to the idea of war; and it is revolutionary in its threats against governments that persist in the hope that war may be relied upon to garner what diplomacy fails to steal.

Such prophecy by a man of Professor Johnston's training, acquirements, and professional standing is worth noting. Though he could say that no "political schemes, no social welfare schemes, no physical benefit schemes should receive a moment's consideration in connection with national preparedness" (so much of a pure militarist was he), he also knew a pregnant social phenomenon and psychological trend when he saw it, and he was adjusting his thinking to it.

CHINA'S DAWNING BETTER DAY

CHINA'S OUTLOOK, as far as it depends upon financial stabilization and agreement between the great powers, including Japan, has been made much brighter during the month. This is so because of the acquiescence of France in the policy of making future loans, a policy first defined by the United States and agreed to promptly by Great Britain. Credit for the transformation is due to the State Department's steady pressure for fair play and for a plan that would not recognize any special rights of Japan, and also to the mediation of Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of New York, and his associates, who went out to Japan to deal directly with Tokio officials. Transformation of Japan's internal conditions during the past months, owing to economic strain and financial reverses and the control of Siberia by the Soviet Government, also probably had something to do with it. Besides, revision of the Anglo-Japanese treaty is now going on and Great Britain is in position to bargain effectively. Moreover, the British commercial forces in northern Asia have been standing shoulder to shoulder with the American traders and business interests in insisting on resistance to Japan's special claims.

The new four-power group, to which other nations may be admitted, has devised a consortium that ultimately may put \$250,000,000 at the disposition of China, but with reservations that give control to the lenders, who will have the diplomatic support of their various governments. Most important of all in some respects is the insurance the powers have insisted upon that the sums loaned shall be properly and constructively employed. A large proportion of past loans has never been so used for genuine national Chinese interests, but has found its way into the hands of thieves in official positions.

It is "agreed that no nation should attempt to cultivate special spheres of influence; that all existing options be turned over to the consortium as a whole; that the four-power group act as a partnership created in the interest of China." If this agreement does not in time become "a scrap of paper," it will mark an historic date in the history of a nation that has suffered much previously from the exploitation of the nations now solemnly pledged to co-operative action, excepting the United States. Even during the recent war the old method was being worked, and also since the armistice it has reared its vulpine countenance, mocking the fine theories supposed to animate the Paris Conference and the League Treaty.

An inevitable reflex of the new plan will be seen in the political developments within the Republic. It smites not only at the theories and practices of European and Japanese statesmen and financiers of the past, but also at the venal Chinese of both the north and the south, who have enriched themselves by unlawful appropriations from loans with their attached special "spheres of influence" claims. Honest Chinese patriots in office can now plan with some certainty for the fine schemes of national development which their own trained engineers, educators, social welfare workers, and statesmen have planned.

MEXICO

AT THE present writing, President Carranza is fleeing from his capital, and General Obregon, the "strong man of Mexico," is in full command of the situation. With the exception of three States, the whole Republic has ratified the Obregon movement. Business is said to be proceeding without interruption, but, it is added, large crowds are parading the streets of the capital in holiday mood, hardly recognizing as yet that there has been a change of government.

What the outcome is to be is difficult to say. The fact seems to be that Mexico, in a turmoil for a decade, is in the midst of a crisis indeed. The recent outbreak against Carranza's authority originated in the States of the north and west, continuing to those of the south and east, thus assuming national proportions. The reasons assigned out of the State of Sonora, where the uprising began, were not so much personal as political, and were based on the necessity of asserting "state rights" as over against increasing federal power. In any event, this revolution has been swift and seemingly successful.

President Carranza, whose life is not sought by the revolutionists, issued a manifesto just before leaving the capital, in which he stated:

"In thus addressing you, my fellow-citizens, I do so in

the character of President of the Republic, which position obliges me to guarantee the enforcement of law and order.

"I also speak in my character of chief of the Constitutional Party, which brought the former revolution to a successful conclusion and invested me with the responsibility of maintaining the principles for which we have fought during ten years.

"I make known to the nation with entire frankness that, independently of the constitutional measures at my command, I shall invoke all other measures which public convenience and patriotism may advise, in order that the government of the country may not fall into the hands of any of the present military leaders, who would continue to cause bloodshed by disputes among themselves.

"I declare positively that I will not deliver the power conferred upon me until the revolutionists have been defeated, and then only to whomever shall be legally designated to succeed me.

"As President, I call upon all officials and all classes for support; upon all soldiers in the armies of revolt who, when they learn the true situation in the country and the goal to which their ambitious chiefs would lead them, will be given an opportunity to rectify their attitude and return to the aid of the legal government.

"I call also upon the army, which has remained loyal, that, in view of the situation which I have described, the soldiers shall refuse to listen to the promises of those who wish them to rebel.

"Finally, I appeal to the Mexican people to furnish new troops to aid the legally constituted government, support the principles of democracy, for which we have fought during ten years, and prevent a repetition of the Huerta-Felix Diaz-Madero situation.

"Let the people determine that those who yesterday pretended to be their defenders shall not be permitted, with the aid of firearms, to dictate their new leaders."

We all naturally wonder how these changes will affect the United States. It appears that we have sent a fleet of destroyers and a battleship to patrol the coast east and west; that marines have been dispatched to serve police purposes, after the manner of the Vera Cruz experience. It is evident that the Administration proposes to give protection to our citizens near the coast. What is to happen to our "nationals" in the interior, many of whom are "pacifists," evaders of the "selective service act," and German sympathizers, persons who fled across the border during the war, cannot now be forecast.

In the situation, there is for us a disturbing element. The Senate investigation of the conditions in Mexico has revealed something of the situation. It appears that Mr. Lane, former Secretary of the Interior, took the position that the investments of American capital in Mexico, resting on titles, are as deserving of protection as if they were titles to oil lands in Pennsylvania. This may be true of some of the later titles; but a large number of them, granted under the Diaz régime, are not. Indeed, it is a disputable question, and a problem

which has been much debated, whether or not even the "valid titles" justify punitive action on the part of our government. There are persons in our country who believe that we should invade Mexico and control her affairs, after the manner of our former rule in Cuba, on the theory that our flag should always follow the cash of our investors. This is not only a war-producing theory, it is a theory doubtful both under law and morals.

We had supposed that the Carranza Government represented a hopeful reaction against the clerics, the feudal lords, and the concessionaire interests which grew up under Porfirio Diaz. We had thought of Carranza as a statesman, somewhat stubborn but with the strength of stubbornness, bent upon a successful reconstruction of that distraught land. We had felt that he was nationalistic, distrustful of us, concerned naturally in recovering for Mexico the vast natural wealth threatened by the greed of outside interests. We have been sympathetic toward our government's policy of non-intervention, and we have not been in sympathy with the indiscriminate shipments of munition supplies to all sides. We had dared to hope that the issue between Carranza and the concessionaires might be solved by guaranteeing to Mexico future sub-soil rights and by abandoning retrospective rights. But that theory seems to have been too simple for general acceptance. Unexploited wealth of Mexico was a prize too great for such easy disposition. By aggravating the reports of civil disorder; by waging an unscrupulous propaganda; by conspiracies against the Mexican government; by the efforts of the "National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico," formed in January, 1919; by the activities of the committee of twenty bankers, February 23, 1919—bankers using such words as, "such positive action as may be taken wherever circumstances permit"—by such actions the whole situation has grown increasingly acute. Just how far these influences have been successful remains to be seen.

The uneducated masses of Mexico, and the selfishness of group interests complicated the situation greatly; but we suspect that the greed of outsiders has aggravated the situation most. Some day we shall know who stirred up Felix Diaz and then General Blanquet, the first of whom fled and the latter of whom died at the hand of an assassin. We shall know who brought the rebel chief Zapata forward as the redeemer of Mexico; and then later the unspeakable Villa. We shall know who launched the much-heralded atrocity campaign, beginning in April, 1919. We instinctively wonder how it could happen that we should be so "fed up" on outrages upon American sailors, upon Mr. Jenkins, upon numerous other persons. In the light of our accepted principle, "that the people of small and weak States have the right

to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of powerful States would be"; of the fact that "the people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own institutions," and that "outsiders could dictate who should control their land, their lives, and their resources"; of the fact that Americans have been pressing for things they could never have got in their own country, and of the fact that "the people of Mexico are struggling for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—15,000,000 oppressed men, overburdened women, pitiful children in mutual bondage in their home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure"—in the light of these acknowledged facts, why have we heard so much about "intervention" in Mexico? After all the congressional investigations, why are we still uninformed? We hope and believe that President Wilson spoke the truth September 2, 1916, when he said: "The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and of noble pity." Now, in the hour of Mexico's sorrow, it is for us to sympathize and pity, to remember our birthright of service, of national honor and magnanimity.

IT IS WRITTEN

THE course of any evolution of any international peace is written before us if we but use our eyes. The words are there on the shield, the shield of the world's infinite past. On the one side the words say, we must not; on the other they say, we must.

We must not lust after false gods among the nations, make unto ourselves graven images of gold and silver and other trinkets of greed and avarice, for the God of Peace is a jealous god, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, and upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that mistrust Him. We must not take the name of Peace in vain, for Peace will not hold us guiltless if we take his name in vain. We must not overreach ourselves, protest too much, neglect to keep still on occasion. We must forget neither the paternal protection of the State nor the maternal ministrations of the home, if we would that our days be long and that it may go well with us in the land which God has given unto us. We must not expect peace to flow from our much killings. We must not forget the sanctity of persons, especially of women, the mothers of men. We must not attempt to reach unto that permanent peace which flows from justice either by stealing from our neighbors or by lying unto them. We must not covet our neighbor's goods. Verily these things are so.

Men find it most difficult to read the other side of the shield, but the writing there is also plain. The Supreme Council and the League of Nations may vie with

each other for places of power; but neither, as at present constituted, can by force of arms assure peace, because peace between States is not maintained by force of arms. Without discussing the point, the Treaty of Versailles may from the point of view of war have been justified, but from the point of view of peace an entirely different order must be established. The Council of the League of Nations, about to convene in Rome for its fifth meeting, will do well if it applies its mind to such questions as international disarmament, the publication of all treaties entered into by members of the League, to the greater publicity of all efforts for an international reconciliation; but if it expects to establish a mandate over Armenia and to maintain peace in Asia Minor and the Balkans by an international military force supported by the great Powers, it is pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp that led the Roman Empire and the German Confederation into the bogs of oblivion. That fact is written plainly on the shield of history.

International conferences there must be. That the Supreme Council aims to turn itself into a national governmental organization, admitting German and Russian delegates, may be disconcerting to the League of Nations, but it is a step in the direction of the inevitable thing that is to be. A call has been issued by the Council of the League of Nations for a meeting of a commission, under Article XIV of the Treaty of Peace, to formulate and submit for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. Upon invitation the two American citizens best qualified of all Americans are preparing to serve upon that commission. By the time this is printed they will probably be on their way to Europe. The establishment of a juridical union of the nations, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions shall be parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their difficulties involving law and equity—to the permanent Court of the Nations, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also the parties to its creation, such an agency for the promotion of justice under law, and therefore of the peace of righteousness, is assured. Since it is written that there are self-evident truths, such as "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; it is, therefore, also written that through recurring conferences of all the nations, international law, stating more and more clearly the rights of nations, and an International Court of Justice, with power of jurisdiction clearly defined, interpreting those rights, shall together co-operate unto the healing of the nations.

THE PACT OF LONDON, document of undying fame in the history of secret diplomacy, signed April 26, 1915, was first given official publication by the British Government on April 29, when it appeared in a "White Book." Russian "reds," however, long since gave it to the world, having found its text in the Petrograd archives. The ironic humors of the post-war period help some folks to keep the appearance of normality.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT has formally asked from the French Government permission for visits to the battlefields in France of kindred of Germans who fought and died in defeat. The answer, if affirmative, will bring about contacts that will test the humanity of all concerned.

APOLL of the preferences of the members of Yale's Class of '20 on a variety of topics, some consequential and others inconsequential, is said to show that since the 1914-1918 war Lincoln has superseded Napoleon as the favorite character in history of a majority of the men. Even a death-bed repentance is welcomed by the church and is better than contumacy to the end; but did it require the education of this latest horror to induce the educated youth of Yale to see more moral greatness and historical importance in Lincoln? If so, what an indictment of the parents, teachers, and spiritual guides of yesterday.

THERE is much to be said for the decision of the British War Graves Commission that the graves of the humblest private and highest general who gave their lives in the war shall be decorated alike with a standard stone bearing the same inscription, "Their Name Liveth Forevermore," chosen by Kipling. That is a "democracy in death" quite different from our Arlington Cemetery, near Washington, where the ornate and simple, the elaborate monument and bare "marker," perpetuate a class distinction peculiarly military in form and spirit.

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, formerly U. S. Senator from Ohio and recently a careful student of political, economic, and racial problems in the Far East, has declined nomination to the Tariff Commission, tendered him by President Wilson, and will remain in private life. It is to be hoped that some day soon he will be able to serve the nation in settling some phases of its international policy now in dispute or vaguely sensed by the people. Long President of the American Peace Society and now one of its Vice-Presidents, he has specialized knowledge equipping him for the task.

THERE IS ACUTENESS in the remark of the reviewer in *The Nation* of Andreas Latzko's book, "The Judgment of Peace," that "those who hate war most find themselves in the paradoxical position of feeling obliged to keep alive the knowledge of war—of war as it really is, and not as it will tend to seem as time heals the deep gashes of our five years and the perennial human passion for making myths begins its work."

IT WOULD seem that "The America's Gift to France Association" could find something better to give to France just now than a heroic statue, to be placed near the village of Meaux. France is devastated and in need of raw materials. Meaux, overlooking the Marne, where the first German advance on Paris was arrested by Joffre on September 6, 1914, is its own monument to the sacrifice of the French. Some day, in happier times, we may make some suitable return for the Statue of Liberty presented by France to America in 1886. For this association to begin the collections of subscriptions from the school children of America for such a purpose at this time seems very much to us like handing a violet and a smile to a man in the desperate throes of starvation.

IF WINSTON CHURCHILL'S words and deeds as Secretary of War are true indices of the coming British military policy, England intends to do most of her policing and fighting in years to come through aviation corps and not by the army or navy. From the economic side, the plan would seem to have advantages, since in the recent suppression of revolt in Somaliland the aviators, by use of bombs and other devices of destruction, have done for \$150,000 what it cost \$12,000,000 to do during a prior uprising. "Efficiency, thy name is God, and many are thy devotees," but terrible is thy toll. Kitchener won lasting infamy by the ruthless way in which he used the rapid-fire gun on the desert dwellers of North Africa. But what is a rapid-fire gun compared with a deposit of dynamitic stuff dropped from the skies on villages and storehouses of the natives, on men, women, and children? The warrior's "treat 'em rough" is the warrior's indispensable and inescapable stock in trade.

THE SAN REMO CONFERENCE of the Inter-Allied Supreme War Council, convening April 19, has seemed to us typical of the most secret of secret diplomatic gatherings of a most discredited past. The only thing of which we seem to be perfectly sure is that the Premier of Great Britain and the Premier of France are more friendly than before the conference. The conference seems to have been held in San Remo because

Lloyd-George was opposed to Paris and London on the ground that a secret conference in either of those places was impossible. The conference at San Remo has been so secret that it gives color to the suspicion that there must have been something to conceal. And yet Mr. Lloyd-George has delivered a special message to the women of Great Britain given as an interview in the *London Sketch*, in which he said:

"The conference at San Remo means that the last war in world-wide conflict is about to be terminated in a stern but just peace. That surely is an event of great importance for the women of the world. But the decisions of the conference have a deeper meaning than even that. They mean that the sacrifices of men and women are not to be in vain. They also mean that militarism, with its horrors and its dangers, is to be kept under wherever it threatens the peace of the world.

"From this viewpoint the decision to insist on the disarmament of Germany has great importance, but the decision to confer with German statesmen has equal importance. It signifies that the nations are determined that their misunderstandings should be settled by deliberation and reason, and not by constant brandishing of the sword."

Once again, one wonders at the high-handed disregard of the League of Nations.

THE legislature of New York has passed and Governor Smith has signed a bill which reads thus:

"Any person who knowingly and wilfully states, delivers, or transmits by any means whatever to any manager, editor, publisher, reporter, or other employee of a publisher of any newspaper, magazine, publication, periodical, or serial any false and untrue statement of a fact concerning any person or corporation, with intent that the same shall be published, is guilty of misdemeanor."

The sponsor for this new law was an up-country editor, who knew the subject he was dealing with. This is a statute limited in its authority, geographically considered. Were there some such crystallization of the best public opinion of the world controlling interstate and international news distribution and publication, how much easier it would be to have correct opinions about what has happened and what should happen. One of the most fundamental problems facing society today is the one dealt with in this New York law. There is universal distrust of press associations, newspapers, and publicity agents. This ought not to be.

THE hymnody of the church, like its theology and polity, needs constant revision, and in no respect more than its "classics," which embody the terminology of war, written most of them in eras when Church and State were one and when war was conceived of as a winner of both lands and possible converts. Former President of Harvard, Charles W. Eliot, long ago framed a memorable indictment of this defect in the

hymns used in most American Protestant churches, but being looked upon as a "heretic" by most of the persons he criticized his words had little effect. The vicar of the Anglican Church at Colne, England, by name J. H. Hopkinson, is the son of a former vice-chancellor of the University of Manchester. A lesser ecclesiastic, he need not expect that much heed will be paid to his words, unless they prove to have back of them the support of many of the clergy and laity, which we hope is the case. Nevertheless he rightly says:

"We have learned that war is not a matter of fluttering banners and clashing swords and beating drums, but merely a sickening and dirty butchery of lads in water-logged or fly-infested trenches. We shall be less ready than we were to compare the movement of the church to that of a victorious army. Hymns that we could sing unthinkingly before the war have become a lying blasphemy. Who would now sing 'Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God?'"

DOMINANT TOPICS in German poetry now, according to Charles Victor, writing in the *New York Evening Post* from Berlin, are "pacifism, anti-militarism, democracy, socialism, and humanity." The form used is usually the dramatic and not the lyrical or epic. The novelists are preoccupied with socialism, revolution, and politics. The essays are becoming imaginative and even fantastic. Criticism is becoming constructive and poetic. New publishing houses controlled by "intellectuals" of the younger school are springing up on every hand, as the older houses wane and as older authors, like Sudermann and Hauptmann, show their sterility. The book business today is an Eldorado. Only the rich can afford to eat, in the old-fashioned sense of the word, but everybody reads. Activity of an intellectual sort is unprecedented, albeit feverish. Can the same be said of any of the nations that defeated Germany? Gino Speranza, describing for the same journal conditions in Italy, says that twice as many books are sold in Milan now as were sold prior to the war. Profiteers are going in for antiques and classical literature, politicians for books on economics and sociology, and the common people are reading fiction. To make possible interchange of the European and the American book outputs at present rates of exchange and transmission is calling just now for generosity on the part of our publishers, learned associations, and scientific societies. That they may appreciate their duties in the premises, a distinguished group of our educators, authors, and scientists are urging upon these publishing agencies freest sort of reciprocity without regard for the law of equality of payment. We must give more than we get, say these petitioners. They base their plea on the need of retaining the "international mind."

THE COERCION OF STATES

Self-explanatory Correspondence

"Punishment could not in the nature of things be executed on the States collectively . . . such a Govt. was necessary as could directly operate on individuals, and would punish those only whose guilt required it."—George Mason in the Constitutional Convention, 1787.

—Max Farrand: The Records of the Federal Convention, 1787, Vol. I, pp. 339, 340.

"The practicability of making laws with coercive sanctions for States as political bodies has been exploded on all hands."—James Madison in the Constitutional Convention, 1787, in the session of July 14.

—Max Farrand: The Records of the Federal Convention, 1787, Vol. II, 1911, p. 9.

APRIL 7, 1920.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It is with great regret that I feel myself constrained to resign as a member of the American Peace Society for the following reasons:

The purposes of the Society as expressed in its official organ, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, appears to be consistently opposed to sanctions of any kind for maintaining the peace of the world. It seems to be definitely committed, not only against the present League of Nations, with or without reservations, but also against any other similar organization intended to enforce peace.

While I have always been most tolerant toward opinions and measures in the interest of international peace, even when not coinciding with my own, I feel yours to be a policy *directly opposed* to what I conceive to be the only practical means of accomplishing peace in any measurable time short of the millennium.

I believe that no tribunal will be respected without means for enforcing its decrees. I believe that the nations will not resort to its offices without at least some indirect compulsion upon the States expected to look to the tribunal for the settlement of their disputes.

The United States Supreme Court is often cited as a model for such a tribunal; but what would be its usefulness in the American system without the sanctions provided by the Constitution? The policy of relying upon *moral* force and public opinion, as the spokesman of the American Peace Society recommends, seems so futile as to be, in my judgment, positively dangerous to the entire peace movement.

"A governed world" presupposes the ultimate sanction of force, although force may never be relied upon. "Peace through justice" requires it. Justice has always been represented by the symbol of the scales and the sword. We must assume that justice means something more than abstract or academic justice. In the most

enlightened States, force is seldom used; but this does not rest upon any abstract idea of justice, but upon common respect for the ultimate sanction back of the organs of justice.

For the above reasons, and in view of the fact that the authorized publication of the Society has for a long period been spreading broadcast doctrines directly opposed to these views, I feel it my duty to request that you drop my name from the rolls of your members.

Respectfully yours,

ARTHUR K. KUHN.

APRIL 15, 1920.

ARTHUR K. KUHN, Esq.

DEAR SIR: I wish to thank you for your letter of April 7.

Permit me to suggest that you are in error in thinking that the United States Supreme Court has any sanctions of force in issues joined between States. There is no way to coerce a State except by war.

So far as our conceptions of justice as a basis of international peace is concerned, I may add that that conception is not a conception of abstract justice, but of right and justice expressed in terms of law and equity.

Our conception of the sanction of force is confined to its operation upon individuals only, and does not extend to the operation of force upon States. As you are quite well aware, the Supreme Court of the United States has no power to coerce States of the Union by means of force.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR D. CALL.

APRIL 17, 1920.

ARTHUR D. CALL, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR: 1. This is to acknowledge with thanks your favor of the 15th inst.

2. While my letter did not directly raise the question of the sanctions of force provided by the Constitution in disputes between the States, I gladly join the issue with you now. I am not in error, but you are in error if you believe that the Supreme Court has only power to render declaratory judgments in disputes between States. It has repeatedly pronounced its power to enforce its decrees in such cases by operating directly upon the officials and citizens of the States, by *injunction*, *mandamus*, or *other proper remedy*, in the execution of which the entire forces of the United States Government are at the command of the Supreme Court, if necessary.

3. In substantiation of this view you have only to familiarize yourself with the very recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Virginia vs. West Virginia*

(1917), 246 U. S., 565, wherein the court indicates that it will not hesitate to issue its decrees directly against the officers of one State to enforce a judgment awarded by it in favor of another State. On page 601 the court says:

As the powers to render the judgment and to enforce it arise from the grant in the Constitution on that subject, looked at from a generic point of view, both are federal powers and, comprehensively considered, are sustained by every authority of the Federal Government—judicial, legislative, or executive—which may be appropriately exercised.

4. If you will read this and the earlier decisions of the Supreme Court, you may be induced, perhaps, to modify your view that, in respect of its original jurisdiction of controversies between the States, the Supreme Court has no sanction to execute its decisions other than the same "moral force" and "public opinion" upon which you so implicitly rely for maintaining world peace through an international court of justice unsupported by a League of Nations.

5. It was James Buchanan who said, "The fact is that our Union rests upon public opinion." We now know that, if it had rested upon that alone, there would have been no Union and no Supreme Court.

6. In view of the fact that, as Editor of the organ of the American Peace Society, you have given wide publicity to your views opposed to the League of Nations and the sanction it creates, I respectfully suggest that you publish this correspondence, and thus accord publicity to the opinions of other members of long standing in the Society like myself (and there are many others), who feel that an alignment with the position of Senators Reed, Johnson, and Borah will be hurtful both to the Society and to the entire peace movement.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR K. KUHN.

DEAR MR. KUHN:

By stating thus clearly your views relative to the coercion of States, you make it possible for us to organize our reply—a reply satisfactory to us and, we hope, a reply satisfactory to you and to our other readers. Taking up your points in order, the coercion of States by "injunction, mandamus, or other proper remedy" and the case of Virginia *vs.* West Virginia, we beg leave to remark:

First. We do not believe that there has been any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States enjoining a State official in the performance of his duty under the law of the State, where such law is constitutional. The reason why there has been no such attempt on the part of the United States against an official of a State is due to the fact that such an action would, from

the nature of the case, lie not against the official, but against the State itself; and such an action against a State has always been considered to be quite without warrant.

Where a State official has, however, attempted the execution of an act passed by the State, which act has been held or found to be unconstitutional, the case is, of course, different. It is a fact that there have been many cases in the Supreme Court of the United States in which a State official has been enjoined from the execution of an act of the State held or found to be unconstitutional. Of this class *Ex parte Young* (209 U. S., 123), decided in 1919, is a typical instance. The decision is an illustration of the principle that a State officer attempting to enforce an unconstitutional statute is performing an illegal act for which he is personally responsible. In consequence the supreme authority of the United States can enjoin such a person. But such a proceeding is in no sense an injunction against a State. The decision in this case has not been overruled.

Second. We are unable to find any instance of a Federal court compelling by mandamus the performance by a State official of his duty under the statute. The reason for this, apparently, is that the action by the court in such a case would not be against the official, but against the State itself. The leading case on this point is supposed to be *Kentucky vs. Dennison*, Governor of Ohio (24 Howard, 66), decided in 1860. The theory of mandamus there established has not yet been overruled. Mr. Chief Justice Taney, delivering the opinion of the court, employed these significant words: "But if the Governor of Ohio refuses the discharge of this duty, there is no power delegated to the General Government, either through the judicial department or any other department, to use any coercive means to compel him. And upon this ground the motion for the mandamus must be overruled."

Third. In regard to the case of Virginia *vs.* West Virginia, therefore, it ought not to be necessary to say more than that, no judgment having ever been executed by force against any State of the American Union, such an execution against West Virginia would not be attempted.

But, that the reply to Mr. Kuhn may be adequate and technically exact, we take the liberty to call the attention of those who think as does Mr. Kuhn to an editorial note on this subject appearing in the *Harvard Law Review* of June, 1918, which note, stating the case more adequately than we are capable of stating it, is here reprinted in its entirety:

THE VIRGINIA-WEST VIRGINIA DEBT CONTROVERSY.—The Supreme Court has left open a point of exceptional interest in holding over for reargument the rule requir-

ing West Virginia to show cause why, in default of payment of the judgment in favor of Virginia, an order should not be entered directing the levy of a tax by the legislature, and a motion by West Virginia to dismiss the rule.¹ The decision by the Chief Justice points out that Congress, as required by the Constitution, ratified the agreement by which West Virginia assumed its proportional share of the debt of Virginia, and indicates his opinion that, under the doctrine of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*² Congress has the power to enforce its performance. But, in the absence of congressional action, has the Supreme Court power to mandamus the legislature of West Virginia to levy a tax to pay its obligation? The argument in the affirmative suggested by the court is that the grant to the judicial power of jurisdiction to determine controversies between two or more States must have been an effectual grant, and that the power to pronounce judgment must include the power to enforce the judgment. But such reasoning, though persuasive, is not conclusive. Words have no absolute meaning, but must be interpreted in the Constitution, as elsewhere, in the light of history and policy. Thus the prohibition of involuntary servitude, though absolute in terms, does not prevent compulsory military service.³ The history of the Fourteenth Amendment is an epic of interpretation from the points of view of both history and growth of political theory.⁴

That judicial power should, as a general proposition, include the power to enforce its judgments is obviously necessary to obtain justice from the imperfection of human nature. But jurisdiction has been taken and judgments rendered in a class of cases where the power to enforce them has existed so entirely in theory alone as to raise doubts that it existed at all. In *The Spanish Ambassador vs. Bingley*⁵ it was decided that a foreign sovereign might bring a bill in chancery. *The Colombian Government vs. Rothschild*⁶ held that he must bring it in such a way—by some public officer or otherwise—that justice could be done the defendants in case they chose to bring a cross-bill. In *Hullett vs. King of Spain*⁷ the Spanish Government had deposited money in London which it had received from France to hold in trust for Spanish subjects having claims against the French Government under a treaty. The money was also on deposit as security for performance by Spain of its obligations. The court interpreted the various treaties and decreed payment to the King of Spain. If we may suppose for a moment the intervention of the *cestuis que trust* and the French Government and the necessity of a decree ordering the disposition of the fund according to a view of the treaty which neither France nor Spain could accept, the difficulties of enforcement in anything more than a highly technical sense are clearly

discerned.⁸ The fact is that the courts go, and must go, in these cases on the theory which one of our own judges has expressed, that they cannot presume that a sovereign State will knowingly disobey the judgment of the court and do injustice.⁹ And, though at first blush this appears the thinnest fiction, it would seem to be on a sound basis; for the function of the courts is to determine the rights of the parties; and, though in the common run the coercive power is merely an adjunct to judicial administration, a vast increase in the degree may make a difference in kind and change a question of judicial administration to one of political expediency. It may well become one of those questions which, in the language of the Duke of York's case, is "too high" for the court.¹⁰ Such, under our own Constitution, is the question of the existence of a State government.¹¹ And it may be argued that the decision whether any State government is or is not republican in form is of the same nature and must be made by Congress and not by the court.¹² So also, it would seem, is this question as to what method to pursue to force one of our partially sovereign units to pay a debt due to another. The decision should be made by the representatives of the entire people, and then enforced by all the processes which the court has at its command.

Historically the case for the existence of this power in the court is no better.

The pre-Revolutionary period gives us little help. The jurisdiction of the English courts was extremely narrow, the mass of appeals being decided by the administrative committee of the Privy Council in charge of Plantation Affairs.¹³ Furthermore, the theory was fundamentally different, being that of a sovereign administering dependencies. The Articles of Confederation, however, provided that Congress should be the "last resort on appeal" in cases of disputes between the States.¹⁴ The method of settlement included a notification of the parties to appear, and a direction by Congress that they should appoint judges, "who shall constitute a court for determining the matter." In case of failure to agree, an elaborate system was provided for appointing judges "to hear and finally determine the controversy." The judges were to report their decision to Congress, which entered it among its acts as "security for the parties." In essence the scheme was that in case of controversy Congress should by law create a court to decide the case. The court performed the judicial function. Then Congress enacted the decision to give security to the parties. The enforcement was clearly by legislative process, if enforcement was necessary.

⁸ See also and compare *Nabob of the Carnatic vs. East India Co.*, 1 Vesey, 371, and *Nabob of the Carnatic vs. East India Co.*, 2 Ves., Jr., 56.

⁹ *Massachusetts vs. Rhode Island*, 12 Pet., 657, 750 (1838).

¹⁰ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 375; *Wambaugh's Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1.

¹¹ *Luther vs. Borden*, 7 How., 1 (1849).

¹² *Pacific States Tel. & Tel. Co. vs. Oregon*, 223 U. S., 1 (1911).

¹³ The King's Bench had *jurisdiction* only in cases of *quo warranto*, and Chancery only in cases between Lords Proprietary and private subjects. See *Massachusetts vs. Rhode Island*, 12 Pet., 657, 739 (1838); *Snow, Administration of Dependencies*, chap. V.

¹⁴ Article IX.

¹ *Commonwealth of Virginia vs. State of West Virginia*, 38 Sup. Ct., 400 (1918).

² 4 Wheat., 316 (1819).

³ *Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman vs. United States*, 38 Sup. Ct., 166 (1918).

⁴ Holmes, J., dissenting, in *Lochner vs. New York*, 198 U. S., 45 (1905).

⁵ Hob., 113.

⁶ 1 Sim., 94.

⁷ 2 Bligh (P. C.) (N. S.), 31.

In view of this situation, what power of enforcement is implied in the provision that judicial power shall extend to controversies between two or more States?¹⁵ Formerly in such cases the judicial function had been performed by a court which admittedly had no power to enforce. And we have seen that coercion, even to secure justice, may develop into a purely political matter. In *The Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia*,¹⁶ Chief Justice Marshall said: "That part of the bill which respects the land occupied by the Indians and prays the aid of the court to protect their possession may be more doubtful. The mere question of right might, perhaps, be decided by this court in a proper case, with the proper parties. But the court is asked to do more than decide on the title. The bill requires us to control the legislature of Georgia and restrain its physical force. The propriety of such an interposition by the court may well be questioned. It savors too much of the exercise of political power to be within the province of the judicial department." As bearing on the general belief of the Constitutional Convention as to the coercive power of the judiciary over the States, it is interesting to note that while that department was early given jurisdiction over cases where foreigners were interested in treaties, yet in all drafts up to the final formulation the executive was required to coerce any State which opposed the execution of a treaty.¹⁷

It is also significant that for some time the convention was inclined to reserve disputes between the States in regard to territory and sovereignty, which of all would have seemed the only ones which might need enforcement, for the Senate.¹⁸ And when the broad grant of jurisdiction to the judicial power was finally made we find a contemporary diarist noting that it extended to all controversies of a legal nature between the States.¹⁹ Granting, as we do, that all disputes between units of a federation are justiciable, we may also insist that the coercion of a unit may well be beyond the limitation implied in the words "of a legal nature"; otherwise it would be difficult to explain why so bitter an opponent of Article III as Luther Martin, who also desired that rebellion under State authority should not be treason,²⁰ took no exception to this grant of power.

It would not seem unreasonable, then, to believe that neither the framers of the Constitution nor subsequent judicial expounders considered that the court had this enforcing power over the States in the absence of a direction by Congress. It is clear, both from the history of the case and the language of the opinion, that the court finds weighty considerations of policy against claiming it now. Where both historical authority and long judicial practice can consistently join with sound political policy, it is well gratefully to declare the union.

Thus the fact seems to be that there is no method by which States may be enforced other than by war. The

United States Government can compel individuals. But the government established by the Fathers contemplated no exercise by the Central Government of force upon the States. The plan in 1787 to establish a government with power to coerce a State was proposed, discussed, and eliminated.

The views of the framers of the "more perfect union" of the United States on this question can best be stated in their own language, and they will be so stated without comment.

The sixth resolution of the Virginia plan, which was the basis of the articles of this "more perfect union" which we commonly call the Constitution, vested the proposed national legislature with the right "to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duty under the articles thereof."²¹ The Virginia plan was laid before the Convention on May 29, 1787.

In the session of May 30, to quote Mr. Madison's notes:

Mr. Mason observed that the present confederation was not only deficient in not providing for coercion & punishment agst. delinquent States; but argued very cogently that punishment could not in the nature of things be executed on the States collectively, and therefore that such a Govt. was necessary as could directly operate on individuals, and would punish those only whose guilt required it.²²

In the session of June 20 Mr. Mason said:

It was acknowledged by Mr. Patterson that his plan could not be enforced without military coercion. Does he consider the force of this concession? The most jarring elements of nature; fire & water themselves are not more incompatible than [than] such a mixture of civil liberty and military execution. Will the militia march from one State to another, in order to collect the arrears of taxes from the delinquent members of the Republic? Will they maintain an army for this purpose? Will not the citizens of the invaded State assist one another till they rise as one Man, and shake off the Union altogether. Rebellion is the only case in which the military force of the State can be properly exerted agst. its Citizens.²³

In the session of May 31, as reported by Mr. Madison, "The last clause of resolution 6, authorizing an exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State, came next into consideration." Upon this "Mr. Madison," to quote his exact language:

observed that the more he reflected on the use of force, the more he doubted the practicability, the justice and the efficacy of it when applied to people collectively and not individually. . . . A Union of the States con-

¹⁵ Constitution of United States, Article III, section 2.

¹⁶ 5 Pet., 20 (1831).

¹⁷ Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention*, Vol. I, 245, 247; Vol. II, 157.

¹⁸ Farrand, *supra*, Vol. II, 160, 170, 183, 186.

¹⁹ Farrand, *supra*, Vol. III, 169.

²⁰ Farrand, *supra*, Vol. III, 223.

²¹ Max Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, Vol. I, 1911, p. 21.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²³ Max Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, Vol. I, pp. 339-340.

taining such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force agst. a State, would look more like a declaration of war, than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound. He hoped that such a system would be framed as might render this recourse unnecessary, and moved that the clause be postponed. This motion was agreed to *nem. con.*²⁴

In the session of June 8, 1787, Mr. Madison said:

Could the national resources, if exerted to the utmost enforce a national decree agst. Massts. abetted perhaps by several of her neighbors? It wd. not be possible. A small proportion of the Community in a compact situation, acting on the defensive, and at one of its extremities might at any time bid defiance to the National authority. Any Govt. for the U. States formed on the supposed practicability of using force agst. the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, wd. prove as visionary & fallacious as the Govt. of Congs.²⁵

The question of coercion was again considered in the session of July 14, when Mr. Madison "called for a single instance in which the Genl. Govt. was not to operate on the people individually. The practicability of making laws, with coercive sanctions, for the States as political bodies; had been exploded on all hands."²⁶

In a letter to Thomas Jefferson, after the adjournment of the Convention, under date of October 24, 1787, Mr. Madison said:

A *voluntary* observance of the federal law by all the members could never be hoped for. A *compulsive* one could evidently never be reduced to practice, and if it could, involved equal calamities to the innocent & the guilty, the necessity of a military force both obnoxious & dangerous, and in general a scene resembling much more a civil war than the administration of a regular Government.

Hence was embraced the alternative of a Government which instead of operating, on the States, should operate without their intervention on the individuals composing them; and hence the change in the principle and proportion of representation.²⁷

On June 18, 1787, Alexander Hamilton, known to his colleagues in the Convention as "Colonel" Hamilton, spoke of "great and essential principles," among which he enumerated force, and of which he said:

Force by which may be understood a *coercion of laws or coercion of arms*. Congs. have not the former except in few cases. In particular States, this coercion is nearly sufficient; tho' he held it in most cases, not entirely so. A certain portion of military force is absolutely necessary in large communities. Massts. is now feeling this

²⁴ Max Farrand, The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, Vol. I, 1911, p. 54.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

²⁶ Max Farrand, The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, Vol. II, 1911, p. 9.

²⁷ Gallard Hunt, Writings of James Madison, Vol. V, 1904, p. 19.

necessity & making provision for it. But how can this force be exerted on the States collectively. It is impossible. It amounts to a war between the parties. Foreign powers also will not be idle spectators. They will interpose, the confusion will increase, and a dissolution of the Union ensue.²⁸

In "The Federalist," published in 1788, recurring to the same subject, Hamilton wrote:

Whoever considers the populousness and strength of several of these States singly at the present juncture, and looks forward to what they will become, even at the distance of half a century, will at once dismiss as idle and visionary any scheme which aims at regulating their movements by laws to operate upon them in their collective capacities, and to be executed by a coercion applicable to them in the same capacities. A project of this kind is little less romantic than the monster-taming spirit which is attributed to the fabulous heroes and demi-gods of antiquity.

Even in those confederacies which have been composed of members smaller than many of our counties, the principle of legislation for sovereign States, supported by military coercion, has never been found effectual. It has rarely been attempted to be employed but against the weaker members; and in most instances attempts to coerce the refractory and disobedient have been the signals of bloody wars, in which one half of the confederacy has displayed its banners against the other half.²⁹

And in the New York Convention, advocating the ratification of the Constitution, he restated his views expressed in the Constitutional Convention itself, and in "The Federalist," thus:

It has been observed, to coerce the states is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. A failure of compliance will never be confined to a single state. This being the case, can we suppose it wise to hazard a civil war? . . .

But can we believe that one state will ever suffer itself to be used as an instrument of coercion? The thing is a dream, it is impossible.³⁰

Finally, lest this enumeration of the views of the fathers become tiresome to you, the opinion of Oliver Ellsworth, a member of the Federal Convention, and who as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States achieved no little distinction in the profession of law, expressed himself on this subject in the Convention of Connecticut for the ratification of the Constitution:

This Constitution defines the extent of the powers of the general government. If the general legislature should at any time overlap their limits, the judicial department is a constitutional check. If the United States go beyond their powers, if they make a law which the Constitution does not authorize, it is void; and the judi-

²⁸ Max Farrand, The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, Vol. I, pp. 284-285.

²⁹ Paul Leicester Ford, "The Federalist," 1898, pp. 99-100.

³⁰ Jonathan Elliot, The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, Vol. II, 1891, pp. 232-233.

cial power, the national judges, who to secure their impartiality, are to be made independent, will declare it to be void. On the other hand, if the states go beyond their limits, if they make a law which is a usurpation upon the federal government the law is void; and upright, independent judges will declare it to be so. Still, however, if the United States and the individual states will quarrel, if they want to fight, they may do it, and no frame of government can possibly prevent it. . . .

Hence we see how necessary for the Union is a coercive principle. No man pretends the contrary; we all see and feel this necessity. The only question is, Shall it be a coercion of law, or a coercion of arms? There is no other possible alternative. Where will those who oppose a coercion of law come out? Where will they end? A necessary consequence of their principles is a war of the states one against the other. I am for coercion by law—that coercion which acts only upon delinquent individuals. This Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies, states, in their political capacity. No coercion is applicable to such bodies, but that of an armed force. If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent state, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and guilty, in the same calamity.

But this legal coercion singles out the guilty individual, and punishes him for breaking the laws of the Union. All men will see the reasonableness of this; they will acquiesce, and say, Let the guilty suffer.³¹

But it is unnecessary to consider the matter further, inasmuch as without coercion by force of any kind, West Virginia has already satisfied the judgment rendered against it by the Supreme Court in favor of Virginia. At the request of Virginia, all proceedings pending in the Supreme Court, including the question of coercion, have been dismissed.

Should we, however, be wrong in our views about *injunction* and *mandamus*, it would not militate against the views we have expressed in the matter of *coercing* a State. In our letter of April 15th, to which you replied, we said:

Our conception of the sanction of force is confined to its operation upon individuals only, and does not extend to the operation of force upon States.

If, therefore, States can be controlled by writs of *injunction* and *mandamus* upon their officers, it would be an illustration of the action of force upon individuals, not upon States, as, in the views of the Fathers, force can only be used against individuals, not against States.

Perhaps Messrs. Mason, Madison, Hamilton, and Ellsworth are wrong; but, as Lord Byron has said in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," "Better to err with Pope than shine with Pye."

Yours truly,

ARTHUR D. CALL.

³¹ Max Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, Vol. III, 1911, pp. 240-241.

THE DEGENERATION OF BOLSHEVISM

By PROFESSOR S. A. KORFF

THE most hopeful sign of the present day in the Russian question is the rapid degeneration of Bolshevism as a system of government. The outside world knows sufficiently about the way Lenin came into power in November, 1917; there were three main reasons for his remarkable success at that time: First, the disintegration of Kerensky's administration and great discontent of the masses of the people with the existing conditions of government, which did not satisfy anybody; secondly, the energy and power of will which characterized the Bolsheviki, especially when compared to the disillusioned and disappointed ruling classes and intelligentsia, whom the Bolsheviki ousted from power; thirdly, and mainly, the fact that the Bolshevik group knew what they wanted and had a definite program, which appealed strongly to many social classes of the Russian people; in this last respect one may remember the apparent success of their cleverly chosen slogans, *land, food, and peace*. None of them came true; none of them could ever come true; the Bolshevik leaders knew that better than any one else, but that did not make any difference, as long as such promises could fool the people and bring Lenin the necessary support of the masses.

Lenin came into power bringing with him a very clearly worked out program and plan of government, and repeatedly said that he wanted to experiment on the Russian people, as to how his main ideal—*i. e.*, Communism—would work in practice. His other principles were only the further development and adaptation of Communism as their fundamental basis. Thus the Bolsheviki proclaimed the nationalization of industry and commerce, did away with the banks, abolished land property, telling the peasants they could seize all the land they wanted, severed their relations with the western bourgeois governments, and proclaimed a merciless civil war, directed against the former ruling classes, especially the bourgeoisie, their most dangerous enemies and opponents. The latter did not want to die and naturally fought the Bolshevik Government by all sorts of means, particularly by clever "sabotage" of the administration; hence reprisals of the Bolsheviki, which soon turned into a system of bloody murder, persecutions, and abuse never surpassed by any previous régime, Tsarism included. All who were against Bolshevism were mercilessly eliminated and any resistance broken down without hesitation. That the Bolsheviki themselves were a small minority of the people never hampered them in the least; they openly stood for the reign of the minority and against the idea of majority rule as an antiquated bourgeois institution.

The Bolsheviki cleared the field of action very soon because of their great energy and lack of scruples; no more impediments seemed to exist, and yet as early as in 1918 Lenin had to confess that his experiment did not bring him the expected satisfaction and desired results. He said Russia was not ready for his system; she was too uneducated, too immature; socially and economically too loosely organized. For this reason he began to stake his hopes on a world revolution which

would bring salvation from the west and realize his ideals in other countries more civilized and better prepared for Communism. The near future will bring him, however, new disappointments when he begins to realize that the western countries will also not follow the path his program outlines for them.

Meanwhile, in Russia, Bolshevism as a system of government is rapidly degenerating. We see the signs of such a degeneration in the following facts: It appears most clearly in the absolute failure of the nationalization of land, industry, and commerce. The peasants in 1917-1918 were backing Lenin because he promised them the land they needed so very badly; but when after they had seized it, incidentally murdering the landowners and burning their manors, the Bolsheviki told them that the land was the property of the Commune, the village, and even the State. But now their own bitter disappointment set in and the peasants, as a class, turned away from Bolshevism; in other words, Communism failed, because the peasants wanted private-land ownership at all costs.

Industry Breaks Down

Similar disappointments awaited the industrial factory workers, after the Russian industry had been ruthlessly nationalized. The factory workmen soon found out that they could not work without the help of educated engineers; the Bolsheviki had to bring the latter back and pay them enormous salaries never dreamed of before. But at the present day even the owners are called back in many cases, because the return of the engineers proved to be insufficient; the industry had to be provided with raw materials, with credits, capital, complicated bookkeeping, interrelations, appreciation of market needs and values, etc.; in other words, with the whole sensitive and intricate system of the old "despised bourgeois" industry. In every respect and in the slightest details do the Bolsheviki thus come back to the industrial methods of the old régime because their nationalization plan did not work in practice. The Bolshevik régime created a dull system of centralization, which is nothing else than a government syndicalism; each branch of industry (production, as well as distribution) is regulated by a central board (about sixty in all), which latter are in their turn merged into the Supreme Council of National Economy; this created a new bureaucracy and such an amount of red tape that all the shortcomings of the Tsar's régime fade in comparison. The workmen's committees have either disappeared or fizzled out and are everywhere replaced by individual managers, who run the plants and factories in the good old way. However, before this reversion has been achieved immense harm was done to the Russian industry, which in many branches is ruined to such an extent that it will take a decade before normal conditions can once more be established.

If such were the impediments for the nationalization of industry, much greater ones existed in the commercial field. Here one can say that the Bolsheviki never succeeded in establishing even a shadow of nationalization except for the closing of the banks; commerce is much too individualistic and depends entirely on private initiative. As to the banks, one must note, first, that not all banks were abolished, the Moscow Peoples Bank

having escaped for a long while, as well as the State Bank, which also worked on the old lines of business. What little commerce there is left at present, mostly barter, is conducted certainly in the usual way and not through Bolshevik methods. The same must be said about the railroads; the Bolshevik system did not work in this case either, and at present they had to abolish their soviets or committees and are running the railroads in the old bourgeois way. Krassin, the strong man of Lenin, when he undertook to be the Minister (or "Commissar") of Railways and Industry, made it the one condition of accepting office to abolish at once all the committees of railroads and industry and revert to the previous system of management; and it is just on account of this fact of going back to the old methods that he did succeed in restoring some order in his department. He did the same thing in the Ukraina at the time the Bolsheviki held those provinces; at the head of the local factories he put managers, most of whom were Germans.

Labor Armies

The same thing must be said about the Bolshevik Red army. The former principles of Bolshevik organization, with all its committees, have quite disappeared and are replaced by iron discipline, the Tsar's general staff, former generals and colonels, just as in the times of the "ancien régime." Perhaps there might even be found signs of fear of this new Red army among the more farsighted Bolshevik leaders, as there is no place for Socialism or Communism in such an army.

Already during the first months of Lenin's rule do we find the appearance of the most pernicious consequence of Bolshevism, namely, gradual decrease of *production*. We firmly believe that the stopping of production is the main cause of the decay of Bolshevism, and the best proof of how little a system of Communism is able to work out in practice; where there is no production there always begins a slow process of decay; the social body turns into a corpse that has to disintegrate sooner or later. The Bolsheviki themselves know this very well. Their Finance Minister, Krestinsky, for example, states that "in food production, in communications, in raw-material output, and in manufacturing industry Russia is so completely exhausted that one may say that she has nothing left except a dwindling stock of uncut forests and vast fields of minerals, which have only potential value, and the dilapidated shells of several score million dwellings." Just the same is true of the Bolsheviki about agriculture, which is also ruined. The output having declined over 50 per cent, I don't think that one can find a better proof of the utter degeneration of the economic side of Bolshevism, of which its theorists were formerly most proud.

But parallel to this decay we see that the social conditions have also developed in the same direction; instead of a millenium of Communism and general brotherhood we find a steady growth of a new bourgeoisie and aristocracy, recruited at present from two sources: On one hand there is the Bolshevik bureaucracy and hierarchy, living an easy life among the suffering population, and on the other a whole numerous class of speculators and profiteers who became immensely rich, while their brethren are starving and dying; in other words,

as Lincoln Eyre rightly says in his articles just published by the *New York World*: "Capital still accumulates in the good old way and is in no way abolished or replaced by Communism, and there is at present in Bolshevik Russia a *lesser measure of Communism* in actual practice than there existed in the belligerent European countries during the war years."

This is a shining instance of how little Bolshevism or Communism (which is one and the same thing, according to Lenin himself) can work in practice, and how they are necessarily degenerating if applied as a system of government.

Meanwhile, unfortunately, Russia is totally ruined; the two years of Bolshevism have succeeded in one way—in practically wiping out the whole former wealth of the country and in destroying the accumulations of centuries of the previous generations, who were slowly building up the Russian culture and civilization. Lenin's experiment costs Russia untold suffering, economic ruin for a whole decade at least, the moral and political downfall and the consequent danger of foreign selfish exploitation and serfdom.

A New Bureaucracy

The Bolshevik administration has created a vast net of bureaucratic offices all over the country, and their overwhelming majority is filled at present by the former officials of the Empire and by camouflaged bourgeois, who certainly only wait for a chance of overthrow of the government in order to go back to the old order of things. The Bolshevik Commissars, and especially the central Bolshevik Government, with Lenin at their head, are entirely cut off from the people, most carefully guarded by a complicated system of sentinels, hiding, just as the Tsar and his family had to hide in the depth of Moscow palaces, never seen by the public at large and never daring to show themselves otherwise than at specially packed meetings of Bolshevik supporters. As in many other ways this picture of the private life of Lenin's ministers resembles so very much the last decades of the reign of Nicholas II, only that everything is much more exaggerated at the present day and distorted into hideous caricatures.

Thus we can see that the Bolshevik Government has no support of the people whatever; it has no roots in the social body of the nation because it is a pure form of autocracy, developed *ad absurdum* and verging on hooliganism. If it is true, however, that Bolshevism degenerates one could easily wonder if Lenin would not be able to adapt himself to the new conditions and change his methods of government to more civilized administration. Many Americans of the radical camp are staking all their hopes on such a transformation of Bolshevism. This, unfortunately, is a sad illusion. Just as the Tsar could not have changed his way of governing the country, notwithstanding the repeated warnings that were coming to him from so many quarters, the Bolsheviks cannot change theirs, even if they wished to do it.

From the above examples, we see that in no field does Bolshevism work in practice; its basic theory is absolutely wrong and cannot be adapted to life as a whole, nor even only in part. Here, again, we can find an interesting example in the history of Russia's last Tsarist decade. Autocracy did not work at that time; it was

clear to many people that its end was near, and though there were attempts to modernize the system of government, they were all insincere, half-hearted, and thus unsuccessful. When an unlivable basic principle of government is being patched up and mended, there always comes a moment when such a system unexpectedly snaps and goes to pieces. The same happens with Bolshevism; it is being mended and remodeled in parts, because it did not work in practice; old remedies are brought forth and Tsarist methods recurred to, but all in vain. The day must unavoidably come when the whole structure will break down and the backbone of Bolshevism will suddenly snap. Life is mercilessly undermining its very foundations.

This gives us the absolute assurance that sooner or later (and probably sooner than later) Bolshevism has to collapse; one fine day the Bolshevik Government will fall, just as suddenly as the Tsarist Government did, and will have to be replaced by a democratic government, which will mind the will of the people and will represent the nation at large.

It is the unavoidable doom of all autocracies, ever was so and always will remain so; they perish because their power is built only on force and outward coercion. The day invariably comes when force no more helps, and as no democratic support of the people is then forthcoming the autocratic government has necessarily to collapse; and before the final collapse there always exists a slow but terrible process of decay and degeneration, costing the people indescribable suffering as long as the dying régime still hopelessly clings to power. It is just that sad period of degeneration of the Bolshevik régime that Russia is living through at present.

Let us hope that it is the last stage of her misery and that the day of her salvation is not far off.

As to the Allies' Russian policy, I think R. C. Long put it in a nutshell, when he wrote:

"America and the Allies have blundered. They might have recognized Bolshevism as a permanent evil and tried to make the best of it, or they might have resolutely overthrown Bolshevism and established a civilized government, which would have proved their friend. Instead they chose to irritate the Bolsheviks without weakening them and to disappoint and disillusion all anti-Bolsheviks. Every one informed in Russian affairs knows that this is so. The most anti-Bolshevik newspaper in the Russian language reported with perfect truth that the attitude of Russia is viciously against the Allies and indifferent toward Germany."

We believe that most Russians will corroborate this frightfully pessimistic statement. The situation is full of dangers for the future.

THE GOSPEL OF GOOD-WILL

By OSWALD F. SCHUETTE

PEACE cannot live in the world today. It makes no difference what covenants are made or what treaties are ratified or rejected. In a world filled with hatred there can be only a truce. The armistice may last for years, but it will end in war.

You cannot cook without heat. A Kansas legislature cannot stop cyclones with resolutions. Even Luther

Burbank cannot make oranges grow in Alaska. And all the machinery in the world—treaties, covenants, Hague conferences, leagues, mandates, societies, joint resolutions, and what not—cannot make peace or keep it alive in a world of hate.

There is only one recipe for peace. The Christmas angels sang it over the plains of Judea twenty centuries ago:

“Peace on earth to men of good-will.”

We have tried every method but that. We have tried fire and sword, famine and pestilence, hate and destruction, threats and boycotts, agreements and promises, leagues and laws—and all have failed.

Now we have been at work for eighteen months trying to make peace out of the ruins left by the great World War. Eighteen months ago the cannon stopped their thundering. Mars sheathed his sword. The armies of the world were demobilized. But hunger, misery, hatred, and anarchy are still mobilized and Death's harvest in this “peace” is as great as the casualty lists of war.

What a sterile statesmanship it is that cannot bring order out of this chaos. Yet it is only another symptom of this political bankruptcy that our own nation cannot decide whether we are at war or at peace. This fantastic policy which finds it impossible to even declare the formal existence of a state of peace or the cessation of a state of war merely demonstrates anew how unimportant these words are anyhow.

Yet statesmen and politicians go on juggling with the two words, “war” and “peace,” as though the exercise of their vocabularies could sway the balance of the world.

When the legerdemain of words failed, they tried the juggling of boundary lines. They tried “economic measures”; they squabbled over colonies and concessions; they discussed glibly about mandates and protectorates. But still there was no peace. Nor is peace nearer today than it was eighteen months ago.

But one thing can be written. The next war is nearer than it was eighteen months ago. Elaborate plans to fight it, new Hague conferences to provide machinery for escaping it, are all doomed in advance because the primal requisite of peace is still ignored.

That primal requisite is good-will.

Without good-will among men there can be no peace. Without good-will every plan to prevent war only makes war more certain. Without good-will among men, among tribes, among races, among nations, no peace can live. No fiat, no resolution, no machinery can take the place of this good-will. All the skill of all the chefs in the world cannot cook without heat.

Yet in all the eighteen months of peace parleys and peace proposals there has hardly been a whisper of good-will. Even statesmen who have clamored loudest for attention for their peace proposals have been most insistent in the propagation of the gospel of hate. They have taken pains to plant the seeds of hatred in every heart that was wounded by the war—and they have succeeded.

What can you expect from the bruised and crushed nations of Europe when in our own land, untouched by want, we still intone new hymns of hate as though they were necessary to keep us in proper spirit for our professed leadership in the procession for peace?

What can you say when an official of one of the largest religious denominations in the United States (the Board of Prohibition, Temperance, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church) issues a public announcement under the headline:

“Shall the Hun Come Back?”

We must take the Hun out of the headline before you can even talk about a lasting peace. It may seem a little thing. But it is the important thing. It is the symptom that reveals our true condition; for world peace is like health. It is not something to be gained by chopping off a man's leg or sending him to jail. These symptoms of hatred mean war. They mean that we, as well as the world, are not fit for peace. And we will not have peace until we are.

Fifty-five years ago our own Civil War came to an end. We, too, had traveled the dark and bloody road of hate for four long, bitter years. We suffered from 1861 to 1865 as Europe suffered from 1914 to 1918. Because it was a civil war, a war of brothers, the conflict was marked with bitterness and hatred such as the European wars before its time had never known. There are thousands of men alive today who remember personally the campaign of hatred that was waged on both sides of the battle lines. In the South there was no story too atrocious to find belief about the money-grabbing Yankees or about Abraham Lincoln. In the North the worst tales were believed about the South, and Jeff Davis was a synonym for the worst in man.

Had that war ended in hate as the world war ended there would be no United States today. Had the North been represented at Appomattox by a statesman of hatred instead of the stern soldier, Grant, who said “Let us have peace,” history would have told a different story. Instead of sending the Confederate soldiers to their homes with their horses, to forgive and to forget, he would have sent them back to starve and hate. Even the death of President Lincoln may have played a bigger part than we can ever know in cementing anew the broken ties of brotherhood between the North and South; for he died almost with those eternal words upon his lips:

“With malice toward none.”

As a sorrowing nation gathered about his bier, they could still hear the echo of his last admonition:

“Let us bind up the nation's wounds.”

And they did bind them up, not in hatred, not in bitterness nor a wild clamor for revenge or retribution, but in good-will.

The world must learn the lesson of Appomattox. The world must learn that without forgiveness there can be no peace. It took the world twenty centuries to learn what it meant to pray:

“Give us this day our daily bread.”

Now we must go one sentence further:

“Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who trespass against us.”

If we cannot do that, all our protestations about peace are hypocrisy; all our prayers for peace are blasphemy.

And Mr. Schuette and Immanuel Kant are both right. Good-will is the only jewel that shines by its own light.—THE EDITOR.

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

VIII

The Aspirations of Democracy Within
the State

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

THE STATE

Instinctive Affection for the State

WORSHIP of the State is no better illustrated in history than by Plato's picture of Socrates resisting the entreaties of Crito to escape from the execution unjustly decreed by the State, and to make the escape good before the arrival of the ship from Delos, when any escape would be impossible. That picture of the patient Socrates, refusing, as Professor Jowett says, "to do the least evil in order to avoid the greatest," clinging simply but firmly, even on the dark margin of death, to principles he taught in his life, is an inspiring vision of the good citizen paying his last full measure of devotion to the State which he loved.

The searching argument which Socrates opposed against the plausible reasons of Crito arouse our deepest feeling. After pointing out to his aged and anxious friend that, whatever we may have suffered from another, we ought never to render evil for evil; that we should never betray the right, Socrates goes on to show with a gripping tenderness that it had been the State which had enabled his father and mother to beget him; that it is the State which had nurtured and educated him; and that, therefore, he is the child and slave of the State, as his fathers were before him. "When we are punished by her," he said, "the punishment is to be endured in silence." He who disobeys the laws of the State is thrice wrong: First, because in disobeying them he is disobeying his parents; secondly, because the laws are the author of his education; thirdly, because he has an agreement with the laws that he will duly obey them. The laws of the State speak to him these words:

"Listen, then, Socrates, to us who have brought you up. Think not of life and children first, and of justice afterwards, but of justice first, that you may be justified before the princes of the world below; for neither will you nor any that belong to you be happier or holier or juster in this life, or happier in another, if you do as Crito bids. Now you depart in innocence, a sufferer and not a doer of evil; a victim, not of the laws, but of men. But if you go forth, returning evil for evil, and injury for injury, breaking the covenants and agreements which you have made with us, and wronging those whom you ought least to wrong—that is to say, yourself, your friends, your country, and us—we shall be angry with you while you live, and our brethren, the laws in the world below, will receive you as an enemy; for they will know that you have done your best to destroy us. Listen, then, to us and not to Crito.

"This is the voice which I seem to hear murmuring in my ears, like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic; that voice, I say, is humming in my ears, and prevents me from hearing any other. And I know that anything more

which you may say will be vain. Yet speak, if you have anything to say.

"CRITO: I have nothing to say, Socrates.

"SOCRATES: Then let me follow the intimations of the will of God."

Thus Socrates interprets that in us which worships the State, and which counts it a high privilege to die for it.

Defined

And the State is an outstanding fact of our experience. Many have tried to define it. It is conceived to be the coercive aspect of society; a community of persons within definable limits of territory, under a permanent government, and aiming to establish justice by self-imposed laws. It is that the organized forces of which we call government. It is a group of human beings organized under a government independent of other governments and occupying a territory of its own. It is that the function of which is to organize and protect the best good of the people within the main group. While it includes the judiciary, the legislature, and the administration, it transcends these and involves the very morality and genius of political organization, ever new and ever changing. Of such is the State.

It's Beginnings

The story of its rise is a romance and a mystery. Water, soil, climate, thirst for adventure, the pioneer spirit, religion, have played their part. Family, hunting group, class, tribe, these enter into the bases of our institutions of property, warrior class, church, and hence of the State. Out of a savagery where the use of tools and fire were unknown, we can dimly discern the rise of an age of rude stone implements, then of an age of polished stone tools, then bronze, and finally iron. The gradual domestication of animals, tillings in the fields, scratches in play on the surface of bone or stone—these reveal the beginnings of trade and of the graphic arts. The rise of fixed settlements, probably during the age of polished stone tools, gave birth to various intercommunications for self-protection, spinning thus other strands of the many States of the long-after time. Homage to the chief may well have been man's first reverence, the genesis of his tribal gods, the beginnings of his religions. Thus arose a common yearning and a common belief, ending in a common worship, at first of special tribal gods, which we know definitely gave rise to the earliest city States of old Europe, quite as the Olympian games in honor of Zeus and the tribal worship at the feet of the virgin goddess Athena merged into the substructures of immortal Greece. We must believe that Sir J. R. Seeley was undoubtedly correct when he said: "The greatest function of religion has been the founding and nurture of States."

Militarism, too, has played its part. The earliest monuments indicate that warfare was a highly developed art in the earliest known of days. Comte argued that it was the polytheism of the ancients which gave rise to militarism, which in turn aided immeasurably in the early organization of States. This was particularly true of the vast Asiatic States—Chaldea, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia.

With the rise of monotheism the spiritual ambitions

of men tended to converge on the church, while their more temporal necessities began the evolution of industries, roads, ships, credits, rivalries, separations, integrations, States. Greed, sex, hunger, fear; men such as Menu, Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, Alfred, Charlemagne—all entered also into the making and developing of States. But in the main, States have been outgrowths of humanity itself, largely unconscious and occult. As Plato says in *The Laws*, the State is the result of "infinite time."

Thus it is possible to define the State with some clearness, and to trace with no little certainty its beginnings in the needs of men, in their desire for self-protection, in their desire for a common worship, in their community of interests.

Equilibrium of Forces

The successful State is an equilibrium of various antagonizing forces. As the stars in their courses are saved from disaster by an equilibration of infinite gravitations and opposing centrifugal thrusts, so States survive as long, and only as long, as they are able to avoid the preponderance of that individualism, that freedom in the nation's parts, which ever tends toward anarchy on the one hand, and that centralization of power which ever tends to beget tyranny on the other. A successful State is thus an outgrowth of a subtle, social law, of a correlation of forces under which government and individuals by a more or less united effort advance the social purpose. The more perfect the balance between the power of the central government and the freedom of the parts in the life of the State, the more successful the State.

State is Necessary

Because of the chaos and sorrow following the world war, men need to remind themselves that the State is a very necessary thing. It is not only impressive, it is indispensable. As that prince of teachers, E. Benjamin Andrews, taught us boys, "A very poor government is an infinite blessing compared with anarchy." The State represents within itself the sum of a myriad of forces working together in the main for the good of man. It is not a necessary evil, as some claim to believe; rather it is, as Aristotle held, "a necessary good." The State stands above class differences, itself a unity, arising, as Socrates says in *The Republic*, out of the very needs of mankind. It is the best expression we have of a one people and a one voice. Because of the war, the aspirations of democracy are keener than ever that the State shall, as never before, promote the health and life and happiness of the people. Thus the State, readapted to the evolving needs, is more necessary than ever.

DECLINE OF STATES

Yet States have declined and passed away. The glory that was Egypt and Rome is gone. With the passing of Pericles, Athens fell. Greece and Rome were republics. They are no more. It must be confessed that there are forces making for the destruction of the American State, anarchical forces, expressing themselves in various ways. In time of war the State itself becomes a tyrant and an international anarchist, for then constitutional government ceases; men are driven

like dumb cattle under the lash, by a great expediency, while international laws are put at naught. In time of peace the individuals tend toward anarchy—some toward the anarchy of idleness and listlessness, declining public service, neglecting politics. Full of sporadic zeal in time of war, they forget that peace demands its heroisms no less renowned than war. A most serious anarchist in a democracy is the man who should and does not interest himself constructively in the solution of problems relating to the general good.

Destroying Forces

To this class of anarchists belong the extremists, be they extreme conservatives or extreme radicals. The conservative who decries efforts at social reform, who reveals no interest in the evolution of the State, who sees nothing brighter in the future than has been in the past or than now is, who sets himself against every effort to correct an ill or to shed new light in this or that darkness, makes for the dissolution of the State. He may perform a service by insisting that we prove all things, that we hold fast to that which is good; but he is a skeptic, for the most part a mess of sand in the bearings. Therefore he is an anarchist.

There is the sour anarchist—tied exclusively to his own fraternity, nation, creed. He makes no distinction between his party and its members. He worships his own rights and despises all others. He is a pedant and a bigot. His intolerance leads him to look upon those differing from him as barbarians merely. Just now he professes great fear because some of his cherished prejudices are openly challenged. He sees red. Fearing sedition, he himself becomes seditious, thereby spreading sedition. Severing the ties which bind humanity together, he is an anarchist.

There is the slandering anarchist, whose wisdom is limited to the criticism of others. Being essentially mean, he suspects nothing of others but meanness. The criticism of the United States Senate during the recent debate over the so-called League of Nations is a case in point. As a matter of fact, the members of Congress and of the Senate represent the picked of our political society. For the most part they are hard-working men, rendering to the State incalculable service. Their critics are in large measure persons who offer nothing but speech to the reform of abuses which they themselves think they behold. Inactive, cowardly, purely selfish, such critics are an injury to the State, and by so far they are anarchists.

There is the venal anarchist. He seeks public office for its spoils, for what he can get out of it. He is corrupt. He would sell guns and munitions of war to the enemy. His service is for the most part lip service. If an employee of the State, he does no more than is absolutely necessary. He is not interested in supporting the government, but in his hope that the government shall support him. He is of all anarchists the most self-confessed and despicable.

A cancer eating at the vitals of the State is anarchy. There is the anarchist blind to the new occasions teaching their new duties, blind and servile follower after creeds of dead yesterdays, unmindful of Emerson's teaching: "We live in a new and exceptional age. America is another word for opportunity. Our whole

history appears like a last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race; and a literal slavish following of precedents, as by a justice of the peace, is not for those who at this hour lead the destinies of the people." Lawlessness and all disregard for government, here among laborers, there among capitalists, add their quota of anarchists. Self-seeking persons aiming to establish a government by special interests, public servants aiming to conceal the real and genuine purpose of the government, liars, cheats, and mere self-seekers everywhere, they are anarchists.

The war, after the manner of wars, has increased the spirit of anarchy across the world. Mr. Sisley Huddleston writing out of Paris, in the May number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, says: "Those who speak of the heroic virtues which are born on the battlefield, which spring, like the Phoenix, out of the ashes of war, are uttering the most stupid claptrap. The dominion of darkness has spread over Europe, and a slimy progeny of cruelty, of bestiality, of insensibility, of egoism, of violence, of materiality, has crawled into the light of day—a noisome brood, of which it will be long before we can dispossess ourselves." Mr. Huddleston undoubtedly speaks truly. Because of the war there is an increased cynical disregard of suffering; a morass of moral chaos; a let-down of the restraints of custom and respectability; a prevailing depression; a weakened vitality; a savage return to crimes of violence; a waning of generous impulses; a lessening of conscientiousness; a disregard of the rights of property, of the sanctity of women, of the sanctions of religion. We are in the midst of a gruesome dance, a wild merry-making in a ghastly charnel-house. The greed for amusements and display, for riches without work; the break-down of family ties; the failure to produce; the hopeless, helpless incompetence of it all; the wild egoism—these things reveal civilization suffering an attack of Saint Vitus dance—yes, worse—"a basket of serpents each struggling to get its head above the rest." Thus anarchy threatens the State.

Too few of us sense the heroisms of men struggling with the problems of riches and poverty, of crime and disease. Too few acclaim the heroic task, quietly performed in home and mart, daily, unassumingly, patiently, honestly. Too few young men and women of means and leisure are studying the problems of democracy and helping in their solution. Too few of the sons and daughters of wealth are teaching to their peers the duties confronting them. Too few go forth to political service with an evangelical spirit, entering public life trained and determined to make it fairer and more efficient. Too few stand willing to compete with wickedness for place and power in the capital interests of men. Too few hear, as did the youthful Buddha:

"Oh, thou that art to save, thine hour is nigh,
The sad world waiteth in its misery.
The blind world stumbleth on its round of pain;
Rise, Maya's Son, wake, slumber not again!"

YET THE ASPIRATIONS OF DEMOCRACY SURVIVE

Servants of the State

Thus there are forces and tendencies making for the destruction of the State. These forces and tendencies are more pronounced because of the war. Yet the State

is not destroyed. Hope for the world is not dead. Men, good men and true, there still are. Banks and other financial bodies, hospitals and infirmaries, libraries, boards of education, organizations for the promotion of charities and corrections, boards of health, various public commissioners, common councils, committees, directors of church, fraternity and other interests—such men and women are still with us, their colossal and unremunerated tasks continuing, and largely out of a genuine devotion to the public good. Then there are paid officials performing their duty, spending themselves for the benefit of the State, without whom the State could not endure. Good citizens do accept public office and work in it as they should.

I believe that there is a finer ethics among members of Congress today than ever before in the history of that body. In our educational institutions there are young men, intelligent young men, training themselves in the history and habits of service, young men afire with the flame of true patriotism, concerned for the public good. Probably never before in history have public questions been studied with the thoroughness familiar to us. As never before, men are concerned to base their judgment upon facts definitely ascertained. These things are not lost upon Congress.

The New Legislation

If we are in the Stone Age of the life of nations, and that seems to be the case, there is an intelligent demand that we rise above and out of it. We are beginning to be concerned with a new kind of legislation. Mr. Lester F. Ward, destined to be appreciated increasingly, has shown us the way. As he said: "The essence of telic action consists at bottom in making natural forces do the desired work instead of doing it ourselves." Since the desires and passions of men are real and constant forces, they cannot be left out of the account. They must be utilized. To quote again: "Society is ever spending vast energies and incalculable treasure in trying to check and curb these forces without receiving any benefit from them in return. The greater part of this could be saved, and a much larger amount transferred to the other side of the account." There never has been a greater need for adding to the social well-being than now. Legislation differing from the familiar laws of "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not;" legislation which shall reveal the nature of what Locky called "enlightened self-interest;" legislation which shall attract men from the evil to the good; this is the legislation of the future. And men are coming to realize it. The teaching of Samuel J. Tilden, popularized by Grover Cleveland, that public office is a public trust, is more generally believed and followed than at any other time in our history. The classifying of experience and the adaptation of it to the exigencies in the life of the State is going on. Positive legislation will play an increasing part.

True Patriotism

The war reveals throughout our land a sweet, deep reverence for the State, a passion to serve it. We know that that reverence is there. It is not as noisy as it used to be on our recurring Fourth of July, ridiculous and unaccountable. It is not as blatant and self-conscious as formerly; but it is there. While the war showed it

to us, it is not at its best in the waste and wanton hell of carnage. It is in him who honestly reveals the full amount of his taxable property. It is in him who accepts the principle that religious and patriotic duty are one and the same. It is in him who strives consistently to live according to Bishop Berkeley's teaching, that "where the heart is right, there is true patriotism," and with Virgil's doctrine, that "the noblest motive is the public good." It is in the policeman or fireman who faces death in the discharge of duty. It is in the widowed mother protecting her children with a limitless sacrifice. It is in him who, sensitive for the State's character and reputation, deals honestly and in good goods.

I know of a grammar school principal of Boston who struggled for thirty years to pay out of a meager salary an indebtedness of \$30,000 incurred by a company of which he had been president—a debt which he was not legally required to pay. That spirit is not dead. Honest men there are still. There are men struggling against chauvinism, bigotry, intolerance, fanaticism, error—men who know that what they would accomplish can be accomplished only by the aid and sheltering arm of the State. The need just now is for an enthusiastic return to the support of the State. Demagogues, class hatreds, extravagance, ignorance, apathy, an outgrown economic order, demand it. Men know this; so the zeal for service to the State survives. The lure of an infinite development in all high forms of social weal persists.

Thus, from whatever point of view we consider the State, we know that it is capable of definition; that it has had an origin and a history; that it is a necessity; that if it is endangered, it is also favored; that in any event the aspirations of democracy will lead men to go on making use of it and to improve it.

Radicals

Not to mention the technical anarchists, who are negligible, the most radical of thinkers are after all but expressions of this aspiring democracy. Take, for example, the left wing of the Socialists, known abroad as the "Second Internationale," the tenth congress of which is to be held in Geneva, July 31. The call for the congress, issued by Camille Huysmans, the Belgian leader, indicates the nature of their desires, the changes they are interested to bring about in the democracy of tomorrow. It is true that they purpose to organize the working classes politically and economically, to abolish the capitalistic form of society, and thus to achieve, as they think, the complete freedom of humanity through the conquest of political power and the socialization of the means of production and exchange. In other words, they aim to bring about a transformation of capitalistic society, and to set up a collectivist or communist society. To this end they are attempting an international union of workers in the struggle against jingoism and imperialism, and the simultaneous suppression of militarism and armaments, with the object of bringing about "a real League of Nations" including all peoples, masters of their own destiny and maintaining world peace. They are concerned to release the possibilities latent in oppressed and subject peoples. But none of these ambitions of the Second Internationale are aimed at the destruction of the State. On the contrary, they pro-

pose to set up a more democratic State in the place of mere dictatorship. Their socialism is an attempt, misguided as it may seem to be, to purify and to dignify the political State.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE WAR

The work for a better State is on. To make it a decent place in which to live, men are lifting their voices in behalf of that justice which shall supplant the anti-democratic forces of race and class prejudices, of materialism, with those forces which shall make way for informed and decent people. The aspirations of democracy are centered upon an ethical rectitude, upon a conscious systematized effort against evil, to the end that the State may be a safe and decent place at least for our boys and girls to live in.

The war has not destroyed, rather it has aroused, our old conceptions of moral and economic issues. If it has created anxious distrust of the old methods, it has created a complex of new and promising visions. The administration of the State is to become more business-like. An improved system of transportation is to make production profitable. Capital and labor will study increasingly their problems with an intelligence and mutual sympathy unknown heretofore. Mr. Hoover is right when he says: "The great ranks of our people are neither radical nor reactionary. Their ideal is individual liberty, the protection and stimulation of individual initiative under the American condition that there shall be equal opportunity to all. They comprehend that the whole mass can progress in its moral, intellectual, and physical standards only through the progress of each individual."

The Return of Freedom

The return to constitutional government is coming. Already we are returning to our pre-war conceptions of freedom of the press, of assembly, and of speech. The methods of the ballot-box and of the trial by jury are coming back. Political democracy and industrial democracy are now seen to be dependent mutually upon each other. The balance between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government is on the way. The distress due to expanded credits, inflated currency, will from now on gradually diminish. We have already abolished the iniquitous saloon; we shall yet abolish the still more iniquitous mob violence, expressing itself here and there in bombs and lynchings. As President Butler says: "Make plain in what true Americanism consists and yield not a jot or tittle of it. Meet wrong ideas with right ideas, and attack foolish and reactionary policies with argument. Reserve force for these extreme cases in which the public is put in danger by some overt act." Because of these aspirations, we are aware that the believers in democracy will insist upon a State governed by the best—that is to say, by the informed and decent.

Thus that the aspirations of democracy survive within the State is more than a wish. It is a fact. The war was fought that the world might be made safe for such aspirations. Not all men are skeptical amid the hazardous conquests for life and for its achievements. The limitations of individual liberty, but one of the necessary evils of war, are loosening gradually, in spite of our continued

war neurosis. It is still true that all power is inherent in the people; that free governments are founded on their authority only, and that such governments are instituted for the good and safety of the people. It is still true that for the advancement of these high ends the people have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they think proper, so long as they go about the business soberly and lawfully, operating through the will of the majority. It is still possible for such majority to make its will operative. If it be treason for the minority to seek its ends by bombs and murder, it is no less treasonable for the majority to repress the men expressing the views of the minority. Since a revolution by persuasion and argument under law is possible at any time, a revolution by violence is a crime at all times. Our aspirations for democracy do not blind us to these facts. Free speech, limited only by law necessary for the protection from crimes of violence, is, we are still aware, possible, necessary—indeed the natural result of democracy. A decent respect for the opinions of mankind can operate as a principle only where free speech is felt to be allowed and to be believed in. If our Department of Justice has gone too far in the suppression of this right, the resentment is healthy, increasing, and destined to re-establish that right. If sedition is found among radicals, it is found among the reactionaries as well. The people will give it its deserts in either case. If it be possible and sometimes desirable to sit on the lid, we are quite well aware that it is always dangerous business to sit on the safety-valve. In our saner moments we know that the best way to treat the soap-box orator is not to take his soap-box from him, but to offer him an extra soap-box. Whatever the form our democracy is to assume, we shall continue to abide by the principle that the people are competent to decide their form of government. As a writer in a current magazine phrases it:

"I have said that I have faith in our political institutions. I have faith in our people as well. 'It is not uninteresting to the world,' said Thomas Jefferson, 'that an experiment should be fairly and fully made whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth.' We find ourselves in the midst of this experiment, and I for one am willing to debate the apostles of Bolshevism, not only because tolerance entitles both sides to a hearing, but because I believe I have a better case than they have and because I have confidence in the court and jury."

Evidence is at Hand

The consciousness of a common sorrow and of a common burden—economical, political, spiritual—will yet beget a renaissance of brotherhood, because a renaissance of brotherhood, of mutuality, of co-operation, is the only way to any wealth, power, freedom of spirit, victory over time and space, worth while. Coal, paper, tyrannies, armaments—these may be concrete problems facing democracy; but such problems are solved only where men believe in the principles at the foundation of democracy within the State.

And men do believe still in the principles at the foundations of democracy. This was shown during the war by the idealisms which led us to the sacrifice. It

was shown by the gifts to the United War Work Campaign, \$100,000,000 to the Y. M. C. A., \$15,000,000 to the Y. W. C. A., \$15,000,000 to the War Camp Community Service, and the other millions to the National Catholic War Council, Jewish Welfare Board, Salvation Army, and the American Library Association. The Red Cross is itself an expression of democracy at its best. The gifts for the relief of suffering among those of our associated peoples in the war, especially among the suffering in the lands of our former enemies, is democracy. The great tasks in behalf of city administration; of better housing; of community health, including the prevention and cure of disease; of industrial control; of children's welfare; the organization of charities for the homeless and the aged; of the many community agencies, citizen's associations and the like, are evidences that the aspirations of democracy are not dead. Prison reform, especially since the magnificent work of Z. R. Brockway during the '80's and '90's; our compulsory school attendance laws, bringing all our children together for a period of eight years; our magnificent public high schools and State universities are all evidences of our abiding democratic ideal of a personal opportunity for each in a progressive society organized for the benefit of all. As Carlyle says in his *Sartor Resartus*:

"He who first shortened the labor of copyists by device of *movable types* was disbanding hired armies and cashiering most kings and senates and creating a whole new democratic world; he had invented the art of printing."

If the end thus seen by Carlyle be not yet reached, the leaven of the printed page is keeping alive the thing our fathers aimed in 1787 to perpetuate, and which the aspirations of democracy everywhere have struggled for, are struggling for, and will continue to struggle for until the social purpose shall be more and more clearly attained; until wars shall threaten us less frequently; and until men are free to turn their energies, as did Socrates of old, to those abiding satisfactions at the heart of a rational and workable democracy within the State.

THE PRESIDENT, THE CONGRESS, AND THE TREATY

The McCumber Resolution—The Revised Peace Resolution Adopted

The text of the resolution introduced by Senator McCumber April 14, which he moved as a substitute for the House resolution (cf. pp. 135-36, *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, April), was as follows.

Whereas actual hostilities between the warring nations in the late war ceased on the 11th day of November, 1918, under and by virtue of the terms of an armistice of said date; and

Whereas the German Government has acknowledged its defeat, and has by treaty yielded to every demand imposed by its enemies in said war, including the disbanding of its armies; and

Whereas commercial relations have been resumed between the said German Government and other governments associated with the United States in said war: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc. That commercial relations between the United States and Germany be, and the same are hereby,

resumed to the same extent and under the same limitations as though no war had existed between the said governments, and all laws prohibiting trade and commerce between the nationals of said governments, enacted since the 6th day of April, 1917, are hereby repealed in so far as they are in conflict with this resolution.

THE KNOX RESOLUTION

The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, on April 30th, by a vote of 9 to 6, reported out a resolution drafted by Senator Knox, which departed in some important respects from the resolution carried in the House, the revision being due in part to a clearer understanding of the law governing the case and also to meet criticisms of the plan as originally devised.

Its text follows:

Joint resolution repealing the joint resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the joint resolution of December 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of Congress passed April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provisions to prosecute the same, be, and the same is hereby, repealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end;

German Property

Provided, however, That all property of the Imperial German Government or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals which was on April 6, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of the Government of the United States or of any of its officers, agents, or employes, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States and no disposition thereof made, except as shall specifically be hereafter provided by Congress, until such time as the German Government has, by treaty with the United States, ratification whereof is to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, made suitable provisions for the satisfaction of all claims against the German Government of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States, whether such persons have suffered through the acts of the German Government or its agents since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their person or property, directly or indirectly, through the ownership of shares of stock in German, American, or other corporations, or otherwise, and until the German Government has given further undertakings and made provisions by treaty, to be ratified by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for granting to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States most-favored-nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce, and industrial property rights, and confirming to the United States all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and seizures imposed or made by the United States during the war, whether in respect to the property of the German Government or German nationals, and waiving any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of such treaty, any existing treaty between the United States and Germany to the contrary notwithstanding. To these ends, and for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and Germany, the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the Government of Germany.

The Definitive Date

SECTION 2. That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress,

joint resolutions, or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

No Rights Are Waived

SECTION 3. That until by treaty or act or joint resolution of Congress it shall be determined otherwise, the United States, although it has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles, does not waive any of the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages to which it and its nationals have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed November 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof, or which under the Treaty of Versailles have been stipulated for its benefit as one of the principal allied and associated powers and to which it is entitled.

Austria Is Included

SECTION 4. That the joint resolution of Congress approved December 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same be, and the same is hereby, repealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end, and the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the successor or successors of said government for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and the governments and peoples of Austria and Hungary.

Following the report of this proposed resolution to the Senate with the understanding that it would supersede prior plans for action, there was considerable debate of its merits in the press, and also semi-official statements by leaders of the Democratic Party as to the policy that Democratic Senators would pursue when the resolution came up for debate. Early in May it was announced that prolonged debate and anything like filibustering would not be attempted; that enactment would come promptly, and would be followed by a presidential veto, the message possibly being accompanied by a return of the treaty to the Senate by the President with comments by him on the present situation of the world.

On May 13 the Senate, without division or debate, adopted an amendment striking out the clause requesting the President "immediately to open negotiations with the Government of Germany."

On May 5 debate on this resolution opened, Senator Knox leading. In the course of his prolonged, carefully prepared, and deliberately read indictment of the League Covenant the former Secretary of State described what the Paris peacemakers, in his opinion, should have done. He said:

"The Parisian peacemakers should have confined their activities to making peace, and then, as soon as world conditions permitted participation therein by all peoples, initiated an international conference to formulate for submission to the nations of the world, with a view to adoption by them, an arrangement providing for the codification of international law, the establishment of a court of international justice, and the outlawry of war. This arrangement to be as complete, comprehensive, and compelling as shall be consistent with human rights and human liberty, with the progress of civilization, with the preservation and fostering of free institutions, and with the inherent right of every people to be secure, to enjoy peace, and to work out unhampered its own destiny, subject only to like equal rights of all other peoples.

"It remains open to us, so long as we are unbound by the proposed discredited covenant, to initiate such an agreement among the nations."

Summing up the legal aspects of his resolution, he said that it recognized and affirmed that

"First. War is actual hostilities.

"Second. That it was so understood by our constitutional fathers.

"Third. That the power to declare war was exclusively with Congress, which created the status of war by a law which, like any other law, could be amended, modified, or repealed.

"Fourth. That the purpose of the war powers of the Constitution was to give the National Government the legal power and practical ability to conduct a successful war—that is, actual hostilities.

"Fifth. That war powers could not be exercised after actual hostilities had ceased.

"Sixth. That the powers of the President came from two sources, that of the Chief Executive and that of Commander-in-Chief; that the powers of neither capacity could be invoked to augment the other; that he possessed no extraordinary powers as Chief Executive save only and to the extent such powers were conferred by statute which, to authorize action by him, must be duly and legally in operation."

PRESIDENT WILSON DEFINES HIS POLICY

May 9 the text of a correspondence between President Wilson and an Oregon Democrat was given to the public. The latter asked the President whether he considered it important for the Democratic Party in the primary, May 21, to nominate candidates pledged to ratify the Versailles Treaty without the Lodge reservations. The President replied as follows:

"I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromised champion of the nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; that it should therefore indorse and support the Versailles Treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the nation's honor and destructive of the world leadership which it had established, and which all the free peoples of the world, including the great powers themselves, had shown themselves ready to welcome.

"It is time that the party should proudly avow that it means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency, to apply moral and Christian principles to the problems of the world. It is trying to accomplish social, political, and international reforms and is not daunted by any difficulties it has to contend with.

Support Due Late Allies

"Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority party of the nation, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war. They gave their treasure, their best blood, and everything that they valued in order not merely to beat Germany, but to effect a settlement and bring about arrangements of peace which they have now tried to formulate in the Treaty of Versailles. They are entitled to our support in this settlement and in the arrangements for which they have striven.

"The League of Nations is the hope of the world. I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike, and the Covenant of the League of Nations is the deliberate embodiment of that purpose in the treaty of peace.

Mustn't Whittle Treaty

"The chief motives which led us to enter the war will be defeated unless that covenant is ratified and acted upon with vigor. We cannot in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the Republican leaders of the Senate have proposed to do. If we are to exercise the kind of leadership to which the founders of the Republic looked forward and which they depended upon their successors to establish, we must do this thing with courage and unalterable determination. They expected the United States to be always the leader in the defense of liberty and ordered peace throughout the world, and we are unworthy to call ourselves their successors unless we fulfill the great purpose they entertained and proclaimed.

"The true Americanism, the only true Americanism, is that which puts America at the front of free nations and redeems the great promises which we made the world when we entered the war, which was fought not for the advantage of any single nation or group of nations, but for the salvation of all. It is in this way we shall redeem the sacred blood that was shed and make America the force she should be in the counsels of mankind. She cannot afford to sink into the place that nations have usually occupied and become merely one of those who scramble and look about for selfish advantage.

"The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity to which it must measure up. The honor of the nation is in its hands."

COMMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Mr. William J. Bryan, as reported in the Associated Press, said: "Broken down in health by the weight of cares and anxieties such as have fallen to no other occupant of that high office, the Chief Executive has been denied the information essential to sound judgment and safe leadership."

Mr. Bryan stated that it was impossible for Mr. Wilson to advise wisely without full knowledge of the situation, which, in his opinion, the Chief Executive did not possess.

He said the Democratic Party had stood by the President and fought for ratification without reservations as long as there was any hope of securing ratification without reservations—an effort in which he heartily joined—but the effort failed. "Whether the Senate acted wisely or unwisely in the adoption of reservations, it acted upon a constitutional authority as complete as the authority which the same Constitution confers upon the President," said Mr. Bryan.

"The issue now is whether the Democratic Party believes in the fundamental principles of democracy, namely, the right of the majority to rule," said Mr. Bryan, who also stated the President asks the Democratic Party to make a campaign on the theory that the presumption of wisdom is with twenty Democratic Senators, plus the President, instead of with the majority of the Senate, or even the majority of the Democrats of the Senate.

Mr. Bryan urges an immediate ratification of the treaty with reservations already agreed upon, leaving the nation to secure afterwards in the League such changes as may be deemed necessary. In closing he stated the Democratic Party cannot die; it must help solve the problems of the day. "Democratic friends of the League of Nations," he said, "should join Republican friends of the League, and by so doing take the issue out of the campaign and speak peace to war-distracted Europe."

Senator Johnson, of California, a Republican presidential candidate showing much strength in the primaries as favoring rejection of the treaty *in toto*, said:

"I have consistently opposed the present League of Nations in its original form and with the reservations appended. The League presented to us was either a good or a bad thing. If it was as good as the President and his

associates insisted, it required neither amendment nor reservations. If it was as bad as we insisted, neither amendment nor reservation could make it good. The President has consistently maintained his position, and I can respect an adversary of that sort.

"Those for whom I have no respect in this contest are the men who were with the President when they thought his position was popular, during the discussion last year, and who then demanded the immediate passage of the League without reservations or amendments, and who now, with the varying popular wind, embrace the so-called Lodge reservations, which they denounced for so long a time."

Senator Borah, of Idaho, also an opponent of the treaty with or without reservations, said:

"They must adopt the League as the head of their party advocated and indorsed it or they must repudiate what amounts to the entire administration. While I utterly disagree with the President as to his views, I frankly express my admiration of his consistent, courageous course. It is exhilarating these days to see a man with courage enough to advocate his convictions regardless of the political consequences. The only thing to do with this League is to make the issue simple and direct—League or no League—and let the American people pass on it."

Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, Mr. Wilson's champion in the Senate, remarked:

"Unqualified ratification of the treaty became impossible months ago. The President has never been against compromise or reservations. He has been against destructive reservations such as Senator Lodge's. In my opinion, the treaty plank in the Democratic platform will be just about as the President wrote it in his telegram. It will advocate the League."

REPUBLICAN PARTY DISSENSION

It having been announced on May 11 that the Republican National Committee, at its meeting in Chicago, had decided that the platform of the convention would include a plank favoring ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations, Senator Borah made the following statement:

"I hardly think the party will go on record in favor of ratifying a treaty six months hence which is already under condemnation in Europe, and which will be more and more condemned as its disastrous economic effects are felt. I venture the opinion that the party will not follow the course indicated by the press reports published today.

"In all probability there will not be a nation in Europe standing by this treaty by the time the next President is inaugurated. The Republican Party might take very serious chances whether it would furnish the next President if it entered upon such a course. If the party managers think that the people, who have been enjoying the belief that the treaty and League are things of the past, are going to receive this news with enthusiasm, in my judgment they are greatly mistaken."

He will lead a fight within the convention against ratification of the treaty with or without any reservations, and in so doing have the support of Senator Johnson.

PRESIDENT'S ADMIRERS ASK HIM TO RELENT

On May 10 the text of a letter sent to President Wilson by twenty-eight admirers and supporters was published. Cardinal Gibbons, former president of Harvard, Eliot; Ray Stannard Baker, Ellery Sedgwick, of the *Atlantic Monthly*; William Allen White, and others of like prominence, in this letter said:

"You have performed your duty of honor in endeavoring to obtain the ratification of the treaty as you signed it at

Paris. The responsibility for the reservations and their defects rests with their authors, and not with the author of the covenant.

"But even with the reservations, the covenant, with the moral force of the United States under your leadership behind it, is of such value to humanity at this moment that we look to you to carry it now into effect and to lead the world's opinion in its operation."

IT IS REPORTED

THAT the boys and girls in Berlin are "starving for fellowship as well as for food."

That the average salary for teachers in New Zealand is \$400 a year more than in the United States.

That Serbia has decided to reopen diplomatic relations with Germany.

That the Portuguese Senate having ratified the Treaty of Versailles, the ratifications are now complete.

That war profiteers in Czecho-Slovakia are to be taxed.

That because of the scarcity of paper Italian newspapers are to be restricted to two pages.

That a new bill is to be introduced in France to reduce the duration of military service to eighteen months.

That it has been officially proclaimed in Athens that war between Greece and Germany ceased on March 30.

That at Villers Guyslan, France, two buried shells were exploded by a farm tractor and twelve persons killed.

That two large English companies—one a mining, the other a steamship company—have decided to open trade relations with Soviet Russia.

That 3,500 truck loads of sugar were supplied by Czecho-Slovakia to Austria between October, 1910, and March, 1920.

That the Friends' Unit of the American Red Cross is financing the erection of a model maternity hospital at Chalons, France, to cost 1,000,000 f.

That 30,000 Russian refugees from the "Red Terror" have now arrived in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

That in execution of the armistice terms Germany has handed over to France 2,683 locomotives, 697 of which have been ceded by France to other Allied Powers.

That in India there are 278,000 illiterates, or 891 to the thousand, while in the United States there are only sixty-five to the thousand.

That the American Red Cross unit at Dvinsk states that the population of the city after six years of warfare has been reduced from 150,000 to 30,000.

That directors of German high schools have been instructed by the Minister of Education to forbid the pupils to join any kind of military organizations.

That a commercial treaty has been signed between China and Bolivia; important, inasmuch as it is the first in which China makes no extra-territorial concessions.

That the Soviet in Petrograd has abolished all distinctions in learned titles, and that all persons who have been teaching three years are called professors, whatever their attainments.

That the First International Congress of War Veterans was held in Geneva during the month of April, delegates being in attendance from France, England, America, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Belgium.

That Dutch Communists have been making an appeal, in the name of the Third Internationale, for assistance to the German "Reds," their intention being to send foodstuffs across the frontier and to bring back children to be cared for.

That an exhibition of plans and designs, in connection with the much discussed improvement and enlargement of Paris, is soon to be held at the Jardin d'Acclimatation; artists being glad to hear that the heights of Montmartre will remain untouched.

That tours are being arranged for British, European, and Indian press delegates, who are expected to arrive at Perth (western Australia) a month before the American and Asiatic delegates reach Sydney for the World Press Congress.

That the new giant bell, named "Jeanne d'Arc" and destined for Rouen Cathedral, having fallen into the road because of an accident to the car on which it was being drawn through Annecy, took five days to be lifted again into position for transportation.

That Prof. Charles Downer Hazen, who has occupied the chair of European History at Columbia University for four years, has accepted an invitation of the French Government to deliver a course of lectures next year at the University of Strasbourg.

That the expenditure on drink in the United Kingdom of Great Britain annually has now reached over two billion dollars, an amount equal to the interest upon the national debt of forty billion; while in the meantime the convictions for drunkenness, especially among women, have increased appallingly.

That a group of students at the University of Freiburg desire to get in touch with student groups in this

country interested in a "true world peace;" that they publish a paper and are asking for exchanges with peace papers in this country; address, Werner Rosenberg, Hansastrasse 3, Freiburg, 1, Br. Germany.

That the American Society of Friends has established at Verdun a colony of refugee women engaged in a large linen industry, which has become entirely a self-supporting and rapidly growing business, now under the direction of a volunteer from the Red Cross, shortly to be managed entirely by the French women.

That 1,200 of the 30,500 horses, 400 of the 92,000 cattle, 10,000 of the 100,000 sheep, and 4,000 of the 10,000 goats, required within seven years under the terms of the treaty, have been received by France from Germany in reparation of stock taken by Germany during the invasion of northern France.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

SPIRITUALITY AND ETHICAL SOUNDNESS, prescribed as the only solution of the world's need and despair, have had remarkable championship from statesmen during the months that have intervened since the armistice and the Peace Congress. As an ideal statement of the situation and the remedy, the following declaration, signed by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, and New Zealand, could not be improved. Put in practice, it would transform the European situation; but in the light of the record of post-war diplomacy it takes on ironic content.

These British political leaders say:

"The war, in shaking the very foundation of ordered civilization, has driven all thoughtful men to examine the basis of national and international life.

"It has become clear today, both through the arbitrament of war and the tests of peace, *that neither education, science, diplomacy, nor commercial prosperity, are real foundations for the ordered development of the world's life.* These things are in themselves simply the tools of the spirit that handles them.

"Even the hope that lies before the world, of a life of peace protected and developed by a League of Nations, is itself dependent on something deeper and more fundamental still.

"The co-operation which the League of Nations explicitly exists to foster *will become operative only in so far as the consenting peoples have the spirit of good-will.* And the spirit of good-will among men rests on spiritual forces. The hope of a brotherhood of humanity reposes on the deeper spiritual fact of the 'fatherhood of God.'

"In the recognition of the fact of that fatherhood and of the Divine purpose for the world, we shall discover the ultimate foundation for the reconstruction of an ordered and harmonious life for all men. That recognition cannot be imposed by government.

"It can only come as an act of free consent on the part of individual men everywhere.

"Responsible as we are in our separate spheres for a share in the guidance of the British Empire, as it faces the problems of the future, we believe that in the acceptance of those spiritual principles lies the sure basis of world peace.

We would therefore commend to our fellow-citizens the necessity that men of good-will, who are everywhere reviewing their personal responsibilities in relation to the reconstruction of civilization, should consider also the eternal validity and truth of the spiritual forces which are in fact the one hope for a permanent foundation for world peace."

CHINA'S RECENT NEGOTIATIONS with Soviet Russia are significant. Unless the European powers, the United States, and Japan can come to some understanding soon, as to their policy toward the Chinese, they may wake up to find that the two most populous nations of the earth have gone over to a quite different form of society from that which it was supposed they would take when they gave up their respective dynasties; for consider the sort of appeal which Lenin and his subordinates make. Here follows a Bolshevik declaration:

"We hereby propose to open the eyes of China. The Soviet Government of Russia has denounced all the enterprises of conquest by the former Russian Government, and therefore will return the Chinese Eastern Railway to China without compensation. It will also restore to China all the mines, forests, and gold mines obtained from China by the governments of the Romanoffs, Kerensky, Horvath, Semenov, Kolchak, and other bureaucrats. It does not care for the Boxer indemnity. The slaves of the Romanoffs are no more, and so China must drive out of the country the slaves who have been beguiling her. It will abolish all the privileges obtained by Russian merchants in Chinese territories, and will denounce all treaties concluded between China and former Russian governments.

"If China wishes to escape from the fate of becoming a second Korea or a second India, as was decided by the Versailles Treaty, and to become a free nation, China must understand the reason for the existence of the Red Guards, the Russian laborers and farmers, who are the only adherents and brothers of freedom. Soviet Russia expects that China will officially co-operate with it."

An interesting gloss on this offer is to be found in the news from Moscow, April 29, that on the 24th a diplomatic and military mission from China met with Russians in the Transbaikal region and agreed to open the Russo-Chinese frontier to trade. China recognized the inherent rights of the Soviet Government in the Eastern Manchurian Railway and a pledge was given that Chinese troops along the line would be withdrawn. In Peking, China has refused to recognize any longer representatives of the Kerensky Russian Government; and this notwithstanding the protests of France.

WITH BAKU IN THE HANDS OF THE RUSSIANS and the new Transcaucasian Republic of Azerbaijan gone over to the Soviet form of government, both the British plans for commercial control of the Black Sea region and the Baku oil fields and the hopes of the newly recognized Armenian Republic become complicated. Oil is now the touchstone of future marine and industrial supremacy, and whoever permanently holds the Baku district is reinforced for a long time to come. Latest reports from the Georgian and Armenian region indicate that, with the conversion of the Azerbaijan Republic to Soviet rule, the attacks upon the Armenian forces have increased. The latter now have to count on ene-

mies among the Kurds, Turks, and Russians, and steady decimation of the armed forces must go on along with elimination of the population by sword and famine.

The Azerbaijan Provisional Military Revolutionary Committee has sent the following appeal to the Moscow authorities asking for reinforcements, in order that it may hold its gains:

"In accordance with the revolutionary will of the Baku proletariat and the Azerbaijan peasantry, the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Bolshevik Party announces that the treacherous counter-revolutionary government of the Mussavat Party has been overthrown. For the present, the rightful holder of authority is the Provisional Military Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan, which committee declares the old Mussavat Government traitors to the people and enemies of the country's independence, and breaks off all relations with the Entente and other enemies of Soviet Russia."

INTERNAL CONDITIONS OF RUSSIA are still described in radically different terms by observers who report back to the publics of western Europe and America. Realizing the value of reports by witnesses varying in character, nationality, and class affiliations, the League of Nations, through its Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, on March 17 sent to the Soviet Government the following communication, based on action of the League's Council March 13:

"The Council of the League of Nations, having been invited to examine the possibility of sending a commission to Russia, has decided to constitute a commission in order to obtain impartial and reliable information on the conditions now prevailing in that country. The permanent secretariat of the League is therefore instructed to ask the Soviet authorities whether they are prepared to give this commission a free entry and return, and to make arrangements for insuring to the commission complete liberty of movement, communication, and investigation, and to guarantee absolutely the immunity and dignity of its members and the inviolability of their correspondence, archives, and effects.

"The commission will begin its work as soon as those facilities and rights have been formally assured to it. On receipt of an affirmative reply, the composition of the commission will be notified to the Soviet authorities at the earliest possible moment."

No answer to this communication has yet been received. In the meantime a delegation from British Labor, with the assent of the British Government as well as the consent of the Soviet Government, has entered Russia to make an investigation. But latest reports show that because of aid given Poland by the Allies in the drive on Russia, this delegation may be held up.

IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES continue to have relations that complicate Anglo-American diplomacy. The presence of the president of the so-called Irish Republic in the United States continues, and the question of his official or quasi-official recognition by governors of States and mayors of cities is an acute one. During the past month, while touring in the South, he has been discriminated against by public men more than when he toured the North, with its large cities and their large

Irish-American populations. During the same period open antagonism to him and to his claims and to any action by the American Government hostile to the British Government also has been shown by many of the Protestant churches in their ecclesiastical assemblies, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session in Des Moines, Iowa, taking this stand in formal resolutions.

In Boston an organization known as the Loyal Coalition has been formed, with men of the grade of Hon. Moorfield Storey, Charles W. Eliot, and William Roscoe Thayer leading it. It is enlisting thousands of members throughout the country, and cash in abundance to carry on the fight against the Sinn Fein propaganda is pouring in. Secret or semi-secret organizations with a strong anti-Roman Catholic bias also are organizing for action against the Irish Republican movement and against its American co-operators, and Congress henceforth is likely to be the scene of much more vigorous debate on the issue than was shown earlier in the year.

On the other hand, as recently as May 4, eighty-eight members of the House of Representatives sent to the British Premier and the British Parliament a cable message to the following effect:

"With the profound conviction that further wars and acts of war should be avoided, and believing that wholesale arrests without arraignment or trial disturb the peace and tranquillity of a people, are destructive of human rights, and are at variance with that principle of liberty which is embodied in the United States Constitution, in the provision that no person shall be 'deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' the undersigned members of Congress of the United States of America protest against further imprisonment, without arraignment or trial, of persons resident in Ireland arrested for acts of a political nature. And we ask in the spirit of American freedom and love of justice, out of our friendliness to the peoples of England and Ireland, and in the name of international peace, that hereafter, if arrests based upon acts of a political nature are made in Ireland by color of any form of authority, the right of trial shall, without unreasonable delay, be accorded to the accused."

Sir Auckland Geddes, the new ambassador from Great Britain to the United States, on arriving in New York in mid-April, in a formal statement made it clear that it was his opinion that it would be fairer and also more conducive to Anglo-American harmony if the British Government and the Irish were left to settle the issue in dispute without interference from other countries. He said this tactfully but frankly. Several times during the past month there has been an attempt in Parliament to "draw" the Ministry into comment on the intrusion of Americans, official and civilian; but the Ministry has declined to make the matter one of extended debate or formal announcement of policy. On May 6th distinct reference was made to the above-mentioned petition of the Congressmen, and in reply a quasi-official comment from Downing Street was phrased thus: "We long since have come to believe that resolutions and messages coming from America are political maneuvers, and that they do not represent American sentiment. Consequently they have little weight."

RETIREMENT OF MR. JOHN BARRETT from the post of director of the Pan-American Union, with its ornate and palatial headquarters in Washington, D. C., has put in that important place Prof. L. S. Rowe, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania and identified for many years with study of the history, diplomacy, and economic growth of the southern republics. At the time of his appointment Professor Rowe was serving as head of the Latin-American division of the Department of State. He has associated so long and so intimately with prominent public men of Central and South America that he can be counted upon to master quickly the details of administration of his new post, and to serve acceptably as spokesman for the Union at the ever-increasing number of conferences held within its Washington headquarters. Mr. Barrett retires, with the good-will of the directors, to enter on a business career. He has written and spoken much about the Union and by so doing has come to personalize it before the people of the United States to a degree somewhat unusual.

WOMAN'S CIVIC ACTIVITIES in lands where she can vote seldom, if ever, buttress costly military programs and commercialized imperialism. The first international equal suffrage conference to be held since the war opened, in 1914, meets in Geneva June 6, and its formal resolutions dealing with grave international problems will be eagerly awaited. The delegation of twelve from the United States goes with a distinct anti-militarist bias and eager to find some way by which the progressive women of Europe can make their influence felt. Of course, most of the time of the conference will be taken up with discussion of extension of franchise rights and how they may be obtained where now denied. But the war has created so many new problems for women, and especially for those of Europe, that the more general sex problems will be debated, including replacing the manpower taken by the war. Statements by some of the leading "feminists" of Great Britain, France, and Germany indicate that an irregular status of parenthood may be urged in order to increase the birthrate, and already legislative enactments and administrative decrees show that lines are not to be drawn as sharply as formerly against children once called "illegitimate." This trend is being discussed by church authorities concerned with the effect on the morale of this and coming generations.

THE CHURCH'S PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD of today and tomorrow are to be discussed at three important conferences to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in August. On the 9th and 10th delegates from the national councils and federations of the various countries of Europe and from the United States will assemble under the auspices of the Committee on Ecumenical Conference of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, a numerically powerful and quite inclusive Protestant organization, with headquarters in New York City. Its task will be making arrangements for an ecumenical conference of the Protestant Churches of the world, one that possibly the Eastern Greek Catholic churches will join. For the next two weeks, beginning on the 12th, a World Conference on Faith and Order, for which preparations

have been making for several years, will meet to discuss the problem of Christian unity, and to this gathering delegates from the Eastern churches will go. The Roman Catholic Church was invited, but declined. Then will follow a meeting of the International Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. One hundred delegates, including men from Germany and Austria, are scheduled to take part. The chief topic to be discussed will be winning international good-will and maintaining the same. A point to be noted in connection with all of these gatherings is their origin in and chief support from the United States.

ASSUMING CONTINUANCE OF RULE OF RUSSIA by the forces now in control, her future attitude toward militarism and conscription become interesting matters of speculation and investigation. In a speech before the supreme communist council, gathered in Moscow in April, Leon Trotsky, Minister of War, urged abolition of a large standing army and the inauguration of a system of military training through militia formations among the agricultural and industrial unions. Demobilization of the professional force is to be carried on simultaneously with formation of the militia force, so as not to leave the nation without a defensive force. District schools for officers' training are part of the scheme, and also special schools for boys under the military age. Elsewhere we comment upon the mobilization of several corps of the present army for industrial restoration of the nation. Persons who had put faith in the Soviet form of government and in Russia as a stern foe of "force" as a mode of national protective action will be disappointed with this plan urged by Trotsky. Like the protest of the Soviet Government against the Allies' partition of Turkey and disposition of Constantinople, it shows that the new Russia is quite like the old in its use of instruments of force and in its national ambitions.

POLAND'S MILITARY SUCCESSES during the past month in an aggressive drive south and east, with Odessa as an objective, have been pronounced, and at this writing Kiev is in her hands. Nothing in the Treaty of Versailles justifies this action, and the newly created nation has no formal "mandate" from the Allies for the task of defeating Russia. But France is heartily supporting the strategy, and Great Britain, if not assenting, is, on the other hand, not forbidding the "drive." By her practical political and commercial domination of the new Baltic States carved out of northern Russia, Great Britain is logically estopped from more than mild disapproval of the Polish-Ukrainian compact that has contributed to the conquest of Russian territory in the south. If the plan is consummated, it will take from the control of Moscow the vast, populous, and enormously rich Ukrainian area and give France a reward for her steady efforts to dismember Russia, to encircle what is left of the former empire with independent States, and at the same time will give the French access to vast stores of wheat and other produce at prices much lower than it is now possible to get from non-Russian, non-Ukrainian sources of supply. Poland within two years has organized, drilled, and partially equipped an army of 700,000 men, officered to some extent by French

and American experts. She is evidently fired with ambition to gain the largest possible area of territory from former German and Russian domains. From a defensive campaign she has now passed to an aggressive one, and should she meet no reverses and prove to be the first nation really to meet and defeat Soviet Russia, she may get out of hand. May 11th brought news that Odessa had been taken.

OF THE FOUR DISTINCT SOCIALIST or communist organizations in the United States, the right center group is lead by Morris Hillquit and is known as the Socialist National Party. At its presidential convention, held in New York City the second week in May, it passed a platform including the following plank:

"The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the 'League of Nations,' and to create an international parliament composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and charged with revising the treaty of peace on the principles of justice and conciliation."

THE RED CROSS AND PEACE-TIME ACTIVITIES

Declaration of Principles Adopted at Geneva

The General Council of the League of Red Cross Societies, which assembled at Geneva, Switzerland, March 2-9, after a preamble stating that the League had been founded to aid in the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world, adopted resolutions as follows:

"1. That widespread and popular membership in a national Red Cross Society is the necessary condition of success in its peace-time program.

"2. That a national Red Cross Society should endeavor to cover the expenses of administration and of its normal activities by membership dues and the income of permanent investments.

"3. That the members of a national Red Cross Society should be afforded suitable opportunities to render definite services for public welfare in their respective localities.

"4. That a national Red Cross Society should organize the youth of its country for Red Cross service.

"5. That a national Red Cross Society should assist in relief operations in the event of national disaster, and should always be prepared to take prompt and effective action.

"6. That the League of Red Cross Societies should maintain for the member societies a rapid service of information regarding calamities and disasters, in order to insure the immediate mobilization of every possible form of assistance, and that effective communication should be established with meteorological and seismological stations throughout the world.

"7. That the three principal duties of the national Red Cross Society in the field of health service should be:

"(a) To stimulate and maintain interest in public health work.

"(b) To support and, if need be, supplement the work of government agencies.

"(c) To disseminate useful knowledge concerning health through demonstration, education, and otherwise.

"8. That a national Red Cross Society should employ properly qualified persons to direct its health service, and make suitable arrangements for training its non-professional workers.

"9. That a national Red Cross Society should endeavor to secure the co-operation and co-ordination of voluntary organizations engaged in any work similar to that which it may undertake.

"That the General Council of the League of Red Cross Societies, having considered appeals made to the League on behalf of the prisoners of war in Russia and Siberia, and being profoundly moved by the deplorable situation of these unfortunate men, strongly supports the League of Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross in the efforts which they are making to secure the repatriation of these prisoners.

"The delegates of the twenty-seven Red Cross societies, meeting in conference, further pledge themselves to urge upon their respective governments the need of immediate action on their part in the name of civilization and humanity."

Separate resolutions touching on the relationship between the League and the International Committee of the Red Cross were adopted as follows:

"The General Council of the League of Red Cross Societies, in convention at Geneva, in March, 1920, recognizes the services rendered by the International Committee of the Red Cross, the founder of the institution in 1863. Its existence, its usefulness, and its rôle have been confirmed by all the international conferences. It is the guardian of the fundamental principles which are at the base of the institution of the Red Cross.

"The objects of the League are:

"1. To encourage and promote in every country in the world the establishment and development of a duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organization, having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world, and to secure the co-operation of such organizations for these purposes.

"2. To promote the welfare of mankind by furnishing a medium for bringing within the reach of all the peoples the benefits to be derived from present known facts and new contributions to science and medical knowledge and their application.

"3. To furnish a medium for co-ordinating relief work in case of great national or international calamities.

"Awaiting the possibility of an organic union between the two societies, such as has been contemplated in the Articles of Association of the League, the two institutions co-operate in a spirit of cordial understanding and mutual confidence with the sincere and fundamental desire to work for the development of the Red Cross in the largest conception of the idea, and to work without rivalry in their respective fields for the relief of suffering humanity."

LETTER BOX

704 BUSH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, April 12.

EDITOR OF THE ADVOCATE:

Kindly discontinue sending me your paper. I have not endorsed your attitude with regard to the League of Nations, but your article in the March issue, entitled "The President's Mistakes," is, in my opinion, as biased, as unfair and partisan as that of the reactionary, unpatriotic, and inhuman Senate.

Your journal, so erroneously named, and your attack on the Administration's policy must certainly be a delight to the worshippers of De Valera, the pro-Germans, and the anti-British, and to the militarists, to say nothing of the satisfaction derived from it by the radical element and the stand-pat reactionaries, who are loudly shouting nationalism.

Mrs. L. BLUM.

DENTON, TEXAS, April 27.

EDITOR ADVOCATE OF PEACE:

The April issue of the *Advocate* has a communication from the president of the National Parent-Teachers' Association, in which she expresses her thanks to the *Advocate* for opposing military training. Should Congress refuse to hearken to the wishes of mothers and teachers? Have not mothers been the greatest martyrs during war time? What credit do they get? Can mothers spend twenty years for their sons and then rejoice to see their bodies exposed to cruel bullets? Mother love revolts at this. Persons who foment war seldom get hurt. They are in safe places.

Let us have heroes of peace, as Christ is. This will be far more conclusive to the honor of this little globe. If war is desirable, then hell is a good place to be.

RAYMOND VERIMONT,
Catholic Priest.

UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR,
MT. VERNON AND JOY STREETS,
BOSTON, May 8, 1920.

MY DEAR MR. CALL:

I am very sorry that I cannot accept the invitation to the American Peace Society and the dinner of May 29th, though I should be very glad to be with you.

I will bear in mind what you say about resolutions to be adopted at the annual meeting, and if anything occurs to me I will communicate with you at once.

I have just returned from Europe and never realized the need of such a society as ours so much as now.

Faithfully yours,

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

BOOK REVIEWS

FIRST REFLECTIONS ON THE CAMPAIGN OF 1918. By R. M. Johnston. Henry Holt & Co., New York. Pp. 79. \$1.50.

The importance of this book is not to be judged by its size. The author was attached to the staff of General Pershing for a year. He was there with the title of major; but not to fight or advise, but to see. As the most eminent civilian student of military strategy in the country and as professor of military history and art at Harvard University, he was there to see how our army operated, to make observations that would be useful in later personal comment on the strategy and tactics of the campaign and in official reports to the War Department. Unfortunately he has died since this book came out early in the year. To him had been assigned by the government the important duty of editing the official history of the war from the American military standpoint, and he had opened up his headquarters at the War College in Washington, and had begun his work. No one can fill his place completely.

To the strategist and tactician most of the book makes its strongest appeal, but there are sentences, indeed paragraphs here and there, which must interest the ordinary citizen, the taxpayer, the critic of war as war, and the foe of militarism.

Take the following as fair instances:

"Twenty years of continuous study and experience is a bare minimum to qualify an army chief of staff for his duties" (p. 11).

"It is a source of grave danger that the ordinary citizen believes himself competent to form a sound judgment within the field of the most difficult of arts. With the morning's paper in one hand and Colton's atlas in the other, any able-bodied citizen will resolve between two whiffs of tobacco, the worst tangle Caesar or Napoleon ever attempted to unravel" (p. 14).

"Propaganda is the most hideous weapon of modern war. Shrapnel tears the flesh, gas eats out heart and lungs, but propaganda perverts the soul and degrades the sentiments of men. . . . In an age of universal semi-education the future belongs to propaganda. We must accept the inevitable and make the best of it" (p. 16).

"A heavily financed central press and propaganda bureau

could come nearer to securing universal peace than any league that can be devised" (p. 17).

"It was widely assumed in Washington that the Allied military authorities were more competent to judge how our new army could best be raised and trained than we; and the results proved pernicious. . . . It was not until May-August, 1918, that the vigorous insistence of General Pershing finally gave us back a real control over training our own army" (p. 21).

"Our war policy was dominated by that of France. . . . The peace negotiations, so far as the American delegation was concerned, was especially marked by our needlessly involving ourselves in a number of questions of direct consequence to France but not to ourselves" (p. 31).

"The soldier's soul must be stern. Hardship and sacrifice are his lot. The battalion must be driven forward even if half its men fall in the advance. And discipline is the only possible stiffening for men in the mass when they tend to weaken" (p. 36).

"In France, by converting a certain number of divisions into stationary troop depots, we were able to feed into the more seasoned cadres at the front a constant stream of replacements for their losses. The weak point of the system was its crudeness. The man had it very plainly conveyed to him that he was nothing better than impersonal feed for cannon" (p. 70).

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING BROTHERHOOD AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *Sir Charles Walston (Waldstein)*. Columbia University Press, New York, Pp. 224.

The author has academic honors from American and British universities in which he also has taught. Originally and still eminent as a writer on esthetics and on philosophy, during the war he has been a prolific maker of books dealing with it in its larger and more fundamental phases. In this collection appear not a few of his contributions of this sort, and also addresses before academic assemblies. Their aim and dominant notes may be inferred from the titles of the same: "Nationality and Hyphenism," "The Expansion of Western Ideals and the World Peace," "The English-Speaking Brotherhood," "The Next War," "Wilsonism and Anti-Wilsonism," and "League of Dreams or League of Realities?"

Without being a chauvinist, Sir Charles is an expansionist. He defends imposition of the ideals of civilization of one group of nations upon other groups. A Jew by race, he has many reasons for failing to like talk of an "Anglo-Saxon" alliance as the *sine qua non* of the future. Much does he prefer the term "The English-Speaking Brotherhood," and for its consummation he argues with arder.

On the constructive side, the main value of this book is in its argument for international action creating a "supernational court backed by power," whatever that may mean.

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND ITS SOLUTION. By *Morris Jastrow, Jr.* J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. Pp. 158. \$1.50 net.

The author of this book, by earlier ones on "The War and the Bagdad Railway," "The War and the Coming Peace," and in numerous articles contributed to the American and British monthlies and weeklies, has won a certain right to speak with authority. It is, to be sure, the authority of a student of races, of history, and of diplomacy, and not the authority of a practical administrator. The two kinds differ, as students of contemporary history know.

Professor Jastrow does not favor the United States assuming a mandate over any part of the Near East. He does believe in the plan of our guidance and trusteeship, acting through international commissions on which America would have representation. He does this because he believes the war was won by co-operation carried to the *nth* power; and he as firmly believes that reliance on the same method and spirit can bring about resuscitation of the Near East and put an end to exploitation. He regrets the evidence, at hand when he wrote, that neither France nor Great Britain are "ready to deal with the Near East in a direct spirit and without making ulterior political considerations and eco-

nomie considerations the guiding factor." This attitude forces him to suspect that the system of international co-operation he urges may not come until after another war, responsibility for which will be due directly to the exploiting nations of today.

THE POLICEMAN AND THE PUBLIC. By *Arthur Woods*. Yale University Press, New Haven. Pp. 178. \$1.35.

Arthur Woods, under the mayoralty of John P. Mitchel, gave New York City the best administered police force that city has had. A Harvard graduate with qualities of mind and will that made him respected by his subordinates, he brought to his place an inclination to get at the right theory of choosing, governing, and disciplining a force of men who should enforce law, protect the weak and ignorant, guard property, and co-operate with the city's executive in making his administration useful and wise.

This book embodies Mr. Woods' reflections on the rights and duties of the police and also on those of the public. He makes it clear how intricate are the rules and laws which the police are first required to know and then enforce; how little sympathy or intelligent interest they get from the ordinary citizen whom they protect; and how absurd often are the demands which society makes upon men whom she has not trained or whom she underpays.

The volume is as distinctly a new type of book about this important matter as its author was a new type of police chief. It is the work of a thinker, of a constructive mind, and of a good man with the highest sort of ideal of his civic responsibility; and the sad fact obtrudes that just because he and Mayor Mitchel were so decent, were so forward-looking, had such fine theories and practices as municipal servants, did they lose office. New York does not want a police force with the ideals that Mr. Woods was making operative.

MODERN POLITICAL TENDENCIES. By *Theodore E. Burton*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. Pp. 119. \$1.25.

This book is a compilation of lectures given at Princeton University in 1919. The product of the mind of a former United States Senator, a confirmed student of international affairs and an honored member and former president of the American Peace Society, they deserved the attention that they received at the time they were delivered. Since giving them Mr. Burton has traveled through the Far East and has had an opportunity to extend the range of his observations and increase the data on which to generalize about the war's effects on contemporary political tendencies. History also has been making during 1919-20, and this also has not followed precisely the course he had hoped it would.

On the topic in which the ADVOCATE OF PEACE is especially interested, the author has this to say:

"For assured results, the development of international law and its universal application are essential; also its enforcement by a court established to decide such controversies as may arise. It will be necessary that the opinions of jurists and the provisions of various treaties be codified and such additions made as are required to meet the demands of a new era. This is no chimerical fancy, but is responsive to the aspirations which have been created by the war."

Former Senator Burton is an optimist. For a politician turned financier and bank president, he is unusually liberal in his attitude toward the demands of labor. He sees clearly the advent of important changes in relative power in modern democracies and that an end of the days of privilege for middle-class controllers of industry is near.

BEFORE AND NOW. By *Austin Harrison*. John Lane Co., New York City. Pp. 269. 6/6 net.

Austin Harrison is the clever son of Frederick Harrison, the English Liberal, man of letters, and Comtean. The son, as a journalist and publicist, long before the war opened, was a suspicious critic of Germany and a warner of the British public, after the manner of Lord Roberts, that she was fatuously somnolent and good-natured. In essays or

essays written for the weekly press he said his say so cleverly that he was read; but not so powerfully as to stir his fellow-countrymen to action. In this book he has taken a sort of malicious satisfaction in massing his prophecies that came true and in saying in his "foreword" those irritating words, "I told you so."

But the book has merit other than indicated in the above statement. Mr. Harrison is a stern critic of his people for their defective conceptions of democracy, education, and national destiny. The one is still too intensely individualistic; the other has no adequate view or valuation of science, pure or applied; and as for the national ambition, it lacks imagination and clearness of outline. British culture, as reflected in art, is not creative. Philistinism reigns. "Muddle-through" is the national technique in business and statecraft. Life is wholly empirical. Creature comforts are the household gods.

Thus candidly does this critic write, after the British fashion; for, whatever the limitations of the Briton may be, he still stands for freedom of thought and speech, and lets criticism thrive, though his own withers are unwringing.

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION. By *George Seay Wheat*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Pp. 272. \$1.50.

The soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in the "World War" had taken tentative steps ere they left France toward forming an organization, national in scope, which would do for them what the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans had done for survivors of the Civil War. Prominent in the deliberations was Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.

With customary national celerity and effectiveness, this organization was perfected in St. Louis in May, 1919; a constitution was drafted, important issues of policy were debated, and an effort begun to enlist all eligible persons, the avowed purpose of the organization being to keep the memories of the conflict alive, to aid members who might need help in getting back to civilian life, and to cast the influence of the veterans against non-American persons and policies.

This book gives the narrative of the enterprise and does it with some color and sprightliness of style.

Since the St. Louis conference dealt with the "bonus" plan the fine ideals there defined have been trailed in the dust by action of the rank and file of the legion begging Congress to pay out a sum of not less than \$2,000,000,000 for bonuses; and this whether the persons eligible are in good health or are facing the grave, whether they are robust or broken in body. Congress, unable under the law to discriminate between indigent and thrifty supplicants, if it acts at all must include all persons who enlisted. Facing a presidential election and desirous of winning votes, the lawmakers will not settle the issue on its merits.

This book is valuable because it permanently records the beginnings of a well-intentioned movement and because it gives official lists of the founders of it and the original members.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF NATIONALITY AND INTERNATIONALISM. By *W. B. Pillsbury*. D. Appleton & Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 309. \$2.50 net.

This University of Michigan psychologist has done an excellent piece of work, of a kind that persons who wish to clarify their thinking about the causes of war and the methods of its extinction would do well to become acquainted with. From ethics to jurisprudence, to economics, to collective psychology—that is, the procession of thought on this problem of putting reason above might, justice above desire, in international relations. What the next step in the process will be we dare not predict; but just now the most illuminating knowledge is coming from men like Cannon, Jennings, Le Bon, MacDongall, Tardé, Wallas, and Zimmern, who are writing on the emotions of the crowd; the fighting instincts necessary for development; the effect of group fears; the place of hate in international organization; the relative influence of language, religion, kinship, and economic needs in shaping what is called nationality

and patriotism; the origins of international sympathy, and the possibilities of an "international mind" evolving out of a "national mind."

It is with these and other similar topics that Professor Pillsbury deals. To the technical knowledge of the schools and the verdicts of the laboratories he happens fortunately to add much practical wisdom gained in contact with many races and strata of society in this country and also garnered through his service in Europe during the war.

He is an evolutionist who believes that nationality is not the last word in political organization, and he is convinced that it is possible to find a larger community of States. He knows of no true instincts that are not quite as much suited to the international as to the national organization of society. As for national prejudices, they can in due time be overcome, just as prejudices against individuals are. Legitimate nationalism and pride and affection can exist with the creation of the larger and more inclusive organization. "Once the world accepts the principle that a better way than war exists," he writes, "for the settlement of international disputes, the best machinery for settling them will be developed by a gradual process of trial and error. . . . Meantime it is essential that the broader sympathies now wasted in a more or less vague sentimentalism shall be crystallized about a definite agreement. When that agreement shall have had the tradition of a century behind it, it will be considered as immutable as the good lawyer now regards the Constitution, and with a few centuries of practice it will assume the fixity of the moral law."

MILITARISM IN EDUCATION. By *John Langdon-Davies*. The Swarthmore Press, London. Pp. 154. 3/6.

This booklet, called by its author "a contribution to educational reconstruction," while dealing mainly with facts German and British in their origin, has its value for American readers; for it discusses tendencies toward military training of youth, also visible in our schools, and it gives arguments, which are as applicable here as in Europe, against education for discipline of a military sort, a discipline openly or secretly designed to further conscription and "arned preparedness."

HISTORY OF THE IDEA OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN GERMANY. By *Prof. Dr. Veit Valentin*. Revised by Hans Robert Engelmann, Berlin. (A translation.) Pp. 170. M. S. 50 + 20 per cent library tax.

"The League of Nations, which many Germans still consider to be a chimera, will be a political reality in the new year, and will be felt very deeply in our country and at first not in the most agreeable way. In the history of today and tomorrow the League of Nations is a power which must be taken into consideration. It will depend upon ourselves whether the League of Nations will remain the slave-driver, in its present form, or whether we shall succeed to become partners in this new world power and thus help to reshape it.

"That we have a strong claim to this is shown in the latest book of the well-known historian, Prof. Dr. Veit Valentin: "History of the Idea of a League of Nations in Germany." Germany has taken a considerable share in the development of the idea of a League of Nations; indeed the decisive claims have come from Germany. In the minds of the present generation only Kant's famous essay, "On Eternal Peace," is still alive. That he had predecessors and successors; that all great tendencies, such as enlightenment and romanticism, liberalism, democracy, socialism, have seriously struggled with the idea of a League of Nations and have done their share in its development that has been forgotten.

"Professor Valentin has investigated many sources and has treated the subject-matter in an unusually interesting way. Philosophers and poets, lawyers and economists, parliamentarians and publicists appear as witnesses. Their utterances are given in a great historical connection of ideas; the idea of right and of might, universalism and nationalism, humanity and the driving forces of national instincts fight with each other to form a new Europe, a new world. The very important publication, which appeals not only to the scholar, appears just at the right moment."

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES (Formerly Woman's Peace Party)

OBJECT.

To organize support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at The Hague in 1915 and in Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further Peace, Internationalism, and the Freedom of Women.

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Canada.	New Zealand.
Denmark.	Norway.
Finland.	Poland.
France.	Sweden.
Germany.	Switzerland.
Great Britain.	United States.
Hungary.	

GENERAL OBJECTS.

To promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

SPECIAL OBJECTS.

Those indicated by the standing committees and for immediate action to oppose universal compulsory military training; to oppose all invasions of constitutional rights, free speech, free press, and assembly and minority representation in legislative bodies; to oppose invasion of Mexico for purposes of war; to work to amend the League of Nations Covenant, if it is ratified by the United States, and if not so ratified, to secure a true Concert of Nations to substitute Law for War.

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All American women are urged to join this Section for U. S. A. of the Women's International League by use of the appended slip.

Date

I hereby enclose one dollar for membership in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for U. S. A., for the year 1920.

Name

Address

Make checks payable to W. I. L. P. F., Section for U. S. A., and send to Eleanor Daggett Karsten, Executive Secretary, Room 1616, 33 West 42nd Street, New York City.

(Adv.)

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A Governed World

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that, it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all

other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

Concerning international organization, adopted by the American Peace Society, January 22, 1917, and by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917.

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the Powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

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Edited by ARTHUR DERRIN CALL

Assist. Editor, GEO. P. MORRIS

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

NINETY-TWO YEARS OF AGE

MR. CHAUNCEY DEPEW is now eighty-six years of age. We recently heard him remark that for the first eighty years of a man's life he is afraid that others will think him older than he really is; but that for the second eighty years he is afraid that people will not believe him to be as old as he really is. It is true that there comes a time in the life of a man or of an organization when age is looked upon as a matter of pride. The American Peace Society is proud of its age. Born out of the reaction against the international struggles of the period just before and immediately following the opening of the nineteenth century, it has lived through many wars. It has preached continuously its great cardinal principles. It has kept the faith with America. It has retained the support of good men, philanthropists, publicists, statesmen. It has created an honorable history.

This number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is an anniversary number. The reports of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, reports covering the work of the Society during the fiscal year ending May 1, together with the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors, the list of officers, and other data appear elsewhere in these columns. The addresses given at the Society's banquet at Rauscher's, Washington, D. C., May 29, addresses relating to a constructive foreign policy, are given in full. Reading these utterances, it

must be evident that the peace movement is not dead. Whatever one's views relating to the proposed League of Nations, to the current political issues, there is in this number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* abundant evidence that the will to overcome war survives. Men retain their disposition to hold governments to their promises that we were fighting a "war to end war," to keep alive the principle that we were struggling to "make the world safe for democracy and democracy safe for the world." It cannot be forgotten that ten million boys died, having been told that the struggle was a contest to "overcome militarism" and the "will to power." Those principles are not dead. They live.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

AT THIS writing, no nomination having been made, we can speak with some detachment of certain qualities which the next President of the United States should have. We instinctively think of three.

The next President of the United States should be historically minded. The success of Great Britain in acquiring vast stretches of world empire has not been due to greed so much as to intelligence, a familiarity with past failures and achievements in large affairs. Her men of the foreign office and in far-flung fields have been educated in the theory and practice of the various kinds of law; in the history of negotiations, treaties, wars; in political facts and systems of economics; in the geography and statistics of States; in the things possible and things impossible along the ways of national aspiration. In similar matters the next President of the United States should be informed. Ignorance of history gave to us the indefensible Paris Covenant of the League of Nations. Men familiar with the writings of Dante and Erasmus; with the utterances out of seventeenth century Europe, contributions of Crucé, Grotius, Sully, Penn; with the eighteenth century writings of St. Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, and Kant; with the nineteenth century struggle of the American Peace Society, and with the Peace Movement which it engendered, men familiar with these things could never have tried to overcome war by an alliance of the few powerful nations, an alliance to enforce its decrees between States by means of an organized body of men with qualifications backed only by shot and shell. Men familiar with the Constitutional Convention of

1787 would have instinctively eschewed all reference to the coercion of States by the force of arms, and concentrated their attention upon a method of international control under self-imposed laws interpreted by self-created tribunals. The next President of the United States should know what has been done.

The next President of the United States should be judicially minded. This is necessary if, under his leadership, we are to avoid the dangers that follow inevitably upon undiluted idealism, upon inconsistency and caprice. Knowing the facts, he should be able to base his judgment upon them; knowing the law, to give expression to it. It ought to appear necessary to him that he avoid convulsive movements and promise to the other nations nothing which America cannot consistently fulfill. He must avoid alliances for the enforcement of peace by arms as he would avoid a pestilence, for such have been the ways of all wars and their unmentionable miseries. Familiar with the age-long, if faltering climb of men toward the peaceable settlement of international disputes, that movement culminating in The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907, he will recognize that movement, with all its inadequacies, as the supreme movement of the will of nations to establish peace between themselves and to attain unto it through that justice which is attainable only under law. With the judicial mind and temper to appreciate that, he will, therefore, aim to complete the machinery already under way for dealing with arbitral disputes and to realize those plans universally agreed upon in 1907 to perfect plans for periodic conferences of all the nations and for the establishment of an international court of justice. Thus, his judicial mind will lead him to do his share to correct the mistake of the Paris negotiators. He will know that the peace of the world cannot be promoted by American abnegation of her essential sovereignty or greatness, by transferring her right of self-determination over to a group of foreign diplomats and politicians unrestrained by any law or any court. He will know this to be true of America—free, sovereign, and independent. He will know it to be true, also, for all of the nations—free, sovereign, and independent as well. His visions for the society of nations will show him the necessity first for a virile nationalism. He will commit the United States to no guarantee of impalpable boundaries or impalpable anything else. Being judicially minded, he will not deign to distinguish between moral and legal obligations, national or international. He will work with the legislative branch of our government for the accomplishment of achievable results. Because of his judicial mind, he will go about these things in these ways, for of such is the kingdom of peace.

The next President of the United States should have an international mind. Since our foreign policy is now

of greater importance than ever before; and is destined through the coming decade to increase in significance, it is vitally demanded by the interests of America and of the world that there shall be at the executive head of this nation a man unwilling to leave the fortunes of this or of our sister nations to chance and mere hazard. Such a man must, therefore, know nations other than this—their various resources, their governments, their treaty obligations, their aspirations and temperaments. He must have an intelligent grasp of international causes and effects. He must have eyes that have seen the world's past, a mind that can behold the world's present, and a soul that reaches over the world that spreads before. Memory, intelligence, honor, and foresight must be his, and these enlarged to include an East that is West and a West that is East in the deep things of the human spirit.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

THE Republican plank on the League of Nations is wordy, paraphrastic, and repetitious; but in its affirmative statements it is, from our point of view, eminently sound and altogether satisfactory. It affirms:

1. That there should be a Society of Nations—"International Association"—growing out of an "agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world."

2. That such a Society of Nations should "provide methods" for the maintenance of "the rule of public right."

3. That this should be accomplished "by development of law and the decisions of impartial courts."

4. That means should be provided for a "general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action"; that is to say, that there should be a council of conciliation to consider, to discuss and to report upon such actions of non-justiciable character as may be submitted by an agreement of the powers.

5. That the right of self-determination shall be retained by the American people in all questions involving the possibilities of war.

6. That the covenant of the League of Nations, based upon "expediency and negotiation" and ignoring the American sentiment for the principles of "international law and arbitration," is a signal failure.

7. That President Wilson's dictatorial behavior toward the Senate in the premises has been indefensible.

8. That the United States Senate has simply performed its honorable duty.

The constructive aspects of this program are so consonant with the principles and methods set forth on the

inside of the front cover of the Advocate of Peace that the members of the American Peace Society could but accept them in all their fullness. We respectfully suggest that now the Democratic Party adopt the same program and make it unanimous.

THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR

WAR is thought by many to be the inevitable fate of man. It is openly agreed now in a number of quarters that when we were told that this war was a "war to end war" that we were lied to. The "war for peace," Lloyd-George's "never again," were mere catch phrases. The from twenty to thirty wars now going on simply corroborate the belief that war is inevitable. We must keep fit and ready for the big wars now on the way. Our military, air, and naval supremacy are being challenged in various places of the world. Such are the views held and expressed by the Field Marshal of Great Britain, Chief of Staff, Sir Henry Wilson, views which he candidly expressed at the annual meeting of the Union Jack Club, London, May 19. From conversations with army officers in this country, we have no doubt that the British Chief of Staff has simply expressed the views of the American army officers. Marshal Foch has recently expressed his belief in the inevitability of war. The inevitability of war is the cardinal principle of the warrior class and of other people the world around.

It is not necessary to look far for further evidence that under conditions as they now are war is the inevitable fate of us all. The failure of the League of Nations to prevent or to stop the war between Poland and Russia; the many evidences that England, upon closer examination of the League of Nations, recants and turns to the position taken by the majority of the United States Senate; the condemnation of the League by the Republican Party in convention assembled, such facts have led persons of a certain type to despair and to conclude that war is inevitable now and forever more. Is it not true, they ask, that all animals make war; that therefore it is the natural thing in animal economy, including human animal economy? J. A. Thomson, thought by many to be the greatest living authority on heredity, once referred to the war of extermination waged by the brown rat against the black rat in Europe. Referring to this, a writer in Australia has recently remarked that man apparently prefers "the example of the rat to the teachings of Christ." But the point is that many men accept as a fact the inevitability of war.

But there are other facts. International organization is nearer of realization today than ever before. As pointed out elsewhere in these columns, the Republican

Party favors it and pledges itself to work for it. Of course, the Democratic Party will do the same. An association of nations—a society of nations, as we prefer to say—an agreement of the States forming such a society that no nation shall of right take a preponderating part in it, such a society is inevitable. In other words, a society of nations where no great or small powers shall contend and dominate because of their size merely, but where all together shall concern themselves with the welfare of the whole, that is the aspiration of thinking men everywhere.

Two American citizens are now in Europe doing their share to finish the great task all but completed at The Hague in 1907, the task of creating a judicial union of the nations to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions shall be parties, a union pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation. The names of these men are Elihu Root and James Brown Scott. There are facts opposed to the argument that war is inevitable.

As for the proposition that all animals make war, the reply is that they do not. The well-known Thomson was mistaken about the rats. The Secretary of the London Zoölogical Society, Mr. Chaloner Mitchell, has recently shown that the common notion that one species of animals exterminates other species by means of fighting has no foundation in fact. Indeed, there is not now, neither has there been, any war between one species and another species of rat. There is no war among the lower animals. That some animals eat other animals for food is not to say that this is a part of the game of war. We would not say that man wages war upon cows and sheep for his beef and mutton. In the game of war—that is to say, in the game of organized killing of group by group—man stands alone. If war is inevitable, we must seek for its inevitability, not in the nature of the animal world outside man, but within the nature of man himself. Whether the nature of man is of such a texture that he must forever organize himself for a continuous warfare upon other members of the same species is for the present a matter of opinion. Our own opinion is that war is no more inevitable than is duelling, drunkenness, feud law of clans, or other tom-foolery.

We do believe that the existence of a warrior class in the various nations does tend to promote war. Evidently the framers of the United States Constitution felt the same way. In Article I of that most valuable instrument, the Congress made up of civilians is the body with authority to declare war, to grant letters of

marque and reprisal, and to make rules concerning captures on land and water. In Great Britain this power is the exclusive prerogative of the Crown. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Mr. Pinckney proposed that the power should reside in the Senate, as did Mr. Hamilton. Mr. Butler believed that the power should be given to the President. It was finally and unanimously decided to give it to the Congress. Furthermore, in order that the civilian control might be assured, it was provided that the Congress should have the power to "raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." The point of limiting the appropriation to two years, the length of a congressional term, is that the control of the army shall be in the hands not of the professional soldier, but of the civilian population. Evidently the framers of the United States Constitution did not propose to place the control of government policy in the hands of the warrior class for the reason that they proposed to avoid war. They succeeded in showing the way to avoid war. They evidently did not believe in the inevitability of war. Because of their work we no longer believe in the inevitability of war.

PRACTICAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

A CONFERENCE on public health has been held in the City of Brussels, in consequence of which we are nearer to a realization of our efforts in behalf of an internationalization of the campaign against disease. The watchword of the conference was international co-operation. Professor Adami pled for an international classification of bacteria, calling attention to the confusion which is inevitably arising because of the present inadequate classification and to the importance of progress therefor in a great and fruitful field of scientific research. He went on to point out that if each nation adopts a new and separate classification, the confusion will be worse confounded. He emphasized especially the importance of evolving an international method with world-wide standards. Lord Dawson of Penn also explained the urgent relation in every country of the physician to the State. His point was that the details of this relation must, no doubt, be locally determined, but the principles underlying the relation were universal. Then, each nation could help all of the others to a solution. Here certainly is practical international effort.

We now have an International Police Chiefs' Association. Before the Police Convention recently held in Detroit, plans were developed for the exchange of motion picture films, photographs, and literature with the police of old-world capitals to the end "that the organized

forces of order in the world may present a united defense against crime." As one of the best known of America's police experts phrases it, "If the weakened peoples are to recover and to resume their governments, their police must prevail. They look for sympathy and encouragement. Let us have the police of London and Siam and Japan and Peru and Poland known to us personally. Such an association would simplify the capture of fugitives and insure the public a much higher degree of protection from international law breakers." Such a league to enforce peace is defensible in logic and in fact. The law operating upon individuals for the protection of society is a police function, very much needed just now, and destined to be made increasing use of, as men collectively vision the principles of a governed world.

THE HIGH COST OF ARMAMENT

WHEN Congress adjourned, June 5, it had made appropriations for the fiscal year beginning July 1 aggregating more than four billion dollars. To be sure, this is a much smaller sum than the \$25,598,967,517 which were spent during the year closing July 1, 1919. But, at the same time, prior to our entrance into the war, in 1917, the total sum appropriated, exclusive of the postal service, had been \$678,677,858.

Economic conditions at home and abroad being as they are, with the high cost of living what it is, and the insistent demand of the people for reduced taxes never so full-throated and bitter, we might have supposed, with some show of hope and reason, that the lawmakers would begin to cut down naval and army appropriations. Have they? Yes, if the demands of the army and navy officials are a test. But what of the popular demand? For the year ending June 30, 1921, the sum of \$828,000,000 is appropriated, which is considerably more than the sum demanded for the entire national budget prior to 1917. The bearing of this fact upon American international relations is no less important than its domestic influence. At home, it is bound to add to the revolutionary mood of the groups that are being selected to bear a maximum share of taxation, whether in old or new forms. Abroad, it creates suspicion of our sincerity in preaching fraternity among the nations. Ministries facing the dimensions of our military expansion do not feel like making reductions that economic necessity demands. The masses of Europe, much as they owe us for relief dispensed by the Red Cross and by the Hoover Food Administration, cannot but know that our failure to lead in the process of disarmament thwarts them in their pressure to rid Europe of its intolerable burden. The same may be said of the foes of militarism in Japan, who are fighting a brave fight against heavy odds.

OIL THAT IS GRIT

THERE is an element of the ironical in the fact that much of the world's turmoil, national rivalry, and defeat of rational and judicial processes of settling international disputes is now due to oil—mineral oil, to be sure, but nevertheless fuel lubricating as well as oil.

In Venezuela, Mexico, the United States; in the Caucasus, Persia and Mesopotamia, diplomacy, bribery, trickery, and brute force are contending for possession of territory that has beneath its surface petroleum and all its valuable potential by-products. Governments need the stock for their navies of the air and water, and also for motor land transportation. Shipping companies and marine trusts covet a substitute for King Coal. Vast industries, with millions invested in the belief that petroleum and gasoline are to be used on an even greater scale than the present, press insistently on governments for action of a protective sort. Yet oil is supposed to be the lubricant which, if cast on waves of the sea, stills the tempest!

During the past month so acute has been the rivalry and so intense the feeling over this issue of monopolistic control *versus* equitable distribution of the petroleum supply of the world, that it has forced ministers of state to public explanations and led ambassadors to make explanation of their governments' purposes. Whether the declarations have had their desired mollifying effect remains to be seen. Probably they have lessened the friction somewhat; but that there has been any change of heart, registering itself in less rivalry and more equity, has yet to be shown. Just so far as the pledges of a "square deal" are kept will there be a lessening of the tension. Anglo-French relations on so many issues are now so vexed and vexing that Great Britain can well concede to her recent ally at least a "look in" upon the product of territory recently Turkish, even assuming that the British title will remain valid in those fields. But there remains the fact that Russian armies and Russian soviet propaganda are challenging this assumption.

SINCE the armistice both Japan and Brazil have deliberately turned to France and her military staff for educators of their future armies. Exit Germany and the school of von Moltke; enter France and the school of Foch! "The king is dead. Long live the King!" "Nothing succeeds like success." These instances will be multiplied. The Gallie, and not the Germanic, tradition now will take root in soil prepared for it in some cases prior to the war, and in others fertilized by the war's blood. It remains to be seen whether the shift in schoolmasters will improve the

students. Admirers of France, though "pacifists," will predict bettered results. Critics of French national policy since the armistice are saying that the schoolmaster may be better, but his "curriculum" is just as anti-social, anti-international, and anti-humanitarian.

IN THE January, 1919, number of the *ADVOCATE* will be found an article by Prof. W. E. B. Dubois, editor of *The Crisis*, the ablest of the journals for Negroes published in this country. In this article he outlined his hopes for an African Congress, to be held in Paris while the statesmen of the Allies and associate nations were parceling out the world, including Africa. The story of how Professor Dubois, by his tact, perseverance, seizure of opportunity, and diplomacy in dealing with M. Clemenceau, brought this conference into being against the wishes of the United States and Great Britain has yet to be written in detail; but to hear it from the lips of Professor Dubois is a memorable experience. We have recalled this matter because at the annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Negroes, held last month at Atlanta, Georgia, the Spingarn Medal, which is awarded annually to some leader of the race for outstanding service, was conferred on Professor Dubois; and the reason assigned was his record in organizing the African Congress at Paris.

MARTIAL law in Greece, ordered re-established by Premier Venezelos early in June, is due, according to that statesman, to the open machinations of the former king, and his adherents, and to their disposition not only to put Constantine back in power, but also to interfere as much as possible with the by-no-means-easy task that Greece has assumed in ruling the new possessions conceded to her by the Treaty with Turkey. These concessions give Greece a physical domain such as she has not known in many centuries; they call for immediate use of her army and navy against a Turkey that is disposed to resist giving practical effect to surrenders assented to under compulsion. Already clashes between Turkish and Grecian forces have taken place. Enlisted with the Turks are Bulgarian volunteers, who are thus settling accounts with a Greece that has won under the treaty what she never had expected to gain from Bulgaria by force of arms. Fortunately, economically and financially considered, Greece, as she faces her new tasks, is in a more normal state than most of the nations of Europe. If she can hold her newly acquired areas and develop them quickly on their agricultural, trading, and shipping sides, she bids fair to enjoy a prosperity unknown for generations.

NINETY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

Presented at the Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., May 29, 1919

Report of the President

Under the provision of section 8 of our Constitution, I herewith respectfully submit the following as the report of the President of the American Peace Society for the year ending April 30, 1920:

Since the beginning of the year your Executive Committee has held twelve meetings, as follows: May 16, 23, June 2, September 26, October 31, November 28, December 26, January 30, February 27, March 26, April 2, 30.

The membership of the Executive Committee is composed of the following persons:

Hon. John Barrett, Director of Pan-American Union.

Hon. P. P. Claxton, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

Mr. William Knowles Cooper, Y. M. C. A., Washington, D. C.

Hon. Walter L. Hensley, St. Louis, Missouri.

Hon. Frank Wheeler Mondell, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Arthur Ramsay, Fairmont Seminary, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, Evans Building, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Edward Watts-Saunders, Rocky Mount, Va.

Jay T. Stocking, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Thomas E. Green, D. D., American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Mr. George Finch, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Paul Sleman, 515 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

President James L. Slayden, Secretary Arthur D. Call, and Treasurer George W. White are *ex officio* members of the committee.

During the year the following persons have resigned from the committee: Messrs. Allen Farquhar, Sandy Spring, Maryland, and Frederick L. Siddons, Washington, D. C. To fill these vacancies your Executive Committee has, under section 7 of the Constitution, elected the following persons: Paul Sleman, Esq., Secretary of the American Colonization Society, and George A. Finch, Assistant Editor of the *American Journal of International Law*.

From the variety of matters coming before the committee for its consideration, attention may be called to the following facts:

There have been various applications from former employees and other persons for reundertaking or taking up the work of the American Peace Society in different parts of the country, some of these applications looking toward reopening the field-work formerly familiar to our activities. It has, however, been the sense of the committee that the time is not yet opportune for that kind of propaganda. The editors of the *League of Nations Magazine* suggested during the year that the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and that magazine might well be

merged; but your committee did not think it wise to accept the suggestion.

A number of other organizations have submitted proposals looking toward some form of co-operation; but your committee has not thought any of the proposals promising or desirable at this time.

Upon the suggestion of the Bureau Internationale de la Paix, with headquarters at Berne, your committee has nominated its Secretary as an American member of the council of that organization.

During the year the Society has received from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace \$20,000; during the calendar year 1918 we received from the Permanent Peace Fund of Boston \$3,852.29; during the calendar year 1919, \$2,978.77; for the calendar year 1920 we have at the present writing received \$3,984.18—\$1,000 in January and \$2,984.18 under date of May 14, 1920. Accompanying this last check for \$2,984.18 was the following self-explanatory letter from Messrs. Russell, Moore & Russell, signed by Arthur H. Russell, Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund:

"I take pleasure, as the Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund, in submitting herewith a report from this corporation of the income and disbursements for the year, showing that the net amount which we are enabled this year to pay to your Society amounts to \$3,984.18. Of this amount \$1,000 was paid on the 28th day of January, 1920, and herewith I enclose check to the order of the American Peace Society for \$2,984.18, together with receipt, which please have signed by your Treasurer and returned. I am sure that this result will be very gratifying to you, as you are receiving more than \$1,000 in excess of what was turned over last year. The reason of this is that the trustees were enabled to make a sale of a piece of real estate and reinvest the proceeds most advantageously. The receipts and disbursements both include a considerable sum received and paid out for broker's commissions and expenses in connection with this sale, which, as a matter of book-keeping, increases the amount upon each side. I mention this in order that you may understand that receipts of \$11,135 do not represent the normal income, neither does \$7,150.82 represent the normal expense. The inclusion of these items upon the one side and the other does not affect the net income, as they practically balance one another."

BOSTON, May 1, 1920.

To the American Peace Society:

The Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund submits the following annual report for the period May 1, 1919, to May 1, 1920:

Gross income received by the Trustees from real estate, bonds, stocks and all other investments	\$11,135.00
Gross expenses paid for repairs, and taxes on real estate, broker's commissions on sale of certain property, commissions on sales of	

stocks and bonds, salary of book-keeper, and agent, legal services, telephone, office rent, supplies, stationery, safe-deposit box, etc....	7,150.82
Net income from the fund for the year.....	\$3,984.18
Paid to the American Peace Society on general account of income on January 28, 1920.....	1,000.00
Balance of net income for the year to be paid to the American Peace Society.....	2,984.18

Check herewith to the order of the American Peace Society in full payment for balance of income to date.
Respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

ARTHUR H. RUSSELL.

The facts relating to our financial operations will be found in the report of the Treasurer; but it should be reported that the National Information Bureau, originally organized by the War Chests for the specific purpose of obtaining information concerning war charities, now functioning as a center of information concerning national, interstate, social and philanthropic organizations, has after a thorough investigation "approved" the American Peace Society "as worthy of the support of those interested" in its aims and purposes. This approval carries with it the permission of the Bureau to carry on the letterhead of the Society the expression "Endorsed by the National Information Bureau, Inc., 1 Madison Avenue, New York."

Considerable attention has been given to the advisability of changing the name of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* to some such title as

The International Advocate
of
Peace Through Justice.

Your committee, however, has been unable to agree upon any substantial change in the title of our magazine, although a new cover design, bearing the title "Advocate of Peace Through Justice," has been approved.

Section 9 of our Constitution reads, "The Society shall hold an annual public meeting or conference in May of each year, at such time and place as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee." It may be recalled that a series of five American peace congresses have been held in the United States upon the initiative of the American Peace Society—in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913, and in San Francisco, 1915. Under the vote of the Baltimore Congress, periodic congresses were to be held biennially. Because of the war, however, no congress was held in 1917 or in 1919. At the last annual meeting of your Board it was voted to take no action relating to an annual public meeting. Your Executive Committee has not felt it wise to take the initiative looking toward either such an annual public meeting or to an organization of another American Peace Congress.

The following additional facts may be of interest. The entire work of the Society, including the editorship and publication of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, has

during the year been performed by three employed persons—the Secretary, Office Secretary, and Assistant Editor. The Honorable Theodore E. Burton, former President of the American Peace Society, has during the year spent some months in the Orient. His views of the Far East are appearing at this time in a most interesting series of articles published in the Sunday Magazine of the *New York Times*. Your President, as a member of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, attended the meeting of the Council in Geneva, Switzerland, October 8, 9. He returned to this country, November 15, too late to meet his engagement to address the Biennial Conference of the National Council of Women, at St. Louis. He appreciates the invitation of the Executive Committee to extend his work for the American Peace Society to include a part if not whole time service, but regrets that duties both of a public and of a private nature have thus far made it impossible for him to accept the invitation.

In conclusion, your President would, however, add his continuing—indeed, growing—conviction that the work of the American Peace Society is needed today, and that, possibly, more than ever during its entire century of intelligent and praiseworthy effort to overcome war as a method of settling international disputes. The spirit of the Society charged with the memories of such men as Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Ellery Channing, Charles Sumner, William Jay, Elihu Burritt, and William Ladd, not to mention the Society's friends of a later time, is the hope of that democratic order in a governed world where men, living under self-imposed laws, shall yet achieve unto those more permanent satisfactions which are possible only where reigns the peace of justice.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES L. SLAYDEN,

President.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

*To the Board of Directors
of the American Peace Society.*

DEAR SIRS:

The Constitution of the American Peace Society provides that the "Secretary shall make an annual report to the Board of Directors." Pursuant to this provision your Secretary begs leave to submit the following:

The Death of Andrew Carnegie

Andrew Carnegie, friend, supporter, and Vice President of the American Peace Society for many years, died at his summer home, in Massachusetts, August 12, 1919, at the age of 84. April 25, 1920, your Secretary attended an impressive meeting held in the City of New York in memory of Mr. Carnegie.

Certain Encouragements of the Year

The work of the American Peace Society, continuing through the World War, not only survives, but is beginning again to thrive. Inquiries from centers of our former activities indicate a reawakening of interest in the work of the Society. The New Hampshire Peace

Society is increasing its effort in behalf of a greater international community of interests, especially among the young people of the Americas, but also between students of this country and those of Europe, including Germany. The National Council of Women has a section studying again the problems of peace and war. Other groups of women are taking up again the strands where they were left when we entered the war. Notwithstanding the marked increase in the cost of paper and other complications in the printing trade, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, with the able and sympathetic assistance of George Perry Morris, has been published regularly and that with a greater number of printed columns than ever before, having grown during the war from 24 to 32 pages. The mailing list, approximately 5,000, is in better technical condition than at any time during the present administration. The requests for pamphlets gradually increase. The policy of advertising the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* in certain current periodicals brings an increasing volume of interest in our aims and publications, not only in this country but abroad. There has been an increasing number of articles from across seas for purposes of publication in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, indicating also a return to the hopes and aspirations of the American Peace Society. There have been a number of requests from abroad, especially from Austrians, for financial help. It may be added that the renewed interests of the New York Peace Society, the increased activities of the American Union against militarism, the publications of the World Peace Foundation, especially of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, are indications also of the change of public sentiment toward our ancient movement for an international peace. Press and periodicals are opening their columns more and more to those things for which the American Peace Society stands. The war psychology of the nations is giving way once more to the psychology of peace.

A Reprint of William Jay's "War and Peace"

In 1842 there appeared from the press a book entitled "War and Peace, the Evils of the First and the plan for preserving the Last", from the pen of William Jay, son of John Jay, and President of the American Peace Society from 1848 until his death, in 1858. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has during the year issued a reprint of the original edition with an introduction by James Brown Scott. The importance of this is indicated by the following words of Dr. Scott:

"The little book carried conviction in its day and its day is not yet passed. The plan which he advocated has, like that of his father, made its way into treaty after treaty, and the article he advocated, called from its French name the *clause compromissoire*, is familiar alike to the ordinary diplomatist, the international lawyer, and the enlightened layman. John Jay's actual treaty of 1794, submitting specific disputes to arbitration, and William Jay's proposed article of 1842, submitting future disputes arising under the treaty, state the American policy of Washington, the Commander-in-Chief in the war which has made us a nation:

"In my opinion, it is desirable that all questions between this and other nations be speedily and amicably settled."

And together they point the way to the American vision of Grant, the Commander in Chief in the war that preserved the Union of Washington.

"I look forward to a day when there will be a court established that shall be recognized by all nations, which will take into consideration all differences between nations and settle by arbitration or decision of such court these questions."

The Reawakening Interest Not Confined to America

The *Bureau internationale de la Paix*, with headquarters at Berne, is taking up again its tasks. Documents just received tell of its work with the peace societies constituting the international union; of its Assembly of Delegates meeting in Basle, May 22, 23, 24, 1920. Dr. Thomas E. Green of our Executive Committee, having recently visited M. H. Golay, General Secretary of the Bureau, at Berne, has told us of the renewed activities of this Bureau. There is also an active movement in Germany headed by such persons as Dr. Hans Wehberg, Professor Dr. Alfred Manes, Maximilian Müller-Jabusch, a group of scholars which is issuing books and pamphlets, not only for the purpose of rectifying certain provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, but also for the purpose of promoting the organization of some sort of a League of Nations. *L'Association de la Paix par le Droit* continues its efforts in behalf of progressive substitution of arbitration for war in international relations. Its monthly *Le Paix par le Droit*, edited by Th. Ruyssen, J. L. Puech, Charles Richet, J. Prudhommeaux, Jacques Dumas, and others, is received regularly. *The Arbitrator*, monthly organ of the International Arbitration League, founded by William Randall Cramer in 1870, under the secretaryship of F. Maddison, London; the *Herald of Peace*, organ of *The Peace Society* founded 1816, Sir John Pease Fry, president, and Rev. Herbert Dimmick, secretary; new documents from the National Peace Council of England, M. H. Huntsman, assistant secretary; *La Vita Internazionale* under the direction of D. Rosetti and S. E. A. Agnelli, at Rome, the magazine founded by our former friend E. T. Moneta; the *Japan Peace Movement*, monthly organ of the Japan Peace Society and the American Peace Society of Japan; the publications of the Swiss-Dutch Bureau Pax; the publications of the various League of Nations Unions; the many other publications typified by the periodical review, *Pax per Fæderationem*, published at Sophia by the Peace by Federation Society; *Le Drapeau Bleu*, a review of international studies published in Paris; these are some of the indications abroad of a redevelopment of hope, interest and consecration to the cause of international peace.

Extension

A constant subject of study is the extension of the work of the American Peace Society. Your Secretary is of the opinion that two lines of extension are now open to the Society, one the development of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* into an international monthly of a much wider and deeper influence; second, an increasing publicity, especially among newspapers and magazines. In these two directions it appears to your Secretary the

work of the American Peace Society could, with the advice and assistance of the best expert judgment available, be gradually and profitably extended.

Larger Events of the Year and the Aims of the Society

The last annual meeting of the American Peace Society was held on the 24th of May, 1919. At that time the Peace Conference in Paris was still arranging the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, "Done at Versailles the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred nineteen," an attempt to end the war and at the same time to set up a scheme calculated to establish the permanent peace of the world. On that date, the 28th of June, President Wilson cabled the United States that the pact was a "charter for a new order of affairs in the world" and that there is "ground for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance, and confident hope." On that day the President left Paris for the United States, where he arrived July 8. September 3 Mr. Wilson began a tour of the West, speaking for the League, continuing that labor until the 26th, when on account of ill health he was compelled to return to Washington. November 19 the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, having proposed fourteen reservations to the treaty, the Senate declined by a vote of 41 to 51 to approve the treaty with those reservations. On the vote for ratification of the original treaty as brought from Paris the treaty failed by a vote of 53 to 38. January 10, 1920, the treaty having been made effective by exchange of ratifications, President Wilson, under article V of the Covenant of the League of Nations, called the first meeting of the Council of the League. The Council met, pursuant to that call, in Paris January 16. February 9 the Senate upon its own volition took up again the treaty, recommitting it to the Committee on Foreign Relations. March 19, by a vote of 49 to 35, 56 votes being necessary for ratification, the Senate declined again to ratify the reservations. April 9 the House passed a joint resolution providing for the termination of the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States. On May 15 the Senate, by a vote of 43 to 38, passed the joint resolution with modifications, which resolution with its modifications was passed by the House May 21 by a vote of 229 to 138. May 24 the joint resolution thus passed by the Congress was placed in the hands of the President, where it now is. The outstanding facts of the year, therefore, relative to the United States and the Treaty of Peace with Germany are, first, that the Senate has declined twice to ratify the treaty; second, that the United States Congress has passed the joint resolution declaring the peace between the United States and Germany, which resolution is now in the hands of the President.

In the meantime the Council of the League of Nations having come officially into being January 10, 1920, and now holding its fifth meeting in the City of Rome, has shown no little signs of activity. It is pointed out by its friends that sixteen States have signed and ratified the Treaty of Versailles; that thirteen neutral States have joined the League; and that ten other States have signed but not yet ratified the treaty. It is noted, further, that the Council organized itself,

and appointed the Saar Basin frontier commission at its first meeting in January at Paris; that at the second meeting, held in London February 11, among other things it approved plans for the organization of the permanent court of international justice; that at its meeting of March 13, at Paris, it approved plans for sending a commission of inquiry into Russia and concerned itself with the prevention of typhus in Poland; that at its third meeting held in Paris, April 9, it took action with reference to a mandate for Armenia; and that now it is holding a fifth meeting in Rome. In the light of these facts the friends of the Council hold that it is worthy of consideration and support. Its friends emphasize further the first meeting of the Assembly to be held probably during the coming autumn; but especially the permanent court of international justice now in the hands of an organizing committee of twelve persons, including Elihu Root and other famous jurists of the world. Other matters considered hopeful are the International Labor Conference held in Washington during the month of October last; the Council's efforts in behalf of an international health office; of disarmament; of freedom of communications in transit; of repatriation of prisoners of war still in Russia and Siberia; of the protection of minorities; of its rule in Danzig; and of the international financial conference now being held in Brussels.

Discussing these facts in the United States Senate under date of May 19, Senator Borah may be said to have expressed the views of the American opposition to the League when among other things he said:

"The Senator from Idaho has never stood for a policy of isolation, nor has any other man of real sanity in the United States. That is one thing which the advocates of the League seem to fear more than all others, that the United States will shirk some part of the responsibility and renounce the leadership which they say fate and circumstance have imposed upon her—retire, as suggested by the Senator from Tennessee, into her so-called isolation. Perhaps no word of mine can carry consolation to the Senator from Tennessee or any of the advocates of the League; but, after all, how groundless the fear, how utterly it misreads American history, and how utterly it misconstrues national aspirations.

"Isolation? Selfishness? Seclusion is one thing, a thing which the American people as a people have never known, a thing which Washington nor any other statesman ever taught. But the uncontracted volition, the untrammelled and unpawned freedom of the people to determine for themselves in every crisis and in the face of every confronting situation what it is their duty to do and what is in the interest of humanity and civilization to do is another thing, a thing which I venture to say, regardless of what the Senate may do, the American people will never surrender."

In the midst of this controversy your Secretary and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has been obliged to formulate and to express as best he could the views of the American Peace Society. In the absence of any means of ascertaining the average of the views of the entire membership, he has been forced to ascertain and to express those views after conference with a com-

paratively few only. It may be added, however, that this has been done only after the most painstaking study possible to him of the history and purpose of the American Peace Society. Those views thus ascertained have appeared from month to month in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. With the truth as he is permitted to see it as his only guide, he has believed, and he now believes, that the views as he has tried to express them in editorials, in other writings, and in public speech, are the views consonant with the spirit of the men who have gone before in the service of this aged society. Out of the year just passed, its confusion of ideas, its unhappy struggle between legislative and executive branches of the American government, he thinks he sees clearer than ever before the vitality, strength, and abiding veracity of the principles pleaded for and consistently upheld since those epic days of William Ladd. The principles are there, vivified and applied to the exigencies of our modern times, on the inside of the front cover of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, published faithfully and regularly since America entered the world war. They are there. They have not been assailed, much less successfully contradicted. They are the expression of a constructive foreign policy, be it for America or other state. They represent the epitome of all that America has achieved in its political history. They are the enduring substructures of any adequately governed world.

Those are the principles upon which men, when once they know, can agree. They are the things upon which men do agree increasingly. The Republican Party of the State of New York has adopted those principles as its plank for a foreign policy. The men who made that platform are to have an influential voice in the platform of the National Republican Party. Prominent candidates for the Presidency, Governor Lowden, Senator Johnson, Nicholas Murray Butler, have spoken favorably of all or a part of those principles. Democrats favor them. The American Institute of International Law adopted them. The American Peace Society has adopted them. Avoiding the difficulties, real or imaginary, feared by the opposition in the Senate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, particularly the dangers inherent in any international organization with power to coerce by force of arms its will upon unwilling states, also in the nest of threatening controversies arising out of the proposal to perpetuate the inequality of states, these principles advertised and argued for by this Society constitute the very essence of your Secretary's labors during the year just ended. Therefore, they include the sum and substance of his Annual Report.

Conclusion

The American Peace Society sees the problem of over-coming international wars to be most highly complicated. It sees that the problem involves an infinite past of humanity's mixture of thinking, feeling, behavior. It sees that it includes endless ramifications of present world relationships, some known, mostly unknown. It sees that it concerns every nation, race, family, now and for all time. It aims, therefore, to face that problem with rational modesty; to seek to encourage and to make

use of expert knowledge wherever possible; to keep fresh the memories of those high accomplishments that have made America possible, for the achievements of the Fathers are America's main contribution to the peace of the world; in short, it purposes to continue its well defined labors to the end that the past may contribute of its fullness to the advantage of the world that is, and to the developing satisfactions of the generations that are to be. Hence that the nations may see their way to settle their disputes under a system of laws and not of men remains to be the aim and purpose of the American Peace Society.

(Signed) ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

May 1, 1919, to April 30, 1920.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

Balance cash on hand May 1, 1919.....	\$6,407.68
Total receipts.....	26,596.10
Grand total.....	\$33,003.78
Total expenditures.....	20,230.30
Balance cash on hand April 30, 1920.....	\$12,773.48

ACCOUNT IN DETAIL.

Receipts.

Contributions.....	\$250.50
Subvention from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	20,000.00
Permanent Peace Fund.....	2,978.77
Interest in bank.....	452.10
Income Investments, Reserve Fund.....	724.25
Legacy, Robert H. Wright estate.....	1.16
Memberships.....	1,968.30
Advocate of Peace direct subscriptions.....	127.59
Sales, pamphlets and books.....	84.57
Miscellaneous receipts.....	8.86
Grand total receipts.....	\$26,596.10

Expenditures.

Salaries—Secretary, Editor, Asst. Editor, and Office Secretary.....	\$10,057.64
Office rent.....	1,197.00
Telephone.....	73.10
Postage, telegrams, express, etc.....	172.32
Office supplies.....	700.79
Library.....	160.90
Sundries.....	218.48
Total.....	\$12,580.23
Field Work:	
Subvention for New Hampshire Peace Society.....	\$50.00
Traveling expenses of Secretary.....	250.98
Total.....	\$300.98
Publications:	
Printing and mailing Advocate of Peace.....	\$7,005.59
Printing of pamphlets for sale, etc.....	188.00
Miscellaneous printing.....	65.50
Total.....	\$7,349.09
Grand total expenditures.....	\$20,230.30

SUMMARY.

Grand total receipts.....	\$26,596.10
Less grand total expenditures.....	20,230.30
Amount brought forward.....	\$6,365.80
Amount of cash on hand May 1, 1919.....	6,407.68

Amount of cash on hand May 1, 1920:	
Savings bank.....	\$12,586.44
Check account.....	162.93
Petty cash.....	24.11
	\$12,773.48

RESERVE FUND.

Investments.

	Par value.	Market value.
\$4,000 Nor. Pac. Great Northern 4 per cent joint bonds, C. B. & Q. Collateral, registered.....	\$4,000	\$3,775.
\$4,000 Nor. Pac. Great Northern C. B. & Q. Collateral coupon.....	4,000	3,775.
17 shares American Tel. & Tel. Co. stock.....	1,700	1,598.
12 shares Pullman Company stock....	1,200	1,350.
24 shares Boston Elevated Ry. stock..	2,400	1,512.
12 shares Puget Sound Traction Light & Power Company, preferred stock..	1,200	672.
1 share Puget Sound Traction Light & Power Company, common stock.....	100	18.
\$100 Second U. S. Liberty Loan converted 4½%.....	100	85.
\$200 American Telephone & Telegraph 6% bonds, due 1925.....	200	186.50
Total	\$14,900	\$12,971.50

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. WHITE,
Treasurer.

NEW YORK, May 24, 1920.

MR. GEORGE W. WHITE, *Treas.*,
The American Peace Society,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

We have examined the accounts of The American Peace Society for the year ended April 30, 1920. The following statements are submitted:

EXHIBIT "A"—Cash account for the year ended April 30, 1920.

SCHEDULE "No. 1"—Schedule of investments as at April 30, 1920.

All cash receipts were verified with bank deposits, and payments were checked with vouchers, excepting small petty cash payments.

The investments, as shown by Schedule "No. 1," were verified by actual inspection of the securities.

We hereby certify that, in our opinion, the attached Exhibit "A" is an accurate statement of the cash receipts and payments of the Society for the year ended April 30, 1920.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. RANKIN & Co.,
Certified Public Accountants.

Ninety-second Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors

MINUTES

MAY 29, 1920.

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society was held in the Society's headquarters, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C., today at 10 a. m., Mr. Ramsay presiding.

Voted, that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be omitted.

The Secretary presented communications from President Mary Woolley, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Ex-President Burton, Henry Morris Esq., Mr. Van Kirk, Mr. Gordy, Dr. Francis E. Clark, President Thwing, Dr. Frederick Lynch, President William L. Bryan, Mr. E. P. Wharton, Mr. John Barrett, and Mrs. Frederic Schoff, all expressing regret at their inability to be present.

Voted, that the Board of Directors constitute itself a Committee on Resolutions.

Voted, that the Board of Directors constitute itself a Committee on Nominations.

Voted, that the report of the Treasurer be received, approved, placed on file and printed in the usual form.

Voted, that the report of the President be received and printed in the usual form.

Voted, that the report of the Secretary be received and printed in the usual form.

Voted, that the consideration of a public meeting, as provided for under Article IX of the Constitution, be postponed until another year.

Voted, that the following officers be elected for the ensuing year:

President:

Hon. Andrew J. Montague, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

Arthur Deerlin Call, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

George W. White, President of National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. James L. Slayden, Member Council Interparliamentary Union, San Antonio, Texas.

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Lawyer, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Theodore E. Burton, former President American Peace Society and Senator from Ohio, Cleveland, Ohio.

Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Voted, that the following be elected Honorary Vice-Presidents:

Lyman Abbott, 287 4th Avenue, New York.

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, Winthrop Center, Maine.

A. T. Bell, Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

Gilbert Bowles, 30 Koun Machi, Mita Shiba, Tokyo, Japan.

Dean Charles R. Brown, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. Brown, New York University, New York.

Pres. William Lowe Bryan, Bloomington, Ind.

George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Francis E. Clark, Boston, Mass.

Charles W. Daniel, Atlanta, Ga.

W. H. P. Faunce, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Everett O. Fiske, 2 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, Milton Mass.

William P. Gest, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hiram Hadley, Mesilla Park, New Mexico.

Frank P. Holland, Dallas, Texas.

Hon. Charles E. Hughes, New York.

Charles E. Jefferson, New York City.

David Starr Jordan, Stanford University, Calif.

Bishop William Lawrence, Boston, Mass.

Joseph Lee, Boston, Mass.

William H. Luden, Reading, Pa.

Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester, Mass.

Pres. S. C. Mitchell, Delaware College, Newark, Del.

Mrs. Phillip N. Moore, St. Louis, Mo.
 Mrs. John F. Moore, Boston, Mass.
 Phillip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass.
 L. H. Pillsbury, Derry, N. H.
 Judge Henry Wade Rogers, New York City.
 Mrs. Frederic Schoff, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hon. James Brown Scott, Washington, D. C.
 Mrs. Ruth H. Spray, Salda, Colo.
 Edward Stevens, Columbia, Mo.
 Pres. M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Pres. C. F. Thwing, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Pres. Mary E. Woolley, South Hadley, Mass.

Voted, that the Executive Committee be elected as follows:

Hon. Andrew J. Montague, *ex officio*.
 Arthur Deerin Call, *ex officio*.
 George W. White, *ex officio*.
 John Barrett, Director Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C.
 P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.
 William Knowles Cooper, Secretary Y. M. C. A., Washington, D. C.
 George A. Finch, Assistant Editor *American Journal of International Law*, Washington, D. C.
 Dr. Thomas E. Green, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.
 Hon. Walter L. Hensley, former Member of Congress, Farmington, Mo.
 Hon. Frank W. Mondell, Member of Congress from Wyoming, Washington, D. C.
 Jackson H. Ralston, Lawyer, Washington, D. C.
 Arthur Ramsay, Principal Fairmont Seminary, Washington, D. C.
 Hon. Edward Watts Saunders, Justice Supreme Court of Appeals, Virginia.
 Paul Slemman, Lawyer, Washington, D. C.
 Jay T. Stocking, D. D., Clergyman, Upper Montclair, N. J.

Voted, that the resolution presented by Mr. George A. Finch be adopted.

The resolution is as follows:

Whereas the establishment of an international court of justice for the settlement of controversies between nations has from historic times been a cardinal principle of American foreign policy, receiving the approval, commendation, and support of administration after administration, regardless of political complexion:

Whereas the constitution of such a court has from its organization been the principal plank in the platform of the American Peace Society and is the central article of its international program for peace through justice, adopted in 1917, for the purpose of offering a constructive solution of the problems growing out of the world war: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Peace Society, in ninety-second annual meeting assembled, expresses its cordial approval and warm appreciation of the action of the Council of the League of Nations, taken at its meeting in Paris on February 11, 1920, in appointing a committee of international jurists to draw up plans for the organization of a permanent court of international justice; and be it further

Resolved, That the Society extends its hearty congratulations to the eminent publicists who have accepted the invitation of the Council to perform such signal services to the cause of international peace and wishes them God-speed in their labors and indubitable success in the results.

Voted, that the Secretary be instructed to call a special meeting of the Board of Directors, after getting from the members of the Board an expression of opinion as to the best time for such a meeting, such meeting to be called for the discussion of those policies most desirable for the American Peace Society now to pursue.

The meeting adjourned at 1:45.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Secretary.

OUR BANQUET

THE MENU of the banquet of the American Peace Society follows:

1828-1920

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

NINETY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY

Rauscher's, May 29, 1920

"The manhood that has been in war must be transferred to the cause of peace, before war can lose its charm, and peace be venerable to men. . . .

"The cause of peace is not the cause of cowardice. . . .

"The proposition of the Congress of Nations is undoubtedly that at which the present fabric of our society and the present course of events do point. But the mind, once prepared for the reign of principles, will easily find modes of expressing its will."—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

Before American Peace Society, 1838.

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE PROGRAM

A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

INVOCATION

REV. WALTER A. MORGAN

Pastor Mt. Pleasant Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.

THE HOME AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

MRS. PHILIP NORTH MOORE

President National Council of Women, St. Louis, Mo.

THE SCHOOLS AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON

United States Commissioner of Education

INDUSTRY AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

GEORGE SOULE

Author and Specialist in Labor Disputes

THE PRESS AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

FREDERICK WILE

Foreign Newspaper Correspondent

CHINA AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

PAUL S. REINSCH

Formerly United States Minister to China

THE HAGUE CONFERENCES AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

JACKSON H. RALSTON

American Agent and of Counsel in First Dispute Submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague

FINANCE AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

JOHN BURKE

Treasurer of the United States

ALTRUISM AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

THOMAS E. GREEN

Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross

The Addresses*

THE HOME AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By MRS. PHILIP NORTH MOORE,

President National Council of Women of the United States

IF CLEAR-THINKING men and women fail to meet the problems of today with intelligent devotion to liberty and justice for all, then the supreme sacrifice of youth in all the embattled nations will have been in vain.

Political unrest menaces the stability of nations. The United States is, perhaps, the greatest stabilizing factor in the world. Yet a nation can be no more static than an individual; it must either advance or decline.

When we speak, therefore, of the conservative element of a nation, the women and the home, we refer to the trend of thought, judgment, and will in the direction of the things that endure, and not in the direction of the things that destroy.

Woman's relation to education and the schools, to religion and the church, to publicity and the press, to the business world and finance, is accepted today, recognized as a conservative factor through the very origin and maintenance of the home, which is the center of our national life.

When a foreigner comes to our shores, what does our government mean to him? What effect has our flag upon his inner consciousness? The flag is the symbol, the government is the force, that protects his home, what he came to this country to obtain, and what every American takes for granted.

No country in the world has been so organized as to its woman power as the United States. Sincerely believing that the best good of humanity is advanced by unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, women united themselves in a federation of workers to further the

application of the "Golden Rule" to society, custom, and law.

The women of the United States realized that there must be a representative body of women, as a national basis, before initiating the idea of an international union of women, working toward constructive, co-operative ideals. The entire organized woman force of the world resulted from the vision of the women of the United States.

Our National Council comprises thirty national organizations of women, of conservatively ten million members. It is one of twenty-five national councils of women of other countries, numbering about twenty millions of women, having always in mind a "constructive foreign policy."

During these thirty years we have frequently used the familiar term, a "League of Nations," because we were banded together for the health and morals, the general welfare, of women and children.

Women worked quietly, unobtrusively, for their desired ends; but when the great catastrophe came they were not consulted, not even considered.

They had no voice in the councils of men. Would the result have been different if they had had that voice, which they will doubtless have before the next world war threatens? The destinies of those sorrowful countries were decided in many cases without a council of men.

Women are peace-loving; they are the mothers of men; they have gone through the agonies of death to bring these human beings into life. Yet, even more than men, women would fight for the peace that means honor.

The war has come and gone. These various organizations of women ceased to function, except in the war work of their own countries.

When the peace conferees were in session in Paris they were requested by the president of the International Council of Women to receive a deputation of representative women, and they granted the request, the special privilege of being the only delegation received in audience by the League of Nations Commission of the Peace Conference. The personnel of this deputation was interesting, including the international president, the president of the French Council, the conveners of several committees, the presidents or representatives of the councils of Italy, Roumania, Belgium, England, and the United States, with representatives also from the Suffrage Alliance.

In order to secure the entire co-operation of women, the deputation urged upon the Commission the inclusion of certain points in the Covenant:

1. That women should be eligible to sit on all bodies and to hold offices set up by the League. This was added to the Covenant.
2. That nations entering the League agree to suppress all forms of traffic in women and children. Such a clause has been included.
3. That the principle of woman-suffrage be recognized, and that, where a referendum is taken in regard to a change of nationality, women be consulted equally with men. The latter was accorded.

* Commissioner Claxton's address will appear in our next number.—THE EDITOR.

4. That an international bureau of education and public health be instituted in the League. This was not specifically included, except as Article XXI establishes a permanent bureau of education as a part of the organization of the League.

This "constructive foreign policy" is being carried out in draft conventions, relative to various needs, by the women of nations interested in the League.

The Council of the United States has practically furnished the material for these draft conventions, although we may not participate in the commissions established.

Women have been placed on every committee where the interests of women and children and all economic relations are considered.

It is proposed to establish at the seat of the League an international women's congress in connection with the League, and an international bureau to raise the status of women wherever needed.

The women of the United States have been asked to give advice in various international matters, without direct participation. This is only one example of the entrance of women into international relations.

Recently when the Y. W. C. A. invited women physicians of fourteen countries to the United States to confer upon health conditions of women the world over, our organizations formed a foundation for health to carry out the findings of the physicians. This is being accomplished in every community. Meantime those physicians have taken back the plans, as we have outlined them, to the communities of Europe, China, and Japan, and also to South America.

There is no doubt of the home and its influence on a constructive foreign policy.

INDUSTRY AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By GEORGE SOULE,

Secretary Labor Bureau, Inc., New York

WE shall all agree, I think, that among the greatest forces which determine foreign policy are capital seeking investment and goods seeking markets. It is important, indeed, to attempt to regulate the interplay of such forces by a governed world. But government has its limitations. Until the economic forces of society are employed in a functional way, in such a way that they produce the maximum of mutual service with the minimum of exclusive rivalry, no merely judicial machinery will keep them from breeding, on occasion, ill-will and hostility.

The world just now offers two possible careers to an ambitious nation. One is the career of power through exploitation, the other the career of power through service. The first is the old, destructive game of the robber-baron nation, the other is the opportunity of a civilized society. The first leads to war and pestilence, the second may lead to the sort of world which all lovers of peace desire to see.

After years of exhausting destruction all the peoples stand in need of goods as never before. What is that

need to mean to those in positions of power? If we are ruled by the philosophy of the mediæval prince, we shall all engage in a scramble for exclusive control of oil, rubber, and the other vast natural resources of the undeveloped portions of the earth. We shall try to gain advantage by the possession of exclusive trade routes and by wars of tariffs. The nation which arrives in the strategic position will buy cheaply and sell dear. It will exploit its labor and extort tribute from its customers. Such a course is possible and easy. There is nothing to prevent the United States, for instance, from embarking upon it, if we wish to do so. But what would be the result? The limitation of production and the prolongation of starvation and poverty in Europe; the hostility of the rest of the world; a burdensome army and navy, kept in full strength by means of the propaganda of militarism; extremes of wealth and poverty at home, with a deteriorating population; in the end, disaster, for ourselves and probably also for modern civilization.

Industry, properly understood, has no interest in furthering such a destructive foreign policy. Industry is, first of all, interested in production. Every industrial engineer, every factory manager, every trained workman, wants to turn out goods, to turn them out well, and to win by honest competition in a contest of excellence. We have within our own borders enough capital, if we use it honestly; enough raw material, if we conserve it wisely; enough labor, if we see that it is not exploited, and enough technical skill, to supply a major portion of the world with many of the necessities of life. This is the way of service. It is the way of growth and peace.

So sharp is the alternative that it seems almost unnecessary to point it out. Will not Americans inevitably choose the second? Perhaps they would wish to, and yet by no means all Americans are conscious of what it implies. To win in a contest of service is not so simple as to break our way through to dominion by main force. The task of producing for the world's need will require a candid and fearless examination of every domestic maladjustment.

We are now losing needlessly forest after forest; we are destroying thousands of tons of coal a year; there is scarcely a great industry which is not economically wasteful in one way or another. Why? Engineers tell us because capital is content to reap the rewards of possession rather than to explore the possibilities of maximum service. Our transportation system is on the verge of collapse. The mounting cost of living, in part due to world-wide conditions, is also in large measure attributable to obstruction and confusion in the channels of distribution. One of the greatest food experts in the country is authority for the statement that probably half of the food raised never reaches the consumer and that of every dollar spent by the consumer on food only thirty cents reaches the farmer. Ten years ago one-third of our farmers were tenants; now the proportion is nearer one-half. The farms have not enough labor, and the drift to the cities merely emphasizes their unhealthful overcrowding. Housing is inadequate in every industrial center; capital seeking profit is no longer attracted to the construction of dwelling-places

for the working population. Seasonal unemployment, involving a waste of millions of man-hours per year, not to speak of the worry and human loss to the workers and their families, prevails in industry after industry. And the workers themselves, feeling the pressure and difficulty of their situation, are dissatisfied and express their dissatisfaction in the only way open to them—that is, by further stoppage of the wheels of production.

Only three weeks ago I was at the biennial convention of a great national trade union—one of the largest and most powerful in the country. The most important question which came before that convention—and it was so recognized by all the delegates—had to do with the question of productivity. Should the union voluntarily and of its own initiative set before its members standards of production, so that their work might not fall below a certain point of efficiency? This was the proposal of the union's administration. Naturally it was attacked bitterly by some of the delegates—those who remembered the "speeding-up" to which they had been subjected before the union had been recognized and had abolished long hours and overwork. The answer of the union's president was this: Before, you fought against conditions which enabled the employer to abuse his power. Now, however, we have a substantial measure of control. The union is here to see that standards of production are not abused. We, therefore, have a corresponding obligation to see that fair standards of production are maintained. No union can afford to fight and injure the industry under any system of society. This argument carried the convention, which, by an overwhelming majority, voted in favor of adopting production standards. Here is a case where labor, because it has been recognized and given responsibility, is helping to establish sound industrial policy.

It is needless to explain the relation of industrial maladjustments to foreign trade. One thing is certain: if we are to compete in the world markets and are to win our way honestly and peacefully by the excellence and cheapness of our products, we must set our own house in order. All the industrial nations are now facing similar problems; many of them are already suffering the throes of a necessary adjustment from the disorder of exploitation to a new order of service. The nation which succeeds first in creating a balance in its economic life, in organizing its industrial chaos, will have the world at its feet, and justly so. To produce well and cheaply the basic necessities of life, to clear the channels of distribution, to give labor its full share in the control of production and in its earnings—these are the preliminaries to a realistic foreign policy which shall be constructive rather than destructive. Otherwise we shall make enormous profits for the few and penury for the many; the surplus capital so created will seek investment, not in the production of necessities at home, but in exploitation abroad, and before we know it we shall be fully embarked upon a course of financial imperialism which no international tribunal and no league of nations can check.

There can be no good foreign policy without a good domestic policy. A good domestic policy will not result from campaign slogans and hasty legislation, but from candid and painstaking investigations of our own eco-

nomie conditions. It will naturally arise from the inauguration of a sound housing policy, from the development of farmers' and consumers' co-operation, from wise industrial management—in short, from the exertion of every possible effort to shape our national life for the purpose of mutual service. When we have learned how to serve ourselves we shall be able to serve the world.

THE PRESS AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By FREDERICK WILLIAM WILE
Of the Philadelphia Ledger

AMERICA has duties that do not end on our sea-coasts or on our land frontiers north and south. Her obligations to the world did not cease with the hour that our last soldier left France and our last sailor quit the waters of the war-zone. It is not right for the United States to expect to enjoy the sweets of international intercourse without being prepared to swallow her full share of the bitters as well. The United States can no more dream of withdrawing from the affairs of the great universe of which we are a part than we can dream of turning our backs upon our lads who died to make the world a safer and a better place to live in.

Sometimes, when I am venturesome enough, even in the solitude of my own consciousness, to dwell on these things, I ponder over them in a spirit of optimistic confidence. Today, this week, tonight—thanks to causes it would ill become me to hint at—America is undoubtedly not in a mood to consider favorably the acceptance of serious international obligations of hardly any kind whatsoever. "A great and solemn referendum" now, perhaps even next November, might—in my judgment, probably would—find a majority of the American people in favor only of a foreign policy that limited our obligations to the smallest possible participation in outside affairs compatible with national security.

But I like to feel that one day the pendulum will swing in another direction. I cannot think that American altruism died with the armistice. I believe the time will come when the same spirit of rugged idealism will take possession of the minds and hearts of our people that fired them in April, 1917. It is because I foresee such a development that I think it timely, in the highest degree, that we should give thought to the question of a foreign policy worthy of the name—to "a constructive foreign policy."

Educate Public Opinion

In a democracy like our own, there can be no foreign policy, as there can be no domestic policy, that is not dictated and sustained by public opinion. I suppose it may be stated, with little danger of contradiction, that ignorance of foreign affairs among our people at large is profound. It takes a mighty lesson in geography like a great war to teach us even the rudiments of things beyond our shore-lines. Ignorance is not confined to the mere taxpaying community. I have heard it alleged

that Washington itself, citadel of American statesmanship, is today not omniscient. A United States Senator told me the other day that there are perhaps not more than half a dozen men in the Senate with real, intelligent knowledge of foreign affairs derived from acquaintance with history and bulwarked by keen perception of current events the world over. He said he was sure that Capitol Hill swarmed with men who don't know whether Poland is a kingdom or a mineral water.

The first function of the American press toward a constructive foreign policy, therefore, is its natural function—it must be a spreader of the light. It must be a disseminator of news and views of foreign affairs. The press must create an interest in international topics by printing more foreign news. Our foreign news should be serious in tone and deal with the outstanding motives of policy in other countries, as it affects us in particular and the world situation in general. The news should be educative and interpretative, and designed, above all, to inform and interest the average reader. It should be reported by American newspapermen with the American point of view. I am glad that I have resumed the practice of my profession in the United States as the Washington correspondent of a great newspaper, the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, which is specializing in supplying to the American public an intelligent service of foreign news from all the great capitals of the world.

American editors have not always had a lively interest in foreign events. I remember a classic incident—on the occasion of the second Balkan war in 1912, I think it was—when for the thousandth time the universal war conflagration was threatened that finally did burst forth in the summer of 1914. An American colleague in Berlin began cabling hundreds of words to his paper, dealing with the imminence of hostilities and the ominous possibilities wrapped up in them. Forthwith came a message from his editor, reading: "Slow down on war stuff. World's baseball series on here."

A Program for the State Department

If I were asked to summarize the things on which the American press might well concentrate, in seeking to bring about the establishment of "a constructive foreign policy" as part and parcel of our governmental system, I think I should enumerate these as the outstanding requisites:

1. Persistent and systematic education of the nation on the basic point that America has responsibilities to the world, to civilization, to mankind, that we cannot escape if we would, and which we ought not to try to escape if we could.

2. That the days of our one-time, comfortable isolation from world affairs went where the woodbine twineth, forever, when the first United States soldier landed on European soil in 1917.

3. That the views of foreign affairs—entangling alliances, and all—that prevailed in the era of George Washington are just as obsolete in the United States of today as would be the picturesque sartorial effects indulged in by our sainted first President.

4. That our commercial and financial relations with foreign countries have become so vast and so interlock-

ing that their weal is our weal, their woe, necessarily our woe; that, in cutting ourselves adrift from them, we are inviting economic conditions that must inevitably redound to our direct and material domestic hurt.

5. That foreign affairs must be removed, and forever kept apart, from domestic party politics; that the State Department must be regarded as fully immune from the intrigues, suspicions, bickerings, and interference of partisan politicians as the Supreme Court is.

6. That American diplomacy must cease, at the behest of domestic political interests, to be the bull in the international china shop. It must be put beyond the power of any "vote" in our country to coerce the State Department into meddling unjustifiably in the domestic affairs of friendly powers.

7. That the portfolio of Secretary of State is a post assignable by unwritten law, as the fathers of the country surely intended it to be, not to the worthiest politician, but to the greatest mind at the nation's disposal suitable to, and trained in, the conduct of foreign affairs; that it ought to be a custom for the President to name his Secretary of State irrespective of the latter's party affiliations; that it ought to be the one Cabinet office to which an incoming President, differing in party faith from his predecessor, might appropriately and naturally, barring extraordinary conditions, reappoint the incumbent he finds at the State Department when he himself takes office. The purpose of such a proposal is obvious—to insure some degree of continuity in foreign policy. Why should a man like John Hay not have remained Secretary of State indefinitely?

8. That the country be educated to understand, as is the case in Great Britain, for example, that all domestic political rancor and controversy should cease abruptly at the threshold of the State Department; that when the Secretary of State speaks to a foreign Government, he speaks for a *united* United States; to justify such a state of affairs there ought to be regular and confidential consultation among the Secretary of State and party leaders in Congress, as well as between him and the Cabinet alone.

9. That the United States must maintain a permanent diplomatic service filled, as far as possible, with men who, once having entered the service, are entitled to a professional career in it on the basis of demonstrated merit and actual experience; that ambassadorships, ministerships and consulships cease to be regarded the legitimate booty of contributors to party campaign funds; that the United States henceforward pay the members of its foreign service decent salaries accompanied by essential allowances for expenses. Why not a diplomatic school, like West Point or Annapolis, where officers for peace can be trained, as well as we train officers for war?

10. That as the axiomatic and basic feature of our constructive foreign policy, America announces to the world that wherever her citizens go the protection of the United States Government goes with them to the uttermost, in so far as they have not conducted themselves on foreign territory in a manner to make the safeguarding of their interests indefensible.

11. That no constructive foreign policy is possible or

enforceable without the means to back it up if ever violently assailed; by which is meant adequate preparedness on land and sea and in the air.

12. That America's foreign policy is formally proclaimed to be Peace, Friendship, Commerce, and a Square Deal with, and for, everybody the globe around:

If America will thus be true to her own self, she cannot possibly be false to any nation. I hope, and I believe, that the American press is ready to lend its potent support to a constructive foreign policy such as I have feebly attempted to submit for your consideration here tonight.

A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY: CHINA

By PAUL S. REINSCH,

Formerly United States Minister to China

AFTER the bitterness of the terrible struggle that lies behind us we are in need of a policy that will have its vision fixed upon the great things that ought to be accomplished if humanity is to survive. The hatreds engendered by the war must not be allowed to have too dominant a sway; but, before everything else, we need determination to repudiate and suppress all remnants of the indirect diplomatic methods and of the ruthless policy of force which brought on the great struggle. Against these we must set our face with determination wherever they show themselves. Unfortunately, they are still in evidence in various parts of the world, particularly in the Far East. Unless the forces of public opinion which decisively disapprove of these methods and practices are vigilant and assert themselves at all times with unflinching determination, we shall not evade the consequences, whose nature has been so terribly demonstrated just now.

This applies particularly to the relations surrounding China. If it should prove possible for militarist control to dominate not only Manchuria, but parts of China proper, together with portions of Siberia, it would be an achievement of forward and aggressive policy that might stir national pride, but that inevitably would lead to disaster. The spirit of independence of eastern Asia cannot be clubbed to death by militarist methods, and the longer it is attempted the more terrible will be the final retribution. These things we clearly see, and in a spirit of truthfulness and honesty we must admit their seriousness.

But when we search for means to avoid the dominance of such forces in any part of the world, we shall not ransack the armory of political intrigue, nor elaborate counter-plots, nor attempt to arouse furious animosity and bitter feeling. We shall rather look to the great natural forces that determine the growth and development of nations. We shall attempt to build on things that transcend even the most skillful designs of diplomacy. It is this point of view that a constructive policy for China, looking to the future, ought to take. American relationship with China has been kept on a high plane of fair dealing and justice, with the result that America enjoys the deep confidence and good will of the

Chinese people. Any one who knows the strength of this feeling and the qualities of character of the Chinese people will consider this as one of our greatest national treasures and assets. It is based on hostility to none and is a direct result of sympathetic feeling and equitable action.

The Chinese people who have manifested this feeling toward us are at the present time beset with many difficulties, both internal and external. They face the enormous task of transforming the methods of an ancient, well-balanced society in conformity to the principles of an active and changeful life among the nations. It means a scrutiny and sifting of all they have inherited and of all that is being offered them by the outside world, and forming from these elements a new Chinese civilization, true to the old virtues, yet responding to new duties.

In this difficult task the great Chinese people is indeed entitled to our sympathetic interest and active support. No outside agency can work out these problems for the Chinese; that they must do for themselves. But they need indulgence while the difficulties last, and they need specific support in some matters. Their greatest need, however, is to be given a chance to solve these enormous national problems without unfriendly outside interference. That is so simple and just a demand that it might well be laid down as the fundamental policy of the nations who are friendly to China and who would gladly see her a free, prosperous, and progressive nation. There is no other fact so important to the welfare and peace of the entire world than that China should at this time be left free to effect her re-organization according to her inner needs, and that outside interests should not be permitted to take advantage of this critical time to advance their narrow policies. If the great process of inner liberation which is now going on in China should be interfered with and should even be made the occasion for imposing foreign bondage on parts of China, there would be generated disruptive forces greater than any yet seen.

When it comes to action of a positive nature by foreign nations in China at the present time, an appeal to the underlying facts of nature will show that only such action can be sound and salutary which abstains from opportunities of gaining petty advantages of political influence and exclusive control. At a period when national life undergoes such a transformation, there are always groups and individuals which can be utilized to gain advantages or even a temporary ascendancy through crafty use of dissensions and a stimulation of partisan ambitions. Such a policy can only bring confusion, and though it may be temporarily successful in impeding the sound action of national forces, it must result disastrously to all concerned.

A true policy of helpfulness from nation to nation at such a time will not use such methods as the above, which have recently been applied by some, but it will seek to alleviate the burden which the nation in travail is carrying, by doing those incidental important things which will make progress easier, without attempting to determine and sway the course of the national development from the outside.

In China the essential thing today is for the nation to win for itself a unity of consciousness and organization, with the forms of free self-government. To attempt to obstruct this must in the long run be futile; but even to attempt to help it along with outside means of a political nature, even with the best of intentions, could have but confusing results, because these matters every nation has to solve and work out for itself.

But if at this time the Chinese nation can to some extent be assisted in solving matters incidental to the great problem, which can be taken in hand upon a purely objective basis, by the action of individuals, as matters of ordinary business and human intercourse, the relief and encouragement will be great and energies will be liberated in abundance for the achievement of the main task. This will give a hint to the positive content of a truly helpful and friendly policy toward this great nation at this time of readjustment to new forces. Wherever America, as a nation, or any other friendly nation, furnishes energies, in the form of capital or human effort, to assist in building up in China broader, sounder, and healthier ways of living and performing human work, they will in this entirely businesslike, and to all remunerative, manner do some specific good that will count and that can be evaluated in itself in terms of humanity distinct from all political considerations.

This includes the entire gamut of human activities, whether it be setting up a school or a hospital or establishing a factory for the manufacture of railway equipment, electrical apparatus, agricultural implements, or any other useful thing needed in Chinese life; whether it be building railways or constructing roads into the interior, or providing permanent drainage of large flooded areas so that millions may find a new livelihood there. Whatever great enterprise it may be, if efficiently planned and fairly conducted, it will not only be worth while in itself and bring profit and satisfaction to those who carry it through, but it will be a great, active, powerful encouragement to the Chinese people, lightening their burden, teaching them modern methods through co-operation, and enabling them to concentrate their energies more fully and more freely upon the great problem of national reorganization.

In China the future of world peace and democracy is at present at stake. Foreign nations are in need of a broad, fair, and just policy. Let them recognize that no one can permanently control from without the vast force which is China. All attempts to use the present crisis for the gaining of narrow advantages, political and otherwise, will bring grief and confusion. It is the most important interest of the entire world today that the forces of Chinese national life which are striving for utterance now shall not be obstructed or their efforts be frustrated, in order that at the time when Chinese nationalism shall have won its full growth it shall not have been made to forget the great tradition of peace and industry that form the center of its life and thought. If it should forget this and by endless foreign interference and harassment grow into a spirit of warlike hostility, then those to blame for such a result would not be in an enviable position.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

American Agent and of Counsel in First Dispute Submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague

WHILE I appreciate the compliment involved in being called upon to sum up the wisdom of the ages upon the particular subject allotted to me in the space of 600 seconds, and while I am assured that my associates must share this feeling, nevertheless I have a haunting fear that at the conclusion of these exercises something will be left unsaid upon the various topics assigned to us.

Courteous allusion has been made to certain personal associations of mine with international arbitration. I call to mind with a great deal of pleasure that eighteen years ago this month, and almost this very day, the Mexican Senate ratified a protocol by virtue of which the dispute relative to the Pious Fund of the Californias was referred to what is known as The Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration for settlement. It was my fortune in this connection to represent the United States and to open for the first time a tribunal which had remained till that time, from the date of its formation, unused and whose further employment European statesmen apparently did not expect. This contest was the first important fruit of the First Hague Conference.

We who attended the hearings in the Pious Fund case were immensely impressed with the idea that much was to be expected from the development of this great effort toward world peace. That our opinion was not without some justification is shown by the fact that some seventeen or eighteen cases have within the past eighteen years gone to The Hague Permanent Court to find their solution. These cases have been varied in their nature, involving many instances of treaty construction, national responsibility, boundaries, and even trenching upon the field of national susceptibilities not included in monetary adjustments.

Yet it is hard to resist the feeling that The Hague conferences have not lived up to the promise they made, and will not do so in the future except they be approached by the nations concerned in a very different frame of mind.

We will not forget that the Czar of Russia called the First Hague Conference, having in mind the diminution of oppressive national armaments. We will observe that neither the First nor the Second Conference took one single step toward the attainment of this rational and important end; that, so far from being peace conferences, about three-fourths of all treaties entered into at The Hague relate to regulations controlling the authorized killing of men, and in so doing give the status of war,

as a condition of nature, a firmer foundation in the thoughts of men.

We will not overlook the fact that reference to arbitration as prescribed by The Hague treaties is not compulsory and is not treated even as affecting the consciences of nations, if national interests of the parties in dispute make it apparently inadvisable to resort to peaceful judicial settlement and to prefer the arbitration of arms.

Until nations can approach Hague conferences prepared to surrender some part of what they are pleased to term their national sovereignty, and this feeling extends to the greater nations as well as to the least, substantial results will not be achieved through these meetings.

Let us remember that at the present time, useful as the Permanent Court of Arbitration is, or may be made, except it be a part of the warp and woof of a symmetrically planned fabric of international unity, it is an excrescence which may be thrown aside without materially changing the antagonistic relations of nations.

Let us for a moment compare the present situation with that confronting this Republic in 1787, when our National Constitution was framed. If the delegates from the several States had come together and had said, "We will form a treaty of peace among ourselves," and, without going materially further, had said, "We will establish a Supreme Court of the United States, which shall have power, at the option of the several States, to determine disputes arising between themselves," we may believe that such a Supreme Court, binding or intended to bind the States of the Union, would have been as a rope of sand and at the first touch fallen into impotence.

The true national cement furnished to us by the fathers of 1787 was found in the fact that they established between the States not a Supreme Court, but absolute free trade. No State could discriminate against another in commerce or otherwise, and the rivalries of States were thus rendered harmless.

While I may seem for a moment to be trenching upon partizan politics, I must venture to say that until the nations of the earth come together and agree that they will no longer fence themselves around with suspicions of each other and bar the gates of communication with custom-houses, little real progress will be made. The citizen of any country must be able to take himself, his possessions and his ambitions, from one country to another with the same degree of freedom as attends his transfer within the United States from one State to another. Until this principle becomes firmly recognized as the rule of theoretic action among States of the world, Hague conferences will lack effectiveness. Accordingly as we approach this principle, Hague conferences will grow more and more efficient.

FINANCE AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By JOHN BURKE,

Treasurer of the United States

FINANCE is largely a domestic question and must be based upon a sound financial policy at home, to command respect abroad. No constructive foreign policy can be maintained without finances, and since the passage of the Reserve Bank Act the national banks of this country of a certain minimum capital can establish and maintain in foreign countries branch banks, which are of great benefit and advantage in the handling of our foreign commerce.

We can perhaps best judge of what can be done in financing a foreign policy by considering what has been done since the outbreak of the great World War. At that time thousands of Americans were in Europe. Their bankers' checks and their tickets home were not recognized. Congress immediately appropriated money for their relief, and hundreds of thousands of dollars were deposited in the Treasury by individual citizens for the relief and return to the United States of relatives in Europe, and the Treasury Department, acting in concert with the State and War Departments, looked after the Americans abroad and brought them safely home.

We were a debtor nation at the beginning of the war, and the European investors in American securities presented them for payment, and the Treasury Department loaned the banks in New York a half billion dollars of additional currency, which met the situation, and within six months the money loaned was back in the United States Treasury, with interest. In the meantime the balance of trade was turning heavily in our favor. The Allied countries needed munitions of war and needed money with which to buy them. We loaned them the money, very little of which went abroad, for it was in this country that the Allies needed the money. Credit for the amount of loan was given to the borrowing country in one of the large banks of New York, and it was checked out to pay for our wheat, our flour, our corn, our beef, our pork, and our munitions. When we became involved in the war we not only financed our own war activities, but continued to finance the Allied countries.

We had no great standing army equipped and ready for warfare. Indeed, we did not have sufficient officers in number to train the mighty army that it was necessary to raise. We had to train officers first to train our boys. We had no cantonments or camps to shelter the soldier boys. We built cantonments, fed, clothed, and trained our mighty armies, built ships to take them across the ocean, and built railroads in France to take them to the front; and yet within one year and a half from the time of our entry into the war we had two million soldiers in France, two million soldiers in training in the cantonments in this country, and fifteen million men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five ready, willing, and anxious to enlist in their country's defense, if necessary. We labored under the great disadvantage of having to pay war prices for food, clothing, and labor, and for all the material that went into the

manufacture of weapons and munitions, and while doing all of this we continued to finance our Allies.

Tremendous sums of money were invested through the Treasury Department in Liberty bonds purchased on the market to keep the market up, and in certificates of indebtedness and farm-loan bonds. Hundreds of millions of dollars were raised for the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., K. C.'s, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Aid Society, to be expended by these benevolent organizations for the comfort and welfare of the soldier boys at home and abroad. For the first time in the history of the world, the soldier boy was recognized as something more than a fighting machine, and everything of evil was excluded from the army camp and army life. There is nothing like it in history; there is nothing like it in fiction; for the wondrous tales of the Arabian Nights pale into insignificance when compared with the marvelous achievements of this country in the year and a half in which we were involved in the war. If we could have kept alive, after the signing of the armistice, the spirit of self-sacrifice of our people which existed during the war, we would be a long way on our road back to normal conditions. Since we financed our own country in time of war and loaned to the Allied countries ten billion dollars, we ought not to have any trouble in financing any constructive foreign policy. But the first thing is to get back to normal conditions, and to assist the returned soldiers until they are absorbed into the business life of the country.

We accomplished these mighty things because practically every American was helping; but as soon as the armistice was signed the people quit helping. They forgot the mighty debt this country incurred during the war, and the drive habit continued. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being raised for colleges, universities, benevolent organizations, and churches. I believe in colleges, universities, churches, and benevolent organizations; but is this the time to burden the people with these continuous drives after the sacrifices they made for their country during the war, and is it the kind of production that counts? Is it not increasing the cost of building material, making it prohibitive to the poor man who wants to build a home? The Liberty bonds, purchased at great sacrifice during the war, are dumped upon the market. The cost of living is increased for lack of production. By adding the war-profit tax, to be paid by the ultimate consumer, and the avarice of the profiteer compelled many deserving people to sell their Liberty bonds at a sacrifice to purchase the necessities of life. Extravagance and speculation are rampant throughout the country. This is our immediate problem and one that must be solved before we can give much attention to a foreign constructive policy not connected with the League of Nations and the treaty of peace.

When our boys crossed the ocean to fight for humanity and to make the world safe for democracy, we hoped, and we still hope, for some international power that will prevent future wars. If I had power to establish peace upon earth I would begin by disarmament. No country will start a war if it is not prepared for war, and the country that is prepared for war and wants war will find an excuse for war. We know that the great World War was not started until Germany was ready; we know, too,

that the murder of an archduke was not the cause of the war. That was the excuse for the war. But there is a mighty difference between an excuse and a reason.

You cannot establish peace with mighty armies. Armies are not raised and equipped for peace, but for war. Fighting is the soldier's profession, and he is just as anxious to engage in the practice of his profession as a lawyer, doctor, or dentist, or any other professional man is. War means to the soldier an opportunity to distinguish himself upon the field of battle. It means promotion, and every soldier is seeking promotion. Our soldier boys came from the peaceful homes throughout the land. They knew nothing about war except what they learned in their histories. Did they fight? Ask the Germans! Percy, the rich man's son, got right down into the trenches among the cooties and fought and shed his blood the same as the little chap who had grown up in an alley and had had a fight every day of his life.

What about the man who has used the talents that God has given him for better purposes in the construction of weapons for the destruction of human life? He has spent his life in devising ways and means to destroy life. What he wants to know is, Will the weapon or the munition do the thing for which it is intended? It is a part of him; it is a creature of his handiwork, of his brain, and just as much a part of him as the painting that the artist throws upon the canvas is a part of the artist. It would seem that if there is to be an international power to prevent future wars, now is the time to secure it, while the world is still bleeding from the wounds of this awful war. It must come in time, and your organization is doing a great work by keeping in the forefront your high and noble purpose of establishing peace upon earth.

ALTRUISM AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By THOMAS E. GREEN,

Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross

I WISH to be extremely careful as to the choice of each word that I shall address to you at this time.

It is no easy task to conclude such a discussion as that to which you have listened. The various phases that make up subjects of the evening have been presented to you by those who by virtue of long years of activity have become masters of their theme.

It has fallen to my lot to round this remarkable discussion into a conclusion.

I am not a specialist along lines of finance and education. Of economics and diplomacy, of law and literature, I have no new word to offer.

I come to you as a dreamer of dreams, as a seer of visions, if perchance I may guide your thought to the conclusion I wish to reach.

There seems to be no question whatever about the fact that, however we would like to think to the contrary, we are not through with the war.

The Red Planet that ruled men's passions during the long conflict is still in the ascendant and glares balefully from the sky.

The world has not made a good reaction. Civilization has not yet recovered its equipoise.

It is a bewildered world everywhere—a confused world, and until great facts are adjusted and new relations are established it is an imperiled world.

War has brought two great results to the world—ruin and revelation, destruction and disillusion.

Of the ruin of war, ghastly, vast and incalculable, there are no words adequate for description.

I have just come from the scene of that ruin, where from the Channel to the Alps I went through league after league of desolation, with broken habitations, ruined villages, shattered towns; the very face of nature itself cut and gashed and torn into such awfulness as baffles imagination.

It was easy to break and destroy. That which generations had builded crumbled like a house of cards before the belching of shrapnel and the rattle of machine-guns. It was easy to shoot the world up. We are finding it is infinitely harder to build the world back.

Equally startling and even more grotesque was the revelation of war.

It came in the midst of an age that had wrapped itself in smug complacency over its achievement; that believed it was far and away the greatest and grandest and the most advanced epoch in all of time.

Human society is a queer institution. Builded apparently upon substantial foundations, it was in reality constructed out of shreds and patches.

Precedent, prejudice, heredity, and environment were far more potent dynamics in this world than are logic and sound philosophy.

When the armistice was signed everybody made up his mind that the war was over.

After a few hours of hysterical and emotional celebration everybody prepared to get out and get down to normal peace-time activity.

But when people turned and looked back toward what had been they realized, to their amazement, that it was not there. Stranger than that they realized that what they thought had been there never was there.

Every conceivable explanation of the unrest, dissatisfaction, and disorder that prevail throughout the world has been proposed except the real one—the one that is deepest and most important.

Centuries ago the man who, whatever he may have been, was at least wise in his comprehension of the human forces of his day wrote:

“Where there is no vision the people perish.”

And by vision the wise man meant, of course, the comprehension and the following of an ideal—of a great pattern that should produce alike in the individual and in the aggregate of individuals that we call human society the constant result of peace and happiness among men.

For I may perhaps remind you that peace is not an ideal at all; happiness is not an ideal; contentment is not an ideal. They are states of mind—conditions of life attendant upon the achievement of an ideal. The ideals that are the dynamic forces that produce peace, happiness, and contentment are human liberty, justice, righteousness, the conduct of an orderly human society.

Without them as creative forces peace is but an iridescent dream.

The prophet who sang the glories of the splendors of the millennial dream found it in the conjunction:

“Righteousness and Peace have met each other.”

You cannot make peace by act of Congress, unless by that self-same act you establish the conditions that result in peace.

For generations past the modern world has been in a state of intellectual upheaval.

Beginning with the latter half of the eighteenth century, the stern rebellion against tyranny and oppression—against special class and privilege—found its expression in the program of liberty and individualism as the ideals whose achievement was to bring peace.

With the vindication of these claims man's attention naturally turned to himself, his surroundings, his occupation, his possibility.

There is no greater peril in the world than the peril which lies in half truth. There is no greater falsehood in the world than the falsity of exaggerated truth.

Independence made man a natural egoist, and egoism, strangely enough, is the keynote of lawlessness.

Only the wise man can recognize the danger to himself when, being set free from the restraints and compulsions which constitute tyranny, he begins to demand of himself freedom from the internal and ethical restraints that distinguish liberty from license.

We have come to a point in our modern psychology where we admit the wide influence of the subjective mind as a dynamic force.

Loose in the modern world myriads of minds, each one intent upon its own satisfaction and its own attainment, and you create an atmosphere where nothing is possible but disorder, conflict, and destruction.

Our ancestors fought for independence; for independence they thought and spoke and reasoned and legislated, and by its attainment as an ideal they dreamed they were producing and compelling peace.

The pendulum has swung too far. A new watchword has become the world's necessity—not independence, but interdependence is the basis of the philosophy that man must learn.

If the ruin of war is to be rebuilt; if the revelation of war is to be understood; if civilization is to recruit its tottering forces; if it is to go on at all toward the framing of a constructive policy either at home or abroad, it must move in harmonic chords if it moves at all.

The old one-string melody of national egoism has vanished with the economic crudities of yesterday.

It took four years of fighting and cost the world probably twenty million lives and incomprehensible expenditure of substance to trample the mad delusions of selfishness that all but wrecked the world.

Out of it we are coming with this fact stamped clearly upon our minds: the world can no longer be half bond and half free; half clothed and half naked; half hungry and half fed. I doubt if we can much longer say that the world can exist half rich and half poor; half master and half serf, in any way or shape or form that human co-operation and brotherhood can remedy.

We are going to have some strange experiences adjusting things before we are through with this aftermath of war.

The falsity of much that has been deemed essential must be demonstrated. Expediency must give way to duty; profit must become secondary to principle; selfishness must yield to altruism.

There can be no cure for the ills, contradictions, and the unrest of the world until faith in righteousness and the rule of universal justice are restored and made supreme in the life of men and of nations.

No man can live unto himself alone. No nation can live unto itself alone. Not in theory, but in absolute practice, mutuality is the world's single solvent, the one ideal that can produce lasting peace.

In America we think that our peculiar fortune in war has produced peculiar results, but a glance at the pages of history assures us otherwise.

War has always produced strangely similar results. It has always developed the profiteer beside the patriot; greed and dishonesty beside gallantry and devotion. The present atmosphere throughout the entire world is a dangerous one to idealism.

That condition is especially true here in—

"America, half-brother of the world,
With something good and bad of every land."

But the essential difficulties of our condition only make its possible glories greater.

We have lost, alas, the moral value of the tremendous sentimentalism with which we flung ourselves into the world conflict. It was the chance for the development of a stupendous force that might have led and saved the world.

It has gone down into the midst of the slimy tides of personal selfishness and grasping greed.

There remains a great object-lesson in the work of the American Red Cross, which was the heart of a nation mobilized for service. The record of what it did is written in syllables of gratitude and affection that the world will never tire of repeating. The story of its achievement is an epic whose splendor can never be sung, and that not because the Red Cross was anything new or unique or wonderful.

The Red Cross was merely the symbol of sacrifice—sacrifice that is the price of victory—victory that is the ideal that will make peace—the real, the lasting victory of a nation that learns that true greatness lies not in rich abundance nor in pampered selfishness, but in the service that loves itself last; that lives for all mankind.

It is a dream, you say. I fear I must grant you that; but remember that it is the dreamer that has always led the world.

Even in the sordid chapters of world history that lie behind us men have followed the signs upon the skies and not the foot-prints upon the sands.

For such a time; for such a crisis; for such a possibility—

"God give us men. The time demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and willing hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;

Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And dam his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking."

A constructive foreign policy will fail that is not based in service; that does not know the throbbing soul of brotherhood.

But, knowing these, our weak endeavor attains a matchless power, for it lays our aspiration at the feet of Him who came—

"Not to be ministered unto, but to minister";

who gave His life for the world.

THE UNPOPULAR AMERICAN

By H. W. DUNNING

Of American Graves Registration Service, Paris

IT EASILY is understood how those who stay at home make the mistake of thinking of Americans as being at the height of popularity and glory abroad. Why not? Having won a long and bloody struggle for the Allies and dictated a victorious peace, we are preparing to put the world on its feet again with our money, food, and moral support. Europe, Asia, and Africa are our debtors.

And that fact, coupled with the attitude of the average American who visits Europe, and Europe's misconception of the average American, is the reason why, as individuals and as a nation, we are unpopular. Naturally, the trend of political events, to some extent, affects this international opinion of us; but the main factors are as already set forth. These observations are made after having visited practically every section of Europe with a view to determining the cause for the unpopular American.

Put a thermometer to gauge popularity in the mouth of each member of Europe's family of nations and notice their temperature.

As is to be expected, we are most popular among the small, new nations of central and southeastern Europe and western Asia—Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Czecho-Slavokia, Jugo-Slavia, the independent Arabic tribes of Mesopotamia and Yemen, Palestine, and Armenia. Four things are directly responsible for this: First, America's successful participation in the war and our stand at the peace table for the rights of small nations; second, the magnificent relief-work undertaken by the American Red Cross and Hoover Food Administration in the desolate provinces of these nations; third, the physical assistance rendered by individual Americans and American legions before and after the signing of the armistice with Germany; fourth, sales made and credits extended to these new nations.

As always has been the case, governments of newly created republics are more nearly in harmony with or more representative of the masses than is usually true of older, more established nations, where the rut of politics has been cut deeply. At first glance, this might

seem to have little bearing on the question of our popularity; but give it a second thought and you will see that it is merely a matter of being popular with the people, because they *are* the government, and they realize that in aiding the government we are aiding the individual.

In these small nations we are popular, not because we are their creditors, but despite this fact. Perhaps, as nations, they are too young and nationalization is too new for them to feel the weight of debt.

Gauging the new nations' approval of us at 100, how do the old-timers rate us?

Probably the next highest are little Montenegro, Albania, Serbia, and our late half-hearted enemy, Austro-Hungary, now Austria and Hungary. But now our successful participation in the war is crowded into the background, as of secondary importance, to make way for those Good Samaritan twins, the Red Cross and the Food Administration.

The Red Cross especially has been active in the Balkans, and the regard and admiration that it has gained for us is cited by the fact that, no matter how turbulent certain districts are politically, the American and his property are religiously respected. Nor will the three small nations soon forget our part in clearing their domains of occupation. In the case of Serbia, our credits and sales of supplies has been welcomed.

Austria and Hungary appreciate our relief aid, particularly that of the Food Administration, to such an extent that both Vienna and Budapest now have Americans administering their local food supplies in behalf of the national governments. The people of these two nations bear us no especial ill-will over late hostilities, but rather look on us as delivering them from a bad fix, into which they had fallen through their friendship with Germany. Of course, this will not hold true in all localities, for there are many Germans in the two nations; but the majority of Hungarians and Austrians, both upper and lower classes, are looking to the future and inviting the attention of American industry and capital.

Let us rate this group's esteem of us at 90.

Following the last-mentioned nations comes a group that is composed principally of neutrals during late hostilities—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, and Portugal. They have no real cause for disliking us, while at the same time there is no especial reason why they should like us. The question, therefore, becomes one of personal approval of individuals; and, while the press of these countries take occasional pokes at our political leaders, our policies, and our customs, on the whole our popularity wave breaks on friendly shores. We are not loved, yet neither are we hated.

Let us rate ourselves 80.

We now come to a group of nations whose attitude is hard to explain and correspondingly hard to understand. This group is composed of Bulgaria, Roumania, Turkey, Greece, and Russia.

Bulgaria, as a people and as a government, is probably the most openly hostile member of the group, if not of Europe's family. The reason for this is that both the controlling power and the masses of Bulgaria are greedy for conquest and war spoils; and, being pri-

marily warriors, their defeat in the late struggle meant more to them than it would have to a less military race; also, being more primeval, they show it.

Roumania presents a curious contrast. The government, while outwardly very friendly, is in reality almost hostile to the American; the people, though reserved, are sincere in their respect and admiration. The reason is apparent, when it is explained that the militaristic party in power is eager for conquest and annexation, while the people desire peace so strongly that they almost lean toward the Bolshevik theory. It may be remarked, in this connection, that several times sales of war material and supplies made to Roumania by the A. E. F. have been held back from delivery in order to enforce certain military restrictions, and even after delivery considerable friction always occurs over settlements. Red Cross relief-work has done much to win the hearts of the people.

Turkey wants the United States to act as her guardian, but the unsophisticated American should not accept this as a sign that we are overwhelmingly popular at Constantinople. To the Harbord Military Commission and to those of us who have visited Turkey is given the ability to understand. Political Turkey figures that if Uncle Sam takes the mandate, it will mean an inflow of American capital and a chance for those in power to reap the benefits. In other words, it is a case of loving our money, not us. The people of Turkey are passive, even as are the Bulgars.

Our position in Greece resembles the way we are regarded by Roumania, with the exception that the people of Greece are more nearly in accord with the desires of the ruling clique—that is, for a greater Greece—the territorial Greece of old. And when America steps in against aggregation, we tread on some one's toes. Naturally, we are not going to be so awfully popular with the owner.

Russia presents a curious situation. To those of the masses not bitten with the Bolshevik bug, the American represents the ideal and is accorded the highest respect; but woe to the American who falls into the hands of the radicals. His life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness is doomed to be very short. Reading this, you might conclude that Lenin, Trotzky, and the other leaders of Bolshevism are opposed to us; but there you would be mistaken, for I have it on good authority, from those who have talked with these men, that they are strongly pro-American.

So much for our "temperature 70" friendly enemies.

Having thus disposed of most of the smaller nations of Europe, we have left Belgium, England, France, Italy, and Germany—the nations where the extremes should be reached, but are not.

Here will be some surprises.

Belgium, no doubt, has been pictured by many as being so thoroughly enamoured of the United States that only our laws keep her out of the union. This belief should be revised. The people of Belgium, as a majority, deep down in their hearts, have little real adoration or sincere admiration for the Americans. They appreciate our aid as a financial asset and are willing to thank us for our military efforts, but we must face the fact that our true friend in this country is the royalist group, with democratic King Albert at its head.

It was King Albert and his little army of faithfuls who said, "They shall not pass without a fight," and when President Wilson visited Belgium, it was this little army, a minority of the population, who acclaimed him. The best rating we can give Belgium is 80—along with the neutrals.

England, on the other hand—ponderous, stolid old England, with whom we are always bickering and grumbling—has a better opinion of us. She even admits that if England had not won the war, America probably would have. Even yet she thinks us a little queer and inclined to brag, and nothing less than a trip to the States could convince her that we, as a nation, have entirely shed the clothes of the barbarian. To England we are as one of the family strayed from the fold and slightly changed by association with people beneath our social position. She rates us a good 90, and if Australia, Canada, and Africa were included, it would go a good 95.

The people of France, outside of Paris, are probably the most sincere admirers we have in Europe, but the minute one steps inside the exterior boulevards, things change. For this reason we had best consider France as France and Paris.

France is our sincere admirer, because we have reached nearer to the heart of France, have given more and asked less, and been less of a burden than is true in Paris. At Bordeaux we built docks, dredged rivers, and made friends with the town. Brest was given miles and miles of telephone and telegraph lines and an idea of American energy. Northern France became the ward of the Red Cross, various associations, and individual Americans.

Paris saw us only as wealthy creditors, riding in fine limousines, requisitioning dozens of needed hotels and office buildings and sending the cost of living sky-high by the payment of exorbitant prices and tips for anything that took our fancy. We came to Paris thirty thousand strong and settled on the city like a swarm of locusts—eating, drinking, and making merry. They wanted to treat us with polite friendliness, and we, in our American superiority, not understanding them, answered in rough banter. Now, the Frenchman has a keen sense of humor, but it is not of the same type as the American's, and he does not understand our joshing. When we tell him a good joke he laughs, but when we playfully remark that a single Yankee child can whip ten Frogs, his dignity is hurt, and, although he might not say so, he is resentful.

Political France is just a little peeved with Wilson, and provoked that we did not give our A. E. F. property as another partial payment on our debt to Lafayette. They do not seem to consider that \$300,000,000 sale as an accommodation.

And the American girl, when she comes to Paris, will find herself unpopular, because some priggish American welfare supervisor, during the high tide of the Y. M. C. A., K. of C., and Jewish Welfare Board occupancy of Paris, conceived the idea and passed the ruling that at dances and receptions given by these organizations no French girls would be allowed.

Considering France and Paris as one again, the thermometer reads about 85—between England and Belgium.

Next for our late ally and now near enemy, Italy.

Italy has been bitten by the same bug that nipped Greece, the bite of said bug causing dreams of rejuvenation. Italy is dreaming, scheming, and working for the old Roman Empire brought down to date. When Italy thought that we would sanction this ambition, Americans were very popular in the peninsula, as witness President Wilson's visit to that country; but when our representatives at the peace conference refused to approve the granting of certain territories to Italy, our popularity dropped several degrees. They even took to renaming newly christened streets and giving our soldiers stationed in Italy the cold shoulder. It was necessary to evacuate our troops and prohibit leaves into that country in the interest of good diplomacy. This dislike was, and to some extent still is, participated in by both government and people. However, Italy is temperamental and will soon forget and forgive, so that out of kindness of heart we will be lenient and read the thermometer at 70—just below Belgium.

We have left now only Germany—the country in which most of us don't care about being popular, but are.

An American in Germany cannot escape popularity. He has it thrust upon him. And the amusing part of it is that theirs is sincere, as far as German sincerity goes. The people in the provinces of Germany have always leaned toward us, even during hostilities; and, now that it is over, the military caste and Berlin are rather glad to admit, without animosity, that it was America who did it and not the rest of the Allies.

Of course, I know that there were so-called demonstrations against Americans in Berlin; but, being there at the time and acquainted with the situation, I can state that they were not real "hate" demonstrations, but just staged mob scenes, to affect decisions at Versailles.

The truth of the matter is, we rate higher in Germany than we do right at the present time in Italy; in fact, along with our late ally, Belgium, and the neutrals.

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN GERMANY

By HANS WEHBERG

A Translation

IN A PETITION of July 15, 1919, the German League for a League of Nations has submitted to the Department of Arts, Sciences, and Public Instruction plans for the promotion of the instruction in international law in the universities, in order to open a way for the scientific introduction into the questions of international law and the League of Nations. But the understanding for these far-reaching problems ought to permeate the whole German people. Therefore this work ought not to be restricted to the reform in the instruction of the university students. It is necessary to start in the secondary schools and the colleges to arouse the proper spirit for the new problems of our time and to point out that a new era has begun for the mutual understanding and the political intercourse of nations.

I. Therefore it seems to be advisable, in the training of the future teachers of civics, to insure the proper consideration for international law, and, furthermore, in the general examinations (examinations as to general information) of the higher teachers, to insist upon knowledge of international law. In giving expression to this wish, the German League for a League of Nations aligns itself with the plan submitted by Professor Radbruch (Kiel) and Professor Rühlmann (Berlin) in a petition to the Department of Public Instruction and Religion (plan for the civic education of the candidates for instructorship in higher schools). This plan provides for an obligatory lecture course on international law for those who intend to apply for the license of teaching civics. Radbruch and Rühlmann wish, furthermore, that the publicist courses be taken jointly by future teachers of civics and by lawyers, and that in the education of the law student they be given precedence over the courses on private law. In this special emphasis must be placed upon the fundamental problems of international law; also upon those problems which have become of special significance through the Peace Treaty of Versailles—*e. g.*, the problem of the League of Nations, the idea of the court of arbitrations and of disarmament, the ideology of the Hague peace conferences, the international regulation of the protection of labor, the questions of world economy, the protection of national minorities, the right of self-determination of nations, etc.

II. But the university instruction in civics which they propose would reach only the *future* teachers, and essentially only the teachers in higher institutions, including the normal-school teachers, not, however, the graded-school teachers. For the period of transition, at least, a supplementary course is needed—a course for the teachers already in office, a course lasting from two to three weeks, including and emphasizing especially the international law. Teachers of all classes, including graded-school teachers, ought to be detailed to attend these courses at governmental expense. These courses might form the nucleus for "A Free University of Political Sciences" at Berlin, as described, along the lines of the famous French institution, by Rühlmann in his "Wege zur Staatsgesinnung" (Ways to Educate the Public Mind), 1919, page 156 ff.

III. Aside from civic instruction in the schools, there also remains the important task to direct the mind of the young generation toward the questions of international law and of the League of Nations. In his valuable article, "The League of Nations as a Pedagogical Problem" (published in the collection "The Idea of the League of Nations," Berlin, 1919), Professor Rühlmann has explained in detail how this demand can be realized.

His ideas shall be further illustrated by the following examples:

In the teaching of history the world empire of the Romans, founded upon might, suggests a comparison with the latest plans of a world organization which are supposed to be based upon the moral power of right. In the Middle Ages we have in the Divine world empire the first great attempt to combine the civilized world under the power of an idea inspiring all nations. The great fight of the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the Britons for the supremacy of the sea directs the attention to the problem of the freedom of the seas and the appearance of Hugo Grotius.

In all peace pacts since the War of 30 Years are found important basic decisions showing progress in international law. How, since that time, attempts have again and again been made to humanize the rights of war, but how the true humanization of war means its abolishment, that should be written into the hearts of youth with fiery letters. In treating the alliances and the principle of European equilibrium, it seems to be not less important to point out the dangers of these systems and the necessity of a League of Nations. It is instructive to show that by establishing certain important principles—*e. g.*, the idea of the legitimacy of the Holy Alliance or the principle of nationalities of Napoleon III—the first attempt was made to prepare for the organization of States, and that salvation can only be looked for in subordinating all international organization to the law. How in modern times isolated economic bodies develop more and more into world economy; how, as a consequence, international commercial treaties more and more take their place with treaties of a purely political nature; how the great unions in the fields of postal and telegraphic service, of copyright, etc., have originated—these are questions that must be placed in the foreground of investigation. Not only how wars originated, but also how wars were avoided by courts of arbitration (case of the Alabama, etc.), must be shown, and the development of the Hague peace conferences with reference to the most important problems, especially Germany's position to them, must henceforth belong to the A B C of historical instruction. Thus the teacher of history, if he really masters the fundamental idea and the development of international law, can at all times familiarize the pupil with the idea of the League of Nations.

In geographic instruction the questions of the importance of territorial waters, of the high sea in war and peace, etc., can be discussed in conjunction with the problem of the limits of the zones of supremacy. The study of the newest political boundary line promotes the discussion of manifold political problems—*e. g.*, the

peaceful settlement of numerous boundary dissensions, of the respect paid to the will of the population by plebiscite, of the question of nationality, etc. The discussion of the great international rivers that flow through the territories of several nations is impossible without explaining the development of the rights of inland navigation.

Thus it could be pointed out how beneficial the work of the Danube Commission has been in regulating the course of the lower Danube. Many of the large cities of the world (*e. g.*, Bern, Bruxelles, Geneva, the Hague, etc.), contain important peace monuments or form the seat of institutions of international law. On the boundary between Argentine and Chile, on the highest point of the Andes, a statue of Christ was erected in memory of the peaceful settlement of a dangerous quarrel between the two neighboring countries.

The desirability of reading important documents of international law in the study of languages should be emphasized. In the writings of Marcus Aurelius we find the classical words: "Nations are to each other like the houses of a city." Would it not be possible to read in the Latin classes selections from Hugo Grotius' immortal work, and in the English classes the extremely instructive description of the restriction of armaments on the Canadian lakes from the documents of the American Senate? It is most important, however, that selected chapters of the extremely dramatic discussions at the Hague peace conferences, as well as classical orations of a pacifist nature, should be placed before the students. Fragments of the autobiographies of classical teachers of international law also belong in the German readers. Think of the strange life of John Jacob Moser, of the growth of Bluntschli, etc.—men who have played an important rôle politically and whose lives are connected with the history of the German people. The enthusiasm of the young generation must be aroused not only by the report of battles, but also by the study of important personalities such as Dunant, Suttner, Nobel, etc.

IV. The German League for a League of Nations also hopes that the department will take care that more lectures on international law will be introduced into the colleges.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

HUNGARY AND THE ALLIES signed a treaty of peace at Versailles June 4, the day being formally observed as one of mourning throughout Hungary. Count Apponyi, the Liberal leader, termed the compact "a rag of iniquity." Signatories for Hungary were difficult to find, but Alfred D. Lazas and Auguste Benard finally served. Ambassador Wallace represented the United States. Hungary's attitude toward the States now independent,

but made up of peoples formerly associated with her in pre-war Austria-Hungary, has been so typically arrogant and Magyarish; she has reacted so decidedly toward monarchy as over against the dominant democratic drift of the times, that today she has few friends. One of the economic problems she faces may be inferred from the fact that the International Transport Workers, in session in Amsterdam, June 3, voted to refuse to furnish aid in any way, either by rail, water, post, or telegraph, to the Hungarian people, the same being punishment for the "White Terror" methods used against Hungarian workmen by the government.

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA IN THE NEAR EAST and in the territory where the Allies, under the terms of the Treaty with Turkey, must now solidify their political and military power, takes on the form disclosed in the following circular, posted generally throughout Thrace and Anatolia:

"Mussulmans of the world, victims of the capitalists, awake! Russia has abandoned the Czar's pernicious policy toward you and offers to help you overthrow English tyranny. She will allow you freedom of religion and self-government. The frontiers existing before the war will be respected, no Turkish territory will be given Armenia, the Dardanelles will remain yours, and Constantinople will be the capital of the Mussulman world. The Mussulmans in Russia will be given self-government. All we ask in exchange is that you fight the reckless capitalists who would exploit your country and make it a colony."

EUROPE HAS LONG HAD HER ECCLESIASTICAL "BLACKS." For a briefer, yet not short, time she has had her socialistic "Reds" and her monarchial "Whites." Is she now to have her "Greens"? On August 6 an International Peasants' Congress will be held at Cologne, at which representatives of the rural dwellers, especially the farmers of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Norway, will gather to form a union, with headquarters at The Hague. Its purpose will be to fight socialism, with its roots as a propaganda in the cities of Europe and its main advocates in men who have emerged from the city proletariat and "intellectuals." The chief backing of this peasants' union now comes from Bavaria, and as far as it bears on the future unity of Germany, it also indicates that south Germany is resisting Prussian domination, with industrialism as its chief economic factor and creed.

POLAND'S DRIVE INTO RUSSIAN TERRITORY, with the aid of Ukranian forces and nominally for the interests of that still unrecognized new State, as well as for alleged Polish interests, has sharply divided British and French opinion during the past month. Whatever the outcome may be, the incident has its important bearings upon the future authority of the League of Nations. What these are may be best inferred from the speech made by Lord Robert Cecil before the English Wesleyan Synod in mid-May, when, as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, he said:

"The best thing that could be hoped for, he supposed,

would be the destruction of the Bolshevik Government; but what was to take its place—a military government holding power by the sword only, or anarchy? If, on the other hand, the Poles were defeated, what a disaster! He was not an enemy of the Poles, but he thought they had committed a colossal mistake. But he would view with profound regret a disaster to the Polish Government. What would be the position of the signatories to the Treaty of Versailles who saw this new small nation crushed?

"He could not help asking why was not this war stopped. It might have been difficult for a government to have told the Poles they were not to fight, but why did not the League of Nations intervene? Was there no member of the League to say, 'Here is just the case for which the League was brought into existence'? Let the Poles and the Russians come before the League, and let them say what they were afraid of. If the Poles were afraid of invasion by the Russians, let them say so. If the Russians had a grievance against the Poles, let them say so."

EXCLUSION OF PREMIER NITTI FROM OFFICE did not last long, and he came back to power with a cabinet of younger and more modern-spirited men, and under less obligations to both the Clericals and the Socialists for his tenure. If the Jugo-Slavia dispute has not been settled, neither has it become more acute. D'Annunzio at Fiume still continues to be a thorn in the flesh; but his capacity for harm grows less as the local population loses trade by his contumacy and as he displays anew his eccentric egotism. His latest fad is "spiritism" and mysticism, a turn that sensualists quite often take after lives grossly materialistic, if "artistic." It is significant of the essential democracy of the Italian people today and their drift toward republicanism, assented to by the king, that the government should have presented to Parliament a bill stipulating that henceforth only the two houses of the national legislature may declare war, and that all treaties or international agreements must be communicated to both chambers. Moreover, if the bill becomes a law, all treaties of alliance, arbitration, peace, or commerce, and others involving expenditures or relating to the property of Italians abroad, must first be ratified by the two chambers. Here is distinct imitation of the American theory of legislative supervision and modification of compacts negotiated by the executive, but with the popular, lower house of the legislature included with the Senate. On June 9th the Nitti Ministry again fell.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM being seen and also the common sense of one nation learning from another as to how to solve it, quite naturally an Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress opened June 3 in London. Delegates, several hundred in number, attended as representatives of the United States, France, Spain, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Finland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Japan, Poland, Chile, Roumania, Siam, Uruguay, and Jugo-Slavia. Scarcity and high cost of building materials, labor (in some countries), and borrowed capital are responsible for the failure, since the armistice, to make good the destruction wrought by the war or to alter for the better the ratio of construction and use.

IT IS REPORTED

That literacy in Japan is higher than in any State in the United States.

That trade between the United States and Germany is growing rapidly.

That during the World War 5,000 American soldiers married while abroad.

That Berlin plans to build at once 5,500 new residences to relieve the housing shortage.

That an international Labor Mission has left Berlin for Poland to study conditions there.

That the cost of food in Great Britain has risen 145 per cent above the pre-war level.

That Vienna journals have been cut down to eight pages daily because of the shortage of paper.

That the entire German air force has been disbanded, the army no longer possessing any military aeroplanes.

That the Swiss people voted to join the League of Nations by a vote of approximately 400,000 to 300,000.

That mail and passenger aerial service between England and Holland, three trips weekly, was begun May 17.

That a decree has been passed by the Soviet Government that Esperanto shall be taught in all the schools of Russia.

That one cause of the housing shortage in Great Britain is the death or disablement in the World War of 200,000 British carpenters.

That a Swiss chocolate syndicate has given twenty tons of chocolate for distribution through the Infant Welfare Centers in Vienna.

That Swedish Communist workmen have invited the children of 150 Bolshevik workers from Moscow to spend the summer in Sweden.

That Paris is suffering from the disappearance of silver money from circulation, and that the condition is rapidly becoming intolerable.

That a conference is to be held at Copenhagen in June, to which representatives of countries interested in Russia's foreign trade are to be invited.

That, Switzerland having voted to join the League of Nations, the place of meeting for the assembly next November will be Geneva, as originally agreed.

That over five thousand little Belgians with hearty appetites are fed daily by the Junior Red Cross of America at an average cost of fifty meals for a dollar.

That, having trouble at Macao to get bidders for the new opium farm, the farm is to be put up at public auction, intending bidders being required to deposit \$250,000.

That the Krupp munition works, near Lepsic, are now building locomotives, typewriters, adding-machines, cash-registers, bicycles, and similar instruments of peace.

That Romagne Cemetery, in France, where are buried 24,000 American soldiers, will be lighted by power furnished by an American auto-engine donated by the American Red Cross.

That Lords Curzon and Robert Cecil are quite at loggerheads over the rights and duties of the League of Nations in the matter of checking the Polish offensive against the Bolsheviks.

That fifty Congressmen are planning to study at first hand during the summer the problems of statehood for Hawaii, Philippine independence, and Chinese and Japanese immigration.

That Lieutenant-Colonel Lockwood Marsh, of England, in a lecture on "Imperial Aspects of Aviation," has prophesied that important dispatches would be carried to all parts of the Empire by air.

That 2,500 starving children of Vienna left that city in February for Milan, where they went to Italian homes to be cared for, free of charge, this being the tenth in a series of such assignments.

That, according to the Bolshevik wireless service, the Moscow Communists were engaged on May Day in spring cleaning the Kremlin, and that Lenin was one of the cleaners, "carrying heavy loads."

That during the war France lost 57 per cent of her men under thirty-two years of age, 600,000 houses ruined, 75,000,000 acres of land laid waste, and 3,000 miles of railroad and 2,500 miles of highway destroyed.

That during the less than two years of Seigu-Kai control in Japan the government has prohibited the publication of eighty different reports, sixteen of which related to Korea; also that it has extended the censorship over various newspapers.

That a French committee has been formed to commemorate the centenary of the death of Napoleon I, May 5, and that the committee will collect a sum of money, to be called the Napoleon Endowment, which will be used for reconstruction purposes in the devastated regions of France.

That 175,000 American farm implements, shovels, hoes, rakes, hatchets, distributed by the "Society of Friends" Unit of the American Red Cross, are being used by the farmers of South Ardennes in their garden cultivation, the implements coming from two large United States Army Engineer supply dumps taken over by the Quaker relief workers and put within reach of farmers badly in need of such equipment.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE LEAGUE

On June 10 the Committee on Platform of the Republican National Convention reported the following plank defining its attitude toward the Paris Treaty and the Covenant of the League, and it was not opposed from the floor and had only one dissenter on the committee, a delegate from Wisconsin. Formulation of this plank in this precise form was the result of much negotiation between the party leaders and was influenced considerably by the threats of withdrawal from the party of Senators like Johnson, Borah, Brandegee, and McCormick. The fight for specific endorsement of the League with reservations guarding its Americanism was led at the last by former United States Senator W. Murray Crane, of Massachusetts.

The plank says:

The Republican Party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war. We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair, when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peace-makers in a multitude of quarrels the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this purpose and contained stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility, and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policy in favor of peace declared by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and pursued by all American administrators for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiments of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiations.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinion of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote, upon their consciences and their oaths, according to their judgment, upon the treaty as it was presented, or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority under the Constitution was theirs and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity and we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise their judgment and their power in favor of justice and peace.

On June 3 the House, by a vote of 323 to 3 passed the following resolution:

"That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions, or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of

the war or of the present or existing emergency, or of the existence of a state of war, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

"Excepting, however, from the operation and effect of this resolution the following acts and proclamations, to wit, the act entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel,' approved August 10, 1917, the amendment thereto entitled 'The Food Control and District of Columbia Rent act,' approved October 22, 1919, and the act known as the 'Trading with the Enemy act,' approved October 6, 1917; also the proclamation issued under the authority conferred by the acts herein excepted from the effect and operation of this resolution."

On June 4 the Senate, without a record vote and after making minor amendments, quickly adopted the above resolution.

THE UNITED STATES AND ARMENIA

THE HARBORD REPORT—CONGRESS DECLINES TO ACT

Pressure from Armenians resident in the United States, from educators and missionaries long interested in schools and propaganda work in that region of Turkey, from eminent friends of the Christian minorities ground under Turkish rule—men like Viscount Bryce—and from European nations disinclined to accept the burden of governing Armenia, whatever their ambitions and lusts for other sections of the Ottoman Empire may be, has steadily been exerted upon the Government of the United States since the opening of the Peace Conference to induce it to accept a "mandate." These advisers have differed as to the extent of the "mandate" to be accepted and the physical bounds of the old, yet young, nation to be conserved. From some quarters an appeal has come to extend the area of American occupation and take in Syria and Palestine. Other advisers would have the western republic become the League of Nations' policeman for Turkey, and thus abrogate all the secret treaties and partitions about which Great Britain, France, and Italy are contending.

As far back as 1919, President Wilson sent two missions into the Turkish domain to investigate and report to him on conditions there found. One of them, the Crane-Kling, reported on conditions in Syria and Palestine. It has not been made public yet. The other commission, headed by Major General J. G. Harbord, put its report before the President in terms, some of which have been disclosed. Congress expressly asked for this evidence in order that it might act intelligently in response to pressure incessantly being put upon it. On April 3 the President released the report, from which the following portions, having to do with the "mandate," are quoted.

REASONS AGAINST THE MANDATE

"First. The United States has prior and nearer foreign obligations and ample responsibilities with domestic problems growing out of the war.

"Second. This region has been a battle ground of militarism and imperialism for centuries. There is every likelihood that ambitious nations will still maneuver for its control. It would weaken our position relative to the Monroe Doctrine and probably eventually involve us with a reconstituted

Itussia. The taking of a mandate in this region would bring the United States into the politics of the old world, contrary to our tradition, a policy of keeping free of affairs in the Eastern hemisphere.

"Third. Humanitarianism should begin at home. There are a sufficient number of difficult situations which call for our action within the well-recognized spheres of American influence.

"Fourth. The United States has in no way contributed to and is not responsible for the conditions, political, social, or economic, that prevail in this region. It will be entirely consistent to decline the invitation.

"Fifth. American philanthropy and charity are world-wide. Such a policy would commit us to a policy of meddling or draw upon our philanthropy to the point of exhaustion.

"Sixth. Other powers, particularly Great Britain and Russia, have shown continued interest in the welfare of Armenia. Great Britain is fitted by experience and government, has great resources in money and trained personnel, and though she might not be as sympathetic to Armenian aspirations, her rule would guarantee security and justice. The United States is not capable of sustaining a continuity of foreign policy. One Congress cannot bind another. Even treaties can be nullified by cutting off appropriations. Non-partisanship is difficult to obtain in our government."

Great Expense Involved

"Seventh. Our country would be put to great expense, involving probably an increase of the army and navy. Large numbers of Americans would serve in a country of loathsome and dangerous diseases. It is questionable if railroads could for many years pay interest on investments in their very difficult construction. Capital for railroads would not go there except on government guarantee. The effort and money spent would get us more trade in nearer lands than we can hope to find in Russia and Roumania. Proximity and competition would increase the possibility of our becoming involved in conflict with the policies and ambitions of States which, now our friends, would be made our rivals.

"Eighth. Our spirit and energy can find scope in domestic enterprise or in lands south and west of ours. Intervention in the Near East would rob us of the strategic advantage of the Atlantic, which rolls between us and probable foes. Our reputation for fair dealing might be impaired. Efficient supervision of a mandate at such distance would be difficult or impossible. We do not need or wish further education in world politics.

"Ninth. Peace and justice would be equally assured under any other of the great powers.

"Tenth. It would weaken and dissipate our strength, which should be reserved for future responsibilities on the American continent and in the Far East. Our line of communication to Constantinople would be at the mercy of other naval powers, and especially of Great Britain, with Gibraltar and Malta, etc., on the route.

"Eleventh. These institutions have been respected, even by the Turks, throughout the war and the massacres, and sympathy and respect would be shown by any other mandatory.

"Twelfth. The Peace Conference has definitely informed the Turkish Government that it may expect to go under a mandate. It is not conceivable that the League of Nations would permit further uncontrolled rule by that thoroughly discredited government.

"Thirteenth. The first duty of America is to its own people and its near neighbors. Our country would be involved in this adventure for at least a generation, and in counting the cost Congress must be prepared to advance such sums, less such amounts as the Turkish revenues should afford, for the first five years, as follows: First year, \$275,000,000; second year, \$174,000,000; third year, \$123,750,000; fourth year, \$96,750,000; fifth year, \$85,750,000; total, \$756,000,000."

REASONS FOR THE MANDATE

"First. One of the chief contributors to the formation of a League of Nations, the United States, is morally bound to accept the obligations and responsibilities of a mandatory.

"Second. The assurance of world peace at the world's cross-ways, the focus of war infection since the beginning of history. Better millions for a mandate than billions for future wars.

"Three. The Near East presents the greatest humanitarian opportunity of the age—a duty for which the United States is better fitted than any other—as witness Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii, Panama.

"Four. America is practically the unanimous choice and fervent hope of all the peoples involved.

"Five. America is already spending millions to save starving people in Turkey and Transcaucasia, and could do this with much more efficiency if in control. Whoever becomes mandatory for those regions, we shall still be expected to finance their relief, and will probably eventually furnish the capital for material development.

"Six. America is the only hope of the Armenians. They consider but one other nation, Great Britain, which they fear would sacrifice their interests to Moslem public opinion, as long as she controls hundreds of millions of their faith. Others fear Britain's imperialistic policy and habit of staying where she hoists her flag. For a mandatory, America is not the first choice of all the peoples of the Near East, but of each of the great powers after itself. American power is equal; its record clean; its motives above suspicion.

Self-supporting in Five Years

"Seven. The mandatory would be self-supporting after an initial period of not to exceed five years. Building railroads would offer opportunities to our capital. There would be great trade advantages not only in the mandatory region, but in the proximity to Russia, Roumania, etc. America would clean this hotbed of disease and filth, as in Cuba and Panama.

"Eight. Intervention would be a liberal education for our people in world policies; give outlet to a vast amount of spirit and energy, and would furnish a shining example.

"Nine. It would stop further massacres of Armenians and other Christians, give justice to Turks, Kurds, Greeks, and other peoples.

"Ten. It would increase the strength and prestige of the United States abroad and inspire interest at home in the regeneration of the Far East.

"Eleven. America has strong sentimental interests in the region—our missions and colleges.

"Twelve. If the United States does not take the responsibility in this region, it is likely that international jealousies will result in a continuance of the unspeakable misrule of the Turk.

"Thirteen. 'And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel, thy brother?' and he said, 'I know not; am I my brother's keeper?'"

FOREIGN GUARANTEES IMPERATIVE

General Harbord did recommend that the United States make its own terms before even considering acceptance of a mandate, and that it require binding guarantees from England, France, Russia, and Germany that the pledges be respected. This point of view he stated in these significant words:

"We would again point out that if America accepts a mandate for the region visited, it will undoubtedly do so from a strong sense of international duty and at the unanimous desire, so expressed, at least, of its colleagues of the League of Nations. Accepting this difficult task without first securing the assurance of conditions would be fatal to success. The United States should make its own conditions as a preliminary to consideration of the subject—certainly before and not after acceptance, as there are a multitude of interests that could conflict with what any American would consider the proper administration of the country.

"Every possible precaution against international complications should be taken in advance. In our opinion, there should be specific pledges in terms of formal agreements with France and England and definite approval from Ger-

many and Russia of the dispositions made of Turkey and Transcaucasia and a pledge to respect them."

THE MILITARY EXPENDITURE

The report, referring to the military problem involved in an American mandate for Armenia, said that a force of troops would be required to co-operate with the native constabulary. The expeditionary force required would include marines or infantry, with artillery, an air force and a regiment of railway engineers, together with an extra proportion of sanitary troops.

"Estimates of the number of mandatory troops vary greatly from 23,000 to 200,000. Conditions change so rapidly that plans made today for the use of troops might be obsolete in six months. Uncertainty as to the time the mandate will be tendered and accepted makes estimates merely approximate. Under conditions as they exist today, the undersigned believes that a force of two American divisions with several hundred extra officers, or a total force of 59,000, would be ample.

"Such force should be specially organized; one airplane squadron; a minimum of artillery, not to exceed one regiment of 75's motorized, a minimum of the special services; four times the usual number of sanitary troops, four regiments of cavalry, with minor changes in organization, at the discretion of the senior general officer on duty with the mandatory government. This force could be substantially reduced at the end of two years, and by 50 per cent at the end of the third year. After that some further reductions could be slowly effected, but the irreducible minimum would be reported at about the strength of one division.

"The annual cost for the force of the army above stated would be, at the maximum, for the first year, \$88,500,000; at the end of two years, perhaps, \$59,000,000; at the end of three years, \$44,250,000; with, therefore, a continuing appropriation of that sum, less such amount as local revenues could afford, probably a very substantial fraction of the cost. To offset our expenditures, there would be available at least a part of the naval and military budget hitherto used for the support of the disbanded armies in the region. In Turkey, before the war, this totaled about \$61,000,000 annually for the army, including \$5,000,000 for the navy."

The opinion also was expressed that any nation that took a mandatory for Armenia and the Transcaucasus without control of contiguous territory, Anatolia and Constantinople and the hinterland of Roumelia, would undertake it under "most unfavorable and trying conditions, so difficult as to make the cost almost prohibitive, the maintenance of law and order and the security of life and property uncertain, and ultimate success extremely doubtful. With the Turkish Empire still freely controlling Constantinople, such power would be practically emasculated, as far as real power is concerned."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PROPOSITION

In a general communication dealing with the future of Turkey, sent to the Supreme Council the last of March and made public on the 20th, President Wilson let it be known that he was for the expulsion of the Turk from Constantinople; that he regarded it essential that Russia be admitted to share in any future international control of the Dardanelles, and that he believed that northern Thrace should be given to Bulgaria.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY INTERESTS

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with headquarters in Boston, an organization with the largest number of schools and hospitals, as well as mis-

sonary headquarters in Turkey, has the following plan for settling the problem:

"1. The Allies, including the United States, to recognize the independence of Armenia, to include Russian and Turkish Armenia and Cilicia, definite boundaries to be drawn later.

"2. That the Allies unanimously agree to put into the hands of the United States the pacification of the entire area of Armenia and the responsibility for setting up an adequate government and the development of the resources of the country.

"3. Under these conditions, America would take up negotiations with the *de facto* government of Russian Armenia and the Armenian National Delegation representing Turkish Armenia, and enter into arrangements with them by which these terms should be carried out."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ARMENIA

At the fourth public session of the League of Nations, held in Paris, April 11, the report on the situation in Armenia was presented by a committee headed by Herbert A. L. Fisher, British Minister of Education. Formation of an Armenian State on a free and independent basis was recommended. To bring this to pass, acceptance of a mandate by some nation, acting as a representative of the League, was urged. As to what State this should be would depend partly on military measures necessary to liberate the people from the enemy that now has possession of their soil and partly on financial considerations.

MR. HOOVER AGAINST THE MANDATE

In addressing a Near East Relief mass meeting in Philadelphia April 11, Mr. Herbert Hoover, the former Food Administrator and now almoner of American aid going to stricken nations in Europe and Western Asia, said:

"If we were to undertake political intervention in Armenia tomorrow we would find from the physical necessities of the case that in order to protect ourselves we should be compelled to take a political guardianship not only of Armenia itself, but also of Georgia and Azerbaijan to the north and Anatolia and Constantinople to the west. If we were to place this region in a position to develop economic independence, it would also imply the guardianship of Mesopotamia to the east. We should find ourselves brought into direct political entanglement with the whole weight of Russia and to great conflicts of economic interests with the allies. We should find ourselves projected into the very maelstrom of European politics. Our great difficulty would not be Armenia, but conflict of interest with all the great powers interested in the partition of Turkey."

A. E. F. VETERANS' PETITION

On April 14 a delegation of Armenians who had fought in the A. E. F. waited on Secretary Colby, of the Department of State, and urged on the United States immediate protection of the Armenian people, aid for their self-defense, provision for their repatriation, and recognition of the Armenian Republic. Secretary Colby expressed his personal pleasure at being the medium through which the appeal would find its way to the President, where he said that it would find careful examination and attention.

PROTESTANT AMERICA BRINGS PRESSURE

A memorial from the Federated Council of the Churches of Christ in America, presented to the President, the Vice-President, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives early in April, said:

"We beg your careful consideration of the following points, in stating which we believe that we are voicing the sentiments of the large majority of the religious forces of America:

"First. That the purpose which led America into the war was not fulfilled with the cessation of hostilities. Germany has been defeated, but autocratic militarism still lives and is even now manifesting itself in its worst form in the former Turkish Empire, which has been well called the breeding place of atrocities and wars.

"Second. That there is a growing impatience, amounting to indignation, over the failure of the Administration and of Congress to concur in enacting such legislation as will enable America to help the allied nations to escape from the political entanglements of the past and to solve the Near Eastern problem according to the principles of right and justice, for the establishment of which we entered the war.

"Third. That this impatience is coupled with the sense of humiliation that America, by her delay, is losing her prestige among the nations and the acknowledged moral leadership which has been accorded her by the peoples of the world, and that she is being accused of self-interest and bad faith.

"Fourth. That it is well-nigh, if not actually, impossible for Great Britain and France to meet their present responsibilities, which cannot be avoided, and much more to assume new ones, without America's aid.

"Fifth. That cable dispatches from Lord Bryce and other British leaders interested in the Christian peoples of the Near East declare that 'Unless America joins to help bear the burdens, we see no hope of delivering the subject races of Turkey.'

"Sixth. That the King-Crane, the Harbord, the Near East Relief, and other commissions, public and private, as well as a large number of Americans in the Near East, all agree that America alone is in a position to do, with comparative ease, what ought to be done in that country for its pacification, for the protection of the people there, and for the setting up of a safe and righteous government.

"That many leaders in other countries are of the same opinion, which is also confirmed by practically all the nationalities dwelling in those areas.

"That from all these different sources there is general agreement that if America refuses to come to the relief of the situation the Turks will continue to hold sway in Europe, and while dwelling in Constantinople will continue to practice officially from that city their characteristically unjust administration and perpetrate their customary atrocities upon their defenseless subjects wherever their rule shall extend."

On May 11 word came to Constantinople to the Armenian Patriarch that Soviet rule had been established in Armenia, substituting the power exercised formerly by President Khatlian.

THE SENATE'S CONGRATULATIONS

On May 11th the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported to the body the following resolution. It will be noted that it says nothing about a "mandate" or any action by the government of a "practical" kind. Following is the text:

"Whereas the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered; and

"Whereas the people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation, and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and

"Whereas the independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference and by the Government of the United States of America; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia on the recognition of the independence of the Re-

public of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it

"Further resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that stable government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of their nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it

"Further resolved, That in order to afford the necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the port of Batum and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku, the President is hereby requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to cause a United States warship and a force of marines to be dispatched to that port, such marines to disembark and protect American lives and property."

PRESIDENT CONSENTS TO ACT AS ARBITRATOR

On May 22 both the State Department at Washington and Ambassador Wallace to the Council of Ambassadors in Paris announced that President Wilson would accept the duties of an arbitrator of the boundaries of Armenia, as provided for in the terms of the treaty of the Allies with Turkey.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE ARMENIAN MANDATE

On May 24 Congress received a communication from President Wilson urging that the United States accept a "mandate" to control Armenia. The President, after referring to the resolution passed by the Senate May 14, in which it was said:

"Whereas the people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation, and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and

"Whereas, the independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference and by the Government of the United States of America; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia on the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that stable government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it further

"Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the port of Batum and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku, the President is hereby requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to cause a United States warship and a force of marines to be dispatched to such port with instructions to such marines to disembark and to protect American lives and property."

added this comment:

"I received and read this document with great interest and with genuine gratification, not only because it embodied my own convictions and feelings with regard to Armenia and its people, but also, and more particularly, because it seemed to me the voice of the American people expressing their genuine convictions and deep Christian sympathies and intimating the line of duty which seemed to them to lie clearly before us.

"I cannot but regard it as providential, and not as a mere casual coincidence, that almost at the same time I received information that the conference of statesmen now sitting at San Remo for the purpose of working out the details of peace with the central powers, which it was not feasible to work out in the conference at Paris, had formally resolved to address a definite appeal to this government to accept a mandate for Armenia.

"They were at pains to add that they did this 'not for the smallest desire to evade any obligations which they might be expected to undertake, but because the responsibilities which they are already obliged to bear in connection with the disposition of the former Ottoman Empire will strain their capacities to the uttermost, and because they believe that the appearance on the scene of a power emancipated from the prepossessions of the Old World will inspire a wider confidence and afford a firmer guarantee for stability in the future than would the selection of any European power.'

Trust of Civilization

"Early in the conferences at Paris it was agreed that to those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such people form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be afforded.

"It was recognized that certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

"It is in pursuance of this principle and with a desire of affording Armenia such advice and assistance that the statesmen conferring at San Remo have formerly requested this government to assume the duties of mandatory in Armenia. I may add, for the information of the Congress, that at the same sitting it was resolved to request the President of the United States to undertake to arbitrate the difficult question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia and the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, and it was agreed to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulation he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia.

Duty to Accept Task

"In pursuance of this action, it was resolved to embody in the treaty with Turkey, now under final consideration, a provision that 'Turkey and Armenia and the other high contracting parties agree to refer to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia'; pending that decision the boundaries of Turkey and Armenia to remain as at present. I have thought it my duty to accept this difficult and delicate task.

"In response to the invitation of the Council at San Remo, I urgently advise and request that the Congress grant the executive power to accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia.

Sympathy for Struggling People

"I make this suggestion in the earnest belief that it will be the wish of the people of the United States that this should be done. The sympathy with Armenia has proceeded from no single portion of our people, but has come with extraordinary spontaneity and sincerity from the whole of the great body of Christian men and women in this country, by whose free-will offerings Armenia has practically been saved at the most critical juncture of its existence. At their hearts this great and generous people have made the cause of Armenia their own.

"I am conscious that I am urging upon the Congress a very critical choice, but I make the suggestion in the confidence that I am speaking in the spirit and in accordance with the wishes of the greatest of the Christian peoples. The sympathy for Armenia among our people has sprung from

untainted consciences, pure Christian faith and an earnest desire to see Christian people everywhere succored in their time of suffering and lifted from their abject subjection and distress and enabled to stand upon their feet and take their place among the free nations of the world."

MANDATE REFUSED BY THE SENATE

On June 1, after a six hours' debate in the Senate, the following resolution, which had been reported out by the Committee on Foreign Relations, was passed by a vote of 52 to 23:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress hereby respectfully declines to grant to the Executive the power to accept a mandate over Armenia, as requested in the message of the President dated May 24, 1920."

Previously three important resolutions, introduced for strategical reasons, had been defeated. Senator Hitchcock offered a resolution extending economic aid to be administered by a joint commission that would have entrusted to it rehabilitation of the country. It was lost by a vote of 34 to 41.

A motion recommitting the matter to the Foreign Relations Committee was defeated by a party vote.

An amendment to the committee's suggested (and finally adopted) resolution, giving it affirmative form and granting the President the power to accept the mandate, introduced by Senator Brandegee, was lost by a vote of 12 to 62, the only Senators voting for it being Democrats from the Southern States. This vote marked the lowest measure of backing for the President shown by any vote of the Senate on any post-war issue.

The day following the debate Mr. Bryan, an influential a Protestant layman prominent in the political world as the country has, endorsed the action of the Senate in rejecting the "mandate."

THE HOUSE DECLINES TO ACT

On June 3 the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, by a vote of 7 to 6, voted to report favorably a resolution declining to give the President authority to accept this mandate, and on the 4th the Republican leaders decided not to act on the matter for reasons of expediency.

REPUBLICAN PARTY GOES ON RECORD

The Republican National Convention, June 10, adopted a platform with the following plank in it dealing with the Armenian mandate:

We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels.

According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 50,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend \$276,000,000 in the first year and \$756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight, but in case of a serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican Party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY. By *Lothrop Stoddard*. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York City. Pp. 310. \$3.00.

Mr. Stoddard's book has such elements of sensational interest in it that Mr. Hearst has been giving it much publicity in his periodicals, the impulse to do so being the author's agreement with the journalist's long-time crusade against Asiatics and their invasion of the Pacific Coast States of the Union. But back of the sensationalism of the book is a serious array of facts and arguments that have won the endorsement of Madison Grant, who writes the foreword, and that all Caucasians bent on defending race interests must face. Mr. Grant, be it said, is the author of a scholarly book on "The Passing of the White Race."

Mr. Stoddard's thesis is that the World War and its subsequent period of famine and disease have so debilitated the peoples who are without color that the world now faces "revolutionary, even cataclysmic, possibilities," when the black, yellow, and brown peoples decide to migrate in large numbers and invade lands now in possession of whites, or when they take up arms to practice tactics that they have learned during the war as combatants serving in the white armies. What was done during the war does not alarm him as much as what has been done since "peace" was declared. To quote his own words: "The white world's inability to frame a constructive settlement, the perpetuation of intestine hatreds, and the menace of fresh white civil wars, complicated by the specter of social revolution, evoke the dread thought that the late war may be merely the first stage in a cycle of ruin." The implication of this statement, and indeed of the whole book, is that the white race is the world's hope, and that its destruction would mean humanity's downfall. It is a common assumption, but it is only an assumption, a form of race egotism.

The illogic of the book is that while its author denounces national prejudices and conflicts he is quite willing to stimulate racial ones. He denies the values that inhere in other races than his own, and deprecates an idealism or doctrinalism, such as the New Testament, for instance, sets forth, implying that all men are brothers, and that God is a common father. He wants the "white civil war" to stop, but only so that the whites may be strong enough to master the rest of the world. From 1500 to 1900 they "carried forward the proud oriflamme of white expansion and world-dominion." Japan's defeat of Russia marked the turn of the tide and was a landmark in history.

The significance of this book is that the United States now has a thinker like Gobineau, author of "De l'Inégalité des Races Humaines," and Houston Chamberlain, author of "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," who is calling his countrymen to unite to fight inferior white and all non-white race stocks. What he wants is a "pan-Nordic syndication of power for the safeguarding of the race heritage and the harmonious evolution of the whole white world." It is a policy that involves anti-Semitism, restriction and ultimate exclusion from residence in America of the Mediterranean races, and a combination of the United States with Great Britain and the British dominions to shut out settlement of Asiatics within their borders. Russian pan-Slavism is the next peril which Europe faces, especially if it succeeds under Bolshevik leadership in arraying the populations of mid-Asia and India against British rule. The author calls for Great Britain's refusal to renew the alliance with Japan—a policy always denounced by British residents in the Orient and never more so than now.

NORDISK FREDSKALENDER, 1919-20. Edited by *Knut Sandstet* and issued in Stockholm by Svenska Freds. Och Skiljedomsforeningens Forlag.

This admirably printed and illustrated annual yearbook of the Northern Peace Union includes among its contents a valuable symposium of opinion on what should now be adopted as the international language, publicists, philologists, traders, and business men in countries other than France, England, and Germany being furnished with ques-

tionaires. English has majority of the votes. French not a few, and here and there a voter appears favoring a return to Latin. It is generally conceded that the war has militated against acceptance of an "international" language for some time to come, the emphasis upon "nationalism" helping to create this reaction. The manual also contains much official information as to the developments in the peace movement in Scandinavian countries.

THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR. By *the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook*, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Association Press, New York City. Pp. 302, with appendices.

This is one of a series of books projected by the Council, and the second to be published. It has been edited by a committee working under the direction of Robert E. Speer. It deals with subdivisions of the general topic, indicated by the following topics: "The Enhanced Significance and Urgency of Foreign Missions in the Light of War"; "The Effect of War on the Religious Outlook in Various Lands," and "Missionary Principles and Policies in the Light of War." No preceding conflict has ever so seriously disturbed the Christian churches of the world, probing into the ethics of their conduct, the propriety of their methods as propagandists, and the interrelations of missionary and nationalistic propaganda. Similarly, no previous war has called forth just such literature as is found in this compilation of opinions by men and women in all lands, facing a variety of problems due to changes in political and social structure on a scale never before seen.

THE PEACE IN MAKING. By *H. Wilson Harris*. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City. Pp. 206, with appendices.

Mr. Harris represented the *London Daily Chronicle* at Paris during the Peace Conference. He previously had written a book on "President Wilson, His Problems and His Policy." An admirer of the President then, he still is; and the reader gets quite a different impression in this book of the American delegation's record at Paris from that which is registered in Professor Keynes's book. Mr. Harris has a good pictorial style, and when he describes the external aspects of the conference he is at his best. He believes in the League, justifies most of the decisions of the Conference, and expects the League to gain in prestige, so that in time, by the use of no stronger pressure than an economic boycott on a world scale, any recalcitrant power may be forced to obey the fiat of the League. It is strange how many theorists salve their international consciences with the ointment of that worst of all war agonies, an "international boycott."

STRAIGHT DEAL OR THE ANCIENT GRUDGE. By *Owen Wisfer*. The Macmillan Co., New York City. Pp. 287. \$2.00.

Mr. Wister is a man of letters, of the old stock of first settlers in and about Philadelphia, bred on British literature and political traditions, and personally rampant for American participation in the war with Germany at least three years before the United States entered the conflict. His only solution of future foreign relations of the United States is by an alliance of the republic with the empire; and, so believing, he wishes no friction to arise now. This book deals with the share that American school-books have had in causing antipathy to Great Britain among the people of this country; with the cases of friction between the two nations that have been settled by diplomacy, though not without leaving scars; and with the differences in manners and customs which at first make it difficult for the two peoples to understand or to like each other. The book is marred by slurs on responsible national officials who knew the precise state of public opinion of the whole country from 1914 to 1917, and by ignorance of conditions that make for more or less permanent conflict between Great Britain and the United States, so long as the British policy is imperialistic and so long as Great Britain is a monarchy. Pleading

for amity, Mr. Wister often shows venom, directed against conditions here which he does not like, but which he is quite powerless to change, the United States being what it is, a nation including men of many races, many of which do not love Great Britain and never will. He is quite justified in pleading for use of school-books that tell the truth. But here again the plain fact is that school histories cannot be written and widely used in this country which deal with history objectively. Religious, racial, and sectional prejudices, organized to bring pressure upon publishers, see to it that the tale is told as the peoples who read them want it told.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF FRANCE IN THE AMERICAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE. By *Captain Joachim Merlant*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City. Pp. 207.

This is an authorized edition, issued under the patronage of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of a work by an assistant professor of the Faculty of Letters in the University of Montpellier, and translated by Mrs. Mary Bushnell Coleman. It is dedicated to M. Jusserand, the present Ambassador of France to the United States, whose own writings on this theme have been done with a characteristic combination of scholarship and literary charm. The author was in this country in 1916, speaking in the interests of France and visiting not less than fifty of our cities. He fought with distinction in the French army in the Argonne district, was severely wounded, and was decorated with the Legion of Honor and mentioned in dispatches. Coming to us on his "furlough of convalescence," he not only won us by his distinction of mind and spirit, but also fell in love with our ideals and national characteristics. Returning home, he decided to tell anew the story of Lafayette and Rochambeau for the benefit of both French and American readers; and he did his work well. He claims for his book a spirit of truth and friendship, but lays no claim to special erudition.

No reader of this book can fail to be impressed with the intellectual and spiritual values as well as the military salvation which the young republic received from the aid France gave us in our Revolution. Louis XVI, Vergennes, Franklin, Lafayette, Washington and lesser men had to meet then, as we are meeting now, a variety of forces hostile to the establishment of friendly relations between the two peoples. Individualism, parochialism, congressional stupidity and meanness, and hostile propaganda, then as now, made the task of the responsible leaders in the rapprochement more difficult than it should have been. But when the war closed, when Lafayette and Rochambeau returned home, and when war gave way to diplomacy, and the terms of peace had to be made, the two peoples loved each other with an affection that resembled nothing ever known before in history. It was a love that faded, but did not pass away. It flamed up again during 1914-18, and nothing now should mar the course of its further development.

IMMORTAL YOUTH: A MEMOIR OF FRED A. DEMMLER. By *Lucien Price*. Macgrath-Sherrill Press, Boston. Pp. 54. \$1.00.

"The wastage of war," as it decimates the best of the thinkers, artists, and spiritual leaders of the youth of a land, has been much dwelt upon by British and French writers since the armistice was signed. For some unaccountable reason, American authors have not emphasized this horrible phase of the problem. But Mr. Price, a Boston journalist, always goes to the target of truth in his thinking and writing. Hence this memoir he has written of a gallant friend, who was a rising portrait painter, provokes thought on this grimmest side of war at the same time that it delights the reader with the story of the friendship formed by the two men from the mid-West. Their reactions to the neo-Puritanism of Boston, their revels in Nature's charms as displayed on ocean front and inland hill, and their midnight talks on art, literature, and social reconstruction are registered with a light Gallic touch and ironic power.

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A Governed World

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of practically every accredited peace society and constructive peaceworker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that, it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all

other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

Concerning international organization, adopted by the American Peace Society, January 22, 1917, and by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917.

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the Powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE WORLD

AN EVENT of international importance, an event the most hopeful for the cause of international peace since the meeting of the first Hague Conference, in 1899, seems about to happen within the next few days at The Hague. It was Taine, as we remember, who said that "to every man of twenty the world is a scandal." There are many over twenty among us who feel the same way still. We have scandal a plenty. The war was a scandal. The "Peace" of Versailles was a scandal. And yet it must be agreed that the discussion following the war, particularly that with reference to the proposed League of Nations, has laid us under obligations both to the war and to the so-called covenant, for the world is to have an International Court of Justice.

The scandals of our international situation, therefore, leave us not without hope, especially when we bear in mind this news out of Holland. We are to have a Supreme Court of the Nations. We like to repeat the sentence. The method of selecting the judges, a difficulty which our readers will remember caused the failure of 1907, has been accepted. Everything else is a matter of detail. It is to the credit of the Paris peacemakers that they agreed, practically without discussion, upon the plan outlined in Article XIV, a plan for establishing such a Court upon the recommendations of a special commission. It is to the credit of the League itself that the formation of such a Court should have been made

the first item of its program and at its first session. It is hopeful that America's representative, albeit unofficial, is a man who has believed for many years that a permanent Court of International Justice is essential for any real progress in international law. As he has himself specifically said: "As things now stand, the political rather than the judicial aspect of the settlement of disputes is prominent in the covenant, but 'political' settlements can never be entirely satisfactory or just. Ultimately and in the long run the only alternative to war is law, and for the enthronement of law there is required such a continuous development of international jurisprudence, at present in its infancy, as can only be supplied by the progressive adjustment of a permanent court working out its own traditions." That America has such a man with such an experience as Mr. Elihu Root to represent it upon such an important occasion as this meeting of the commission at The Hague goes a long way toward dispelling our too easy way of thinking the world a scandal.

The meagerly cabled reports of the work of the commission make it impossible for us to give to our readers that detailed information of the work of the Conference, which we aim to print in later numbers. The first session of the commission was held at the Peace Palace at The Hague, June 16, M. Léon Bourgeois, President of the League of Nations, delivering the opening address. It is refreshing for us, astounded in Paris to hear this illustrious gentleman pleading for an international army as the only basis for an international peace, to find him saying in this address that "the basis of peace between nations cannot lie in force." In contrast with the rather inglorious meetings of the Council of the League of Nations itself, we have here a picture of the whole diplomatic corps at The Hague and all the most prominent Dutch officials present. The foreign minister, Von Karnebeck, welcomed the commission in the name of the Queen.

It is evident that the existing Hague Arbitration Tribunal is not to be abolished, but that, in addition to carrying on its work begun with its first case upon the initiative of Mr. Roosevelt in 1902, it is to have a most important voice in the selection of the judges of the newly proposed Court. It was apparent from the outset that practically all the members of the commission were set in their determination that The Hague system should not be seethed in its own milk. It was apparent from the outset that the Court when established must sit permanently at The Hague.

If the recommendation of this commission be accepted and adopted, the new Court will be accessible to cases brought by States only, and not to cases brought by individuals. It will be open for the trying of cases at all times. From the dispatches it would appear that there have been some befuddled utterances in favor of compelling States to appear before the Court. Of course, such a procedure on the part of a peace agency, aiming to promote the interest of law and equity, is unthinkable. The most encouraging of all international facts, however, is the realization that public opinion of the world is not only favorable to the establishment of such a Court, but that it will at last insist upon its creation. We are to have a Supreme Court of the World.

COMPETITION KNOWS NO CONSCIENCE

IT IS NOT spoken of very much in polite society, but American capitalists are investing heavily in Germany, in real estate especially in the cities, but also in factories. The growth of these investments, not only by Americans but by moneyed men of other nations, has been astonishing. Since the Peace Treaty of Versailles, a demand for new houses and new machinery is naturally great in Germany. At this time the attraction for investors is due not only to the demand but in part also to the great advantage in the exchange rates. An investment of a million marks in Germany today will show astounding profits with the inevitable rise of the mark, and it is not impossible for a comparatively poor man to invest several million marks in German enterprise. It is reported upon excellent authority that Frankfort-on-the-Main has borrowed 20,000,000 marks through a New York banking firm, and that America is proving a real market for old German State loans. Berlin hotels are found to be gold mines, one American offering 20,000,000 marks for the one hotel on the Unter den Linden. A recent correspondent of the *New York Times* has discovered that British and American capitalists have made similar offers for the Adlon and Esplanade, but the offers have been refused. At the German spas, like Wiesbaden, a number of the largest hotels have already been purchased by foreign capital. Already since the first of January the potash works in Germany have sold to America 250,000 tons of potash. There are some prospects of many German potash works being sold outright to Americans. Shares in electric companies, rubber and gutta-percha companies, and many others are being quietly attached by American thrift and enterprise. It would not seem that the delay on the part of the United States in ratifying the Peace Treaty of Versailles has been any serious embarrassment to our friends with gold in their pockets.



Andrew Jackson Montague

ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
MAY 29, 1920

Resident of Richmond, Virginia. Born, Campbell County, Virginia, October 3, 1863; graduated Richmond, Virginia, College, 1882; LL. B., University of Virginia, 1885; LL. D., Brown University, 1903; after practicing law a number of years, appointed by President Cleveland, United States District Attorney for Western District of Virginia, 1893; Attorney General of Virginia, 1898-1902; beginning January 1, 1902, Governor of Virginia for four years one month; dean Law School of Richmond College, 1906-1909; resumed practice of law, Richmond, 1909; delegate at large, Democratic National Convention, 1904; American delegate Third Conference American Republics at Rio Janeiro, 1906; delegate to Third International Conference of Maritime Law at Brussels, 1909 and 1910; President American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1917; trustee Carnegie Institution, Washington, and also Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1910; member Phi Beta Kappa, William and Mary College, 1908; elected to Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth, and Sixty-sixth Congresses.

Since David Low Dodge, of New York City, presided at the first Annual Meeting of this Society, in 1829, the Presidents have been: Rev. John Codman, Dorchester, Mass., 1830-1831; Hon. S. V. S. Wilder,* New York City, 1831-1837; William Ladd, founder of this Society, 1838-1840; Samuel E. Coues, Portsmouth, N. H., 1841-1846; Anson G. Phelps, New York City, 1847; Hon. William Jay, New York, 1848-1853; Dr. Francis Wayland, Providence, R. I., 1859-1861; Dr. Howard Malcolm, Boston, 1862-1872; Hon. Edward S. Tobey, Boston, 1873-1891; Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Boston, 1892-1910; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, Ohio, 1911-1915; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, New York City, 1916; Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio, Texas, 1917-1920.

* Presided at annual meetings, Mr. Ladd being the real head of the Society.

AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE

I DO NOT in the least challenge the International Police Force as a possible ideal. I am quite sure that it is not a practicable one now." These are the words of Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, to a deputation from the League to Abolish War, a deputation including representatives of organized labor and organized religion. The Prime Minister was accompanied by Lord Curzon and Mr. Arthur Balfour. The deputation was introduced by Mr. G. M. Barnes, M. P. The self-explanatory and official report of the interview, as reported in the *London Times*, follows:

Mr. Barnes, in introducing the deputation, said that they wished to put to the Prime Minister the need as they thought for arming the League of Nations with some international force by which it could back up its decrees, and which would enable it to administer areas should such be found necessary.

Bishop Gore, who also spoke, said the object of the League of Nations could not be attained unless the League was equipped with a police force, or whatever it was, which enabled it to stand up and say, "We are able to see to this being carried out."

The Prime Minister asked what was the practical proposal put forward by the deputation. Was it that the League should have an international army adequate to its probable tasks?

Bishop Gore: Yes, in fact, it should have what it asked for. For example, with regard to Armenia, it said: "We cannot act without money and without force."

PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY

The Prime Minister, in a general reply, said: I do not in the least challenge the International Police Force as a possible ideal. I am quite sure that it is not a practicable one now. There are two supreme difficulties in the way of bringing the League into full operation now. The first is that all the Powers that have available forces are so absorbed in other duties cast upon them by the war that they cannot support the decisions of the League. But the second is that the Power which has the means, which has the freedom from entanglement, and which seemed to us at one moment to have all the enthusiasm has withdrawn.

Mr. Barnes: They will come back.

The Prime Minister: All these are temporary difficulties. I believe the withdrawal of America from apparent adhesion to the League is a temporary one. I think that when America comes in, it may involve some change at any rate in the form of the Covenant. It is quite possible it might be a change for the better. But it would be idle now to enter into any discussion with America. Neither of the two parties would commit itself. But these are temporary difficulties, and I am putting them forward rather as an encouragement to the friends of the League. They must not imagine that, because the League has not in its babyhood suddenly become a fully armed giant, holding down all the forces of disorder and the monster of militarism, therefore, it is dead. It is not. But to attempt now to get the League into full fruition of all its hopes might destroy it. It is in this country that you have, for the moment, the strongest support for the League.

Mr. Barnes: The facts prove that the idea of an effective League of Nations as an international force has taken a hold of the mind and spirit of the people of all countries.

The Prime Minister: I quite agree. You could not intervene in Poland with the League of Nations, because you could not bring force to bear upon either of the belligerents. You could starve Poland, but it is pretty nearly starving as it is. With regard to the ideal, I am not quite convinced that the best method is to have an international army. As a preliminary stage you must have international contributions, before you ever reach the point of an international army. That may be an ideal, but I am perfectly certain you have got to begin by levying contributions upon States by saying: "A force of 50,000 is required for such a purpose; England contributes 5,000, France so much, Norway so much, Sweden so much," and so on. You must do it in that way.

The deputation then withdrew.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

IN THE June number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* we said of the Republican plank on the League of Nations that it is "wordy, paraphrastic, and repetitious." The Democratic plank on the League of Nations is not wordy, is not paraphrastic, and is not repetitious. On the contrary, it is terse, unified, and altogether well written. In our comment on the Republican plank we said that in "its affirmative statements it is, from our point of view, eminently sound and altogether satisfactory." We went on then to pick out the eight affirmative statements and to conclude with the suggestion, "That now the Democratic party adopt the same program and make it unanimous." The Democratic party has adopted its program, the main affirmative statements of which are:

1. The party "favors the League of Nations" for certain definite reasons, which it proceeds to enumerate.
2. It was for the League of Nations, thus conceived of, that America entered the war.
3. America consented to the armistice for the same reason.
4. The League of Nations, like the treaty, is "near akin to previously expressed American ideals, and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere."
5. The party commends "the President for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to."
6. The party feels that the President "is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business."
7. The party insists that to make a separate peace would be the way of dishonor.
8. The party advocates "the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair

its essential integrity"; but does not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League of Nations.

These are the eight affirmative statements pertinent to an understanding of the position taken by the Democratic party at San Francisco. It is evident that the distinguished gentlemen did not take seriously to heart our suggestion that they adopt the program accepted at Chicago.

LIBERALISM ON THE WAY IN JAPAN

THE opposition to Japanese immigration continues the even tenor of its way in California. It is held there, probably increasingly, that the white race is utterly helpless in the presence of the economic competition, of the birth rate, and of the unassimilable character of the Japanese. It is seriously proposed that the "gentlemen's agreement," "grossly violated in letter and in spirit," should be canceled, for the Japanese population of the United States has, as a matter of fact, increased sixfold since 1900.

Since Japan has a clearly defined policy of "peacefully penetrating" the United States, even to the point of employing to that end the "picture brides" for breeding purposes, it is proposed that the "picture brides" shall be abolished. It is argued with no little heat that we should exclude Japanese immigrants just as Canada and Australia have done; indeed, that all Asiatics shall be barred from American citizenship forever. The propaganda goes further and calls for an amendment to section I of article XIV of the Federal Constitution, to the end that no child born in the United States of foreign parents shall be considered an American citizen unless both parents are of a race that is eligible to citizenship in this country. Granting that Asiatic labor may be necessary in this country from time to time, it is interestingly proposed that Chinese be brought in for a limited term of years, confined to certain localities and industries, and that they be sent back to China when the need for their services is ended. It will be noted that the Japanese are not to be permitted to "enjoy" even that kind of "privilege."

And yet it is quite generally agreed by those familiar with the facts that there is a genuine growth of liberal sentiment in Japan, beginning with the labor party led by Itagaki in the very first Diet thirty years ago. As long ago as 1898, Okuma joined with Itagaki in the formation of a new liberal ministry. There have been men who have devoted their entire public life in Japan, men such as Fukuzawa, preaching a consistent intelligent liberalism. This liberalism has found expression in

literature and in politics, but principally in the expression of views in literary form. These facts are the more hopeful when we recall that men are still living who can remember when Japan was a perfect feudal and paternal system.

We are told that because of the war the liberal sentiment has increased in Japan. The defeat of Germany has caused many Japanese to lose their old admiration for that military aristocracy. Many travelers, Japanese students receiving their education in America, together with other means of interchange of ideas, have made it inevitable that the methods of western democracies should influence Japanese views increasingly. The learned editor of the Japan Year Book, Professor Take-nob, says flatly that "militarism is now on the wane and evidently doomed" in Japan. Possibly never before have there been so many persons in Japan interested to bring about a greater democracy in that land. The agitation for universal suffrage is real. The crimes against the Koreans, the action at Paris with reference to Shantung, are condemned very widely in Japan. The right of labor to combine is accepted there in principle increasingly. The policy of the government in Siberia, the stupid censorship still in vogue there, all come in for their general condemnation. Even the Japanese system of double government is openly denounced as the chief cause for Japan's unpopularity in China, Russia, and elsewhere.

If liberalism in Japan seems to be able to effect no public policy, it may be pointed out that liberal cabinets have alternated with bureaucratic since that first democratic cabinet of twenty-two years ago, and that this fact is hopeful for those other liberal cabinets which are certainly destined to effect policy. As with Russia and other countries, the successful growth of all constructive liberalism depends upon party government and on the public opinion which it generates, so Japan will have to work out her own methods for adapting these forms of progress. There is nothing throughout her remarkable career as a constitutional government which justifies any one to assume that she will not work out her problems, herself, in her own way, and that with increasing credit to her not inconspicuous achievements hitherto.

We wish our California batters of the Japanese might recognize something good in Japan and say so. We confess also to a wish that they wouldn't wail and bellow so unbecomingly at the prospects of "competition," "birth rates," etc., etc., of the struggling, sensitive, ambitious people of little Nippon. The rational way to "compete" in business is to compete. Similarly, the way to meet the dangers of the large birth rate of other peoples is to bear children, more and better children.

THE INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S CONFERENCE

SINCE EARLY JUNE, under the auspices of the International Conference of Labor of the League of Nations, delegates representing the leading maritime nations of the world have been in session in Genoa, Italy. The United States has had informal rather than formal governmental representation; but Andrew Furueth, president of the International Seamen's Union, who is the outstanding personality in the American shipping world as a labor leader, has been present in the city and has had much to do with shaping conclusions, through his personal contact with the delegates and by his public utterances.

Historically considered, the conference is a pendant of the conference held in Washington last year, at which it was arranged that this specialized issue should be discussed separately and later. Then as now the United States as a government had no formal connection with the gathering, owing to the anomalous position of the country toward the League.

From the international standpoint the Genoa Conference derives its importance from the large number of nations represented, the vital part that maritime affairs play in world history, and the composition of the conference. Ship-owners, seamen, and representatives of States—or the general public—have sat down to frame new standards of hours of labor, payment of workers, and terms of entering upon and leaving crews. As in Washington, so in Genoa, there has been much more unity of opinion and action than had been predicted. It is true that on the main issue, that of an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week, the conservatives won, though a majority of the nations voting favored the standard. But the conference did recommend that in every nation seamen be placed on the same legal plane as ship-owners; and it endorsed the demand that all treaties compelling seamen to work against their will and making possible their imprisonment for failure to live up to contracts be abolished. To protect juvenile life the conference urged that no one be permitted to join a crew who is not fourteen years old. Sympathy with the demand that such rules as govern sea-going craft should also govern vessels plying on inland waters was formally voted. The conference also practically unanimously voted for abolition of the blockade against Russia.

To one who knows something of how much the much-abused seamen's act passed by Congress a few years ago has done not only to put an end to scandalous abuses on American ships but to force voluntary raising of wage standards on foreign-owned vessels coming into American ports, the significance of the Genoa Conference is more apparent than to a person not thus informed.

Seamen, like all other workers, are ambitious for the best possible conditions of labor. They will not remain in the British, Scandinavian, or Dutch service if they can get better treatment in America; and their assertion of this policy already has forced from non-American ship-owners substantial concessions.

Naturally resistance to a higher wage scale, shorter hours of labor, and greater freedom for seamen has come from Great Britain, and at this conference she frequently has found herself deserted by her Dominions. Canadians and Australians have a living standard that is more like the American than the British, and they know full well that they cannot build up their carrying trade on a wage basis such as Great Britain still stands for.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

ONE of the most important agencies for collecting data on disputed issues of commerce, transportation, finance, and government recently brought into being in this country is the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Through it a solidarity of knowledge and a directness of aim have been given to one of the most important groups of electors. Armed with the results of its questionnaires answered by more than three thousand local organizations, it can and it does appear before Congress or the Executive and speak with much weight.

Realizing the value to the trading interests of the world of a similar international organization, some of the projectors of the American body a few years ago set about creating an International Chamber of Commerce. The proposition met with the hearty assent of forward-looking and internationally minded men in Europe and Latin America. Then the war came and estopped all further negotiations and constructive action. As soon as the war ceased a large group of potential European members of such an international chamber visited the United States, partly to re-establish business connections and partly to study the workings of the Chamber of Commerce. These visitors at the Atlantic City Conference endorsed the plan to go ahead with organization of the chamber; and on June 26 it opened its first session in Paris, with delegates from five nations present to organize, but not to control, for, at one of the first sessions, admittance was given to representatives of all nations signatory to the Versailles Treaty.

On page 247 of this issue we summarize briefly the results of this meeting. Suffice it to add here that if this organization does nothing more than make it possible for men of many nations to discuss openly and endorse

or reject as frankly plans for solving large world problems that now center around production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, it will have justified its birth. Co-operation or matching of minds cannot but lead to something like consent on principles of conduct. Nominally gathered to discuss technical problems, ethical issues will arise, debates will follow, and commercialism, pure and simple, will have to be reckoned with idealism. For instance, at this session "unfair competition" was discussed. Delegates who came expecting to grind their own or their nation's axes were at once told that the chamber hoped to move on a higher plane than that. When the topic of divulging commercial secrets was open for debate, a raw and sore nerve that much needs attention got it. So also when protection of trade-marks was considered. For it is these differing codes of business morality held by individuals and by nations that cause much friction. The disputes that arise because of them have a cumulative effect. In due time they share in bringing on war.

IS THERE LIGHT IN RUSSIA?

THE darkness that has been Russia's has been a great darkness. But now at a time when the Bolshevik troops are undoubtedly warring successfully along the Polish front; when George Krasin, ablest man of business in the Bolshevik government, is functioning with marked success as de facto Soviet ambassador to the Court of St. James, having brought Great Britain, indeed, to his terms, President Wilson, upon his own initiative, it is said, has decided to open trade relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. Is this the beginning of the dawn in Russia?

In some respects Mr. Wilson's action is quite remarkable. We understand that one of his motives is to "give rope" to the Bolshevik, that they may hang themselves. Another reason is that it may be a means of overthrowing Lenin, because it will deprive him of the excuse that the outside world is preventing him from building up Russia. Whether or not these were real reasons in the mind of Mr. Wilson we cannot say. If they were, they constitute a part of the strangeness of the proceeding. It is a fact that Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, head of the Russian Soviet Bureau in the United States, is skeptical of the effectiveness of Mr. Wilson's declaration, for the reason that no provision has been made for the establishment of credits by which the American business man may be paid for his goods; furthermore, it does not provide for the necessary commercial communications by mail or cable. It is certainly no illustration of an open diplomacy openly arrived at. The procedure was even announced during the absence of our Secretary of

State, and, indeed, it is quite at variance with every utterance relative to Russia which Mr. Colby has made since he accepted his portfolio. It would seem that the action may prove embarrassing to large numbers of influential persons in the Democratic party, including, perhaps, Mr. Cox, for the opposition in America to the Bolsheviks is quite general. Mr. Wilson's action is peculiar, we may also say, to take such a step, announcing at the same time the impotence of the Bolsheviks, the paucity of raw materials in Russia, and the absence of credit. It is especially interesting to note Mr. Wilson's announcement to the American business men that if they do business with Red Russia they will do so at their own risk.

Of course, the extreme opponents of the Bolsheviks are quick to point out that if the United States succeeds in getting supplies to Russia, the shippers may comfort themselves with the realization that they are doing their best to destroy all civilized governments, including the Government of the United States, for it is against such governments that the Bolsheviks are set. It would be interesting to hear the remarks of the peoples with whom we have been associated in the war, particularly in enlightened and property owning France.

Undoubtedly this is the darkest period of Russia's history. Undoubtedly this Russia of a thousand years is the most serious single problem facing the world today. Colossal, feared, and envied, the world feels as never before the importance of Russia. As is frequently said, "Russia's tragedy is a world tragedy." If as at the dawn of her history, she is to create a great State out of her present despair; if she is to demonstrate that her powers of production are unimpaired; if she is to take up again her unexcelled spiritual achievements in literature, in the arts, and in the sciences, and to carry these to still greater heights, Russia must overcome her diseased body and travailing soul. Other nations can help in this undertaking, but the one nation upon whom the job most depends is of course Russia.

There is no doubt of Russia's disease. The campaign of Lenin and Trotsky has been one of the most amply financed and widely extended of any ever thrust upon the ordered governments. The funds have come from the loot of banks and churches, from the private fortunes of captured and even murdered individuals. Agents empowered by these funds have found their way to all continents, and to the peoples of all stages of civilization, especially to those with agrarian discontent on the one hand and the latent germs of urban industrial revolt on the other. Their manifesto, distributed widely in north and south China, whence the Soviet military forces have obtained some of their fiercest and most cruel hired mercenaries, shows clearly their one desire,

namely, to subdue Russia. China, ribboned by civil war, has been found to be good soil for this inflammatory revolutionary literature. It has been made perfectly clear to the world from time to time that Lloyd-George was quite correct when he referred to the Soviet as a "people whose chariot is drawn by plunder and terror."

But these facts do not prove the hopelessness of Russia. Republicanism in Russia, for example, still lives. Dissolution of the empire and the overthrowing of the constituent assembly did not convert all the "peoples" to the Soviet system; neither did it extinguish nationalistic aspirations. The Supreme Council of the Associated and Allied Powers, sitting in Paris, had placed before it in June a statement signed by delegates of States formed within the limits of the former Russian empire, the Republics of Azerbaidjan, of Esthonia, of Georgia, of Letvia, of North Caucasus, of White Russia, and of the Ukraine—a statement declaring that these republics have been formed "by the free will of the peoples of these States."

The policy of the world of nations toward Russia, especially since the revolution, has been one of ineptitude, vacillation, and indecency. It was back in January that the Supreme Council in Paris, upon the recommendation of a committee, "decided that it would permit the exchange of goods upon a basis of reciprocity between the Russian people and the allied and neutral countries." To accomplish this it decided to operate through the Russian Co-operative organizations for the import into Russia of clothing, medicines, agricultural machinery, and other necessities in exchange for grain, flax, etc. The Supreme Council added, "This arrangement implies no change in the policy of the allied governments toward the Soviet government." The Supreme Council went further, and sent a note to the representatives of the Russian Central Co-operative Union notifying them of this action. Concerning this performance, the committee for the regeneration of Russia issued a statement declaring the plans of the Supreme Council "to be impossible of realization." It went further and expressed the view that even the lifting of the blockade could not solve the Russian problem, but that, on the contrary, it would complicate that problem by prolonging the period of Bolshevik domination in Russia with all that meant in the disorganization of Russia's productive forces. As a matter of fact, nothing came of that gesture. At that time Mr. Hoover said of the removal of the blockade against Red Russia that it had "knocked one of their greatest props from under the Bolsheviki." It seems reasonable to expect that Mr. Wilson will be seen to be as mistaken with reference to his present course toward Russia as was Mr. Hoover in January last.

AN EXCEEDINGLY interesting new angle in the "war against war" is a recent movement within the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America "union." Fearing from recent indications that the United States may be maneuvered into war with Mexico by designing interests and wishing to give a practical turn to the decision of the American Federation of Labor at its recent meeting in Montreal adverse to any such war, these makers of guns and ammunition voted against production of arms for the government or for private employers. They also are trying to induce transportation workers to refuse to run the railways to carry out a military policy. British and Irish wage earners some time since discovered that in this way of being "practical pacifists" they had a method of sabotaging the schemes of governments and of industry. Our own view is that this particular group of metal workers is in the wrong. That method, to avoid the serious charge of disloyalty in case of war, should cease. Such a policy on the part of labor to be of any value should be proposed and carried out by a united effort of united labor in a united world, and not until then. Any other course in our present order is simply the way of national suicide.

VERNON LEE, the clever English woman, whose mind is prone to dwell on aesthetics as well as ethics, and whose essays are among the best written for the select few during this generation, has brought forth a satire called "Satan the Waster," which is a drama directed against war of all kinds at all times. Prof. Gilbert Murray, in the current *Century*, has an article on "Satanism," and an anonymous writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* has some old-fashioned ideas about the Devil. They all indicate that the older conception of Personified Evil, warring with Personified Good, and getting the homage of an evil humanity, makes its appeal again to him or to her, as the case may be. In a time of reaction like the present it is not surprising that such a trend as this should reappear. The late war has made many persons restore the word "hell" to their vocabulary. If the place, why then omit the active master who directs us thither?

FORMER Ambassador to Germany, Mr. Gerard, is mystified by the fact that neither General Pershing nor Mr. Hoover "got anywhere" in politics this year after their military, diplomatic, and humanitarian service abroad. He really seems peeved because the people who vote do not turn to persons with distinctions gained during war time as their leaders in normal days of peace. Possibly if Mr. Gerard will keep on thinking he will discover why it is.

DR. CHARLES H. MAYO, than whom there is no higher American authority in medicine and surgery, speaking recently at a dinner in London, with eminent statesmen and scientists present, told them that the coming war will see aëroplanes used to drop—what? Immense capsules filled with bacteria of plagues, that when released will infect the inhabitants of villages, towns, and cities. When his lay auditors had recovered sufficiently from the chill of horror which this prophesy caused, he then proceeded to show that it was the duty of the profession, “in the line of humanity,” to prepare to undo with its left hand what it had done with its right hand. The “High Cost of Living” circle is no more inexplicable than this one of militarism wedded to science. Genius devises ways to kill; then it turns to and devises ways to alleviate its own victims’ woes, provided there are any survivors. Some day Science, collectively, the world around, may strike against War by refusing to be enlisted. In any event, science, to be consistent, must apply itself with all its power to end the self-neutralizing situation in which men have always found it necessary to end its disputes by the wholly wolf-like and unscientific method of simply blowing out each other’s brains.

BETTER understanding between college men of this country and those of other nations might be said to be the theme to which Prof. J. W. Cunliffe addresses himself in the leading article of the *American Oxonian* for July, 1920. According to Professor Cunliffe, there are three American educational organizations which are at this time, if from somewhat different angles, seeking to foster such a better acquaintance. These three American organizations concerning themselves with international education, to which Professor Cunliffe particularly refers, are the American University Union in Europe, founded in the summer of 1917, primarily in the interest of American university and college men in Europe for military service, with headquarters in Paris; the Institute of International Education, under the direction of Prof. Stephen P. Duggan, of New York; and the American Council of Education.

Professor Cunliffe is undoubtedly warranted in his statement that the war has given a spur to American interest in international education, and that that interest is being carried over to the more permanent relations of peace. Dr. MacLean is the present director of the British Division of the American University Union, with headquarters at 50 Russell square, W. C. 1, London, where he is willing to answer inquiries from American students wishing to go to Great Britain or Ireland. Because of the crowded state of most of the British universities it is urged that American students

wishing to secure admission to them this year should communicate at once with Dr. MacLean. The main business of the Union is now centered in the office of the Secretary of the Trustees, Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York City. The director of the Continental Division of the Union is Prof. C. B. Vibert, 1 Rue de Fleurus, Paris, France, but in September Prof. Earl B. Babcock, New York University, will probably take over the work of the Paris office.

There is the Institute of International Education, which has published a handbook of all educational opportunities in the various schools of France. A similar handbook has just appeared, a monograph by Dr. G. E. MacLean, entitled “Opportunity for Graduate Study in the British Isles.” Both of these handbooks can be obtained from the Institute of International Education, 419 West 117th street, New York City. This Institute of International Education is especially interested in the interchange of professors.

The American Council of Education, working in harmony with the other two organizations, is concerned primarily with the interrelation of American institutions and organizations and with their relations to governmental agencies. It is also trying to adjust the equivalents between the degrees of American and European universities and to administer the scholarships for French students in this country and American students in France, organized by the Association of American Colleges in co-operation with the French Government. The director of the council is Dr. S. P. Capen, 818 Connecticut avenue, Washington, D. C.

It will be interesting to watch these three organizations as they work out together their differing but similar problems relating to that most important matter, a better understanding between college men of this country and those of other nations.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, because of its name, because of its speakers and leaders, because of its purposes, should have a noteworthy meeting at its General Conference to be held at the Inn-in-the-Hills, Ulster County, opposite Poughkeepsie, N. Y., from Thursday, September 9, to Sunday, September 12. This group of spiritually minded persons has felt the impact of the war upon Christian principles. They feel that they have tried to work out the relation of those Christian principles to the social problems and the industrial society in the period of reconstruction. Since, as they feel, the world seems to have learned very little from the war, these persons are asking themselves what they ought to do about it. They have set, therefore, as the keynote of the Conference two sentences: The keynote of the Conference shall be “to gather up and apply the

spiritual force and vision that has been developed in the facing of profound social realities is the dominant purpose in the arrangement of the program. We have begun to see the outlines of the goal we are striving for; the time has now come to find ways to make our energy count in the attainment of that goal."

They hope to evoke a creative self-expression of the Conference upon such matters as industrial problems, war, militarism, international relations, spiritual realities. Surely there ought to be a place in a Christian civilization for many meetings with similar hopes and plans.

BUREAUCRACY AND DISRESPECT FOR LAW

By HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES

Former Justice of the United States Supreme Court

From Address at Harvard Law School Centennial, June 21,
Which was Entitled "Some Observations on Legal
Education and Democratic Progress"

A PASSION for legislation is not a sign of democratic progress, and in the mass of measures introduced in the legislatures of our free Commonwealths, there is too little evidence of perspective, and an abundance of elaborate and dreary futilities. Occasionally, a constructive measure of great benefit is skilfully planned, but we are constantly impressed with the lost motion and the vast waste in the endeavor of democracy to function wisely.

Statutes Too Uncertain

We should naturally expect that experience as a free people would have had fruition in a demand for certainty in laws, as it is vital to liberty that the scope of inhibition should be understood in advance through the promulgation of laws, which, whether or not well conceived, are at least well understood. But in this matter of first importance, we look in vain for progress. It would undoubtedly surprise a visitor from Mars to be told that in this enlightened nation, after more than a hundred years of the best institutions of free government ever devised, the industrial and commercial activities of the people have been governed by statutory provisions under which, except in the simplest cases, no one, however expert, could make a safe prediction. Controversies as to legislative policies are apt to issue not in any victory of defined import but in a compromise of vagueness, where all may claim success and no one may know what the rule of action is. The regrettable thing is not that this sometimes happened but that the tendency to enact uncertain laws seems to be increasing, and, what is still worse, that the people tolerate it and that there are but faint demands for improvement. Our material progress seems to have created complexities beyond our political competency, and disregarding the lessons of history there has been a disposition to revert to the methods of tyranny in order to meet the problems

of democracy. Intent on some immediate exigency, and with slight consideration of larger issues, we create autocratic power by giving administrative officials who can threaten indictment the opportunities of criminal statutes without any appropriate definition of crime. When King John in the Great Charter said, "And we will not set forth against him nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land," the assurance was of protection against arbitrary power, and we should know by this time that arbitrariness is quite as likely to proceed from an unrestrained administrative officer of the republic reigning by the grace of an indefinite statute as by the personal government of a despotic king. Finding the intricacies of our modern life too much for clearly expressed law, we have formed the habit of turning the whole business over to bureau chiefs, who, with the opportunity to create manifold restrictions and annoyances hold the power of life and death over enterprise and reputation. This has seemed to be a comfortable way of dealing with evils, and the mischief it has been breeding has received scant attention.

War Fed Autocratic Appetite

We went to war for liberty and democracy, with the result that we fed the autocratic appetite. And, through a fiction, permissible only because the courts cannot know what everyone else knows, we have seen the war powers, which are essential to the preservation of the nation in time of war, exercised broadly after the military exigency had passed and in conditions for which they were never intended, and we may well wonder, in view of the precedents now established, whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged.

Apart from these conditions, we cannot afford to ignore the indications that, perhaps to an extent unparalleled in our history, the essentials of liberty are being disregarded. Very recently information has been laid by responsible citizens at the bar of public opinion of violations of personal rights which savor of the worst practices of tyranny. And in the conduct of trials before the courts we find a growing tendency on the part of prosecutors to resort to grossly unfair practices. Even as I speak, there appears in the *Harvard Law Review* a striking summary of this sort of lawlessness:

During the past year no less than forty-four convictions were reversed by appellate tribunals in the United States for flagrant misconduct of the public prosecutor or of the trial judge whereby the accused was deprived of a fair trial. In thirty-three of these cases the district attorney made inflammatory appeals to prejudice upon matters not properly before the jury. In three of them the district attorney extorted confessions or coerced witnesses by palpably unlawful methods. In four, witnesses were so browbeaten during the trial as to prevent the accused from fairly making his case. In two, the trial judge interposed with a high hand to extort testimony unfavorable to the accused or to intimidate witnesses for the accused. It is significant that these cases come from every part of the country and from every sort of court.

Need New Birth of Freedom

It might be supposed that the descendants of those who placed in a written constitution the guarantees of Magna Charta, and expounded them so as to protect against arbitrary legislation, as well as arbitrary and capricious administration, would have had such a sure instinct for liberty as to leave no occasion for invoking the most obvious of our basic principles, and yet in this hour we find imperative need for a new birth of freedom and a sharp call to make the old guarantees once more vital and real and to give the assurance of liberty under fair laws and responsible administration.

The pressing problem is how we are to adapt government to imperative needs and yet remain free. It is not simply that we are cluttered with statutes and decisions requiring analysis and the aid of the expositor who can tell us of origins and relations. The practice of government is rapidly changing before our eyes and as yet the movement is largely without guidance or principle. With respect to activities of first importance, we are turning to what within broad limits is personal government relieved of the scrutiny and supervision heretofore demanded as the traditional safeguard of justice. The movement had a wholesome motive in the desire to escape technicalities, to secure an expertness in dealing with complicated problems which could be expected only through a body informed by a continuous experience in a limited field, and to promote efficiency by obtaining play for the common-sense view, the direct approach and the immediate and unhampered decision. Ignoring the distinctions prized by the fathers, and excusing the violation of tradition by easily made phrases, we unite legislative, executive and judicial powers in an administrative agency, with large spheres of uncontrolled discretion, which may investigate and lay complaint and then try and determine facts upon which the complaint rests, their findings of fact, where there is any dispute in the evidence, being made for many purposes conclusive. Useful as are these instrumentalities of administration, they represent to a striking degree a prevalent desire to do without law. There is thus recourse to the most primitive method in dealing with the most difficult problems of the twentieth century.

Intolerable Personal Government

While it is possible that bureaucracy may show wisdom and efficiency, just as despotism by benevolence and directness may give an admirable government, it is the experience of mankind that liberty in the long run cannot be secure without compelling administration to adhere to accepted and declared principles, and safeguarding the individual from the injurious action of officials by affording recourse to impartial and independent tribunals where the announced common understandings which we call laws are enforced. Free institutions are always essentially experimental; they are but approved adjustments and practices to secure liberty; and the constant effort in constitutional government is at once to save the community from exploitation by individuals and to save individuals from the abuses of officialdom. The dilemma is apparent. If administrative action is fettered by minute requirements imposed by the legislature, if necessary departments are controlled by the

constant review of all controversies as to facts by ordinary courts of justice primarily adapted to other needs, the opportunities for impeding litigation will leave vast activities to the mercy of the cunning, selfish, and avaricious, and the means designed for protection will defeat their own purpose. On the other hand, present methods are obviously crude and tend to an intolerable personal government. Here lies the need and opportunity of skilled architects of institutions.

In endeavoring to escape delays and the obstacles to an efficient administration, should it not be remembered that, albeit with other procedure and agencies, the essential conditions of justice must be observed? If the courts cannot deal with administrative questions, should we not at least establish administrative tribunals which, expert through special and continuous study of a particular field, should by being free of the animus, or unconscious bias, of the prosecutor, bring to the decisions of questions of fact the same detachment and standards of impartial judgment which have made our courts, after making allowance for all just criticism, the most successful in their working of all the departments of free government? Is it not time to reorganize administrative agencies not in the interest of any theoretical nicety in division of powers, but so as to vest in different officials the distinct functions of prosecutor and judge? Whatever the question, when it comes to determinations which are essentially judicial in character, there should be instrumentalities and process which however facile and swift secure independence, impartiality and the application of principle. It is peculiarly for those who are both skilled in the history of the law and equipped with knowledge of present necessities, not merely to tell us how the law has developed in the past, but in a time of change to furnish guidance to democracy by aiding in the formulation of principle and the perfecting of practice.

Good Work of Commissions

It was never more true than now that great bodies of law are in the making. Despite defects in organization, administrative agencies are doing a vast amount of good work. Commissions and boards, Federal and State, in dealing with transportation and various public utilities, with competition in trade and with compensation for injuries in industry are putting out what has well been called the raw material of the law that is to be. Principles must be sought and declared if we are to escape a government of caprice, of men, and not of laws, and there is a large field for research and constructive effort now inviting teacher and student which was unknown when perhaps most of those here present took their course of training. It is to the especial credit of this school that this exigency is being met by giving to this new branch of study an important place in the curriculum.

Democracy Must Respect Law

The very principle of constitutional government, or government by law in the interest of liberty, is always the shining mark of those who would destroy all government. The demagogue seizes upon the defects of the best institutions to breed distrust in all. It is true that democracy cannot live without respect for law, but it

must be remembered that law in democracy will have only the respect it deserves. Adaptation according to democratic principle, the growth and development in which democratic progress consists, must ever be the concern of those who know how to distinguish between what is vital and what is merely incidental and temporary; it is those who can really help. Liberty is not to be saved by the lusty shoutings of the street; it needs the discipline and courage of the soldier, the probity and intelligence of the industrious and high-minded official, the undying love of a people instinct with patriotism, the song and the cheer and the ardor of the multitude, but beneath all these and unescapable is the constant working of economic forces with which we must reckon. The adjustment to preserve liberty requires the best training which special studies can furnish, and while all effort at progress under law must be inspired by the idealism of our people, it cannot be successful, at least without great losses through mistaken ventures, save by the service of experts. These are the guardians of the truth which cannot be found on the surface, but lies deep in the mine of thought and experience requiring rare skill for its discovery and extraction. And it is the truth alone that can keep you free.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND THE UNITED STATES

In *The Round Table*, perhaps the most authoritative of the quarterly reviews of the policies of the British Commonwealth, the leading article in the March number has for its title, "The British Empire, the League of Nations and the United States." This article, covering thirty-one pages, is, in certain respects, one of the most noteworthy utterances we have read out of Britain. It begins by picturing conditions of Europe, particularly of the British Empire, politically and economically. It argues: "If the British nations cannot devise the means for formulating and pursuing a common policy in defense of law and peace, there is little prospect that other nations, divided by language and history as well as by wide differences of outlook and interest, will succeed where we have failed."

One section is devoted to the refusal of the United States to ratify the Treaty and the Covenant.

The next section concludes: "There is nothing peculiar in this attitude. It is merely, we repeat, the broad reflex of an attitude already taken up by all the European Allies in questions where their national interests are affected, and also by the British Dominions in their relations with the British Government. It gives us a statement, in plain English, of limitations to the ideal of international action which none of the other Allies will, in practice, dispute. So far, therefore, from destroying the League of Nations, the American reservations have rendered it the great service of pointing clearly to the flaws which at present neutralise its worth."

In the next section occurs this significant statement: "The recognition of the Dominions as individual nations in the League of Nations, important advance as it is, has therefore not completely solved the political and

constitutional problem by which they are faced. The Dominions are being committed once again by international negotiations in which they take no part. They will be confronted again, sooner or later, by the choice between repudiating their membership in the British Commonwealth or accepting the consequences of action taken single-handed by the British Government. To ignore this dilemma is to walk blindfold toward a precipice.

"It follows from this that the machinery of the League of Nations is inadequate by itself as a means to uniting the sense and good-will of the democracies of the British Commonwealth for the maintenance of peace. The League of Nations is at work as best it can now. The Dominions are members of the League. But the Turkish treaty is nevertheless being negotiated by the British Government without interest or assistance on the part of the Dominion governments. That simple fact means volumes, and it would be folly to blind ourselves to its significance."

The conclusions set forth in the final section will give to our readers the substance of this illuminating British utterance.

The conclusions which we have sought to point in the preceding sections of this article may now be summarised. They are three in number:

"1. The first is a general warning against the assumption, even more widespread in the Dominions than in Great Britain, that we have already successfully solved the very difficult political and economic problems bequeathed by the war. This assumption is particularly misleading with regard to finance. Its danger lies not only in the fact that we are still producing too little to balance our expenditure, and therefore living beyond our means; it lies even more in the critical financial and economic condition of Europe, with whose welfare our own is inextricably intertwined. The purely economic and financial problem is discussed in another article, and we need only direct attention here to its political corollary. The British democracies are all much engrossed in projects of domestic reconstruction, which must entail a heavy strain on our resources, already taxed to the uttermost. A very large number of political authorities assure us that we must concentrate on these domestic problems, because failure to deal with them may precipitate social and industrial trouble of a very serious kind. It is, indeed, difficult to overrate the importance of such questions as those which are being pressed by the unions of the Triple Alliance in Great Britain—the coal miners, the transport workers, and the railway men. There is a wide demand for government expenditure and government control on a large and increasing scale. We only ask those who press these demands to look to the state of the world in general as well as to the more familiar situation at home. Nothing is more likely to cause industrial upheavals in the British Empire than a further rise of prices, which may easily be accompanied by a set-back in trade. The whole world is still living beyond its means, and we must seek to strengthen our own financial position by every possible means if we are not to be involved in a period of world-wide depression, misery, and unrest.

"2. Our second conclusion arises from the set-back of

British hopes in the League of Nations and the treaties of peace. The settlement of Europe under the peace treaties is in some parts insecure, and the Allies are clearly unable to live up to all their obligations under the covenant. It is misleading to attribute this state of affairs solely to financial improvidence or to the refusal of the United States to accept the Peace of Versailles. Both these factors in the situation are symptoms rather than causes, and they are due to the fact that the Peace of Versailles and the covenant of the League of Nations overlooked the practical conditions of European reconstruction and overstepped the limits of international partnership. The course of events since the signature of peace has shown that national sentiment is too strong to accept the limitations imposed upon it by the covenant. The reservations of the American Senate in this respect are only a plain statement of views and feelings shared in reality by all the other signatories of the peace. We ourselves, for instance, have undertaken obligations in the covenant which those who need our support may interpret more literally than we do ourselves. This is an equivocal position. While the main lines of the peace are sound, the covenant is both too vague and too precise. In principle the signatories combine for joint action on an imposing scale; in practice their national freedom of action is left intact. The American Senate has stated in plain English that, so far as the United States is concerned, national freedom of action is not in any way to be camouflaged or compromised. The British Empire should state its own position in equally clear terms.

"3. Our third conclusion deals with the relation between the League of Nations and the British Commonwealth. The recognition of the British Dominions as individual members of the League has not only committed them to obligations far larger than their democracies realize or will be willing to discharge; it has also obscured the fact that our imperial relations, in default of some better machinery for imperial co-operation than the League itself presents, are slipping back into the very vice of centralization which we all wish to correct. The attitude of the British Dominions toward co-operation within the British Commonwealth is exactly parallel to the attitude of foreign nations to co-operation within the League. In both cases the fear of impairing national independence is stronger than the desire for united action in pursuit of common aims; and in the British Empire the fear of centralization has been such that it has led the Dominions to undertake unawares a series of responsibilities toward foreign States far greater than they are willing to undertake toward Great Britain and the British Commonwealth. While insisting, moreover, on the forms of national independence, they are missing the substance of national responsibility in foreign affairs. Great Britain continues, of necessity, to deal unaided and unadvised with broad questions of international policy in which the Dominions are vitally concerned. The Dominions are being bound by decisions in which they take no present interest, and there is no available means for securing united and representative action on behalf of the whole British Empire in world affairs. Yet the unity of the British Commonwealth is essential to the influence of the League of

Nations for order and good-will, and its example will set the rate of progress in international action for decades to come. If the British nations, with all their ties of interest and sentiment, cannot act together in world-affairs, it is not likely that foreign nations, deeply divided by history, by temperament, by forms of government, by national outlook, and by divergent aims, will be able to succeed where the British nations have failed.

"To what course of action do these conclusions point?

"They point, in the first place, to revision of our obligations under the League. We are at present pledged to guarantees of territorial arrangements in Europe which may be challenged at any time by forces too powerful for diplomatic control, and it is becoming evident that in no part of the Empire would public opinion sanction our active interference in the local disputes which may ensue. The Polish corridor to Danzig is a case in point. The local territorial problem does not engage our interest, and British democracy would not be moved to action by it unless roused by some unmistakable challenge to international faith and right. If the United States had accepted the obligations which President Wilson approved in signing the covenant, the situation would have been different, for the combined moral and material influence of the British Empire and the United States would have presented a serious obstacle to breaches of the European settlement in any form. The American Senate has, however, made it perfectly plain that the obligations embodied in the covenant go much beyond the responsibilities which American opinion is prepared to undertake, and we cannot honestly pretend that our own democracies will be willing in practice to go any further than the democracy of the United States. Our proper course is to revise and restate our position toward the League in accordance with these facts.

"The public opinion which has made itself manifest in the United States in this connection is not very different in reality from ours, and ours may be stated broadly in two sentences: First, we wish to do our utmost to guarantee peace, liberty, and law throughout the world without committing ourselves to quixotic obligations to foreign States. Second, we wish to assist and develop the simpler mechanism of international dealing embodied in the League without mortgaging our freedom of action and judgment under an international covenant. Our policy toward the League should therefore be revised on the following guiding lines:

"1. We should state definitely that our action within the League will be governed solely by our own judgment of every situation as it arises, and we must undertake no general obligations which we may not be able or willing, when the test comes, to discharge.

"2. We must in no case commit ourselves to responsibilities which we cannot discharge to the full with our own resources, independent of assistance from any foreign power.

"3. We must definitely denounce the idea that the League may normally enforce its opinions by military or economic pressure on recalcitrant States. It exists to bring principals together for open discussion of international difficulties, to extend and develop the mechan-

ism and habit of international co-operation, and to establish an atmosphere in which international controversies may be settled with fairness and good-will. These are the essential limits of international action in the present state of national sentiment throughout the world, unless and until the conscience of the nations is once more challenged by some flagrant violation of international right.

"The important thing is to enable the League of Nations to make a reasonable start with the co-operation of the United States. With the less ambitious objects defined above it will sooner or later secure the whole-hearted support of American opinion, and it will begin its work with far greater prospects of success than under a covenant to which no power is really able or willing to subordinate either its national opinion or its essential interests.

"So much for the revision of our obligation toward the League. It is not the only practical step to which our conclusions point, for even more important, if those conclusions are sound, is the maintenance of British unity of action in international affairs. We have seen that the League cannot itself take the place of some such mechanism as the Imperial War Cabinet, which provided for continuous consultation and co-operation, not only in the war, but during the negotiation of peace. The influence of the League of Nations upon British Imperial relations has for the moment been misleading and dangerous. In form, it has given the Dominions a new national status, recognized by all the signatories of the covenant, though qualified in one important particular by a reservation of the United States. The danger of this status is that, without some adequate organ for united British action in world affairs, it must, in the long run, prove either separatist in character or else entirely formal and illusory. For the present it is—by the self-chosen policy of the Dominion governments—illusory. Those governments are appending their signatures to treaties in the negotiation of which they have taken absolutely no part, and they are leaving decisions which must gravely affect their future in the unaided and overlaid hands of the British Government. It is only a question of time before this situation leads to an incident of some kind which will provoke the bitterest recrimination and controversy. If the critical diplomacy which led up to our declaration of war on Germany in 1914 has taught us one lesson above all others, that lesson is that the foreign policy of the British Empire cannot be democratic and representative in any adequate degree unless some means are found for continuous consultation and co-operation by ministers responsible to all the British parliaments. Yet the moral of 1914 is being ignored. Content with a formal status in the partnership of nations, the Dominions have forced the old measure of responsibility upon Downing Street, which has to act alone for the whole Empire because there is once again no adequate mechanism for imperial co-operation in foreign affairs, and action of some kind cannot be postponed indefinitely.

"The road to closer co-operation is not at present clear, but in due course it must be found. The democracies of the Empire have yet to realize what the present situation means. The issue is in their hands, and time is

necessary for the realities of their present equivocal status to sink into their minds. A constitutional conference will be necessary in the next few years in order to decide whether or not the British Commonwealth is to have the means of united influence and action in safeguarding the peace and order of the world. In the meantime it is the duty of good citizens in all parts of the Commonwealth to look the situation in the face and think out its implications for themselves."

THE CANONS OF FORCE

By HENRY W. PINKHAM, Winthrop, Mass.

WAR is often called the use of force. The euphemism lends itself to confusion and error. The word war has itself become euphemistic; such are its associations with noble ideals, as honor, self-sacrifice, courage. Always to call war exactly what it is, namely, collective homicide, would help powerfully to abolish the ghastly thing. Of course, pacifists, even the most thoroughgoing, do not object to all use of force in the sense of physical coercion. Tolstoi is said to have declared that he would refrain from physical interference even if he saw a ruffian about to kill a child. Perhaps he thought so, but one may be permitted to believe that a test would have shown him mistaken. Emerson wisely declined to tell what a man should do in difficult and extreme cases, saying, "Nature and God will instruct him in that hour." Mr. Roosevelt's method of confuting the pacifists was to ask, "What would you do if a ruffian should slap your wife's face?" He insisted that all who believe in police, if only they are logical and possessed of brains enough to think the matter through, must also believe in armies and navies. "Policing the nations" is very serviceable as a euphemism for war.

Three Canons

Until the divine law is written on the hearts of all men, when all will find in obedience to that law their perfect freedom, a certain amount of forcible control will be necessary. By what marks can desirable control be distinguished from that which is injurious?

Three canons of force are here suggested to the readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*: Compulsion should be exercised (1) only by those who are unmistakably superior in wisdom and goodness, (2) only by those who are overwhelmingly stronger, and (3) only upon individuals.

The discipline of young children sometimes demands, quite in accordance with these three rules, physical compulsion. The child's inexperience may endanger its welfare, or even life, and call for coercion by its elders, because of their greater knowledge, as the indispensable safeguard of the child's future. The physical control of young children by their parents involves no injury to either, such is the great disparity of strength. When, however, the boy has reached his later teens and is almost as heavy as his father and a good deal quicker, the old man should be content with moral suasion. If he tries physical force he may get licked, or both father and son may be seriously hurt.

To the feeble-minded and the insane society should act the part of parents to young children, exercising such control as wisdom and kindness dictate with regard both to the happiest possible condition of these unfortunates and to the social weal.

Criminals may be said to be for the most part manufactured by society. The manufacture should cease; but while criminals exist they must be subject to restraint. The policeman as the agent of society represents a standard of intelligence and morality clearly higher than that of the wrongdoers with whom he deals. (There are important exceptions. Society sometimes classes its moral pioneers with its basest offenders. Jesus was crucified between two thieves.) The policeman is also usually stronger than the criminal he arrests. Other policemen can be summoned for aid in handling a criminal that resists, or the bystanders can be called on. Resistance is infrequent, being almost certainly vain. Ordinarily neither the policeman nor the man he arrests is injured in the process. Policemen have a fair expectation of life. Criminals are usually dealt with singly. Crime is anti-social, individualistic. There is not much "honor among thieves," not much mutual trust and loyalty, not much collective action. In a mob individuals are sunk for the time. And in quelling a mob the police may seem to disregard the third canon, that force should be exerted only upon individuals as such. Firing into a crowd may in certain very unusual circumstances be justifiable. But first every effort should be made, as, for example, by reading the riot act and ordering the crowd to disperse, to safeguard those persons who are in the mob by accident rather than evil design. If the crowd is armed and able to make serious resistance, it is an army rather than a mob, and the case is nearer civil war than policing proper.

Application to War

Thus the use of force as approved by the common sense of the generality, in ordinary times, fulfills the three canons propounded. Apply them now to war. It will be clear, I think, that to the degree that a given war has conformed to them, that particular war has been innocuous, even beneficial. But most wars have been in gross violation of all three canons.

Bertrand Russell¹ holds that various wars of colonization, whereby civilized peoples have overcome savages and taken possession of their lands, have been vindicated by their results. He insists, however, that "there should be a very great and undeniable difference between the civilization of the colonizers and that of the dispossessed natives," and also "that the climate should be one in which the invading race can flourish." European colonists in America were doubtless more advanced than the Indians they dispossessed. But the experience of Penn demonstrates that America might have been conquered for European civilization by peaceable methods. There was plenty of room for both the Indians and the colonists, and they could have lived side by side with advantage to both had Penn's kindness been the rule and not the exception. Civilized people are much stronger than barbarians and can subjugate or exterminate them without great loss to themselves.

¹ "Justice in War Time," p. 29.

Such wars of colonization belong to the past. In a war between civilized nations in the present age neither side is greatly superior in wisdom or goodness, although invariably, in the madness of conflict, each side imagines itself the better. And neither side is overwhelmingly mightier than the other. In the World War six of the eight great military powers that possessed nine-tenths of the world's armament were combined against the other two, but victory was long delayed and was secured at frightful cost to both sides. In the scheme of the "League to Enforce Peace," adopted by President Wilson for his "League of Nations," a great preponderance of strength to be exerted against a covenant-breaking nation was sought. Apparently it was assumed that only a weak nation, without a single ally, would ever expose itself to coercion! In point of fact, it is the great countries which are the most likely to commit acts of aggression. The "concert of power" which, in President Wilson's fine phrases, was to supersede the discredited "balance of power," is meaningless—unless safety is sought from attacks by the Martians or other extramundane beings! For a concert of power ceases to be such when even one of its constituents is subtracted therefrom. And what if that one should be in itself tremendously powerful—the British Empire, for example, or the United States! The rest of the world could subdue it only at appalling cost, if at all.

It is in its failure to obey the third of the canons for the use of force that war is most injurious. Burke's famous remark is here pertinent: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." To the same effect Judson Harmon, Attorney-General under President Cleveland, said: "Guilt is always personal." A nation of millions of men, women, and children cannot as such deserve to be treated as a criminal. Physical force is manifestly inapplicable to a vast collectivity which has no physical body to be jailed or broken. War makes no discrimination between innocent individuals and guilty. Good men kill good men. The children, surely entirely innocent, are among the chief sufferers. If war involved only the real instigators of war, such as ambitious rulers, intriguing diplomatists, greedy armament manufacturers, and imperialistic traders and bankers, then something could be said for it. But these seldom get near the firing-line. The great men who framed the Constitution showed remarkable wisdom—as the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* states with needed reiteration—in refusing to provide for the coercion of a State as such by the General Government. But delinquent individuals in any State may be coerced. Said Oliver Ellsworth: "If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and guilty, in the same calamity."

Perhaps there have been wars in which all three of the canons were approximately obeyed, as, for example, our country's so-called war with the Barbary Pirates about a hundred and twenty years ago. Defending as we did the rights of peaceful commerce, an important agency of civilization, we were clearly on a higher plane than the pirates. We were stronger, besides having the good-will and potential backing of other maritime nations, so that we gained the victory and halted the prac-

tice of piracy without much loss to ourselves. And perhaps but few on the other side suffered save those who, as pirates, were world nuisances. Our procedure in the case might with considerable justice be called world policing. The resistance of the Greeks to the invading Persian hosts in the fifth century B. C. may be defended on the ground of their cultural superiority to the "barbarians," together with their greater fighting strength, which the event proved, for although vastly outnumbered they were victorious without heavy loss. A more nearly ideal method of dealing with the invaders than the Greeks adopted is conceivable, but as compared with a modern war between civilized nations, fought to a finish in the crippling of a generation of both the victors and the vanquished, the action of the Greeks was highly rational and moral.

Civil Wars

Civil wars and so-called wars of self-defense require particular consideration in relation to the canons suggested. War within a nation is much different from war between nations. It is chiefly the latter that the modern peace movement seeks to abolish, inasmuch as civil wars are infrequent and are universally regarded as injurious to a country, while a foreign war is still widely believed to be advantageous to the victor. The American Civil War had most of the characteristics of an international war, the people of the South being as united in loyalty to the Confederate Government as were the people of the North to their Government. That war was clearly a violation, by both sides, of the canons of force. And it is high time, now that fifty years and more have passed, that that war should be seen to be a failure, a mistake, a disaster from which we have not yet recovered. It did not save the Union, except in outward form. It made a wide and deep chasm between the two sections, a chasm which fifty years have not obliterated. It did not emancipate the slaves, except on paper. It postponed their real emancipation we cannot yet tell how long, for it still tarries. Until there is genuine repentance for the Civil War in both the North and the South, and until our youth are taught the truth about that war, the cause of peace will make slow progress among us.

Organized rebellion against an unjust government by a considerable part of a population is civil war proper. One need not mention rebellion against a just government—such a thing does not occur. It is only criminal individuals that resist a just government, and the police can take care of them. The right of revolution, to be exercised as a last resort against unbearable oppression, is generally regarded as unquestionable, even "sacred." But it is, I think, admitted that a forcible revolution, if it would claim moral justification, must have a reasonable chance of success. Assassinations do no good. Abortive revolts only strengthen the hands of oppression. The revolutionary party must not only be the champion of justice, it must also be large and well organized. If it is very strong, having won the masses to its revolutionary program, and if it waits patiently for the right moment, it can overthrow the bad government with but very little use of force and that little directed against selected individuals. The actual downfall of

the Kaiser was attended by no bloodshed. Such disorder as followed was trifling in comparison with the destructiveness of the preceding conflict with foreign foes. The like is true of Russia. Serious as its internal troubles have been and are, the destruction thereby wrought does not approach that caused by the fight with foreign nations, first the Central Powers and later—alas!—the wickedly intervening and blockading Allied and Associated Powers. The German and the Russian revolutions, be their outcome better or worse, are the aftermath of the World War, indeed properly a part of the World War. Not civil war, not the "social revolution," but international war is the problem for the workers for peace. Abolish international war and civil war need not be dreaded.

Wars of Self-defense

The plea of self-defense is accepted by practically everybody as adequate justification of international war, although apparently for no other reason than the universal impulse to strike back when one is struck. The man who is suddenly assaulted does not deliberately apply the rules of ethics or of expediency to his situation. He has no time for that. Automatically he resists, and if he even kills his assailant few will blame him. It is the exceptional man²—a Eugene Debs, a Tolstoi, or a Christ—that would rather die than kill a fellow human being. Whether correctly or mistakenly, the most of us identify instinctive resistance to attack with that instruction of "Nature and God" of which Emerson wrote. But the excuse of self-defense may well be questioned if it appears that the assaulted man had a deadly weapon in hand in readiness to meet attack! What had he done that made him afraid?

In choosing whether to make war or not there is no need that a nation should act on mere impulse. The choice is for reason, not for instinct. Common sense dictates deliberation. The sensible king, in the parable of Jesus, sits down and takes counsel "whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand." What is the likelihood of victory? And what will be the cost of victory? Are there principles and values at stake commensurate with that estimated cost? And what assurance is there that victory will in fact conserve those values? May not concession, or even surrender, to the aggressor promise better results in the end than resistance? Instinct cannot answer such questions. But they should be answered. Self-defense as ground for waging war is insufficient, unworthy of rational beings. It is always urged by each side in every war, and is not to be taken seriously any more than the excuses of schoolboys who tell the teacher why they were fighting: "He hit me first." "But he called me names." "He had made faces at me," etc. "In the present war," wrote Bertrand Russell early in 1915, "Serbia is defending itself against the brutal aggression of Austria-Hungary; Austria-Hungary is defending itself against the disruptive revolutionary agitation which Serbia is believed to have fomented; Russia is defending Slavdom against the menace of Teutonic

² "I would not kill in defense of my own life."—EUGENE V. DEBS, Federal Convict No. 9653.

aggression; Germany is defending Teutonic civilization against the encroachments of the Slav; France is defending itself against a repetition of 1870; and England, which sought only the preservation of the *status quo*, is defending itself against a prospective menace to its maritime supremacy." When the United States joined the general madness the same plea of self-defense was made.

Preparation for war discounts the plea of self-defense. Any country with a great army and with a navy, maintained—as they are—for nothing else than the purpose of war with another country, is estopped from the claim of self-defense when war befalls; for the creation of the army and navy was in itself an insult to other nations, presupposing their evil intentions. There can be no secure peace without disarmament. One of President Wilson's defunct Fourteen Points called for the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. The word domestic—not national, be it noted—referred to internal conditions. Militia may be needed in time of earthquake, flood, fire, or riot, to reinforce the police. But as far as international relations are concerned disarmament should be complete, and that was the meaning of President Wilson's specification, if it meant anything.

Perhaps some nation, as Nietzsche forecasted, will some time have courage enough to disarm without waiting for the other nations to do likewise, trusting in the justice which it does to all peoples, in the good-will which it feels for all, as its sure defense. Such trust will not be in vain. So Emerson³ taught in the finest piece of pacifist literature America has produced: "Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race, and has the tears and the blessings of mankind."

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

IX

The Social Purpose

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

THE SOCIAL IDEA

IT WAS a Roman emperor, following closely upon the dawn of our Christian era, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who said: "The true interest of everything is to conform to its own constitution and nature; and my nature owns reason and social obligation. Socially, as Antoninus, I have for my city and country, Rome; as a man, the world." That was a statement of the social idea. It has been expressed from time to time through all the ages, and in many forms. It was repeated as a sentiment on various occasions throughout our World War. "We must win the war," we said, "because we must save civilization." "We must defend humanity."

³ Address on War, 1838.

We may not have known what we meant by such expressions, but we surely meant something. That something partook of the social purpose. As Dante says in his *De Monarchia*, "It is plain that the whole human race is ordered to gain some end."

World Society an Evolving Fact

We are told that most of us have no realizing sense of society in its total aspects. This is, of course, true. Our ignorance of geography, of other peoples, our many types of isolation, have made us parochial, limited in power to vision any inclusive social organism. The rise of states has increased and intensified our isolation. Our personal attention to our daily tasks, our inertia and indifference, our constant state of excitement over the things near at hand, tend to make us intellectually, morally, and spiritually clannish.

Yet the war has forced us to think and act for interests outside ourselves. Large numbers now realize for the first time that the social process is an evolving fact. The word society means more to us now than a lodge, a church, a city, a nation. It means more than the sum of these. The war has meant an evolution of race relations on a large scale. It has shown an interdependence between peoples from the farthest corners of the earth. Steam, electricity, inventions, trade, the war itself, has made it more easily possible to understand the meaning held there in the world society. Most of us know now that there is a process making toward a wider co-operation among the divers groups of men. That ingenuity of human beings which has annihilated distance and overcome the opposition of wind and sea and gravity, the skill that has organized men and the forces of nature for purposes of destruction and death, these have revealed unto us more clearly the evolving fact of a world society.

Our Awareness of it also an Evolving Fact

Consciousness of this phenomenon is evolving also. Not so rapidly as the fact; but it is evolving. Aurelius was the exception in his day. Caligula, contemporary of Aurelius, expressed more nearly the views of his time when he said, "Kings are gods; people cattle." We are beyond that; a long way beyond. More and more do we realize that there is a common life in which each of us partakes. If it was impossible for the Greek to see a society outside of Greece; for the Roman to find any juridical or political splendor outside of Rome; for the man of the middle age to think in terms other than religious and political, it is not so with us. As expressed by Stuckenberg: "Since the revival of humanism, the dissolution of feudalism, the discovery of a new continent, the travels and commerce among all peoples, the increase of freedom in church and state, and the growth of voluntary associations, both thought and society would have to be checked not to evolve the notion of the social totality." Thus the evolution of the idea of society goes on. There is a society which includes all societies. It is impossible to understand man except in relation to his total environment. And that there is a total environment is increasingly clear. Professor Giddings has this in mind when he pleads for "the subordination of the social composition to the social constitution."

Scientific Study of Society also an Evolving Fact

The evolution of our social organism is a fact. The realization of such an evolving society embracing all men is also a fact. There is the further reassuring fact that these two facts are themselves increasingly the object of scientific study. Vico suggested the possibility of a science of society. Montesquieu, in the same eighteenth century, sought to discover and to state principles governing social phenomenon. Auguste Comte gave to our language not only the word altruism, but the word sociology, showing his faith in a scientific study of social relations. Speaking of Comte's work, John Stuart Mill once wrote: "If it cannot be said of Comte that he has created a science, it may be said that he has, for the first time, made the creation possible, . . . enough to immortalize his name."

And why shouldn't there be a science of society? If there can be a political science, there can be a social science. True, writers do not agree that sociology can be a science. Prof. Henry Sidgwick saw in it only "the sketch of a possible future science." Leslie Stephen said that it "consists of nothing more than a collection of unverified guesses and vague generalizations disguised under a more or less pretentious apparatus of quasi-scientific terminology." Some have referred to it merely as an "aspiration." But Comte placed sociology as the most important of all the sciences. And if it is a science, it must be the most important of all the sciences, because it is the one science aiming to include associated humanity in its present, past, and future aspects. It ought to be possible to aim toward the mastery of social facts, not for the sake of any preconceived theory, nor for the establishment of any prejudice, but simply for the purpose of knowing society in its real and technical sense, to the end that social progress may be real. All of the sciences are properly the essential "data of sociology." Just as sociology depends upon all sciences, so do all sciences depend in turn upon it. There should be a science of associated humanity. It ought to be possible to attain social knowledge by means of scientific methods. If no sociological system has yet arisen to the dignity of a science, methods employed by certain sociologists have certainly been scientific. There are courses in sociology which are neither quackery nor nonsense. I refer not to courses in socialism which is a program; but to those methods of social investigation, methods that are judicial, patient, assimilative, non-partisan, scientific.

Evidences of scientific social methods confront us everywhere. It was scientific work which ascertained for us that from 25 to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of our young men are physically defective. Upon that information we are trying scientifically to overcome it. Men like Mr. Devine are pleading for an enthusiasm for health like that of the Jews and Greeks in the long ago; and their proposed methods are scientific. Science has discovered that from 25 to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of our young men are illiterate, and that we as a nation are now in the "sixth grade" only. Science has found that 10 per cent of our alien population are unnaturalized. Science is making the effort to raise the level of the standard of living by improving the environment and studying the conditions of those who are having the most difficult time. Science is attempting to reconcile the two ideals of personal re-

sponsibility and social responsibility. Science is laboring to improve living and working conditions in industry. Science is striving to key social agencies to the needs of the community as a whole. Social workers look upon themselves as organizers of knowledge for the advantage of the whole. They have discovered by scientific methods that alms is no cure for poverty, and that the reason is that the only cure for poverty is a greater economic efficiency for the individual. These social workers accept as a fundamental principle, while the board of health is of course necessary, that our social organization will not be perfect until we can obtain clean milk without a board of health. Social workers evolve and demonstrate their principles by case methods; indeed, they have a developing scientific literature in social etiology, diagnosis and prognosis quite comparable in the field of social effort to the texts in medicine. In the light of such facts, it is not difficult to agree that social work is becoming scientific.

This social service, without boundaries of sea or political lines of demarkation, is not of the instincts merely; not of religion wholly. It is both impulse and religion; but to these, as with the Vincent de Pauls of the world, there is added power, efficiency, scientific intelligence and methods. If we are to know the best that the human race can live for; if we are to discover a common standard of life; if we are to find those influences which are available to secure the best life for the greatest number; if social rights and duties are to be protected and encouraged under a rational social conscience; if we are to relate ourselves in consciousness to that with which we are already unconsciously related; if we are to supplant the blind struggle against greed and exclusiveness by something worthier; if what ought to be is ever to be, it is necessary to do for society what Galileo did for astronomy, Newton for physics, and Einstein for both. It ought to be possible to study the facts of society as well as to discourse about the ideas men hold of those facts. This ought to be true, even of the study of ideas themselves. It may be true that Herbert Spencer's fundamental concept of "co-operation," and that Comte's "unitary development of humanity" are expressions not of science, but of ideality. Yet co-operation and social unity can be objectively studied, not the idea of co-operation and social unity; but co-operation and social unity themselves. It is not necessary to agree with Durkheim that all dialectics are playing the fool with concepts. If, as he said, no general synthesis of sociological principles be now possible, yet sociology, including its dialectics, can be a synthetic and scientific method. Indeed, Durkheim himself went a long way toward the establishment of the principle that a scientific sociology is both possible and needful. As he held, there is a social mind outside and superior to the individual mind. And this social mind is the genesis of variations and therefore of progress. It demands our best study, because out of such a study, and only out of such a study, can we find those remedies for the anarchy, for example, in our economic world, and frame a moral code for an industrial organization based upon competition.

Surely none will question the need for "trained and organized common sense," Huxley's definition of science. The "Great Society" cannot be built on emotion

or "gifts from chance," but upon truth; not upon instinct; not upon superstition; not upon facts merely, but upon that essential relationship between facts which is truth. To quote Huxley again:

"Science seems to me to teach in the highest and strongest manner the great truth which is embodied in the Christian conception of entire surrender to the will of God. Sit down before fact as a little child, be prepared to give up every preconceived notion, follow humbly wherever and to whatever abysses nature leads, or you shall learn nothing. . . . My business is to teach my aspirations to conform themselves to fact, not to try and make facts harmonize with my aspirations."

Speaking of the scientific spirit, Professor Todd writes:

"It is broad, tolerant, earnest, imaginative, enthusiastic, but poised and self-controlled. It is not impatient of contradiction and criticism given honestly and sincerely. It is fearless, truthful, teachable. It is able to withstand mob-mind, sentimentality, sensationalism, and petty partisanship. It does not deny that a thing exists merely because it is not easily seen; but it refuses to fudge intelligence and the moral nature by claiming to see something before it really is seen. It also declines to think 'the difficulties of disproving a thing as good as direct evidence in its favor. Finally, the scientific spirit means generosity, fellowship, and hearty co-operation untainted by jealousy.'"

If this be true for the "social worker" within a restricted area of social endeavor, it is true for all who realize that there are larger issues at stake than before the war, issues larger than the problems of our immediate environment, of any one science or specialty, of separatism in its various forms, of any one religion therefore. The social idea does not mean a return to that social attempt of the Middle Age to synthesize all knowledge; rather it is a proposal to realize more perfectly than heretofore that conception of Hugo Grotius that there is a solidarity of human kind the world around, and this to the end that with the aid of all our resources, of all our fruitful experiments and discoveries, of all our brains as well as hearts, we shall attain that greatest of all emancipations, the emancipation which shall enlist us all intelligently and effectively in the social purpose.

Thus, parochial and isolated though we be, the social process is, partly because of the war, more and more an evolving fact. Our consciousness of that evolving fact is itself more of an evolving fact. And both of these facts will become increasingly the objects of scientific study, for the paramount interest of every one of us is the common welfare of the whole.

DANGERS IN THE WAY

It requires no social Lysander to remind us that for aught that we can read or hear by tale or history the course of society, like the course of true love, never did run smooth. The pathway of society is beset with tares. Enemies lurk along it at every turn.

Our Selfishness

One of these enemies is selfishness, that thing in us which makes us willing to rise upon the dead wrecks of

other men. It leads us to assume that progress is possible only through conflict, and that the success we crave can be achieved only by the failure of others. And so the bitter fight goes on, capital against labor, class against class, man against man. When Gladstone called selfishness the "greatest curse of the human race," he spoke from a fullness of experience with capital affairs. With all the apathetic disregard for the social purpose, with all the absorption in private interests and the consequent neglect of the social weal, "every man for his own skin," the marvel of history is that human society exists at all.

Our Ignorance and Superstitions

Then there is the danger of our abiding ignorance, ignorance of politics, of government, of the social agencies aiming to overcome disease, poverty, and other miseries.

It is this ignorance which begets our deadening superstitions, such as that life on this present earth is nothing but a means to a life hereafter. It is this ignorance that leads us to overlook the fact that the care of others is as sweet and Godlike as any task of an after eternity can be; that today is, indeed, as much a part of eternity as any possible tomorrow. This ignorance that finds contentment only in some life hereafter, accepting it, in fact, as the final cause of action, such ignorance is a menace to the society that is, for society is an end in itself. To borrow a word from Aristotle, society is in itself an "entelechy," a perfect realization, as gold is ore in entelechy. It is this ignorance that enables us foolishly to separate duties into secular and sacred groups, to beget prejudices, and to lose sight of the fact that all duty is sacred. To quote again from that Gamaliel among college presidents, E. Benjamin Andrews: "In religion we have been trained for generations sharply to distinguish between the sacred and the secular, and to place political and social duties in the secular class. Although not seldom nowadays we are admonished that there are no hemispheres to a good man's life, that it is all one continent, solid and continuous, this is not yet the general tone of religious speech and has nowhere sufficiently taken effect. The prayer is religious, the trade is—what it is. If I devoutly attend church, I advance myself toward heaven; if I plunge into business, however legitimate, strange if I am not reputed a worldling, spite of sincerest piety on my part." We need to fight our delusions, for beautiful and high-souled delusions may be more deadly than sin.

Ignorance and the Home

Because of this ignorance, we fail to make the most of the home. The absence of discussion of social questions at the fireside has ended in restricted social effort and accomplishment.

And this absence of social discussion in the home has been due in no small part to the enslavement of women. The home, such as it is, is made by woman. To restrict the mind of woman is to restrict the home. If women be politically, economically, or socially enslaved, the reaction upon the home, hence upon society, is incalculably evil. Not only the State, but human society itself de-

mands the interests and service of women as much as it demands the interests and service of men. The emancipation, therefore, of woman presents nothing but hope. Nothing need be feared from treating woman as the equal of man. Her future activities and interests will, because of her nature, differ in certain respects from those of men, but nature will take care of that. For all time woman will be primarily concerned with the nurture and education of the young, for woman is maternal by virtue of her womanhood, whether she bear children or not. And all women, be they mothers or not, may be trusted to apply their potential motherhood unto the building of a better social order. Woman is the chief educator, for in all fundamental things the race thinks as woman thinks. As that high type of noble womanhood, Annis Ford Eastman, herself the mother of virile children, once expressed it: "From this point of view—the maternal relation of woman to the race—there is no question of human interest that is not hers, no sphere of human thought and endeavor which does not need the woman's interest and the woman's help, for woman is not only mother of men, she is mother of Man. It is the race in its childhood that she holds in her protecting arms."

Thus one of the strongest arguments for the emancipation of woman is that it would enrich the educational powers of the home. The ignorance of social questions would naturally be less were women freed from the slavery imposed upon them by the mediæval conventions of our time. That she has not been emancipated the world round as she has been freed in many quarters is a pathetic example of the blind ignorance of men.

It is interesting at this writing, July 3, to witness both of our political parties competing valiantly for the honor of completing the ratification of the woman suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution. The situation is such at last that it is politically profitable to pay some attention to the rights of women and to the importance of a well-rounded home. The service of women in the war, service of every sort, has brought about this condition more rapidly than would otherwise have been the case.

Personal Imperialisms

Beside our selfishness, our ignorance, our delusions, and our restricted home life there is the danger from men who worship and attain power for its own sake. There is a political demagoguery which panders to the instincts of the mob, a "utilitarian principle" ending in egotisms, nepotisms, and worse. Men concerned primarily with their own personal advancement, blind to truth, hold back the social purpose by their mean and venal course. If they seem chivalrous, it is for their own interests primarily. If they seem to act upon the principle of *noblesse oblige*, it is that others may think them noble. Such men there are. Because of them chivalry and high behavior tend to wither and the social purpose to cease.

Our failure to see and think through clearly permits such persons to thrive by feeding upon the rest of us. Our inability to see and state our social problems adequately gives rise to all our charitable charlatanries and beneficent fake remedies. Not seeing the fundamental

relations between cause and effect, without the open mind and clarity of judgment, we are imposed upon. The willingness to follow our impressions merely has brought us in America to a time when thoughtful men tell us that our "existing industrial system is crashing about our ears." With natural wealth beyond computation, an organized production capacity exceeding all present demands, a few profiteers insist upon treating labor as a commodity merely, upon controlling the capital, to the detriment of us all. For under the present system of overlords, it is the owners of capital who have the monopoly of industry, with power to fix wages, prices, and profits, and, indeed, to determine the nature, quantity, and quality of goods. Hence the industrial "unrest," the want in a land of plenty.

HOPE THROUGH IT ALL

The Social Purpose Survives

But none of these dangers to the social purpose, selfishness, ignorance, superstition, failure to make the most of the home, greed for mastery, is more present or threatening because of the war. The subtle process of social progress survives. Men and women are on the advancing margin, seeking the way. The notion of society is becoming clearer. Men see more and more clearly the meaning of those words, "Ye are witnesses unto men both in Jerusalem and in Judea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." In their attempts to express this, the French have coined the significant word *solidarism*.

Feeling of Personal Responsibility

The war brought home to us more clearly than ever before, our personal responsibility to help toward the realization of the social aspiration. Our political controversies, the long discussions over the League of Nations, the effort now being made to establish an international court of justice, the development of labor organizations and other group interests, the war itself, reveal men and women co-operating around the world. Men realize that social progress means new laws and new institutions; so new laws and new institutions are created. They realize that social progress means new inventions and discoveries; so new inventions and discoveries follow, enabling men to subdue to their advantage the forces and materials of the world. Men realize that social progress means the growth of an ideal concerning what it means to live; so churches, schools, lecture platform, printing press, the social workers generally, turn ever to the creation of new and saner ideas and ideals under specialized and expert control as the hope of social progress. If it be only the few who work upon laws and institutions, and fewer still who contribute by inventions and new discoveries, we are all led to feel our responsibility for our ideals. Out of our ideals have arisen our pantisocracies, communes, altruarias, not wholly bad. Since we believe in the possibilities of a better social order, we aim to modify as best we may our social conditions by deepening the ideal behind life's adventure. This is our "internal social environment" which makes every moral situation a social situation. It is natural and hopeful that men feel increasingly their responsibility in such matters.

The war has probably increased our sense of responsibility in these things. The world has not been made safe for democracy yet, neither are we sure that what we have been calling democracy is good for the world; but we are convinced that through education our more rational ideals will yet lead us to the adoption of better institutions. We know now that the evils of bureaucracy, the problems of the wage and capitalistic system, of the entrepreneur, the attainment of the best functional organization of society, of the end of war, will come only with the relatively slow change in our collective social ideals. Our supreme responsibility, therefore, is found here. The catastrophe through which we have come shows to us the importance of teaching ourselves and our children to welcome efforts which promise well, even though we realize that the results will be very small. We know that the interests of society are the interests of all of us, and that these interests are inseparable. The long slow push ahead means the struggle of each for life in harmony for the best life of all. The social goal, therefore, is the family goal where the spirit of kindly service reigns, where each maintaining his own personal dignity strives for his own development by seeking the highest happiness of all the others. Since as individuals we are but adjectives, while in groups we become substantive, therefore the moral aspect of associated humanity is man's supreme interest. A general and creative belief that this is true is the hope of social progress.

Illustrated by Our Laws of Conformity

So firmly do we believe this we have fashioned for ourselves laws of conformity even in little relationships. We admire politeness because it is gentleness in little things, and courtesy as the finest expression of the desire to serve. Refinement is in itself a measure of conformity to custom, giving to us the familiar and desirable habits of persons in their various forms of association. Thus we have the doctrine that, "It becometh us to fulfill all righteousness," and the principle, "If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast and ye be imposed to go, whatsoever is set before you eat asking no questions for conscience's sake." We still feel the richness in those words, "not seeking your own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved," and in that other teaching, "Let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." In the army the officious, self-seeking, lone-hand soldier was the most unpopular. The social purpose is not advanced by extremisms. Pope's way of expressing this law of conformity, if insufficiently observed, is believed in as it is familiar:

"Be not the first by whom the new be tried
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

The Great Hope

We dislike doctrinaires with their authority of "common sense," for we know that common sense is not trustworthy in fundamentals. We know that the manner of behavior may be of more significance than the behavior.

Our social aspiration continues and our social effort also. If it be true that progress in the complexity of organization has ceased biologically; if it be true that

cellular differentiation and integration can go no farther; if it be true that the men of the future will not be more perfect in body than the most perfect individuals of the present; if progress in the intellectual capacity of man has ceased, and these things may all be true, then a new order of human intellect cannot be expected. But, consoling fact, in the conquest of nature and especially in the reorganization of society, we can foresee no such limitations. There lies the great hope. By more intelligent organization of social forces man will receive his supreme challenge for many ages to come. The spirit of all the heroes abides. Even if the goal be only death, yet—

"something ere the end,
Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die."

We shall continue to fight against our own selfishness, ignorance, and fanaticisms. We shall continue to curb our tendencies to claim too much for our little reforms. We shall continue our enthusiasms avoiding an over estimate of their importance. We shall work more intelligently for that truth which shall make us free, for of such is the truly scientific spirit. We shall keep at the business of aiding the constructive movements, particularly those calculated to improve the thinking and the motives of man, for we are well aware that social reconstruction depends upon the idea behind our adventures. It is the idea behind social aspiration that lets loose the simple and elemental forces, the abiding and important forces, forces such as labor, truth-seeking, love, worship. Men's necessities, food, clothing, shelter, force him to labor; but social integration is a necessity also, calling for labor of a larger kind. Thirst for knowledge, begun in mere curiosity to know more of the mysteries of life, survives; but to it the social purpose is added. Love, rooted in the deep physical instincts of the race, still goes on blossoming into subtle and sacred interweavings of personalities without which society could not endure. Worship, born out of early fears and fetichisms, hero and nature adoration, breathes more and more sweetly upon the aspirations of men, stimulating them to heroic deeds, unto the enrichment of life. The war has not closed our eyes to these elemental things. Out of them and because of them there abides the social purpose.

"If I can stop one heart from breaking,
I shall not live in vain.
If I can ease one life the aching,
Or cool one pain,
Or help one fainting robin
Into his nest again,
I shall not live in vain."

CONCLUSION

The social purpose may be little considered; it will be felt more. The social process and the consciousness of it are both evolving facts. The whole field is coming before us anew because of a better scientific approach. If there be dangers, there are hopes as well.

CORRESPONDENCE

Another Letter from Mr. Kuhn

MAY 28, 1920.

ARTHUR D. CALL, Esq.,
Editor "ADVOCATE OF PEACE,"
Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR:

In the May number of the *ADVOCATE* you have published, along with our prior correspondence, a letter addressed to me. Will you permit me to say a few words in reply?

In an able article upon "The Settlement of Interstate Disputes," by Robert Granville Caldwell, published in the current (April) number of the *American Journal of International Law*, the true effect of the decision in *Virginia vs. West Virginia* is thus summarized (p. 63):

"But for a time it looked as if some form of compulsion would be necessary. The court did not hesitate to meet this possibility squarely. It recognized a three-fold obligation to carry out the judgment of the court: (1) the duty of West Virginia to provide for the debt by appropriate taxation; (2) the power and the duty of Congress to make provision for enforcing the terms of the contract between the two States, either by legislation which should apply to West Virginia directly or by legislation which would give the court direct authority to enforce its judgment; (3) the duty of the court to secure the enforcement of its own judgment under existing legislation. . . . But the fact that the Supreme Court has never been compelled to resort to force in its interstate decrees does not lessen the significance of a decision in which it claimed both for Congress and for itself such sweeping powers. When we compare the Supreme Court with the Privy Council in this respect, and especially when we compare the dicta of a Southern Chief Justice with those of his predecessor from Maryland, it is evident that the United States has become a nation, while the British Empire has become a group of independent States. The Supreme Court has today behind its decrees the full force of national unity."

Even the writer in the *Harvard Law Review*, whom you quote, acknowledges (p. 158) that the opinion of the court is contrary to your assumption that "such an execution . . . would not be attempted." Whether it would be accomplished by mandamus, or in some other way, is a matter of procedure and quite beside the original question, which is whether the judgments of the Supreme Court against a State enjoy the force of actual sanctions other than "public opinion" and "moral force."

Accordingly it comes to this, that you do not agree with the latest pronouncement of the Supreme Court, whereas I do, and, paraphrasing somewhat, I have thus grasped the opportunity "to shine with Pope" rather than "err with Pye."

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR K. KUHN.

NOTE

The readers of Mr. Kuhn's letters published in the May *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* will be interested to read this other communication from him. It would seem that

this distinguished gentleman has decided to agree to the views of such men as George Mason, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, and to accept the definite decision, not "pronouncement," of the Supreme Court in case of *Kentucky vs. Dennison*. Mr. Kuhn is to be congratulated. Yet it was to be expected. Careful consideration inevitably leads to just that inescapable conclusion. We of the American Peace Society are under obligations to Mr. Kuhn for bringing our attention again to the fatal fallacy at the heart of any conceivable "League to Enforce Peace Between States."

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL.

THE UNITED STATES AND RELIEF OF EUROPE

In order to alter the opinion of persons who occasionally refer to the United States as having withdrawn from Europe and left her to her fate, we print the following letter, issued July 10, by Sir Eric Drummond, secretary general of the League of Nations:

"The cereal, meat, milk, and fat requirements of the countries affected—namely, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Rumania—may now appear to be assured, in a greater or less degree, until the coming harvest, owing to the establishment of the International committee for relief credits. Large quantities of special foodstuffs, like condensed milk, cocon, etc., have also been made available by the American Children's Relief, the American Red Cross, the Save-the-Children Fund, the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee, the Vienna Relief Fund, and the Jewish Relief Committee.

"During 1919 and the beginning of 1920 America provided £120,000,000 worth of clothing and textile mixture for Poland. Great Britain provided 3,200,000 yards of cotton twill and upward of 200,000 pairs of boots. Poland also obtained 17,000,000 guilders' worth of clothing from Holland. Large supplies of clothing and other necessaries of this nature have been and still are being supplied to the countries of eastern Europe, through voluntary organizations.

"The decisions of the credits conference which took place in Paris on the 22d of April have now made available, in certain participating countries, wool and other raw materials essential to textile manufacturers. This should materially assist the affected countries to meet their existing lack of clothing.

"It is also understood that, through government and other credits, a certain amount of cotton is being, and is likely to be, provided for Austria and Poland (the textile mills of the latter are now running about 30 per cent pre-war capacity).

"There is also, it is hoped, more than a probability of wool and other raw materials for Poland and other countries being provided out of private credits arranged by business organizations.

"With reference to medical and other supplies in connection with the anti-typhus campaign, American surplus disposal board stocks supplied to Poland alone amount to some \$9,000,000, besides material supplied by the American Red Cross Society.

"Interallied railway missions in Poland and Rumania have been instrumental in overseeing the distribution of £500,000 allocated out of the relief credits to each of these countries by Great Britain.

"America has supplied \$13,000,000 worth of transport material to Poland; this included hospital trains, mobile delousing apparatus, laundries, besides a fair quantity of road transport.

"Under the new international relief credits scheme, America is supplying (1) to Poland \$25,000,000 worth in railway material; this includes 4,000 thirty-ton railroad cars, forty-nine cranes, and other railway stores; (2) to Serbia, \$25,000,000 worth of railway and telegraph material to be selected from existing army stocks in the U. S. A."

A Comparison of the Responsibility of Governors to the Governed under Russian Sovietism and American Democracy

Prepared by C. H. LEVERMORE

FROM THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION. Article 1, Chapter 1, § 1. "Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets."

Article 2, Chapter 5, § 9. "The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry, in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing Socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy."

§ 23. "Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution."

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Preamble. "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Article 4, § 4. "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence."

Amendment V. * * * "nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

Amendment VIII. "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted."

VOTERS. Under the American Constitution all citizens over 21 years old (including women in many States, and soon in all), may vote, except criminals, lunatics, paupers and, in some States, illiterates. Under the Russian Constitution, soldiers, sailors, workers with their housekeepers, organized in soviets, if over 18 years of age, may vote. But private employers of labor, private merchants and brokers, persons living on income from investments, monks and clergy, members of the former police service and of the Romanoff family, lunatics and wards, and persons disfranchised by a soviet—may not vote. (L. C. A. K. Martens says that the clergy are now allowed to vote.)

I. Political Responsibility in the Russian Socialist Federated Republic

The Workers in each Village, 100 inhabitants to one Deputy.

ELECT

The Village Soviet, from 3 to 50 members; names Executive Committee, not exceeding 5.

ELECTS

The Rural Congress of Soviets (for each Volost, or each township of villages), one Deputy for each ten Members of a Village Soviet; names Executive Committee not exceeding 10 through which it controls Rural Soviets.

The Rural Congress **ELECTS**

either directly or through the County Congress

The County (Ouezd) Congress of Soviets, not over 300 members, one Deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; names Executive Committee, not exceeding 20, through which it controls County Soviets.

The County Congress may **ELECT**
ELECTS

The Provincial (Gubernia) Congress of Soviets, not over 300 members, one Deputy for each 10,000 inhabitants of a Volost, and one for each 2,000 city voters; names Executive Committee, not more than 25, through which it controls all provincial Soviets (except city Soviets) subject to possible decision of All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

The Provincial Congress, either directly, or through the County and City Congresses, **ELECTS**
ELECTS if not directly from the County Congress,

The Regional (Oblast) Congress of Soviets, not more than 500 members, one Deputy for each 25,000 inhabitants of a County, and one for each 5,000 city voters. Names an Executive Committee, not exceeding 25, through which it controls all regional Soviets, subject to possible decision of All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

The Regional Congress may **ELECT**

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Cossacks, and Red Army Deputies. About 1,200 members, one Deputy for each 125,000 provincial inhabitants, and one for each 5,000 city voters.

ELECTS

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 200 members.

"The supreme power of the Republic," when the All-Russian Congress is not in session. "Directs the activity of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country."

ELECTS

The Council of People's Commissars, 18 in number; N. Lenin, Chairman and Russian Premier.

ELECTS

For each Department, a Committee (Collegium) of which the Commissar is President.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Foreign Affairs: Chicherin	War: Trolzky	Interior: Petrovsky	Justice: Shulobka	Labor: Schmidt	Social Welfare: Kalenay	Education: Lunacharsky	Post and Telegraph: Podolsky	Nat'l Affairs: Stalin	Finance: Kravitsky	Ways of Communication: Kraviz	Agriculture: Sereda	Commerce and Industry: ?	Nat'l Supplies: Bruckmannoff	State Control: Kraviz	Nat'l Economy: Hykoff	Public Health: Semebko

II. Political Responsibility in the Republic of the United States of America

The People, voting in each State upon a practically uniform basis of representation and without any discriminations between rural and city voters, directly **ELECT**

Village and Township Officers.

City Councils and Mayors.

County Officers.

State Legislatures and Governors.

Members of both Houses of the U. S. Congress.

Members of the Electoral College, pledged beforehand to elect the candidates of their party,

ELECT

The President and Vice-President. The PRESIDENT, with the approval of the Senate, Names

The Secretaries in his Cabinet.

For more copies of this leaflet, address New York Peace Society, 70 Fifth Avenue. Price, two cents each, or \$1.50 per hundred.

IT IS REPORTED

- That new German stamps will soon be issued.
- That Germany has reintroduced the censorship of telegrams.
- That the price of wool in France has been reduced 10 to 15 per cent.
- That Swedish industry is in a precarious condition owing to lack of fuel.
- That insects destroy \$800,000,000 worth of food crops in the United States each year.
- That Canada is this year supplying one-half the total demand for lumber in the United States.
- That an imitation soap, formed of soft white clay, lime, and ash, is being manufactured in Russia.
- That King Albert of Belgium has given 100,000 francs toward the reconstruction of Louvain University.
- That Brazil's sugar crop amounts to 450,000 tons, one-third of which will be available for export.
- That white bread and wheat flour are again to be rationed in Denmark, the supply of wheat there being very low.
- That regular aeroplane passenger service between Germany and the larger Swedish cities is to be established.
- That an irrigated farm has been purchased at Pitt Town, New South Wales, to provide work for unemployed soldiers.
- That two thousand tons of white Java sugar reached America recently, the first consignment for a number of years.
- That a "Joan of Arc" national festival is to be instituted in France, to be celebrated every year on the second Sunday in May.
- That France has pronounced her willingness to confer with the Canadian Government with reference to a new trade treaty.
- That Denmark proposes to establish an International People's College, intended especially for those belonging to the working classes.
- That the French Union for Woman Suffrage expresses the view that all taxes applicable to men should also be applied to women.
- That a sealed-up library has been discovered in Petrograd, containing books on nearly all subjects and in nearly every European language.
- That in Vienna, not only the poor, but the formerly well-to-do, such as college professors and business men with their families, are literally starving.
- That the German and Russian governments have ratified the agreement drawn up in April for the exchange of German and Russian prisoners of war.
- That it is proposed to issue porcelain money throughout Germany, a number of specimens having been manufactured already by the Meissen porcelain factory.
- That, on behalf of certain Chilean ladies, 20,000 tins of milk have been presented to Berlin and Hamburg by the Chilean Minister for distribution to orphans.
- That a new high-power wireless station will soon be in operation between Sweden and the United States to work effectively at a range of 5,000 miles or more.
- That the University of Oxford has been offered the sum of £20,000 for the establishment and endowment of a professorship in the History of the United States.
- That at a meeting of French and German economic delegates recently held in Paris the Germans offered proposals regarding the resumption of Franco-German economic relations.
- That M. Masaryk, President of Czecho-Slovakia, recently signed a general amnesty in favor of political prisoners, this being in commemoration of the first elected National Assembly.
- That a comparison of the number of firms having branch factories in Canada shows that while there are scarcely half a dozen British manufactories there there are some 530 American firms.
- That German capitalists are negotiating for the purchase of the two leading Vienna newspapers, and that this is thought to be part of a fresh campaign on behalf of the union of Austria with Germany.
- That Jugo-Slavia is very rich in raw materials, conditions for developing the various industries being highly favorable; but that industry is still dependent on foreign capital, as the home financial resources are greatly depreciated.
- That United States exports to Australia, which had assumed large proportions during the war, are now dropping off, due to the unfavorable exchange, active competition by Britain, and the larger number of manufactories of Australia.
- That a provisional commercial agreement has been signed by the Czecho-Slovak and German governments, whereby Germany will grant 200 trucks for daily transport between the two countries, and also allow the export of dyes and machinery.
- That in connection with the Friends' relief work it is proposed to establish one or more libraries in central Europe for the use of university professors, where they may borrow the recent English books on philosophy, science, etc., of which they are in great need.

FRANCE STRUGGLES UP AND OUT

Extracts from a Personal Letter Typical
of Her Spirit

The following letter from a ravaged region of France, written by the wife of one of the leading mine-owners, is interesting and illuminating. The writer begins by telling of domestic troubles due to underfeeding, illness, etc. She then goes on to say:

"We are here for the summer, and I am striving to build a wall between them [Her children.—Ed.] and death. I seem to gain a little ground lately, but not much, and my own strength is falling fast. I never went to bed for thirty-four days.

"And on the top of that there have been many worries about the works and much to do. I must say that the whole of the population has showed me great sympathy. Every day hundreds of work people came to ask for news; public prayers have been made; offerings of flowers, fruit, pictures, cards, stamps, and toys were left at the gate; every consideration was shown, and, to crown it all, on the first day of May, when the strike was general everywhere in the region, none of our men left work. They said that they wanted to spare us all possible trouble during our time of trial; and when the child was worst a deputation was sent to the doctor to ask him to take great care of her for fear 'the little mother's heart would break.'

"I write this to show there is still a bond of affection between the upper and lower French classes, and that our men are not all the revolutionary brutes that foreign people often believe them to be. There is still a steady, strong, courageous, enduring mass of French people, and these are making a tremendous effort to save their country. They are working under odds so heavy that they cannot be described, and they put their faith solely in themselves.

"As I told you nearly a year and a half ago, we have been let down on all sides. We got laurels, clapping of hands, etc., but nearly no help. I won't speak here of the bitter disillusion we lived through; maybe our allies did not approve their governments, but the fact remains that we paid heaviest in men, in tears, in gold, in prosperity, and in faith in humanity. When sometimes we found ourselves alone in front of Germany, we knew that our boys must be soldiers as their fathers if there is to be a France left on the map. We frontier people are sure of what we say. Our German neighbors speak very loudly sometimes, especially since, as they say, 'the other nations are for them, against us.'

"However, we must do our best. The financial side of the question is the darkest point. The rate of exchange leads us to starvation, and the new taxes will be heavy on an impoverished nation. We try to reduce the imports and are eating black bread to save wheat; but coal we must have, and there England strangles us.

"Life is extremely hard. Lots of things are still missing; in our parts there is no milk for the babies, the Germans having taken and *kept* our cows; there is no linen, no furniture, the Germans having taken it all and *kept* it. People are sleeping on straw, the Germans having taken and *kept* all the bedding. And for everything it is the same.

"Add to that two-thirds of the population ill because of the bad treatments undergone, and you may have a pretty accurate opinion of our feelings when we are accused of 'oppressing and ruining poor, unfortunate, gentle, repentant Germany.'

"What I need are books, uniforms, sporting materials, and, above all, water and drains and cows. If ever you meet a philanthropist willing to give any kind of four-legged creature with milk powers, do not forget to send him to me.

"That and a way to make widowed women with young children earn a living would be a weight off my mind. So you see that in spite of private troubles there is a great deal of work to go through. In a way it helps, as one has no time to mope."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND
THE TREATYThe League Endorsed—Mr. Bryan's Rejected
Plan—The Candidate's Attitude

THE Democratic National Convention, in session in San Francisco from June 28 to July 6, naturally had much to say and do with the issue of treaty ratification and endorsement of the League. It assembled with a distinct, new call for action upon the issue, conveyed in a brief but vigorous message from President Wilson. The debate on the plank finally adopted was continuous, first in a subcommittee and then in a full committee of the convention headed by Senator Glass, of Virginia. Some of the suggestions that were championed by minorities in the convention we append. They never had much chance of being adopted, as the majority of the delegates favored a League of some kind and the Administration controlled the situation.

CHAIRMAN CUMMINGS' SPEECH

From the "keynote speech" of Hon. Homer S. Cummings, made June 28, which was a forceful and impassioned defense of the party's record in handling international affairs and of President Wilson's course during the war and since the armistice, the following quotation is made to show the temper of the address and its line of argument:

"The purpose of the League is to give notice that if any nation raises its menacing hand and seeks to cross the line into any other country the forces of civilization will be aroused to suppress the common enemy of peace. Therein lies the security of small nations and the safety of the world.

"Every war between nations that has ever been fought began in an attempt to seize foreign territory or to invade political independence. If in 1914 Germany had known that in the event of hostilities Great Britain would have entered the war, that France would go in, that Italy would go in, that Japan would go in, and that the United States would go in, there would have been no war.

"The opponents of the treaty cry out, 'Shall we send our boys abroad to settle a political quarrel in the Balkans?' Immediately the unthinking applaud and the orator records a momentary triumph. Have we forgotten that that is precisely what America already has done? Have we forgotten that we sent more than 2,000,000 men to France, spent more than \$20,000,000,000 and sacrificed nearly 100,000 lives to settle a Balkan dispute?

"There was a controversy between Serbia and Austria. Territorial questions, political rights, and boundary lines were involved. The Crown Prince of the House of Austria was assassinated. A little flame of war licked up into the powder-house of Europe, and in a moment the continent was in flames. It took all the power of civilization to put out the conflagration. How idle to inquire whether we wish to send our boys to settle political disputes in the Balkans!

Fear of Future Wars

"It is extraordinary that men should waste our time and vex our patience by suggesting the fear that we may be forced into future wars, while forgetting entirely that America was forced into this greatest of all wars. No League of Nations existed when we entered the war, and it was only when we formed in haste, in the midst of battle, a league of friendship, under unified command, that we were able to win this war. This association of nations, held together by a common purpose, fought the war to a victorious conclusion, dictated the terms of the armistice, and formulated the terms of peace. If such a result could be achieved

by an informal and temporary agreement, why should not the association be continued in a more definite and binding form? What plausible reason can be suggested for wasting the one great asset which has come out of the war? How else shall we provide for international arbitration? How else shall we provide for a permanent court of international justice? How else shall we provide for open diplomacy? How else shall we provide safety from external aggression? How else shall we provide for progressive disarmament? How else shall we check the spread of Bolshevism? How else shall industry be made safe and the basis of reconstruction established? How else shall society be steered so that the processes of healing may serve their beneficent purpose? Until the critics of the league offer a better method of preserving the peace of the world they are not entitled to one moment's consideration in the forum of the conscience of mankind.

"Not only does the covenant guarantee justice for the future, but it holds the one remedy for the evils of the past. As it stands today, war is the one way in which America can express its sympathy for the oppressed of the world. The League of Nations removes the conventional shackles of diplomacy. Under the covenant it is our friendly right to protest against tyranny and to act as counsel for the weak nations now without an effective champion.

"The Republican platform contains a vague promise to establish another or a different form of association among nations, of a tenuous and shadowy character. Our proposed copartners in such a project are unnamed and unnamable. It is not stated whether it is proposed to invite the nations that have established the present league to dissolve it and to begin anew, or whether the purpose is to establish a new association of a competitive character, composed of the nations that repudiated the existing League. The devitalizing character of such an expedient requires no comment. Fatuous futility could be carried no further. There is no mental dishonesty more transparent than that which expresses fealty to a league of nations while opposing the only League of Nations that exists or is ever apt to exist. Why close our eyes to actual world conditions? A League of Nations already exists. It is not a project; it is a fact. We must either enter it or remain out of it."

SENATOR WALSH'S AMENDMENT

On July 1, in the resolutions committee, Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, after a prolonged contest, succeeded in getting that body to adopt, by a vote of 32 to 18, a modification in the so-called Virginia "plank," to this effect: "But the Democratic party does not oppose the acceptance of any reservation making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League of Nations." His own proposition for the plank in the platform took the following form:

"The Democratic party favors a League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practical means of attaining and maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this end that America broke away from her traditional isolation and spent her blood and her treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest.

"It was upon this basis that the President of the United States in prearrangement with our Allies, consented to a cessation of hostilities against the Imperial German Government, and upon this basis that the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated.

To Congratulate President

"We not only congratulate the President on the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate to him and his associates in exceptional achievements at Paris involved in the adoption of a League and treaty so nearly akin to American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized people everywhere.

"We denounce any movement of any political party seek-

ing to make the ratification of the Versailles Treaty a political issue in the coming election. The drafting and ratification of international agreements and treaties should never be subject to partisan or political considerations.

"The Democratic party desires the ratification of the Versailles Treaty without nullifying changes, but it favors the acceptance of any reservation making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates, or which will make it more easily apparent to doubtful elements of our people that the covenant in no wise impairs or destroys the sovereignty of the United States."

SENATOR POMERENE'S PLANK

Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, who favored ratification of the treaty with reservations, when it was finally voted upon in the Senate, and who was not wholly in sympathy with the Administration forces in this convention, presented to the committee on resolutions the following plank, which was rejected:

"We advocate the prompt ratification of the Treaty of Peace without reservations which impair its essential integrity. We believe this is the best and most practical way to restore and maintain the peace of the world; but if such differences of opinion exist as to the form or substance of ratifications as to prevent such ratification, then we demand that they be so harmonized that the treaty may be ratified without unnecessary delay. This is the solemn duty we owe the country and humanity."

MR. BRYAN'S WAY OUT

Mr. William J. Bryan, who met with rebuffs, first in the resolutions committee and then in the open convention debate and whose advice, both as to platform and candidates, was rejected, offered the following proposed plank as his way out of the impasse within the party and the country:

"The Democratic party demands an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the ratification of treaties by a majority vote, so that it will be as easy to end a war as it is to declare war. Planting ourselves upon the most fundamental principle of popular government, namely, the right of people to rule, a doctrine in support of which we have recently spent over \$25,000,000,000, and for which we have sacrificed over 100,000 precious lives, we favor an immediate reconvening of the Senate that this principle may be applied to the treaty controversy, and ratification secured, with such reservations as a majority of the Senate shall agree upon reserving for the future, making such changes as we may deem necessary.

World Disarmament

"We favor appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of delegates to represent this nation in the League until the regularly chosen delegates are elected and qualified.

"We favor the selection of the nation's delegates in the League of Nations by popular vote in districts in order that the people may speak through representatives of their own choice in the august tribunal which will consider the welfare of the world.

"These delegates should be instructed not to vote for war without specific instructions from Congress or from the people, given by referendum vote.

"Our nation's delegates should also be instructed to insist upon the disarmament of the world in order that the burden of militarism may be lifted from the shoulders of those who toll and the foundation of an enduring peace laid in friendship and co-operation."

THE LEAGUE ENDORSED AND PRESIDENT PRAISED

The plank dealing with the League, as it finally emerged from the resolutions committee and the debate in the convention, reads as follows:

"The Democratic party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the President of the United States, in prearrangement with our Allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the Imperial German Government; the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the powers pitted against Germany that 'a general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.' Hence we not only congratulate the President on the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate him and his associates on the exceptional achievements at Paris involved in the adoption of a League and treaty so near akin to previously expressed American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere.

"We commend the President for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by all the Associated and Allied nations at war with Germany, and we condemn the Republican Senate for its refusal to ratify the treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship, thus interposing partisan envy and personal hatred in the way of the peace and renewed prosperity of the world.

"By every accepted standard of international morality the President is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business; and we point to the accusing fact that before it was determined to inflame political antagonism to the treaty the now Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee himself publicly proclaimed that any proposition for a separate peace with Germany, such as he and his party associates thereafter reported to the Senate, would make us 'guilty of the blackest crime.'

Senator Lodge's Course

"On May 15 last the Knox substitute for the Versailles Treaty was passed by the Republican Senate, and this convention can contrive no more fitting characterization of its obloquy than that made in the *Forum Magazine* of December, 1918, by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said:

"If we send our armies and young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify."

"The intent of Congress and the intent of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. We cannot make peace except in company with our allies. It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace.

"Thus to that which Mr. Lodge, in saner moments, considered 'The Blackest Crime' he and his party in madness sought to give the sanctity of law; that which 18 months ago was of 'everlasting dishonor' the Republican party and its candidates today accept as the essence of faith.

"We indorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity; but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates. Only by doing this may we retrieve the reputation of this nation among the powers of the earth and recover the moral leadership which President Wilson won and which Republican

politicians at Washington sacrificed. Only by doing this may we hope to aid effectively in the restoration of order throughout the world and to take the place which we should assume in the front rank of spiritual, commercial, and industrial advancement.

"We reject as utterly vain, if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any way impair the integrity or independence of our country. The fact that the covenant has been entered into by 29 nations, all as jealous of their independence as we are of ours, is a sufficient refutation of such charge. The President repeatedly has declared, and this convention reaffirms, that all our duties and obligations as a member of the League must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the Congress before this nation may become a participant in any war."

CANDIDATE COX'S ATTITUDE

At the dinner of the Democrats of the country, held in Washington last winter, on what is known as Jackson Day, Governor Cox said:

"When soldiers were finally returning to their homes, when kingdoms builded in policy and domain out of the ruins of blasted hopes and broken hearts had fallen to pieces from the wrath of time, and millions of people needed the balance and strength of a just authority; when nations, large and small, prayed for the sealed compact of justice into which the happiness of generations to come was to be written and pledged; when the whole world, worn and enfeebled by the disasters of war, reached forth its hand for the peaceful fruits of victory, America was made to appear as standing in the way of this holy consummation.

"By the arbitrary exercise of authority, a conspiring band of men seated in the Senate of the United States stood out as the self-appointed spokesmen of their countrymen. The very action which they prevented held the affairs of nations everywhere disjointed and impotent.

"In short, the civilization of the world stood bound and gagged in their control, while their insensate thirst for partisan advantage struck them dumb to the woes of the darkest hour man had ever known.

"And why? In order that the sorrows of mankind could multiply and then in their aggravated form be charged to the man whose chief offense in the reckoning of his partisan critics, consists of the service he has rendered and the gratitude he has won from mankind."

In an article written by him for the *New York Times* and published May 23 he said:

"Some people doubt the enduring quality of this general international scheme. Whether this be true or not, the fact remains that it will justify itself if it does no more than prevent the nations of the earth from arming themselves to the teeth and wasting resource which is necessary to repair the losses of the war.

"No one contends that it is a perfect document, but it is a step in the right direction. It would put the loose ends of civilization together now and do more toward the restoration of normal conditions in six months' time than can the powers of the earth, acting independently, in ten years' time. The Republican senatorial cabal insists that the treaty be Americanized. Suppose that Italy asked that it be Italianized, France that it be Frenchized, Britain that it be Britishized, and so on down the line. The whole thing would result in a perfect travesty.

"The important thing now is to enable the world to go to work, but the beginning must not be on the soft sands of an unsound plan. If this question passes to the next Administration there should be no fetich developed over past differences. Yet at the same time there must be no surrender of vital principle. It may be necessary, if partitions and reparation require changing, to assemble representatives of the people making up the nations of the League, in which event revision may not be so much an affair of diplomats.

But, I repeat, the pressing task is getting started, being careful, however, that we are starting with an instrument worth while and not a mere shadow."

GOVERNOR COX'S PROPOSED RESERVATIONS

In a semi-official interview issued July 9, Governor Cox said that he favored certain illuminating and educational reservations already implicit in the covenant as adopted at Paris, but needing clear statement for the benefit of the American voter. In maintaining these reservations he said that he thought that he would have the support of President Wilson. His suggestions are these:

"First. That the United States enter into the League of Nations with the definite understanding that its purpose is world-wide peace, and not in any sense an alliance with foreign powers, and that this understanding be expressed in such a way that the United States will be in a position to withdraw at the first evidence of bad faith on the part of any member nation.

"Second. That article 10 be accepted with the distinct understanding, when the pact is entered into, that the limits of the Constitution and the powers it confers upon Congress to declare war always to be considered part of the agreement."

RUSSIA AND THE POWERS

After a period of considerable vacillation, with varying statements issuing from the Department of State, the United States has decided, within certain carefully prescribed limits, to permit its citizens to open trade with Russia. The action nominally has been taken quite independently of the position of Great Britain or France, but that it is part of a concerted movement is now clear. It is quite in harmony with the British theory that a time has come at least for square facing of facts and accepting the inevitable. Else why the negotiations in London with Krassin, the commissioner of the Russian Soviet government, in which Lloyd-George and Lord Curzon participated for more than a week, and which terminated with Krassin's return to Moscow to discuss the British terms?

On Krassin's return, July 12, with tentative assent to the British terms, debate on the matter began in the House of Commons, and Mr. Bonar Law, on the 14th, made the official statement of the situation, including the problem of setting up an armistice in the war between Russia and Poland, which was giving the Allied Powers and Supreme Council much worry at the time. Mr. Bonar Law said that the British note to the Soviet government read thus:

"That an immediate armistice be signed between Poland and Soviet Russia under which hostilities shall be suspended. That the terms of this armistice provide, on the one hand, that the Polish army shall immediately withdraw to the lines provisionally laid down last year by the peace conference as to the eastern boundary to which Poland is entitled to establish a Polish administration.

"On the other hand, the armistice should provide that the army of Soviet Russia should stand at a distance of fifty kilometers east of this line. In eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line they occupy at the date of the signature of the armistice.

"That as soon as possible thereafter a conference, sitting under the auspices of the peace conference, shall assemble in London, to be attended by representatives of Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Lettonia, and Finland, with the object of negotiating a final peace between Russia and its neighboring States. Representatives of eastern Galicia also would be invited to London to state their case.

"For the purpose of this conference Great Britain will

place no restrictions on the representatives which Russia may nominate, provided they undertake while in Great Britain not to interfere in politics or the internal affairs of the British Empire or in propaganda."

The note said the armistice with General Wrangel should be on the basis that Wrangel retire immediately to the Crimea, and that during the armistice this must be a neutral zone. Wrangel would be invited to London to discuss the future of his troops and of the refugees under his protection, but would not be a member of the conference.

"If, therefore, Soviet Russia, despite its repeated declarations, will not be content with the withdrawal of the Polish army on the condition of a mutual armistice, but intends to take action hostile to Poland in Poland's own territory, the British Government and its allies will feel bound to assist the Polish nation to defend its existence with all means at their disposal."

The Department of State, in its official statement of July 7, said:

"The restrictions which have heretofore stood in the way of trade and communication with Soviet Russia were today removed by action of the Department of State. Such of these restrictions, however, as pertain to the shipment of materials susceptible of immediate use for war purposes will, for the present at least, be maintained.

"Political recognition, present or future, of any Russian authority exercising or claiming to exercise governmental functions is neither granted nor implied by this action. It should be emphasized, moreover, that individuals or corporations availing themselves of the present opportunity to trade with Russia will do so on their own responsibility and at their own risk. The assistance which the United States can normally extend to its citizens who engage in trade or travel in some foreign country whose government is recognized by the United States cannot be looked for in the present case, since there is no official or representative Russian authority with which this government can maintain those relations usually subsisting between nations.

"The action which the United States is now taking in no-wise constitutes a recognition of the validity of industrial or commercial concessions granted by any existing Russian authority. American citizens availing themselves of the present relaxation of restrictions are warned against the risks incident to the acceptance of commodities or other values, the title to which may later be brought into question.

"The situation which at present prevails, relative to travel from or to Russia, will be unaffected by the removal of trade restrictions. Passports for Russia cannot be issued, nor will any change be made in the visa regulations now in force.

"Since it is not desirable at this time to undertake negotiations with the Soviet postal authorities, the Post-office Department will be unable to accept mail from or to Soviet Russia. There has never been any parcel-post connection between the United States and Russia, and this mode of forwarding goods is, therefore, unavailable."

Explaining this order, the Department added:

"While the indications are that Russia has but a small quantity of raw material available for export, that the purchasing power of Russia is very limited, and that for these reasons there will not be any considerable trade, if any, with Russia, this government, however, does not feel that the law-abiding people in Russia should be deprived of any assistance which can be derived from such trading as may be possible.

"The attitude of the United States toward the recognition of any faction in control of Soviet Russia has not changed. This government is not willing by means of political recognition to lend positive assistance to a faction whose disregard of the principles of democracy is evidenced at home by the maintenance of a minority despotism and abroad by an insidious campaign of propaganda to subvert popular governmental institutions expressive of the will of the majority."

A QUICK REVERSAL OF ATTITUDE

That the Department of State has not been of this mind long is shown by the text of the following message from

Secretary Colby to the American Federation of Labor at its meeting June 14, a message read by Mr. Gompers to give him and his conservative forces more strength in opposing the radical element of the convention. Secretary Colby then said:

"There have been several conferences on the subject of removal of restrictions against trading with Russia. These conferences have been held in Europe and their course has been carefully observed by this government. They have so far been void of result. The Soviet government is insistent upon political recognition as a condition precedent to a renewal of any commercial contract.

"While this government has no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of the Russian people or to suggest the kind of government that they should have, the existing régime in Russia does not represent the will or consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people. It repudiates every principle of harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or individuals, and is based upon the negotiation of honor and good faith and every usage and conception underlying the structure of international law."

GERMANY'S "INTELLECTUALS"

Professor Skillings, of Middlebury, Vt., who went to Germany last winter to confer with the universities about an Anglo-American University Library for Central Europe, wrote home to Miss Carrie W. Ormsbee, Brandon, Vt., a letter, part of which we quote. She will be glad to send to Professor Skillings the names of any American academic men who are interested in the plan. The letter says:

"Germany is quite broken in spirit and in despair. I did not hear a single expression of ill will toward America. They are hungering in mind and soul for contact with the intellectual world outside. If we believe in the parable of the Good Samaritan, here is an opportunity. Everywhere I was cordially and gracefully received and all possible co-operation promised.

"The plan was inaugurated here (England) among university men, and we are corresponding with America with a view of getting an organization started there. Perhaps you know some influential person to whom you could send the inclosed statement. As soon as the organization is completed, we wish to raise funds for it among interested people—German-Americans and others. If you know of any names, I would be much obliged to receive them.

"Democratic ideas are stirring among the younger generation in Germany. If they can only recover from their fearful demoralization and get foreign credits and sympathy from the outside world, they will stave off Bolshevism and may have something to teach us about real democracy. . . .

"While the Allies are recovering and getting further away from war conditions, Germany seems to be sinking deeper in the mire."

Gratifying is the evidence that "feeling" against Austrian scholars is abating among British academic men. Word comes from Vienna that the universities of England, as a body, have invited the professors of the universities of Austria, especially those in Vienna, to come to England this summer and be the guests of English investigators, authors, and teachers. All expenses of travel and living are to be borne by the hosts. The invitation has been accepted, first, as evidence of the good-will and courtesy of the hosts, and, secondly, as an indication that the era of "hate" is passing. While in England these Austrians may use the laboratories and the libraries and continue any research work that it pleases them to take up.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

PROMOTION OF KNOWLEDGE RESPECTING DISEASE and its prevention and cure is taking on international aspects in new forms today. The death during the past month of General Gorgas, the great American sanitarian, who had transformed conditions in Cuba, Panama, and on the west coast of South America and who was en route to East Africa when he died in London, has called attention to the service which experts of his type are now rendering governments and peoples without ever raising issues of nationality. It is the human not the "patriotic" point of view they take. The Minister of Education in the British Cabinet, Mr. Fisher, well stated this attitude in the letter which he sent following the Rockefeller Foundation's unprecedented gift of \$4,000,000 to the University College Medical School, London. He said:

"The spirit of science recognizes no national boundaries; its service is given to humanity as a whole, and its votaries among all nations are united in a world-wide league to improve the common lot of all mankind. The past history of your foundation had already amply proved its title to a leading place among the disinterested champions in this international campaign for the reduction of ignorance and suffering, and it little needed this striking example to advance its claim.

"I am sure that I speak for all who have at heart the progress of medical science and of international solidarity in thanking you for the benefaction which, with a magnificence characteristic of your great people, you have placed at the disposal of our University authorities in London. It is my hope, as it is my belief, that the opportunity which you have placed within the reach of our English men of science may enable them to make a great and lasting contribution to medical knowledge and to produce results which will benefit mankind in all parts of the world."

DR. CLAY MACCAULEY, retiring from service as representative in Japan of the American Unitarian Association, working for over thirty years in behalf of religious liberalism in Japan and for a better understanding between America and the Orient, will sail for America on the *Columbian* from Yokohama on July 23. For some time Dr. MacCauley has been a vice-president and member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society of Japan.

AN INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, with delegates from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium present, met in Paris early this month, and thus brought to fruition plans which had been outlined prior to the war, but of necessity held up while it was being fought. Ultimately it is planned to include all nations within the organization, and the sooner peace comes the quicker will this result be attained. To the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and especially to two Boston men of affairs, E. A. Filene and John H. Fahey, is this broadening of the range of the principle of internationalism due. The next meeting will be held in London. In an official resumé of the work of the session just held it is stated that:

"Restoration of international credit, based on fixation of the amount and the conditions of payment for the debts of all countries, allied or enemy, was urged. It was also resolved that allied States should agree as soon as possible to fix definitely the amount and conditions of payment according to stipulations of the peace treaty.

Avoidance of duplicate taxation of wealth of individuals or organizations in more than one country; reduction of expenditures by local and national governments; extension of credits; uniform banking laws; reciprocal international treaties relative to import and export taxes; an international credit bureau, co-operation by national civic and financial organizations; and the establishment of an international statistics bureau were among the changes urged at the conference."

"THE IRISH REPUBLIC" and its advocates came before the recent national conventions of the Republican and the Democratic parties, and were the cause of skillful maneuvering by the managers, of considerable heated debate in and out of the formal proceedings, and of decisions that will have an influence on the votes of some States next November. The claims of the "Republic" in their extreme form are reflected in the following resolution proposed to the Democratic party's platform committee by Mr. Frank P. Walsh, the co-worker with Eamonn de Valera, president of the "Republic," who has been in the United States speaking and collecting funds for six months or more. A plank was presented to the Republican convention and was rejected by the committee and by the convention, the latter making no deliverance on the issue. It read:

"Mindful of the circumstances of the birth of our own nation, we reassert the principle that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We advocate the continuance of our long-established and lawful practice of according recognition without intervention, and in all cases where the people of a nation, as in Ireland, have by free vote of the people set up a republic and chosen a government to which they yield willing obedience we will support the recognition of that government. Therefore we favor our government extending to the elected government of the Republic of Ireland full, formal, and official recognition, thus vindicating the principles for which our soldiers offered up their lives."

The plank in the Democratic platform as finally adopted, which plank was shaped, so it is said, by Secretary of State Colby, who was present as a delegate, reads, thus:

"The great principle of national self-determination has received constant reiteration as one of the chief objectives for which this country entered the war and victory established by this principle.

"Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government."

In the light of the special relations of the Irish vote to the Democratic party, the following letter from Mr. Cox, the party's presidential candidate, is interesting.

Writing to Sir James Aiken, governor of the Province of Manitoba, on July 5, he said:

"I have long preached the doctrine of a better understanding between the English-speaking nationalities of the United States and Canada. In the affairs of civilization and more intimately of humane welfare our division is only governmental. In Ohio you will find a cordial feeling for you and your countrymen and an understanding of how you have suffered during the stress of war. Let us hope that as our soldiers fought side by side, so shall the two great powers of the hemisphere support in union and harmony, the ideals which will guarantee a better and a happier world."

THE NAURU ISLAND AGREEMENT between the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, when it came to be discussed by the British House of Commons, ran against a snag thrown in its way by Lord Robert Cecil and other friends of the League of Nations, and also met with opposition from Liberals of the old school concerned with maintenance of the good name of Britain at a time when she needs friends. The Island of Nauru, formerly German-owned, is one of the portions of territory in the South Pacific assigned to Great Britain as a mandatory power. Its sole wealth is the excrement of birds accumulated for centuries and furnishing an enormous new supply of phosphates. Under the agreement above alluded to the British and colonials planned to monopolize this wealth. Lord Cecil and the critics said that any such "grab" as this, hostile to general interests, would simply play into the hands of critics of Great Britain who charge her with using her present power to consolidate her own interests. They asserted that to take such monopolistic action without even consulting the League of Nations, much less getting its consent, would be a stab at that organization. On July 6, against government opposition, the critics won their case by a majority of one in a vote in the standing committee of the House of Commons.

UNIFICATION OF A FEDERATED CENTRAL AMERICA is to be attempted again, under the leadership of Salvador, which issued invitations for a conference to be held in San Salvador, September 15. Immediate acceptance of the invitation by Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Nicaragua indicated a common desire that is more than perfunctory. Betterment of domestic political conditions in at least two of the republics undoubtedly has influenced this movement. There was an idealism back of the old Central American Court of Justice plan that has survived its passing. As "dictators" get their deserts, the popular demand for peace, fraternity, and the rule of law increases.

THE ALAND ISLANDS' DISPUTE between Finland and Sweden came before the Council of the League of Nations on July 9, Great Britain exercising the friendly right to call the council's attention to any circumstances affecting international relations. This procedure is stipulated in article 11, paragraph 2, of the League's covenant, and the case was the first so submitted. It was argued before the Council by the Swedish premier

and the Finnish Minister in Paris. On July 12 the Council decided to refer the question of the Aland Islands to a commission of three international jurists who will be named by the president of the League. The Swedish and Finnish governments agreed to abstain from any action likely to aggravate the situation, pending the decision of the jurists. The islands hold an important strategic position in the Gulf of Bothnia, and their control, from a naval standpoint, means much to any claimant. Finland has owned them in the past, but the present inhabitants prefer Swedish suzerainty; and Sweden claims the new title on the ground of popular self-determination.

NORTH SCHLESWIG was formally reunited with Denmark, July 9, when the Danish king signed the formal treaty making valid the result of the recent plebiscite carried out in terms of the Versailles Treaty of Peace. Norway and Sweden sent formal messages of felicitation, and King Christian of Denmark issued a proclamation to the people, in which he said: "By the magnanimous intervention of friendly powers and the clearly expressed will of the population at last the desire which all Danes have felt since the unhappy hour when our Schleswig countrymen were separated from the motherland has been fulfilled. The decision of the powers, based upon the plebiscite, rendered this possible."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, with headquarters at 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S. W. 1, has for its President, Viscount Grey, of Fallodon, K. G.; Honorary Presidents, The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, O. M.; Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K. C.; Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, O. M.; chairman of Executive, The Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, P. C. The Union is directed by a General Council elected by its members and by an Executive Committee appointed by the Council. It employs paid officers responsible for the direction of its various activities, which include: Administration, Finance, Propaganda, Publications, Establishment of branches, co-operation with other societies, Research, Policy, Liaison with Foreign Societies. It claims 250 branch societies, 27,500 members, and 27,500 subscribers at one shilling each. Its annual budget is \$200,000. It publishes regularly the monthly *Today and Tomorrow*, and the quarterly, *The Covenant*. The Union represents an amalgamation of former societies of Great Britain with similar aims.

THE FEDERATION OF FRENCH ASSOCIATIONS for the League of Nations, similar to the League of Nations Union in England and in some other countries, is working also for the organization of a society of nations and to circulate its principles. It is a federation of other French societies with similar aims, the presiding officer being M. Léon Bourgeois, Président du Sénat. The eight groups thus federated are:

- L'Association Française pour la Société des Nations.
- La Ligue pour l'Organisation de la Société des Nations (Anciennement Société Proudhon).
- L'Association de la Paix par le Droit.
- La Société de l'Etat-Pax.
- La Conciliation Internationale (Section Française).

Le Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale.

La Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté.

La Société Française d'Arbitrage entre les Nations.

The headquarters of the Federation are at the Musée Social, the administrative secretary at 24 rue Pierre Curie, Paris. The officers of the Federation are: Président du Comité Exécutif, M. Paul Appell, Recteur de l'Université de Paris; Vice-Présidents, MM. d'Estournelles de Constant, Sénateur, Jean Hennessy, Député, Charles Richet; de l'Institut; Secrétaires Généraux, MM. J. Prudhommeaux, Charles-Brun; Trésorier, M. Hector Guimard; Membres du Comité, MM. Emile Arnaud et Jacques Dumas.

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS OF JAPAN early in June had merged with it the International Japan Association, so as to avoid duplication of labor and to promote efficiency of operation. According to the official definition of its purpose, the association is to include all other societies that exist to promote the formation of a World League of Nations for securing international justice, mutual defense, and permanent peace. The association will investigate and study the League of Nations, publish and circulate literature and arrange for public meetings, and send representatives to the conference of the League of Nations. Baron E. Shibusawa is president, and Baron Y. Sakatani and Dr. J. Soeda vice-presidents. The members of the board of directors are: Dr. M. Anezaki, professor of Imperial University, Tokio; Dr. S. Takahashi, Mr. T. Miyaoko, attorney-at-law, special correspondent of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Japan; Mr. D. Tagawa, M. P., and other eminent men of international spirit. The association practically covers, in its board of councilors, representatives of all the various organizations of international spirit in Japan.

THE REVOLUTION IN BOLIVIA, July 12, which brought Dr. José Maria Escalier, chief of the Republican party, into power and overthrew the government of José Gutierrez, is destined to have reverberations beyond Bolivia, and may decidedly alter the relations of Bolivia and Chili. Indeed, already Chili has mobilized part of her army near her northern frontier. Beside the personal aspects of the situation, it also is complicated with important consequences to the Tacna-Arica controversy and the unceasing and quite natural desire of Bolivia for an outlet to the sea. President Guerra wished for an outlet through Arica, which is in dispute between Chili and Peru. Escalier and his party prefer an outlet through Antofagasta, a port that Chili won from Bolivia in the war of 1880. By this change of aim Bolivia gets rid of being involved in any way in the Peruvian-Chilian dispute over Arica, and therefore will be freer to live on friendly terms with Peru. If fighting over the issue can be avoided for a while, it is not at all improbable that the League of Nations will be appealed to as an arbiter. Indeed, Bolivia has taken the first steps toward this solution. Chili vows she will never give up her ports, League or no League, and with her usual truculence is rattling the saber.

RUSSIA AND HER RELATIONS to the rest of the world, being still the greatest as it is the most difficult of our international problems, needs to be understood by the widest possible number of persons the world around. There is a "hands off Russia" committee in England. For the benefit of its speakers it has recently issued a manifesto in the form of nineteen points; the points follow:

1. The workers of Russia, by a supreme effort in November, 1917, threw off the shackles of Tsardom and capitalism.

2. In the past two years they have suffered untold hardships in maintaining their ideals of a Socialist State.

3. The Allies have waged war with them on every front, and have carried on a blockade, increasing the sufferings and the mortality of Russian men, women, and children.

4. The action of the Allies in general, and Great Britain in particular, against Russia in supplying poison gas, bombs, and tanks to the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries is one of the greatest crimes ever recorded in history.

5. In spite of all these difficulties, the Russian workers and peasants have won through.

6. General Denikin has retired to the Cadogan Hotel, in London, Yudenitch absconded with the war chest, and Koltchak has perished.

7. What capitalist government or bourgeois form of government in Europe could have survived so long under such immense difficulties, if it had not behind it the will of the majority of its people?

8. The Bolsheviks have been blackened by a foul campaign of lies in almost every organ of the capitalist press. These stories have been contradicted by every independent observer who has visited Soviet Russia.

9. The full extent of the atrocities and pogroms committed under the leadership of the counter-revolutionary generals dwarfs even those alleged atrocities into insignificance.

10. The bourgeois governments of the Allies are still intriguing against the workers of Soviet Russia.

11. Lord Curzon's appeal to the Bolsheviks to cease hostilities and to guarantee the inviolability of the Crimea, in order to avoid further bloodshed, was followed immediately by an offensive by the Japanese in Siberia, General Wrangel in Crimea, and the Poles in Podolia. The Japanese representative, Mr. Matsundaira, betrayed the true significance of these offensives by stating publicly that Japan was not acting separately, but that her policy had the approval of the Allies. This should be a lesson to the Bolsheviks and also to the organized workers of Great Britain not to trust the declarations of the Allied diplomats.

12. It is to the interest of the organized workers of Great Britain to bring about peace with Russia, even if the point of view of humanity were alone considered.

13. After what has happened in Hungary, Finland, and Germany great numbers of workmen will certainly perish in Russia should the reactionaries win.

14. The economic situation in Europe also necessitates peace.

15. After the widespread destruction caused by the imperialistic war, the energy of millions of men employed in destructive work should be diverted to productive work of social usefulness to mankind.

16. The present House of Commons will not make peace with Russia unless it is forced to do so.

17. Direct action released the Sinn Feiners who were in

prison; direct action raised the railway men's wages, and direct action is the one thing of which the bourgeois is afraid.

18. His Majesty King George V created a precedent of a down-tools policy by advocating a general cessation of work on November 11 as a reminder of Armistice day.

19. The undersigned appeal to you to demand that the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress and the E. C. of the Labor Party should convene a national conference, without a moment's avoidable delay, in order to declare a national "down-tools" policy of 24 hours to force the British Government to make peace with Russia.

Signed, for the National "Hands off Russia" Committee,

ROBERT SMILLIE (President, Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

TOM MANN (General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of Engineers).

JOHN BROMLEY (General Secretary, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen).

ISAAC BRASSINGTON (Organizing Secretary, National Union of Railway Men).

A. E. MANDER (Secretary, National Union of Ex-Servicemen).

COLONEL MALONE, M. P. (Victimized by the British Government for daring to tell the truth about Soviet Russia).

PRINCIPAL W. T. GOODE (Kidnapped by the British Government to prevent his telling the truth about Soviet Russia).

JAMES WINSTONE (South Wales Miners' Federation).

TOM MYERS, M. P.

BEN C. SPOOR, M. P.

GEORGE LANSBURY (Editor, *Daily Herald*).

DR. R. DUNSTAN (Parliamentary Labor Candidate, Rusholme).

WM. GALLACHIE (Clyde Workers' Committee).

DAVID KIRKWOOD (Clyde Workers' Committee).

GEORGE PEET (National Secretary, Shop Stewards).

J. E. MILLS, M. P.

CAPTAIN GREENFELL (Naval Attaché at Leningrad, 1912-1917).

(MRS.) M. BAMBER (Organizer, Warehouse Workers' Union).

ALEC GOSSIP (General Secretary, Furnishing Trades' Association).

A. G. CAMERON (General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners).

FRED SHAW (District Secretary, Amalgamated Society of Engineers).

R. J. DAVIES (Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees).

LETTER BOX

PORTLAND, OREGON, May 27.

DEAR MR. CALL:

I most truly and sincerely regret—and I presume it is the same all over the land—that the war, in a great measure, smashed everything pertaining to the universal peace movement. In fact, most people would not listen to anything reasonable on the subject, and they seem to be under the influence of the idea that the U. S. must have a strong army and "the largest navy" of any power. When we add to this some of the strange demands of the boys who returned from oversea service, such as the prohibition of periodicals in foreign languages, etc., it reminds one of the progress of German kultur in Germany since and as a result of the Franco-Prussian War of 1871.

Nevertheless, we must not surrender to the influences of militarism in spite of its temporary ascendancy over the unthinking majorities. They will soon enough realize the actual meaning of the devastation and ever-increasing burdens of the war as a result of the criminality of those who

eternally scheme to profit at the expense of their lives and fortunes. Because of this we must hold the field, even though it be in face of difficulties and unjust accusations, for surely in so far as the cause we represent is just it will and must triumph. Herein is the encouragement for the promotion of our work throughout the whole civilized world, and more especially throughout the English-speaking lands. To this end let us all work, both individually and collectively.

Fraternally yours,

WM. H. GALVANI.

LA JOLLA, CALIF., May 14.

DEAR MR. CALL:

I read carefully and prize highly each number of the *ADVOCATE* and place the views on the League and treaty it expresses among the sanest within my knowledge. I have been with Senator Knox ever since his first speech, which I heard sitting in the Senate gallery.

Sincerely yours,

BRIG.-GEN. R. H. PRATT.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. By Douglas Goldring. Thomas Seltzer, New York City. Pp. 98. \$1.25.

This is one of a series of plays for a people's theater, appearing simultaneously in England, Switzerland, Germany, and this country, the series to make available at a low cost much of the radical literature of Europe. Henri Barbusse, who writes a preface for the book, says that "humanity has not yet attained to the heights of its ideals"; and in this fact he finds the source of all evil. What he means, no doubt, is the same as has been expressed by another thinker, who has said recently that the race is much farther ahead, scientifically considered, than it is when judged socially. In Goldring's opinion evidently this social betterment is to come from revolution of standards of marriage and relations between the sexes. The play is a "play of revolt," expressed in terms of satire and girding at the "conventions" of an Anglican clergyman's home. For purposes of experimental reading, to see how this radical propaganda is subtly put across to the reader, this play is excellent.

LELULL. By Romain Rolland. Bond & Liveright, New York City. Pp. 123. \$1.75.

The thirty-two woodcuts which "illustrate" this farce by the Franco-German thinker have all that "extreme breadth," boldness of draftsmanship, vivid contrast in black and white, conscious crudity, and open artistic revolt which are to be found in the pictures of radical journals of all continents at the present time.

Rolland, forsaking the tragic for a time, has turned to the comic, though in an Aristophanic vein, and he has produced another philippic against war and contemporary civilization, incidentally disillusioning such persons as retain ideals. Quite the most searching character of the book is Polichinello, who, in the course of one of his many speeches, ridicules the Society of Nations idea as usually held. He says: "Which would you like best—to be disemboweled, broiled, punctured, squashed, boiled, roasted, or (the last fashion) electrocuted? We will only draw the line, for your good, at the barbarous, the common—at submarine and stinking gases; in a word, badly bred death and uncivilized war. But you will lose nothing by that! We police war. Let us polish it, gentlemen, and re-polish it. What should we be without war? It is through war that peace has its price. And it is by means of war that we are building up in saecula per saecula the Society of Nations. For everything hangs together; follow me carefully. Without nations there could be no Society of Nations. And no nation, no war. No war, no nation. Well, then, all is very well and will be much better. Count on us. Give us a free hand. We know so well how to mix black and white, right and might, peace and war, concocting war-like peaces

and peace-bringing wars, we shall embellish nature so skillfully that you won't be able to recognize her at all." So the acrid, mordant talk runs on.

RED TERROR AND GREEN. By Richard Dawson. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City. Pp. 265.

IRELAND AN ENEMY OF THE ALLIES. By R. C. Escouffaire. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City. Pp. 268.

The common aim of these two books, which it has taken some risk for the publishers to issue, is to show Americans the revolutionary character of the Sinn Fein government in Erin and its sympathy with extreme radicals throughout Europe, and indeed in Asia wherever British rule goes. Though rebuffs, recently suffered at the Republican and the Democratic National Conventions by American advocates of the Irish Republic, have somewhat chastened Sinn Fein adherents in Ireland and in the United States, the propaganda in the United States goes on, funds are still being collected, and the issue is to be carried to the polls in November. This is frankly admitted. To read the evidence in these books relative to the methods used in trying to force a separation between Ireland and Great Britain is to "get an arrest of thought," to put it mildly. Admittedly written from the Ulster and Conservative English standpoint, they at the same time provide the reader with the text of documents of great value, the testimony of which is rather shattering to American Liberals' ideas of how a nation should revolt if revolt it must. There is too much "end justifies the means" fighting on both sides in Ireland now to make defenders of universal principles of law and order happy. It has come to be a case of "dog eat dog." To the average American Sir Edward Carson seems as pernicious as De Valera.

PAN-AMERICANISM: ITS BEGINNINGS. By Joseph Lorne Lockey. The Macmillan Company, New York City. Pp. 467, with bibliography and index. \$5.00.

This book is the fruit of research work done in Columbia University under the direction and with the counsel of Prof. John Bassett Moore. It is as replete with information as the author could make it by reference to the historical collections in this country, one of which, that of the Hispanic Society of New York City, is specially rich in newspapers.

The author in this volume hints at two others to follow. In this one he covers the period when the nations of Latin-America had a continental solidarity. Common traditions of revolt from Spain, common perils from Nature and common difficulties in experimenting with republicanism naturally tended to create continental solidarity. With this era this volume deals. Later came a time of particularism and distrust, and now we are seeing a return of the ideal of fraternal co-operation. On these distinct later phases of the evolution of the republics of the south the author intends to comment later.

Note should be made of the difficulty this author has of finding any common ground in the utterances of statesmen for defining precisely what "Pan-Americanism" is. It can be described fairly accurately, but not defined. The author has written well and copiously on the origin of the Monroe Doctrine and the reactions to it by the nations which it was formulated to protect and over which it has spread benignly. Just at this time in history all projects for anything like a league or confederation of states take on new interest; and especially worth while was Bolivar of Colombia's plan, framed in 1822, to which he tried to get the other republics to assent. It was a plan finding its crown in a system of conciliation, arbitration, and judicial decree, calling for no force and no surrender of sovereignty. One gets from this book a clear understanding of the policies of Bolivar, Canning, Henry Clay, and John Quincy Adams, policies that, just because they were so sensible, have, on the whole, suffered no change to this day.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PEACE TREATIES. By Arthur Pearson Scott. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Pp. 281. \$2.00 net.

Professor Scott, of the department of history at the University of Chicago, has compiled this book for the average

reader and not for technical scholars, whether in history or international law. It assembles either the full text or summaries of the important documents and provides explanatory comments on the same. The historical part of the work is accurate as far as it goes.

THE REBIRTH OF KOREA. By *Hugh Heung-Wo-Cynn*. The Abingdon Press, New York and Cincinnati. Pp. 222, with appendices. \$1.50.

The author is a Korean graduate of the University of Southern California, now principal of one of the Methodist schools in Seoul. He sets forth the "patriotic" side of the controversy with Japan, and gives a clear account of the special perils that Christian missions and missionaries have had to face. The book is one of the most moving records of assertion of right by a conquered people that modern history can furnish. Told in other ways corroborative of this narrative and brought to the attention of the Federal Council of Churches of the United States, the general attack has had its share in forcing reforms in government from the Tokio government. Officialdom did not dare to let the public opinion of the world center disapprovingly any longer upon Korean effort to Japonify a more ancient people. The situation was fast becoming an international scandal owing to practices described in this book. Something had to give way. New Korea is in civilian governors' hands; and nominally, at least, the effort to make Japanese out of Koreans by use of repression has ceased. If this Korean educator is still somewhat skeptical about the sincerity of the pledges, it is not surprising in view of what he has seen and suffered.

AN IRISHMAN LOOKS AT HIS WORLD. By *George A. Birmingham*. George A. Doran, New York City. Pp. 307.

As the author of clever fiction about Ireland, this cleric of the Protestant persuasion has given delight to a large circle of American readers. In this book he drops his pen-name and settles down to a serious discussion of Irish politics, religion, culture, education, social stratification, and future history. He distributes his condemnation without fear or favor; hence it is one of the best books on the island and its problems that is available for information of the man who cannot go to Dublin, Cork, and Belfast and see for himself how intricate the problem is. No solution, answer, or scheme is given by the author when he comes to sum up. Indeed, he hints that constitutions and politics, revolutions, constructions, and reconstructions matter very much less than the world thinks they do. He would have the Irish people concentrate more on a form of education that makes men, a process that goes on continuously from the cradle to the grave. In short, he is a parson who stresses character-building more than State carpentry. But he writes acutely, wittily, and discursively about matters that other folks usually grow solemn in debating; hence the charm of the book.

"BARBAROUS" SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Isaac McBride*. Thomas Seltzer, New York City. Pp. 155, with valuable appendices giving the text of documents of state. \$2.50 net.

This is a friendly report on conditions seen with his own eyes by an American journalist, and also is valuable for its reports of interviews with Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Gorky. Like all other books on the subject, it has to be read with the personal equation in mind and the political and economic preferences of the author kept in view. To write dispassionately and objectively about Russia and its revolution seems to be beyond the power of any non-Russian at the present time. Keeping this fact in mind, the book has its merits; and especially is this so of its appendices. They give the text of papers which can be analyzed in the light of the world's past political experience and form a register of new ideas and ideals in government which have come to stay and with which the world has to reckon. Mr. McBride does not deny that Soviet Russia has both seemed and been "barbarous" on occasions, and he is not a naïve thinker who expects a revolution to be a rose-water affair. On the other hand, he shows that in many of its policies the Lenin gov-

ernment is far ahead of western Europe in providing for education and recreation for the masses, and that much that has been done in the way of use of force has been compelled by the tactics of enemies who hate the social aims the Russians are fighting for.

OUR GREAT WAR AND THE GREAT WAR OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS. By *Gilbert Murray*. Thomas Seltzer, New York City. Pp. 85.

This lecture by the Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford is a study of the criticism passed on the war party at Athens by their contemporaries. Do his best to be icily, coldly critical, nothing that this humanist might write at such a time on such a theme could lack sidelights on the war through which he has passed and about which he has written so much more sanely than most of his countrymen, just because he has had an historical perspective and knows the past as well as the present of the race. For he is of the school of writers on history and literature who use the constructive imagination, but who also know that they cannot imagine effectively without the use of their own experiences. He has no patience, as he says in this book, with those savants who suppose that man can attain truth "by some sure mechanical process without ever committing himself to the fallible engine of his own personality." Consequently he proceeds to show how the personal equation shaped the judgments of historians, Greek and modern, upon great figures in the Peloponnesian war; Cleon, for instance. He was a "blood-thirsty sans-culotte" to Passow; a pure demagogue to Mitford; a much-abused radical to Grote, and is now rated as a leader in a great social and economic movement by Ferrero and Zimmern, who write all history from the economic, determinist standpoint. As for Professor Murray, he is content with Thucydides' judgment, namely, that Cleon was "the most violent of the citizens and at that time most persuasive to the multitude."

The implication of this line of argument by the Oxford classicist is that most of the judgments of men upon men have to be discounted in the light of the time in which they lived, the social caste to which they belonged, the interests which suffered or gained by the conduct of the men they condemn or praise. Parties and persons in ancient Athens and Sparta when their great war came exhibited precisely the same lines of class cleavage, pacifism, sympathy with their state's foes, that we have seen. There was a Peace-by-Negotiation party led by Nicias and a Knock-Out-Blow party led by Cleon. Upon this dispute and its consequences Professor Murray comments: "Providence, unusually indulgent, vouchsafed to both parties the opportunity of proving they were right."

In few books of the hour dealing with "the war" and with war in general is there crowded into so few pages so much comment that provokes thought, and that not always of a winsome or soporific kind. It is refreshing reading after the innumerable tomes now appearing dealing with war finance, war economics, reparations, settlement of debts, and emphasis on the material conditions of a wracked world. You are brought up face to face with some of those "constants" of humanity which Moses, Jesus, and Kant knew in their day, but which nineteenth century man, with his adoration of science and wealth, overlooked. Humanity is now paying the price of this bowing down to idols.

TOUCH AND GO. By *D. H. Lawrence*. Thomas Seltzer, New York City. Pp. 103. \$1.25.

A play written for the People's Theater series by an author whose reputation as poet and as a story-writer has given him considerable "vogue" in "advanced" British and American literary circles. The play has to do with conditions in a British colliery town and the clash between capital and labor. The author is deft in dialogue, has considerable skill in creating "characters," and he preaches a theory of social relations which indicates that he is not a lover of the arbitrary authority and brutality of the labor leaders any more than he is of the craft and autocracy of the capitalists. He senses the tragedy as well as the disaster of the economic war.

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A Governed World

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of practically every accredited peace society and constructive peaceworker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that, it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all

other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

Concerning international organization, adopted by the American Peace Society, January 22, 1917, and by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917.

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the Powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

OUR INTERNATIONAL POLICY ON THE WAY

IT is a fact not without interest that the United States, though not a member of the League of Nations, is having a dominating influence in the formation of a most significant world policy. This nation, thought so seriously to have damaged the idea of a League of Nations, is in the interesting position of witnessing its own viewpoint and experience dominating in a most vital manner the international plans for a governed world.

The Council of the League of Nations at its meeting in London, February 13, 1920, decided to go about the establishment, under Article 14 of the Covenant, of an International Court of Justice. The Council invited ten men of international eminence to form a Commission to perfect plans for the organization of such a court. This international committee of jurists began its deliberations at The Hague Peace Palace, June 16, 1920, the Belgian Minister of State, Baron Descamps, presiding. The real labors of this Commission started promptly the next day. Questions involving the principles of law upon which the new court must act, the methods of selecting the judges, the types of cases, matters of jurisdiction, all became subjects for study, discussion, and decision. According to our special corre-

spondent, some of whose material relating to other aspects of the League of Nations appears elsewhere in these columns, all these matters have been adjusted. The High Court of Nations, pleaded for by the American Peace Society for nearly a century, is about to be realized, and this in conformity with the principles familiar and acceptable to every member of the American Peace Society, for the decisions reached by this group of learned jurists at The Hague are strictly consonant with the experience of American history and statesmanship.

That the United States, not a member of the League of Nations, should have a dominating influence in the formation of this permanent court of international justice might be thought to be an anomaly; but our correspondent, reflecting the atmosphere surrounding the Commission, writes to us that the reason is not far to seek. He says that it lies in the personality of two men—Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, and James Brown Scott, former solicitor of our State Department and Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. To their tact and judgment, he writes, is due much of the direction which the whole committee has taken as well as the fact that the court is to be a court wholly in line with American ideals and principles. It appears that these two men hold in the minds of representative jurists abroad a position unique among Americans.

This is true of Mr. Root because of his international utterances while Secretary of State, particularly because of his instructions issued to Mr. Choate and the other American delegates to the Second Hague Conference, May 31, 1907, in which he urged: "A development of The Hague tribunal into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility."

Dr. Scott, who sits alongside Mr. Root, is well known in Europe as the foremost commentator on The Hague conferences as well as the editor of many books on international matters. While not formally a member of the Commission, he has been given almost equal rank with the other members and is privileged to sit beside Mr. Root, both as adviser and translator. Our correspondent writes: "No other member of the committee has brought with him a man of the rank of Dr. Scott."

It is by virtue, therefore, of their prestige and merit that these two men, not representing the United States in any official sense, have been chosen from abroad for this great work. These men have been warmly welcomed by the other members of the Commission, first because of friendship and secondly because of their recognized merits and ability in the matter before the Commission. We are told that the Commission had not been sitting a week before it was plain that the court would follow exactly the lines of the Supreme Court of the United States, this in part from the logic of the situation, but particularly from the presentation of the analogy by Mr. Root. Thus the court is to be a court dealing with cases in accord with the principles of law and equity, not merely a court of mediation or arbitration, and that in conformity with the established principles of the Supreme Court of the United States.

We may recall that Mr. Root also said in 1907: "If there could be a tribunal which would pass upon questions between nations with the same impartial and impersonal judgment that the Supreme Court of the United States gives to questions arising between citizens of the different States, . . . there can be no doubt that nations would be much more ready to submit their controversies to its decision than they are now to take the chances of arbitration."

It is a further striking fact that it is American precedent which has enabled the Commission to solve the only outstanding difficulty that made the establishment of such a court impossible at The Hague Conference in 1907. As is well known, it was not then possible to agree upon a satisfactory method of choosing the judges. The great Powers demanded that they always be represented; and the smaller Powers, realizing that they were also sovereign States, demanded their equality. So the plan failed. But that difficulty has now been met and overcome.

The facts in the consummation of this are interesting. The League of Nations exists *de facto* and *de jure*. Whatever its faults, it is at least the outline of an international organization. It seems to be based on the double principle that the Assembly shall be made up of representatives of all the States on an equal footing, and that the Council shall be made up of representatives of the nine most powerful States. It has been thought that if each of these organs could select a panel the Council would protect the interests of the larger States, and the Assembly the interests of the smaller. In such a situation the problem of selecting judges could not be left either to the one or to the other, or, indeed, to both. In the presence of this situation, and in less than three weeks' time, the Commission has been able to outline a complete and satisfactory plan. The hitherto unsolv-

able conflict between the big Powers and the little Powers has been solved. The court is to consist at the outset of eleven judges and four alternate judges, serving for a term of nine years. It is to sit permanently at The Hague. Its purpose will be to decide all cases arising as between nations under law and equity. It is not to take the place of, but to form a complement to, the existing Court of Arbitral Justice. Each will retain its functions of dealing with all cases of international arbitration.

The first step in the selection of the judges is a matter of nomination. It has been decided to intrust this original nomination to the permanent Court of Arbitral Justice existing at The Hague since 1899. By this means it is thought that only men of the highest judicial character will be nominated. Furthermore, it will not be necessary under such plan for any government to commit itself before the actual time of decision. The four jurists of each nation, now a part of the general panel of the International Court of Arbitration existing through twenty-one years, will be requested to form a national group to select not over six candidates for the panel of the new court, of which candidates not over two may be of their own nationals. This national group of four each will naturally make its selections in consultations with the highest judicial authorities in their respective countries, such as the highest existing national court, the various international law societies, the bar associations, and the like. The result of this would naturally be to provide a long list chosen on the broadest principles. Thus members of the general panel of the court are to be nominated.

Next comes the matter of selection. It is proposed that the list of candidates thus nominated by the established Court of Arbitral Justice shall be submitted to the Council and to the Assembly of the League of Nations. Each body will then proceed by a majority vote to its choice of the necessary number of judges for the International Court. Naturally there will probably be some jurists who will receive a majority of votes, both in the Council and in the Assembly. Such men will be declared selected as judges forthwith. If, however, because of disagreement, the list is not thus completed, each electoral body, knowing more exactly the views of the other body, will then proceed to another ballot. If this does not complete the matter and a deadlock is created, it is proposed that the two electoral bodies shall each appoint a committee of three members to discuss privately with a similar committee from the other body the probable bases of agreement. The final decision may thus be reduced to the mediation of these men, who would be free to agree upon any names, whether on the original list of candidates or not. If, however, the re-

port of such a joint mediation committee fails of acceptance, provision is made that any places remaining vacant shall be filled by the vote of the judges who already have been selected to compose the court. If the Assembly and the Council should not agree to this panel thus selected, the powers of the Assembly and Council shall be considered as defaulted, and the choice as finally made shall stand. Thus, in any event, the selection of the judges is assured.

The plan is felt, therefore, to meet every conceivable difficulty. The original nomination of candidates by a body such as The Hague Court of Arbitral Justice assures the choice not only of the best qualified, but of men truly representative of the various judicial systems of the world. Under the plan of selection as proposed, the court can and will be brought into existence. Even if the League of Nations should cease to be, the court can go on.

Here we have an international policy to which all nations and all parties can subscribe. There is nothing here of coercion of States except that coercion of public opinion, the only sanction of any peaceful settlement of international disputes. True, this is only the judicial branch of the Society of Nations that is to be. True, the political branch must be developed also. The creation of the new laws by duly selected representatives of all the nations, laws which shall be returned to the various powers for ratification, is also necessary. Hence there must be the equivalent of a Third Hague Conference, periodical and permanent. If only the present so-called League of Nations could eliminate those features of it now clearly seen to be wrong, principles contrary to the teachings of history and a menace to the peace of the world, and turn itself into such a general representative body, the machinery of a governed world would then be complete. That would be a League of Nations to which the United States could and would subscribe.

The judicial branch of our governed world must develop *pari passu* with the political branch, for the former will exist to interpret the latter, and the latter must exist for the former. They are essentially complementary to each other, somewhat as our Congress and our Supreme Court are mutually complementary. The function of the League of Nations now is to turn its Assembly, its Council, its Disarmament Commission, its Mandate Commissions, its Health and Labor Commissions, and the rest, into a society of all the nations, meeting regularly and setting up their common agreements for the approval or disapproval of the various authorities back home. Thus there will be no violation of sovereignty, no strain upon common sense. We shall then have that meeting of minds, that common council

and association capable of providing those elements of law and order, those rules of action capable of expression, interpretation, and use in accord with the known and accepted principles of judicial settlement.

Thus, and thus only, can we establish the course of a just and peaceful international policy.

AS TO RUSSIA

WE HAVE sinned against Russia—some more than others, but we have sinned. Following the overthrow of the Empire, we wisely and proudly recognized the revolution. Since that time essentially every step taken by the nations outside Russia has been in the wrong direction. We have blockaded her ports; we have furnished arms to her enemies; we have treated her as incapable of solving her own problems. We have misrepresented the facts to her and about her, and the result has been a cumulative disaster. We ignored her at the Peace Conference in Paris. We have treated her as an Ishmael among the nations.

The problem has been a difficult one. It is true that there is no government duly elected by the people in Russia. The so-called Soviet Government is not a government by the consent of the governed; neither is it a government of laws. It is not, therefore, a democracy, but a tyranny. It is not Russian. It is not socialism. It is a class government, worse than Czarism, fed upon hatreds, fanaticisms, and violence.

We have been justified in refusing to recognize such a régime, self-assumed, increasingly bureaucratic and aggressive; but at no time have we been warranted in carrying on an armed intervention in that land.

Russia is having the experience of Britain in the middle of the seventeenth century and of France in the days of The Terror. It would have been well for the men in power outside Russia had they kept more clearly in mind those futile and discreditable policies during the French Revolution, policies shared in by Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia herself. Our attitude toward Russia should be the attitude of students rather than advocates or enemies. The thing going on there is not new; it is the result of one hundred years of revolutionary agitation, an agitation associated with the names of Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier. The thing going on in Russia has its lessons for all of us. We should study those lessons, for they will be of importance to us as we work out our own problems, especially during the next few years. To combat the movement in Russia by force has strengthened the movement there, not because the thinking and hopeful men of Russia are in sympathy with bolshevism, but because all parties have found it necessary to unite in the name

of Sovereign Russia. We have created that situation. The Polish military excursion into Russia was a mistake, for it strengthened immeasurably the forces of Lenin. Our military assistance to Poland has generated an ill will against us, an ill will that is significant, for there are nearly two hundred millions of people in Russia. It is possible that we might have helped the friends of the Constituent Assembly had we gone about it immediately following the armistice. That time has passed. As soon as it appeared that such assistance was impracticable we should have withdrawn from Russia and from all attempts to coerce her by force of arms. The fate of Russia should have been left in the hands of the Russian people. The blockade should have been removed, trade relations with Russian people should have been opened, and, when a government had been established by the will of the people, that government should have been recognized. That should have been the policy then—we are of the opinion that it should be the policy now. We do not believe that there is any danger of a reappearance of an Imperial Russia. We are of the opinion that the provinces of that vast country are destined to become members of a Russian federation and that those parts are to maintain both their freedom and sovereignty. The right of self-determination will be insisted upon by Russia as a whole and by each of its parts in turn. We believe these things. But whether or not such is to be the outcome of events in that great country, we are quite convinced that nothing is to be gained by the meddling policy pursued toward that land since November 11, 1918. We may not approve of the Soviet domination of the Russian press, of the party dictatorship, or the attitude of the men in power toward the co-operative unions, of all the wild idealisms; but it is not our business to run the affairs of Russia. We should remember that Russia has a right to exist in her own way so long as she commits no unlawful acts against us. She has a right to set up any form of government she chooses, as long as she does not interfere with our rights. She has the right to the exclusive control over her own territory and over all persons within that territory. It is our duty to respect and, if need be, to protect Russia in those rights. Had we remembered these simple, fundamental principles, when about the business of trying to end the war and establish permanent world peace, the people of Russia would have long since taken control of their own affairs and, we doubt not, established, through some form of Constituent Assembly, a Russian Government which we could have recognized and done business with long since.

But the point here is that under the principle of self-determination there is one way for Russia to take her place again in the society of nations; that is, for the

Russian people to take hold of Russian affairs and control them. In the meantime our course is plain: leave Russian affairs to the Russians.

A HISTORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF PARIS

MEN interested in a governed world are trying to organize an "Institute of International Affairs" which, as Lord Grey has remarked, should do for today what history attempts to do for the past—collect materials, show the relation and perspective of events, together with their value. The British section of the institute, having in mind these aims, has already issued Volume I of "A History of the Peace Conference of Paris," edited by H. W. V. Temperley, published by Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, Hodder and Stoughton. The price of the volume is forty-two shillings net.

This first volume is encouraging. The contributors are Englishmen and Americans, most of them present at the Paris Conference, all of them with exact information of the events with which they deal. They have given to us what seems to be an impartial record; yet it is a record that reveals, with no little success, the spirit of that historic series of conferences and decisions, beginning in the early days of December, 1918. It is not a work of special pleading for the Treaty of Versailles, yet it treats the Paris Conference as an honest and a constructive experiment in the interest of a promising international organization. It is a fact that the work is that of men close to the events which they describe. How true, therefore, the perspective may be remains for future historians to discover; for, as a London critic discriminatingly expresses it:

"Much must long remain obscure as to the inner history of the conference. We know from the letters of Gentz more about the motives of the chief actors in the Vienna Congress than the protocols tell us. The communications of Talleyrand to the French court give an insight into the course of events and passions of the actors not to be gathered from diplomatic verbiage. Only when the dispatches and letters of Castlereagh, Humboldt, Wellington, and Hardenberg saw the light were we fully aware of the jealousies, petty ambitions, and personal rivalries which counted for so much in 1815. Some day we shall read the private letters of the chief actors in the recent great drama; and there we shall find the *vrai verité* without the alloy always present in official documents or in memoirs written for purposes of self-exculpation or incrimination."

This first volume seems to be a fair and accurate description of the organization of the conference and the actual work of the groups composing it, giving to us a picture of the end of the war, the crises in Germany, the negotiations ending in the armistice. It gives also

the foundation in law of the international relations just before the signing of the treaties of peace.

The treaties, such as those with Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, are, we understand, to be treated in three succeeding volumes. A fifth and the last volume will deal with the settlement with Turkey and general conclusions relating to the treaties collectively.

Valuable as this little book is, our opinion is that the time is upon us when we should have a larger and completer series of volumes setting forth substantially all of the facts pertinent to the Conference in Paris. These facts are easily available, each of the foreign offices, at least of the Big Four, possessing them. They are surely in the State Department at Washington. They should be arranged, edited, and printed at once for the use of our libraries. They should be accessible to the people of America, especially at this time when men and women are trying to decide intelligently whom they should support as the next President of the United States. The social and economical revolution following inevitably upon the war would be influenced by the exact information still hidden in the archives. Out of such a revelation it would be possible for us to learn more of the origin of the war, of those fateful events in Bavaria, the Balkans, in Russia, back there in 1914. The newspapers at the time of the conference told us of the organization of the conference of the council of ten and the merging of the legal with the actual power; of the failure of the small States; of the six perfunctory plenary conferences; of the council of five, reduced first to four, and then to three; of the complete secrecy; of the suspicions and ill will; of the wasted work of the various commissions; of the devitalizing compromises; of the decisions accepted and reversed; of the failure to use the expert knowledge generously assembled at Paris; of the failure to remember the tragic weaknesses of the Congress of Vienna; of the selfishness everywhere; of the bulldozing of the weak by the strong; of the intrigues and heart-burnings. By relating these facts the book adds little to the common knowledge furnished by newspaper correspondents at the time to the world at large; but its treatment of reparations and restitutions, of the relation between the terms of the agreement before the armistice and subsequent events, is helpful and illuminating. Its documents and sketch maps, its refusal to promote any special policy, while evidently believing in some form of permanent international organization, gives to this first volume a scholarly quality quite reassuring and promising.

There cannot be too much publicity about this continuing chapter in history, some of the later sections of which are even more lurid and quite as portentous as were written in 1914. There is basis for the demand that there be "publicity about publicity."

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

BE THEY politicians or be they embodiments of high-strung empty-headedness, we render no service by attempting to alienate Great Britain and the United States. We may have differences, we may have irritations; but fundamentally the major portion of the sons of America are the sons of Britain. It may be an easy way for hungry politicians to feed their appetites for expression, without doing violence to any local interest, to twist the lion's tail; but it is an old, old subterfuge and outgrown on its face. Whatever the motives, it is true that the portion of our citizenship of German descent has not been so vocal against Great Britain as have some of our Anglo-Saxon stocks. If differences arise they should be settled in accordance with the principles of right; but it is cheap and tawdry to perpetuate, by innuendo or direct flings, animosities between the two great English-speaking peoples of the world.

It is a pleasure, therefore, to recall two recent events affecting the relations of Britain and America. There is, first, the conference of British and American professors of English—a conference between a score of delegates from various universities of the United States, including Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago, and some hundred of British university professors. Such a conference must be helpful. As the *London Times* expresses it: "The precise outcome, except an accession of friendship, it would be difficult to formulate. But there should be some definite, though perhaps temporarily intangible, effect on the language. The Americans will certainly take with them, for the ultimate benefit of their students, an increased perception of our literary and linguistic ideals, while the Englishmen can hardly avoid enlightenment on the ideals of America." The *Times* adds pertinently: "Both have much to learn from one another; and it is a pity the ordinary men of both countries cannot come together in like fashion, to assimilate the varieties of English; for the language depends ultimately on the ordinary men."

The other and more deeply significant event was the funeral service of Major-General William C. Gorgas, of the United States Army, in Saint Paul's Cathedral, July 9. That funeral service under the direction, most appropriately, of the British Ministry of Health, was an expression of the fundamental respect and friendship existing between this and the mother country. To quote again from the *London Times*: "With silent respect the people watched the military procession that escorted the coffin to Saint Paul's, while in the cathedral assembled a congregation representative of the Empire, the two Americas and the continent, and of many interests in all of them. It is no new thing for

a distinguished American so to be honored in Saint Paul's, but a good thing, as every observer seemed to feel."

We may not approve of all the British ways of empire in Ireland, in Mesopotamia, in India and Egypt; we know there are many Britains who disapprove of those ways. But, in the large, Britain has been a great civilizing agency around the world, shedding intelligence and justice in the dark corners everywhere. Upon the enduring principles of law and civil liberty Great Britain and America have thought and wrought alike. In spite of differences, therefore, Great Britain and the United States should continue shoulder to shoulder, for upon that depends much of the future peace and happiness of the world. Not that we may catch more flies with molasses than with vinegar; but that we may retain the dignity of a self-respecting people given to minding our own business, it would seem the course of right mindedness to leave unsaid those things calculated to break down the friendship between this and any other nation. Especially is this true of our relations with Britain now and always.

SIZE AND PRINCIPLE

IT IS an old and truthful saying that there is as much principle in a cent as there is in a dollar. There is as much principle in our treatment of small States as there is in our relations with the large. Our State Department has done the right thing toward Costa Rica; it has recognized the government of that most southern of the Central American States.

Costa Rica has a population less than that of the city of Washington; but it is a free, sovereign, and independent State. Its business relates for the most part to bananas and coffee. Having been first discovered by Columbus in 1502 and settled in 1523, it has something of the claims incident to age; but its primary claim rests on the fact that it is a republic, a nation.

The details leading to this most recent act of our State Department are not without interest. On the 27th of January, 1917, the then Constitutional Government of Costa Rica was overthrown by one Federico Tinoco. As a result of this *coup*, President Gonzalez was forced to flee the country. When the question appeared before the United States Government whether we should recognize the new order, President Wilson issued a pronouncement, setting forth the principle that the United States could not recognize a revolutionary government in Latin American countries. This meant that we declined to recognize Tinoco's régime on the ground that his government did not represent the will of the people of Costa Rica. As a result of this

policy, Federico Tinoco left Costa Rica in August, 1919. The following month his government fell. As a result of an election, Julio Acosta became President in accordance with the constitution of that country. On the theory that the new President holds his office as a result of the freely expressed will of the people of Costa Rica, our government has recognized the new order of things in that country and diplomatic relations are to be resumed.

AN INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

A SPECIAL correspondent contributes to this issue facts pertaining to the formation of the International Chamber of Commerce, from which some considerable consolation may be derived at a time when it is woefully lacking in other narratives of happenings in Europe.

Not without significance is the fact that manufacturers, traders, bankers of Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and the United States, who had planned for this happy consummation ere the war began, continued their negotiations while the war was on, and as soon as possible after the armistice was signed proceeded to federate the separate national chambers and to lay down a platform which will admit all nations that accept the international creed defined in the chamber's organic law.

Neither the group of idealists—who at the same time are successful business men—that had brought this organization into being, nor we, are so naïve or sanguine as to suppose that of a sudden nations that go to war for new territory, for wider markets and additional areas in which to invest "surplus wealth" will become "internationalized" in point of view. Events since the armistice with Germany and since the Treaty of Versailles was signed would chill any such hope. But it is encouraging that such an organization now exists; that it plans to include as many national groups as possible, and that it has defined a program so genuinely educational in its details. Statesmen hereafter must reckon with it just as national lawmakers in the United States have come to see that they must listen to the united opinion of the more than three thousand local chambers of commerce federated in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

This international organization has time and dire necessity on its side now. The facts as to destruction of wealth, compiled by Mr. Austin, which we print in this number of the *ADVOCATE*, are of a kind that will aid the propagandists of this cause when they go out to seek members. Even German "captains of industry" and bankers must understand now that nationalistic

commercialism, employing force and relying on an army to win for it new markets, when it comes under the blast of the tornado of wrath that a challenge to liberty involves, is a reed shaken in the wind. The fathers and mothers of the world are not going to let the trading, banking, and manufacturing circles of victorious nations capitalize the valor of dead soldiers, as usually has been the case in the past.

KING ALBERT of Belgium, not long since, went over the Verdun region in France. He had a "Blue Devil" guide. The latter quotes the monarch as saying, after he left the scene of terrible carnage, "Sherman said all that there is to be said about war in three words." Brevity sometimes is the soul of wisdom as well as of wit.

WAR censorship of news was severely criticized at the recent meeting of the British Imperial Press Congress sitting in Ottawa. Other resolutions carried showed that the iron has gone deeply into the souls of working journalists who have had their freedom hampered since 1914. But hardly has escape from one foe been compassed when another appears in the form of great cable, telegraph, and telephone monopolies that plan not only to distribute news, but also to control it. Happily the new Premier of the Dominion, Arthur Meighen, in his formal speech, welcoming journalists from the empire to the Dominion, said: "The distribution of news is now the greatest trust in the whole body democratic. The opportunities for good were infinite; the possibilities of mischief just as vast."

MR. H. G. WELLS, in a speech he recently made before the first hundred British airmen, pioneers in the art of aviation, spoke with the authority of a scientist and with that imagination which led him long before aviation became practicable to indicate in his quasi-scientific fiction what it might ultimately do. In this speech he called attention to the internationalizing effect which aviation for normal commercial and touring purposes is bound to have upon life in Europe. The present network of boundaries and the rapidly developing code of control of flyers by passports, examinations by customs officers, and like measures, will strangle the new art of navigation for a time. Then will come a revolt against the "hopeless futility" of dealing with the new mode of intercommunication on any nationalistic or imperialistic basis. Mr. Wells sees so much farther, often, than any statesman of his time that his words are a welcome addition to the collection of optimistic opinions about the future of civilization.

THE AALAND ISLANDS' DISPUTE AND THE LEAGUE

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE case of the Aaland Islands, now before the Council of the League of Nations, is of peculiar interest, not only because it directly concerns peace between Sweden and Finland, but still more because it shows for the first time the successive steps by which the League of Nations may be called in to prevent war.

Curiously enough, this dispute has brought into play nearly every method of procedure open to the Council, including the bringing up of the case by a disinterested party, the status before the Council of a small State not a member of the Council and of another State not a member of the League, and the reference of the purely judicial elements of the problem to a court of justice. Regardless of the immediate problem involved, the dispute is vitally important as outlining a method of international co-operation wholly unknown until the creation of the League of Nations.

By way of preface, it should be said that the Aaland Islands form a small archipelago contiguous to the shores of Finland. A part of Russia until the break-up of the old Empire, they are now claimed by Finland on the grounds of inheritance and of contiguity, and by Sweden on the ground of self-determination. The contest between the two States has become so bitter that Sweden has temporarily withdrawn her minister from Helsingfors and war has been freely predicted.

It was at this point that the League of Nations began to function. Great Britain, a third party, with no interest in the dispute except as it involved the general preservation of peace, referred the matter on June 19 to the Council of the League of Nations, under Article XI of the Covenant, which says: "It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever, affecting international relations, which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends." Automatically, therefore, a process looking toward a peaceful solution was set in motion. This process would have been impossible under the pre-war system of international disorganization before the creation of the League machinery. By means of it a disinterested State was enabled, as a matter of right and without assuming an unfriendly attitude toward either contestant, to bring the question immediately before an existing world organization.

The facts of the case were sent immediately to all States in the League, the members of the Council were called together, and Sweden and Finland were invited to submit statements. The attention of the world thus became focused upon the dispute and the task of evolving a peaceful settlement became a matter of immediate international interest. It was exactly this step which was lacking in late July and August, 1914, when Sir Edward Grey made every effort to bring the nations together about a common conference table.

The Council assembled in London on July 9. The first question before it was the status of Sweden and Finland in the deliberations. Sweden was not a mem-

ber of the Council, while Finland was not even a member of the League. It was obvious, however, that both should participate in the discussions, in order that the decision might be arrived at voluntarily and by agreement of all.

Sweden was immediately admitted as a member of the Council, under Article IV of the Covenant, which says: "Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League."

Finland's position was more difficult, however, as, though that country has applied for membership in the League, she cannot be formally admitted until the first Assembly. Nevertheless, it was agreed by all members of the Council, including the representative of Sweden, that Finland should be accorded full rights of membership.

Thereupon both nations presented their cases, first by written statements and later by verbal explanations. The arguments need not be discussed in detail, for they are wholly overshadowed by the fact that an international organization existed where such arguments could be presented and weighed at all. Both nations, in short, placed their cases before what might be called the bar of international judgment, and were given the opportunity of learning the opinion of the disinterested outside world.

Vastly more than this, however, lay behind the meeting, because Sweden, as a member of the League, and Finland, as a State, having accepted the obligations of the League in this dispute, had bound themselves not to go to war until after the award of the Council, and even then not until after three months had elapsed. This, of course, would so postpone war as to give the agencies of peace and of world public opinion the fullest opportunity to act.

The interior workings of the Council in such cases were most advantageously illustrated in this particular dispute. Finland immediately claimed that the dispute was a wholly domestic one, beyond the reach of the League of Nations. She cited Article XV, which reads: "If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement."

This claim raised a direct question of law. The first step, then, was not the bringing about of a rapprochement between the two parties, but rather the interpretation of various local documents. Obviously, that phase of the question could be far better handled in a court of law than in a council of diplomatic representatives.

Exactly this contingency is foreseen in Article XIV, which says that the Permanent Court of International Justice may "give an advisory opinion upon any question or dispute referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly." In other words, special care has been taken to allow the diplomatic branch of the League of Nations to separate disputes into their component parts, in order that purely legal questions may be entrusted to a purely

legal body. This is a great stride in advance of anything that has hitherto been possible and very largely affects the charge that Council decisions will be based on purely political considerations.

As it happens, the Permanent Court is now in the process of formation and as a result it has been necessary, in the Aaland case, to refer the legal question to a special committee of three jurists. Care is to be taken to appoint men who not only are recognized as impartial, but who come from smaller nations, having no material interest in the question.

The League is proceeding on the principle that it is far better to take necessary time to arrive at a decision the justice of which cannot be disputed than to take a hasty, ill-formed conclusion, which would discredit belief in the League's impartiality. It is hoped that, when the jurists report on the legal point and the Council goes on to offer a solution of the whole broad question, world public opinion, and especially that in Finland and Sweden, will accept that decision as eminently just and wise.

Meanwhile the situation naturally remains delicate. At the meeting on July 12 Mr. Balfour, as President of the Council, asked both the Swedish and Finnish representatives to give public assurance that they would take every precaution not to aggravate it. Both of these men, standing before the Council and the public, acceded to this request. Thus, for the first time, two nations have stood before the world and agreed to take no action to advance their own material interests during the time necessary for the other disinterested nations of the world to seek to work out for them a just and peaceful solution.

GROWTH IN NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE WORLD*

By O. P. AUSTIN

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THE national debts of the world now approximate \$265,000,000,000, against \$44,000,000,000 at the beginning of the great European war. The interest charges on the grand total now exceed \$9,000,000,000 per annum, as against about \$1,750,000,000 in the year before the war. The per capita of national indebtedness averages, for the aggregate population of all the countries for which debt figures are available, about \$150 per capita, against approximately \$27 per capita in 1913, and annual interest charges about \$6 per capita at the present time, as against about \$1 per capita in 1913.

These figures are, of course, in very round terms. It is not possible to measure with extreme statistical accuracy the total national indebtedness of the world in any designated month or year, since the official statements of national debt are in many cases comparatively infrequent and in some instances stated in terms not readily comparable with those of other countries, while the figures covering the interest rates on the various issues, and therefore the annual interest charges, are even more difficult.

In general terms, however, it may be stated that the

* From the June *The Americas*.

debts of all countries and colonies of the world in which national obligations are created and recorded aggregated a little over \$1,000,000,000 in the year 1700, \$2,500,000,000 at the beginning of the Napoleonic wars in 1793, and about \$7,000,000,000 at its close in 1816. In the thirty-eight years of comparative peace which followed the Napoleonic wars the advance was comparatively slow, the world total standing at about \$8,500,000,000 at the beginning of the Crimean War, in 1854. In the twenty years which included the Crimean, the American Civil, and the Franco-Prussian wars, the period 1854 to 1874, world national debts increased 150 per cent, advancing from \$8,500,000,000 in 1854 to \$22,000,000,000 in 1874. Then came a forty-year period, which included not only the Spanish-American, the British-Boer, the Balkan, and the Russo-Japanese wars, but also large expenditures for the creation and maintenance of big standing armies and great navies, as well as the construction of railways and telegraphs, many of them by national governments or through aid granted by them, and in that forty-year period, 1874 to 1914, national debts again doubled, standing at the beginning of the great European war at approximately \$44,000,000,000. Then came the great European war, with its enormous armies aggregating 30,000,000 men; its transportation of men, munitions, and food supplies across great oceans; its use of new devices for destruction on land and sea, in the air, and beneath the oceans, and the additions to national debts made thereby advanced by leaps and bounds, at a rate hitherto unheard of in any of the earlier wars, which sink into insignificance when compared with the magnitude in this one in which a dozen nations participated, and in the six years from its beginning, in 1914, to the present time world indebtedness grew from \$44,000,000,000 to approximately \$265,000,000,000, an actual increase in six years of over \$200,000,000,000, an average annual increase of \$35,000,000,000, as against an average of a little more than \$1,000,000,000 per annum in earlier years.

This appalling increase in world national indebtedness during the recent war is, as has been indicated, due in large degree to the magnitude of operations, the bigness of armies and navies, the transportation of men, munitions, and food supplies across great oceans, the creation and utilization of new devices for destruction on land and sea, in the air, and beneath the ocean, and also, in a not inconsiderable degree, to the fact that the paper currency in which these new obligations were created and with which their proceeds were expended was of a constantly decreasing value as measured by its gold backing, until in many cases only a shred of gold remained as the basis of the paper currencies with which the governmental securities were purchased or their proceeds used, and as a consequence much greater quantities of this currency, still measured in its original terms of face value, were required while all of the expenses of the official machinery of the respective governments correspondingly increased.

The purchasers of these new governmental securities have, therefore, the advantage of having purchased them with the use of a currency of low purchasing power and the expectation that the value of the currency in which they will be redeemed many years later will be greatly improved with the gradual deflation and return to some-

thing like normal or more nearly normal value of the currency of the countries which have been the principal participants in the national borrowings meantime. In certain of the important European countries the ratio of gold to outstanding notes was in the closing years of the war only about one-sixth as much as at the beginning of the war, and as a result of the low purchasing power of this currency much larger sums of it were required, and could only be obtained by borrowing. In fact, this low purchasing power of the currency in which the bonds were paid for may be looked upon as one of the chief factors in the bigness of the war debt.

Bond Sales Below Par a Factor

Still another factor in the great increase in quantity of securities issued is found in the fact that in many instances the sums realized for them were materially less than their face value, the issuing price of the securities of most of the European countries having been from 2 to 10 per cent, and in a few instances approximately 20 per cent, below their face values, and the sums thus realized for them materially less than that which they nominally represent and on which interest payments must be made, and final payment also made at their full face value, irrespective of the sums received for them when they were issued. This statement relates especially to the share of the debts classed as "funded" or "bonded." In a few countries, especially the United States, Australia, and in most of the issues of Canada, the issue of securities was made at the full face or par values, but in a very large proportion of the funded securities issued by the European governments the custom which has long prevailed on that continent of making the sales at something less than the nominal face value of the bonds prevailed during the war, increasing in intensity with the needs of the respective governments and the declining gold value of the currency utilized in payment for the securities issued. In fact, the sums which the European governments received for their funded debts created during the war was about \$5,500,000,000 below the face value of the securities issued.

The creation of national debts, which began with the Republic of Venice in 1171, was then declared justifiable in time of war upon the grounds that future generations should bear a part of the expense incurred in defense of the common country, and, from that time down to the present, the bulk of national debts has been accumulated by wars or in preparation for war. The additions to national debts in the period of the Napoleonic war was over \$200,000,000 per annum, dropping to an average of less than \$50,000,000 in the thirty-eight years from their close to the Crimean War, averaging about \$650,000,000 per annum in the twenty years 1854-74, which included the Crimean, the American Civil, and the Franco-Prussian wars. In the twenty-seven years between the close of the Franco-Prussian War to the great European war, a period which included the Spanish-American, the British-Boer, the Balkan, and the Russo-Japanese wars, and also the creation of great war organizations on land and sea and the construction of railway and telegraph lines, in part by government or governmental aid, the additions to national debts averaged about \$600,000,000 per annum, though in a few instances exceeded \$1,000,000,000 per annum, but sink

into insignificance when compared with the annual average of \$35,000,000,000 per annum in the six years since the beginning of the European war.

Increase General in All Countries

The chief increase occurs in the debts of the dozen countries and colonies participating in the war, though in practically every country for which figures are available the 1919-20 figures show larger totals than those at the beginning of the war period, which advanced the costs of everything and increased expenditures, necessitating loans of at least a temporary character. This is illustrated by the fact that the aggregate debts of the European countries as a whole grew from \$32,000,000,000 at the beginning of the war to \$184,000,000,000 at the date of the armistice and \$223,000,000,000 at the latest available date; those of North America, which included the United States and Canada among the participants in the war, grew from \$2,150,000,000 at the beginning of the war to \$27,800,000,000 at the date of the armistice and \$26,946,000,000 at the present time, while those of South America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania combined grew from less than 8½ billion dollars in 1913 to 12¾ billions in 1919.

Of the \$220,000,000,000 added to world national indebtedness since the beginning of the European war, approximately \$200,000,000,000, or more than nine-tenths, was created by the seven great countries participating in the war, Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. Great Britain increased her debt from approximately 3½ billion dollars in 1913 to 38 billions at the present time; France, from 6½ billion dollars to 46 billions; Italy, from about 3 billion dollars to 15 billions; the United States, from 1 billion to 25 billion dollars; Russia, from 4½ billion dollars in 1913 to 25 billions at the date of the advent of the Bolsheviks, in 1917; Germany, from a little over 1 billion dollars in 1913 to 48 billions, and Austria-Hungary, from 3½ billion dollars in 1913 to 27 billions (though how much of this latest figure will be charged respectively against the political entities formed from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire cannot now be determined). Belgium's debt, which was a little less than \$1,000,000,000 prior to the war, is now about \$4,000,000,000; Canada and Australia increased their indebtedness about 1½ billion dollars each; Japan apparently "paid her way" from current funds and taxation, since her debt at the present time exceeds that of 1913 by less than \$100,000,000, a mere trifle as compared with that of the other active participants of the war. Poland has developed a debt (measured by her paper currency, which has an extremely small gold backing) of about 1½ billion dollars, face value, since her establishment as an independent government, with power to create national debts. The increase in the debt of Turkey, which can only be approximated, was apparently about 1½ billion dollars, aside from loans by Germany and Austria-Hungary. How much of the indebtedness of the countries dismembered as a result of the war, including especially Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey—to say nothing of Germany, which lost a considerable area and population both in Europe and the colonial world—will be allotted to the respective new

political divisions created from their territory, and how much will be retained by the governments operating under the former titles of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, etc., cannot be determined or even approximated.

Germany Leads in Per Capita Increase

In the five great countries which emerged from active participation in the war without any material change in area or population, it is practicable to approximate the increase in indebtedness and also in the per capita indebtedness of their respective populations. Great Britain's debt, which, according to the Statistical Abstract of the United States, was about \$78 per capita in 1913, is now apparently \$850 per capita; France, \$160 in 1913 and \$1,150 at the present time; Italy, \$83 per capita in 1913 and about \$365 at the present time; Germany, from \$18 per capita (exclusive of the debts of the German States) in 1913 to about \$800 per capita of her reduced population at the present time, and the United States, from \$11 per capita in 1913 to \$225 per capita in 1920. Italy's per capita indebtedness now stands about four times as much as at the beginning of the war; that of France, seven times as much; that of Great Britain, eleven times as much; that of the United States, twenty times as much, and that of Germany, forty-four times as much per capita as at the beginning of the war.

Most of these enormous debts accumulated during the war are "internal"—that is, they are owed to the people of the respective governments which created the debts. In pre-war times, borrowing by nations frequently extended to the people of other countries, but as the countries whose people were in position to loan money on governmental securities were in nearly every case participants in the recent war, the opportunity for borrowing "abroad" practically terminated in the early years of the war, and, as a consequence, the governments were compelled to draw practically all of their borrowings from their own people, though Russia did in the opening years of the war borrow considerable sums from other countries, especially Great Britain and France, whose people already held large amounts of Russian pre-war securities. It has been estimated that Russian securities amounting to about 3½ billion dollars are now held in France and about 2¾ billion dollars in Great Britain; just how much of these are of the pre-war variety cannot be accurately determined, though of course all of those included in this discussion are pre-Bolshevik. While Great Britain loaned about \$9,000,000,000 to certain of her colonies and her allies, and the United States, as is well known, loaned \$10,000,000,000 to her allies in Europe, the bulk of the \$210,000,000,000 of money added to the national debts of the world since the beginning of the war has been drawn from the people of the respective governments making the loans—from the owners of large fortunes, the active capitalists, the investors, those engaged in the industries and commerce, and also in a much larger degree than usual from the masses, including even those of extremely limited incomes, who not infrequently "skimped" to help their country in the great struggle which appealed to their

loyalty and pride of nationality. The percentage of populations thus contributing to the current expenses of the war was far larger in the great struggle of 1913-18 than in any earlier war.

Full Face Value Seldom Received

The European loans of this war, like most of those created on former occasions, have not, as already stated, supplied to the borrowers, the governments, the full amount of capital which they have promised to return to those who made the loans. In a large proportion of the loans of the countries participating in the war, the securities issued were, as already stated, sold at less than their face value or par, the chief exceptions to this rule being the United States, Australia, and Canada, though in the last mentioned only one or two loans were issued at slightly less than their face value. In Great Britain two loans were issued at 95 per cent of their face value, one at approximately 85. In France nearly all of the securities issued were at considerably less than par, ranging from 96 down to about 70 per cent of their face value; in Russia, the rate of most of the loans issued down to April, 1917, was at about 95; Italy, from 97 down to 87; Germany, in nearly all the loans 98 per cent of the face value; in Austria and in Hungary, in which the loans were made by the respective governments and not jointly, the rates ranged from 97 down to about 91; and to the extent thus indicated the European governments are now paying interest on sums materially larger than that which they realized from the sale of their securities, and must, when the bonds are redeemed, pay the full face value as against the reduced amount which they accepted for their securities under the stress of their needs when they were respectively issued. This habit, however, of issuing governmental securities at less than their face value is not peculiar to the recent war, having obtained on many former occasions in certain of the European countries upon the theory that by selling the bonds at less than their face value they were able to place them at a lower rate of interest than they would be compelled to pay if their full face value was demanded.

Debts Largely Owned at Home

As to the future of the enormous indebtedness now existing, and especially that added during the recent war, it may be said that the large sums which must be paid annually for interest and principal will be in nearly all cases paid to the citizens of the country paying the same, the sums collected from the citizens and business organizations by taxation being again paid out within the same country and in some cases to the same individuals as holders of the securities, while the holders of the securities in question may reasonably expect that, with the progress of deflation and return to a more stable currency, the purchasing power, and therefore value, of the moneys in which the securities are finally to be redeemed will be materially greater than that in which they were bought.

The table which follows shows for all countries for which figures are obtainable the indebtedness, funded and floating in combination, at the beginning of the war, at the date of the armistice, and at the latest data

available, the actual date which the figures represent being in each case indicated in the tabulation. It is proper to add that in a very few instances the figures include comparatively small sums of paper currency, the direct issues of the governments named, but these form an extremely small percentage of the grand total and do not in any instance include the currency or note issues of the great organizations supplying the bulk of the paper currency of the principal countries in question.

*National Debts of the World, 1713 to 1920 **

(As nearly as can be stated)

Period.	Amount.
1713 Peace of Utrecht.....	\$1,500,000,000
1793 Prior to Napoleonic wars.....	2,500,000,000
1816 Following Napoleonic wars.....	7,000,000,000
1848 Beginning of Crimean War.....	8,400,000,000
1862 Beginning of U. S. Civil War.....	13,400,000,000
1873 Close of Franco-Prussian War.....	22,400,000,000
1897 Prior to Spanish-American, Boer, Russo-Japanese, and Balkan wars..	30,200,000,000
1914 European war	44,100,000,000
1915 European war	56,900,000,000
1916 European war	120,485,000,000
1917 European war	199,100,000,000
1918 European war	225,300,000,000
1919 European war	248,000,000,000
1920 European war	255,000,000,000

* Stated at par or face value of outstanding obligations.

Aggregate Funded Debt Issues, 1914 to 1920, by Chief Participants in the War

	Average Issue price.	Par value.	Amount actually received from subscribers.
United States	100.00	\$21,472,000,000	\$21,472,000,000
Australia	100.00	1,029,000,000	1,029,000,000
New Zealand	100.00	187,000,000	187,000,000
India *	100.00	331,000,000	331,000,000
Canada	99.39	1,982,000,000	1,970,000,000
Great Britain	96.45	26,428,000,000	25,489,000,000
France	75.74	12,598,000,000	9,542,000,000
Italy	90.01	3,026,000,000	2,724,000,000
Russia †	91.94	6,175,000,000	5,677,000,000
Germany	97.84	23,329,000,000	22,826,000,000
Austria	93.70	8,306,000,000	7,790,000,000
Hungary	96.08	3,776,000,000	3,628,000,000

* Down to March, 1918. † Down to April, 1917.

NOTE.—This table presents only the "funded" or "bonded" issues during the European war, and the totals are therefore not comparable with the grand totals of debt of the respective countries, since the grand totals include "floating" and other unfunded debts, and also include the debts existing prior to the war.

Per Capita Debts of Principal Countries, 1913 and 1920.

	1913.	1920.
United States	\$11	\$225
Great Britain	78	850
France	160	1,150
Italy	83	305
Germany	18	* 800
Russia	27	† 125
Austria	63	‡ 525
Hungary	70	‡ 387
Australia	18	318
Canada	70	159

* Exclusive of debts of German States. † 1917. ‡ 1918.

National Debts of the World in 1913, 1918, and 1919-1920

(As nearly as can be stated)

	Pre-war.	Armistice.	Latest available.
Argentina	1913.. \$732,398,000	1918.. \$866,380,000	1918.. \$866,380,000
Australia.....	1913.. 80,753,000	1918.. 975,738,000	1919.. 1,583,000,000
Australia States.....	1913.. 1,348,624,000	1916.. 1,741,301,000	1917.. 1,813,000,000
Austria (a).....	1913.. 2,152,490,000	1918.. 16,475,000,000	1919.. 17,668,000,000
Belgium	1914.. 825,269,000	1918.. 3,500,000,000	1920.. 4,000,000,000
Bolivia	1913.. 19,369,000	1918.. 23,307,000	1919.. 26,500,000
Brazil	1912.. 663,667,000	1917.. 1,073,826,000	1918.. 1,118,546,000
British West Africa.....	1913.. 55,200,000	1917.. 67,100,000	1918.. 63,000,000
British West Indies.....	1913.. 29,100,000	1917.. 30,200,000	1918.. 32,800,000
Bulgaria	1912.. 135,300,000	1918.. 800,000,000	1919.. 2,158,000,000
Canada	1913.. 544,391,000	1918.. 1,300,000,000	1920.. 1,935,946,000
Ceylon	1913.. 30,011,000	1918.. 27,100,000	1919.. 27,100,000
Chile	1913.. 207,704,000	1918.. 228,377,000	1918.. 228,377,000
China	1913.. 969,189,000	1916.. 1,066,649,000	1920.. 1,534,575,000
Chosen	1913.. 21,837,000	1918.. 46,652,000	1918.. 46,652,000
Colombia	1913.. 24,234,000	1918.. 22,856,000	1918.. 22,856,000
Costa Rica.....	1913.. 16,488,000	1917.. 20,254,000	1917.. 20,254,000
Cuba	1914.. 67,620,000	1916.. 65,923,000	1918.. 63,289,000
Denmark	1913.. 95,579,000	1918.. 161,700,000	1918.. 161,700,000
Dominican Republic.....	1914.. 13,218,000	1918.. 13,686,000	1919.. 13,358,000
Dutch East Indies.....	.....	1916.. 91,871,000	1916.. 91,871,000
Ecuador	1913.. 19,780,000	1918.. 25,756,000	1918.. 25,756,000
Egypt	1913.. 459,153,000	1918.. 455,338,000	1918.. 455,338,000
Finland	1913.. 33,706,000	1916.. 34,618,000	1916.. 34,618,000
France.....	1913.. 6,346,129,000	1918.. 30,000,000,000	1920.. 46,025,000,000
French Colonies.....	1912.. 210,667,000	1913.. 476,711,000	1918.. 579,711,000
Germany	1913.. 1,194,052,000	1918.. 40,000,000,000	1920.. 48,552,000,000
German States.....	1913.. 3,854,795,000	1917.. 4,341,611,000	1920.. 4,500,000,000
German Colonies.....	1913.. 32,410,000	1913.. 32,410,000	1913.. 32,410,000
Greece	1913.. 206,640,000	1917.. 259,725,000	1919.. 469,367,000
Guatemala	1913.. 17,577,000	1917.. 16,230,000	1917.. 16,230,000
Haiti	1912.. 42,863,000	1914.. 30,373,000	1917.. 24,983,000
Honduras	1913.. 121,261,000	1918.. 130,758,000	1919.. 131,771,000
Hungary (b).....	1913.. 1,731,350,000	1918.. 8,513,848,000	1920.. 9,412,000,000
India, British.....	1912.. 1,475,272,000	1917.. 1,546,237,000	1917.. 1,546,237,000
Italy.....	1913.. 2,921,153,000	1918.. 12,000,000,000	1920.. 18,102,000,000
Japan	1913.. 1,241,997,000	1918.. 1,244,375,000	1920.. 1,300,000,000
Mexico	1912.. 226,404,000	1918.. 377,333,000	1919.. 500,000,000
Netherlands	1914.. 461,649,000	1917.. 762,527,000	1919.. 981,349,000
New Zealand.....	1913.. 438,271,000	1918.. 734,000,000	1919.. 856,875,000
Newfoundland	1913.. 27,450,000	1918.. 34,870,000	1919.. 35,000,000
Nicaragua	1913.. 9,189,000	1917.. 18,596,000	1917.. 18,596,000
Norway	1913.. 97,215,000	1918.. 197,409,000	1920.. 250,000,000
Panama	1912.. 5,100	1916.. 7,172,000	1919.. 7,101,000
Paraguay	1913.. 12,751,000	1918.. 13,515,000	1918.. 13,515,000
Peru.....	1913.. 34,268,000	1916.. 34,015,000	1916.. 34,015,000
Philippines	1913.. 12,000,000	1917.. 20,301,000	1919.. 20,470,000
Poland .....	.....	.....	1919.. 1,356,600,000
Portugal	1913.. 947,603,000	1918.. 1,289,646,000	1918.. 1,289,646,000
Rumania	1913.. 316,693,000	1915.. 355,194,000	1918.. 1,022,000,000
Russia	1914.. 4,537,861,000	1917.. 25,000,000,000	1917.. 25,000,000,000
Salvador	1913.. 9,970,000	1918.. 11,098,000	1918.. 11,098,000
Serbia	1913.. 126,232,000	1913.. 126,232,000	1913.. 126,232,000
Siam	1913.. 27,799,000	1918.. 32,935,000	1919.. 32,616,000
Spain	1914.. 1,814,270,000	1917.. 1,964,206,000	1919.. 1,985,774,000
Straits Settlements.....	1913.. 33,627,000	1917.. 37,100,000	1919.. 57,424,000
Sweden	1913.. 161,390,000	1917.. 249,298,000	1920.. 336,420,000
Switzerland	1912.. 23,614,000	1918.. 205,439,000	1918.. 205,439,000
Turkey	1913.. 675,654,000	1917.. 1,459,000,000	1918.. 2,000,000,000
Union South Africa.....	1913.. 573,415,000	1918.. 780,766,000	1918.. 780,766,000
United Kingdom.....	1913.. 3,485,818,000	1918.. 36,391,000,000	1920.. 39,314,000,000
United States.....	1913.. 1,028,564,000	1918.. 17,005,431,000	1920.. 24,974,936,000
Uruguay	1913.. 137,827,000	1918.. 164,308,000	1918.. 164,308,000
Venezuela	1913.. 35,051,000	1918.. 28,983,000	1918.. 28,983,000
Total	\$43,200,931,000	\$214,975,373,000	\$265,305,022,000

Recapitulation by Major Groups

	1913.	1918.	1919-'20.
Europe	\$32,144,462,000	\$184,086,453,000	\$224,950,145,000
North America.....	2,159,395,000	19,031,724,000	27,793,386,000
South America.....	1,887,049,000	2,481,323,000	2,259,236,000
Asia	3,811,732,000	4,113,320,000	4,656,945,000
Africa	1,087,768,000	1,303,204,000	1,299,214,000
Oceania	1,867,648,000	3,451,039,000	4,252,875,000

(a) Includes 69 per cent of the Austro-Hungarian debt.

(b) Includes 31 per cent of the Austro-Hungarian debt.

THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

X

The Will to End War

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

SOLACES

AT A TIME when men everywhere are depressed and in despair because of the losses and sorrows of an unprecedented war, a war that still hangs on from the Baltic to the Caucasus, through the Levant and beyond, it has been comforting to me to search out some of the things worth while which, it would seem, the war has, happily, left to us. It is a solace to feel that our hope in public education survives; that we have faith that we may yet attain unto truth; that the dignity of human character remains, and that our zeal for self-culture continues. It is heartening to find that men still recognize the social importance of individual behavior, and that they demand veracity, as of old. The human struggle for a moral ideal goes on. The tasks of the day are easier because the aspirations of democracy within the State are still discernible, and because the social purpose is seen to be back of the great motives of men. The war has taken much, but it has left these. And, more comforting than any one of them, in no small measure because of them, there remains also the will to end war. Indeed, the war itself has vitalized this purpose, so conspicuously a feature of the nineteenth century, more widely and convincingly.

Men have always felt the paradox of Christian civilization to be its wars; the amazing wonder of human history to be its incongruous spear-stickings and gruesome blood-lettings.

Before this war a few of us were calling attention to the distressing cost of it all in the terms of wealth; to the far more unhappy costs because of the perversion of judgments. We saw even in those threatening days the slow, hopeful evolution of a more rational interpretation of international behavior, the gradually increasing substitution of judicial and other peaceful methods of settling international disputes. We argued that such things made for an inevitable improvement in an intolerable world situation; that, indeed, they meant the ultimate doom of international wars. We aimed to make our arguments against war more than mere emotional, personal, and subjective ravings of "well-meaning pacifists." We thought them more than simply transcendental fulminations of theorists and dogmatists. We believed them more valuable than vain ex-cathedra utterances wholly lacking in proof. We assumed our arguments to be capable of scientific demonstration. We had long known that it is difficult to dogmatize upon the causes of war, and, similarly, upon the prospects of ending war. We were always ready to grant that the world presents no problem so intricate as the problem of substituting reason for force in the settlement of international disputes. But, behind the will to end war, we sought out the arguments founded in logic and honest research. We saw that, as it is possible to demonstrate scientifically that there has been a successful group control of individual crimes of vio-

lence, so it should be possible to demonstrate scientifically that there is an evolution in the law to end crimes of international violence. The individual highwayman leads a precarious and a hunted career. The same is true of the nation highwayman. Objective inquiry shows that the fighting instinct among men has been curbed and altered by law. The same kind of inquiry tells us that the war instinct of nations must accept the same fate, for otherwise, with our highly scientific means of destruction, the nations cannot long endure.

Yet, as we feared, a war came, a devastating war. But the supreme lesson of all that now is that we were right then; and that now, if civilization is to survive, the nations must again go collectively about the job of ending, if possible, once for all, this paradox, this amazing scourge, this incongruous orgy, this indescribable horror of war. The war has been a sufficing demonstration of the truth we aimed to teach then. Hence this will to end war is, partly because of the war, more apparent and outspoken among men everywhere. Thus there is balm in Gilead; there is a physician there.

THE BENUMBING COSTS OF IT

In Money

The reasons for this will to end war are not difficult to find. For example, the money cost of it all has been brought home to us anew, and the will to stop it strengthened. And that cost is bewildering as it is impressive. The national debts of the world have increased since 1913 from \$43,200,931,000 to \$265,305,022,000, and they are still mounting. The per capita debt of the United States has increased during the same period from \$11 to \$225; of Great Britain from \$78 to \$850; of France, from \$160 to \$1,150. The building of the Panama Canal cost us approximately \$400,000,000. By 1918 the direct money cost of the war had risen to \$10,000,000 an hour—a Panama Canal every one and two-thirds days. The total direct expense during the period of the war was equivalent to 465 Panama canals.

If to the direct costs we add the no less tangible indirect money costs, we have the amazing equivalent of at least 930 Panama canals. And the indirect costs are most distressing. The 13,000,000 dead boys mean at least 13,000,000 others prematurely dead because of lowered vitality—in fact, of broken hearts. But just those 13,000,000 dead boys, representing a number considerably more than twice the total deaths due to all the wars of the nineteenth century, including the twenty-five years of the Napoleonic struggles, mean 13,000,000 less among our best producers. Prof. Ernest L. Bogart finds, and he has been confirmed by such statisticians as O. P. Austin, the direct and indirect money costs of the great World War to have been \$337,946,179,657. But that was two years ago. The costs are still accumulating, let us repeat. As Professor Bogart adds:

"The figures presented in this summary are both incomprehensible and appalling; yet even these do not take into account the effect of the war on life, human vitality, economic well being, ethics, morality, or other phases of human relationships and activities which have been disorganized and injured."

Since a billion is such an incomprehensible number,

the staggering financial situation of the world may be more nearly realized if the case be put thus: The total debts of the nations are \$265,000,000,000, which means \$221,000,000,000 more than in 1913. The annual interest on these debts is over \$9,000,000,000, five times greater than before the war. Now, according to the latest figures, the number of men, women, and children in all the world is only 1,692,604,366. The total number of seconds which have passed during the 1920 years of our Christian era is only 1,078,272,000. And yet these inconceivable expenses do not include the money value of crippled soldiers, or of invalided and devitalized armies and civilian populations. The property loss in France, \$13,000,000,000, is not included. The figures do not tell us of the destruction of productive machinery, the reduced production, the lower birth-rate, and the accelerated race deterioration around the world.

It is said that the fear of costs does not deter nations from going to war. I believe it does. Whether it does or not, it ought. In 1913, our navy bill was \$150,000,000. The amount appropriated for the navy by the 66th Congress is \$433,279,574. Our army bill for 1915 was \$111,000,000. Our present army bill is \$392,558,365. Our present expenditures for the army, navy, fortifications, Military Academy, and pensions, as provided by the last Congress, is \$900,265,847. Interest on our public debt for the ensuing fiscal year, a war expense, will be \$980,000,000; and if we add to this \$260,000,000 for the sinking fund, we discover that our yearly expense for our public debt alone is more than our total annual governmental expenditure prior to the war. By the most conservative figures it appears that for every dollar spent by our government, 85 cents is because of war. When we remind ourselves of those other and relatively higher war expenditures in Europe and elsewhere; when we recall that while the world's net annual war expense in 1913 was \$4,000,000,000, that is relatively but a paltry sum now indeed; when we think of what all this means in the way of a continuing expense through the century that lies before, and try to compute it in terms of the unimaginable billions, we have to accept the fact that all of our efforts to apply our theories of social organization are to be tragically retarded. The better homes, the more general education of our people, the better health and the reduction of the death rate, the new machinery, the new artisans, the new roads and river channels, the forest conservation, the development of water-power, of agriculture, of irrigation, of the arts and sciences, all must feel, and that for generations to come, the handicap of our enormous expenditures because of war.

As Franklin K. Lane, while Secretary of the Interior, replied when asked once what he would do if he had the war money at his disposal to expend upon constructive work, he replied that he would take the carnotite ores of the West, reduce them to radium, and eliminate one-half the cancer. He would go scientifically into the business of finding out what is in our mountains. He would search out the deposits of potash in kelp and valley. He would eliminate the fly and mosquito, and build up a better national health. He said:

"So is it not plain that if the world would spend upon man-making rather than upon man-killing, wonderful things

might be accomplished? . . . The curse of war and preparation for war is not that men die, but that they do not live to do their share towards the solution of the problems of social and commercial life. . . . Such a people as ours, encouraged by a century of peace, would develop a civilization that not only materially, but artistically would surpass anything which the world has ever seen."

Common sense leads us all to wish that the expense of collective killing might cease. As Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill, English First Lord of the Admiralty before the war, speaking at that time on the expenses of the killing system, remarked in substance, "What a wasteful, purposeless, futile folly it all is; what a stupid, unnatural chapter in the history of human endeavor."

In Ways More Serious Than Money

And yet the least of the influences leading to our will to end war is that the business costs money. Belgium did not stop to count the cost when she was overrun by Germany; neither did France. England's decision to enter with her standing army of only 100,000 upon a continental land war seemed well nigh suicidal. When once it was clear to the United States that the only way to end the war was to defeat the central powers of Europe, we joined in the job, regardless of cost. It was so with all the belligerents.

But war means costs of a more serious nature—costs in erroneous thinking and twisted judgments. For example, there are honest and intelligent men who believe that war is a divine institution and as such it is beneficial and desirable. This is the argument of the Von Moltkes, Bernhardis, Maudes, and of professional soldiers generally. Mr. Hudson Maxim argues in his *Defenseless America* that war is desirable because it secures the "survival of the fit." It is pointed out that war is a wholesome moral influence, increasing, and often creating, the virtues of patriotism and self-sacrifice. They say that war gives rise to efficiency, courage, and discipline; that war has made powerful States possible, and the powerful States have given to us the arts, literatures, religion. They tell us that war gives play to physical virility and advances the meritorious traits of keenness and alertness; that it decides differences, promotes progress, and prevents overpopulation, an important economic fact for human society. They go on to argue that war is the natural expression of human nature, that man is a fighter, and by the means of war he reaches to the supreme height of self-sacrifice, and therefore of his moral possibilities. As long as human nature remains as it is, differences are inevitable; hence the fighting instinct, the love of adventure, the human impulse following in the steps of honor and justice, will mean war for the human race throughout time. Thus wars always have been and always will be. The history of the world has been practically a continuous history of human warfare. One authority finds that throughout nearly 3,500 years there have been 227 years of peace—thirteen years of war to one of peace. Because of such facts war is inevitable. So run the arguments for war.

But of course these half-truth arguments illustrate practically every fallacy known to logic. If men really believed that war is a divine and helpful institution,

they would systematically urge and promote it. The universal aim would be to bring about war for the purpose of furthering the divinity of the institution, quite as now we aim to spiritualize the church. By the same course of reasoning we should burn houses to benefit firemen, spread disease germs to improve our doctors, rob banks systematically, and shoot up our neighbors generously unto the efficiency of our police and the good of our souls.

Again, the history of all animals, including the human animal, is not a history of fixed instincts, but a history of the modifications of their instincts. The social progress which we have made is due to the modification of our human instincts. We not only modify our instincts, but we direct them to new objects and subordinate them to other and higher instincts. If there seem to be an inevitable conflict among men, there is also an abiding instinct of mutual aid. Man is no longer a fighting animal. Men who fight are shut up. The great martial nations of the world have had a hard time. Most of them have passed away. National pride, like individual pride, ends in a paradox, and ever tends to defeat itself. Might cannot be made synonymous with right. Most of us thought we were waging this war to overcome a nation that had not outgrown the fighting instinct.

But perhaps no one fact shows the fallacy of the pro-war phrase mongering as does the simple fact that wars are themselves waged avowedly for the purpose of ending war and of establishing peace. When the war is on, all the generals and statesmen tell us that. But, whatever the views of the military leaders, certainly the fathers and mothers give up their sons with pride and tears that the war may be ended by the only practical means they are able to see. At such times war is seen to be an unmitigated evil, to be ended at whatever cost of blood and treasure.

Furthermore, it is only in a most limited sense that preparation for war is an "insurance against war," a "premium for the maintenance of peace." To say that it is such an "insurance" is a fallacy. As I have pointed out in another place, insurance is a contract by the terms of which a first party agrees to pay to a second party a certain specified small amount, called a premium, for which the second party agrees to pay the first party a much larger sum in case of a contingency nominated in the agreement. Prior to this war we were spending annually upon our army and navy practically \$300,000,000. If that were a premium as an insurance against war, either one of two things would have happened; we would not have had a war, or, if we had a war, we would have received from some outside party a large sum of money as reimbursement for our losses. The facts are we paid the \$300,000,000 annually, and that we had our war, for which we have paid many billions. In other words, we have paid the premium and the loss besides. That is all there is to the insurance argument. The fact that all of the leading nations had powerful navies in July, 1914, did not prevent them from going to war. In our present state of international anarchy, preparation for war may be necessary. I believe that a rational amount of it is. But such preparation is not insurance. At best, it is a burglar-alarm. Great armaments do not insure peace; they tend to destroy peace. They do not

exist to preserve peace; they are kept up for one purpose, and one purpose only; namely, to win in war. Armaments are for victory and conquest.

Thus the perversion of judgments represents a more serious cost than the matter of dollars and cents. The supporters of the war system do not distinguish clearly between physical and moral heroism. They seem to forget that war takes men out of productive activities, thus reducing the veritable necessities of life. They do not reckon the loss to industry, the destruction of property, the crippling of beneficence, the scourge of disease, the ruin in terms of life, the injustices, the blood-red madness, the despotism and night following the fights of armies, and the general hell of war. They ignore the fact that true freedom is found only in him who ruleth his own spirit. As long as men are ignorant, as long as evils prevail, as long as the forces of nature are unsubdued, men may find ample opportunity to exercise their honor, heroism, sense of duty, love of glory, by attacking the inanimate foes—the floods, the fires, the famines, the diseases—a behavior calling for all the virtues of the soldier in war—indeed, a spiritual warfare where affections and sympathies will bring about those generousities and methods of justice which alone can create the "great society" that is to be.

War is a monstrous perversion of the judgments and perspectives of men. The magnificence of war, called "moonshine" by General Sherman, is less possible than ever. Our armies and navies rest on fear rather than on reason; on hate—and that of no one in particular. The huge armaments of the world are a cruel slander against reason, a tribute to an utter lack of sincerity within and of any faith in the sincerity of others without. As said by Emerson, war is "an epidemic insanity." Noah Worcester said in his "Solemn Review": "War is, in fact, a heathenish and savage custom, most malignant, most desolating, and most horrible, and the greatest delusion, the greatest curse, that ever afflicted a guilty world." Thomas Jefferson called war "the greatest of human evils." Franklin's words, July 27, 1783, to Sir Joseph Banks, were: "There never was a good war or a bad peace." Washington wrote of war in 1785: "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth." Gladstone called war the "original sin of nations." John Fiske characterized war as an "intolerable nuisance." It has been condemned as detestable by Wellington, inadequate by Napoleon, self-defeating by Sheridan, and unreasonable by Grant. This ghastly institution, inherited out of savagery, must go the way of the other human perversions—human sacrifice, duelling, witchcraft, thumbkin, lynching, slavery, the rack—for war is all of these and worse. What is wrong, as God lives, shall be overcome. Hence persists the will to end war.

A STILL DEEPER REASON FOR THE WILL TO END WAR

The Great Fact of Life

There is, however, a reason for the will to end war deeper than the cost of it all, be the cost in terms of money or of wrong-headedness. It is found in the fact that war runs counter to the basic principle of all life; namely, that life exists primarily that there may be more life. Every protoplasmic cell, every flower of the

field, every child sent to school, every social worker, every courtship and marriage, every law, institution, invention, every worthy ideal, is an expression of this great fact of life struggling to produce more life. War, in practically all of its phases, is the antithesis of this principle.

The rise of the conception of this truth can be traced only imperfectly. Our earliest ancestors seem to have apprehended it but dimly. Unable to use tools or fire, slowly developing the notion and habits of family life, frequently fighting literally tooth and nail, we think of them in the human scale as savages merely. Thus they began—"savages." Then, down the ages, cunning gradually crept into the ends of their fingers, rude tools extended the length of their arms, wild weapons expanded their powers of conquest, families united in clans—still fighting, to be sure, but no longer "savages," we say, but "barbarians." Later the clans multiplied into cities and States. The efficiency of their weapons increased. The spirit of competition grew stronger. Still living under the rule that might is right, they waged continuous and increasing wars against each other, unpeopling the world by feud and sword. As we have seen, it has been one year of peace for thirteen years of war. That we call "civilization."

But the process does not end there. The great principle of life has led some men out of savagery, out of barbarism, out of mere civilization, for a new hope is beckoning unto them, a larger revelation. These few have discovered themselves to be "members one of another." They have beheld themselves related consciously, still more unconsciously related with each other around the globe. They have seen the vision of a universal solidarity. Under this prime principle of life, the doctrine of strife has tended to give way—gradually, very gradually, but surely—to a creative belief in the social principle of mutuality, in a limitless human interrelation, in a world-wide co-operation. Thus men have the will to end war.

And now, once again, therefore, men are listening more readily and sympathetically to schemes for some sort of an international co-operation or world brotherhood. Because of the war they believe more than ever that we needs must base our institutions upon this great fact of life—that, on the whole and in the long run, life exists that there may be more life. Such, they hold, is the supreme teaching of the religions—indeed, of plain reason.

Thus survives faith in the still more hopeful march toward the world's "Gleam," toward a new humanism indeed—international, world-wide, founded in law and justice—for life means that there must be more life. In the main, wars are inconsistent with this most fundamental of all laws. Hence wars are foreordained, very gradually, but inevitably, to cease. This is what Ralph Waldo Emerson meant when, in 1838, he said, in his address before the American Peace Society, "All history is the decline of war, though the slow decline."

THE WILL TO END WAR AN HISTORICAL FACT

The will to end war prevailing through the centuries means more than a fear of the costs, more than a pious wish. It is an historical fact influencing the course of

events. Out of it have arisen institutions and a worthy literature, both to be reckoned with.

Beginnings of the Modern Peace Movement

1815

The modern peace movement had its beginning about the year 1815, a year which marked the dawn of an interesting period in the growth of the will to end war—indeed, in the development of a variety of social organizations and reconstructions. For example, at that time forces were converging toward a more militant democracy, soon to express itself in a marked extension of public education, of agitation for woman suffrage, of temperance, and of various labor and political reforms. It was at the beginning of the transcendental movement of Kant, Schelling, Emerson. It was the year of the useless battle of New Orleans and of the waste of Waterloo; of the beginning of the Holy Alliance, and hence of the Monroe Doctrine. In that year Belgium was taken from France, to be neutralized in 1831. In that year the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was added to Holland and headed toward her neutralization in 1867. It was the year in which the Treaty of Ghent was ratified, the instrument which we may well believe ended forever international wars between English-speaking peoples. It was the year that marked the Congress of Vienna, with its league of nations that established the Kingdom of the Netherlands, united Norway and Sweden, neutralized Switzerland, reorganized Germany, maintained a sort of peace in Europe for over a generation, and directed its statesmanship for a century, yet a league that lamentably failed. It was the year in which Benjamin Lundy began the first anti-slavery societies, the beginning of the end in America of the institution of slavery. Humphrey Davy invented his safety lamp during that year. But more important than any of these, it was the year that found the world sick and tired of "seven," "thirty," and "one hundred years" wars, of Napoleonic slaughters, and of the miseries following the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the War of 1812. Battles had for the time quite consumed in their blasting flames the war passions of men. The blood lust of nations had been surfeited by 1815. The will to end war had been aroused.

Beginning of Peace Societies

As a result, and for the first time in the history of the world, *peace societies* began. In that year, 1815, three peace societies, no one knowing of the plans of the others, sprang into being. The first was founded August 16, at the home of Mr. David Low Dodge, in New York City; another in Ohio, December 2; another, upon the initiative of Noah Worcester, December 26, at the home of William Ellery Channing, Boston. The following year peace societies began in Europe. The oldest existing peace society, "The Peace Society," London, was formed June 14, 1816. Its offices are at 47 New Broad Street, London, E. C.

The peace societies had an influence. During the nineteenth century the will to end war increased markedly. While, because of his part in inserting arbitration clauses in the treaty between this country and Great Britain, in 1794, John Jay was burned in effigy in the streets of Boston, yet since that time there have

been over six hundred international arbitrations between various countries of the world. The most rapid increase in the number of these treaties occurred within the last generation. The importance of these treaties is illustrated by the fact that the violation of one of them turned a continental war into a world war. This peace sentiment grew in no small measure out of the work of the peace societies.

The countless tons of pamphlets published by these societies played their part toward expressing this will to end war. The first tract professedly and exclusively published for the promotion of peace was published by Mr. David Low Dodge, merchant of New York City and "father of the peace movement," in the year 1809. Today tons of such literature are being constantly spread before the world. This first pamphlet by Mr. Dodge, called "The Mediator's Kingdom Not of This World," and a second by the same author, entitled "War inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ," published in 1812, both met with pronounced opposition from clergy and laity.

Noah Worcester had great difficulty in finding a publisher for his essay, "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War." It was published on Christmas day, 1814, but only on condition that it be issued "anonymously." Yet this tract was and is spread broadcast, appearing in translated form in many languages. Its influence has been profound. Largely because of it, *peace societies* spread rapidly. It converted William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society. In spite of the war, peace pamphlets of today are sought far and near. Furthermore, and again in spite of the war, no one has today to apologize for writing in defense of international peace. Indeed, that is what most writers are writing about and all political parties pleading for. The war, we were told, was "a war to end war."

Following the organization of the societies in New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts, we are able to record the organization of a peace society in Portland, Maine, January 31, 1817; in Providence, Rhode Island, March 20, 1817; in Vermont, 1819; in North Carolina, 1819; in Pennsylvania, December, 1822; Windham County, Connecticut, 1826; Hartford County, Connecticut, 1828. By 1828 there were peace societies in New Hampshire and Georgia. Indeed, it was estimated at that time that there were over fifty peace societies in the United States alone. As an indication of the interest in the movement, it is known that by 1833 there was a county peace society in every county in the State of Connecticut. By that year they existed also in France, Ireland, England, Nova Scotia, and Canada.

American Peace Society

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, Maine, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious "Apostle of Peace," at the time the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized through the influence of Mr. Ladd, May 8, 1828, and with the

aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City. As Mr. Dodge wrote in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society, . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Today this society, with headquarters at Washington, is an incorporated organization. It initiates the American peace congresses, attempts to co-operate with the government, and to influence legislation in behalf of arbitrations and international good will. It maintains a lecture bureau, a library of peace information, and distributes tons of literature to writers, speakers, schools, colleges, and libraries. It co-operates in every possible way with other effective organizations as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in this country and abroad. Its program, outlined so convincingly by Mr. Ladd in 1840, is the basis of The Hague conferences, of the conception of a world governed by self-imposed laws. It is a program based upon American political experience, and calling, therefore, for a Congress and High Court of Nations to the end that international relations may be conducted in the interests of that concrete justice which flows only from law mutually made and proclaimed. The American Peace Society believes that by compromise, intelligence, and good will the nations will wish increasingly to develop for their interests and protection a more perfect union of themselves, a union built upon laws and not men, a society of all the nations resting upon the free consent of the governed. It believes that established States, large and small, will remain free, sovereign, and independent; that they will always retain certain rights, such as the right to exist, to conserve their independence and well being, to preserve their territory and jurisdiction over it, to be treated as equals before the law, to expect every respect and protection from their sister States in the maintenance of these rights. It believes also that States can and should be led to observe certain duties, such as the duty to commit no unjust act against an innocent State, to interfere with the rights of no other State; in short, to cherish and uphold the laws which they themselves have passed and accepted.

As far as the American Peace Society adheres to a program, the program is that. It measures its work by those standards. Upon them it bases its hope for that governed world where wars shall be outlawed and laws enthroned.

Until the last decade the peace movement of America was almost exclusively the American Peace Society and its work. And that work was a worthy and notable work. The story of it would itself fill many volumes. As I have said elsewhere, William Ladd was pleading, in 1828, for a Congress of Nations. It was the American Peace Society that stood for a "Congress of Nations for the amicable adjustment of international disputes" in its Fourth Annual Report of 1832. In February, 1835, a peace petition, "signed by several thousand persons," was presented to the legislature of the State of Massachusetts, with the result that that body adopted the following resolution, first peace resolution to be adopted by a legislature:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this legislature, some mode should be established for the amicable and final adjustment of all international disputes instead of to resort to war.

Resolved, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be requested to communicate a copy of the above report and of the resolutions annexed to the Executive of each of the States, to be laid before the legislature thereof, inviting a co-operation for the advancement of the object in view."

Again, through the influence of the American Peace Society, a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts adopted unanimously, in 1837, in the Senate and practically unanimously in the Lower House other resolutions condemning war as a means of adjusting international disputes, approving a "Congress or Court of Nations," and recommending to the Executive of the United States negotiations, "with a view to effect so important an arrangement." The following year the Massachusetts legislature passed four other resolutions, the third of which reads:

Resolved, That the institution of a Congress of Nations for the purpose of framing a code of international law and establishing a High Court of Arbitration for the settlement of controversies between nations is a scheme worthy of the careful attention and consideration of all enlightened governments."

The fourth resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor of this Commonwealth be requested to transmit a copy of these resolves, with the accompanying report, to the President of the United States and to the Executive of each of the States, to be communicated to their respective legislatures, inviting their co-operation in the proposed object."

The Society submitted petitions to the United States Congress in 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1849. Just prior to 1840 the agitation for a Congress of Nations for the purpose of establishing an international tribunal was, because of the work of the American Peace Society, popular and widespread. In 1849, for example, Richard Cobden submitted to the House of Commons on the 12th of June a proposal that England enter into communication with foreign powers for the purpose of referring matters in dispute to the decision of arbitrators. Meeting with the opposition of the Palmerston cabinet, the proposition was rejected by a vote of 176 to 79. In 1851 the American Peace Society presented, through Robert C. Winthrop, a petition to the United States Senate, with the result that Mr. Foote, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, affirmed that arbitration as a system was "perfectly reasonable," and with the further result that the committee unanimously reported:

"That it would be proper and desirable for the Government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure, in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had."

In February, 1853, largely through the efforts of the American Peace Society, particularly because of the work of its President, the Hon. William Jay, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Senate advise the President to secure, whenever it may be practicable, a stipulation in all treaties hereafter entered into with other nations, providing for the adjustment of any misunderstanding or controversy which may arise between the contracting parties by referring the same to the decision of disinterested and impartial arbitrators to be mutually chosen."

The principle of arbitration was established between this country and Great Britain in a treaty relative to fishing grounds, under date of June 5, 1854. Among other things, the treaty provided that:

"The Commissioners shall name some third person to act as an arbitrator or umpire in any case or cases on which they may themselves differ in opinion.

"The high contracting parties hereby solemnly engage to consider the decisions of the Commissioners conjointly, or of the arbitrator or umpire, as the case may be, as absolutely final and conclusive in each case decided upon by them or him respectively."

The American Peace Society continued to plead with Congress and State legislatures for a Congress and High Court of Nations and for stipulated arbitration up to the opening of the Civil War. In 1866 it sent a deputation to Congress with a petition in behalf of stipulated arbitration and a Congress and High Court of Nations. In 1872 the Society presented a new memorial to Congress in behalf of a permanent system of arbitration and a High Court of Nations, a petition which was signed by some twelve thousand citizens. The result was that, with the aid of Mr. Charles Sumner, there was reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate a series of resolutions advocating a permanent system of arbitration.

The next year Mr. Henry Richard secured a parliamentary declaration from the House of Commons, under date of July 8, as follows:

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to instruct her principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to enter into communication with foreign Powers, with a view to the further improvement of international law and the establishment of a general and permanent system of international arbitration."

In 1874, because of the influence of the American Peace Society, petitions from different parts of the country were again sent to Congress, with the result that on the 17th day of June of that year the House of Representatives unanimously adopted resolutions in favor of arbitration, and the Senate approved them also with unanimity on the 25th of that month.

The Society sent repeated petitions through the eighties to the Congress, calling attention to the desirability of a conference of the States of this Hemisphere in the interest of peace and better trade relations. Fol-

lowing its memorials, ten bills were presented in Congress for such a Congress of all the Americas, until finally the Pan-American Congress, duly authorized by Congress, met in the autumn of 1889. In 1888, 235 members of the British Parliament forwarded a communication to the President and Congress of the United States, urging the conclusion of a treaty of arbitration between this country and Great Britain. Petitions and memorials from multitudes of individuals and associations across the country, and mass meetings, particularly in New York, supported the British proposal. As a result of this movement the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate reported a joint resolution embodying the principle of arbitration in the case of differences or disputes arising between this government and other nations. January 11, 1897, a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was signed, but failed of ratification in the Senate.

Perhaps the most important illustration from those days of the prevailing interest in arbitration was the publication by the Government of the United States, in 1898, of John Bassett Moore's six volumes dealing exhaustively with the history and digest of the international arbitrations to which the United States has been a party.

Rules governing the procedure of international tribunals of arbitration were discussed by the Institute of International Law at Geneva, in 1874, and again at The Hague, in 1875. Another set, submitted by a committee of lawyers at the Universal Peace Congress, Chicago, 1893, revealed something of the attention serious-minded men were giving to the judicial settlement of international disputes. John Hay, Secretary of State, in his instructions to the American delegates to The Hague Conference of 1899, submitted an "annex," setting forth a plan for an international tribunal.

Many resolutions passed by many conferences indicate clearly the wisdom of William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, as set forth especially in his essay on a "Congress of Nations." The most significant current expression of that wisdom is found in the "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations," adopted by the American Institute of International Law at its first session, in Washington, January 6, 1916, and in the Recommendations of Habana, adopted by the American Peace Society January 22, 1917, and by the American Institute of International Law at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917.

Thus the American Peace Society has been a no insignificant factor in the rise of the will to end war.

The First Peace Periodicals

Periodicals also have played a part in the will to end war. The first periodical devoted exclusively to the cause of international peace was entitled "The Friend of Peace," the product of Noah Worcester's intelligent and consecrated spirit, the first number being published in Philadelphia in 1816. Worcester had seen service in the American Revolution. He knew war, therefore, at first hand. For twelve years he published his worthy periodical at his own expense. It is profitable reading still. The title page of the first copy reads:

The FRIEND OF PEACE, containing

A Special Interview

between

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND OMAR,
an officer dismissed for duelling.

SIX LETTERS FROM OMAR TO THE PRESIDENT,
with

A Review of the Power Assumed by Rulers Over the Laws
of God and the Lives of Men, in Making War,
and

OMAR'S SOLITARY REFLECTIONS.

The Whole Reported

BY PHILO PACIFICUS,

Author of "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War."

"Only by pride cometh contention."—Solomon.

"Happy is he that condemneth not himself, in that thing
which he alloweth."—Paul.

PHILADELPHIA.

PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR,

By Kimber and Sharpless, No. 93 Market Street.

Merritt, Printer.

1816.

Later pages of this magazine contain analytical accounts of campaigns, war news of current interest, peace sermons and exhortations, peace society notes, many letters, all constituting suggestive historical source books of that early period. It is of interest to note that No. 4 of the series went through seven editions in America.

The oldest peace periodical today is *The Herald of Peace*, published by the Peace Society, London, the first number appearing January, 1819.

Mr. Ladd's *Harbinger of Peace* first appeared, under the auspices of the American Peace Society, in May, 1828. The first number starts with a "Circular Letter of the American Peace Society," written by the editor. The letter begins with a historical summary of the peace movement and closes with a staunch appeal for international peace, mentioning at that early period the need for a "congress of nations."

For the months of May and June, 1831, *The Harbinger of Peace* was increased to twice its original size and the name changed to the *Calumet*. This was published bimonthly by the American Peace Society, under almost the exclusive editorship of Mr. Ladd, until 1835, the last number being for the months of March and April of that year. Its editorials, essays, and poems are for the most part excellent in thought and style, and, together with the many reports, they present an interesting picture of early nineteenth-century life in America.

In 1835 the American Peace Society "relinquished" the *Calumet* for the *American Advocate of Peace*, which had been established by William Watson, of the Connecticut Peace Society, in Hartford, beginning June, 1834. The first number of the *American Advocate of Peace*, "put out for the American Peace Society," was printed in June, 1835. It continued to be published at the headquarters of the American Peace Society, in

Hartford, until the death of William Watson, November, 1836; after which the society moved to Boston and began there the publication of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* in June, 1837. From August, 1884, to June, 1892, the official organ was called *The American Advocate of Peace*; but since it has been called again simply *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. The virility of this monthly expression of the peace movement in America is shown by the fact that its circulation increased under the editorship of Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood* by over thirteen times that at the beginning of his administration.

Peace Congresses

From the small beginnings, as briefly told, peace sentiment extended rapidly in this country and abroad. The first international peace congress was initiated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in Boston during the month of July, 1841, and held in London in 1843, with an attendance of about three hundred delegates. Five years later, Elihu Burritt, who had founded the "League of Universal Brotherhood" in 1846, a league of many thousand members on both sides of the ocean, was able to bring together a second and more representative peace congress in Brussels. The following year, and through Burritt's influence, there was organized a third congress in Paris, presided over by Victor Hugo, with over 2,000 delegates in attendance. In 1850 Burritt successfully promoted a fourth international peace congress in Frankfort, and in 1851 a fifth, which was held in London. It is to the credit of his time that Elihu Burritt, one time secretary of the American Peace Society, and editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, was recognized as the man of vision, prophet and seer. It is to the credit of our time that it agrees with James Brown Scott that "the lowly son of New Britain has entered into the company of the immortals." A congress was held in Edinburgh in 1853, in Geneva in 1867, in Paris in 1878, in Brussels in 1882, and in Berne in 1884.

The second series of international peace congresses was proposed in 1888. In this series there have been twenty-one, as follows: Paris, 1889; London, 1890; Rome, 1891; Berne, 1892; Chicago, 1893; Anvers, 1894; Budapest, 1896; Hamburg, 1897; Paris, 1900; Glasgow, 1901; Monaco, 1902; Rouen et Havre, 1903; Boston, 1904; Lucerne, 1905; Milan, 1906; Munich, 1907; London, 1908; Stockholm, 1910; Geneva, 1912; The Hague, 1913, and San Francisco, 1915.

There was an American Conference of International Arbitration held in Washington, April, 1896, and another in the same city, January, 1904. The Pan-American congresses, first proposed by Bolivar in 1824, have been many. As a result of the one held upon the initiative of Secretary James G. Blaine, in Washington, in the winter of 1889-90, the Bureau of American Republics, now the Pan-American Union, was organized. A Pan-American Congress was held in Mexico City, 1901-1902; in Rio de Janeiro, 1906; in Buenos Aires, 1910. We now have recurring Pan-American Financial, Scientific, and International Law conferences.

* Because of ill health Dr. Trueblood resigned the secretaryship of the American Peace Society in May, 1915. He died at his home, in Massachusetts, October 26, 1916.

The Interparliamentary Union

The Interparliamentary Union, with a membership of over three thousand parliamentarians, representing some twenty nations, was first mooted by Messrs. Fischhoff and Richard in 1875. Plans for its organization were halted by the Russo-Turkish War; but, through the influence of William Randal Cremer, a preliminary meeting of parliamentaries from Great Britain and France was held in Paris in the autumn of 1888. In June, 1889, the organization was perfected at Paris, and Frederiek Passy was elected president. Fifty-five French parliamentarians, thirty British, together with representatives from the Italian, Spanish, Danish, Hungarian, the Belgian, and the United States parliaments, were in attendance. The representative from the United States was Mr. J. R. Whiting. Germany entered the union at the next meeting, in London, July, 1890. In 1913 the Union held its eighteenth annual Conference at The Hague. At the meeting of the Interparliamentary Council held at The Hague, June 5, 1920, it was voted to hold the nineteenth conference at Stockholm in 1921.

Arbitrations

The first resolution passed by any government specifically in favor of the principle of arbitration was pushed through the House of Commons in 1873 by Henry Richard, who for forty years was secretary of the London Peace Society and who for over twenty years was a member of the English Parliament. In the last half dozen years nearly one hundred arbitration treaties, providing that certain questions must and others may be settled by arbitration, have been passed by various nations of the world. The United States has been a party to over a score of these. In 1907 Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador agreed to submit to arbitration all questions which might arise between any two of them not possible of settlement by diplomacy. Indeed, it is to the credit of these Central American States that in their Central American Court they actually set up, albeit for a time only, the first, and so far the only international court of justice in the history of the world.

International Plans and Organizations

The rise of international bodies possessing more or less legislative power is impressive. The Book of Genesis tells of four kings waging war with five other kings in the Vale of Siddim. Arbitration was a familiar and successful practice throughout the known history of Greece. Probably antedating this Biblical example of international co-operation was the Amphictyonic Council of a dozen Greek tribes watching over the religious interests of the tribes, exercising genuine judicial authority, and, in its representative capacity, regulating both peace and war for fifteen centuries under the terms of a genuine intertribal treaty of arbitration.

If we may believe Herodotus, a similar "league" of twelve cities, with headquarters at Helice, existed in prehistoric Greece. Out of this developed the better-known Achaean League, in 280 B. C. While this Achaean League presents a picture marred by human weakness and discord, it also reveals man in his reach

toward international organization, often with warlike purposes, it is true, but federal and co-operative nevertheless. For over a century it dominated Greek political life, and when, in 146 B. C., it finally fell, all Greece fell with it. The Ætolian League, contemporary with the Achaean, is another, and perhaps as effective, illustration of federated interstatecraft. There were other leagues, such as the Thessalian and Boeotian. The Lycian Confederacy, comprising twenty-three cities, the large cities having three votes, the small cities two, was a judicial organization in the days of Vespasian.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue, picturing a return of the Golden Age, was Messianic in its prophecy; while in the first Georgic war is condemned; and in the first book of the Æneid, written during the first generation of our Christian Era, Jupiter is made to agree with Isaiah as to the future of war. The Helvetic Union, beginning 1308, was organized for purposes of defense and peace, and consisted of a diet with a court of judges. Dante, in his "Convivio" of the early fourteenth century, presents an argument for a universal empire based upon force; and in his *De Monarchia*, Book I, he has written an impassioned plea for a world monarchy or league of peace. Erasmus wrote, in 1509, his "*Encomium Moria*"—"Praise of Folly"—in which he attacks the institution of war; and, disappointed at the failure of the plan to hold a peace congress at Cambray, he wrote, in 1517, his "*Querela Pacis*"—"The Complaint of Peace"—which is fresh and convincing material for the peace workers even of today. One wishing to know more of the best-known peace workers and plans of the seventeenth century is referred to Emeric Crucé, Grotius, Sully, and William Penn; of the next century, to Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Jeremy Bentham, and Immanuel Kant.

Mutual protection and advancement of trade brought nearly a hundred towns of northern Europe together in the Hansatic League of Peace of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The dominating influence of this powerful organization for so many years was second only in importance to the very fact of its existence at all.

In fine, the "international mind" was brooding back there in the Vale of Siddim, in the temples of Apollo and Demeter, in Helice and the groves of Ægium, in Ætolia, and in the Hansa of four, five, and six centuries ago. It has persisted increasingly through the centuries.

Reference has already been made to all of the European powers, save Turkey, meeting in the "Congress of Vienna" in 1815. There have since been many other international congresses. National independence came to Greece as the result of a protocol signed by the great powers in congress assembled at London in 1830. The Treaty of London in 1831, ratified by six powers within a year, established the independence of Holland and Belgium. It was a congress of the powers at Paris in 1856 that made the close of the Crimean War possible. It was a congress of representatives from sixteen nations at Geneva, in 1864, that established the Red Cross Society. It was a congress of the powers in London, in 1867, that neutralized the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. It was a congress of national representatives at St.

Petersburg, in 1868, that restricted the nature of bullets in times of war. It was an international congress at Brussels, in 1874, that placed definite restrictions upon the practices of war. A congress of nations at Berne in 1874 established the International Postal Union. The Congress of Berlin, meeting at the home of Bismarck in 1878, fixed the map of eastern Europe and closed the Russo-Turkish War. Indeed, since 1875 the number of international meetings has increased greatly. There are today approximately 1,000 international organizations. During the year 1912 there were approximately one hundred and thirty international conferences. And more impressive, perhaps, than any of these international conferences already mentioned have been the Geneva Tribunal, which settled the Alabama claims in 1872; the Paris Tribunal, which settled the seals controversy in 1893; and The Hague Tribunal, which settled the North Atlantic Coast Fisheries dispute with Great Britain, lasting through three generations, in 1910.

Peace Foundations

The will to end war has found expression in permanent institutions and foundations. The World Peace Foundation of Boston, for example, is a corporation with an endowment of \$1,000,000, left by Edwin Ginn. This foundation, begun in 1910, states in its by-laws that its purpose is to educate the people of all nations to the full knowledge of the waste and destruction of war, its evil effects on present social conditions and the well being of future generations, and to promote international justice and the brotherhood of men; and, generally, by every practical means to promote peace and good will among all mankind.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie was a veritable embodiment of the will to end war. He founded the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace December 14, 1910, and created a board of trustees, to whom he transferred \$10,000,000, the revenue of which is administered for hastening the abolition of international war. February 10, 1914, he established the Church Peace Union, setting aside for its purposes \$2,000,000. He placed at the disposal of the Dutch Government \$1,500,000 for a Palace of Peace at The Hague as a fitting place for a library of international law and a court of arbitration. The construction of the palace was begun in 1907; it was completed in 1913 and dedicated August 28 of that year. Mr. Carnegie provided \$100,000 for the construction of a building for the Central American Court of Justice, which building was located at Cartago. When this structure was destroyed by earthquake, in 1910, he provided another \$100,000 for the construction of a new building, which was located at San José, Costa Rica. The Pan-American Union building, located in Washington, represents also the generosity of Mr. Carnegie. At the laying of the corner-stone of this building, May 11, 1908, Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, delivered an address in which he said:

"The public spirit and enthusiasm for the good of humanity, which have inspired an American citizen, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in his administration of a great fortune, have led him to devote the adequate sum of three quarters

of a million dollars to the construction of this building. . . .

"The graceful courtesy of the twenty republics who have agreed upon the capital of the United States for the home of this International Union, the deep appreciation of that courtesy shown by the American Government and this representative American citizen, and the work to be done within the walls that are to rise on this site cannot fail to be powerful influences towards the creation of a spirit that will solve all disputed questions of the future and preserve the peace of the Western World."

The building was dedicated April 26, 1910, and is in itself an expression of the will to maintain peace between the American republics. The important fact is, not that Mr. Carnegie saw fit to give these munificent sums, but that he was himself an expression of the common will to end war.

There are institutions and foundations abroad, such as the Bureau Internationale de la Paix; the Nobel Foundation, with its generous annual prize for the most effective work in behalf of international peace; the peace societies and publications of Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and practically all of the other countries of Europe.

The will to end war is an international fact.

The two Hague Conferences

The chief encouragements in the modern growth toward a practical solution of the problem of war have been the international conferences at The Hague, the first beginning May 18, 1899, and the second June 15, 1907.

The First Hague Conference

The Czar's rescript of August 12-24, 1898, inaugurated an era of discussion. This letter, resulting in the First Hague Conference, was an expression of the gradually growing will to end war. Hugo Grotius' classic, entitled "The Rights of War and Peace," a work which began our system of international law in the early seventeenth century; such books as "Lay Down Your Arms," written by Bertha von Suttner in 1889, and the work of the Polish Jew, Jean de Bloch, entitled "The Future of War," appearing just before the Czar's call to the nations in the interest of "a real and durable peace," were a few of the evidences of that public sentiment which made the Czar's letter possible.

The First Conference at The Hague is one of the great facts of history. Among its contributions to the nations was the establishment of an international tribunal for the arbitration of international disputes. The article which established this tribunal is called "the Magna Charta of international law." Since its opening, in April, 1901, it has settled to the satisfaction of all parties sixteen international disputes, a number of which might easily have led to war. These cases have been as follows:

First. The Pius Fund Case, involving issues between the United States and Mexico, 1902.

Second. The Venezuela Preferential Case, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy *vs.* Venezuela *et al.*, involving eleven nations, 1904.

Third. The Japanese House Tax Case, being an issue between Japan and the three powers, Great Britain, France, and Germany, 1905.

Fourth. The Muscat Dhows Case, covering issues lying between Great Britain and France, 1905.

Fifth. The Casablanca Case, France *vs.* Germany, 1909.

Sixth. The Grisbadarna, or Maritime Boundary Case, Norway *vs.* Sweden, 1909.

Seventh. The North Atlantic Coast Fisheries dispute, between the United States and Great Britain, 1910.

Eighth. The Orinoco Steamship Company issue, between the United States and Venezuela, 1910.

Ninth. The Savarkar Case, France *vs.* Great Britain, 1911.

Tenth. The Russian Indemnity, or Interest Arrears Case, Russia *vs.* Turkey, 1912.

Eleventh. The Canevaro Claim, Italy *vs.* Peru, 1912.

Twelfth. The Manouba, or Seizure of French Ship Case, France *vs.* Italy, 1913.

Thirteenth. The Carthage, or Seizure of French Ship Case, France *vs.* Italy, 1913.

Fourteenth. The Tavignano, Kamouna, Gaulois Cases, France *vs.* Italy, 1913, submitted to a Commission of Inquiry and settled out of court.

Fifteenth. The Isle of Timor Case, Netherlands *vs.* Portugal, 1914.

Sixteenth. Religious Property Case, Spain, France, Great Britain *vs.* Portugal, 1920.

Seventeenth. French Claims *vs.* Peru (not yet presented).

Practically one hundred treaties, over a score of which have been signed by the United States, were passed pledging signatory powers to use this court, while practically one hundred and fifty standing international treaties have been ratified, largely because of the influence of the conference.

The First Hague Conference provided further for an International Commission of Inquiry, which shall investigate questions of fact prior to the beginnings of hostilities. It was this organization which settled the acute Dogger Bank dispute between England and Russia during the Russo-Japanese War. It was the immediate forerunner of the original Wilson Administration peace plan, the work of Mr. Bryan, a plan which is already enacted into the terms of thirty international treaties.

The First Hague Conference provided for mediation in case of hostilities; it inspired the Temple of Peace, dedicated August 28, 1913, at a cost of one and one-half million dollars; it made possible a Second Conference; it revised the code of warfare in sixty articles designed for the improvement of the practices of war. The First Hague Conference aimed to supplant the old-time rule, that "In the midst of warfare, laws are silent," with "In the midst of warfare, laws shall rule." While it failed in this last respect, it was, as a whole, an expression of a rational attempt to lessen the probabilities and horrors of war by the methods of a governed world under self-imposed laws.

The twenty-six nations of the world, invited because they were represented at St. Petersburg, including twenty European, four Asiatic, and two American powers, were represented by one hundred delegates at

that conference. As pointed out by Mr. Choate and others, it was there for the first time, in that First Hague Conference, that nations unanimously agreed that respect for law, rather than for mere compromise and diplomacy, must be the next great step in international adjustments. Following that conference, and largely because of it, the center of gravity in international politics was changed for a time from an emphasis upon war to an emphasis upon peace. War, not peace, became anathema. So strong was the opposition to war that the warriors precipitated a war for fear of their overthrow. And the war having begun, the people outside the original contestants would have nothing to do with the business except it be a war to end war. The First Hague Conference was an expression of the will to end war; more, it is proper to think of it as being in itself the beginning of the legislative branch of our international order that is to be.

The Second Hague Conference

The Second Hague Conference, suggested by the Interparliamentary Union meeting at St. Louis, in 1904, and initiated by the United States Government, had its first meeting at The Hague, June 15, 1907, and lasted until the 18th of the following October. At this conference 44 of the world sovereignties, practically all of them, were represented by 174 delegates, picked men, including 15 ambassadors and 51 ministers. This conference, like the first, aimed to promote agencies calculated to regulate or canalize the devastations of war. For example, it passed many measures for the protection of neutral States and neutral citizens; it provided that a distinct declaration of war must hereafter be made before hostilities can be begun; it agreed upon an International Prize Court, with power to try cases by international law, a real international court aimed as a blow to piracy. The conference defined towns situated near fortified coasts to be unfortified towns, and, furthermore, that towns with submarine mines in their ports are not because of that to be subject to bombardment; it provided for the restriction of floating mines in war time where dangerous to neutral commerce. It composed a complete code of rules for the guidance of future international procedure—a decided step away from mere diplomacy toward an effective international court. The nations completely reversed one so-called principle of international law, by agreeing never to resort again to arms for the collection of contract debts due from one nation to the citizens of another without first employing every possible means of arbitration. The nations relinquished much of their old theories of sovereignty and revealed a sympathetic belief in the humanitarian political ideal of a free opportunity for each, man or nation, to achieve happiness in the service of a free and an advancing democracy.

The question of the reduction of armaments was not upon the program of the conference and could not, therefore, come officially before the convention; but, to the terror of the militarists, this whole question became the object of careful study. Thirty-five of the nations, representing practically nine-tenths of the people of the world, voted, strangely enough, for a general treaty of obligatory arbitration.

The recurring Hague conferences may yet be found

to constitute in themselves the beginning of a legislative body. As we have seen, the judicial department has already begun to emerge, first in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, second in the proposed International Prize Court, the first to function in time of peace, the latter to function in times of war. Besides, there is the International Court of Arbitral Justice all but established.

In the light of what is taking place now at The Hague, we may well pause upon this International Court of Arbitral Justice. The Second Hague Conference recognized with Mr. Root that the great need of our age is the substitution of a judicial action between the nations for our present diplomatic procedure. Our American delegates at the Second Hague Conference stood, therefore, for this High Court of International Justice, this International Supreme Court, with the thought that it should meet periodically as does our Supreme Court. This matter was so left that any two nations could meet at any time, organize the Court, open its doors, and begin the business of an International Supreme Court. It became the policy, however, of the nations to wait until a sufficient number of leading Powers could agree upon the method of selecting the judges. Secretary Knox conceived that the proposed International Court of Prize might be expanded into such an International Court. But now, upon the initiative of the Counsel at the League of Nations, there has been appointed, under Section 14 of the Covenant, a commission, now in session at The Hague; and, as a result of its work, there is every reason for believing that such a Court will soon be successfully launched. The establishment of this Court is the most important political problem before the world, because in the name of that justice which only can beget peace it is the most important single feature of an effective will to end war.

The adoption of an international executive branch of government need not now be taken; indeed, it cannot now be taken. The power of international public opinion, as an executive force to be applied against States, is the only force so far acceptable to the powers.

The Second Hague Conference was important. The measures mentioned are sufficient to make it of interest to thoughtful men. It ranks as the first congress of practically all of the nations of the world. During its sessions the most delicate subjects were discussed by the various representatives of the nations, often with spirit and feeling, but always with order and good will. The record of it stands there on the pages of history, an attestation of the victory of the thoroughly open discussion. It reveals the possibilities in a juridical union, self-perpetuating, and gives to the world its reasonable hope in the ultimate government of nations under law. It is a witness to no quackery, but rather it is an illustration of the true grandeur of sincerity at its best. It reveals man seeing with a clearer and clearer vision that under every normal condition loyalty to truth and justice is a more excellent patriotism than a blind obeisance to tribe, or place, or party. It encourages us to believe that the relations existing between nations are destined to become as the relations existing between men everywhere under law. It strengthens us in the faith that true patriotism calls for deeds of daily service in an

honorable, sympathetic, and sacrificial citizenship, more than it calls for seeking the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth; that man will yet cease to bound his morals by the limits of man-created political entities, and achieve the goal of his will to end war.

The League of Nations

The Covenant of the League of Nations, forming part 1 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, "Done at Versailles, the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen," is an expression of the will to end war. For the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to discuss the question whether or not this covenant be sane in principle, consonant with the teachings of history, or even a step toward peace. The fact is that it is an expression of the will among men that the methods of war shall give way to the modes of peace. This will appear from the wording of the first paragraph of the covenant, which reads:

"The High Contracting Parties,

"In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

"by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

"by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

"by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

"by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another,

"agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations."

There it is, the will to end war.

CONCLUSION

The nations may safely pin their faith to some form of an international legislature and of an international judiciary. They may not expect a universal empire, but they may strive for at least this much of an international organization, destined yet, as regards international disputes incapable of adjustment by diplomacy or arbitration, to perfect a juridical union of the civilized nations. It is for such that men are giving their lives to the peace movement. It is for such that the believers in liberalism and democracy, with their principles of life, liberty, equality, fraternity, and happiness, struggle and wait. It is for such that we have peace societies, Hague conferences, institutes of international law, an interparliamentary union, and the longing for some kind of a society of nations. It is by such means, we think, that wars will be made less probable.

The burdens and miseries of the world's military inheritance will be lifted as the collective judgments of human groups become increasingly clear. The permeating principle of life pursues its constructive upward course, and an advancing age must welcome each constructive attempt to supplant with the machinery of law and justice the unnatural and hideous devastations of war.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

AT THE meeting held in Paris, in the latter part of June, at which 450 delegates from Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States were present, an International Chamber of Commerce was organized, with Etienne Clementel, former Minister of Commerce in France, as president, and M. Dolleans, professor of political economy at the University of Dijon, as temporary secretary-general. A. C. Bedford, of the Standard Oil Company, New York City, is the American, Baron Edouard Empain the Belgian, A. J. Hobson the British, and Victorio Rolandi Ricci the Italian vice-president.

The purpose of the chamber, as officially stated, is to facilitate the intercourse of nations, to secure harmony of action on all international questions affecting commerce and industry, and to promote peace, progress, and cordial relations among countries and their citizens by the co-operation of business men. It is a confederation of the many economic forces of the countries to be included in its membership, united in each country by a national organization, as in the United States by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, some of the charter members of which have been prime movers in creating the international body.

The principal functions of the International Chamber of Commerce are to operate through—

- (a) Board of directors,
- (b) General meetings,
- (c) National organization,
- (d) International headquarters.

Its means of actions are:

- (a) Conference of experts,
- (b) Referenda,
- (c) Inquiries of economic nature, and
- (d) Publication of the results thereof, with such other agencies as may from time to time be found desirable.

These are the ties on which the rails will be laid to carry on international trade more smoothly. They embrace shipping, commercial, financial, and industrial organization. General meetings of the International Chamber will assemble at least once every two years, and the three foundation languages will be used in publications and in public speeches. The chamber will temporarily have its headquarters in Paris, France, and the permanent headquarters will be determined by the board of directors, where will be decided all matters by arbitration where there are differences of opinion on international trade contracts.

The international headquarters will centralize data concerning economic and social conditions, the facts of production and requirements and the possibilities of future production and requirements. It will act as a co-ordinating instrument for suggesting regulations and legislative measures to facilitate and encourage economic intercourse. It will also place at the disposal of members and of official agencies reports and conclusions which may be issued in accordance with its articles of

constitution, and will form public opinion through publications of facts concerning business and economic conditions.

Summarized, the action of the delegates and officials of this first session of the congress may be described thus:

Restoration of international credit, based on fixation of the amount and the conditions of payment for the debts of all countries, allies or enemies, was urged.

It was resolved that allied States should agree also, as soon as possible, to fix definitely the amount and conditions of payments according to the stipulations in the treaty.

There should be an avoidance of duplicate taxation of wealth of individuals or organizations in more than one country.

There should be reduction of unnecessary expenditures on the part of local and national governments.

Extension of credits, uniform banking laws, and war damages were dealt with.

Reciprocal international treaties relative to import and export taxes were advocated.

An international credit bureau was planned.

National and local chambers of commerce were requested to co-operate with their governments to reduce national and local governmental expenditures.

Governments and banking, commercial, and industrial associations in all countries were urged to co-operate with the International Chamber and with each other to reduce importation of non-essentials by countries whose exchanges are depreciated and to increase exportations from such countries.

There should be an endeavor to obtain the co-operation of labor to prevent delay in the turn-around of ships, delay between ships and trains, and delay in transportation by rail.

There should be restriction, as far as possible, upon countries whose exchanges are depreciated issuing foreign loans.

Revocation of import and export prohibitions was urged as soon as internal conditions of each country will allow.

There should be a reconstruction special committee to study the exchange situation.

There should be inducement of foreign investments in home countries.

There should be encouragement of tourists through removal of unnecessary restrictions.

It is desirable to furnish raw material and credits.

There should be facilitation and simplification of passport procedure.

A committee was proposed to investigate the mischievous use of trade names and of misleading indications.

Common nomenclature was proposed for customs tariffs of the allied nations.

THE CHAMBER'S CONSTITUTION

We quote two of the more important of the sections of the elaborate and carefully worked out constitution of the Chamber, adopted at this meeting:

Membership (Article No. II)

(1) National and local commercial, financial, and industrial organizations which are representative of the interests they embrace, which are not conducted for individual profit or partisan purposes, and which are established in countries

which may from time to time be designated by the board of directors, as hereinafter provided, are eligible for organization membership.

(2) Individuals, firms, and corporations engaged in business activities in countries the organizations of which are eligible to membership are eligible to associate membership. Duly elected associate members in good standing shall be entitled to attend general meetings and, subject to the rules of such meetings, shall have the privileges of the floor, but may not vote. They may also receive publications issued by the International Chamber.

(3) Organizations of associate members of each national organization may be elected organization of associate members of the International Chamber of Commerce if they fulfill the following conditions:

a. To be proposed for election by the national organization of the country.

b. To be accepted by the board of directors of the International Chamber in accordance with the rules laid down in the Constitution and By-Laws.

International Headquarters (Article VII)

(1) The international headquarters shall have a general secretary and staff chosen by the board of directors and in all respects shall be subject to direction and control by the board of directors. Its headquarters shall be determined by the board of directors.

The general secretary of the international headquarters shall conduct the international headquarters and be responsible therefor to the board of directors.

(2) There shall be an administrative commission, of which the general secretary of the international headquarters shall be chairman and which shall be a part of the international headquarters. The members of the Administrative Commission shall be chosen in the following manner:

The national organization in each country having members in the International Chamber shall be entitled to select a member of the Administrative Commission. The members of the Administrative Commission shall be resident at the seat of the international headquarters, shall be available for conference with the general secretary respecting duties placed upon him by the board of directors and these articles, shall make available to him information and advice regarding their respective countries, shall make representations to him concerning the special interests and problems of their respective countries, shall keep closely informed upon the progress in their respective countries of the policies of the International Chamber, and shall perform such other duties in the operation of the international headquarters as the general secretary prescribes. Upon request of the general secretary with respect to any question within his discretion, the Administrative Commission shall meet and make its recommendations.

(3) When the parties to a contract bearing on international commerce agree to submit to arbitration a difference of opinion due to the execution of such contract, they may choose as an arbitration board one or several of the members of the Administrative Commission, who shall act as an arbitration board. The decision of the arbitration board shall be submitted to the general secretary, who shall forthwith transmit it to the parties concerned.

(4) Within fifteen days preceding any meeting of the board, each member of the Administrative Commission shall submit to the general secretary a written report regarding

the progress of the International Chamber's policies in his country and his suggestion for further procedure. These reports shall be presented by the general secretary at the meetings of the board.

(5) The international headquarters shall, subject to the direction and control provided above—

a. Centralize data concerning economic and social conditions, the facts of production and requirements, the possibilities of future production and requirements;

b. Act as a co-ordinating instrumentality for suggesting regulations and legislative measures to facilitate and encourage economic intercourse;

c. Place at the disposal of members and of official agencies reports and conclusions which may be issued in accordance with these articles;

d. Inform public opinion through publication of facts concerning business and economic conditions.

(6) It shall be the duty of each organization member of the International Chamber to place the general secretary of the international headquarters upon its mailing list to receive all of its publications.

IT IS REPORTED

That a chair of journalism is to be created in the University of Prague.

That Buenos Aires experienced in July its second snow-storm in thirty years.

That a bust of the late Andrew Carnegie has been placed in the Palace of Peace at The Hague.

That over 5,000,000 tons of coal were mined in the province of Nova Scotia in the year 1919.

That competent authorities on sanitation state that more people have been killed by rats than by war.

That the lower house of the Japanese Parliament has rejected universal suffrage by a vote of 283 to 155.

That Canada leads all the nations of the world in the extent of forest domain, having a total of 800,000,000 acres.

That the Australian embargo on the export of sheepskins, which has been in force for some years, is to be cancelled forthwith.

That in India only twenty-eight boys out of every hundred of school age attend school, and only four out of every one hundred girls.

That the British Lord Chancellor has announced that, after July 15, women may serve on juries under the same conditions as men.

That, in view of the shortage of doctors in Moscow hospitals, the Soviet authorities have mobilized all dentists to work as chemists.

That an aerial postal service is being established in Brazil,

the government having signed a contract with the Handley Page Aeroplane Company.

That Socialists of Frankfurt are demanding the creation of a workmen's academy, to educate workmen for the civil and municipal services.

That, for less than the cost and equipment of a single battleship, 704,714 cases were treated in hospitals and dispensaries of foreign lands last year.

That, because of the reconstruction work accomplished in France through the aid of the "Friends" from America, one village has been named "The City of Friends."

That Soviet Russia has placed an embargo on all United States goods until such time as the United States removes restrictions against exportations to that country.

That American sugar refiners are preparing to invest \$33,000,000 in Cuban plantations, in order that they may grow their own raw products within the next two years.

That trade between Germany and Japan is gradually reviving, it having entirely ceased during the war, with the exception of a few imports of dyes coming through neutral countries.

That the Ministry of War in Paris is considering a proposal to send groups of soldiers into the agricultural districts to aid in gathering the harvest, which promises to be a good one.

That out of every ten inhabitants of the Philippine Islands nine are Christians, seven (excluding children under ten years) can read and write, and two habitually speak the English language.

That Canada has decided to contribute 50,000 pounds toward the expense of the campaign against typhus in central Europe, the campaign being organized under the League of Nations and the Red Cross.

That, to relieve the distress of the children of Vienna, the Italian Red Cross has undertaken to give hospitality to 1,500 children from the Austrian capital, placing at their disposal several of the Red Cross institutions.

That French manufacturers of automobiles are considering the United States as a market for their cars, and a representative of the *Syndicate Francais des Constructeurs d'Automobiles* will leave France shortly to investigate conditions in America.

That book production in England may soon have to cease entirely, on account of the insistent demands of labor and the great increase in the price of paper, which combination is forcing up the prices of books to a point where they can only be produced at a loss.

That the University of Jena (Germany) began at the outbreak of the war to make a collection of books, magazine articles, pictures, and placards dealing with the war as it

concerned all the belligerents. The material thus collected is now being catalogued and a special building for it is being erected.

That the Italian Government, having discovered that Italy now ranks second to the United States in the manufacture of motion pictures, has just provided for the appointment of a special council of the motion-picture manufacturers, to the end that there may be a more effective organization of the industry.

That during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the total value of all export shipments from the United States, \$8,111,000,000, represents the greatest value in the history of this country's trade, and that the imports for the same period of time, \$5,239,000,000, exceed the imports of the previous year by \$2,143,000,000.

That Karlstad, Sweden, was the meeting place of the International Student Prohibition Conference, held under the auspices of the International Bureau of Abstaining Students, which is now functioning for the first time since the war. Many delegates were present from European countries, the United States also being represented.

THE NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY

Statement of Candidate Harding—Planks in Party Platforms

CANDIDATE HARDING'S PLAN

On July 22 the Republican candidate for President, Senator William G. Harding, of Ohio, in his speech of acceptance, replying to the words of Senator Lodge, which we also print below, said:

The resumption of the Senate's authority saved to this Republic its independent nationality, when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal.

Warning by Senate

It is not difficult, Chairman Lodge, to make ourselves clear on the question of international relationship. We Republicans of the Senate, conscious of our solemn oaths and mindful of our constitutional obligations, when we saw the structure of a world super-government taking visionary form, joined in a becoming warning of our devotion to this Republic.

If the torch of constitutionalism had not been dimmed, the delayed peace of the world and the tragedy of disappointment and Europe's misunderstanding of America might have been avoided. The Republicans of the Senate halted the barter of independent American eminence and influence, which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged government of the world. Our party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered.

The world will not misconstrue. We do not mean to hold aloof. We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this Republic to world civilization. There is no hate in the American heart. We have no envy, no suspicion, no aversion for any people in the world. We hold to our rights, and mean to defend, aye, we mean to sustain, the rights of this nation and our citizens alike, everywhere under the shining sun. Yet there is the concord of amity and sympathy and fraternity in every resolution. There is a genuine aspiration in every American breast for a tranquil friendship with all the world.

Consciences Awakened

More, we believe the unspeakable sorrows, the immeasurable sacrifices, the awakened convictions, and the aspiring conscience of human kind must commit the nations of the earth to a new and better relationship. It need not be discussed now what motives plunged the world into war; it need not be inquired whether we asked the sons of this Republic to defend our national rights, as I believe we did, or to purge the Old World of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed; the sacrifices will be in vain if we cannot acclaim a new order, with added security to civilization and peace maintained.

One may readily sense the conscience of our America. I am sure I understand the purpose of the dominant group of the Senate. We were not seeking to defeat a world aspiration; we were resolved to safeguard America. We were resolved then, even as we are today and will be tomorrow, to preserve this free and independent Republic. Let those now responsible, or seeking responsibility, propose the surrender, whether with interpretations, apologies, or reluctant reservations, from which our rights are to be omitted. We welcome the referendum to the American people on the preservation of America, and the Republican Party pledges its defense of the preserved inheritance of national freedom.

Quick Peace Promised

In the call of the conscience of America is peace, peace that closes the gaping wound of World War and silences the impassioned voices of international envy and distrust. Heeding this call and knowing as I do the disposition of the Congress, I promise you formal and effective peace so quickly as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Republican Executive to sign. Then we may turn to our readjustment at home and proceed deliberately and reflectively to that hoped-for world relationship which shall satisfy both conscience and aspirations and still hold us free from menacing involvement.

I can hear in the call of conscience an insistent voice for the largely reduced armaments throughout the world, with attending reduction of burdens upon peace-loving humanity. We wish to give of American influence and example; we must give of American leadership to that invaluable accomplishment.

I can speak unreservedly of the American aspiration and the Republican committal for an association of nations, co-operating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force, determined to add to security through international law, so clarified that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor.

Force of Example

This Republic can never be unmindful of its power and must never forget the force of its example. Possessor of might that admits no fear, America must stand foremost for the right. If the mistaken voice of America, spoken in unheeding haste, led Europe, in the hour of deepest anxiety, into a military alliance which menaces peace and threatens all freedom, instead of adding to their security, then we must speak the truth for America and express our hope for the fraternized conscience of nations.

It will avail nothing to discuss in detail the League covenant, which was conceived for world super-government, negotiated in misunderstanding, and intolerably urged and demanded by its Administration sponsors, who resisted every effort to safeguard America, and who finally rejected when such safeguards were inserted.

If the supreme blunder has left European relationships inextricably interwoven in the League compact, our sympathy for Europe only magnifies our own good fortune in resisting involvement. It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives to a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world.

Will Not Delegate Rights

No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance; no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this Republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor. There is a sanctity in that right we will not delegate.

When the compact was being written, I do not know whether Europe asked or ambition insistently bestowed. It was so good to rejoice in the world's confidence in our unselfishness that I can believe our evident disinterestedness inspired Europe's wish for our association, quite as much as the selfish thought of enlisting American power and resources. Ours is an outstanding, influential example to the world, whether we cloak it in spoken modesty or magnify it in exaltation. We want to help; we mean to help; but we hold to our own interpretation of the American conscience as the very soul of our nationality.

Disposed as we are, the way is very simple. Let the failure attending assumption, obstinacy, impracticability, and delay be recognized, and let us find the big, practical, unselfish way to do our part, neither covetous because of ambition nor hesitant through fear, but ready to serve ourselves, humanity and God.

Wants Free America

With a Senate advising as the Constitution contemplates, I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecration of nations to a new relationship, to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent, and self-reliant, but offering friendship to all the world.

If men call for more specific details, I remind them that moral commitments are broad and all inclusive, and we are contemplating peoples in the concord of humanity's advancement. From our own viewpoint the program is specifically American, and we mean to be American first, to all the world.

Appraising preserved nationality as the first essential to the continued progress of the Republic, there is linked with it the supreme necessity of the restoration—let us say the revelation—of the Constitution, and our reconstruction as an industrial nation. Here is the transcending task. It concerns our common weal at home and will decide our future eminence in the world.

World's Reserve Force

More than these, this Republic, under constitutional liberties, has given to mankind the most fortunate conditions for human activity and attainment the world has ever noted, and we are today the world's reserve force in the great contest for liberty through security and maintained equality of opportunity and its righteous rewards.

It is folly to close our eyes to outstanding facts. Humanity is restive; much of the world is in revolution; the agents of discord and destruction have wrought their tragedy in pathetic Russia, have lighted their torches among other peoples, and hope to see America as a part of the great Red conflagration. Ours is the temple of liberty under the law, and it is ours to call the Sons of Opportunity to its defense. America must not only save herself, but ours must be the appealing voice to sober the world.

More than all else the present-day world needs understanding. There can be no peace save through composed differences and the submission of the individual to the will and weal of the many. Any other plan means anarchy and its rule of force.

It must be understood that toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement, and righteous possession is the reward of toil and its incentive. There is no progress except in the stimulus of competition. When competition—natural, fair, impelling competition—is suppressed, whether by law, compact, or conspiracy, we halt the march of progress, silence the voice of aspiration, and paralyze the will for

achievement. These are but common-sense truths of human development.

SENATOR LODGE'S NOTIFICATION SPEECH

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the committee named by the Republican National Convention to inform Senator Harding of his nomination, in a speech on the 22d, gave his interpretation of the Republican Party's attitude, which has significance because of his position as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. He said:

You will always, and instinctively, in meeting the difficult questions and weighty responsibilities which confront you, think with complete unselfishness of your country and your country's interests first, a high qualification for an exalted office, not too familiar to us of late and, therefore, peculiarly necessary at this moment. You will, we are certain, be ever faithful to the finest traditions of the Republican Party, and at the same time we are equally sure that you are wisely tolerant and open-minded, in sympathy with the best movements of the time, looking forward to the future and its needs, but never unmindful of the great basic principles upon which the builders of the Republic laid the foundation of our government.

Your public life has shown to us and all your fellow-citizens that you believe in the system of government designed by the framers of the Constitution. They established a representative democracy and had no sympathy with any scheme which would turn the Government of the United States into an autocracy based upon a plebiscite, and with all the intervening representative features disregarded or effaced. You have abundantly shown your unwavering conviction that the Government of the United States should be one of laws and not of men, and that the three branches of that government should all work together in the exercise of the powers conferred upon them severally by the Constitution, for the common purpose of advancing the general welfare of the people.

The makers of the Constitution intended to co-ordinate the three great elements of government and strove to guard against usurpation or trespass by one branch at the expense of the other two. In that spirit, we all knew well, you will enter upon your great responsibility.

A Mexican Policy

At our own doors we have Mexico in a state of disorder and disintegration to which our government has, unhappily, most liberally contributed. Here is a grave responsibility not to be evaded or escaped. We rightly insist upon the supremacy in the American hemisphere of the Monroe Doctrine, which was declared by us in order to guard the safety of the United States and save the New World so far as possible from the wars and misfortunes of the Old.

We justly demand the abstention of Europe from any interference with American questions, but this doctrine of ours brings with it not only its benefits, but its duties. The condition of Mexico, owing in large measure to the shortcomings of our government, could not well be worse, and we must make up our minds that we not only owe it to ourselves to protect there, as all over the world, American rights and interests so long neglected, but to reach out a helping hand to the Mexican people to the end that law and order may be established in that country which has been plunged into anarchy and cursed with continuous civil war.

It is of the highest importance to the United States that Mexico should be both prosperous and peaceful, and we must face the fact that without our aid the Mexican people cannot properly or speedily bring about the improved conditions and the reign of law and peace which, we are convinced, they desire as much as we do.

The United States in War—and After

In defense of freedom and civilization and to vindicate our own invaded rights we entered upon the war with Germany, and although we were tardy in taking part in that

great conflict we came upon the field of action in time to turn the scale for right and liberty. Not content with aiding Europe to bring to pass the peace which all desired, after victory was won, Mr. Wilson undertook to make us members of an alliance with foreign powers indefinite in extent and containing provisions which threatened the independence, the sovereignty, and the safety of the United States.

This effort on the part of the President was arrested by the action of the Republicans of the Senate, who proposed protecting reservations which he defeated together with the treaty itself. In that work you, sir, took a conspicuous part, and we know that you were in full accord with the belief of your Republican colleagues and the League of Nations as proposed by Mr. Wilson and upon which he and his party still insist ought never to be accepted by the American people.

We have been and are quite ready to join in agreement with other nations for the extension of The Hague conventions; for the upbuilding and codification of international law and the establishment of a world court of justice; for international conferences in regard to non-justiciable questions and for arrangements to bring about a general reduction of armaments.

All these constructive measures are in accord with the traditional policy of the Republican Party, which has done so much in the past to forward the cause of international arbitration. But when we are called upon to become an integral part of a permanent alliance of foreign powers, to put ourselves in a position where the youth of the country can be summoned by foreign nations to fight and die in quarrels not their own, to entangle ourselves in all the conflicts and disputes of Europe where we have no interest, to permit foreign interference with our domestic questions and with the Monroe Doctrine, and to sit in an assembly where our vote is not the equal of that of every other country, we absolutely decline the proposition.

Warns of Internationalism

We stand for the policies of Washington and the doctrine of Monroe and against the internationalism and the permanent alliance with foreign nations proposed by the President. If the world needs us as they needed us in 1917, we shall not fail in our duty, but we can help other nations far better if we are free and untrammelled and do not permit our strength and our resources to be wasted and worn away and the lives of our young men to be sacrificed in endless hostilities with which we have no concern.

Such has been the policy of the Republican Party as represented in the Senate and such its policy will remain. We are certain that you who helped so largely to frame this policy will, when the executive authority comes into your hands, carry it out in such manner that we can fulfill all our responsibilities to the world without binding ourselves by any obligation to a League which, as submitted by the President, is but another name for the evil combination which was attempted a hundred years ago by the ill-omened Holy Alliance.

No national campaign for the Presidency has ever involved graver issues than this one, which now lies before us. Upon you, sir, will rest the great duty and heavy burden of executive authority. We look to you in full confidence to lead us and the people of our beloved country out from the darkness and confusion which the war has brought upon mankind into the light which shines upon a nation where peace reigns and the love of justice, of law, and of order rules in the hearts of the people.

Then we can again take up the work of advancing the United States along the broad road that leads to success, the road which we have followed for more than a century. Then, indeed, we shall not only rise to still loftier heights of achievement for ourselves, but be enabled to render the largest and finest service to humanity.

NEW YORK PARTIES' ATTITUDE

The "unofficial" Republican Convention of New York

State, at its meeting in Saratoga, N. Y., July 28, adopted a platform with the following plank:

Believing that it is the paramount issue of the American people today, we favor the League of Nations plank as contained in the national platform, which declares for a League with such reservations as shall in every way protect the sovereignty and independence of the United States and always retain in Congress alone the power to declare war, as opposed to the League plank adopted by the Democratic Convention, namely, a League with such reservations as shall not in any way impair the integrity of the instrument brought home by President Wilson from Versailles.

The Democratic Convention, in session in Saratoga Springs, August 4, omitted any specific reference to the League, it being agreed that the general endorsement of the Wilson Administration's foreign policy covered the case.

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION CONVENTION

The platform adopted by the National Prohibition Convention, July 22, at its session in Lincoln, Nebr., approved of the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations, not objecting to "reasonable reservations" to the treaty, but asking for immediate ratification.

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

The plank in the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party, formed in Chicago, July 10-13, demands withdrawal of the United States from participation under the Versailles Treaty in the reduction of conquered peoples to economic or political subjugation; it asks for recognition of Ireland and the Soviet Russian Government; abolition of secret treaties and the withdrawal of the United States from a dictatorship exercised over the Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam, and Hawaii. Support to a "League of Free Peoples" is pledged.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND TREATY PUBLICITY

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations has addressed a letter to the members of the League, informing them that an office for the registration and publication of treaties has been set up, in accordance with the terms of the memorandum approved by the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting in Rome on May 19.

Article 18 of the Covenant of the League of Nations reads:

"Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered."

And the Council of the League of Nations declared in its memorandum of May 19, 1920:

... "Publicity has for a long time been considered as a source of moral strength in the administration of national law. It should equally strengthen the laws and engagements which exist *between nations*. It will promote public control. It will awaken public interest. It will remove causes for distrust and conflict. Publicity alone will enable the League of Nations to extend a moral sanction to the contractual obligations of its members. It will, moreover, contribute to the formation of a clear and indisputable system of international law."

A treaty will have legal existence after it has been presented for registration by the parties concerned, to whom a certificate of registration will be delivered.

In addition, in a second register, a page will be reserved for each treaty. All relevant information will be entered therein—signatures and ratifications by the parties and, if necessary, subsequent accessions or withdrawals.

Certified extracts from this register may be delivered to States, tribunals, or individuals concerned.

The treaties will not only be registered, but also published. They will appear in a special section of the official journal of the League of Nations, through which they may become known to all.

Moreover, the Council of the League of Nations, actuated by the spirit of Article 18, has authorized the Secretary-General to register and to publish treaties concluded between countries not members of the League, should they request it. The League of Nations thus hopes to realize, within the limits of possibility, the system of open international engagements.

POLAND AND JEWISH POGROMS

British Commissioners Report—Why Migration from Poland

From a report rendered to the Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, made by Stuart M. Samuel, the full text of which is to be found in the *New York Times* of July 29, the Jews of the United States have taken ammunition with which to combat the statement of Prince Lumborski, Polish Ambassador to the United States, that the Jews of Poland had not been persecuted.

FORCED MIGRATION

As the immigration of Polish Jews to the United States has been so great in the past and bids fair to be even larger in the future, the following quotation from Commissioner Samuel's report is valuable, because it indicates the causes that incite this migration, Canada, like the United States, being a popular terminal for the emigrants. The report says:

Polish statesmen frequently assert that the proportion of Jewish small tradesmen to the general population is too great. If the complaint were limited to this alone, it might safely be left to find its own remedy, for I found that the children of this class were not satisfied to follow the parents' vocation, but were endeavoring, by means of attending technical and other schools, to attain a higher educational and social level. This class, however, little above the pauper, ever finds itself driven back upon itself by the economic restraints which it encounters, until at last, in desperation, it is forced to emigrate. I found but few families that had not one member at least in America or Canada. Experience has shown, as in the case of Ireland, that it is always a disadvantage to a country to have an emigration of despairing people, as these sow the seed of their discontent in other lands. A further remedy for this congestion of occupation would be to introduce into Poland new industries, for which Jews in other countries have evinced special aptitude. The difficulty of securing raw material limits the occupations available at the present time, but it would appear quite feasible to start factories for the manufacture of waterproofing, galoshes, furniture, boots, and clothing.

Doubtless western Jews would be prepared to assist their brethren to reach a higher plane of industrial development,

but unfortunately the Christian Poles, although not undertaking such enterprises to any extent themselves, exhibited distinct hostility to any such suggestion, which would benefit both the Jews and State alike. Many Poles, however, enlarge the demand for a reduction of the number of small Jewish tradesmen to one for the reduction of the Jewish population as a whole. The proposition is fraught with a danger not confined to the Jews; it is a danger to the State. To render the conditions of life so intolerable to the Jew as to force him to leave his native country has ever been followed by disastrous consequences to the country where this form of persecution has been essayed, whereas in every country where the Jew has been granted an effective citizenship he has proved himself a mainstay of law and order. The Jew has usually so much to lose through the consequences of disorder that he ranges himself instinctively on the side of good government. It is for the Poles to choose whether they will follow the example of Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Holland, Italy, and the other liberal-minded States, which have treated the Jew equitably, or link their fate with ancient Egypt, medieval Spain, and modern Russia. It must further be considered that when the Jew is driven out his capital is driven out with him. In fact, in most cases it precedes him, for the poor and helpless Jew is not the first to leave in face of economic persecution such as boycott or the fear of personal safety, but rather he who possesses the means to seek happier conditions of livelihood elsewhere. Thus, at the very time when it is vital to the interest of Poland to import capital, were the suggested policy carried into action, it would have for its result the export of capital. In addition, there is the danger that the better minds amongst non-Jews would not be willing to remain in a country wherein truth and justice are absent.

As a specimen of the facts discovered by the commissioner, we quote the following, referring to events in the city of Pinsk:

Pinsk.—The events at Pinsk on the 5th April, 1919, when thirty-five Jews were shot, took place about ten days after the town had been taken from the Bolsheviks by the Polish army. The Polish command had, a day or two before, suffered a reverse at the hands of the Bolsheviks and were in a state of nervousness as to an attack on the town. It seems that two Polish soldiers, one named Kosak, who is now in prison for robbery, and another soldier, since reported as killed in action, informed the military authorities that they had information that the Jews intended to hold a Bolshevik meeting on Saturday in what is known as the People's House, being the headquarters of the Zionists.

The events that followed appear to be so incredible that I think it best to give the evidence of the witnesses. Abraham Feinstein, president of the Zionist Co-operative Society, deposed that about the 28th March he received a letter from the Government Organizer of Co-operative Societies, stating that it was desirable that all co-operative societies in the town should combine, and giving them up to the 7th April to make their decision. He enclosed the government permission for the meeting to take place. The meeting took place on Saturday, the 5th April, and there were about 150 persons present, consisting of men and women. It was decided unanimously to combine. Mr. Barneh Zuckerman, an American, had brought 50,000 marks to be distributed for the holy days. Many of those present went into another room to discuss this, and how the money was to be distributed. Whilst this was going on some boys came in and said soldiers were there to take Jews for forced labor. They all went into the larger hall. Soldiers were shouting and others were stealing food from the refreshment-room. Feinstein ran into a friend's shop on the ground floor to take shelter. Feinstein then hid in Gotlieb's store on the ground floor, but was discovered and a soldier was left to guard him. He heard a shot upstairs. Gotlieb went out to get some water, and came back and said a dead man was lying in the yard. At 10 an under-officer came and said that about fifty people arrested had been shot dead, and that his turn would come at about 5 o'clock the next morn-

ing. At 1:30 a. m. an under-officer and two soldiers came and sent the guarding soldier away. They robbed him and said: "You will go to the kommandatur, as you will be shot, as all at the meeting were Bolsheviks." One soldier, a Polish under-officer, said he could speak Yiddish, and that he was in the synagogue and heard the Jews arrange to act against the Poles, and that he heard a young man say: "We will have a meeting in the People's House at 5." Feinstein stated it was untrue; then the soldier said he would take 150 roubles to let them go, there being six of them in Gotlieb's room, and eventually he consented to take 50 roubles. He then found two pocket-books and took 500 and 600 roubles respectively from them. He then said: "You are free."

A young lady who desired her name not be published, aged about 25, deposed that she went to the People's House to inquire as to whether she was to participate in the American money. Soldiers came in and began to eat food they found in a cupboard. They were seeking young Jews for forced labor. An elderly officer came and said they were all to go into the large room. They searched the people, and the first man searched had over 10,000 roubles. In her opinion, all that followed was to cover the robbery. She confirmed the statement that they were all taken outside the kommandatur. She confirmed the interview with Dr. Bakraba, but added that Dr. Bakraba himself beat a girl named Eisenberg. No question was put to them. They remained in the street. They expected they would be brought into the kommandatur, but were not, and remained in the street. A passer-by named Krasalstchik, who was walking on the pavement with a Miss Polak, was taken by the soldiers and included with the prisoners, and eventually shot. They were then all taken to the market-place and put against the wall of the church. All was dark. She saw some of the women led away a short distance, so she walked out of the line too. All those remaining at the wall were given time to say their last words. A teacher chanted the last Jewish prayers for the dying, and the others repeated them after him. They were then shot dead. The survivors were told their time would come on the morrow, and that they would be hanged. From the wall they were led to the prison. The women were in a separate room. The Polish guard treated them very badly, but the governor of the prison treated them kindly. The wardens said they would be shot. A gendarme came later and they were all led to a room, stripped naked, revolvers put to their heads, and flogged. They were then turned out of the room naked, with their clothes in their hands, into a corridor full of soldiers, who kicked and struck them. They were then sent into another room, where they dressed and were allowed to go free.

So the narrative runs on, with detailed examination of the charges made by the Jews, the answers to them by the Polish officials, high and low, all contributing to induce the commissioner to describe the general situation as "terrible" and one in which Jewish life and property are insecure. The recommendations of the commissioner to his home government, which no doubt have had weight with the British Government, are as follows:

1. That the Polish Government be urged to carry out the clauses of the Minority Treaty of June 28, 1919, in a spirit of sympathy with its Jewish subjects. A State can only be strong when all sections of its inhabitants are working unitedly and in mutual confidence for its welfare.
2. That a genuine, and not a "masked," equality be accorded to the Jewish population of Poland.
3. That all outrages against the person or property of the subject, irrespective of religion or race, should be promptly punished and the names of the delinquents published. This latter action is especially necessary, inasmuch as the State does not punish out of revenge, but as a deterrent to others.
4. That Jews in East Galicia be restored to their official positions in the same manner as non-Jews have been.

5. That Jewish railway officials and employees be restored to their posts in the same manner as non-Jews have been.

6. That no restrictions should be placed upon the number of Jews admitted to the universities.

7. That a decree be published declaring boycotts illegal and ordering all publications advocating boycott to be suspended.

8. That all prisoners in internment camps be brought to immediate trial, and that humane treatment be assured to all interned prisoners.

9. That facilities be afforded for the introduction of new industries into Poland with a view to converting a larger proportion of the Jewish population into producers.

10. That the British Government should assist Jews wishing to emigrate from Poland by providing facilities to proceed to countries such as Palestine, Canada, South Africa, Algeria, and South America, or any other country desiring to receive them.

11. That banks be established possessing the confidence of the Jewish public, so that money might be deposited therein instead of being carried on the person, or concealed in dwellings.

12. That the desirability of a secretary who understands and speaks Yiddish being added to the staff of His Majesty's Legation at Warsaw be considered.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE SECOND INTERNATIONALE, in session in Geneva, passed resolutions August 4 which are interesting, as indicating the present mood of the more moderate German Socialists as to Germany's responsibility for the war and their own failure to resist the national action. We quote from the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, who cabled:

"It is noted that the German Social Democratic party regrets that the German revolution happened five years too late, and also that it did not fight with sufficient success against the militarism and the imperialism of its government, specially as regards the direction of foreign affairs, which were withdrawn from the control of Parliament.

"The German Socialist party states that the Germany of Bismarck gravely endangered the peace of the world in the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871. For the German Socialists the question of Alsace-Lorraine has ceased to exist, and they acknowledge that Imperial Germany committed a new crime against the rights of the people by violating in 1914 the neutrality and independence of Belgium.

"The German Socialists further state that republican Germany recognizes her obligation to these reparations, which are a consequence of the aggression of Imperial Germany after her refusal of arbitration, which was still possible on the eve of the conflict, and renews the declarations of the allied Socialists in 1915, that one of the most profound causes of the war was the capitalist method of rule by stimulation of interests and appetites, but also declares that the immediate cause was principally, if not exclusively, a want of presence of mind aggravated by the unscrupulousness of the German and Austrian governments, which have now been overthrown."

RELIEF AND RECOGNITION FOR AUSTRIAN UNIVERSITY professors by British University authorities we reported and commented upon last month. The poverty and hopelessness of outlook of the Austrian University stu-

dents also is attracting attention in the British domain, and even as far away as in South Africa, where at Capetown officials and students of the local university have been busy raising funds for the Austrians. Of course, Prime Minister, General Smuts, has been prominent in this effort to show good will, and we append a quotation from his speech:

"Humanity is one; we are all members of one another. I hope this meeting will make us realize that barriers vanish when we come to the great things of life. All through South Africa we can spread what I think is the real true gospel of our day: the simple human feeling which binds us together all over the world.

"We can judge less harshly and cultivate more friendly feelings; eradicate hatreds from our heart, and in that way try to build up a new world, less mechanical, with less brutal force, but with the sweeter and sner forces which will build up a more wholesome life in society. I hope that from the University of Cape Town an influence of great power will go forth: a large-hearted magnanimity which will be felt all over South Africa and become a real beacon that will attract others and lighten the darkness that surrounds us."

THE POLES SIDE OF THEIR CASE against Soviet Russia is defined briefly in the following appeal of the Council of Defense at Warsaw, which says:

In the critical hour of its decisive struggle Poland turns to the nations of the world to tell them that her fall will be due not only to overbearing might, but also to the indifference of a world which calls itself democratic and freedom-loving, a world of principles of liberty for individuals and nations. Can the conscience of the world be still regarding the crimes to be committed on the Vistula by the former generals of Nicholas?

At this most tragic hour and in view of our endless misery, in view of the crime to be committed on the Vistula, we are making your conscience, the conscience of the nations of the world, responsible. Your indifference can, once as in 1772, 1795, 1831, 1863, allow these troops of the East to destroy the beginnings of freedom which, founded in the ruins of the Czarism of Nicholas and William, may now disappear beneath Bolshevik imperialism. May your conscience stir you into action. If Polish freedom dies tomorrow, yours will be threatened. On the eighth of September, 1831, the Russian army captured Warsaw—a second Waterloo. Think how the fall of Poland may become the commencement of a new world war, with a hecatomb a hundredfold greater which the free democracies of the West will have to place on the altar of their own national defense.

Bolshevist victory on the Vistula threatens all western Europe; a new world war hangs over the world like a storm cloud.

THE TURKISH AND BULGARIAN TREATIES with the Allies were signed the same day, and on the surface the Near East is this much nearer pacification; but with a swarm of unsatisfied claims arising from the partition of territory formerly Turkish; from the rivalries of Great Britain and France, and from the portents of the Pan-Islamic movement and the conquest of territory in and around the Caspian by the forces of Soviet Russia.

LETTER BOX

SPRAY RANCH,
SALIDA, COLO., July 9.

A. D. CALL.

DEAR FRIEND: I acknowledge with pleasure and great interest receipt of the marked copy of the June *ADVOCATE*, and thank the American Peace Society for continuing my name as an honorary vice-president. Ways are opening now for peace work, in some cases along new lines.

You may be interested to know that I have established the "International Mind Alcove" in the Public Library here in Salida. I am sure this work of "The International Mind Alcove" is a good movement. It fixes attention on a question that is very important, and no doubt starts thinking in the right direction. It seems to me that the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace has done no better work.

Most sincerely yours,

(MRS.) RUTH H. SPRAY.

READING, PA., July 8, 1920.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY:

Enclosed find \$1.50 for your good paper, as I think one-half of which is O. K. Without increasing the size, you should have cartoons and photos like other magazines. The pacifists of the world may be in the minority and others may laugh, but the Prohibition Party was only a small insect years ago. I hope your arguments will take effect some day.

PAUL L. KNORR.

ELBE, GERMANY.

ALTONA, THE 11TH OF JULY, 1920.

TO THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON.

DEAR SIR: The subscriber of this letter, a German democrat and pacifist, wishes to enter into personal correspondence with an also thinking educated young American for the purpose of interchange of views and ideas and of promoting the renewal of friendships between the two nations.

Will you pave the way for such a connection? For the purpose of inquiry the following: I am 21 years old; profession, bank official; great friend of literature and water sports. I have fought in Flanders.

Thanking heartily for your pains, I believe,

Yours in the cause of peace and friendship,

KARL MÜNZENBERG.

BOOK REVIEWS

DIPLOMACY AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.
By D. P. Heatley. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Pp. 1-IX,
284, and index.

This is a book by the author of "Studies in British History and Politics," a lecturer in history, University of Edinburgh. He has set for himself the task of portraying diplomacy and the conduct of foreign policy from the standpoint of history to show how they have been appraised by various writers and to indicate the sources from which the knowledge thus acquired may be supplemented. He assumes that there are grave dangers in keeping the people uneducated in matters relating to foreign affairs. He regrets that neither Britain nor France has a book corresponding to their political institutions, as does the Federalist with ours, and then goes on to make the familiar mistake of attributing Washington's Farewell Address to Hamilton. The first 82 pages relate to diplomacy and the conduct of foreign policy, a number of these pages being devoted to such supplementary notes as anti-Machiavel literature; Machiavelli; the Office of an Ambassador; the Balance of Power; Secret Diplomacy of Louis XV, and Frederick the Great on Parliaments. The rest of the book aims to cover the literature on international relations, which it does with informing clarity. Its section on international law gives ap-

appropriate credit to Wheaton, Nys, Walker, but the author is familiar also with Vattel, Martens, Phillimore, Grotius, Hall, Twiss, and Pollock. If this be not an extended, it may be said to be a select list. One section deals rather uselessly with the sovereignty of the sea, another of treaties. Its pages dealing with a number of the known diplomats of the world, especially with recent British diplomacy, are, like the other pages, valuable as references. There are 35 pages dealing with the Projects of Perpetual Peace as Pleaded for by L'Abbé de Saint Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, and Kant. The book as a whole gives one the impression of a scholarly college professor who has brought together for ready reference the notes which he has carefully gathered through the years, probably for lecture purposes. Thus there is a lack of coherence; but with the aid of the index, the volume is a useful tool for one interested in the factual side of international relations.

PATRIOTISM AND POPULAR EDUCATION. By *Henry Arthur Jones*. E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 314.

The author is one of the cleverest of the English playwrights, some of whose plays are sure of permanent fame as pictures of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. He has occasionally visited the United States, lectured at our leading universities, and returned home to preach to the British academic world such recognition of the stage as for some time has been given to it in America. Being the playwright and critic of the drama that he is, much of this book is colored by his major vocation and its distinct point of view. To state what the volume is, tersely, would be to say that it is a glorified pamphlet, embodying an open letter to the president of the British Board of Education and written during the neurasthenia of the war. We doubt whether its author would pen some of his chapters today, were he writing.

The thesis he reiterates over and over again is: that popular education of the English masses, however imperfectly carried out from the American or German standpoints it may seem to be, already must be held accountable for the loss of interest in Shakespeare, the vulgarity and banality of music-hall entertainments, the indecision and futility of national politics, the failure of the people to prepare for the war, the readiness with which the masses fall prey to "internationalism," and the breakdown of personal and family morals. Sir Henry is quite certain that the few fit are the ones that should rule; that the many better be kept in contented ignorance; that knowledge is a dangerous thing for all but the few to possess, and that premature idealism, such as a plan for federated international action, is folly at a time when the acme of prudence for Great Britain is to learn the lesson of the war, quit thinking of internationalism, and be intensely national.

One cannot but admire the candor of this reactionary man of letters. He is unabashed in revealing his prehistoric nakedness. The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, to whom the letter is addressed which makes up the book, does not seem to have been much moved by its call to "retreat." We notice that he continues with a steady official program to give the English, what they never have had and have not now, namely, a democratic system of education for the many. Scotland has had such a system, and she has furnished the British Empire with hundreds, if not thousands, of great administrators, who give the lie to all the absurd inferences of the playwright turned social analyst.

Sir Henry is a believer in war as a force which "almost certainly brings spiritual enlargement and enlightenment and enfranchisement to the nation that submits to its iron discipline and purifying sacrifices." He insists that Germany must be watched at least thirty years before treated as honest and beyond espionage. This, he argues, should be the guide and key to the British policy. Hence British opposition to the League of Nations allowing Germany to enter it should be registered. The volume belongs to the "hate literature" of the war and as such has pathological interest.

THE PRIME MINISTER. By *Harold Spender*. George H. Doran Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 381.

This is the "authoritative life of Lloyd-George" by a friend and admirer, a British journalist of some note. As such, it is a document for the defense in a case now being tried at the bar of public opinion, with bitter disputants on both sides, but a larger body standing by, refusing to "rock the boat" while the cause of Western civilization is in peril. Moreover, the reports of breaking physical health, coming from Downing Street, incline many judges to be lenient. They say that it is no time to handicap a man with a charge of possible wrong-doing at a time when he is staggering along to meet imperial problems of unprecedented magnitude and gravity, compared with which those Pitt had to meet following the French Revolution were puny. They trust to tomorrow to give Lloyd-George whatever of condemnation he deserves. For the present they will let him alone.

This biography has the conventional form of chronological development, so that the reader starts with the babe in a Welsh setting; is told about a genuine boy and ambitious youth; and sees how he first got his feet on the rung of the ladders of professional success and parliamentary fame. Then follow chapters in the history of Lloyd-George, the free-lance Liberal, the audacious lieutenant and occasional critic of Gladstone, and the responsible Cabinet minister, chapters which the public of today either does not know about or conveniently forgets, but which are wholly creditable to his social passion, moral courage, and loyalty to his political chiefs. You learn from Mr. Spender of the forces that the Welsh progressive had to resist within and without the Liberal Party, of his sympathetic contacts with the rising power of Labor, of his audacity in attacking landlords and parasitic recipients of unearned wealth. Those were his radical days, when he was not consorting with Tories and Unionists, as he is now. The masses then admired and trusted him and he steadily rose to a place where he could ultimately challenge Mr. Asquith, and, under war conditions, depose him as a party leader.

Of course, the main interest of the book just at this time is because it is a quasi *apologia sua vita* of a man who forced Great Britain to win a war that she would have lost had Asquith remained at the helm of affairs of state and Kitchener not been removed by Fate. This task he accomplished by resourcefulness both as premier and as organizer and equipper of the conscripted arm. It was a process which grew for him a new crop of enemies; and in this book his argument for his conduct is set forth.

The later chapters deal with the post-armistice period, the Peace Conference negotiations, and the "reconstruction" era. Last of all is an analysis of the man, admittedly a complex character, an opportunist in his technique as a party leader and statesman; gifted, like President Wilson, with a wizardry of speech that enables him to win popular support when opposed by officialdom. The Cymric stock from which he springs loves combat, often mixes imagination and reason, and, as in his case, tends to disturb more matter-of-fact persons who have to do business of state with him or negotiate with him around the council board. Yet, as Mr. Spender points out, he has caution as well as passion, shrewdness as well as apparent candor, a flair for realism as well as for rhetorical language. He will double on his tracks to elude an enemy, and the next moment he will beard a lion in its den. He is "slim," but also is courageous. Hardened to abuse, he remains sensitive within. He inspires either deep dislike or ardent love, as did Mr. Gladstone before him. Compelled, as he would claim, for national ends to work in coalition with men of "blood," social prestige, and century-long privilege, he at heart remains a democrat. Lincoln is his model, and he wishes the America of Lincoln were now standing side by side with the England of John Bright. Dominating the government, he still reckons on getting advice from competent lieutenants. A shatterer of the unity of the Liberal Party, he nevertheless is a champion of party, and he never gets far away from the "machine" that holds the party together.

Because Chamberlain did so minimize party efficiency, he failed to win his way to his goal; and as for Roosevelt, he, in the British statesman's opinion, erred in 1912 when he quit the Republican Party.

Doubtless the British Premier during the war felt that he was carrying burdens heavier than ever had been cast on any Briton. But it is a nice question for debate whether at this moment he is not more deeply implicated in insoluble problems where he has less light to guide him, than he was when Britain's main duty was to fight an open foe. The German was a somewhat known quantity. He fought in the open. You knew what he would do if he won and what he might do if he lost. But the Slav-Semite combination of militant communism busy undermining British prestige in Asia, and the Celtic war against British rule in Ireland—these are war aftermath that make John Bull rather dizzy. Old tactics do not seem to work. Whether Lloyd-George has either the mental sagacity or physical stamina to lead in this fight and on to victory may be settled very soon.

MEMORIALS OF THE HARVARD DEAD. I. THE VANGUARD. Edited by M. A. De Wolfe Howe. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Pp. 200.

This is the first of four volumes, which will include biographies of the 360 men whose names are inscribed on the Harvard Roll-of-Honor Men who, serving in whatever capacity on the fighting and auxiliary forces of the United States and the Allied Powers, gave up their lives.

The persons whose records find enduring fame in this volume are of the "vanguard," who enlisted prior to the United States entering the war in 1917. Some fought under Canadian, some under English, and some under French standards, and many of them were aviators connected with the famous Lafayette Escadrille, that won such praise and so many honors from the French Government.

A portrait of each youth accompanies each sketch, and the latter varies in length and in value according as the editor had material available. Where the hero described was a prolific letter-writer and kept his family or his college friends informed of his doings and his thoughts, then the editor is able to limn a portrait with some resemblance to life. If such material is lacking, the sketch is rather colorless, but always accurate.

One cannot read these brief narratives of idealism, that bore fruit in death for a cause, without an uplift of soul that is peculiarly blessed today, when realism and disillusionment abound. One cannot help hoping that they are quite ignorant of the sordid world that has followed the self-sacrificing world in which they found a "rendezvous with death," as one of them—Alan Seeger—phrased it. They were so pure in their motives, so certain that their comrades who survived would be eternally set against all war, and so willing to give up life if such might be the conflict's outcome. As they lean on the ramparts of heaven and survey the world of today, do they weep or smile sardonically?

No American reading this volume need be ashamed of his kin or his kind. The nationals of other lands with whom these lads fought, the physicians and nurses who cared for them in their hours of pain and death, and the priests and pastors who conferred with them in their last moments, all have but one story to tell: they were chivalrous, gallant, considerate, generous-hearted youth. They proved the truth of the old saying, "The bravest are the tenderest." The ancient university which has taken this way, among many, of honoring her sons has cause to be proud of the stamp she put upon them. She had taught them to live like rational men and die like passionate idealists.

ORDNANCE AND THE WORLD WAR. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN PREPAREDNESS. By Major General William Crozier, U. S. A. Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y. City. \$2.50.

General Crozier has had two distinct reasons for making this book; defense of his own conduct as head of a department

of the army and defense of the department. These attacks, in Congress and out, seem the more unfair, the more a right perspective of the war is attained by a critic uninfluenced by personal or professional jealousies and willing to do justice to men suddenly bewildered with gigantic tasks. The most intense "pacifist," providing he admires swift bringing of might out of weakness and of efficiency out of lost morale, can read the record here set forth with admiration, for it was a feat of organization, concentration of power, and production of supplies on a huge scale. General Crozier had been too long in office at the Ordnance Department to make it possible for him to be enemyless; and when certain Senators and some public journals got on his trail they had no difficulty in finding army men to furnish them with ammunition that for a time made General Crozier's administrative task much greater than it need to have been. Ultimately his enemies got his scalp; but he has the satisfaction in this book of showing that if he was old he was not senile, and that when he could get Congress even to appreciate partially what the Ordnance Department needed he always bettered the situation by reforms which he urged.

One rises from reading the book more disconcerted than usual by its disclosures of legislators' ineptitudes. War Department officialdom is honeycombed with jealousy, gossip, and malicious misrepresentation. Against this a bureau head has to steel himself, and also against its consequences. General Crozier's enemies may have rid the Ordnance Board of a man who had blocked their way, but he has written a book about them that they will have to reckon with. General Leonard Wood's character is illumined, we may add incidentally. He played his rôle mainly in the Lewis Gun controversy.

STEPS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

By Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, professor of history at the University of Chicago. The Abingdon Press, New York and Cincinnati. Pp. 210. \$1.50.

This volume, by a former president of the American Historical Association, gathers up lectures given by him at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., on the George Bennett Foundation. It is an excellent specimen of the work of an academic expert who at the same time has a gift of popular exposition and synthetic condensation of the fruits of a life of reflection. Theories, principles, and motives that have shaped the evolution of our form of democracy are dealt with. The present is viewed in the light of the past, but not from a static, but a dynamic, point of view.

The lecturer, or writer, is a sincere democrat, with no covert sneers at democracy, all too common in the academic world. He is a "progressive" who puts personality above property and social need above tradition and formal law. His internationalism is rooted in democracy, not autocracy, and a theory that makes it the duty of a nation to cooperate with others and not exist for itself. He has no sympathy with a gospel of isolated, self-determining nationalism. "If," he says, "we deny ourselves a share in the wide currents of the world, refuse to act the democrat, decline to participate in a world-arrangement based on consent and agreement, pride ourselves on a puny-souled invulnerability, think we can shut ourselves off by a hedge of self-imposed divinity, we do not deserve to live as a democracy. We shall not be a democracy. . . . For the revivification of its own soul, the nation must act on the moral tenets of its own accepted philosophy or lose it, sear its own spirit, and deaden its own life."

AFRICA AND THE PEACE OF EUROPE. By E. D. Morel. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., N. Y. City. Pp. 115. \$1.25.

This is an American edition, in paper binding, of a book that appeared some years ago, and which for its facts and arguments still has to be reckoned with by statesmen, lawmakers, and the public. The author may be an extremist, but he is an unusually well-documented controversialist, with a profound hatred for iniquity and a passion for defending weaker peoples.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A Governed World

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that, it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all

other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

Concerning international organization, adopted by the American Peace Society, January 22, 1917, and by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917.

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the Powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

THE ASSURANCES OF OUR VICTORY

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS will live; if not this League of Nations, surely the "solidarity uniting the members of the society of civilized nations." If from time to time we be most ignorant of what we are most assured, this is not true of us as we look now upon the Society of Nations surely struggling once more into being. We know now that a governed world is about to supplant the anarchy of international hate with its unbridled destructions. We now know that the trained intelligence of the world has found its chart and compass again, and that by their aid the ship of Justice is headed on its proper and inevitable course.

The ultimate victory of justice as between nations is assured. Men everywhere, particularly, we may be pardoned for saying, every friend of the American Peace Society, may well rejoice. Facts, not hopes only, come to make our assurance doubly sure. An Advisory Committee, made up of ten of the world's leading jurists, assembled at The Hague, has unanimously agreed upon four things. These four things are:

A.

A draft scheme for the establishment, in addition to the Court of Arbitration organized at The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, and in addition to the special tribunals of arbitration to which States are al-

ways at liberty to submit their disputes for settlement, a *Permanent Court of International Justice*, to which parties shall have direct access.

B.

The *continuation of The Hague Conferences*. The exact wording of their recommendation with reference to this reads:

I. That a new conference of the nations, in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague, be held as soon as practicable, for the following purposes:

1. To restate the established rules of international law, especially, and in the first instance in the fields affected by the events of the recent war.

2. To formulate and agree upon the amendments and additions, if any, to the rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful by the events of the war and the changes in the conditions of international life and intercourse which have followed the war.

3. To endeavor to reconcile divergent views and secure general agreement upon the rules which have been in dispute heretofore.

4. To consider the subjects not now adequately regulated by international law, but as to which the interests of international justice require that rules of law shall be declared and accepted.

II. That the Institute of International Law, the American Institute of International Law, the Union Juridique Internationale, the International Law Association, and the Iberian Institute of Comparative Law be invited to prepare, with such conference or collaboration *inter sese* as they may deem useful, projects for the work of the conference, to be submitted beforehand to the several governments and laid before the conference for its consideration and such action as it may find suitable.

III. That the conference be named Conference for the Promotion and Extension of International Law.

IV. That this conference be followed by further successive conferences at stated intervals, to continue the work left unfinished.

C.

A recommendation that the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations examine the advisability of establishing in the future also another kind of a *High Court of International Justice*, conceived in these terms:

1. A High Court of International Justice is hereby established.

2. This court shall be composed of one member for each State, to be chosen by the group of delegates of each State represented in the court of arbitration.

3. The High Court of Justice shall be competent to try crimes against international public order and the universal law of nations, which shall be referred to it by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations.

4. The court shall have power to define the nature of the crime, to fix the penalty, and to prescribe the appropriate means of carrying out the judgment. It shall formulate its own rules of procedure.

D.

That the *Academy of International Law* founded at The Hague in 1913, whose operation has, owing to circumstances, been interrupted, shall as soon as possible resume its activity alongside of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Permanent Court of International Justice, in the Peace Palace at The Hague.

These are assurances of victory indeed, victory for the constructive peace workers of a century.

THE WORLD'S MOST SIGNIFICANT DOCUMENT

THE MOST notable and significant document before the world today is the recommendation, submitted by the Advisory Committee of Jurists meeting at The Hague from June 16 to July 24, of the proposed Permanent Court of International Justice. We are pleased to print elsewhere in these columns the complete plan. A London correspondent has cabled that able critics in London "regard it as competent in all its details and as representing the most perfect flower from such worthwhile seed as the Treaty of Versailles contained." We are of the opinion that this is not an overstatement of the fact.

Acceptable to All

It will be noted that the project contemplates a real international court of justice to which no informed person can object. If the recommendations of the commission be adopted by the League or otherwise, the members of the court will act as judges in the full sense of the word, administering rules of law accepted by the nations. The court will be always ready and open for cases. Passionless decisions will thus be made possible, in accordance with the known facts and the acknowledged principles of international law, and that irrespective of political policy. The sanction of the court, like the sanction of the Supreme Court of the United States in issues between States, is to be, not shrapnel and poison gas, but rather that sanction of sanctions; namely, the court's own moral worth. Nations submitting their cases to such a court can neither lose vestige of their national sovereignty nor run the risks peculiar to mere diplomatic settlements. The project represents a careful, balanced adjustment of the interests peculiar to the big Powers on the one hand and the little States on the other. It contemplates the creation of nothing out of mere air; it represents the natural evolution of

judicial processes from out a known and creditable past. It makes possible for the States of the world what history has demonstrated to be indispensable; namely, a government of laws and not of men. None versed in the course of justice between States can object to such a tried and established method.

League Must Be Changed

Yet the plan will embarrass the present League of Nations. While the project is the immediate result of the action of the Council of the League of Nations, acting under Article XIV of the Covenant, it is quite inconsonant with that political organ contemplating as it does a superstate backed by an impossible scheme for the physical enforcement of the weak by the strong. We are told that diplomats abroad consider the proposed court as differing essentially from the basic idea underlying the Council of the League of Nations. This it happily does. Undoubtedly the Covenant of the League of Nations will have to be modified to meet the spirit of this proposal. It will be changed. Readers of these columns will discover that it is being changed. Its modification will be acceptable in Downing Street, at the Quai d'Orsay, and at the other capitals. We believe it to be generally recognized among the friends of the Covenant in this country and abroad that Article X of the Covenant, for example, must be expunged, if the League is to survive. Not only Article X, but Articles XI and XVI of the Covenant have been found to be specially impossible of application in concrete cases. They will be changed. It appears that the European friends of the original Covenant are for the most part aware at last that these articles are not only impossible, but that they are in every way needless in any effective international organization—antagonistic, indeed, to the basic principles of peaceable settlement. This has all been inevitable since Mr. Wilson returned from Paris. But the whole situation has been immeasurably relieved by this unanimous agreement of this committee of jurists—triumph that it is in the accommodation of the various schools of international law and practice, and free, as it is, of the complications thrust before us by various articles of the Covenant, ambiguous if not dangerous.

Court Not Dependent on League

It ought not to be necessary utterly to "scrap the League of Nations." But be that as it may, the encouraging fact is that the proposed court is not dependent upon that organization. It is true that the court may come into being upon the action of the Council and the approval of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Its development may follow upon the continuance of those bodies. But these things are not necessarily so;

for should the League cease to exist the court may be both organized and perpetuated. This will be clear when we consider certain facts. Thus, we have every assurance that there are to be conferences of all the nations, as recommended by the Advisory Council of Jurists, a continuation of The Hague conferences. It would be easily possible for the first of such conferences to invest the body of diplomatic representatives accredited by the nations to The Hague—a group referred to, both in 1899 and 1907, in the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, as the "Administration Council," with all the essential functions of the Assembly of the League of Nations, so far as the establishment of the court is concerned. An Executive Committee of that Administrative Council, to be chosen for the purpose, might easily function as the present Council of the League of Nations, with all the powers of that Council in the establishment of a court. Thus the court might be established, the judges selected, and the project put into effect, whether the League of Nations survive or perish. In other words, the International Court of Justice, with headquarters at The Hague, can now come into being and thrive unto the healing of the nations, irrespective of the conflict of ideas over the creation of the Treaty of Versailles.

Based Upon Wisdom

It is important that every intelligent person should study with care the sixty-two articles of this project, the first thirty dealing with the organization, the next six with the competence, and the final twenty-six with the methods of the Permanent Court of International Justice. From the very first article it is apparent that the field of peaceful settlement of international disputes is to be materially enlarged. Under the plan, we are to have a new agency for the protection of the nations, but an agency based on principles ancient and tried. It is not to be a substitute for other and well-known methods of settlement; but, under it, States are to be able at last to adjust their differences, not by threats and force and bloodshed, but in accord with the principles of justice commonly called rules of law. Parties in dispute are to have direct access to this permanent organization. Adequately qualified judges are provided for in Article II. In Article XVI their independence from governmental influences is assured. In addition to being independent persons of high moral character, their competence is assured by the stipulation that they shall be eligible for appointment to the highest judicial offices, jurisconsults of known ability in international law.

Thus it will appear that the framers of this project have based their recommendations upon wisdom. They clearly realized that the success of the court must de-

pend almost entirely upon the character of the judges; hence the provisions that such judges shall be professionally qualified. No league to enforce peace here; no threat of economic blockade and national extinction; no blanket authority to a small group of men to "take any action that may be deemed wise and effective"; no contemplation of "an act of war against the other members of the League." Because it is based upon wisdom the project constitutes the most encouraging single hope since the Armistice of 1918.

Locating the court at The Hague is another evidence of wisdom. The articles of the project, read and approved one by one, were unanimously adopted as a whole July 22, in that fair capital of Holland. Since the Court of Arbitration set up in 1899 is already located at The Hague; since the Academy of International Law and Political Science was organized in 1913 at The Hague and is to be continued there; since the Hague Conferences are to be reconvened unto the advancement of international law, meeting regularly and at stated periods in the same city, it appears peculiarly appropriate that this Permanent Court of International Justice should take its place at the head of the judicial table of the Society of Nations in that sturdy land, sacred to the memory of Hugo Grotius.

its American Origin

The project is an American project. Hence it will be an inspiration to every American versed in the history of his own country. We may well recall that the United States of America represents the first union of free, independent, sovereign States—a union which survives and remains adequate to its purpose. Our fruitful experience has taught us that this is true primarily because the judicial power of the United States is "based in one Supreme Court," extending "to controversies between two or more States." We have already said that this project is but the natural evolution in the realm of world justice. This fact is here quite apparent. Following the example of our Supreme Court, the project for the Permanent Court of International Justice—adopted at The Hague in 1907 in Article XVII of its Convention—provided that "the judicial court of arbitration is competent to deal with all cases submitted to it." The first article under the chapter dealing with the competency of this proposed court, Article XXXI, provides that "the court is competent to deal with cases between States." Thus the evolution is natural and real, especially acceptable to every American.

The court is to have a wide jurisdiction. It can deal with issues relative to the interpretation of treaties, to any points of international law, to matters of fact constituting the violation of an international engagement,

to questions of reparation arising from the breach of international obligations, and to the interpretations of all sentences passed by the court. Indeed, by the provisions of Article XXXIV the court is competent to take cognizance of disputes of any kind whatsoever which are submitted to it by a general or special agreement of the parties.

Furthermore, in case of dispute as to whether the differences come within the category defined, "the court shall decide." The court, therefore, is to be a court, not of arbitration, but of justice, the parties being bound to submit to the court within the limits of its jurisdiction. Little by little, as law is provided, the jurisdiction of the court can be enlarged. Thus, at last the way seems about to open before the nations for the realization of that truth phrased by one of the greatest of Americans, "No question is ever settled until it is settled right."

It may be repeated that this is the most significant thing now before the world. We may well believe that there is to be an endless series of periodic conferences to carry on the work begun at The Hague in 1899, conferences for the promotion and extension of international law. As with our United States, so with the nations, a competent judicial body is essential for the interpretation of that law. The nations, the United States included, will, therefore, welcome this project for a Permanent Court of International Justice. The nations are in the way at last to apply the principles of self-imposed law, whether the methods of settlement be by arbitrators or by magistrates. Mirabeau's day, "when right shall be the sovereign of the world," is nearer at hand. It is, we are firmly convinced, about to break.

THE SPIRIT THAT IS FRANCE

FRANCE HAS always had a way of overcoming difficulties. At the beginning of the Republic, a half century ago, her difficulties seemed well nigh overwhelming. Following the fall of Paris, late in January, 1871, and the treaty of peace which ceded to Germany Alsace and a part of Lorraine, she had agreed under the terms of the treaty to pay to Germany an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs. Then, by one of the world's most memorable outbursts of patriotism and in spite of many other burdensome financial obligations, she arose to the appeal of M. Thiers for 3,000,000,000 by giving to him 40,000,000,000 francs. In the present war, 3,508 establishments employing twenty or more persons were destroyed by the war, principally in the Department of the Nord. On May 1, 2,627 of these establishments, or 74.8 per cent, had resumed business. Only the worldwide shortage of industrial machinery, materials, and labor

kept these establishments from transacting business on a pre-war scale. The results already achieved, in spite of the 1,400,000 dead French young men and of the other millions variously incapacitated, France is showing again that she is France.

Consul General A. M. Thackara reports by cable from Paris that the total French foreign trade for the first eight months of 1920 amounted to 38,967,333,000 francs against 27,486,564,000 francs for the corresponding period of 1919. Exports of food products amounted to 1,299,609,000 francs against 624,340,000 francs during the January-August period of 1919; industrial materials, 3,215,690 francs against 987,755,000; manufactures, 9,226,052,000 against 3,582,504,000 francs; postal packages, 664,787,000 francs against 548,619,000. Imports of food products amounted to 6,118,929,000 francs against 6,658,159,000; raw materials, 11,324,485,000 francs against 8,338,750,000; and manufactures, 7,187,781,000 francs against 6,746,437,000. The adverse trade balance for 1920 was 10,055,057,000 francs against 16,000,128,000 in 1919, a decrease of 5,945,071,000 francs.

WE, TOO, SHOULD LIKE TO KNOW

IS THE United States at war? If so, by whose order? Have we ever been at war with Russia? If so, when, and under what authority?

A correspondent from a distant State writes, making these inquiries. He calls attention to the press dispatches that there is a brigade of American troops, about 6,000 strong, in Coblenz, that these troops were originally sent from America with orders to go to Silesia, but that because of America's refusal to adopt the League of Nations without reservations, this American-Silesian brigade was stopped at Coblenz. If it had not been for America's failure to adopt the League, it is stated, our boys would be fighting in Silesia along with the Italians, French, Poles, and Germans. He also calls attention to the dispatch by way of the Universal Service that the United States cruiser *Pittsburgh* is in the Baltic to support the League of Nations.

Our correspondent inquires if, since America has not ratified the treaty of peace, we have any legal right to dispatch a warship for the purpose of enforcing that treaty. He points out, furthermore, that American authorities on the Rhine have overridden the Belgian proclamation of American neutrality by ordering American soldiers to load American ships at Antwerp with munitions for Coblenz en route to Poland. In the meantime, an American ship has left Malta loaded with ammunition for Poland, while in every port of Europe

munitions left behind by the American Expeditionary Forces are being loaded in American ships for the same destination.

We are told that the commander of the *Pittsburgh* has orders "to see that the munitions landed at Danzig are dispatched to Warsaw," whether Sir Reginald Tower agrees or not. Supplies of all kinds, including munitions of war purchased from this government, are being openly loaded into ships at American ports and sent to Poland. One Shipping Board vessel has recently taken a cargo at Philadelphia; while another, the *Warsowa*, is now at Antwerp loaded with munitions obtained from the American army on the Rhine. By such means the United States Government is now giving aid to Poland "by all available means." Strikes among the longshoremen at Philadelphia and Antwerp have been based upon opposition to this loading and handling vessels carrying munitions of war to Europe. With our correspondent, we, too, should like to know if we are at war, and, if so, by whose authority?

NEWNESS IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

THERE IS a certain newness in the more recent approaches to the settlement of international questions. This is felt in every gathering where international questions are discussed. A conference held in the State of California during the month of August is a case in point. It was assumed by those who took part in that conference that the particular difficulties of governments rested on problems of population, of supplies and raw materials, of manufactured goods, and of contrasting ideals of civilization. So experts were brought in to give the latest facts relating to the growth of world population, to the causes and effects of migration, and as to the probabilities during the coming generation. Some of the speakers dealt with the problem of present and future supplies of raw materials, while others attempted to define the struggle for physical existence and economic contentment in its relations to the evolution of the race.

The local color of this particular conference was reflected in the questions raised: For example, How far do the facts enable us to go in attributing to "cheap labor," to the "standards of life," to "race prejudice," the various complications incident to the immigration policy of the nations? How far can a civilization develop its city life at the expense of the rural population, without the danger of degeneration? What known facts of biology and anthropology affect the problems of orientalism in North America, and what are their significance to the issues of race fertility and miscegenation?

What is the character of allegiance the family and the state may exact of each other when national policies conflict?

The clergymen, journalists, scientists, actuaries, educators, meeting for the discussion of such questions, illustrated the desire to base policies upon facts. Evidently sentimentality entered little into the talk. It was a business conference interested in results. To attend such a conference means more knowledge of the fundamental issues of contemporary civilization, more international mindedness in the best sense of that term. Such a conference, conducted in such a way and in such a spirit, indicates the kind of peace conference we must now plan for and encourage.

THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

THE INTERNATIONAL Financial Conference opened in Brussels September 24, ostensibly under the auspices of the League of Nations. At this writing it is in session. Invitations were sent not only to the members of the League, but to the United States, Luxemburg, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria. Improving upon the methods employed by the League of Nations, all nations are permitted to take part in the deliberations on an equal footing. Because of the neutrality of the Swiss Confederation, M. Ador, former president of the Republic, has been chosen president of the conference. Fourteen printed pamphlets containing the mass of facts relating to the economic conditions of the various governments have been submitted to the conference. The plan to limit the political questions and to cluster the discussions around the purely economic conditions shows the attempt to make the discussions of practical financial import. It should be observed, therefore, that the conference is more a conference of experts than of nations. Indeed, the conference is not a conference of the League of Nations. Its findings are in the form of recommendations only and are wholly without binding force.

As is the way of international conferences, each group of representatives is given a short period of time, about fifteen minutes, in which to state the financial situation of its home government, particularly as regards budget, internal and foreign debts, credits, and money exchange. That is followed by a general discussion of those factors most closely related to the re-establishment of credit.

Such a conference of experts should have an illuminating effect in the chancelleries of the world. The practices of our financial men everywhere cannot help being modified by such a meeting of minds. But, what-

ever the direct economic effect of the meeting, the nature of this organization shows the return to sane methods of international effort. States not members of the League participate on equal terms with States in the League. Government officials, bankers, and commercial men vote not as international groups, but as individuals. Decisions reached are to take simply the form of recommendations to the various governments. Thus they will be without binding force unless ratified by the nations to whom the recommendations are made. No Article X or XVI of the League of Nations here. The publicity seems complete. We have before us, therefore, a Hague Conference in miniature. Such a meeting will lead to other and still more important international conferences. The rational methods of handling international disputes approach.

THE ATTITUDE OF FOREIGN LABOR TOWARD WAR

IT now appears that the military wing of governments must reckon with organized forces of labor. Evidence of this accumulates. The war-making and peace-defining agencies of governments find themselves reckoning even with labor groups radical in their policies, bent upon extremism; but among practically all of the labor groups, especially abroad, military action in behalf of nationalism is openly and incorrigibly opposed. Owing to the conservative character of our people and to the control of our organized labor by "moderates," this newer aspect of anti-militarism has not taken concrete form in the United States; but statesmen abroad are facing the phenomenon with no little trepidation.

The International Miners' Congress at its last conference decided to order a universal shut-down in production of fuel rather than have the masses undergo a repetition of the war experiences of 1914-18.

British Government officials, expediting transmission of supplies to military opponents of the Russian Soviet Government, have had their shipping operations blocked by the refusal of marine workers to handle the goods.

German Government officials assenting, the transmission of ships and supplies through the Kiel Canal has been checked by workers sympathizing more or less with Russia, refusing to let Poland be reinforced in a military way.

British military operations in Ireland have been hampered by refusal of the transport workers to carry food and supplies to the troops and to the constabulary. British trades-unionism, by its peremptory notice, served on the Premier in August, forced him to moderate his Polish policy.

In the Far East, Japan has begun to see that her proletariat will no longer show unquestioning loyalty to the throne or meek acceptance of conscription for national glory; and even in China the laboring classes, led by Chinese who were in Europe during the war and who caught the revolutionary disease, are now preparing to shape the national policy as well as to fight the strongly entrenched merchants' guilds. To no inconsiderable extent much of the delay in "composing" the world after the war that defeated Germany has been due to the fact that government negotiators have had to reckon with this new factor in peace-making. Old-fashioned statesmen have plotted and planned as if only they had to agree on boundaries, to parcel out territory, and to impose reparations. They have been taught since the armistice that there is a rapidly increasing proportion of Europe's and of Asia's population that will not fight to enforce these bargainings. Social reconstruction and abolition of war as a method of settling disputes interest the workers there more than the preservation or extension of political entities. The first nation candidly to recognize this epoch-marking change and adjust its ethics and its administrative and its diplomatic technique to the fact will be the first to emerge from the ruck of the present turmoil and to get started on the way to economic rehabilitation, to internal peace, and to friendly relations with the rest of the world.

THE PASSING OF BULLETS AND MONISM

DURING THE war, more American boys were killed and wounded by gas than by bullets. This terrible means of destruction was particularly effective in surprise attacks. We are now told by our War Department that of 266,112 admissions to the American hospitals in France, 88,980 were due to gas. This number is 33.4 per cent, while our casualties from gunshot missiles were 32 per cent, shrapnel 15.2 per cent, shell 8 per cent, 1,156 being wounded by hand-grenades and 245 by bayonets. Furthermore, we are told that these figures are true in spite of the fact that the Germans often ran short of gas. On the other hand, at the time of the Armistice we of the United States had one chlorine plant capable of manufacturing from ten to fifteen times as much gas as the Germans were able to make altogether. If the war had continued, we would have had enough gas to overwhelm the enemy in every battle. Thus, if wars are to continue, we must adjust our minds to the fact that our boys will go down not because of bullets, shells, and the like, but because of asphyxiating gases.

General William L. Sibert does not forget that this form of chemical warfare has always been viewed with horror and condemned as barbarous. Indeed, in The Hague conferences special conventions were adopted planning for the abolition of that type of warfare; but General Sibert says:

"As soon as the scientific world developed means of protecting the soldier against it, and the various advantages, strategical and tactical, of its use became known, military men began to look upon it as a means of warfare that had come to stay and must be reckoned with."

General Sibert is right. In the future wars, if wars there are to be, chemists will kill their millions. The war chemists of all the nations are getting ready. Not only field guns, but all forms of aircraft will make it possible to asphyxiate whole communities, armies, States. General Sibert assured us that the gas manufactured by the American chemists just before the end of the war would have been far more deadly than the German gas. Of course, improvements in this means of destruction are not confined to any one nation. Another world war will be as much more hideous and destructive than the war of 1914-18 as that was more devastating than any of its predecessors.

But gas is not the only fearsome substitute for the familiar bullet of other days. Submarine and supermarine craft bid fair to put present designs of surface steaming vessels out of commission in the not-distant future. The armed hydroplane, carried on specially constructed vessels, will form part of the equipment of the armed fleets built on old lines, and will do the scouting for the fleet and some of its guerrilla fighting. Aéroplane fleets from the land will sally forth to bomb all craft that dare to keep on the surface. In short, as Admiral Fisher, of the British Navy, the modern Nelson, pointed out not long before his recent death, the whole naval policy of Great Britain must be adjusted to a new technique, and assets which she formerly derived from her isolated position no longer exist. But the doom of the dreadnaught and cruiser is not only written in the swift evolution of the air-traversing fighting craft. To the submarine of the type perfected during the present war recent inventors have added a submarine "tank" that will crawl up river beds and along the shores of lakes and the coasts of oceans and emerge where least desired, first bombing from below any enemy craft, and then taking to land and using the usual "tank tactics." The French admit having such a new weapon.

Thus does the "war against war" go on. Science applied both blesses and curses mankind. Here you see swords being beaten into plowshares; there you see spears

being transformed into poison-gas containers. The sun of peace shines here; a mile away the hail of war falls in torrents. God is in his world; yes, but so is the Devil. Monism faced by the actual facts of history is a pitiable thing. The older dualism was truer to facts, and the record of applied science in connection with war proves it.

EMBARRASSING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FROM EUROPEANS, nearer the scenes of continental re-adjustment than we, the evidence accumulates that the alliance which imposed the Treaty of Versailles is increasingly undergoing a gradual dissolution. Ever since President Wilson's second trip to France, our own opinion has been, to use the language of Charles E. Hughes, that the League of Nations as proposed out of Paris "has a bad heart." The insurmountable difficulties confronting such a proposed alliance, savoring of a superstate, are appearing now from many quarters.

An embarrassment of an unexpected sort appears just now from "The Little Entente," made up of Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, and later, perhaps, of Greece, Bulgaria, and Poland. Dr. Benes, the Czech foreign secretary, has been able to establish what appears to be an acceptable program for this group. The plan proposes a neutrality toward Bolshevik Russia, and a guarantee of protection against the violation of their neutrality by any ambitions of Hungary. It appears that the Little Entente is opposed to the newly established French-Magyar Danubian Federation. In the presence of such a situation one wonders what position France can take; and naturally inquires, What is to become of the Supreme Council in the premises? What are the Great Powers going to say? What of the League? Still more embarrassing, perhaps, the Roumanian foreign secretary has suggested that the Little Entente should be given a seat on the Executive of the League of Nations.

Another embarrassing situation for the League of Nations lies in what seems to be the fact, namely, that France has just completed a treaty with Belgium, a treaty referred to by the *Manchester Guardian* as of "the most intimate kind." The treaty is reported to be a military alliance, under the terms of which each country binds itself to come to the assistance of the other when attacked. Under the circumstances, that seems a natural step; but what of the League? Under the terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations, of which both France and Belgium are members, this treaty must be communicated to the League and published.

The treaty has not been so communicated; and, probably, it never will be so communicated. Commenting upon this situation, the editorial writer of the *Manchester Guardian*, under date of September 17, pertinently remarks: "A more flagrant breach of the plain provisions of the Covenant it is difficult to imagine. It is a deadly blow to the League." This from a paper which views the League as the essential foundation of any European peace and the corner-stone of any tolerable system of European reconstruction. As the writer points out, "This is, in truth, a test case." If this treaty is not to be submitted to the League of Nations, and through it published to the world, no treaty need be submitted or published. Article XVIII of the Covenant of the League makes this apparent beyond question. Let us recall the language of the article: "Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat, and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered." That a treaty of such great political and military importance is not to be submitted to the League is the most serious blow which that organization could receive. An embarrassment indeed.

WE ARE pleased to reprint the following editorial note from the *Christian Science Monitor* under date of September 21:

"A certain small town in England was recently faced with a problem. It had subscribed during the war with the utmost energy to war loans. It had sent many men to the front and in every way done its bit. The other day it was asked to erect a war memorial in its midst. The promoters of the scheme, with the utmost confidence, presented plans for the erection of what might be described as a 'suitable monument,' and invited subscriptions. The response was so utterly inadequate that, in the end, such subscriptions as had been sent in were returned and the scheme was abandoned. Now, few would be inclined to doubt this little town's patriotism, fewer still its gratitude. What happened was very simple. In common with a great many other little towns, in its heart of hearts it did not want any memorial of the war, and it said so. That was all."

IT IS with sorrow that we record the death in New York, August 19, of Alpheus Henry Snow, authority on international law and one of our most valued contributors.

Mr. Snow was a native of New Hampshire, receiving his education in Trinity College and in Yale and Harvard Universities. Besides many articles on political science, he was author of the work entitled "The Administration of Dependencies"; also, "The Question of

Aborigines in the Law and Practice of Nations." He was for some time a lecturer on Colonial Government in George Washington University. He was delegate to the International Conference of Insurance at The Hague in 1910. He was a member of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law. Every scholar interested in international problems will miss the thoughtful and analytical contributions of this conscientious, painstaking thinker, who spent his strength unsparingly for the cause of justice.

IS THE Covenant of the League of Nations a straight-jacket? We are in receipt of a letter from London which reads:

"Sometimes the League of Nations is represented as a straight-jacket.

"This it most emphatically is not. The process of amendment has already set in with important changes offered by Norway, Sweden, and Denmark for consideration by the November Assembly meeting and aimed toward the increase of power of the small States. There is every reason to think the League Covenant will be as frequently changed as was the American Constitution.

"Its greatest omission, namely, the failure to work out details of the judicial settlement of disputes, is being filled in by the World Court project adopted by The Hague committee, of which Mr. Elihu Root was a member. Similarly, it is equally possible that the greatest source of attack, namely, Article 10, might be amended or interpreted by the nations which gave the Covenant validity."

We are of the opinion that, as far as the United States is concerned, the people of this country will speak upon this matter authoritatively Tuesday, November 2.

"RIGHT OR WRONG, our people will not live with those of a physically different race except on the basis of that race's inferiority." These are the words of an eminent California journalist and political "liberal" in a recent number of the *New Republic*. The Caucasian in the South says the same thing about the Negro; the British the same thing about the Indian or the South African Negro; and Europe, and to some extent the United States also, seems increasingly to take similar view of the Jew. This California journalist and Liberal draws the moral from his thesis that the nation must put a stop to further immigration from Japan to the United States. Those who are here now can be cared for and assimilated in due time; but further infiltration will give the nation another "race problem" and provoke ultimate war with Japan, since she is in a position to assert her equality of status with nations of other dominant race. She asked for this equality at the Paris Peace Conference, and it was refused. She

will ask for it again. To any student of the causes of war the quoted sentence with which we begin this comment is doubly significant. Neither humanitarianism, democracy, nor Christianity can accept a permanent policy of race exclusion based on physical differences merely. One after another the dominant races of the past have gone to wreck on an assumption of superiority based on external variations. They might have survived in trying to find internal unities. Anyhow, it would seem worth while to apply our minds to trying out some such method.

SANE PROTESTANTS are now admitting that time has proved the inherent limitations of a protesting, destructive policy that lacks constructive and unifying power on some higher plane than mere dissent. A similar note is being struck now by persons who themselves have been "conscientious objectors," but who now are saying that "conscientious affirmation" is the need of the hour. Several of the speakers at the impressive Friends' Conference in London struck this note.

YOU SOMETIMES have to go abroad to find that which in theory would more inevitably be found at home. Thus the Friends' Conference in London has brought together a more representative gathering of the Quakers of the United States than ever assembled on the west side of the Atlantic.

POSSIBLY THE most striking illustration of the growth of a group spirit transcending all previous national demarcations is to be found in the ambitious plan of Spain's gypsy chief, Vargas. He is trying to induce the scattered wanderers of the gypsy clan to quit their migrations, settle down in a given area, formulate and operate their own code of laws, and to quit thinking of themselves as Spanish or British or American gypsies, and to become "mere" gypsies. Vargas may not live to see his dream come true, but his children may. The fact to be noted is that he argues for a unifying trend that implies less emphasis on place of birth and minor characteristics of dress and language. Would that there were a genius of the George Borrow rank to follow and describe the effect of the appeal.

HOW INCLUSIVE yet simple the women are when they come to formulate a platform for their action in world affairs, political or social. At the recent International Council held in Christiana, Norway, they did not tangle themselves up with any "isms," or join any alliance, or bow down before any league. They simply said.

"We, women of all nations, sincerely believing that the best good of humanity will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and of the State, do hereby band ourselves in a confederation of workers to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law."

So many men today teach and practice the Leadon Rule that it is not without comfort to see that the Golden Rule has a few remaining adherents.

WHERE OIL deposits are, there statesmen of a commercial type gather today to get possession of the "key" fuel of the hour and of tomorrow. But all phases of oil distribution are not as grim as the processes of its acquisition. We have long known of the uses to which the Chinese peasantry and urban dwellers have put the tin cans that the Standard Oil Company's agents have sent throughout the empire with petroleum for the illumination of the homes and shops of the people. Many of these substitutions have been comical; but we have not heard before of the disciples of Confucius using the tin cans for roofing of their temples. In Salonica, however, the Mohammedans have been using the "containers" to replat the surface of their rotting mosque minarets. Now when the call to prayer goes forth, it not only summons the faithful to think of Allah, but also to remember the generosity of the managers of the Red Cross garages.

THE IRISH question is not one for official America. That is the position taken by Warren G. Harding, Republican Presidential nominee. Mr. Harding is right. It is not necessary to remind our government of the suggestion from Lord Salisbury to President Lincoln during the dark days of the Civil War. When the illustrious prime minister proposed to mediate between the North and the South, Mr. Lincoln reminded the distinguished statesmen that the war in America was a war of the United States. From this distance it would seem that the first thing is for the Irish people to agree among themselves, and then for Britain and Ireland to compose their difficulties, and all this without interference by our government. Surely, if the problem be too big for the League of Nations, on the spot, it would seem ordinary sense for us to mind our own business, at least until both parties to the dispute ask our advice.

IN *The Nation* of September 18 one Thomas Reed Powell essays a review of the three volumes published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, volumes entitled "Judicial Settlement of Con-

troversies Between States of the American Union." The reviewer grants that the choice before the world in 1919 finds something of a parallel in that between the thirteen States in 1787. He grants that the material in these volumes "covers the American experience of judicial settlement of quarrels between States." He grants that "those who have occasion to read them or to refer to the cases which have passed on disputes between the States will find it convenient to have the material accessible in two big books." He also grants that "some few scholars may be saved a little physical effort by Dr. Scott's compilation." He might have added, had he thought for a moment of the international lawyers in foreign lands, that the volumes will be of no little service abroad. Granting these things would seem to acknowledge that the purposes of the editor and of the Endowment had been somewhat achieved. But the reviewer acknowledges nothing of the kind. His economic soul is hurt by "the wanton waste of money which this unexpurgated copying involves." His sense of order objects that in these volumes "the only order is the order of time." His long and successful career as an editor—he must have had that—leads him to cry out that there are other decisions which should be included "in any picture that professes to paint the Supreme Court as a model for a world court." Furthermore, too large though the volumes are, there should have been included an account of the powers possessed by Congress, also "a potent force in keeping the States from each other's throats."

That certainly is brave reviewing, with just enough of learning to think of things left out. The irritable but learned reviewer closes his caustic utterances by paying his temperamental respects to the editor of the volume in these discriminating words: "He would have done better had he done nothing." Thus wags the world for a helping gentleman with his eyes severe, filled with his wise saws and modern instances; but let not "satire be our song."

THE UNTIMELY death of Dr. George Nasymth, due to typhoid fever, in Geneva, Switzerland, September 20, removes another sometime contributor to the columns of this magazine. Dr. Nasmyth was born in Cleveland. He was graduated from Cornell University in 1906, where for the next four years he was instructor in physics. Following that he studied in universities in Germany, where he became interested in the international students' movement. He became president of Corda Fratres, the name usually given to the international federation of students. Dr. Nasmyth was a member of the Society of Friends.

THE WAR against war continues. It is a campaign peculiar to no mere group of idealistic and pulling pacifists. Warriors themselves, real warriors, are gathering up their forces unto the overthrow of the arch enemy. A short time ago a conference of ex-service men from the countries of Europe was held at Geneva, Switzerland. Ex-service men organized in France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Austria, Belgium, Britain, and a number of other countries sent delegates. The purpose of the convention was to formulate some plans "whereby the ex-service men of all countries can combine in stamping out the war spirit and in preventing future wars." The British delegation, representing the national union of ex-service men, urged that the affiliated ex-service organizations everywhere shall co-operate—

"(1) In spreading anti-militarism and anti-war propaganda in all countries, *especially amongst the children.*

"(2) In insisting that no treaties or international agreements of any sort shall be regarded as binding unless they have been published to and ratified by the peoples concerned.

"(3) In urging upon the organized workers of all countries the necessity of constructing, at once, some machinery for insuring an international general strike whenever there seems to be an imminent danger of war.

"(4) In supporting the workers of the world in their efforts to destroy the capitalist system, which today is the ultimate cause of war.

"(5) In striving to bring about the cancellation of the Treaty of Versailles.

"The first and last of these items are the ones with which the ex-service men, *as such*, are chiefly concerned."

Commenting upon this program Mr. A. Ernest Mander, General Secretary of the National Union of ex-Service Men, says:

"It is probable that even the militarists have given up all hope of ever re-creating in the present generation the illusions of the 'honor and glory' of war. Yet their system depends upon these illusions, for wars cannot be made unless a large number of people can be hypnotized by the 'glamour' of warfare. So today we find that *those who wish to re-create the war spirit are concentrating their efforts upon the children.*

"But the ex-soldiers of Europe can defeat them. *They* can teach the children what war really is. *They* can expose to the children, as no one else can, the horrible, sordid, revolting realities of the most degrading and bestial business in the world.

"If every ex-soldier would tell his own children the truth, the *whole* truth, about war, the war spirit would be stamped out forever.

"We want every ex-service man in Europe to take a solemn vow that he will set himself to do this. And we urge all the ex-service men of Britain to join those who are already organized in the international ex-service men's movement to end war."

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

Special Foreign Correspondence

THE OUTSTANDING features of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as recommended to the Council of the League of Nations, at San Sebastian, by the Jurists' Advisory Committee, which met at The Hague from June 16 to July 24, are that the new court will be always ready and open for cases; that it will consist of permanent judges, to allow the development of a strong judicial precedent; that it will have the right of obligatory adjudication in a strictly defined field of cases of law; and that it will base its decisions, not upon compromise and adjustment, but solely upon law and fact. The project is a most intricate and carefully balanced adjustment of the conflicts between the big powers and the little powers, between the extremists and the moderates, between those who wanted to give the court all power and those who hesitated to give it too much, between those who looked at it largely from a theoretical point of view and those who recognized that the first essential was to prepare a plan which would be accepted by the nations.

The most vital question after that of the selection of judges is as to the jurisdiction of the new court. Obviously, of course, it would be competent to decide all cases voluntarily brought to it by the parties or referred to it by advance agreement in special treaties. Beyond this, however, should there be any general classes of cases which by their very nature must be submitted to it? In other words, should the court have the right of judgment in any cases whatsoever, even if a State may not have recognized its competence in that particular case? This question went straight to the root of the whole problem, for if the court were to have no power of compulsory adjudication, it might soon languish for lack of work, while, on the other hand, if it were given compulsory adjudication over too wide a field the nations would refuse to approve its formation.

The past, as it happens, is rich with suggestions along this line. At one end they show the gradual clarification of the field of cases which nations agree should be submitted to obligatory adjudication, while at the other they illuminate the great danger of trying to make this field too wide. Between the field of cases generally accepted as suited for compulsory adjudication and the danger line where States have feared a threat to their sovereignty, it has been possible to choose a middle ground, considerably extending the principle that disputes of law between nations shall go automatically before a court of law for decision.

The danger of attempting a too radical advance has been twice illustrated. Great Britain refused to ratify the Prize Court Convention in 1907 because the principles to be applied by the court were stated to be those of law and equity, and the House of Lords could not satisfy itself that there were any such principles generally recognized in cases of prize. Similarly, the general arbitration treaties which President Taft negotiated with Great Britain and France failed because the Senate felt that the term "justiciable" disputes was wholly too vague and ill-defined.

But, if the nations have proved loathe to go the whole way toward obligatory arbitration, they have, nevertheless, gone a considerable distance. Gradually, through the years, the proper limits of this field have tended to clarify. The Hague conferences made a start; the scores of arbitration treaties which followed in their wake carried the principle a little further; and even the defeat of the prize court and the Anglo-Franco-American agreements served the useful purpose of clarifying the difficulties. Finally, a definition prepared by Lord Bryce and others and urged by Elihu Root after the Draft Covenant of the League of Nations had been made public was included as Article 13 in the final draft and accepted by the nearly twoscore nations which have since entered the League.

This definition thus became international law. It recognized the desirability of obligatory arbitration for four classes of cases of law, namely, disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach.

This was an absolutely safe ground on which to build the new court. No doubt could be felt but that within this limited field the nations were committed to obligatory arbitration. The field, of course, is not a vast one, but nevertheless its formal acceptance is felt to mark a very valuable step forward which all nations will gladly take.

In the future, then, any State would have the right to take a legal question involving any of those points to a permanent court of law for obligatory decision. As the other nations would have agreed to this procedure in advance, it would only be necessary for the complainant State to notify the court, which in turn would notify the other State and the members of the League. The State complained against would be under the obligation to appear in court, and if it did not do so, the court would be free to proceed with the hearing of the case and the handing down of the judgment. At the end, the world would be left in no doubt as to which State was in the right.

After the formation of the court comes the problem of the law to be applied. It is desired to give the widest possible definition to this law in order to afford the court as many avenues to the solution of disputes as have been generally accepted by the nations, without at the same time creating the fear that the court would be free to write its own law as it felt necessary.

Consequently, four categories of law would be applied in order. First, of course, would be any international agreements, whether general or special, which had been adopted by the States in dispute. Failing that, the court would be guided by any international custom which, as the recognized practice of nations, has become accepted as law. Failing that, in turn it would apply the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations, and finally any judicial decisions or opinions common to the most eminent jurists of the different countries.

Next arises the very difficult question as to whether a nation should or should not have a judge of its own nationality on the court whenever its interests are in-

volved. Several different situations might arise: First, a case where at the outset all parties had judges of their nationality on the court; second, a case where one State had such a judge, but the other State did not; and, third, a case where neither had.

Two decisions were possible: Either a judge might be debarred from any case where the interests of his own nation were involved, or provision might be made to have a judge of the nationality of both parties seated on the court.

It was decided to be undesirable to exclude a judge from a case where the interests of his nation were involved, first, because such exclusion would, in a sense, be a reflection on his impartiality, but still more important, because it would remove from the deliberations of the court the man best qualified to explain the law and the point of view of the particular State concerned, and to advise the court as to the best way to handle the decision.

On the other hand, if such a judge were not to be debarred from the court, it would certainly be in the interests of justice to provide that both parties before the court should have a national sitting as a judge. Consequently, if a State appearing before the court does not happen to have a judge on the bench, either the judge of the same nationality among the supplementary judges would be given a seat or, if there were no such supplementary judge, the State would be privileged to name a special judge for the occasion.

Another most important problem is the status before the court of nations not members of the League, for the court has been made possible only by the existence of the League of Nations machinery, is supported entirely by League funds and prestige, and draws its greatest source of strength from the mutual agreements binding together the members of the League. Nevertheless, as the prime purpose of the League is to avoid war, it has been recommended that States not members of the League should be allowed to use the court on special terms.

Here a distinction is made between States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant, but not yet entered into the League, such as the United States, and States which have not yet been invited to join the League, such as the ex-enemy countries. For the former the court would be open on the same terms as to States in the League, provided that in the particular case involved the obligations of the Covenant, as provided in Article XVII, were accepted and the proportional share of the expenses paid. For the latter class of State the court would be accessible, but without giving full standing as regards the appointment of a special judge and in other details.

Cases before the court would be attended by a large degree of publicity. The moment a case was brought to it the secretariat would notify all members of the League of Nations. The arguments of both sides would be public unless the court accepted the contention of one of the parties that there were reasons justifying a private hearing. The actual deliberations of the court, as with the American Supreme Court, would be private, but the decision, which incidentally would be made by a majority of the judges, would be made in public session and immediately certified to all members of the League.

THE PROPOSED PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

PROJECT ADOPTED BY JURISTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE AT THE HAGUE; ALSO COVERING LETTER SENT BY THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE TO ALL GOVERNMENTS MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE

The following project was registered for publication September 15. The next day the Council of the League of Nations gave consideration to the project, and at its meeting at Brussels, in October, it will undoubtedly draft definite and favorable recommendations to the Assembly of the League at its meeting in Geneva, November 15. The important documents which follow will be of special interest to every friend of the American Peace Society.—THE EDITOR.

(The Covering Letter)

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Permanent Court of International Justice

(21/5970/895.)

(20/31/60.)

SUNDERLAND HOUSE, CURZON STREET,

LONDON, W. I., 27th August, 1920.

The Council of the League of Nations has the honor to communicate to the — Government the scheme presented by the International Committee of eminent jurists who were invited to submit plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, and who have recently concluded their deliberations at The Hague.

The Council do not propose to express any opinion on the merits of the scheme until they have had a full opportunity of considering it, but they permit themselves to accompany the documents with the following observations:

The scheme has been arrived at after prolonged discussion by a most competent tribunal. Its members represented widely different national points of view; they all signed the report. Its fate has therefore been very different from that of the plans for a Court of Arbitral Justice, which were discussed without result in 1907. Doubtless the agreement was not arrived at without difficulty. Variety of opinions, even among the most competent experts, is inevitable on a subject so perplexing and complicated. Some mutual concessions are therefore necessary if the failure of thirteen years ago is not to be repeated. The Council would regard an irreconcilable difference of opinion on the merits of the scheme as an international misfortune of the greatest kind. It would mean that the League was publicly compelled to admit its incapacity to carry out one of the most important of the tasks which it was invited to perform. The failure would be great and probably irreparable; for, if agreement proves impossible under circumstances apparently so favorable, it is hard to see how and when the task of securing it will be successfully resumed.

It is in the spirit indicated by these observations that the Council on their part propose to examine the project submitted to them by the Committee of Jurists, and they trust that in the same spirit the members of the League will deal with this all-important subject when the Council brings the recommendations before the Assembly.

Signed on behalf of the Council of the League of Nations.

Secretary-General.

DRAFT-SCHEME

For the Institution of the Permanent Court of International Justice

MENTIONED IN ARTICLE 14 OF THE COVENANT OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Presented to the Council of the League by the Advisory
Committee of Jurists

(Translation)

Article 1

A Permanent Court of International Justice, to which Parties shall have direct access, is hereby established, in accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This Court shall be in addition to the Court of Arbitration organized by The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907, and to the special Tribunals of Arbitration to which States are always at liberty to submit their disputes for settlement.

CHAPTER I

Organization of the Court

Article 2

The Permanent Court of International Justice shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality, from amongst persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required, in their respective countries, for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are juriconsults of recognised competence in international law.

Article 3

The Court shall consist of 15 members: 11 judges and 4 deputy-judges. The number of judges and deputy-judges may be hereafter increased by the Assembly, upon the proposal of the Council of the League of Nations, to a total of 15 judges and 6 deputy-judges.

Article 4

The members of the Court shall be elected by the Assembly and the Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Court of Arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions.

Article 5

At least three months before the date of the election, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall address a written request to the members of the Court of Arbitration, belonging to the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant or to the States which shall have joined the League subsequently, inviting them to undertake, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the Court.

No group may nominate more than two persons; the nominees may be of any nationality.

Article 6

Before making these nominations, each national group is hereby recommended to consult its Highest Court of Justice, its Legal Faculties and Schools of Law, and its

National Academies and national sections of International Academies devoted to the study of Law.

Article 7

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall prepare a list, in alphabetical order, of all the persons thus nominated. These persons only shall be eligible for appointment, except as provided in Article 12, paragraph 2.

The Secretary-General shall submit this list to the Assembly and to the Council.

Article 8

The Assembly and the Council shall proceed to elect by independent voting first the judges and then the deputy-judges.

Article 9

At every election the electors shall bear in mind that not only should all the persons appointed as members of the Court possess the qualifications required, but the whole body also should represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world.

Article 10

Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the Assembly and the Council shall be considered as elected.

In the event of more than one candidate of the same nationality being elected by the votes of both the Assembly and the Council, the eldest of these only shall be considered as elected.

Article 11

If, after the first sitting held for the purpose of the election, one or more seats remain to be filled, a second and if necessary, a third sitting shall take place.

Article 12

If after the third sitting one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint Conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the Assembly and three by the Council, may be formed, at any time, at the request of either the Assembly or the Council, for the purpose of choosing one name for each seat still vacant, to submit to the Assembly and the Council for their respective acceptance.

If the Committee is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfills the required conditions he may be included in its list, even though he was not included in the list of nominations made by the Court of Arbitration.

If the Joint Conference is not successful in procuring an election those members of the Court who have already been appointed, shall, within a time limit to be arranged by the Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from amongst those candidates who have obtained votes either in the Assembly or in the Council.

In the event of an equality of votes amongst the judges, the eldest judge shall have a casting vote.

Article 13

The members of the Court shall be elected for nine years.

They may be re-elected.

They shall continue to discharge their duties until their places have been filled.

Though replaced, they shall complete any cases which they may have begun.

Article 14

Vacancies which may occur shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election.

A member of the Court elected to replace a member the period of whose appointment has not expired will hold the appointment for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Article 15

Deputy-judges shall be called upon to sit in the order laid down in a list.

This list shall be prepared by the Court, having regard first to the order in time of each election and secondly to age.

Article 16

The exercise of any function which belongs to the political direction, national or international, of States, by the Members of the Court, during their terms of office is declared incompatible with their judicial duties.

Any doubt upon this point is settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 17

No member of the Court can act as agent, counsel or advocate in any case of an international nature.

No member may participate in the decision of any case in which he has previously taken an active part, as agent, counsel or advocate for one of the contesting parties, or as a member of a national or international Court, or of a Commission of Inquiry, or in any other capacity.

Any doubt upon this point is settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 18

A member of the Court cannot be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other Members, he has ceased to fulfill the required conditions.

When this happens a formal notification shall be given to the Secretary-General.

This notification makes the place vacant.

Article 19

The members of the Court when outside their own country, shall enjoy the privileges and immunities of diplomatic representatives.

Article 20

Every member of the Court shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open Court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

Article 21

The Court shall elect its President and Vice-President for three years; they may be re-elected.

It shall appoint its Registrar.

The duties of Registrar of the Court shall not be considered incompatible with those of Secretary-General of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

Article 22

The seat of the Court shall be established at The Hague.

The President and Registrar shall reside at the seat of the Court.

Article 23

A session shall be held every year.

Unless otherwise provided by rules of Court this session shall begin on the 15th June, and shall continue for so long as may be necessary to complete the cases on the list.

The President may summon an extraordinary meeting of the Court whenever necessary.

Article 24

If, for some special reason, a member of the Court considers that he cannot take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the President.

If, for some special reason, the President considers that one of the members of the Court should not sit on a particular case, he shall give notice to the member concerned.

In the event of the President and the member not agreeing as to the course to be adopted in any such case, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 25

The full Court shall sit except when it is expressly provided otherwise.

If 11 judges cannot be present, deputy-judges shall be called upon to sit, in order to make up this number.

If, however, 11 judges are not available, a quorum of 9 judges shall suffice to constitute the Court.

Article 26

With a view to the speedy despatch of business the Court shall form, annually, a chamber composed of three judges who, at the request of the contesting parties may hear and determine cases by summary procedure.

Article 27

The Court shall frame rules for regulating its procedure. In particular, it shall lay down rules for summary procedure.

Article 28

Judges of the nationality of each contesting party shall retain their right to sit in the case before the Court.

If the Court includes upon the Bench a judge of the nationality of one of the parties only, the other party may select from among the deputy-judges, a judge of its nationality, if there be one. If there should not be one, the party may choose a judge, preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates by some national group in the Court of Arbitration.

If the Court includes upon the Bench no judges of the nationality of the contesting parties, each of these may proceed to select or choose a judge as provided in the preceding paragraph.

Should there be several parties in the same interest, they shall, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, be reckoned as one party only.

Judges selected or chosen as laid down in paragraphs

2 and 3 of this article shall fulfil the conditions required by Articles 2, 16, 17, 20, 24 of this Statute. They shall take part in the decision on an equal footing with their colleagues.

Article 29

The judge shall receive an annual salary to be determined by the Assembly of the League of Nations upon the proposal of the Council. This salary must not be decreased during the period of a judge's appointment.

The President shall receive a special grant for his period of office, to be fixed in the same way.

Deputy-judges shall receive a grant, for the actual performance of their duties, to be fixed in the same way.

Traveling expenses incurred in the performance of their duties shall be refunded to judges and deputy-judges who do not reside at the seat of the Court.

Grants due to judges selected or chosen as provided in Article 28 shall be determined in the same way.

The salary of the Registrar shall be decided by the Council upon the proposal of the Court.

A special regulation shall provide for the pensions to which the judges and registrar shall be entitled.

Article 30

The expenses of the Court shall be borne by the League of Nations, in such a manner as shall be decided by the Assembly upon the proposal of the Council.

CHAPTER II

Competence of the Court

Article 31

The Court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine suits between States.

Article 32

The Court shall be open of right to the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant, and to such others as shall subsequently enter the League of Nations.

Other States may have access to it.

The conditions under which the Court shall be open of right or accessible to States which are not Members of the League of Nations shall be determined by the Council, in accordance with Article 17 of the Covenant.

Article 33

When a dispute has arisen between States and it has been found impossible to settle it by diplomatic means, and no agreement has been made to choose another jurisdiction, the party complaining may bring the case before the Court. The Court shall, first of all, decide whether the preceding conditions have been complied with; if so, it shall hear and determine the dispute according to the terms and within the limits of the next Article.

Article 34

Between States which are Members of the League of Nations, the Court shall have jurisdiction (and this without any special convention giving it jurisdiction) to hear and determine cases of a legal nature, concerning:

- a. The interpretation of a treaty;
- b. Any question of international law;

- c. The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- d. The nature or extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation;
- e. The interpretation of a sentence passed by the Court.

The Court shall also take cognizance of all disputes of any kind which may be submitted to it by a general or particular convention between the parties.

In the event of a dispute as to whether a certain case comes within any of the categories above mentioned, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 35

The Court shall, within the limits of its jurisdiction as defined in Article 34, apply in the order following:

1. International conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting States;
2. International custom, as evidence of a general practice, which is accepted as law;
3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
4. Judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

Article 36

The Court shall give an advisory opinion upon any question or dispute of an international nature referred to it by the Council or Assembly.

When the Court shall give an opinion on a question of an international nature which does not refer to any dispute that may have arisen, it shall appoint a special Commission of from three to five members.

When it shall give an opinion upon a question which forms the subject of an existing dispute, it shall do so under the same conditions as if the case had been actually submitted to it for decision.

CHAPTER III

Procedure

Article 37

The official language of the Court shall be French.

The Court may, at the request of the contesting parties, authorize another language to be used before it.

Article 38

A State desiring to have recourse to the Court shall lodge a written application addressed to the Registrar.

The application shall indicate the subject of the dispute and name the contesting parties.

The Registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.

He shall also notify the Members of the League of Nations through the Secretary-General.

Article 39

If the dispute arises out of an act which has already taken place or which is imminent, the Court shall have the power to suggest, if it considers that circumstances

so require, the provisional measures that should be taken to preserve the respective rights of either party.

Pending the final decision, notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and the Council.

Article 40

The parties shall be represented by agents.

They may have counsel or advocates to plead before the Court.

Article 41

The procedure shall consist of two parts: written and oral.

Article 42

The written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the judges and to the parties of statements of cases, counter-cases and, if necessary, replies; also all papers and documents in support.

These communications shall be made through the Registrar, in the order and within the time fixed by the Court.

A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

Article 43

The oral proceedings shall consist of the hearing by the Court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel and advocates.

For the service of all notices upon persons other than the agents, counsel and advocates, the Court shall apply direct to the Government of the State upon whose territory the notice has to be served.

The same provision shall apply whenever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

Article 44

The proceedings shall be under the direction of the President, or in his absence, of the Vice-President; if both are absent, the senior judge shall preside.

Article 45

The hearing in Court shall be public, unless the Court, at the written request of one of the parties, accompanied by a statement of his reasons, shall otherwise decide.

Article 46

Minutes shall be made at each hearing, and signed by the Registrar and the President.

These minutes shall be the only authentic record.

Article 47

The Court shall make orders for the conduct of the case, shall decide the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments, and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence.

Article 48

The Court may, even before the hearing begins, call upon the agents to produce any document, or to supply to the Court any explanations. Any refusal shall be recorded.

Article 49

The Court may, at any time, entrust any individual,

bureau, commission or other body that it may select, with the task of carrying out an inquiry or giving an expert opinion.

Article 50

During the hearing in Court, the judges may put any questions considered by them to be necessary, to the witnesses, agents, experts, advocates or counsel. The agents, advocates and counsel shall have the right to ask, through the President, any questions that the Court considers useful.

Article 51

After the Court has received the proofs and evidence within the time specified for the purpose, it may refuse to accept any further oral or written evidence that one party may desire to present unless the other side consents.

Article 52

Whenever one of the parties shall not appear before the Court, or shall fail to defend his case, the other party may call upon the Court to decide in favor of his claim.

The Court must, before doing so, satisfy itself, not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with Articles 33 and 34, but also that the claim is supported by substantial evidence and well founded in fact and law.

Article 53

When the agents, advocates and counsel subject to the control of the Court, have presented all the evidence, and taken all other steps that they consider advisable, the President shall declare the case closed.

The Court shall withdraw to consider the judgment. The deliberations of the Court shall take place in private and remain secret.

Article 54

All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present at the hearing.

In the event of an equality of votes, the President or his deputy shall have a casting vote.

Article 55

The judgment shall state the reasons on which it is based.

It shall contain the names of the judges who have taken part in the decision.

Article 56

If the judgment given does not represent, wholly or in part, the unanimous opinion of the judges, the dissenting judges shall be entitled to have the fact of their dissent or reservations mentioned in it. But the reasons for their dissent or reservations shall not be expressed in the judgment.

Article 57

The judgment shall be signed by the President and by the Registrar. It shall be read in open Court, due notice having been given to the agents.

Article 58

The judgment is final and without appeal. In the event of uncertainty as to the meaning or scope of the

judgment, the Court shall construe it upon the request of any party.

Article 59

An application for revision of a judgment can be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some new fact, of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which fact was, when the judgment was given, unknown to the Court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

The proceedings for revision will be opened by a judgment of the Court expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision, and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

The Court may require previous compliance with the terms of the judgment before it admits proceedings in revision.

No application for revision may be made after the lapse of five years from the date of the sentence.

Article 60

Should a State consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit a request to the Court to be permitted to intervene as a third party.

It will be for the Court to decide upon this request.

Article 61

Whenever the construction of a convention in which States, other than those concerned in the case, are parties, is in question, the Registrar shall notify all such States forthwith.

Every State so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the judgment will be as binding upon it as upon the original parties to the dispute.

Article 62

Unless otherwise decided by the Court, each party shall bear its own costs.

"The next step by which the system of peaceable settlement of international disputes can be advanced, the pathway along which it can be pressed forward to universal acceptance and use, is to substitute for the kind of arbitration we have now, in which the arbitrators proceed according to their ideas of diplomatic obligation, real courts where judges, acting under the sanctity of the judicial oath, pass upon the rights of countries, as judges pass upon the rights of individuals, in accordance with the facts as found and the law as established. With such tribunals, which are continuous, and composed of judges who make it their life business, you will soon develop a bench composed of men who have become familiar with the ways in which the people of every country do their business and do their thinking, and you will have a gradual growth of definite rules, of fixed interpretation, and of established precedents, according to which you may know your case will be decided."—ELIHU ROOT, speaking at the opening meeting of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1910.

ADDRESS BY BARON DESCHAMPS

Closing Address by the President of the Advisory Committee of Jurists Charged with the Duty of Drafting a Project for the Establishment of an International Court of Justice, Delivered in the Palace of Peace at The Hague, July 24, 1920.

WHEN THE International Committee of Jurists named by the Council of the League of Nations to prepare a plan of organization for a Permanent Court of International Justice met for the first time in public session in this palace the dominating impression of all the members was that of the formidable responsibility which they had assumed.

Assuredly we had at that time every desire to achieve success, but nevertheless we knew that the best intentions and the most earnest efforts are not always sufficient to bring about the desired results.

We had a very clear view of the end to be sought, but the road which had to be followed to reach it was a long one, and it appeared to us to be sown with so many obstacles that we could only ask ourselves if it would be given to us to surmount them.

The efforts attempted in 1907 by a world assembly of the powers toward the organization of a Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice and in the direction of obligatory arbitration were also present to increase our apprehensions.

Having in mind the grandeur of the task to be accomplished and of the progress which it would involve for the good of all nations, we dedicated ourselves to our work, guarding ourselves from that skepticism which is common among many, but applying to the study of the problems which stood before us that systematic openness of mind of Descartes, which, when well applied, is a powerful instrument of light and the surest guarantee of positive results.

We commenced by long exchanges of views and submitted our opinions, which were sometimes divergent to the most severe examinations. In just such an atmosphere of free and living criticism the hopes of a common agreement among us were born and brought into full life.

We cannot certainly flatter ourselves upon having created a perfect work. The material before us does not, indeed, permit of that, and without doubt it is fitting to recall here that descriptive expression of Portalis in the preliminary part of the civil code: "It is absurd to abandon one's self to absolute ideas of perfection in matters which are susceptible to only a relative degree of good." But we nevertheless have the consciousness of being able to propose to the nations a general system of international justice whose projection in the future, it seems to us, should be happy and very fruitful.

In the work of elaboration to which we set ourselves, we decided that we should not lock ourselves up in a secret chamber inaccessible to the ordinary man. We are glad, indeed, to have kept the general public in touch with our discussions. Now that these discussions are terminated, and while reserving, as is necessary, to those from whom authority flows the text of the 62 articles forming the project agreed upon by us, we believe we can, nevertheless, respond to the universal interest by

giving in a résumé what the Press has already published and in outlining in a general manner the scheme of our labors.

Three great problems have especially called for our consideration:

The first is that of the organization of the Court of International Justice. It appears to us necessary at the outset to set off sharply the place to be occupied by the new institution among the different bodies which together form the ensemble of international jurisdiction. It was a question of creating a court of justice truly permanent, directly accessible to the parties, and composed of magistrates who should be independent, chosen without regard to their nationality among persons held in the highest moral esteem and fulfilling the conditions required in their respective countries for the exercise of the highest judicial positions.

It is an existing and proved institution, the present Court of Arbitration at The Hague, which we have taken as the basis of the new organization, in the sense that we have deemed it wise to entrust to the members of this court the task of proceeding by national groups to the nomination of a restricted number of persons capable of fulfilling the functions of members of the court; and we have asked each national group, in order to secure the best advice in its choice, to consult in the respective countries the highest court of justice, the faculties and schools of law, the national academies, and the national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Two names are to be chosen by each of these national groups without distinction as to nationality.

The final choice, however, is left to the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations, in such manner that the election of the members of the court can come about only through the joint action of the one with the other.

Moreover, we have adopted a series of provisions which on the one hand directs the selections toward giving representation to the great divisions of civilization and to the principal judicial systems of the world in such a way as to give the court a truly world-wide constitution, and which on the other hand provide suggestions in cases where accord is not established between the Council and the Assembly.

As regards the functioning of the Court, we are provided for the annual formation of a chamber of three judges, called to sit in cases of summary procedure when the parties demand it.

The second capital question upon which our attention was naturally centered was the competence of the court.

Our principal effort was directed toward two objectives: First, the realization of a system of obligatory adjudication in differences of a judicial nature, and by extension in all other differences so far as they may be covered by either general or special conventions between the parties. The declarations made and the engagements undertaken by the second Peace Conference, in 1907, served as the point of departure in this connection.

Next, we attempted to lay down rules of judicial interpretation which the judges should apply in the examination of cases submitted to them. The third point was the object of very particular consideration, namely, procedure before the court. We believe that we have

satisfactorily solved a rather large number of questions of this sort, notably as to the measures to be taken at the outset of certain cases, as to the intervention of third parties in disputes and as to the conditions under which judgments may be rendered by default.

If there be added to the provisions contained in the project two recommendations, the first for the methodical continuation of the work undertaken by the first Hague conferences for the advancement of international law; and, second, the creation of a High Court of International Justice to judge future crimes against public international law and the universal rights of peoples; and, finally, the recommendation for the early functioning of the Academy of International Law at The Hague, we shall then have a general view of the field in which our activity has taken place.

The reception which has been given us in the capital of Holland by Her Majesty the Queen, the many cordial attentions paid us by the Foreign Minister and the Vice-President of our committee, as well as by so many other persons and institutions whose names spring to my mind at this moment, impose upon us the pleasant duty of expressing here our feelings of deep gratitude. We do not doubt that the Council of the League of Nations will join with us in expressing in its turn its gratitude for the reception given its representatives. We express the wish that our stay upon Dutch soil may be fruitful for the well-being of the country which has so well received us, for the rapprochement of peoples toward international justice, and for the good of humanity.

Mr. HARDING WRITES A LETTER

Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University, recently wrote to Mr. Harding, Republican candidate for President, pointing out that a conference of college and university executives and faculty members was about to be held in New York, a conference largely comprising scholars interested in the international policies of this country, particularly with reference to the association of this country with other nations in behalf of world peace. Dr. Schurman suggested that a message from Senator Harding on the subject would be welcomed. Accordingly, Senator Harding wrote the following reply. The letter is printed here as an illustration of that public sentiment strongly adverse to any "league to enforce peace."—THE EDITOR.

"MARION, OHIO, *September 15, 1920.*

"Dr. JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN,
"President's House, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

"MY DEAR DR. SCHURMAN: Your letter of September 11 is before me, with its suggestion that a word of greeting to the conference of university people which you will hold on Saturday, September 18, might be acceptable. I am very glad to comply.

"The difference between our attitude toward the League of Nations and that of our opponents is easily stated. President Wilson has twice rejected the opportunity to secure ratification of the Peace Treaty with what the Senate agreed upon as safeguarding reservations, because he insists upon the original Article X as the very essence of the covenant. The Democratic platform indorses this attitude and the Democratic nominee

has unqualifiedly committed himself to it. We must in fairness to him assume that if he had the authority he would stand by this position. If he should be elected, indeed, we would have to assume that the country had given him a mandate to accomplish this.

"The Democratic nominee has declared 'in favor of going in' to the covenant the President brought back from Paris. I oppose going into that league. I favor participation in a world association of nations with an international court of justice, a tribunal that shall be governed by definite principles of international law. I favor a world association aiming at the practical expression of the conscience of nations planned to focus world opinion.

"I am opposed to an offensive and defensive alliance of powers seeking to dominate the rest of the world. Even the other great powers which were to have been associated with us in this proposed alliance were themselves hesitant about accepting it.

"I heartily favor an association of nations inspired by ideals of justice and fair dealing, rather than of power and self-interest. Such an association could and I believe would be potent in the effort to maintain peace. The Hague tribunal gives us the foundation of such an organization. Under the conditions now prevailing in the world, with the world fully realizing the awfulness of modern war, it is wholly possible to perfect The Hague tribunal so that its determinations shall be effective and accepted without surrender of national rights.

"I recognize that the world's peace is now to a great extent intertwined with the settlement of Versailles. From that settlement I would save all that is good and useful. An association of nations for purposes of conference and a world court with jurisdiction of justiciable questions would, I am confident, now be accepted by all nations.

"This plan, we have been repeatedly assured by European statesmen, would meet their approval. Mr. Lloyd-George has frankly expressed opinion that the League of Nations Covenant might well be changed for the better. Certainly it is our thought to improve, to save and build upon whatever is good rather than to abandon the good there is and repudiate the world's aspirations for peace.

"Viscount Gray has generously proposed that the Americans be intrusted with drafting a reconstruction scheme. It is apparent that the enlightened leadership of Europe wishes us to do this, and I should feel that to refuse would be a dereliction. As I view it, we have an opportunity to do a great service to the world if we will but undertake this effort which the world wishes us to undertake.

"On the other hand, I cannot but feel that for us to continue insistence upon a plan which has proved ineffective, upon which our own people cannot unite, and which the world recognizes as incapable of preserving peace, would be to make this country recreant to a service which we really aspire to render to mankind. The Republican Party will not place itself in such a position, nor will it surrender the supreme inheritance of national freedom and self-determination.

"Sincerely yours,

"WARREN G. HARDING."

AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Special Correspondence

FOUR IMPORTANT amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations have been suggested by the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish governments for consideration at the first meeting of the Assembly of the League, at Geneva, on November 15. Those proposals, which vary somewhat in form, but are virtually identical in purpose, are in one case accompanied by an explanation along the lines given below. They have been submitted to all States members of the League for consideration and require approval of the Council and a majority vote of the Assembly before they can become effective.

The first suggestion is made with the intention of strengthening the position of the Assembly by providing for a fixed annual meeting, to be held either at the time provided for in the rules of procedure or on a specific date, such as the second Monday in September. It is also proposed that, on the demand of ten members of the League, a special meeting of the Assembly shall be called at any time by the Secretary General at the seat of the League. These two amendments, it is contended, would give the Assembly the power necessary to enable the League permanently to maintain the authority which is required for the accomplishment of its mission.

The object of the second suggestion is to regularize the method of selecting the four non-permanent members of the Council by providing that the Assembly shall, after the first selections, name a new State each year to serve for a period of four years and not to be subject to re-election for the following period. This amendment is intended to secure successive representation on the Council of a large number of States, and at the same time, by making only one change in membership each year, to maintain the necessary continuity in the composition of the Council.

The third amendment proposes to omit the word "generally" from the following paragraph in Article XIII:

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are *generally* suitable for submission to arbitration."

The purpose of this suggestion is to make the obligation to resort to arbitration more absolute and more precise.

The fourth amendment concerns the economic blockade. It would permit the Council to authorize a State, in the vicinity of another State against which the blockade has been enforced, to maintain a certain degree of intercourse with the covenant-breaking State, provided that such action is considered by the Council to be necessary to prevent the blockaded State from threatening or attacking its neighbor. It is held that, as the obligation to sever all economic and financial relations with the covenant-breaking State is at present automatic, it would

be wise to allow some measure of freedom in its application, especially in the case of the smaller States, where the fulfilment of the obligation might possibly lead to occupation of territory by the covenant-breaking State in order to protect those economic interests, which, as a result of the blockade, would be at stake.

REPATRIATING HALF A MILLION PRISONERS

Special Correspondence

Our readers will find it difficult to realize the well-nigh incredible facts submitted in this special correspondence. Two years after the war is over, there they are prisoners, ill fed, practically unclothed, ravaged by disease, driven like slaves—a horrible fact for men who fought bravely—not hundreds of them, not thousands, not even tens of thousands, but nearly a half million. The encouragement is that neutrals, allies, ex-enemies, Bolshevik, are coming together in the attempt to redeem these too-long-neglected sufferers.

—THE EDITOR.

A GREAT PART of the one million pounds required this year for the carrying on the work of repatriating nearly half a million prisoners still in Germany, Russia, Siberia, and Turkestan, almost two years after the Armistice, has now been made available by the different governments concerned, and the actual task of repatriation is being rapidly carried out by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen under the authority of the League of Nations and in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross and the German and the Soviet authorities.

Within the past few weeks the following credits have been received: Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, £35,000 each; Holland, £45,000, with £10,000 additional promised in case the other nations fulfill their allotment; Switzerland, £48,000, and Great Britain, £113,500, with an equal additional sum promised in case the other nations meet their allotments. France has provisionally promised £115,000 and Italy £85,000. The American Red Cross has allotted a million dollars and the American Y. M. C. A. has made a large contribution for the betterment of the conditions of the prisoners, provision of comforts, etc.

The sums actually received will allow the continuance of the work until October. If the French and Italian contributions are received by then, the work will go on until all prisoners are returned to their homes. It may be added that all expenses for repatriating German prisoners are borne by the German Government itself.

To carry out the repatriation, a fleet of ships has been chartered in the name of the League of Nations, most of them to travel between Germany and Russia in the Baltic, but others to make the long six weeks' trip from Hamburg to Vladivostok. In order to keep the expenses at the lowest possible figure, cargoes have been booked on the longer-voyage ships at the same time that prisoners are being transported.

It is, perhaps, interesting that officials of the League of Nations, in the extremely difficult and complicated

task of returning prisoners of war to their homes amidst the most confused political conditions, are directing a small fleet of steamers, securing cargoes, and overseeing all the work necessary to carry out this essential humanitarian work in the most economical way. The execution of the great amount of detail work involved is being carried out by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and by German Government authorities.

On the Baltic, the most important routes, fifteen vessels have been chartered to ply back and forth between Stettin, Germany, and Narva and Riga, in Esthonia, and Bjorko, in Finland. When the first ship sailed, in early May, there were over 200,000 Russians still in Germany and an equal number of Central European prisoners still in Russia, Siberia, and Turkestan, of whom only about 25,000 were Germans, while the rest were Hungarians, Austrians, Czechs, Roumanians, Poles, and Serbs.

To date, about 30,000 prisoners have been repatriated each way, or a total of 60,000, via the Baltic route. The present weekly rate of repatriation on this route is 8,000, with the expectations of reaching 16,000—20,000 shortly.

The second route runs from Hamburg through the Red Sea to Vladivostok. By this route between 20,000 and 30,000 Austrians, Hungarians, Roumanians, and Poles still in eastern Siberia would be brought back, and roughly the same number of East Siberian Russians still in Germany taken out to their homes. Two vessels, each capable of taking 1,500 or 2,000 men per trip, have already been chartered for this work and cargoes secured, despite the difficulty of finding material for export from Germany to the Far East. The first will sail from Hamburg within the next ten days and the second shortly after. The deficit between the cost of chartering and operating the ships and the receipts from freight will be met out of the contribution made by the American Red Cross.

A third route, it is hoped, may be opened from southern Russia, where many prisoners are still detained, through the Black Sea to Trieste, whence Russian prisoners still in Germany might be embarked for South Russian ports. It is hoped Italy will contribute the shipping necessary for this route.

Dr. Nansen is convinced that unless all the interested nations give their most immediate and earnest aid to this problem thousands of men who have for years endured the most terrible suffering will meet their death during the forthcoming winter. The condition of the prisoners now being repatriated is almost indescribably pitiful, for they come out of their long confinement not only without even the essential articles of clothing, but also very often in a desperately bad physical condition. Dr. Nansen feels that, though almost insurmountable difficulties are being encountered in finding shipping, in raising funds in this moment of financial stringency, and in carrying on the many-sided negotiations between Allied governments, former neutrals, ex-enemy governments, and the Soviet authorities, nevertheless the world owes a tremendous debt to these half million sufferers held prisoners under most terrible circumstances for two years after the Armistice, and that no effort must be spared to return them to their homes.

"THE NAILED HANDS" versus "THE MAILED FIST"

By EZRA C. BUEHLER

NAPOLEON, one of the world's greatest disciples of the "Mailed Fist," made this striking confession: "Alexander the Great, Cæsar, Charlemagne, and I have founded mighty empires; but upon what did these creations of our genius rest? Upon force. Christ alone established His kingdom upon love, and even today millions of men would willingly die for Him."*

The corner-stone upon which civilization rests bears the inscription, "Man Above Mammon." The sworn adversary of this inscription is the Mailed Fist; its eternal exponent, the Nailed Hands. The Mailed Fist uses brute strength irresponsibly; its essential philosophy is that "might makes right"; its goal is temporal power and its fruit is desolation and destruction. The Nailed Hands point the way to charity; they silently preach the gospel that "right will triumph"; they value the "man" and not the gain of man, and they bring life, and that more abundantly.

As the human race struggled onward from century to century, the doctrine of tooth and claw was doomed to give way before the quiet creative influences of spiritual virtues—sympathy, sacrifice, charity—virtues which put the supreme worth of man above mammon. These spiritual attributes have been dominating influences for civilization. In the innumerable clashes and conflicts of man, when that which was held essential was cast into the fiery furnace, there emerged from the consuming flame the elements fundamental to his progress. Jerusalem, the hope and pride of the Hebrew race, was leveled to the ground; but the principles of morality of this crumbled nation lived on and became standards of conduct for other peoples.

Out of the ashes of the glorious cities of ancient Greece and over the dead bodies of her citizens rose the spirit of Greek culture, which has become a priceless possession of civilization. Rome, with all her pride, with all her pomp and power, with all her material wealth, through clash of sword and shield, fell into ruin; but Roman law and order lived on.

The Mailed Fist established the institution of feudalism on lands and liens, on property and possessions. The Crusades, as a visible expression of spiritual power, broke the fetters of feudalism and gave man greater freedom of development. Even the church did not escape the tempter. In monastery and cloister mammon held sway.

When Martin Luther, a champion of the common people, unmasked the corruption of the Church, Europe again became a field of blood; but the shackles of church tyranny were broken and conscience was liberated.

The spirit of the Renaissance ushered in our age of science and invention, the age in which the forces of nature are harnessed for man's interests. Man delves into the depths of the earth, uses earth's products, builds skyscrapers, spans the streams, tunnels the mountains, converts deserts into gardens, gridirons the globe with continent overnight.

railroads, defies the waves, flashes his thoughts to the four corners of the earth, and flies from continent to

These accomplishments have ended the day of splendid "national isolation." The back-yards of nations have been pushed together. We cannot escape international relations. From the cradle to the grave, the life of man is interlinked with the life of his fellow-man. Civilization has become extremely complex. The more complex it is, the more vulnerable it is likely to be.

What happens? These astounding achievements have made fertile soil for a vigorous growth of materialism and caused a short circuit in the social order. The supreme worth of the individual has not held first place in the minds of men. Selfish national interests, fostered by suspicion and jealousy, competition and greed—the desire for material gain led mankind into the most destructive of all wars, a catastrophe which has become the darkest blot on the pages of history. Man was led astray by worshipping the disguised image of the Iron Hand. Hecatombs of material treasure and human blood were sacrificed. Vast areas of fertile fields were laid waste. Chief cities of many nations were shelled into ruin. The cost in dollars exceeds all comprehension. The blood of ten millions of the choicest sons of nations stained the clays of Europe. Added millions, racked on beds of pain, are now maimed and crippled for life. Threescore millions entered the valley of death and the hearth fires burned low in a hundred million homes. The gates of hell opened while the Prince of Darkness stalked abroad and the civilized world was under the scepter of the Mailed Fist.

Now the war is over and we have the aftermath. Bankruptcy threatens all Europe. Her countries are poverty-stricken, war-torn, mangled; her choicest manhood is in the grave; her people are crying for bread. From the Highlands of Scotland to the Holy Land there are millions of innocent, helpless children. They form a vast army of little frail frames, almost human skeletons. Their checks are sunken, the luster gone from their eyes; but, most tragic of all, they are broken in spirit, sick at heart. Elderly people, wearing the silvery crown of venerable age, are forming suicide clubs to preserve the lives of the young. Such is the outcome of the latest world tragedy.

Always where blood and treasure were sacrificed on the altar of Mars, some one had worshiped a false ideal. Would the Jewish nation have crumbled; would Greece and Rome have fallen; would slavery have clouded the horizon of the Western World; would church tyranny have reigned in Europe, if men and leaders of men had recognized the supreme worth of human beings? Would the furies of destruction have hovered over the earth in this twentieth century; would our culture have been polluted with carnage and our highly prized civilization stained with crimson if mankind had been permeated by the spirit of the Nailed Hands? The scepter of the material has held sway over man. "The soul of the world has at last been shocked into a true understanding of the inevitable and dire results of purely materialistic aims."*

Thus it is obvious that society should realize more fully the supreme worth of man, the fineness of human

* Bertrand's *Memoires*, Paris, 1844; quoted by Luthardt.

* John Oxenham, "The Vision Splendid," p. 6.

stuff. This realization inculcates a democratic spirit. As the Hebrews championed morality, the Greeks espoused culture, and the Romans promoted law, so America must champion world freedom. America has saved the world in a great measure from political autocracy. The challenge now comes to her to save the world from industrial despotism, lest that measure of liberty perish which has been advanced through unspeakable sacrifices of blood and treasure. Europe is searching every spot under the canopy of heaven for industrial leadership. She is looking to America, almost pleading that we extend a strong arm to steady her tottering industrial structure. But this nation cannot save the world from chaos as long as her industrial spirit is fostered by the Mailed Fist, as long as the dollar-sign is the coat of arms of her industrial leaders. The premium on life has been discounted. Man has become a cog in a machine. He is called a "hand" and is known merely by numbers. He begins the day at the blow of the whistle and drops his pick at the stroke of the clock. His bank account determines his value; his life is insured and assessed in dollars. Can a man's worth be measured by his material achievements? "What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" or "What can a man give in exchange for his life?" *

"Behold the midnight splendor, worlds upon worlds,
Ten thousand—add twice ten thousand more,
Then weigh the whole—
One soul outweighs them all."†

And yet human life is held cheap. For every four American soldiers that fell in battle in the recent war for liberty, American industry produced a multi-millionaire. For every multi-millionaire a thousand liberty-loving men endured the hard grind of the sweat shops and added thousands of women and children toiled in the gloom.

The oppressed are now clamoring for a fairer apportionment of the necessities of life. A crisis is here. There is serious conflict between the money lords and the working people. Strikes threaten to paralyze the nation. Our great cities register multitudes in piteous plight. In this day of most marvelous capacity for prosperity and production, why should we be facing poverty and disaster? Men who hold the steering wheels of industry have worshiped mammon, and the innocent and the weak are paying the price with life's blood.

The immeasurable evaluation of every personality fosters not only democracy, but international co-operation as well. Twentieth-century facilities for communication and transportation brought internationalism to the threshold and the war ushered it in. A practical program for co-operation is now necessary. The war taught us the one great lesson, that if peace is to be enjoyed on earth, no nation can hope to thrive by power alone without the good will of its neighbors.

In the last analysis, then, it is not what princes, potentates, and presidents think of each other, but what the people in their respective realms think of each other, that will register the reign of peace. It is what men think of men and how men value human life in com-

parison with material gain that will speed the day of the Commonwealth of Man. Force may crush monarchs; armaments may enforce a temporary reign of peace; but only a high respect for human rights and a Christian regard for human lives will insure a lasting peace.

Our civilization is blessed with liberty and enlightenment which the conflicts of the ages have advanced. Our supreme challenge is to preserve these blessings. We have come to a new age. Its beginning marks the most significant hour of all history. Mankind is in peril. After a war in which in less than five years the life toll exceeded twice that of all the wars of the preceding century, humanity cannot escape treading the edge of a great social abyss. There rests a grave responsibility, a momentous responsibility, upon the men of this generation. The men of this hour must keep civilization from going over the edge into the dark chasm. The destiny of the world for centuries to come will in a great measure be determined by the men of today.

Justice is the supreme law of the universe. Man has violated this law by seeking material gain at the cost of life's blood—too often innocent blood. The result is fires of affliction and bitterness of woe. Will the hammer strokes of affliction shape the consciousness of men and change the hearts of nations? Will this late world tragedy be loss or gain? Under God it rests with us. The world's greatest tragedy ended upon the cross. To the people of that time it seemed absolute loss. But that apparent loss has become life's greatest gain.

If this late holocaust will give a fairer apportionment of the necessities of life and give a living wage to workers, it will have done much. If it will level the dividing walls of nations and sweep the armaments from land and sea, free us from autocracy and increase liberty, it will have done very much. But if it will break the fetters of materialism and obliterate the philosophy that "might makes right"; if it will enthrone in the hearts and minds of men the spirit of the Nailed Hands; if it will lead the world to value human lives by the standard given by the Man of Galilee, it will have done everything. Our sacrifices will then be everlasting gain. The millions of crosses on Flanders' Fields will then wear a new crown of glory and mankind shall have a new birth of freedom, and the world shall see the dawn of the fairer day, when God and right shall reign supreme.

PILGRIMS' DAY

President's Proclamation

PRESIDENT WILSON has issued a proclamation in which he requests the observance by schools, colleges, and universities of the three-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. At the same time he named three members of the United States Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission. Six members had already been appointed by Congress.

The text of the proclamation follows:

"MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: December 21 next will mark the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620. The day will be becomingly celebrated at Plymouth under the auspices of the Plymouth

* Mark VIII, 36-37.

† Author unknown.

Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission and at other localities in Massachusetts. While this is proper and praiseworthy, it seems to me that the influences which the ideals and principles of the Pilgrims with respect to civic liberty and human rights have had upon the formation and growth of our institutions and upon our development and progress as a nation merits more than a local expression of our obligation, and makes fitting a nation-wide observance of the day.

"I therefore suggest and request that the 21st of December next we observe throughout the Union with special patriotic services, in order that great events in American history that have resulted from the landing of these hearty and courageous navigators and colonists may be accentuated to the present generation of American citizens. Especially do I recommend that the day be fittingly observed in the universities, colleges, and schools of our country, to the end that salutary and patriotic lessons may be drawn from the fortitude and perseverance and the ideals of this little band of church men and women who established on this continent the first self-determined government based on the great principle of just law and its equal application to all, and thus planted the seeds from which has sprung the mighty nation.

"In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done in the District of Columbia, the fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fifth.

"WOODROW WILSON."

THE AALAND ISLANDS *

Finland's Case Against Sweden

By PROFESSOR R. A. WREDE

[Professor Wrede is Chancellor of Abo University and late President of the Finnish High Court.—EDITOR.]

A AALAND BELONGS to Finland—

Geographically: Open sea on one side, the archipelago on the other.

Historically: Because it has been administratively, juridically, and ecclesiastically united with Finland or with districts of Finland, and that during the centuries of union with Sweden.

Nationally: Because the Aalanders belong to the Swedish stock in Finland, not to that in Sweden, even if the sentiment of relationship has not been very strong as a result of Aaland's isolated situation.

Legally: Aaland was not ceded in 1809 in a different manner from the rest of Finland, though it is named in the Treaty of Peace in the same way as the other provinces. Aaland belonged to Finland when united with Russia, and was, as a part of it, liberated from Russian sway. When Finland independence was recognized by the Powers, this implied a recognition of Finland, including Aaland. A decision of the Powers to separate Aaland from Finland would, therefore, amount to a retraction of this part of the recognition. That Sweden

does so as a litigant is explicable, but other disinterested Powers ought not to recall in this way a declaration once made, if no reason for doing so is given by Finland. Sweden has no right to Finland. It renounced its rights in 1809, and no new title has accrued.

Aaland is necessary to Finland. If it is in the possession of a foreign Power, Finland will be unable, in case of war, to prevent hostile fleets from sailing into the Gulf of Bothnia, whose coasts will be exposed to attack. Nor will Finland itself be able to maintain communication between the Finnish and Bothnian gulfs, which is, however, vital to Finland, as was seen in 1918. It is impossible to maintain a frontier through a labyrinth of skerries and rocks.

THE SELF-DETERMINATION ARGUMENT

Aaland's population has no right to tear loose its islands from their union with Finland and to unite them with Sweden. Such an interpretation of the principle of the independence of nationalities is impossible. If every, even the smallest, fragment of a nationality in a country is granted the right to separate the territory it inhabits from the State to which it belongs, and to unite it with another State, it would be impossible to keep any fixed frontiers or durable State territory. No State could recognize such claims. Nor can the Aalanders complain of oppression, and least of all now, when they have received a self-government unparalleled in any province of any State in Europe. This offers as great protection against denationalization as can be secured by legal enactment. If Aaland, in spite of it, is denationalized, it will be the fault of the Aalanders for not better preserving their Swedish culture.

It has been said that Finland, when it emancipated itself from Russia, itself appealed to the right of self-determination. This was not, however, the principle of the step it took. The principle of Finland's action depended on the fact that Russia had completely broken the conditions and stipulations subject to which Finland was united to that country, that Finland was exposed to a régime of oppression and denationalization which menaced the people's very existence, and that its only safety lay in separation or liberation from Russia. The legality of that step was further confirmed by the fact that Russia, at the time it was taken, had not a recognized government or responsible central authority; wherefore the people of Finland were compelled to take its fate into their own hands. This was, in such a situation, not only a right, but even a duty. That nothing of the kind can be averred in respect to Aaland's situation in regard to Finland is evident; not to speak of the fact that the people of Finland are and have long been a nation or a people in a political sense, which the Aalanders have never been.

In the question of Sweden's claims it may be added that if Sweden before had no right to Aaland, its behavior to Finland during the war of liberation was such that it has not thereby improved its cause. The so-called humanitarian expedition of 1918 was, as has been revealed, intended to create a *fait accompli* by the occupation of the archipelago by Swedish troops. Sweden avoided taking the part of the lawful Finland against the rebels, and maintained as long as possible a watching and undecided attitude, but its measures, both in the

* See *Manchester Guardian*, September 3, 1920.

matter of the expedition mentioned and in providing arms, were more against than in favor of the lawful Finland. And the encouragement that the Swedish Government has given to the Separatist movement in Aaland involves directly hostile measures against Finland.

FOREIGN DEBT, \$9,450,551,005*

TWO STEEL drawers in the United States Treasury at Washington, each about the size of an ordinary suitcase, contain the I O U's of foreign nations for the aggregate sum of \$9,450,551,005.61. These papers, which are actually certificates of indebtedness, are what Uncle Sam holds in acknowledgment of the loans made during the great war to our allies—or, rather, technically speaking, our associates.

The documents, pieces of engraved parchment about 10 by 14 inches in size, and signed with such names as Jusserand, Boris Bakhmetieff and Cecil Spring-Rice, are weighted down with formidable-looking .45-caliber revolvers. They repose in a barred and secluded room of the Treasury awaiting their redemption by the borrowers from this country.

By degrees the allies are said to be canceling their loans. It is a lengthy process, however, attended by many discussions and complications. The matter of interest charges and the fluctuating rate of foreign exchange confuse the deliberations.

WAR LOANS MADE BY THE TREASURY

	Cash advanced.	Repaid.	Balance.
Great Britain	\$4,277,000,000.00	\$80,181,641.56	\$4,196,818,358.44
France	2,987,477,800.00	31,449,357.55	2,956,028,442.45
Italy	1,631,338,986.99	.....	1,631,338,986.99
Belgium	349,214,467.89	10,000.00	349,204,467.89
Russia	187,729,750.00	.....	187,729,750.00
Czechoslovakia	60,524,041.10	.....	60,524,041.10
Serbia	26,780,465.56	605,326.34	26,175,139.22
Rumania	25,000,000.00	1,794,180.48	23,205,819.52
Greece	10,000,000.00	.....	10,000,000.00
Cuba	10,000,000.00	500,000.00	9,500,000.00
Liberia	26,000.00	.....	26,000.00
Total	\$9,565,091,511.54	\$114,540,505.93	\$9,450,551,005.61

A calculation made by the Treasury, dated August 31 last, shows that the debt at that time totaled \$9,450,551,005.61. In the beginning it was \$9,565,091,511.54, but six of the debtor nations have made payments amounting in all to \$114,540,505.93. These nations include Great Britain, which has paid \$80,181,000 out of a total indebtedness of \$4,277,000,000; France, which has reduced a debt of \$2,987,000,000 by \$31,449,000; Roumania, which has paid \$1,794,000 of a total loan of \$25,000,000, and Belgium, which has paid \$10,000 of a loan of nearly \$350,000,000.

Serbia and Cuba have also paid small portions of their debt. Italy, owing more than one and one-half billions; Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Liberia have paid nothing; nor has Russia, and the probabilities are that the money due from that country will not be recovered for a long time, if ever.

Treasury officials are not inclined to discuss the loans

* Story taken from *New York Times* of September 26.

nor the progress of their collections. This is not because of a desire to shut off information from the public, but because delicate negotiations are being constantly conducted with the debtor nations. There is continual danger of treading on somebody's diplomatic toes.

One vexing question connected with the war loans is the collection of interest upon them. Practically all the money was lent at five per cent. The interest falls due from time to time. It is not always paid. Now and then Congress prods the Treasury and wants to know what is going on in the collection of interest. A statement made by Treasury officials last March to a Congressional committee showed that \$433,074,799.73 had been paid in interest; that interest due in October and November, 1919, and amounting to \$236,240,114.90, was still overdue, and that the total interest for the fiscal year 1920 would amount to \$463,215,613.06.

The advances to foreign governments were made for purchases of war supplies in the United States, including food for civilian relief. No advances for any purposes have been made by the Treasury since May, 1919. However, the original commitments still hold, and payments upon these have been made by the United States to the foreign countries.

About \$97,000,000 still remains in the Treasury to the credit of foreign nations. While \$9,565,091,511.54 has been paid out, the original sum authorized as a loan amounted to \$9,710,525,310.56, and certain nations have a claim against the balance due them. On the other hand, this Government hold claims against some of those nations to the amount of \$48,000,000, which will cut the balance practically in half.

The Treasury has established a policy whereby no money will be lent to foreign nations from these balances, so that they may pay their interest out of the sum, so it is said. The nations must pay the interest themselves. They have not been delivering it lately, and negotiations concerning the matter are proceeding slowly and with great care.

Certain critics of the Treasury insist that the foreign countries should be pressed for interest charges; but the Treasury, while silent on the subject, appears, from outward appearances at least, to hold that it is useless to demand money from those who cannot pay. It seems to be the old story of the bloodless turnip.

The loans made to the allies are well-nigh all due for immediate payment, or, in the vernacular, "on demand." Authority granted under the First Liberty Loan act allows the Treasury to change this demand to long-time obligations. But it is said that the demand time-limit still exists.

The United States is said to owe France \$435,000,000 for railway transport charges and \$3,000,000 for port charges. The War Department purchased certain large supplies in France. Sums are also owed for transport of men and material. These figures have not yet been made public.

To offset the obligations on the part of this country, there have been sales for cash and credit by the United States, both to the allies during the war and to the new nations since that time. Herbert Hoover is said to have received about \$80,000,000 in obligations from foreign nations for foodstuffs. The Grain Corporation was authorized to sell 5,000,000 barrels of flour on credit. The

Shipping Board is said to have sold a ship in Poland. The navy sold supplies, although not a large amount.

Huge sales of material in Europe since the war have been made by the United States Liquidation Commission. Supplies sold to the "young nations" on credit amounted to \$140,104,021.84, but the \$8,500,000 sale to the Ukraine was canceled, as the contract with that republic was not carried out. Poland received supplies worth nearly \$60,000,000.

Supplies totaling \$637,508,570 were sold to other countries by the Liquidation Commission. Four hundred million dollars of this was realized through an agreement by France to purchase practically all of the American war material in France at a lump sum. Some of the sales, as, for instance, that to Portugal, were for cash. In addition to the total of \$777,905,103.23 worth of sales, France purchased war material billed at 232,565,047.51 francs, and individuals and corporations got material billed at 689,007.36 francs.

The Liquidation Commission's report says that conversion of the francs into dollars "at the current rate" and adding this amount to the sum purchased in dollars makes a grand total of \$822,923,225.82 for all the sales of War Department material in Europe. In payment for this, Government bonds aggregating \$564,233,302.87 have been taken from France, Belgium, "and eight countries of Central Europe and the Near East." The French bonds were for \$400,000,000. Sales amounting to 103,570,596.03 and 689,007.36 francs were made for cash on delivery, and short-term credits were taken for the rest.

"The appropriate Army Service has been taking care of the collection of these short-term credits, and nearly all of them have been liquidated at this time," says the commission's report, dated May 1, 1920.

Payments for these supplies must be collected before any final accounting may be had with the foreign nations. France, Belgium, and Italy are said to have large "set-off" agreements which will cancel some of their debt in this quarter.

All sorts of supplies are included in the obligations. Poland has received from this country \$12,000,000 worth of railway equipment, food, and canned meats. The French have purchased locomotives, tank cars, and \$1,000,000 worth of machine tools. Belgium has bought 15,000,000 pounds of frozen meat. The complete list would include very nearly everything that an army uses.

STATUS OF OUR PUBLIC DEBT JUNE 30, 1920.

Bonds	\$16,218,447,553.00
Notes:	
Victory Liberty Loan.....	4,246,385,530.00
Treasury Certificates:	
Tax	\$1,804,382,500
Loan	681,170,000
Pittman Act.....	259,375,000
Special Issue.....	24,000,000
	2,768,927,500.00
War Savings Securities (net cash receipts)	828,739,702.00
	24,062,500,285.00
Debt on which interest has ceased.....	6,745,237.07
Non-interest-bearing debt.....	230,075,944.91
	24,299,321,467.07

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS*
How Its Coercion of Nations Violates
Teachings of American History

By THEODORE STANFIELD

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS proposes that the body called the Council may coerce member States, by force of arms if necessary, notwithstanding the fact history cries out that every such attempt has failed and caused war.

The men who framed the Constitution of the United States discussed, debated, and discarded this very principle of coercion of States. It was embodied in the Virginia plan. In his record of the debates of the convention, James Madison quotes himself as having said concerning the Virginia plan on June 19, 1787:

The coercion on which the efficacy of the plan depends can never be exerted but on themselves (referring to the States). The larger States will be impregnable, the smaller only can feel the vengeance of it. He illustrated the position by the history of the Amphictyonic Confederates and the ban of the German Empire. It was the cobweb which could entangle the weak, but would be the sport of the strong.

Again, on July 14, 1787, he stated:

The practicability of making laws, with coercive sanction, for the States as political bodies has been exploded on all hands.

CANNOT COERCE STATES

Alexander Hamilton said:

To coerce the States would be one of the maddest projects ever devised. No State would ever suffer itself to be used as an instrument of coercing another. . . . There could be no cure for this great evil but to enable the national laws to operate on individuals, like the laws of the States.

Again:

The fundamental principle of the old confederation is defective; we must totally eradicate and discard this principle (coercion of States) before we can expect an efficient government. The gentlemen who have spoken today have taken up the subject of the ancient confederacies, but their view of them has been extremely partial and erroneous. The fact is that the same false and impracticable principle ran through the ancient governments. The first of these governments we read of was the Amphictyonic Confederacy. The council which managed the affairs of this league possessed powers of a similar complexion to those of our present Congress. The same feeble mode of legislation in the heads and the same powers of resistance in the members prevailed. When a requisition was made it rarely met a compliance and a civil war was the consequence. Those that were attacked called in foreign aid to protect them; and the ambitious Philip, under the mask of an ally to one, invaded the liberties of each and finally subverted the whole.

In *The Federalist*, written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, the principle of coercion

* Reprinted from *New York Tribune* of October 14.

of States is fully treated. The history of its invariable failure in the past, its failure in their own experience in the confederation of the United States, and its necessary and inevitable failure in the future are expounded in decisive fashion.

THE AMERICAN PRINCIPLE

Alexander Hamilton, in one article, stated and proved that "the great and radical vice in the construction of the confederation is in the principle of legislation for States or governments in their corporate or collective capacities as distinguished from the individuals of which they exist."

In another issue he wrote:

Whoever considers the opulence and strength of several of these States, single at the present juncture, and looks forward to what they will become, even at the distance of half a century, will at once dismiss as idle and visionary any scheme which aims at regulating their movements by laws to operate upon them in their collective capacities, and to be executed by coercion applicable to them in the same capacities.

Even in those confederacies which have been composed of members smaller than many of our counties, the principle of legislation for sovereign States supported by military coercion, has never been found effectual. It has rarely been attempted to be employed but against the weaker members; and in most instances attempts to coerce the refractory and disobedient have been the signals of bloody wars, in which one half of the confederacy has displayed its banners against the other half.

In brief, the old reactionary principle is that of the coercion by a collection of States of any disobedient State, while the progressive American principle is that of coercion not of States, but of individuals. The one disregards the traditions, laws, and experience of history, and that of our own great and successful country in particular; the other would take such steps forward as will not prevent in the future a federation of the peoples of the entire world.

It is obvious that coercion of States by other States, in the light of our own national experience and that of the previous attempts of history, proves that such coercion results only in failure. Powerful States in such unions have used coercion against the weak States, but the protection of the weak has not been insured because of the indifference of the strong. The recent Polish incident is an illustration of this fact.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

The application of economic pressure would also be unjust and ineffective. Russia has been under economic pressure for several years; yet, being economically independent, her military power, though impaired, is still of sufficient strength to threaten the safety of Europe, and it required herculean efforts on the part of heroic Poland to defend herself. Attempted economic coercion exerted against the British Empire would be futile, as it is economically independent. Such coercion against the United States would only serve to strengthen our conviction in the cause which we were sustaining. Dependence upon economic pressure against economically independent States is obviously ineffective and would inflict punishment upon the innocent States as well as offend-

ing States. Economic pressure upon small States, on the other hand, would place in the hands of strong States a weapon of autocratic coercion which would surely work contrary to the principles of justice.

There remains the principle of securing world peace by a government of laws instead of a world government by coercion. Arbitration has not sufficed. Charles Seignobos, the eminent French authority, in *The New Europe*, November 14, 1918, wrote:

But arbitration, far from being a rough sketch of justice, is the negation of justice between nations. It presupposes that all differences can be adjusted within the framework of a lawsuit, and that the parties at variance stand upon the same level morally. It declares in advance that it is powerless to redress any violation of the law, since it does not even admit that the State can be considered guilty of a crime, and hence it places the criminal and the victim upon the same level. . . . To discuss with the brigand the amount of the ransom which he is to exact is not enlarging the domain of justice; it is giving a fresh sanction to brigandage.

A WORLD SUPREME COURT

The world court, on the other hand, is to operate upon basic principles of law and justice. International laws of justice, universally accepted, respected, and cherished by mankind, will serve as a world code to govern the decisions of the judges.

Upon what means can such a court rely to enforce its decisions? What evidence does our own history offer that sovereign bodies can be depended upon to settle their difficulties amicably in accordance with a court which bases its decisions upon justice, but has no coercive power over the sovereign bodies to enforce its decisions?

Oliver Ellsworth, one of the framers of the Constitution and subsequently Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, expressed himself in the convention of Connecticut for the ratification of the Constitution as follows:

Hence we see how necessary for the Union is a coercive principle. No man pretends the contrary; we all see and feel this necessity. The only question is, Shall it be a coercion of law or a coercion of arms? There is no other possible alternative. Where will those who oppose a coercion of law come out? Where will they end? A necessary consequence of their principles is a war of the States one against the other. I am for coercion by law—that coercion which acts only upon individuals. This Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies, States, in their political capacity. No coercion is applicable to such bodies but that of an armed force. If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and guilty in the same calamity.

But this legal coercion singles out the guilty individual, and punishes him for breaking the laws of the Union. All men will see the reasonableness of this; they will acquiesce, and say, Let the guilty suffer.

The Constitution explicitly recognized the sovereignty of our States. It provided for a Supreme Court which could interpret the national laws and render decisions against individuals and enforce them by means of stat-

utes which provided for the punishment of individuals. But it has no power over the States as sovereign bodies. In 1861 individuals resisted the National Government; strictly, no State as such did so.

Yet thirty-one States have been heard as plaintiffs or defendants before this court. Eighty-odd decisions involving States have been made and every decision has been complied with, although the Supreme Court and the States explicitly recognized that the court had no power whatever to enforce its decisions.

The obedience to these decisions resulted from the recognition of its impartial justice, the respect for the fairness of its justices, its codified procedure, and its adherence to a recognized code of laws. A Supreme Court of the world, as proposed by Mr. Harding, operating in accordance with a recognized code of international laws and in adherence to a suitable system of procedure, having, because of its character and organization, the respect of the peoples of the world, can discharge just as effectively as our Supreme Court the duty of settling differences between sovereign bodies without impairing their sovereignty.

THE LONG ARM OF JUSTICE

As soon as the people of the world have attained a sufficiently high standard of international consciousness and the court has functioned with impartial justice and success, they may be willing to permit the court powers of coercion over individuals who attempt to bring about international disturbance in violation of recognized international laws. As our Supreme Court has powers of enforcing punishment on individuals who violate the supreme laws of the land, so a Supreme Court of the world may not only render decisions based upon justice, but may ultimately be endowed with "teeth" and enabled to put the fear of God into the hearts of individual violators of international law who attempt to lead nations to aggression; for they would know in advance that they could not escape the grasp of the long arm of justice.

"Experience is the oracle of truth; and where its responses are unequivocal they ought to be conclusive and sacred."—*(The Federalist, Article XX.)*

PLANS FOR THE AMERICAN ARMY

On September 8 the War Department, through the Associated Press, sent forth to the country the following official announcement of its plans. It is a condensed statement; hence any attempt to shorten it would be to mutilate it. To persons who are interested in plans for disarmament of the nations, or who dislike the idea of a standing army that it is admitted from the start is to "control local domestic disorder" and "operate as infantry in the limited sense required for guarding industrial centers," etc., this pronouncement will be illuminating.

To quote the Associated Press dispatch:

The War Department, it was announced yesterday, is completing the organization for a vast emergency army which can be mobilized and equipped for offense or defense within 24 hours. Under this plan the first line will consist of the Regular Army of 300,000 troops; the national guard, with 435,000 officers and men, will form the second line. A

vast reserve force, for which 70,000 officers have already been appointed and 12,000 more are under consideration, will form the final and by far the most numerous section.

While the number of troops in the reserve force is not definitely fixed, the skeleton organization will be such that it can be expanded to any size the emergency may require. The only limit will be the number of men of draft age in the United States.

Divided into Districts

For the organization and administration of the great army, the country has been divided into nine military districts, to be known as corps areas, and which will displace the six departments established in 1916. These areas are organized not only with respect to the military population composed within their boundaries, but also with reference to supplementing the military defense of the coast lines.

Each corps area will contain troops from the Regular Army, the national guard, and the organized reserves, all organized in time of peace into brigades, divisions, and army corps, with the necessary auxiliary and special troops.

Each corps area commander will be charged with all the military activities in his area, and, with certain exceptions, will be in command of all the regular and organized reserve personnel stationed therein. He must not, however, be confounded with the commanders of tactical corps that may be organized in this area. He will deal direct with local authorities, and one of his most important duties is that which relates to the organization of the national guard and organized reserves.

Development of National Guard

In the development of the national guard careful consideration will be given not only to its function in war and training of citizens for use in war, but also with relation to its use as State forces during the special situations it will be called upon to meet in peace time. Upon the national guard will fall the control of local domestic disorder. It will operate as infantry in the limited sense required for guarding industrial centers, railroads, docks, bridges, etc., in disturbances caused by violence, fire, flood, or epidemic.

As planned, the new national guard will not only be trained as coast artillery, anti-aircraft units, regiments of heavy guns and howitzers, ammunition and supply trains, etc., but all combat commands will be armed with rifles, pistols, or machine-guns, so that any local unit will be able to operate as infantry at will.

Strength of Guard

The strength of the national guard, 435,000, is practically the same number of national guard officers and men who were serving in the United States Army on June 30, 1918.

The strength of the national guard to be allocated to each corps area now is being considered by a joint committee of Regular Army, national guard, and organized reserve officers at the War Department. Committees of regular, national guard, and reserve officers, of which the two latter will be a majority, will determine the location of national guard units.

Of the 70,000 reserve officers appointed since 1918, none have been given definite assignment. All will be under the orders of the commander of the corps area embracing their residence and will be assigned by him to a unit of the organized reserves in that district.

As organized, the reserves will be distinctly a war force and will not be called to the colors until such an emergency, and will attract a class of citizens who do not feel inclined or are unable to undertake the obligations assumed by members of the national guard. Moreover, as it will be maintained as a skeletonized force, it will not compete with the national guard.

The policy of the general staff contemplates a well-balanced force, officered by regular, national guard, and organized reserve officers and capable of expansion to any required size. The expansion to the limit of strength will take place through voluntary enlistment or draft, as emergency may demand.

THE UNITED STATES, POLAND AND RUSSIA

Secretary Colby's Note to Italy—Polish Minister's Appeal

The American Government's position on the Russian-Polish situation is outlined in the following note to the Italian Government, addressed to Baron Camillo Romano Avezzana, Italian Ambassador to the United States:

AUGUST 10, 1920.

EXCELLENCY: The agreeable intimation, which you have conveyed to the State Department, that the Italian Government would welcome a statement of the views of this government on the situation presented by the Russian advance into Poland, deserves a prompt response, and I will attempt without delay a definition of this government's position, not only as to the situation arising from Russian military pressure upon Poland, but also as to certain cognate and inseparable phases of the Russian question, viewed more broadly.

This government believes in a united, free, and autonomous Polish State, and the people of the United States are earnestly solicitous for the maintenance of Poland's political independence and territorial integrity. From this attitude we will not depart, and the policy of this government will be directed to the employment of all available means to render it effectual. The government therefore takes no exception to the effort apparently being made in some quarters to arrange an armistice between Poland and Russia, but it would not, at least for the present, participate in any plan for the expansion of the armistice negotiations into a general European conference, which would in all probability involve two results, from both of which this country strongly recoils, viz: the recognition of the Bolshevik régime and a settlement of Russian problems almost inevitably upon the basis of a dismemberment of Russia.

Friendly Solicitude for Russia

From the beginning of the Russian revolution, in March, 1917, to the present moment, the Government and the people of the United States have followed its development with friendly solicitude and with profound sympathy for the efforts of the Russian people to reconstruct their national life upon the broad basis of popular self-government. The Government of the United States, reflecting the spirit of its people, has at all times desired to help the Russian people. In that spirit all its relations with Russia and with other nations in matters affecting the latter's interests have been conceived and governed.

The Government of the United States was the first government to acknowledge the validity of the revolution and to give recognition to the Provisional Government of Russia. Almost immediately thereafter it became necessary for the United States to enter the war against Germany and in that undertaking to become closely associated with the Allied nations, including, of course, Russia.

The war weariness of the masses of the Russian people was fully known to this government and sympathetically comprehended. Prudence, self-interest, and loyalty to our associates made it desirable that we should give moral and material support to the Provisional Government, which was struggling to accomplish a twofold task—to carry on the war with vigor and at the same time to reorganize the life of the nation and establish a stable government based on popular sovereignty.

Sincere Friendship Felt

Quite independent of these motives, however, was the sincere friendship of the Government and the people of the United States for the great Russian nation. The friendship manifested by Russia toward this nation in a time of trial and distress has left with us an imperishable sense of gratitude. It was as a grateful friend that we sent to Russia an expert commission to aid in bringing about such a reorganization of the railroad transportation system of the country as would reinvigorate the whole of its economic life and so add to the well-being of the Russian people.

While deeply regretting the withdrawal of Russia from the war at a critical time and the disastrous surrender at Brest-Litovsk, the United States has fully understood that the people of Russia were in nowise responsible.

The United States maintains unimpaired its faith in the Russian people, in their high character and their future. That they will overcome the existing anarchy, suffering, and destitution, we do not entertain the slightest doubt. The distressing character of Russia's transition has many historical parallels, and the United States is confident that restored, free, and united Russia will again take a leading place in the world, joining with the other free nations in upholding peace and orderly justice.

Vital Decisions to be Held Up

Until that time shall arrive the United States feels that friendship and honor require that Russia's interests must be generously protected, and that, as far as possible, all decisions of vital importance to it, and especially those concerning its sovereignty over the territory of the former Russian Empire, be held in abeyance.

By this feeling of friendship and honorable obligation to the great nation whose bravery and heroic self-sacrifice contributed so much to the successful termination of the war, the Government of the United States was guided in its reply to the Lithuanian National Council, on October 15, 1919, and in its persistent refusal to recognize the Baltic States as separate nations independent of Russia. The same spirit was manifested in the note of this government of March 24, 1920, in which it was stated, with reference to certain proposed settlements in the Near East, that "no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia."

In line with these important declarations of policy, the United States withheld its approval from the decision of the Supreme Council at Paris, recognizing the independence of the so-called Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, and so instructed its representative in southern Russia, Rear Admiral Newton A. McCully. Finally, while gladly giving recognition to the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that the final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's co-operation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new State of Armenia, when it shall be defined, formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the good will and the protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free.

Good Will Proved

These illustrations show with what consistency the Government of the United States has been guided in its foreign policy by a loyal friendship for Russia. We are unwilling that while it is helpless in the grip of a non-representative government, whose only sanction is brutal force, Russia shall be weakened still further by a policy of dismemberment, conceived in other than Russian interests.

With the desire of the Allied Powers to bring about a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties in Europe this government is, of course, in hearty accord and will support any justifiable steps to that end. It is unable to perceive, however, that a recognition of the Soviet régime would promote, much less accomplish, this object, and it is therefore averse to any dealings with the Soviet régime beyond the most narrow boundaries to which a discussion of an armistice can be confined.

That the present rulers of Russia do not rule by the will or the consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people is an incontestable fact. Although nearly two and a half years have passed since they seized the machinery of government, promising to protect the Constituent Assembly against alleged conspiracies against it, they have not yet permitted anything in the nature of a popular election. At the moment when the work of creating a popular representative government based upon universal suffrage was nearing completion, the Bolsheviks, although in number an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of government and have

continued to use them with savage oppression to maintain themselves in power.

No Internal Interference Desired

Without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people, or to suggest what kind of government they should have, the Government of the United States does express the hope that they will soon find a way to set up a government representing their free will and purpose. When that time comes the United States will consider the measures of practical assistance which can be taken to promote the restoration of Russia, provided Russia has not taken itself wholly out of the pale of the friendly interest of other nations by the pillage and oppression of the Poles.

It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a government with which the relations common to friendly governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts. These facts, which none disputes, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing régime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith and every usage and convention underlying the whole structure of international law—the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals.

The responsible leaders of the régime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers, while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshevist government can have any moral force for them.

They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice. Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this power, and its official agencies, have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries.

It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give "assurances" and "guarantees" that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purpose. In view of their own declarations, already referred to, such assurance and guarantees cannot be very seriously regarded. Moreover, it is within the knowledge of the Government of the United States that the Bolshevist Government is itself subject to the control of a political faction, with extensive international ramifications through the Third Internationale, and that this body, which is heavily subsidized by the Bolshevist Government from the public revenues of Russia, has for its openly avowed aim the promotion of Bolshevist revolutions throughout the world.

The leaders of the Bolshevist have boasted that their promises of non-interference with other nations would in nowise bind the agents of this body. There is no room for reasonable doubt that such agents would receive the support and protection of any diplomatic agencies the Bolshevists might have in other countries. Inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevist Government would become a channel for intrigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened governments cannot subject themselves.

No Common Ground is Seen

In the view of this government, there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a power whose

conceptions of international relations are so entirely alien to its own, so utterly repugnant of its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions, whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt, whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them.

To summarize the position of this government, I would say, therefore, in response to Your Excellency's inquiry, that it would regard with satisfaction a declaration by the Allies and associated powers that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected. These boundaries should properly include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland, and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian State.

The aspirations of these nations for independence are legitimate. Each was forcibly annexed and their liberation from oppressive alien rule involves no aggressions against Russia's territorial rights, and has received the sanction of the public opinion of all free peoples. Such a declaration presupposes the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory embraced by these boundaries, and in the opinion of this government should be accompanied by the announcement that no transgression by Poland, Finland, or any other power of the line so drawn and proclaimed will be permitted.

Thus only can the Bolshevist régime be deprived of its false but effective appeal to Russian Nationalism and compelled to meet the inevitable challenge of reason and self-respect which the Russian people, secure from invasion and territorial violation, are sure to address to a social philosophy that degrades them and a tyranny that oppresses them.

The policy herein outlined will command the support of this government.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed)

BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

His Excellency Baron Camillo Romano Avezana, Ambassador of Italy.

POLISH MINISTER'S APPEAL

With a promptness that did credit to his ardor, but that from the diplomatic standpoint was open to criticism, Prince Lubomirski, Minister from Poland to the United States, on the 12th issued the following appeal to the people of the United States:

In the note of the American Government to the Italian Ambassador, the United States points out its views as to the necessity of maintaining an independent Poland, while firmly stating its attitude toward the Russian people and Bolshevism. The American Government, true to its traditions, which for 100 years have been those of Poland, has sounded in this critical hour a firm, true declaration for Poland's freedom and independence. In this the United States Government maintains the position toward Poland taken by President Wilson at the peace conference.

The statement that the United States will employ all available means in the maintenance of a free Poland will, I am convinced, inspire Poland with a new spirit of hope as soon as it is known. But immediately the question presents itself as to what is meant by the phrase "all available means," which the American Government states it is willing to render in defense of Poland's independence and territorial integrity.

All who know what is taking place in Poland at the present moment, the organization of thousands of volunteers, their need for clothing, rifles, and ammunition, the influx of a million refugees who have fled westward before the advancing tide of the Red army, increasing the spread of the dreaded typhus—all who realize this readily will understand what Poland needs, and needs immediately, before it is too late.

Such aid is rendered more imperative by the announcement of the Soviet terms of the armistice. Not only do they require the demobilization of Poland's armies, but behind their terms they seek to clear for the Red army the passage to Germany and even farther. This is, therefore, no time to enter into the theoretical discussion of what aid might be granted by the phrase "all available means."

The continued accusation directed against Poland, that she is imperialistic, means to me that in the minds of many there is a complete misunderstanding of the psychology and tactics of Bolshevism. Bolshevism is only possible by the continued advance of the Red army and through the provocation of communist revolution in other countries. Poland and her government have long understood this, and in order to prevent annihilation by the advancing wave and seeking to protect others, was forced to undertake, for defensive purposes, an offensive action.

Our war is not and never was a war with the Russian people, for whom Poland has a sincere and true sympathy. This was realized by some of the most eminent Russians, the great writer Merezkowski, politicians of high esteem, such as Rodiszew; Sawiekow, a leader of the social revolution; Gippias Philosophow, and many others who appealed to the Polish nation for assistance to Russia. This co-operation of some of the most brilliant representatives of Russia with the Polish Government and the Polish army proves conclusively that the real Russia is on our side, and that the policy of the United States toward Russia, as stated in this note, is essentially that of Poland.

POLAND'S FORMAL REPLY

On August 28, after consideration of military conditions in Poland and Russia, Poland replied to the United States. The note is appended:

"LEGATION OF POLAND,
"WASHINGTON, August 28, 1920.

"BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State.*

"SIR: I have been requested by the Government of the Republic of Poland to convey to you, Mr. Secretary, its thanks for the essential principles on the Polish situation expressed in your note of August 10 to the Italian Ambassador.

"The declaration that the United States Government and the American Nation are, by way of the employment of all available means, solicitous for the maintenance of political independence and territorial integrity of a united, free, and autonomous Polish State, is very gratifying to the Polish nation, and has been highly appreciated by the Polish Government as a guarantee that the rights of the Polish nation shall never be curtailed. Poland sees in it the manifestation of the deep sympathy which unites both nations, and which has so many times been demonstrated in their historical development.

"I am authorized to express to the United States Government deep gratitude for its open condemnation of the political system and methods of the Bolshevik Government.

"The note of August 10 reached Warsaw at a time when Poland was flooded by overwhelming Bolshevik forces, and when, owing to the lack of material means, only a great moral strength could win the Battle of Warsaw. At this decisive moment the weighty words expressed in the note proved a valuable moral support.

War Declared Defensive

"By the supreme effort of our national army not only was Warsaw saved, but this victory will, with the help of Providence, contribute in a considerable degree to the weakening of the Bolshevik power, which, having brutally seized the governmental machinery of Russia, is straining its efforts to force upon the world its oligarchic principles, which are contrary to the general conception of justice and democracy.

"I have great pleasure in assuring you, in the name of the Polish Government, that we share the feelings of sympathy for the Russian people as manifested by the American Government.

"This war, which was forced upon us by the attack made

on Polish cities, is a defensive war, and is waged against Bolshevism and not against the Russian people.

"The most prominent leaders of the Russian nation, heading the true Russian democratic movement, see in the success of the Polish war endeavors the national Russian interest. They acknowledge them as a very important factor in the emancipation of the Russian nation from Bolshevik oppression, which for two and a half years has been destroying the moral and material strength of Russia.

"And, indeed, in this struggle with the Soviet Government, whose armies are still devastating Polish territories, the Polish Government has always been guided only by its duty to defend the independence and territorial integrity of Poland and guard Europe against the Bolshevik wave.

"Accept, sir, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

"CASIMIR LUBOMIRSKI."

POLAND'S APPEAL TO THE WORLD

To justify her action, Poland issued the following appeal to all the nations:

"In the critical hour of its decisive struggle, Poland turns to the nations of the world to tell them that her fall will be due not only to overbearing might, but also to the indifference of a world which calls itself democratic and freedom-loving, a world of principles of liberty for individuals and nations. Can the conscience of the world be still regarding the crimes to be committed on the Vistula by the former generals of Nicholas?

"At this most tragic hour and in view of our endless misery, in view of the crime to be committed on the Vistula, we are making your conscience, the conscience of the nations of the world, responsible.

"Your indifference can once, as in 1772, 1795, 1831, 1863, allow these troops of the East to destroy the beginnings of freedom which, founded in the ruins of the czarism of Nicholas and William, may now disappear beneath Bolshevik imperialism. May your conscience stir you into action. If Polish freedom dies, tomorrow yours will be threatened.

"On the 8th of September, 1831, the Russian army captured Warsaw—a second Waterloo. Think how the fall of Poland may become the commencement of a new World War, with a hecatomb a hundredfold greater, which the free democracies of the West will have to place on the altar of their own national defense.

"Bolshevist victory on the Vistula threatens all western Europe—a new World War hangs over the world like a storm cloud.

"Wake up, nations of the world! Humanity, Right, and Truth call you. You hesitate? Are you afraid of war? It will come to you as it came to us. It is on your threshold; it will be too late to save yourselves. Not only our future, but your future is at stake today on the Vistula."

RUSSIA'S SOVIET PROPAGANDA AND POLICY

Appended are some typical documents indicating the policy of the Russian Soviet Government toward other nations and the terms it lays down to Socialists without Russia, who may be considering working with the proletarian autocracy.

APPEAL TO THE WORKERS OF ASIA

This was sent to the conference at Baku, held early in September, under the auspices of the "Third Internationale," which is the informal agency used by Lenin to define his position when he does not care to go to similar extremes in his dealings with the governments with which he is negotiating.

"What does the Communist International represent? The Communist International is the organization of millions of revolutionary workers in Russia, Poland, Germany, France,

England, and America, who, awakened by the thunders of the war and driven by hunger, have risen in order no longer to work for the rich, but to work for themselves; in order no longer to lift their arms against their own fellow-citizens, against the suffering and hungering brother peoples, but to use them in their own defense against the exploiters.

"These workers have recognized the fact that they can only triumph through unity, through the binding together of their forces, and they organized last year the organization that they needed, the Communist International, which, despite all the persecutions by the capitalist governments, in the year and a half of its existence has become the very soul of the struggle for liberation carried on by the workers and revolutionary peasants in the whole world.

Why Call Was Issued

"Why does the Communist International call a congress of the Persian, Armenian, and Turkish peasants and workers? What has it to offer to them? What does it demand of them? The fighting workers and peasants of Europe and America turn to you because you, like them, are suffering under the yoke of world capitalism; because you, like them, are obliged to fight against the international exploiters, and because the union of the Persian, Armenian, and Turkish peasants and workers with the great army of the European and American proletariat will make this army stronger and will speed the death of capitalism, thus bringing about the liberation of the workers and peasants of the whole world.

"Peasants and workers of Persia, the Teheran Government of the Kadars and its retinue of provincial khans have plundered and exploited you through many centuries. The land, which, according to the laws of the Sheriat, was your common property, has been taken possession of more and more by the lackeys of the Teheran Government; they trade it away at their pleasure; they lay what taxes please them upon you, and when, through their mismanagement, they got the country into such a condition that they were unable to squeeze enough juice out of it themselves, they sold Persia last year to English capitalists for £2,000,000, so that the latter will organize an army in Persia that will oppress you still more than formerly, and so the latter can collect taxes for the khans and the Teheran Government. They have sold the naphtha sources in south Persia and thus helped plunder the country.

"Peasants of Mesopotamia, the English have declared your country to be independent, but 80,000 English soldiers are stationed in your country, are robbing and plundering, are killing you, and are violating your women.

"Peasants of Anatolia, the English, French, and Italian governments hold Constantinople under the mouths of their cannon. They have made the Sultan their prisoner; they are obliging him to consent to the dismemberment of what is purely Turkish territory; they are forcing him to turn the country's finances over to foreign capitalists in order to make it possible for them better to exploit the Turkish people, already reduced to a state of beggary by the six-year war. They have occupied the coal mines of Hercules; they are holding your ports; they are sending their troops into your country and are trampling down your fields.

Appeal to the Armenians

"Peasants and workers of Armenia, decades ago you became the victims of the intrigues of foreign capital, which launched heavy verbal attacks against the massacres of the Armenians by the Kurds and incited you to fight against the Sultan in order to obtain through your blood new concessions and fresh profits daily from the bloody Sultan. During the war they not only promised you independence, but they incited your merchants, your teachers, and your priests to demand the land of the Turkish peasants in order to keep up an eternal conflict between the Armenian and Turkish peoples, so that they could eternally derive profits out of this conflict; for as long as strife prevails between you and the Turks, just so long will the English, French, and American capitalists be able to hold Turkey in check through the menace of an Armenian uprising and to use the Armenians as cannon fodder through the menace of a pogrom by Kurds.

"Peasants of Syria and Arabia, independence was promised to you by the English and by the French, and now they hold your country occupied by their armies, now the English and the French dictate your laws, and you, who have freed yourselves from the Turkish Sultan, from the Constantinople Government, are now slaves of the Paris and London governments, which merely differ from the Sultan's Government in being stronger and better able to exploit you.

"You all understand this yourselves. The Persian peasants and workers have risen against their traitorous Teheran Government. The peasants in Mesopotamia are in revolt against the English troops, and the English newspapers are reporting losses suffered in fighting against the masses of the people near Bagdad. You peasants in Anatolia have rushed to the banner of Kemal Pasha in order to fight against the foreign invasion, but at the same time we hear that you are trying to organize your own party of people, a genuine peasants' party that will be willing to fight even if the Pashas are to make their peace with the Entente exploiters. Syria has no peace, and you, Armenian peasants, whom the Entente, despite its promises, allows to die from hunger in order to keep you under better control, you are understanding more and more that it is silly to hope for salvation by the Entente capitalists. Even your bourgeois government of the Dashnakists, the lackeys of the Entente, is compelled to turn to the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia with an appeal for peace and help.

To Defy Foreign Capitalists

"Peasants and workers of the Near East, if you organize yourselves; if you form your own Workers' and Peasants' Government; if you arm yourselves; if you unite with the Red Russian Workers' and Peasants' Army, then you will be able to defy the English, French, and American capitalists; then you will settle accounts with your own exploiters; then you will find it possible, in a free alliance with the workers' republics of the world, to look after your own interests; then you will know how to exploit the resources of your country in your own interest and in the interest of the working people of the whole world, that will honestly exchange the products of their labor and mutually help each other.

"We want to talk over all these questions with you at the congress in Baku. Spare no effort to appear in Baku on September 1 in as large numbers as possible. You march year in and year out through the deserts to the holy places where you show your respect for your past and for your God. Now march through deserts, over mountains, and across rivers in order to come together to discuss how you can escape from the bonds of slavery, how you can unite as brothers, so as to live as men, free and equal.

On September 1 thousands of Persian, Turkish, and Armenian peasants and workers must meet in peaceful reunion in Baku for the great liberation council of the peoples of the Near East.

"For the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

"G. Zinovief, Chairman; Karl Radek, Secretary.

"For the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party:

"K. Bukharin, W. Worovsky, A. Salabanova, G. Klinger.

"For the All Russian Central Committee of the Trade Union Associations:

"A. Losovsky.

"For the English Socialist Party:

"W. MacLean, Tom Quelch.

"For the Factory and Shop Councils of England:

"Jacques Tanner, G. M. Murphy.

"For the French Delegation to the Congress of the Communist International:

"Jacques Sadoul, A. Rosmer, K. Delinières.

"For the Italian Delegation to the Congress of the Communist International:

"D. Seratti, W. Vacirca, N. Bombacci, A. Graziadei.

"For the Communist Party of Poland:

"J. Marchlewski (Karski)."

LENIN'S MESSAGE TO THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS

The following statement appeared early in September in *L'Humanité*, the French Socialist journal, as an officially guaranteed account of the demands recently made by Lenin. He said:

"You talk and talk about joining the Third Internationale. Do you know what that means? It means Red revolution, with blood and fire. It means martyrdom and persecution. It means the formation by you of a Communist Party on Russian lines, which shall owe full allegiance to Moscow and accept my decrees as infallible. It means obedience and sacrifice. It means that the day of half measures is past, and that waverers must be expelled. He that is not with us is against us. Thus, and thus only, can our goal of world revolution be achieved.

"(1) The Socialist Party must radically change the character of its daily propaganda in the press.

"(2) As regards colonies, the party must pitilessly expose the activities of the bourgeois imperialists and aid, not only in word but in deed, all movements toward liberation, taking as the watchword that the imperialists must give up colonies, that fraternal sentiments must be developed in French working masses toward the working population of the colonies, that systematic propaganda must be carried on in the French army against oppression of colonies.

"(3) Expose the falsity and hypocrisy of social patriotism. Prove systematically to the workers that without a revolutionary upset of capitalism, no arbitration, no project of disarmament, will save humanity from new imperialist wars.

"(4) The French Socialist Party must begin the organization of Communist elements in the heart of the Workers' General Federation in order to combat social traitors at the head of this Federation.

"(5) The Socialist Party must obtain, not in word, but in deed, the complete subordination of the Parliamentary group.

"(6) The present majority section of the party must break radically with reformism and free its ranks from elements that do not wish to follow the new revolutionary path.

"(7) The party must change its name and present itself before the whole world as the Communist Party of France.

"(8) At a time when the Bourgeoisie decrees a state of siege against workers and the chiefs, French comrades must recognize the necessity of combining legal action with illegal action.

"(9) The French Socialist Party, as well as all parties who wish to adhere to the Third Internationale, must consider as strictly obligatory all decisions of the Communist Internationale. The Communist Internationale takes into account the various conditions under which the workers of the various countries are compelled to struggle."

This appeal has not met with a favorable response. French socialism is proving itself conservative in temper and far from willing to enter upon imitation of the Russian experiment. It is this fact that has strengthened the hands of Premier Millerand in his negotiations with the powers and that has enabled him to take an unusually stiff nationalistic policy. The moderation of the French Socialists at this juncture is proving to be a great advantage to the Republic, just as the control of labor in the United States by the Federation of Labor tends to stabilize the country and enable its statesmen to proceed on an increasingly nationalistic course.

At this writing the Bolshevik organization seems to be crumbling before the forces of Poland. The whole of Lithuania is about to be freed from Soviet domination. The Bolsheviks have lost heavily in the Ukraine. Our best advisers assure us that the Russian people will assume control of their affairs no later than the coming spring.

IT IS REPORTED

That Arequipa, the second city of Peru, is nearly free from illiteracy.

That automobiles in the United States kill one person every thirty-five minutes.

That Canada has at least 300,000,000 acres available for agricultural development.

That in 1921 France contemplates the construction of six submarines of 1,100 tons each.

That a daily air mail service has been inaugurated between London and Amsterdam.

That the United States is exporting rice to Japan at the rate of 100,000 pounds a month.

That New Zealand is becoming an important market for American manufactured articles.

That the wheat crop in Western Australia for this year will yield about 18,000,000 bushels.

That a law has been promulgated in France prohibiting the export of works of art from that country.

That an aërial mail service is to be established by the Mexican Government between Mexico City and Tampico.

That infant mortality has reached an amazing figure in France since the war, the rate in Paris being 50 per cent.

That Kintaro Sinoa, student, twenty-six years of age, living in Tokyo, has invented a paper that does not tear when wet.

That in Jugo-Slavia there are 200,000 Nazarenes, who refuse absolutely to participate in war or fighting of any kind.

That more than 75 per cent of the narcotic drug addicts in the United States are boys and girls under sixteen years of age.

That Quebec has six hydroplanes, equipped for patrolling purposes, which carry fire-fighters over the provincial forests.

That typhus and cholera are raging disastrously throughout the Crimea and other sections dominated by General Wrangel.

That the French Minister of Labor has published statistics showing that deaths in France in 1919 exceeded the births by 200,000.

That the German War Organization states that during the World War 1,718,608 German soldiers and 24,726 sailors were killed, with 5,009 missing.

That trade between Argentina and Germany is being re-

sumed on an increasing scale, the scarcity of ships being considered the chief limiting factor.

That the Executive Committee of the American Red Cross has decided to discontinue the *Red Cross Magazine* because of the increased cost of publication.

That the railway authorities in Japan have decided to substitute electricity for steam on all lines, reducing the number of locomotives by 40 per cent.

That the American Chamber of Commerce at Manila has passed a resolution asking Congress to give the Philippine Islands a territorial form of government.

That of the 200 returned soldiers who have been training for the teaching profession in Ontario nearly all were successful in passing the courses prescribed for certificates.

That by far the largest single channel through which sugar was consumed in the United States last year was that of candy, approximately 350,000,000 pounds being given as a conservative estimate.

That there has been official confirmation of the intention of the Mexican Government to install immediately thirty new wireless stations, at an approximate cost of 500,000 pesos (value of peso is \$0.498).

That the American Red Cross has made an appropriation of \$4,000 to make available four additional scholarships for nurses taking the special course in public health nursing given by Kings College, London.

That Mexico is one of the largest Latin-American customers for automobiles, the 1920 exports of motor vehicles from the United States to Mexico having been exceeded only by those to Cuba, Argentina, and Brazil.

That the Minister of Persia at Washington, in a communication of July, 1920, stated that the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce of that country has opened a bureau of information for the development of foreign trade.

That a new German-Argentine radiotelegraph company has been organized, under the name of the "Transradio," for the purpose of establishing direct radio service between Germany and the southern countries of South America.

That Miss Clara D. Noyes, Director of Nursing of the American Red Cross, is making a tour of inspection of the Red Cross nursing service in Europe, particularly through the Balkan States, Greece, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland.

That the Belgian Cabinet has proposed the formation of a national commission to study the economic situation of Belgium, and that a commission of sixty-five members has been named, to act under the supervision of the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

That new records were made in the sugar transactions of the United States with other countries during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920, and, although the uneven distri-

bution of available supplies of it in the United States led to continued high retail prices, it seemingly did not restrict the total consumption.

That the first of a series of regional health conferences authorized by the International Health Conference that was called at Cannes, France, in 1919 by the League of Red Cross Societies, will be held in Washington, December 6-13, primarily for the purpose of discussing the conditions of the country relative to venereal diseases.

RUSSIA'S POLICY QUESTIONED

The following questionnaire to the Russian Government, issued by the Allies, indicates why the Soviet Government is not immediately welcomed to the confraternity of nations. No answer has yet been given:

"1. Are the delegates of the Soviet Government the only persons holding the right to trade outside of Russia?"

"2. Are the members of the Soviet Government the only persons within Russia with whom foreign commercial interests are authorized to deal?"

"3. What is the legal effect, or what will be the consequences, of contracts made (a) with organizations or persons in parts of the former Russian Empire which for the moment do not recognize the authority of the Soviet Government? (b) with organizations or persons within Soviet Russia who are not included within the scope of question 2?"

"4. Under what form and under what laws will contracts be made and how will they be carried out (a) if the contract is made in an allied country? (b) if the contract is made in Russia?"

"5. What are the commercial relations between the central soviet and the local soviets, and what control does the central soviet exercise over the local soviets?"

"6. What are the personal rights of foreigners trading in Russia? That is to say, is the Soviet Government prepared to guarantee to them (a) Freedom of entry, sojourn and departure? (b) The abandonment of all efforts on the part of the Soviet Government to impose laws restricting their personal liberty? (c) The abandonment of all efforts on the part of the Soviet Government to deny possession or exportation of any commodities which, according to European custom, would be considered as the personal property of traders, which would be necessary to the traders or which should have been procured by them through regular commercial transactions? (d) Freedom of telegraphic communication in cipher or commercial code and freedom of postal communication?"

"7. What will be the guarantees given for the execution of contracts for labor and of other contracts for personal service?"

"8. What will be the nature, the extent, etc., of concessions for mines, forests, etc.?"

"9. What conditions will be imposed upon allied ships in Bolshevik ports? What will be the measures taken for the execution and surveillance of contracts for loading and unloading, for the payment and perception of port and docking rights, conditions under which crews may disembark, their security, and other general matters ordinarily handled by official consular agents in other countries?"

"10. What is the actual condition of the laws in Russia pertaining to allied nationals who have taken out patents or who have registered trade-marks or designs? Is the protection resulting from the registration of a patent, of a trade-mark, or of copyrights which foreigners formerly enjoyed in Russia recognized by the Soviet Government? Has the Soviet Government confiscated to its own profit or otherwise modified rights of this nature which foreigners formerly enjoyed in Russia? Is it possible to renew the demands for the protection of these rights; and, if so, how?"

"11. Is the Soviet Government disposed to permit, in conformity with the laws of allied countries, the constitution of

a Russian organization or company with which contracts could be made and which could prosecute or be prosecuted under the laws of Allied or other European countries?

"12. Referring to question 4 of the conditions set forth in the note of M. Krassin on May 29, is the Soviet Government prepared to give guarantees for the lifting of restrictions against the sale and free export of various kinds of commodities actually in Russia?

"13. What measures does the Soviet Government contemplate concerning taxes to be imposed upon commercial representatives, whether or not they be official allied representatives, in Russia?

"14. What are the provisions in force in Russia with regard to customs duties, rights of excise, railway and other transit rates, and what commercial code is in force in Russia?

"15. What disposition does the Soviet Government intend to make with regard to the supply of sustenance, lodgings, etc., to allied representatives, official or not, during their stay in Russia?

"16. What is the exact meaning and the purpose of the demand of M. Krassin that documents recognized as legal in one country should be recognized as legal in the other? What are the documents to which he alludes?"

THE APPEAL OF IRAK-MESOPOTAMIA

When Congress assembles in December it will have laid before it by a sympathizing lawmaker the following appeal of the Arabs against the treatment they have received under the Peace Treaty and under subsequent "deals" of Great Britain and France. The spirit that is reflected in this protest has led to military resistance in Mesopotamia during the summer that has caused the British Government considerable trouble and has forced reconstruction of its military policy in middle Asia and India. The appeal says:

"The Arabian nation has fought during the recent war at the side of the Allies to liberate itself from foreign yoke, reconquer its past glory, continue its special rôle in the work of civilization of the Orient, and realize by its unity and independence its national aspirations as other peoples have done.

"The noble Allies have promised their help in this generous work and have declared through their respective governments and parliaments that their object in this great war was to render oppressed people independent, and to establish their liberty, to decide their own fate, and to select their form of government.

Cites Treaty

"Great Britain concluded a well-known treaty with his majesty King Husseln, wherein she recognized the independence of the Arabian nation, from the Taurus and the north of the Vilayet of Mossoul down to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, with the Red Sea as the southern frontier.

"President Wilson confirmed this treaty by the noble principles which he proclaimed and which the Allies adopted and accepted as the basis for a durable peace. According to sentiments embodied in the declarations of Lord Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, before the parliamentary commission of foreign affairs on October 23, 1916; according to the declarations of M. Briand, president of the French council in 1915; according to a response of the Allies to an address of the Central Powers transmitted through the mediation of the United States Ambassador at Paris; according to the response of the Allies to the address of President Wilson on May 22, 1917; according to the resolution of the French Parliament of June 5, 1917; according to that of the Senate of May 6; according to the speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd-George on June 9, 1917, at Glasgow; and according to a large number of other declarations, it was clearly acknowledged that all peoples, small or great, have the right to declare their lot with entire freedom and that all secret treaties incompatible with their independence are to be done away with.

No Relief Has Come

"But the great war ended nearly a year and a half ago. And yet the country groans as before under a foreign occupation, which has caused it great losses, both material and moral, and which has paralyzed the progress of its affairs in a way which has compromised its political situation.

"We unanimously proclaim the complete independence of the Arabian nations. . . . We declare the present military occupation at an end, to be replaced by responsible national government. We express our desire to conserve the friendship of our allies and to respect their present and future interests, as well as the interests of the other powers. We petition them to recognize our independence and to withdraw from our country their troops, which will then be replaced by a national army, in order that we may be able to play an effective rôle in the work of civilization and of human progress."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THAT A SUB-COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, to deal specifically with American problems, might well be formed, and that friends of the plan are to be found, is indicated in a recent communication to the *New York Evening Post* from its correspondent, Charles A. Selden, from whose cable message, August 20, we quote:

Suggestion has been made to the secretariat of the League of Nations by an ambassador from a South American republic accredited to a European country that the League create within itself a Western Hemisphere sub-council, to which would be referred for action all matters particularly affecting either North or South American States. Although the identity of this ambassador may not be revealed, it is only fair to say he is not a representative of Brazil, which is one of four small powers now represented on the League Council.

No attempt has been made to pass on the merits of this suggestion, but the man making it has been assured that he may have the privilege of bringing up the matter at the first session of the League Assembly in November, and that its consideration will be within the province of that body. Furthermore, it is hoped that he will bring it up, as it is considered to contain the most interesting possibilities in the way of discussion of the whole matter of League organization. It is of the character of business which the friends of the League earnestly hope will come before the Assembly, regardless of what action may be taken on this particular proposition.

The diplomat making the proposal thinks its adoption would go a long way toward removing the objection of the United States to joining the League and also would be reassuring to the South American States. He thinks it a consistent and logical supplement to Article XXI of the League Covenant, which says nothing in the Covenant shall affect the validity of "regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine." It would, he thinks, be a regional arrangement itself, which would make the League more workable.

GREEKS IN THE UNITED STATES are by no means a unit favoring Venezelos's rule in Greece or the vigor and whole-hearted way in which he is using the Grecian army against the Turkish Nationalist forces. A majority of the American Greeks undoubtedly are with the statesman who has emerged from the post-war negotiations with a maximum of personal prestige and with startling extension of the national domain. But a minority, who are of the old Royalist faction and who

claim to be against the highly ambitious policy of "New Greece," are active. Claiming to represent 105 leagues—membership given as 350,000—the officials of these dissenting organizations recently cabled to France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan and their representatives in the Supreme Council the following message:

"As interpreters of the sentiments of the people of Greece, who, under the present reign of terror in Greece, are unable to choose their own rulers and direct their own destinies, as well as of hundreds of thousands of Greeks in America, Egypt, France, Italy, and England, bound together in hundreds of Loyallist leagues, whose sentiments we here express, we strongly protest against the contemplated employment of the Greek army against the Turkish Nationalists in Asia Minor.

"The Greeks will not fight at the behest of a dictator who drives them to war. They fight as free men, masters of their own destinies, or not at all. Do not forget that the world will condemn the massacre of Greeks throughout the Ottoman Empire, which must inevitably result from your following the counsels of one who is ready to sacrifice every consideration to his personal ambition."

INTERNATIONAL AMITY AND NAVAL EFFICIENCY profit by all efforts of government to reduce intemperance. Whether in times of peace or of war, sober officers and seamen are less bellicose. Drunkenness has been responsible for many port brawls and many cases of official insubordination. There will be more than national interest, therefore, in the recent order relative to alcohol issued by the Surgeon General of the United States Navy. It said:

"Only in cases of extreme emergency will the purchase of intoxicating liquors be permitted, and each purchase shall be made the subject of a special report to the bureau, stating clearly the circumstances that necessitated such a purchase.

"No further use of whisky will be made from naval medical supply depots except hospitals, and when the supply now on hand at the supply depots has become exhausted, no further purchases will be made and whisky will be stricken from the supply table of the medical department of the navy.

"When whisky is no longer available and a medical officer deems alcoholic stimulation absolutely essential for the preservation of human life, the ethyl alcohol obtainable from supply officers may be prescribed and used in such vehicle as the individual cases demand."

Alcohol used aboard ships for other than medicinal purposes is being denatured, it was stated at the Navy Department, by adding to it certain substances and labeling the containers to the effect that it is dangerous to drink the contents. Stringent methods have been adopted to prevent the drinking of alcohol by the men in the navy.

Whisky is not necessary for medicinal purposes, except in rare cases, medical officers of the navy say, and in those rare cases ethyl alcohol can be used.

THE METRIC SYSTEM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS were discussed at the recent meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce held in Paris. Some advocates of the system went so far as to claim that the dis-

inclination of Great Britain and the United States to join with other nations in use of this standard of measurement was hostile to the cause of peace. More of them contended that trade friction undoubtedly was caused by the lack of uniformity. Ere the conference adjourned the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas the International Chamber of Commerce has adopted as its first principle a policy of hearty world co-operation; and

"Whereas there does exist at the present time a bewildering confusion in the weights and measures of the allied nations; and

"Whereas this confusion and waste during the 'World War' was an element of serious loss and danger and in time of peace this confusion continues and acts as an almost insurmountable obstacle to efficient world co-operation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International Chamber of Commerce, in Congress assembled in Paris, France, urges world uniformity of units of weights and measures as a means of facilitating commerce through co-operation, co-ordination, standardization, simplification, education, tabulation, invention, production, efficiency, accountancy, reconstruction, world health, prevention of war and trade losses, and even the prevention of war itself, or, at least, the lengthening of peace; and the International Chamber of Commerce urges Great Britain and America, the only great nations of the world that have not as yet standardized on the exclusive legality of meter-liter-gram within their jurisdiction, to forthwith standardize on these world units for the everlasting benefit of themselves and the whole world in peace and war."

WAR'S MORTALITY HAS BEEN the object of study by the Society for Studying the Social Consequences of the War, with headquarters at Copenhagen. Accepting its statistics as having an approximate, if not entire, accuracy, the American Red Cross has sent forth the figures with its endorsement. They have to do with France, Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, Bulgaria, Roumania, Serbia, and Russia in Europe, and they cover the period between August, 1914, and November, 1918. We quote from the Red Cross Bulletin:

At the end of 1913 these nations had a total population of 400,850,000 persons. Under normal conditions this population should have increased, by the middle of 1919, to 424,210,000. As a matter of fact, however, it had fallen at this time to 389,030,000. The Danish statistical experts, therefore, conclude that a loss of actual and potential human life to the amount of over 35,000,000 persons is due to the war.

The loss attributable to each cause was as follows: Killed in war, 9,819,000; deaths due to augmentation of mortality, economic blockades, war epidemics, 5,301,000; fall in birth rate, due to mobilization of fifty-six million men, 20,200,000; total loss in actual and potential life, 35,320,000.

THE INTERNATIONAL MORAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE was held in Paris since we last went to press. The call for its assembly was issued by Sir Frederick Pollock, the eminent British jurist, and it had among its attend-

ants a large number of the best representatives of European and Asiatic culture; for no racial or religious lines were drawn. Broadly speaking, the discussions ranged around the ways and means of moralizing instruction given to youth in geography, economics, industry, art, science, and religion, so that right ideas of national values and international co-operation might also be inwrought.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL OR HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATION that was not hampered by its "international" affiliations during the war was the rare exception. No racial or nationalistic loyalties cut across its path of smooth working administration. It knew none of the pangings that the Papacy, the Salvation Army, the Ecumenical Missionary Alliance, or the International Y. M. C. A. movement had to endure. The conditions became miserable enough. Nor has the flight of time since the Armistice very substantially altered the situation for the better. Thus, at the meeting of the international committee of the Y. M. C. A. in Geneva, recently held, the French and the German national committees refused to co-operate, and the conference closed without the breach being healed and with a committee named to act as a mediator during the coming months. A few weeks later, in the same city, a Miners' Congress was held, with two hundred delegates present, representing five million trades unionists. A Briton presided and a German acted as secretary. The meeting was harmonious, and the delegates separated with former enemies singing "Auld Lang Syne," "Frisch auf, Kamaraden," and the "International," after having formally voted to declare a general strike if the governments of Europe renewed war on a large scale.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERCOMMUNICATION, provided for in the League Covenant, met for preliminary negotiations, in Washington, October 8, with the United States represented by Postmaster General Burleson, Under-Secretary of State Davis, Admiral Benson, of the Shipping Board, and Walter B. Rogers, who is an expert student of the subject, with his knowledge fortified by control of the foreign news distributing service of the United States during the war. The text of the official call sent out by the American Department of State is appended:

"Preliminary to the international conference to consider questions relating to international communication, representatives of Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy, and the United States will meet in Washington on October 8 to determine the date and prepare the agenda for the conference. The conference will be called to meet in Washington at the earliest practicable date.

"The conference will be of a world-wide character. Its scope will be the whole field of electrical communications between nations. Its object will be to find means of improving cable, radio, telephone, and telegraph communications throughout the world and to discuss the status and use of these electrical communications in both peace and war.

"The conference was agreed upon by the allied and associated powers in Paris in May, 1919. Congress, in an act approved December 17, 1919, requested and authorized the President, in the name of the Government of the United

States, to call, in his discretion, an international conference to assemble in Washington and to appoint representatives on the part of the United States to consider all international aspects of communication by telegraph, telephone, cable, wireless telephone, and wireless telegraphy, and to make recommendations with a view to providing the world with adequate facilities for international communication."

THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC OF QUARNERO was proclaimed by Captain Gabriele d'Annunzio September 10, who summoned a constituent assembly to meet in Fiume six weeks later and draw up legislation. He, as self-appointed head of the new republic, took the following oath:

"I, Gabriele d'Annunzio, first legionary of the legion, proclaim the Italian regency of Quarnero. I swear, on this sacred banner of youth, on this relic of heroic blood, and on my soul, that I will continue to fight with every force and every arm, until my last breath, against every one and everything, that this Italian soil forever may be united to Italy.

"I proclaim this regency as the devoted and armed interpreter of free will, expressed by acclamation by a majority of the sovereign people in Fiume in parliament assembled, from this balcony, where was announced the liberation of the city, on September 12, 1919, and where many times was confirmed the eternal will of Fiume toward the mother country."

A FRANCO-BELGIAN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE military alliance was worked out during August, after Great Britain had decided not to enter it. The step marked the waxing influence of France in Europe and her disposition to guard herself in every way against a repetition of the experiences of 1914-18. On Belgium's part it also indicated her disinclination to let the future security of the realm rest on any such understanding between Great Britain and France and herself as she for so many years relied upon for protection. Whether Great Britain dissented from the plan of a triple special alliance because of opposition in a general way to multiplying such understandings or whether it was because of chronic irritation with France, it is not easy to say now. However the pact is not signed and it may not be. During the last days of August and those of early September conditions in Belgium assumed such a character that the Ministry held up the treaty. The masses began to intimate that they intended to have something to say about the foreign policy and must be consulted. They registered a distinct disinclination to be tied to France. Consequently Belgium is still free as well as isolated, for neither her leaning toward France or her present hesitation have bettered her status in London or Paris.

THE PRECISE ATTITUDE OF MOSLEM DISSENTERS in India who dislike the British policy toward Turkey, as embodied in the recently signed treaty, may be gained from the following petition. It is the point of view of the more radical element, such as finds its leadership in M. K. Ghandi, whose gospel of dissent just now includes three features: resort to violence, migration on a wholesale scale, and a social boycott of the government, such

as is indicated in the above petition. Latest reports from India indicate that the British are going very much farther in concession of local and district home rule than had been planned for or than is recommended in the Montagu report. The text of the Moslem protest follows:

"We have no desire to uphold any misrule such as had been attributed to Turkey. Our delegates in Europe have asked for an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the charge of wanton cruelty said to have been practiced by the Turkish soldiers in Armenia. We cannot look with indifference upon the partition of Turkey and her empire for the sake of punishing or humilitating her.

"We claim to be as loyal subjects to the British Crown as any in India, but we consider our loyalty to an earthly sovereign to be subservient to our loyalty to Islam. The latter enjoins upon every Moslem to consider those who wantonly injure the States of the Calif to be enemies of Islam and to resist them with arms if necessary. We recognize that, even if we had the power, we must not resort to arms as long as any other means are at our disposal. We feel that the least a Moslem can do in these circumstances is not to assist those who are guilty of trying to reduce the Caliphate practically to nothingness. It would therefore become our painful duty to refuse co-operation with a government which accepts the peace terms and advises acceptance thereof by us."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN THE GREAT WAR. By *Henry P. Davison*. The Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 296 and Index. \$2.00.

This book is authoritative, both because of the author and because of the material drawn from the files of the War Council. It records not only the facts, but it also gives something of the soul of a movement which has been as creditable to the country as anything done by any of its citizens, and far more praiseworthy than the acts and words of some of its most conspicuous political leaders.

Of course, it will have to be supplemented by a record of the superb post-war service rendered necessary by famine, disease, continuation of the blockade, and slowness in repatriation. When Mr. Davison was called from service with a leading banking house in New York City and put in charge of administering this organization, a very shrewd and far-sighted step was taken. He brought to the organization not only proved administrative capacity of the highest sort, but also affiliations with men of large influence in banking, commerce, and politics. If he could not do what was needed to be done directly, he found ways to do it indirectly, and he summoned as his subordinate executives men and women of large caliber, with dispositions like his own, making them willing to contribute themselves to the cause.

MORALE. By *G. Stanley Hall, LL. D., Ph. D.* D. Appleton & Company, New York and London. Pp. 371. \$—.

The earlier chapters of this book appeared during the war, and substantially in their present form, and were given as lectures at Clark University. They represent the personal reactions and professional opinions of this eminent psychologist; and, along with work done by men like Barnes, Ellinger, Hocking, and Lord, the book will show to subsequent generations how admirably American academic men served their time. The later chapters, dealing with labor, prohibition, profiteering, feminism, statesmanship, religion, and the "Red" communist movement in Russia, are the chapters that will have the widest appeal, now that the war is over.

Dr. Hall does not leave much to the objective realities of

the older creeds in his discussion of religion, but it is quite clear, from his impressive chapter on morale and religion, that the present state of the world, following demoralization by war, is not a condition that gives much satisfaction to a modernist like himself. "Overindividuation and its resultant egotism and selfishness is what humanity at the present time is suffering from supremely." Man is fast becoming less ethical and socially-minded than many of the animals, in his opinion. "Men, parties, and interests seem to be losing the very power of compromise, arbitration, and conciliation, the readiness to submit conflicting claims to fair and impartial tribunals." Nothing, in his opinion, can save the world but a new religion. When it comes to defining the details of this new faith, Dr. Hall is vague and leaves one in doubt whether he expects it to be a derationalized and humanitarian form of truth and service, such as was set forth by Jesus, not St. Paul, or whether it is to be Comte's religion of humanity. With all his extraordinary knowledge as an investigator and analyst, he shines no brighter than lesser men when it comes to constructive thinking. He wants a better world, but cannot do much to show how it is to be brought to pass.

GERMAN LEADERS OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY. By *Eric Dombrowski*. D. Appleton & Company, New York. Pp. 336. \$2.00.

The editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who writes this book, has not the passion and incisive sardonic wit of Maximilian Harden. Contrasting his character studies in this book with those of A. G. Gardiner, of the *London Daily News*, the palm has to go to the Englishman; but the pen portraits of the important civilian and military leaders of the Germany of the war and the post-war period are extremely valuable.

The author has insight and a clever way of picturing his men. He tries to be fair and give the explanation of actions the motives and consequences of which are in dispute and are occupying the modern mind. As a journalist, he has kept in touch with leaders of the many factions and he watched their uprisings and down-sittings, their records in the Reichstag and in executive positions. He can make you see Rosa Luxemburg, the fiery revolutionist who was killed in the futile Spartacist uprising, and he can do an equally admirable job of portraiture when he is limning Schücking, the pacifist, or Mathias Erzberger, the Roman Catholic Parliamentarian. Intermingled with the portraiture is comment of a philosophical kind based on the author's observations of German militarism and socialism. The heavier portions are lightened up by gossip of a revealing sort. All persons who want to know something about the personnel of contemporary Germany in a way that cannot be gained from encyclopedias or other neutral works of reference will do well to read this book.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD WAR. Volume II. By *John Bach McMaster*. D. Appleton & Company, New York. Pp. 484 and Index.

It is rather interesting that, just before he retired from active service in the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor McMaster should have sent forth another volume of his history of the part played by the United States in the World War, using, as has been his custom for many years, facts derived from the press and emphasizing aspects of the combat that a historian of the older school would not have thought of including.

He accepted in his first volume of this work evidence about Russia which investigation showed to be unreliable, and the necessity of revision caused him some expense. He has written the book more as a chronicler than as a champion of any particular point of view. He lets the documents and words of other men tell the story and avoids being drawn into controversy over disputable incidents, as, for instance, the rightness or wrongness of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In bulk and in number of documents reprinted and in the detail of the story given this surpasses the smaller volume by Prof. J. S. Bassett, of Smith College; but he, on the other hand, has given to his narrative the color that comes from the personal equation, and he has not been afraid to occasionally express an opinion of his own.

Professor McMaster announces that this volume will be the last on this subject that he will compile and send forth. This, for the same reasons, is to be regretted, because the post-war period, with its strife of civilians within the ranks of the Allied and Associated powers, with its more than twenty new wars, and with its throes of economic reconstruction, is a period in some respects far more important than the military era which preceded it.

THE CONSTITUTION AND WHAT IT MEANS TODAY. By *Edward S. Corwin*. Princeton University Press. Pp. 114. \$1.50.

Professor Corwin, during the controversy which has run on in the press of the country over the League of Nations, has indicated clearly his sympathy with the Senate in its disinclination to accept the, as he thinks, inordinate claims for the Executive which President Wilson makes and acts upon. In these articles dealing with the League, Professor Corwin has repeatedly shown in unmistakable ways that he is a stout champion of the Constitution, and his regret that it is not better understood and more profoundly revered he has registered again and again.

Feeling his responsibility in the matter, he has written this book for the benefit of his countrymen. It is compact and is expressed in terms that the ordinary citizen can understand. It takes up each article and section of the Constitution and illuminates it.

POLITICAL SUMMARY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1789-1920. By *Ernest Fletcher Clymer*. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York.

This is a compact work of reference issued by one of the leading banking houses of the country for its clients and for other persons who may wish to have concise biographies of the Presidents, information as to political parties and their origins, and the results of presidential elections.

PATRIOTISM AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR. By *Georges De Martial*. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York. \$0.50.

E. D. Morel writes the introduction to this significant pamphlet coming out of post-war France. The point of view of the author is that of a disillusioned Frenchman, who with documentary evidence before him, evidence of a kind not procurable before the war, is convinced that his native land was deceived by her politicians, the people following on loyally in response to the call of patriotism. The issue raised in the argumentative portions of the book is how to secure real popular control of the foreign policy of governments. The author also has a strong leaning toward the substitution of internationalism for nationalism as the ideal of the Frenchman of tomorrow.

AMERICANIZATION. By *Carol Aronovici*, Ph. D. Keller Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minn.

This booklet by the chairman of the Minnesota State Committee on Americanization is one of the most sensible arguments on the subject that has appeared. Knowing the point of view of the first-generation American of foreign birth, this educator is able to write intelligently and sympathetically about conditions as they really are and as the foreign-born American is quite willing to have them become, provided he is treated in a decent, fraternal way and not dragooned into a pseudo-Americanism.

THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE AND ITS LESSONS. By *William Z. Foster*. B. W. Huebsch, New York. \$1.00.

Inasmuch as industrial war and ferment among the workers so often nowadays leads to civil war within nations and complicates their efforts to achieve peace, it becomes necessary for the contemporary pacifist to be fully informed on all issues of industrial strife. This book, written by the secretary and organizer of the steel strike of 1919, presents in a clear fashion, supported by documents, the case of the strikers. Read in connection with the recent report of the industrial relations department of the Interchurch World

Movement on the steel strike, Mr. Foster's story takes on a wider aspect. His indictment is not wholly against the steel-plant owners; it also attacks the conservative trades unionist. The chief value of the book is its clear indication of the trend of the more radical element in the labor ranks of the United States. Mr. Foster is of old Yankee stock, as are many of the leaders in the I. W. W. movement, and efforts to make it appear that it has its chief following among "foreigners" cannot last long in the presence of facts.

EARLY EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON THE FINANCE, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY OF PERU. By *L. S. Rowe*, Ph. D., LL. D. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Preliminary Economic Studies of the War. Oxford University Press, New York, London.

The author of this monograph has recently been elected director and secretary of the Pan-American Union in Washington. His acquaintance with the history—diplomatic, political, economic, and social—of the Latin-American Republics made him the natural choice for this post when Mr. John Barrett resigned.

The material for this study was acquired by Dr. Rowe when investigating Peru in 1915, and it was planned to publish it promptly, but for various reasons it has not appeared until recently. The value of the material, including the appendices, with their statistics, has not been lessened by the delay, and the book will take its place, along with others issued by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in providing valuable material for future historians of the World War.

ONLY BY THE ABOLITION OF NEUTRALITY CAN WAR BE QUICKLY AND FOREVER PREVENTED. By *Luigi Carnovale*. Italian-American Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill. \$0.25.

The author of this pamphlet is one of the best known of Italian-born journalists working in the United States, and in the discussion of Italy's part in the war and her controversy with Jugo-Slavia he has written ably in behalf of his native land. He is something more, however, than a working journalist. The literature of international relations of law he has studied, and he has opinions of his own about what should be done in defining ways and means of achieving human solidarity. His thesis is indicated by the title of this pamphlet.

LETTER BOX

TOKYO, JAPAN, June 25.

DEAR SIR: We thank you very much for shipping us your press regularly, which is of a great service to us and forms the nucleus of a good library.

On our part, we have suspended for publishing *Peace Movement* for several months in order to publish in more bigger form, the announcement of which will be due pretty soon.

The Democratic movement is now conspicuous in Japan and the new publication will contain chiefly news on this subject.

Thanking you for your co-operation and interest in our work,

Yours very sincerely,

I. KAWAKAMI.

WICHITA, KANS., September 20, 1920.

GENTLEMEN: May I not request and hope that you will send me an extra copy of the August number of the *Advocate of Peace*? I shall be truly obliged. I like to keep the file. I commended articles in that number to the *Wichita Eagle*, our largest daily, and they cut it up and published parts. I have been a subscriber twenty-eight years, I believe.

W. L. PEARSON.

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A Governed World

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of International law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that, it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all

other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

Concerning international organization, adopted by the American Peace Society, January 22, 1917, and by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917.

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the Powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

NOTICE

THE OUTSIDE of the back cover of this magazine is of interest to every friend of the American Peace Society. It is important reading.

There are two notices there. Both need to be read. Both.

A friend said to us the other day, "Don't you find it humiliating to be obliged to seek out support for your work?" Our reply was, "The humiliation is limited to the fact that we are 'obliged' to seek support. The humiliation goes no further."

After such a history of unquestioned service running through practically a century, a history closely associated with most of the great men of our country since 1815, the American Peace Society should be self-supporting. It is not self-supporting.

But the American Peace Society is never without friends. For that reason it lives. It will continue to live, and for the same reason.

The task of breaking the silence of years just now, and of calling publicly for funds, is made easier, immeasurably easier, by the most encouraging offer of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

But the notices on our back cover are self-explanatory.

Another friend said an interesting thing recently. He said: "Strange how readily every one gives to the

splendid Red Cross, designed primarily to heal the wounds of war, and how comparatively few give to the American Peace Society, designed to make those very wounds unnecessary."

Verily, the work of the American Peace Society has only just begun.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE

A GOVERNED WORLD. It is not enough to repudiate error. The American Peace Society is more than an agency of opposition; its principles are affirmative. Once again we call the attention of our readers to the inside of the front cover of this magazine. So far as men can prevision the future in the present, the inevitable course of events through the days now before us is there clearly set forth.

THE ELEMENTS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY ARE PERMANENT

THE GIFT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE HEALING OF THE WORLD IS THE UNITED STATES

MR. HARDING interprets the vote of November 2 to mean that Mr. Wilson's League of Nations is "deceased." We believe that happily to be the case. This does not mean, of course, that the people of the United States have lost all interest in matters of foreign policy. Quite the contrary. The Paris League to Enforce Peace has gone the way of all other leagues to enforce peace hitherto; but there remain enduring substructures of a hopeful Society of Nations. They are illustrated by the principles peculiar to American foreign policy. These great principles to which this nation holds are as vivid, pertinent, and permanent today as ever. They are more so. These elements of our foreign policy are of more concern to every one of us now because of the war and because of the discussions through which we have passed. We are now better acquainted with foreign nations, and thus we are better acquainted with our own nation. And we admire it the more. The Homeric experiences of the last six years have revealed at least to every thinking American these classic elements of permanence in the foreign policy of the United States. The supreme duty of every one of us now is to turn his attention increasingly to these elements of permanence, for the supreme contribution which the United States is about to make to world

affairs is the United States itself. This is true because in the long processes by which disputes between States of the American Union have been settled in accord with the principles of law and justice we have exercised rules peculiarly germane to the foreign policy of States everywhere. Since this is true, we do well to remind ourselves of these elements of permanence in the settlement of disputes between States of the American Union, for thus, and thus only, can we appreciate the enduring things at the heart of American foreign policy, and play our honest part toward the establishment of a better world order. They constitute not only America's contribution to the world, they are the bases of that permanent foreign policy essential to any international peace. We are thinking of four of these elements of permanence.

The Universal Aspiration

The first element of permanence at the basis of our foreign policy is that United States' foreign policy is based upon, indeed, is an outgrowth of, a universal aspiration. That universal aspiration is that we may live more fully—that is to say, more healthfully, more happily, and therefore more justly. Because of this universal aspiration there is and always has been in America a prevailing desire to end war. Because war as a means of settling international disputes has such small relation to justice, since wars may be won and at the same time justice be defeated, we in America have generally condemned war. American citizenry is largely the offspring of this opposition among an ancestry that came to America to escape war. It may be said that war has been condemned by every great American. When Washington wrote, in 1785, "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth" he was voicing the aspiration of the ages. The will to end war is as old as history. Isaiah, Virgil, Dante, Erasmus, voiced this yearning of peoples in the long ago. By concentration of authority and force of arms the Roman Empire aimed at peace for its member States; and far away China, by a cultivation of the spirit within, aimed, and more successfully than did the Roman Empire, at the same goal. Opposition to war is as old as history.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries various leagues to enforce peace were proposed, albeit with decreasing emphasis upon force. In 1623 Crucé published his *New Cyneas*, a plan for a league to enforce peace. Two years later Grotius, in his *De Jure Belli Ac Pacis*, also favored a league to enforce peace. Sully's plan, which he attributed to his sovereign, Henry IV, published in 1638, partook so much of the nature of a league to enforce peace that it essayed to maintain by force a status created by force, particularly in Austria. So surcharged with the idea of a league to enforce peace

were all these plans that the gentle William Penn incorporated in his "*Present and Future Peace of Europe*," 1693, the same principle of a league to enforce peace. Abbé Saint-Pierre's "*Perpetual Peace*" outlined a league to enforce peace which a century later became the actual basis of that unhappy league to enforce peace known as the "Holy Alliance." Beginning, however, with the writings of Rousseau, and extending through the work of other men, the plans for international peace savored less and less of force. In Jeremy Bentham's "*Plan for a Universal and Perpetual Peace*," written between 1786 and 1789, but not published until 1839, force is difficult to find, while Immanuel Kant wrote in 1795 his "*Perpetual Peace*," proposing a representative league for the realization of public law, with all reference to force eliminated entirely. Thus through two centuries, with a gradual elimination of force as a means of establishing peace, there was a growing and increasing intelligence in the attempt to overcome war.

The efforts to end war increased most markedly through the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century absorbed and improved upon the peace aspirations of the two preceding centuries. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 set itself to the task of establishing a permanent peace between thirteen free, sovereign and independent States. This is a very significant fact. We know now that that was the most successful peace conference of history. The writings of the great men of that period, and some of them were very great men, repeatedly expressed the aspirations of men everywhere that wars might be prevented. Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, were repeatedly outspoken in the matter. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was first enunciated in the interest of "peace and safety." What we now know as the "peace movement" began in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American Peace Society was the most pronounced expression of the nineteenth century expressions of the growing opposition to war, because of it many international congresses being held in the attempt to do away with war. The Pan-American movement, expressing itself variously in international conferences, became articulate and effective upon the initiative of James G. Blaine during the '80's of the nineteenth century. The century witnessed the creation of numberless international organizations, of which the Universal Postal Union, perfected in 1906, was but one. The Hague Conferences, destined to be appreciated more and more, were the culminating expression of the nineteenth century will to end war. This opposition to war has been at the very heart of American foreign policy, whether that policy related to issues between free, sovereign and independent American States or between the United States and foreign powers. Thus

America's foreign policy is based upon a universal aspiration, and for that reason it is based upon permanence.

The Practical Basis

A second element of permanence in American foreign policy is the fact that it is the outgrowth not of idealism merely, but of concrete experiences as well. In its beginnings, for example, we find it related to definite international problems growing out of international situations covering centuries prior to 1787. The inter-colonial controversies of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries revealed concrete international situations calling for international adjustments. Thus the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was made up of men with a background of a long history of actual international situations. When they went about the business, therefore, of handling the public debt incurred "in the sacred cause," of overcoming the inefficiencies due to the weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation, they brought to the solution of those difficulties an international wisdom. When they grappled with the problems of the tariff and found that Connecticut was taxing imports from Massachusetts higher than she taxed the same kind of goods from Great Britain, they met all such situations with "an international mind" and in an international manner. Their problems were international. Different States were making separate treaties with the Indians, a number of them violating contracts. The new country was without credit. It met with little from abroad except disdain. Such were a few of the other concrete international situations calling for international adjustments. Mr. Washington called the Conference at Alexandria in 1785 because of definite questions relating to commerce and boundaries between the States of Virginia and Maryland. As a result of that Conference the difficulties affecting other States became clearer. Hence there followed the next year another and larger conference at Annapolis. At that conference the practical problems facing the States made it clear that a still more general conference was imperative. Thus out of concrete experiences, many of them international in substance, some of them covering many years, arose the Constitutional Convention of 1787, an international conference.

Every school boy knows that the success of that meeting in Philadelphia was due to three things, namely, intelligence, compromise, and good will. Faced with the problem of setting up a more perfect union, of preserving the spirit and power of the union of the States and of providing for the interdependence of each, those international things were achieved by that intelligence, compromise, and good will everywhere characteristic of any permanent foreign policy.

Being a conference of States, free, sovereign, and independent, the American Conference of 1787 was thus an international conference, but, more, it was adequate to its purpose. All difficulties due to the fact that some of the States were large and some small were satisfactorily adjusted. Adequate provision was made for the settlement of both justiciable and non-justiciable questions. While provisions were made for the maintenance of law, even to the point of coercion of individuals, no provisions were made for the coercion of States. It was perfectly clear to the statesmen of that day, as it must be made perfectly clear to the statesmen of this day, that any league to enforce peace is a contradiction in terms; that there is but one way to coerce a State and that is by war. Our fathers saw that clearly and expressed themselves upon the matter unequivocally.

So, because of these two reasons, that American foreign policy is an outgrowth of a universal opposition to war; and that American foreign policy is based upon the substructures of long concrete experiences prior to 1787, a concrete intelligence, compromise, and good will leading to a concrete program and conference in 1787, a conference, faced with concrete international situations, quite the same in principle as the international situation that is facing the world today, a conference where these international problems were effectively and adequately solved. American foreign policy, profiting by that experience, is a policy of permanence.

The Balance Between Rights and Duties

There is a third reason why American foreign policy is possessed of the elements of permanence. The principles of American foreign policy represent a balance between rights and duties. It is not necessary here to call upon the history of our law and politics to prove this. The United States of America is itself an illustration of the fact that States have a right to exist; and since they have this right, they have the correlative duty to commit no unlawful act against innocent or unoffending States. This our more perfect union is a constant illustration of the principle that States have the right to their independence and happiness, and that, therefore, they have the duty to interfere with neither the independence nor the happiness of other States. We of this country recognize that States have the right to equality before the law, and that, therefore, it is the duty of States to respect this right in other States. We maintain that States have the right to their territory and to jurisdiction over that territory, and that States have the duty to violate neither the territory nor the jurisdiction over that territory in the case of other States. It is our accepted policy that States have the right to respect and to protection in their rights, and that, therefore, States have the duty to respect and to protect

others in such rights. Finally, we insist that States have the right in case of controversy to a hearing under the law, and that, therefore, it is the duty of all States to uphold the law. Thus the United States itself represents a balance between rights and duties, and we as a nation survive because that is the case.

All this is but another way of saying that we in America are a government of laws and not of men, and that successful government must rest on the free consent of the governed.

Some seem to forget these great elemental things at the heart of America. They forgot them in Paris. We shall not forget them. We shall remember them. We called the attention of the other nations of the earth to these elementary principles November 2. There they are. We do not have to defend them. They are the self-explanatory elements of permanence in our own foreign policy, but they are more. They are the only hopeful principles for the foreign policy of any State. They are the warp and the woof of any possible association of nations designed to overcome war.

The Hope of the World

Thus in no insignificant sense American foreign policy is the hope of the world. This is the fourth element of permanence in that policy. It has expressed itself variously in the doctrine of James Monroe, in the golden rule doctrine of John Hay, in the arbitration doctrine of John Bassett Moore, in the judicial settlement doctrine of Elihu Root and James Brown Scott, in the law and justice doctrine of the American Peace Society; but the policy is the same throughout. America sat with twenty-six nations in 1899, and the world accepted then in part these essences of American foreign policy. 'Once more, America sat with forty-four nations of the world in 1907, and the principles of American foreign policy advanced again. In so far as these principles were ignored by the conferees in Paris the establishment of a permanent foreign policy for the nations was by that much postponed. Idealism there was in Paris, but idealism is not enough. Fact and experience must be reckoned with. Force is not a guarantee of peace between States. Intelligence, compromise, and good will are the only sanctions of peace. A balance between rights and duties is the indispensable means to any effective association of nations. America has shown the way.

If we are to live, legislate, and demand a greater health and happiness, a more creative service for all in an advancing democracy; if we are to find those wider significances of what it means to live; if we are to do our share that the world may be more humane, more just, more free, we indeed must all apply our minds

unto this answer to the cry of the ages, this contribution peculiarly ours, assuredly enduring, supremely hopeful, our established foreign policy, the only possible basis of any permanent foreign policy.

A HISTORY OF INTERNATIONALISM

WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED the book, but Alfred H. Fried tells us in *Die Friedens-Warte* of September, 1920, that Christian L. Lange, secretary of the Interparliamentary Union and well-known Norwegian scholar, has just published the first volume of "*Histoire de l'Internationalisme*." The books are being published by H. Aschog & Co., Christiania, and they are to take their place among the publications of the Nobel Institute. Dr. Fried says of the work: "Among all attempts to write a history of the peace idea, the work of Christian L. Lange is pre-eminent."

It seems that Dr. Lange started the work half a generation ago. This first volume, which we understand is a large text, covers only the history of the time of the Peace of Westphalia, 1648. The author's original plan was to write a history of the peace movement of the 19th century, but, finding a dearth of material in the literature leading up to this movement, he turned his attention to supplying this material. Hence originated the larger plan of writing a complete history of internationalism.

Dr. Fried says that it is not only a history of the peace movement, but a history of the steadily developing relation between nations and States. From Dr. Fried's account we gather that the author looks upon internationalism as the highest form of pacifism. He classifies pacifism into three kinds: first, emotional; second, utilitarian; third, moral and ethical. Above these three groups he places a fourth, which he calls internationalism. He grants that internationalists recognize that war is inevitable as long as human relations are not organized. Not that States must be done away with, but that they must be organized. He goes further and says that internationalism does not reject the use of force, but aims to place force at the service of right, within a society of nations. "Thus," adds Dr. Fried, "Lange creates a sociological constructive pacifism." This "constructive pacifism," with its four groups, has never been lacking in the development of our Western culture. To prove this, we are told, is the principal purpose of the work. We are told that the first chapters describe pacifistic tendencies during ancient history, thence to the ascendancy of the Pope. In the fourth chapter the author refers to the "precursor of modern internationalism." In this chapter is found the com-

paratively unknown "world peace treaty" of the kings of England, France, and Spain, October 2, 1518, and also an account of international arbitration during the middle ages. The fifth chapter treats the transition of modern times to a beginning of pacifistic traditions in the churches and sects, such as the Moravian Brothers and the Quakers. The author shows the influences of this movement upon individuals, such as Erasmus, Thomas More, Sebastian Franck. Later chapters deal with the beginning of international law under Suarez, Gentili, Grotius. There is an account of pacifist literature in France and Germany and of plans for international organization such as those of Campanella, Crucé, Sully. The last chapter deals with the Peace of Westphalia.

We are glad to give this review of a review, for we are acquainted with various aspects of Dr. Lange's ability. Our readers will be interested to know something of the nature of his labors in this field. We shall all look forward with interest to the completed work.

THE INEVITABLE REPUDIATION

THE MEANING of November 2 is very plain. Thirty-eight out of the forty-eight States of the American Union voted overwhelmingly that day that Warren G. Harding, Republican candidate for President, should be the Chief Executive of the United States, beginning March 4, 1921. Since the campaign conducted by the various candidates, particularly by the Republican and Democratic leaders, involved primarily two issues, namely, Mr. Wilson's administration and Mr. Wilson's Covenant of the League of Nations, this sweeping vote for Mr. Harding must mean two things: First, that the American people are tired of the Wilson Administration; second—since Mr. Cox said, "I am for going in," and Mr. Harding said, "I am for staying out"—that they do not want his League of Nations.

The ADVOCATE OF PEACE is not especially concerned with Mr. Wilson's administration; but with his proposed Covenant of the League of Nations we are vitally concerned. It has been our attempt to examine and to explain this Covenant. We have found it to be wrong in principle, contrary to the teachings of history, and a menace to the peace of the world. We believe, and we have expressed our belief, that those portions of the so-called league deemed most vital by Mr. Wilson should for such reasons be repudiated. The vote of November 2 is a greater repudiation than we had dared to hope for.

And yet just such a repudiation was inevitable. May 1, 1919, the editor of this magazine, returning from five months of most distressing contacts with the antagonistic personalities around the peace conferees in Paris,

wrote aboard the ship, and subsequently published in the ADVOCATE OF PEACE for May, 1919, an article entitled "The Blur that is Paris." In that article he said:

"Mr. Wilson chafes under the restraint of precedents, in consequence of which he aims to belittle their importance. He criticizes the lawyers. He ignores the achievements of justice. He appeals over the heads of Grotius, Vattel, and the long line of the constructive great and able, to the passions of the untrained. While attempting to eject the trained diplomats out of one door he has let the untrained politicians in at the other. With the phrases 'common council,' 'open covenants openly arrived at,' 'democracy and humanity' upon his lips, he is standing for a superstate with powers of execution for the will of the few, indeed for the exercise of his own will. He is aiming to set up an alliance of the dominating few with no regard for the essential organs of law or justice. The decisions in Paris are not the decisions of the Conference; they are the decisions of the 'Big Three.' . . . When one remembers that the Covenant for the League of Nations provides for the abrogation of the long line of arbitration treaties set up especially through the last hundred years, for the abrogation of the Wilson-Bryan treaties, for the disestablishment of existing international law, and when one recalls the importance of such law, especially in democracies, the smudge that is Paris does not lighten, it deepens."

We heard Mr. Wilson confess in Paris that his league is a League to Enforce Peace. For us that was enough. We saw its doom so far as the United States is concerned, for we knew that the American people would never support a scheme so contrary to the history of American policy.

We condemned the principle of a League to Enforce Peace as far back as August, 1915. We stated editorially then what seemed to us to be ten irrefutable objections to any international police force. The demand for that number of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE exhausted the edition.

Again and again we have tried to show, throughout the war and since, that any league to enforce peace is and by its very nature must be a league for war. In March, 1920, our leading editorial dealt at length with this theme under the caption "An Alliance to Enforce Peace, a War Alliance." In that editorial we gave fourteen reasons why any alliance to enforce peace is impracticable as an agency for international peace. Our columns are open; but no one has submitted a refutation of those fourteen reasons.

But that is not all. The history of the American Peace Society is one long opposition to any league to enforce peace. For nearly a century it has repudiated the idea. But neither is this all. The history of this more perfect union of forty-eight free, sovereign, independent States, since those summer months of 1787, when the whole idea of a league to enforce peace between

the States of the American Union was cast into outer darkness forever, has itself been one long, living protest against any such conception of the settlement of disputes between States. The results of November 2, therefore, need cause no surprise to any one familiar with American history. The repudiation was inevitable.

THE PERMANENT COURT FOR INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

FORTUNATELY with unusual promptitude authoritative expositions of the methods and the achievements of the Advisory Committee of Jurists who framed the plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice, now before the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, are appearing. Just as we go to press, which precludes any adequate notice in this issue of the *ADVOCATE*, comes a report and commentary by James Brown Scott, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr. Scott sat with this committee of jurists, acting as adviser to Mr. Elihu Root, and on occasion he participated in the proceedings. In his introduction to the detailed and documented history of the jurists' conference he has given a precise chronicle of the steps that led up to it, described its personnel, recorded the formal speeches at its opening, and also outlined the method by which its rules of procedure were defined. Then come concise, graphic narratives as to how, from day to day, the various plans submitted were debated, and how ultimately the Root-Phillimore plan became the core of the final agreement now before the League's delegates. Jurist and layman alike will find in this inclusive work a model of reporting, fully documented. It is enriched with a commentary replete in knowledge and illuminated by the experience of a man who was technical delegate of the United States to the Second Hague Conference of 1907 and to the Conference of Paris, 1919.

From *The Hague*, edited by M. Albert de Lapradelle, has come the text, in French and in English, of the report to the Council of the League with which the jurists concluded their advisory labors. In it will be found, for the benefit of the Council and such other persons as may be privileged to read it, the history of the process by which these jurisconsults examined Article 14 of the Covenant of the League, and built upon its request to devise a Permanent Court of International Justice their own scheme for giving the article effective form. These jurisconsults trace the origin of the plan and its relation to the conferences at The Hague. They credit the five powers (Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland) with having contributed valuable suggestions in the plan for such a court.

Following this historical introduction, the report describes point by point the problems that arise as to organization of such a court, the method of electing judges, the court's competence, and its procedure. Supplementing the discussion, the jurists lay before the Council the resolutions they passed, first recommending early summoning of a new interstate conference to carry on the work of the first two conferences of The Hague, and, second, recommending that leading international law associations be invited to aid in preparing draft plans for the business of this conference, which is to be called the Conference for the Advancement of International Law.

UNIVERSITIES AS PEACE-MAKERS

SIR ROBERT FALCONER, president of the University of Toronto, at the educational conferences held in connection with the inauguration of Michigan University's new president, discussed the important theme of "The University and International Relationships." His main thesis is that "there has been in existence for hundreds of years a league which is inevitably international in principle and operation." Moreover, "no political argument gave this league its being and no political veto can abolish it, for scholarship is international, and while it survives it must continue to be international." The league he reveres and trusts is "the league of universities," including, of course, in this all higher institutions of learning, whatever they may be called.

When the universities of a country become distinctly nationalistic, as they were in Germany prior to the war, in his opinion, they err. They have their duties in protection of a national culture, but no less obligatory is the internationalism of scholarship, whether scientific or cultural.

Conceding the thesis as valid, what, then, must universities do? At least three paths open up in which to walk, says this Canadian:

"They may continue the mutually profitable interchange of students between one country and another; they may call outstanding teachers of one country to hold chairs in another, and they may train their students to become genuinely human, to possess those intellectual, moral, and social virtues which distinguish man as man."

May we venture to suggest another? They should prepare, as never before, to inform students and professors alike as to the history of man's efforts to substitute the reign of law for the reign of force. They should make quite impossible, to illustrate, such a divided state of opinion within the academic world as has been disclosed in the United States during the discussion of the

League of Nations' Covenant during the recent presidential campaign. Departments of history can and should give far more attention than they now do to the larger outlines of the "peace" movement and the evolution of international law and its proved achievements; and this not only to students in the graduate schools, but to the pupils in collegiate departments, where such exist.

To cite an exemplary case of academic prevision and provision in this civic service, it is not necessary to go farther than the city of Washington. Georgetown University, two years ago, started a "School of Foreign Service," which is being attended each year by an ever larger number of students from out of town and by workers in the government departments. This season it is providing for its students and for the public a series of lectures on "The History and Nature of International Relations." The ideals of diplomacy held in antiquity and in medieval and in modern times are to be described. The Far East, Africa, and Latin America as factors in the development of international relations are to be reported upon by specialists. The effect of the theories of political and juristic science upon international intercourse will be made clear. Just what the influence of arbitration and other mediating agencies upon State comity have been is to be told, and the elements for the scientific study of diplomacy defined.

To the credit of the university be it said that the lecturers are experts of the first class, whose names, if they were printed here, would challenge admiration and provoke envy in readers who might wish to attend such a course. James Brown Scott, John Bassett Moore, L. S. Rowe, Paul S. Reinsch, and Roscoe Pound are typical.

INTERNATIONALIZING FOOD PRODUCTION

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE, with headquarters in Rome, at its recent annual meeting debated the utility and feasibility of a second chamber of the body, to be made up of representatives of the agriculturists of the countries now in the Institute or later seeking admission. At present the members are representatives of governments, and though left free to investigate freely and acquire information wherever it may be found, yet at the same time they have to consider the policies of their home governments as well as world trade and crops and economic conditions. The founder of the Institute, David Lubin, an American with profound love of democracy and faith in it, urged giving farmers and producers of food products representation, when he first urged having an Insti-

tute. The project then met with governmental opposition, and has since. Now world conditions modify the nations' attitudes. Salvation of Europe and her civilization is said to depend on co-operative action in raising production of the world's food supply. Obviously it can best be done with producers banded together and sympathetic with any such organization as the Institute. The practical side of agriculture needs representation as well as the technical. Data of a statistical kind is most desirable, but now something more is imperatively needed. Hence the retreat of the governments from their former hostility. Lubin was a man of far-ranging vision, one of the most remarkable that the United States has had in the realm of economic statecraft, and some day he will have justice done him. The beginnings of such recognition have come lately. His portrait is to be hung in a prominent place on the walls of the Department of Agriculture, Washington, and the Institute in Rome has voted to place on its walls a bronze tablet recounting his record as its founder.

MEXICO'S DECISION to use the former famous national military college at Chapultepec, on the famous "Hill of the Grasshoppers," as the national technical training school is a significant fact. High-school graduates are to make up most of the student list and military science and art are to be a subordinate branch of instruction and training. English is to be made compulsory for the four-year course and teachers are to be imported from the United States. Yet some persons continue to talk of Mexico as "barbaric."

FAMINE IN CHINA, threatening death to many millions of foodless folk, has thrown upon the Red Cross another burden of huge proportions, the budget estimate of relief expenditures amounting to more than \$10,000,000. There has been no such popular response to the appeal for aid in this quarter of the world as would have come from Europe and America prior to 1914. The reasons are obvious. And were not the Red Cross organized and in possession of funds and equipped with trained workers, it is terrible to think what might happen in the famine districts. Relatively speaking, Japan is in a fair position to aid, if she would. Fortunately, voices arise there saying that she has a special duty, due both to propinquity and to her larger supplies of wealth. The call is going forth that it is no time to stand aloof because of recent friction with China on political and territorial issues. Nations and races must subordinate rivalries, forget animosities, and be simply human when famine comes, say the wiser Japanese. Out of Asia there thus comes again the essence of the gospels of Jesus and Buddha.

EVERYTHING that can be done to make clear just what are the rights in times of peace of journalists who are bent on giving the world its news is commendable. Therefore it is well that the managing editor of the *Federated Press* has put the issue squarely up to Secretary Colby as to what the United States plans to do in his case. He was recently expelled from Great Britain because of alleged relations with radicals in London, persons whose views the British Government considers objectionable. Mr. Costello is not asking for a decision by the Department of State as to the validity of this charge, nor does he deny that Great Britain has a right to decide who shall live within her domain; but he does ask for the protection of his government in a right to be heard in self-defense ere he is expelled; and this he affirms was denied him by the London authorities.

THE CONTENTION that war blasts and withers all it touches, indirectly as well as directly, is applicable to creative music. Jan Kubelik, after seven years' absence, has returned to the United States, and to a Boston interviewer has said: "The outlook for music is not what it was. The musicians do their best, but music's international links have been disrupted, and it will take time to reunite them. We are getting music on a lower plane than formerly." The average American today prefers syncopated "jazz," derived from the jungle habitat, to the harmonies of Beethoven or the melodies of Verdi.

IN THE STARTLING, but also wholly reliable, account of "The First World War" which the most famous of British military experts and correspondents, Colonel Repington, has published, he has an inevitable chapter dealing with Lord Kitchener's merits and demerits as head of the British forces. One detail of this realistic narrative is the citation of a conversation he had with Lord Derby, following which, he says, "we fully agreed that neither of us will ever again support the appointment of a soldier to be Secretary of War." All British and American precedents are against the practice, and the United States is in no mood to have her army come under the control of a Secretary of War taken from the Regular Army.

THE WAR DIARY of Colonel Repington is valuable for many side lights on the ethics of statecraft in times of war. Thus he reports Clemenceau as saying to him, when asked why he was not using his pen more to promote French aims, that it would involve telling of lies, a form of prostitution that the Gallic statesman

said was uncongenial. Some day, when experts in mortality, disease, and economic waste get their data as to the cost of the "Great War" published, we trust some ethical chronicler with a habit of compilation will try and give a fairly complete list of the "official" lies that the warring nations were guilty of, not exempting any; for they all have sinned, and they all need now to make confession and to show signs of repentance.

THERE IS a certain kind of mathematical element to humanity's reactions when life is being taken by wholesale or by retail. To illustrate: A London correspondent, by no means disposed to describe English failings, commenting on the seeming indifference of his countrymen to the sanguinary sort of life that Ireland now presents, says: "After five years of carnage on a grand scale of war, blood-letting in Ireland seems to the average man a mere bagatelle." He adds: "War has blunted people's finer perceptions in Europe, and the new mess in Ireland is a consequence." After you have killed by the millions, what is a hundred or so!

LATIN-AMERICAN aid for the suffering masses of central Europe, initiated by the Argentine Republic and followed by Brazil, is a happy omen. Of all the continents, South America has been least touched, taxed, and terrified by the war. She is least scarred by its direct and indirect consequences. She has the amplest natural resources ready for quickest shipment. Her people have profited much in actual cash, and her nations' treasuries are in such a state, broadly speaking, that they can place loans with safety and profit. For the morale of these peoples, it is well that they have been asked to join with North American countries in succoring the war-smitten people of Europe. It will bring them fully into the stream of the world's altruistic impulses and endeavor. Happy omen!

PORTIONS OF THE DIARY of Baroness de Von Suttner, well-known author of "Lay Down Your Arms," are appearing in certain German publications. Madame Von Suttner, for many years a friend of the American Peace Society, President of the Austrian Peace Society, with headquarters in Vienna, died June 21, 1914. The diary which she kept almost to the day of her death shows that she had a presentiment of the war that was about to break. While she was arranging for the transfer of a villa which she had bought in south Styria she was conscious of an approaching calamity. She frequently alluded to her own impending death. In spite of the actual peace, she wrote, January 5, 1914: "The

Balkans will soon explode again." February 5 she stated: "Now they say a dagger is being prepared in Russia to stab Austria-Hungary in the back." Under date of May 11 there is this interesting statement: "The teachers of international law are going to strangle pacifism." The entries of those days reveal her struggle against the weakness of approaching old age. She describes with no little detail the worries which were besetting her during her last year of life. She seemed particularly anxious about the success of the Peace Congress which was to convene in Vienna in August, 1914.

A PARTY OF CONGRESSMEN, informally representing the United States, recently toured the leading cities of Japan and had many tokens of the courtesy that the Japanese so well know how to show. Now it is announced that next year delegations from the two chambers of the Diet will return the visit. Nor is this all. A large delegation of Japanese business men, headed by Baron Shibusawi and Mr. Otani, president of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce, also is planning an American tour. We are not disposed to under-rate the value of these "tours." They provide an opportunity for contacts, that, however superficial and brief, do more or less break down racial antipathies, trade rivalries, and national chauvinism. But they usually have too much feasting, too much sentimental eloquence, and too much formality and politeness connected with them. They are not "realistic" enough in candor of speech, in thorough probing of facts, and in careful study of "things as they are." Governor Inouye, of the Kanagawa Prefecture, just as the American Congressmen were leaving Japan, seems to have sensed this need; for in an interview in the *Japan Times* we find him saying that the situation is best summed up by the Japanese proverb which says that "at one glance you get more than with a hundred hearings." Traveling incognito—assuming a miracle—walking in and out of typical American centers of population, urban and rural, and noting the every-day reactions of John Doe and Richard Roe to appeals for American loyalty to the creed of "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" would do more to enlighten Japanese publicists as to the real American desire for amity or for strife than innumerable banquets or visits to factories and schools.

NO AWARD OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE has been granted since it went to Mr. Elihu Root in 1912 and to Senator Henri Lafontaine, of Belgium, in 1913. The dispatches now indicate that two awards of this amount, approximately \$45,000, are about to be made, one to the International Red Cross Committee at Geneva, another to President Wilson.

THE MENACE OF BOLSHEVISM

By BARON S. A. KORFF, LL. D.

THERE IS A WAY to overcome the menace of Bolshevism. There is but one way.

Before stating the solution, let it be granted that the confusion of thought about the whole business is profound and well nigh complete. During these last months there has been no little loose talk about "Bolshevism." It has cropped up here and there, wherever "reactionaries" saw any danger to the so-called "existing order" or to their own established interests. At the least sign of dissatisfaction or social discontent, such people at once raise the cry of "Bolshevism." In the minds of these men Bolshevism is always identical with Socialism and often with Radicalism. They fail to see any differences between such teachings, often miles apart, as Socialism, Bolshevism, and Syndicalism.

Unfortunately, the other side is also often guilty of misrepresentation or conscious misstatements, mixing up conservatism with reaction. In this last respect there is an interesting and important psychological fact to be noted, namely, the absolute aversion of all radicals to admit truly the existence of Bolshevism, where it does exist, except as it certainly does, in Russia. In other words, we have the astounding medley—conservatives and reactionaries pointing out Bolshevik occurrences and developments where they really never exist, and radicals or socialists often concealing and denying Bolshevik events or facts in cases where they undoubtedly do prevail. No wonder that the casual reader, not well acquainted with world politics, is at a loss to know whom to believe.

It is important to recognize this confusion, as there really does exist a menace of Bolshevism confronting many a country. The danger is international, and, more important still, the menace is a contagious disease, that can be fought not by force, but by ideas only. This latter truth unluckily is realized by very few persons. Most people are quite content to use any sort of physical force to eradicate the growing social discontent, particularly the first signs of Bolshevism; and they are usually very much astonished, sometimes indignant, when this does not work, or, as sometimes happens, when it works the other way. The performances in the New York Assembly at Albany and the deportation of radicals are perhaps the most significant examples.

The Bolshevik danger does exist in the Third Internationale and the Communist teachings. It is fed exclusively through the growth of social discontent. The fight against this danger can be conducted only in two ways: by eradicating social evils, or at least lessening as far as possible their effect, and, secondly, by educating the people at large, and especially the discontented classes or groups, convincing them that Bolshevism or communistic teachings and ideals can never abate their injustices and sufferings.

The failures of Bolshevism in Russia are at last so well known that they could, without any difficulty, be used as a perfect demonstration of the futility of communistic dreams and vagaries. Education along these lines is needed even in the United States, in spite of the fact that no Bolshevism exists here.

This would also seem to be the best way of fighting the other evil, namely, reaction; for only the education of the people at large can protect them from hyper-conservative influences. Unfortunately, one must say, I fear, that too little is done in both respects in America at present. It is like the bad weather Mark Twain complained of—"Much is talked about it, but nothing really is done."

Only through educational methods can the Bolshevik teachings and ideals be made clear; only by studying them can one understand how utterly impossible they are in practice in the modern body politic. Yet one must sadly state that very little in such education has been accomplished. This is the only explanation, to my mind, why so very many people yet put their hopes on Bolshevik achievements. All the downtrodden or dissatisfied are easily tempted to follow the wildest leader, as long as he or his preachings hold out some alleviation of personal or social sufferings and privations. This is a well-known, humanity-embracing fact. That better-educated and thinking men can still cling to Bolshevism or defend its teachings cannot be explained otherwise than simply by lack of knowledge or by illusions created through the glitter of absolutely unrealizable promises. Often it is also a cry of despair, much less excusable.

Europe's Attitude

Quite otherwise do matters stand in European countries. Let us see what fate the Bolshevik teachings and influences had lately among the European people. France seemingly overcame the danger last winter and spring, and it is not likely to recur; the nation is tired of it and earnestly wants to set itself to the reconstruction work, so much needed after the devastations of the awful war. The French Socialist leaders, with only a very few exceptions, are wide awake to the Bolshevik dangers and are well acquainted with its fallacies. It is true that the political leaders of France are too prone to conduct a reactionary policy, explicable, perhaps, if one considers the former German danger, but certainly not excusable from the point of view of far-sighted statesmanship. Her agricultural small landholders predominate at the present moment, which explains sufficiently the present tendency away from the Extreme Left felt all over the country, as well as in Parliament.

In England, on the other hand, we witness a most interesting and important process of social readjustment, having taken lately a decidedly evolutionary line. There may yet be some revolutionary outbursts here and there, but there is no doubt whatever that the extreme teachings of Communism have not succeeded in capturing the sympathies of British Labor. The grievances will be settled and satisfied in a peaceful way by mutual concessions of both sides. Possibly the time is not so distant when we will see a Labor Cabinet at St. James', or one that is partly Labor and partly Liberal if of an aggressive type. Bolshevism in England is quite an impossible contingency, though only a few months ago one could consider a revolutionary outburst quite possible.

It is in Italy that Bolshevism has its best chance; the outbreak of a month ago was purely Bolshevik in its character, and the danger is by no way over; at any

moment a new Bolshevik outburst may come, even in the very near future. The interesting point is that Italians seem to be ashamed of it, and not only afraid of it. They diligently deny this, facts to the contrary notwithstanding. There is, however, an economic reason for this denial, namely, the absolute dependence of Italy on foreign coal and partly also on food. It is the dependence that makes Giolliti so suave and subservient in his talks with Lloyd-George. England can cut off Italy's coal supply at any moment; and, on the other hand, this same reason gives the Italian Premier great power over the Socialists and Radicals, who also realize what it means to Italy to lose her coal imports or parts of the food supplies. This is the only reason why Giolliti triumphed so easily over the Socialist opposition, which in no way likes him or his policy. The situation thus created is a very artificial one, social peace being maintained only by an outward casual factor. In such circumstances one can never be sure of the future developments, especially when social discontentment has already taken the form of Bolshevism.

In Germany, too, the situation is still very complicated, and one cannot be sure at all that the German people have finally overcome the Bolshevik danger, as it might have seemed last winter. The Polish imperialistic war has done much to resurrect German Bolshevism, and the influence of the Extreme Socialists (the so-called Independents) has lately increased in a considerable measure. How much power they really have; it is difficult to judge at this moment; but, considering the weakness of their opponents, there certainly is some danger. Yet there is a great difference between the positions of Germany and Italy, to the advantage of the former; the national spirit of the Germans is much cooler, the party discipline much stronger, the leaders more awake to the dangers of Bolshevism. Last, but not least, the personal acquaintance of the Germans with Russia and the state of Russian Bolshevism militates strongly against their adopting Lenine's policy; the experiences of Dittmar, made public a few weeks ago, are very significant in this respect; he came back from Russia absolutely disillusioned.

In Poland all will depend on her demeanor during these coming months; imperialism and foolishness might easily set her house on fire; the danger there is enormous, considering her internal troubles and the tremendous dissatisfaction of a majority of the population, coupled with great shortage of food. The Balkan States, on the other hand, have hardly much to fear from Bolshevism.

Summing up, we can say that Lenine's hopes for a world revolution will never be realized. I suppose he himself knows this by this time. But the general social dissatisfaction in European countries is still very great and might lead at any time to many serious disturbances. Bolshevik outbreaks, like the recent one in Italy, or even the establishment of a Bolshevik régime, with its soviets and all, will not and cannot affect all the nations, as some of them have already succeeded in finding the necessary antitoxin to this social disease. The important point, however, is this: in every single case the Bolshevik virus was fought successfully not by force, but only by education, by enlightening the people

and lessening social evils. France owes her salvation, for example, not to the militant policy of Millerand or Clemenceau, but to the common sense of her peasantry and her labor class, who did not want to follow the leadership of the Extremists. The English Labor Party finds its source of moderation exclusively in the education of its leaders. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that the frightful excesses of Bolshevism in Russia are made possible only on account of the uneducated state of the Russian masses.

THE MISSION WORLD VIEWED FROM SWITZERLAND

An International Missionary Meeting, Held at Crans, near Geneva, June 22-28

By WILLIAM E. STRONG, D. D.

IT WAS no such conference for size or spectacle as that held at Edinburgh in 1910. There was nothing big about it or showy; no crowded assemblies, or eloquent orations, or popular forthputtings. Instead, there were gathered only thirty-eight men, with a few ladies accompanying, who sat about a table in one room and deliberated in conversational tones and with informal remarks on the several topics brought before them.

Yet it was a great meeting and destined, it is believed, to have real effect upon the remaking of the world; for these thirty-eight men were from eleven countries and represented as many as eighty foreign missionary societies—American, British, and Continental. Inasmuch as several of these delegates were from the mission fields—from Japan, China, India, and Africa—it is not too much to say that Protestant Christendom was reflected in this assembly. And there was weight to the representation. Such men were there as the English Bishop Westcott, Metropolitan of India and Ceylon and chairman of the India National Missionary Council; the American Bishop Roots, of Hankow, chairman of the China Continuation Committee, who was made chairman of this meeting; J. H. Oldham, of London, editor of the *International Review of Missions*, chosen secretary; John R. Mott, of New York, made chairman of the Business Committee; Dr. Ritson, of the British and Foreign Bible Society; Rev. Cecil Bardsley, of the Church Missionary Society; Bishop King, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Rev. Frank Lenwood, of the London Missionary Society; M. Couve and Dr. Allegret, of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society; Dr. Anet, Secretary of the Belgian Missions to the Congo; Bishop Hennig, of Herrnhut; Professor Haussleiter, of Halle; Professor Richter, of Berlin, and Pastor Wurz, of Basel, representing unofficially various German societies; Drs. Gunning, of Holland, and Fries, of Sweden, and Professor Tome, of Denmark; Principal Gandier and Canon Gould, of Canada, and Drs. Watson (Presbyterian), Corey (Christian), Wolf (Lutheran), and Fennell P. Turner, secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, from the United States.

That this group of men, leaders in national as well as church life, loyal each to his own land and type, could come together as soon after the war and enter into frank

discussion of subjects whereon they could but differ and whereon also they had strong convictions and prejudices, and that they could pursue these discussions without rancor or cleavage, to the securing of a common judgment as to what might be approved, was in itself an achievement to make every Christian heart rejoice. As was repeatedly expressed, it was wonderful what a spirit of mutual confidence and regard pervaded all the sessions; not only that, but how friendly and intimate were the conversations of the little groups of two or three who in the hours of relaxation strolled together about the grounds or found themselves side by side at the dining-tables—a better evidence of Christianity, it seemed, than some that are relied upon in natural theologies.

The discussions were not hackneyed. Their subjects were of pressing concern. They grew out of the World War, which in its shaking of the world has disturbed missionary work in many ways and to an extent not yet generally realized. For example, it has driven out from their fields of labor about one-eighth of the total number of foreign missionaries in the world. Of 2,500 men and women having care of German missions in the several countries where they have been planted, practically none remains at his post. For military reasons they have been excluded, interned, or, as in many cases, repatriated. Their work has been variously treated—temporarily transferred to the oversight of other missions, reorganized on an independent basis, or, too often, left uncared for and disrupted. Whatever may be said in defense of the action from a political standpoint, it is a heavy blow, not only to the genuine missionary devotion of a multitude of the German people, but to the Christian enterprise as a whole, to the progress of the Kingdom of God on earth. It would be intolerable that such a catastrophe should be disregarded or lightly accepted. As in successive sessions of this conference, we traced the situation following the war in one after another of the mission lands, hearts and minds became united in the feeling that here was a burden to be borne together and for whose lifting we must unitedly labor. Provision was made for laying the facts before all the mission boards, through their national organizations, with a view to finding a common plan of action for the relief of this distress.

Another burning question of the time grew out of the new situation faced by the educational work of foreign missions. Oriental governments are taking increased interest in popular education; are feeling its importance to national development; are becoming sensitive to and in some cases suspicious of the effect of mission schools and colleges in their influence upon the youth of the land. A more assertive nationalism is inclined to arrogate to the State entire control of education and to weaken or suppress those institutions which missions have founded and which have won popular confidence and patronage. In some cases it is boldly said that while religion is an affair of the church, education is an affair of the State and not to be meddled with by missions. Earnest and careful hours were given to a review of the educational situations in mission lands and to a consideration of the attitude which missionaries should take to this new temper that is appearing after the war.

The delicate but inevitable intermingling of missionary activities with political affairs furnished another

field of inquiry and comparison. It was made clear that as moral questions and values are increasingly recognized in political movements, national and international, the old, short rule that the missionary must keep out of politics does not sufficiently meet the case. When anti-opium crusades, atrocities—Korean or Armenian, student outbreaks, social and industrial rebellions, are all involved in the political affairs of the nations, it cannot be helped that Christian missions should exert an influence that must be reckoned with. In the midst of a universal popular agitation, the Christian spirit cannot be altogether colorless and anemic. It was important for this congress of missionary leaders, representing all lands, to consider what should be approved and what disapproved as regards missionary participation in public affairs; as to what a just neutrality requires in word and act and bearing.

If there is not much to report as actual findings or results of this conference, its real accomplishment was beyond measure. As has been intimated already, the contacts of the time were perhaps its greatest value. The meeting place was a benediction, at the small village of Crans, on the border of Lake Geneva, across which rose the French mountains, with the three peaks of Mt. Blanc in the farthest background, and in the chateau of Colonel and Madame Van Berchem, the stately home of a family that has occupied it for generations and whose present representatives dispensed a hospitality of medieval amplitude and of the finest Christian spirit of today. Their great house, with its twenty-six rooms, their grounds and walks, their gardens of flowers and fruits, from which were daily brought bountiful supplies (one will not soon forget those raspberries and currants and cherries), and, above all, their high-hearted friendliness, outpoured upon every guest and expressed in uncounted ministries and attentions, made every day a fresh delight and stimulus. From beginning to end, the conference met in an atmosphere of Christian regard and good-will. The spirit was infectious; it was impossible to be suspicious, prejudiced, selfish, in these surroundings.

Steps were taken before the conference ended which may lead to a permanent international missionary organization, successor to the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, and which shall conserve and develop all that was accomplished at Crans. It is hoped that, if the mission boards represented approve of the plans, such an organization will be effected, and that its first meeting may be in America in 1921.

We parted after this week of outlook together with a heightened sense of the place and worth of the foreign missionary enterprise among the world's forces and of the absolute necessity that it shall be viewed and administered internationally. No less measure will suffice for so great a task.

The great negative energies of destruction such as war releases can never achieve the things that have to be done in the world. Such work has to be done by great principles, by living ideals, by the Spirit of God. Mere mechanism, the thunder of guns, the massing of bodies of men can never do it. They can build walls against the onset of wrong; they cannot replace it. We have to let loose creative and constructive spiritual powers if that is to be done.—From "The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War."

CERTAIN FINANCIAL FACTS

THE FOLLOWING FINANCIAL FACTS relative to the United States must necessarily have a bearing upon our foreign policy.—THE EDITORS.

OUR PUBLIC DEBT

The total debt of the United States July 1, 1856, after deducting the cash in the Treasury, was \$10,965,953.01. August 31, 1865, the Civil War having just been brought to a close, the public debt reached its highest point prior to 1918. On that date the total debt, less cash in the Treasury, was \$2,756,431,571.43. The lowest point reached by the public debt following the Civil War was in 1892, when the total debt, less cash in the Treasury, was \$841,526,463.60. The nearest approach to that low level, and following the Civil War, was in 1907, when the total debt, less the cash in Treasury, was \$878,596,755.03. July 1, 1914, our total debt, less cash in the Treasury, was \$1,027,257,009.56. Since 1913 the figures have been as follows:

	Total interest-bearing debt.	Debt on which interest has ceased.	Debt bearing no interest.*
1914..	\$967,953,310.00	\$1,552,560.26	\$1,942,993,398.90
1915..	969,759,090.00	1,507,260.26	2,086,870,522.90
1916..	971,562,590.00	1,473,100.26	2,636,208,571.90
1917..	2,712,549,476.61	14,232,230.26	2,990,988,572.65
1918..	11,985,882,436.42	20,242,550.26	2,586,036,427.32
1919..	25,234,496,273.54	11,109,370.26	2,145,364,469.32

	Outstanding principal.	Cash in the Treasury July 1.*	Total debt less cash in Treasury.
1914..	\$2,912,499,269.16	\$1,885,242,259.60	\$1,027,257,009.56
1915..	3,058,136,873.16	1,967,988,867.16	1,090,148,006.00
1916..	3,609,244,262.16	2,602,962,690.06	1,006,281,572.10
1917..	5,717,770,279.52	3,809,135,055.70	1,908,635,223.82
1918..	14,592,161,414.00	3,667,880,058.77	10,924,281,355.23
1919..	27,390,970,113.12	2,911,667,736.63	24,479,302,376.49

DEBT STATEMENT OF UNITED STATES, SEPTEMBER 30, 1920

(Source: The Chronicle, October 16, 1920, p. 1539.)

The preliminary statement of the public debt of the United States for September 30, 1920, as made up on the basis of the daily Treasury statements, is as follows:

Total gross debt August 31, 1920.....	\$24,324,672,123.79
Public-debt receipts September 1 to 30, 1920...	\$1,210,000,878.39
Public-debt disbursements September 1 to 30, 1920.	1,447,316,873.53
Decrease for period.....	237,315,995.14
Total gross debt September 30, 1920.	\$24,087,356,128.65

NOTE.—Total gross debt before deduction of the balance held by the Treasurer, free of current obligations and without any deduction on account of obligations of foreign governments or other investments, was as follows:

* See Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919, pages 610, 611.

Bonds:

Consols of 1930.....	\$599,724,050.00	
Loan of 1925.....	118,489,900.00	
Panama's of 1916-1936...	48,954,180.00	
Panama's of 1918-1938...	25,947,400.00	
Panama's of 1961.....	50,000,000.00	
Conversion bonds.....	28,894,500.00	
Postal Savings bonds....	11,612,160.00	
		\$883,622,190.00

First Liberty loan.....	\$1,952,423,550.00	
Second Liberty loan.....	3,324,240,250.00	
Third Liberty loan.....	3,649,962,500.00	
Fourth Liberty loan.....	6,366,262,113.00	
		15,292,888,413.00

Total bonds \$16,176,510,603.00

Notes:

Victory Liberty loan.....	4,241,130,520.00
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Treasury Certificates:

Tax.....	\$1,657,787,500.00	
Loan.....	690,003,500.00	
Pittman Act.....	259,375,000.00	
Special issues.....	32,854,450.00	
		2,640,020,450.00

War-savings securities (net cash receipts) . 796,974,393.98

Total interest-bearing debt..... \$23,854,635,966.98

Debt on which interest has ceased..... 5,387,750.26

Non-interest-bearing debt..... 227,332,411.41

Total gross debt..... \$24,087,356,128.56

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1919*

(Source: Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year 1919, pp. 629-639.)

	Receipts.	Disbursements.†
Total ordinary.....	\$4,647,603,852.46†	\$18,939,531,894.86
Postal.....	364,847,126.20†	362,847,785.29
Panama Canal.....	6,777,046.55†	12,265,775.08
Public Debt.....	29,053,331,758.25†	15,813,848,116.63

Grand total... \$34,072,559,788.46 \$35,128,493,571.86

PRESENT AND PROPOSED OUTLAY IN ARMAMENTS FOR THE UNITED STATES‡

War Department.

Fiscal Year 1917.	Fiscal Year 1918.	Fiscal Year 1919.
\$258,158,361.12	\$1,850,687,186.88	\$8,995,880,266.18

* "Disbursements," as used in this table, in addition to actual expenditures, include unexpended balances to the credit of disbursing officers.

† Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1919, p. 632. (Panama Canal receipts include receipts from tolls, etc.)

‡ Annual report of Secretary of the Treasury for 1919, p. 269.

§ Annual report of Secretary of the Treasury for 1919, p. 639.

|| See Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919, page 219.

Navy Department.

Fiscal Year 1917.	Fiscal Year 1918.	Fiscal Year 1919.
\$239,632,756.63	\$1,278,840,486.80	\$2,002,310,785.02

*Estimated Expenditure for the War Department and the Navy Department for 1920 for Those Departments.**

Departments.	1921 estimates, including permanent annual.	1920 appropriations, including permanent annual.	Increase, 1921 estimates over 1920 appropriations (+); decrease (-).
War Department:			
War Department proper.....	\$6,015,248.01	\$7,573,550.12	—
Military Establishment—			
(Estimates for Military Establishment for 1921, \$1,128,950,497.87; appropriations for 1920, \$787,889,950.70.)			
Army.....	897,407,020.00	759,222,127.50	+ 138,244,892.50
Military Academy.....	6,778,637.20	2,277,932.20	+ 4,500,705.00
National Guard.....	85,408,000.00	13,177,750.00	+ 72,230,250.00
Fortifications.....	117,793,330.00	11,214,291.00	+ 106,579,039.00
Arsenals.....	7,278,259.00	1,970,000.00	+ 5,308,259.00
Military posts and miscellaneous.....	14,225,251.67	27,850.00	+ 14,197,401.60
Rivers and harbors.....	60,403,805.00	43,192,964.00	+ 17,210,901.00
Miscellaneous war, civil items.....	12,931,895.04	17,925,730.00	— 4,993,834.00
Navy Department:			
Navy Department proper.....	8,097,870.00	2,223,010.00	+ 5,874,860.00
Naval Establishment—			
(Estimates for Naval Establishment for 1921, \$577,570,260.80; appropriations for 1920, \$222,374,718.88.)			
Naval Establishment, exclusive of building program.....	392,328,200.80	489,374,713.88	— 97,046,453.08
Navy building program.....	185,248,000.00	133,000,000.00	+ 52,248,000.00

PROPOSED OUTLAY IN ARMAMENT APPROPRIATIONS †

Armament of Fortifications, 1921

For purchase, manufacture, and test of mountain, field, and siege cannon, including their carriages, sights, implements, equipments, and the machinery necessary for their manufacture, \$1,500,000.

For purchase, manufacture, maintenance, and test of ammunition for mountain, field, and siege cannon, including the necessary experiments in connection therewith, the machinery necessary for its manufacture, and necessary storage facilities, \$1,600,000.

For purchase, manufacture, and test of seacoast cannon for coast defense, including their carriages, sights, imple-

* See Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919.

† See digest of appropriations for the support of the Government of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, made by the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress and issued by the U. S. Treasury Department.

ments, equipments, and the machinery necessary for their manufacture, \$2,000,000.

For purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition for seacoast cannon, and for modernizing projectiles on hand, including the necessary experiments in connection therewith, and the machinery necessary for its manufacture, \$1,000,000.

For purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition, sub-caliber guns, and other accessories for seacoast artillery practice, including the machinery necessary for their manufacture, \$200,000.

For alteration and maintenance of seacoast artillery, including the purchase and manufacture of machinery, tools, materials necessary for the work, and expenses of civilian mechanics and extra-duty pay of enlisted men engaged thereon, \$1,000,000.

For alteration and maintenance of the mobile artillery, including the purchase and manufacture of machinery, tools, and materials necessary for the work and the expenses of the mechanics engaged thereon, \$2,000,000.

For purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition, sub-caliber guns, and other accessories for mountain, field, and siege artillery practice, including the machinery necessary for their manufacture, \$205,800.

Fortifications Act, May 21, 1920.....\$9,505,800.00

(\$9,505,800.00 is the total appropriation for armament of fortifications by the above act.)

Armament of Fortifications, Panama Canal, 1921

For the purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition for seacoast and land defense cannon, including the necessary experiments in connection therewith, and the machinery necessary for its manufacture, \$1,000,000.

For the alteration and maintenance and installation of the seacoast artillery, including the purchase and manufacture of machinery, tools, and materials necessary for the work, and expenses of civilian mechanics, and extra-duty pay of enlisted men engaged thereon, \$104,546.

Fortifications Act, May 21, 1920,.....\$1,104,546.00

Increase of the Navy—Armor and Armament

Increase of the Navy, armor and armament: Toward the armor and armament for vessels heretofore authorized, to be available until expended, \$45,000,000.

Naval Act, June 4, 1920.....\$45,000,000.00

DETAILED ARMAMENT EXPENDITURES BY APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1919

(Source: Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1919, p. 225.)

Armament of Fortifications, Panama Canal:

"DFG"	\$48,897.17
"H"	711,547.07
"M"	27,086.01
Act June 15, 1917, "M".....	19,200.00

Fortifications in Insular Possessions:

"DFG"	\$17,795.86
Act June 15, 1917, "DFG".....	2,707.32
"H"	1,776,123.61
1919-1920, "H"	1,000,000.00
Act June 15, 1917, "M".....	36,010.73
"M"	28,241.24

Armament of Fortifications:

"B"	\$305,876,252.06
"C"	2,147,808,221.45
"DFG"	877,119.47
Act June 15, 1917, "DFG".....	783,714.51
"H"	8,131,384.46
Act June 15, 1917, "H".....	180,298.99
"I"	3,565.86
"K"	909,852.01
"L"	41,771,835.62
"M"	187,108.66
Act June 15, 1917, "M".....	131,875.49
Act June 15, 1917, "N".....	140,139.96

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE

Directions for a True League of Nations

(Sketch of a Declaration of Principles as a Basis for a Program of Action)

By COUNT HARRY KESZLER

Translated from *Die Friedens-Warte*, August, 1920

PRINCIPLES

A CONSTRUCTIVE permanent policy is no longer possible without the League of Nations; without this comprehensive world organization the institutions of the world, shaken to their very foundations, cannot recover.

Therefore we demand:

1. To exert all strength so that all States, including America, Russia, and Germany, will be received into the Versailles League of Nations.

2. That the latter be developed into a democratic league of the nations, which is to be supported and governed, in the first place, by the active workers themselves. The Versailles League of Nations does not live up to the demands of real democracy, because it grants all power exclusively to the State governments.

3. That the League, supported by the peoples, is to regulate world production:

a. By rapid international conglomeration of all individual enterprises into self-administrative bodies;

b. By admitting all those who are occupied in a given branch of production into its administration;

c. By regulating production according to demand.

4. That this economic and intellectual world organization be autonomous and not dependent upon the politics of the States.

The international commissions, which, according to the Versailles Treaty, have to distribute the raw materials and means of transportation and have to regulate the financial conditions, are the given levers through which the strength of the nations can change the present alliance of States into a true league of nations, and therefore we appeal to the intellectual and manual workers of all countries to fight for this irrefutable necessity by energetic collaboration and by the pressure of public opinion.

REASONS

I

The Versailles League of Nations is unsatisfactory. It does not satisfy the essential postulates of a world organization—

1. Because it grants no direct influence to the peoples and their working classes (laborers);

2. Because it gives all power exclusively to the national governments;

3. Because it, furthermore, divides the governments into two classes: into those of the principal nations, represented in the "Council" of the League of Nations, and those of the minor nations, not represented in the "Council"; and because it disfranchises in vital questions the governments belonging to the second class, and with them their people.

Especially it compels to prepare for war according to the plans of principal nations (Art. VIII); to protect the boundaries of foreign States upon order of the principal powers (Art. X); to break off economic relations upon order of the principal powers (Art. XVI); to make war without previously having been consulted, upon order of the principal powers (Art. XII, Par. 4, and Art. XVI, Par. 2). Thus it creates an unlimited dictatorship, which would be at the disposal of the dictators not only in war, but also in the fight against the active workers, who have been deprived of co-administration.

4. Because it considers the task of a world organization only negatively, as that of a world police, and thus renounces a deeper and more secure foundation of world peace.

II

In opposition to this it must be emphasized that peace can only be rendered secure by an organization which regulates world production and fits it to world demand generally and individually.

This organization must be formed and governed by the active workers themselves, because it has to guard their human rights, especially the right of every active worker to a prompt share of net returns of his work, and to an intellectual, cultural, and religious freedom; and, fundamentally, the collective power of the human race may be trusted only to a democratic organization, built up from the bottom, directly and indiscriminately supported by all interested.

III

The beginning of such an organization is already in the making. It can be found—

1. In the professional and intellectual organizations founded by the manual and intellectual workers and in the increasing recognition of their common interests;

2. In the linking together of work processes (unions, trusts, syndicates), which grow more and more numerous and secure and which originate from the fundamental conditions of modern production, and especially from the continued increase and specialization of its means of production;

3. In the international commissions, born in the distress of the World War, which are to distribute the

raw materials and the means of transportation and to regulate the financial conditions.

In connection with the basic principle, recognized by the Versailles Treaty, that labor must not be considered merely as merchandise or as an article of commerce, and together with the demand of the active workers for a share of the administration over the means of production—a demand which can no longer be refuted and which carries its point everywhere—the beginnings mentioned above show the way how a central organization of world production and world demand, effected by the active workers themselves, can be obtained.

IV

This economic central organization, as soon as established, would offer a natural and firm basis for the League of Nations. The security of peace, therefore, demands that its realization should be actively supported, that its unimpeded effectiveness should be secured by international law, that its activity and economic power should be considered the basis for world-organization.

THE CONSEQUENCES

1. To hasten the coalition of all separate enterprises in the great production branches into self-administrative bodies, and this within the various economic territories as well as internationally. A valuable help to this end is furnished by the industrial organizations, which are becoming more and more indispensable, and by the international commissions for raw material, transportation, and finances, which were originated in the distress of the war.

2. To promote a democratic production by granting a share in the administration of the means of production to all workers in a given branch of production.

3. To compel the regulation of production and demand under co-operation of the consumers and the general public.

4. To destroy imperialism at its root by disrupting its cause, the connection between politics and economics.

V

The revision of the Versailles League of Nations seems to be at present the easiest and shortest road leading to a true league of nations in the above sense.

The most important and most immediate steps in this respect would be:

1. The admission into the League of Nations of those nations that are still outside, especially Germany, Russia, and America, so that the League may comprise the whole territory of world production and all the workers in it.

2. The abolition of legal inequality between the States admitted to the League of Nations, an inequality created by the Versailles League; furthermore, its inequality with respect to disarmament, by effecting the equal, complete disarmament of all States.

3. The development of the economic commissions of the League of Nations into centers of world econ-

omy, centers to which self-administrative branches of production may be attached.

4. The creation of a central organization, connecting these commissions and branches of production, this central organization to be trusted with all world economic decisions and powers.

VI

But since the League of Nations shall not only safeguard material production, but also the dignity and the liberty of man, therefore it cannot be limited to a mere economic centralization. The great intellectual organizations and communities must be admitted and must have the right of voting on all questions pertaining to liberty, creative power, and happiness of man.

VII

Within the boundaries of such a world organization—guarding the interests of world production, freed from the menace by military-prepared States, and strengthened, if necessary, by special powers granted by international law—the separate interests of the individual States, nations, and economic territories must be taken into consideration up to that point where they clash with the superior common interests of humanity and man. However, it must be emphasized that the international security of economic and intellectual freedom is the presupposition of the national, and that, therefore, collaboration in this international work is necessary, if the work in national development and freedom is to succeed.

VIII

Such a league of nations cannot be the work of individuals, but can be realized only by the energetic collaboration of millions in all nations, and by the pressure of public opinion. The enlightenment of the broad masses, especially of the laborers, about its necessity and their organized participation in the active work, therefore, is an irrefutable necessity.

IT IS REPORTED

That Czecho-Slovakia has concluded a commercial agreement with Bulgaria.

That Brussels now possesses a reading-room for children—a gift from America.

That war-tax receipts show America's expenditure on amusements to be about \$400,000,000 a month.

That the war orphans of France comprise 2.50 per cent of her total population, according to latest government figures.

That a bill to enable women to sit in Parliament has been given a second reading in the West Australian Legislative Assembly.

That the number of German students at the Prague University exceeds all previous records.

That a New Zealand newspaper has been fined for publishing an article on Bolshevism.

That Japan has decided that after 1922 the period of compulsory education will be extended from six to eight years.

That a gift of 5,000,000 tins of condensed milk from an anonymous donor has been received by the British Vienna Emergency Relief Fund.

That a large hospital for the treatment of persons suffering from tuberculosis is to be established in Jamaica by the British Red Cross Society.

That prices in Vienna are sixty times as high as before the war; that they are still on the increase, but that wages and salaries are lagging far behind.

That infant mortality in America has declined to the encouraging figure of 87 deaths per 1,000 babies, a saving of nearly 12,000 babies over the 1918 rate.

That the manufacture and sale of cigarettes in the United States has increased 67 per cent in the last seventeen months, according to Federal tax receipts.

That about 600,000 acres in the Southern States are devoted to the cultivation of peanuts, and that about 300,000 workers are employed in handling the crop.

That airplane mail service between the United States and Cuba will be started this fall, according to an announcement by the United States Postmaster General.

That an important company, with English capital, has been formed in Ecuador for the purpose of manufacturing paper from recently discovered vegetable substances.

That South Africa ordinarily imports annually about \$12,000,000 worth of hardware, and that more than \$2,000,000 worth of this business comes to the United States.

That the sale of motor cars in Java has greatly increased since 1918, and that the United States, which furnishes the greatest number of these, cannot keep pace with the demand.

That for every 1,000 men in France between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years there are 1,230 women; in England, 1,175; in Italy, 1,228; in Germany, 1,810, and in Austria Hungary, 1,230.

That this year's corn crop in the United States will, it is thought, be 3,199,126,000 bushels, the largest in the history of the country by 75,000,000 bushels; more than 75 per cent of the total world output.

That the situation in the flax industry of Belgium is growing more critical, and that due to the falling tendency in prices the cessation of orders has led to the closing of the greater part of the flax works.

That a delegation of Russian Bolshevik leaders who had originally intended to visit England, but were refused admission, have arrived in Germany ostensibly to study the trade-union organization in that country.

That a Pan-American College of Commerce is to open at Panama next January, to which the government of the Republic of Panama is giving earnest support, it being designated as the "Plattsburg" for American commerce.

That the exchange of university students between Belgium and the United States has recently become effective, with the admission of twenty-four Belgian students to American universities and of twenty-two Americans to Belgian universities.

That in order to meet the great shortage of food in Jamaica, which is the result of the increased cultivation of sugar-cane and of emigration, it has been decided to compel land-owners to utilize a certain portion of their properties in food cultivation.

That, according to Dr. Rosa, of the United States Bureau of Standards, 93 cents out of every dollar of Uncle Sam's money this year goes for war—past, present, or to come—and that one cent goes for education and the improvement of the public health.

That as a result of the continued high price of wheat flour, the Netherlands Government is arranging for a mixture of potato flour manufactured in that country, with wheat flour of the United States, to augment and cheapen the home supply of breadstuffs.

That leading commercial interests in Great Britain are planning to hold an exhibition some time in 1923 that will outdo any exposition ever held in Europe, its object to be to demonstrate the natural resources and the inventive and manufacturing possibilities of the Empire.

That after much discussion the wording of the inscription to be carved on the Arch of Triumph at Paris, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic, is to be "*4 Septembre, 1870, Proclamation de la République. 11 Novembre, 1918, Restitution de l'Alsace-Lorraine à la France.*"

That M. Poincaré, former President of France, has written a letter to Professor Lavellée, saying that since for fifteen years at least France is to have an army on the left bank of the Rhine; that since she is to have an enormous task to perform in the Saar Basin, and since she is to undertake business enterprise with Germany, the study of the German language in the French schools should not be neglected.

THE LEAGUE AND AMERICAN POLITICS

President Wilson's Appeals—Candidate Harding's Statement—The People Ballot

On October 3 the President issued the following appeal to the people:

"MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

"The issues of the present campaign are of such tremendous importance and of such far-reaching significance for the influence of the country and the development of its future relations and I have necessarily had so much to do with their development that I am sure you will think it natural and proper that I should address to you a few words concerning them. Every one who sincerely believes in government by the people must rejoice at the turn affairs have taken in regard to this campaign. This election is to be a genuine national referendum. The determination of a great policy upon which the influence and authority of the United States in the world must depend is not to be left to groups of politicians of either party, but is to be referred to the people themselves for a sovereign mandate to their representatives. They are to instruct their own government what they wish done.

"The chief question that is put to you is, of course, this: "Do you want your country's honor vindicated and the Treaty of Versailles ratified? Do you in particular approve of the League of Nations as organized and empowered in that treaty, and do you wish to see the United States play its responsible part in it? You have been grossly misled with regard to the treaty, and particularly with regard to the proposed character of the League of Nations, by those who have assumed the serious responsibility of opposing it. They have gone so far that those who have spent their lives, as I have spent mine, in familiarizing themselves with the history and traditions and policies of the nation must stand amazed at the gross ignorance and impudent audacity which has led them to attempt to invent an 'Americanism' of their own, which has no foundation whatever in any of the authentic traditions of the government.

"Americanism as they conceive it reverses the whole process of the last few tragic years. It would substitute America for Prussia in the policy of isolation and defiant segregation. Their conception of the dignity of the nation and its interest is that we should stand apart and watch for opportunities to advance our own interests, involve ourselves in no responsibility for the maintenance of the right in the world, or for the continued vindication of any of the things for which we entered the war to fight. The conception of the great creators of the government was absolutely opposite to this. They thought of America as the light of the world, as created to lead the world in the assertion of the rights of peoples and the rights of free nations; as destined to set a responsible example to all the world of what free government is and can do for the maintenance of right standards, both national and international. This light the opponents of the League would quench. They would relegate the United States to a subordinate rôle in the affairs of the world.

"Why should we be afraid of responsibilities which we are qualified to sustain, and which the whole of our history has constituted a promise to the world we would sustain? This is the most momentous issue that has ever been presented to the people of the United States, and I do not doubt that the hope of the whole world will be verified by an absolute assertion by the voters of the country of the determination of the United States to live up to all the great expectations which they created by entering the war and enabling the other great nations of the world to bring it to a victorious conclusion, to the conclusion of Prussianism and everything that arises out of Prussianism. Surely we shall not fail to keep the promise sealed in the death and sacrifice of our incomparable soldiers, sailors, and marines who await our verdict beneath the sod of France.

"Those who do not care to tell you the truth about the League of Nations tell you that article 10 of the covenant of the League would make it possible for other nations to lead us into war, whether we willed it by our own independent judgment or not. This is absolutely false. There is nothing in the covenant which in the least interferes with or impairs the right of Congress to declare war or not declare war, according to its own independent judgment, as our Constitution provides. Those who drew the covenant of the League were careful that it should contain nothing which interfered with or impaired the constitutional arrangements of any of the great nations which are to constitute its members. They would have been amazed and indignant at the things that are now being ignorantly said about this great and sincere document.

"The whole world will wait for your verdict in November as it would wait for an intimation of what its future is to be."

On October 27 the President read to a group of Pro-League Republicans the following statement of his convictions, his last contribution to the campaign. The delegation was headed by Hamilton Holt, of New York City, and included women as well as men. The President said:

"MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

"It is to be feared that the supreme issue presented for your consideration in the present campaign is growing more obscure rather than clearer by reason of the many arbitrary turns the discussion of it has taken. The editors and publishers of the country would render a great service if they would publish the full text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, because, having read that text, you would be able to judge for yourselves a great many things in which you are now in danger of being misled. I hope sincerely that it will be very widely and generally published entire. It is with a desire to reclarify the issue and to assist your judgment that I take the liberty of stating again the case submitted to you in as simple terms as possible.

"Three years ago it was my duty to summon you to the concert of war, to join the free nations of the world in meeting and ending the most sinister peril that had ever been developed in the irresponsible politics of the Old World. Your response to that call really settled the fortunes of war. You will remember that the morale of the German people broke down long before the strength of the German armies was broken. That was obviously because they felt that a great moral force which they could not look in the face had come into the contest, and that thenceforth all their professions of right were discredited, and they were unable to pretend that their continuation of the war was not the support of a government that had violated every principle of right and every consideration of humanity.

"It is my privilege to summon you now to the concert of peace and the completion of the great moral achievement of your part which the war represented and in the presence of which the world found a reassurance and a recovery of force which it could have experienced in no other way. We entered the war, as you remember, not merely to beat Germany, but to end the possibility of the renewal of such iniquitous schemes as Germany entertained. The war will have been fought in vain and our immense sacrifices thrown away unless we complete the work we then began, and I ask you to consider that there is only one way to assure the world of peace; that is by making it so dangerous to break the peace that no other nation will have the audacity to attempt it. We should not be deceived into supposing that imperialistic schemes ended with the defeat of Germany, or that Germany is the only nation that entertains such schemes or was moved by sinister ambitions and long-standing jealousies to attack the very structure of civilization. There are other nations which are likely to be powerfully moved or are already moved by commercial jealousy, by the desire to dominate and to have their own way in politics and in enterprise, and it is necessary to check them and to apprise them that the world will be united against them as it was against Germany if they attempt any similar thing.

"The mothers and sisters and wives of the country know

the sacrifice of war. They will feel that we have misled them and compelled them to make an entirely unnecessary sacrifice of their beloved ones if we do not make it as certain as it can be made that no similar sacrifice will be demanded of mothers and sisters and wives in the future. This duty is so plain that it seems to me to constitute a primary demand upon the conscience of every one of us. It is inconceivable to most of us that any men should have been so false or so heartless as to declare that the women of the country would again have to suffer the intolerable burden and privation of war if the League of Nations were adopted.

"The League of Nations is the well-considered effort of the whole group of nations who were opposed to Germany to secure themselves and the rest of mankind against a repetition of the war. It will have back of it the watchfulness and material force of all these nations, and is such a guarantee of a peaceful future as no well-informed man can question who does not doubt the whole spirit with which the war was conducted against Germany. The great moral influence of the United States will be absolutely thrown away if we do not complete the task which our soldiers and sailors so heroically undertook to execute.

"One thing ought to be said, and said very clearly, about Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is the specific pledge of the members of the League that they will unite to resist exactly the things which Germany attempted, no matter who attempts them in the future. It is as exact a definition as could be given in general terms of the outrage which Germany would have committed if it could.

"Germany violated the territorial integrity of her neighbors and flouted their political independence in order to aggrandize herself, and almost every war of history has originated in such designs. It is significant that the nations of the world should have at last combined to define the general cause of war and to exercise such concert as may be necessary to prevent such methods. Article X, therefore, is the specific redemption of the pledge which the free governments of the world gave to their people when they entered the war. They promised their people not only that Germany would be prevented from carrying out her plot, but that the world would be safeguarded in the future from similar designs.

"We have now to choose whether we will make good or quit. We have joined issue, and the issue is between the spirit and purpose of the United States and the spirit and purpose of imperialism, no matter where it shows itself. The spirit of imperialism is absolutely opposed to free government, to the safe life of free nations, to the development of peaceful industry, and to the completion of the righteous processes of civilization. It seems to me, and I think it will seem to you, that it is our duty to show the indomitable will and irresistible majesty of the high purpose of the United States, so that the part we played in the war as soldiers and sailors may be crowned with the achievement of lasting peace.

"No one who opposes the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations has proposed any other adequate means of bringing about settled peace. There is no other available or possible means, and this means is ready to hand. They have, on the contrary, tried to persuade you that the very pledge contained in Article X, which is the essential pledge of the whole plan of security, is itself a threat of war. It is, on the contrary, an assurance of the concert of all the free peoples of the world in the future, as in the recent past, to see justice done and humanity protected and vindicated.

"This is the true, the real Americanism. This is the rôle of leadership and championship of the right which the leaders of the Republic intended that it should play. The so-called Americanism which we hear so much prating about now is spurious and invented for party purposes only.

"The choice is the supreme choice of the present campaign. It is regrettable that this choice should be associated with a party contest. As compared with the choice of a course of action that now underlies every other, the fate of parties is a matter of indifference. Parties are significant now in this contest only because the voters must make up

their minds which of the two parties is most likely to secure the indispensable result.

"The nation was never called upon to make a more solemn determination than it must now make. The whole future moral force of right in the world depends upon the United States rather than upon any other nation, and it would be pitiful indeed if, after so many great free people had entered the great League, we should hold aloof. I suggest that the candidacy of every candidate for whatever office be tested by this question, Shall we or shall we not redeem the great moral obligation of the United States?"

SENATOR HARDING'S FINAL STATEMENT TO VOTERS

In a formal statement issued from Marion, November 1, the Republican candidate said, referring to the League:

"There has been a steady attempt to deceive the people as to the issue of our foreign policy. There has been an attempt by the Democratic leaders to make the American people believe that the Republican policy is against America entering into a fraternity of nations to prevent war and to co-operate for peace. This is a deceit, and, of course, is an attempt to blind the people to the League of Nations issue as it was framed by the Democratic leaders and by the Democratic platform.

"The issue as presented by the Democratic administration and its representatives in this campaign is simply the question: 'Shall we enter the Paris League of Nations, assuming, among other obligations, the obligation of Article X?'

"The answer of the Democratic group is 'Yes.' The answer of the Republican Party and its candidate is 'No.'

"The reason for answering 'no' to the question drawn by our opponents is that America is not ready to mortgage her conscience to the Old World or engage to send her boys to war to carry on an old European controversy or place her resources at the beck and call of a group of shrewd diplomats acting for an armed alliance masked under the benevolent title of the League of Nations.

"America has already given her answer to the proposal to give up our nationality and our flag. That answer is 'no,' and 'no' is the answer of the Republican Party.

"My Democratic opponent, hearing that decisive 'no,' would like to change the issue. They have presented and make an issue on the question of what our party will do about a League of Nations.

"I have told them what I would do. I have told them I would do my best to unite America behind a plan for an association of nations which we may join with safety, honor, and good conscience, but without selling our birthright for a mess of military pottage. I have said from first to last in this campaign that I would consult the Senate and consult the people, because I am deeply impressed with the utter failure and waste of an executive policy of fabricating a League of Nations first and consulting America afterward.

"I want to consult America first, and take a course which will unite America and make it possible to join a world fraternity of nations, rather than a course which will divide America and make it impossible for us to do anything. A Democratic victory means a continued deadlock with the Senate, which has been so fruitless and will be fruitless forever.

"Our opponents have asked the American people to approve their draft of a league. The American people have said 'No.' This means that the man who is elected President must set his face toward a constructive plan. I have pointed the way."

THE BALLOTING OF THE PEOPLE

On November 2 the largest number of persons ever voting in the United States at a given time, and probably the largest number ever using the franchise in any land at any stage of its history, went to the polls. In number, it is estimated, they aggregated not less than 23,000,000 political units. Women in all States voted under authority conferred by the Nineteenth Amendment, and they used their

privilege and new right to such an extent that the vote in some States was increased more than 50 per cent.

The Electoral College

The verdict by the voters, registered in terms of the Electoral College, was as indicated in the appended table. The majority of 277 votes for Senator Harding, of Ohio, and Governor Coolidge, of Massachusetts, has only been exceeded once in presidential contests, and that was when President Wilson defeated Roosevelt and Taft in the election of 1912. Expressed in terms of the pluralities for the Republican candidates in States carried by them, the figures approximate 6,971,861 as over against the Cox pluralities of 969,000 in the eleven Democratic States. In this respect the outcome has been unprecedented, indicating a "landslide" that brought Tennessee out of the "Solid South" and gave the remainder of the country, geographically considered, to the victors. Following is the table:

State.	Harding.	Cox.
Alabama .....	..	12
Arizona	3	..
Arkansas .....	..	9
California	13	..
Colorado	6	..
Connecticut	7	..
Delaware	3	..
Florida .....	..	6
Georgia .....	..	14
Idaho	4	..
Illinois	29	..
Indiana	15	..
Iowa	13	..
Kansas	10	..
Kentucky .....	..	13
Louisiana .....	..	10
Maine	6	..
Maryland	8	..
Massachusetts	18	..
Michigan	15	..
Minnesota	12	..
Mississippi .....	..	10
Missouri	18	..
Montana	4	..
Nebraska	8	..
Nevada	3	..
New Hampshire	4	..
New Jersey	14	..
New Mexico	3	..
New York	45	..
North Carolina .....	..	12
North Dakota	5	..
Ohio	24	..
Oklahoma	10	..
Oregon	5	..
Pennsylvania	38	..
Rhode Island	5	..
South Carolina .....	..	9
South Dakota	5	..
Tennessee	12	..
Texas .....	..	20
Utah	4	..
Vermont	4	..
Virginia .....	..	12
Washington	7	..
West Virginia	8	..
Wisconsin	13	..
Wyoming	3	..
Total	404	127

Changes in Congress

With popular elections of Senators it became both possible and natural for verdicts on legislators and executives

registered simultaneously to become responsive to the same mass-movements and popular trends. Consequently the composition of the Senate of the Congress opening in March, 1921, will be much more strongly Republican than in the one that assembles in December. In the latter body the Republican margin is two, including the vote of Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin. In the next Senate the outlook now is for a majority of at least 22. Analyzed, the figures read thus:

	Dem.	Rep.	Total.
Holdover until 1923.....	16	16	32
Holdover until 1925.....	12	18	30
Elected November 2.....	9	25	34
Total.....	37	59	96

In thirty-four senatorial contests the Republicans captured ten seats now held by Democrats and retained all seats now held by Republicans.

In the House the change wrought has been much the same:

Republicans	296
Democrats	135
Independents	2
Independent and Prohibitionist.....	1
Socialist	1
Total.....	435

Republican majority, 157.

INTERPRETATION OF THE ELECTION RESULTS

Beginning with the night of the election and extending for many a day, there came interpretations of the meaning of the unusual political landslide. In the quotations which we have made from speeches, interviews, and editorials, we have cited, so far as possible, only such references as have to do with the League and its future, though in some cases the partisan note is not exempt from the comment quoted and had to be included in order to get the desired point of view registered:

The President-elect Defines His Attitude

In his first speech as President-elect, Senator Harding, speaking to his townsmen and to citizens from neighboring communities, at a jubilation carnival in Marion on the night of November 4, said:

"These are serious times. The civilization of the world was turned into a fluid state. Permanent crystallization has not yet come. It is for America to give to the world a steady and stabilizing influence. I am going into office knowing that the heart of America is right. In the spirit of compromise, in the desire for understanding, and in the mutuality of interest, America will go on and give of her service to the good of humanity and the safety of the world. I want a part in that.

"I do not see as much sorrow in your faces as I had apprehended. It's not that you or I question the desire of America to play its part; it's not that we question the high ideals of those who were responsible for the Versailles Covenant. You just didn't want a surrender for the United States of America; you wanted America to go on under American ideals. That's why you didn't care for the League which is now deceased.

"America is playing a great part now. America is healing the heart of the Old World tonight, as no other nation; but there is more to do. There is a new world relationship, and when the next Administration comes into power, we're going to play our part. We're going to ask for nations associated

together in justice, but it shall be an association which surrenders nothing of American freedom."

Roosevelt and Coolidge Comment Prophetically

Vice-President-elect Coolidge, responding to congratulations, issued a statement November 3, interpreting the verdict. He said, in the course of this prophecy:

"It means the end of all ambiguous and visionary schemes and a beginning of recognition of the real and true world relationship—whether based on the proposed League or some new agreement is immaterial—and development of law. These are the sole avenues to abiding peace."

The defeated candidate for the Vice-Presidency, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the same day, said:

"The result of the election in no way changes the duty of this country to join other nations in the splendid effort to solve international differences, to end militarism, and to avoid future wars."

Mr. William Jennings Bryan

Mr. Bryan, in an interview granted to the *Baltimore Sun*, said:

"Instead of recognizing that the constitutional provision requiring a two-thirds majority for ratification [of the treaty] compelled compromise, he [the President] insisted upon dictating the terms upon which ratification could be had, and then, on the 19th of March, stubbornly rejected ratification with reservations, even when Senator Harding and some 35 other Republicans were willing to accept the League as he wrote it with the few changes upon which they insisted. By thus preventing ratification, the President assumed responsibility for the nation's failure to enter the League, and thrust the League into the campaign as a partisan issue. The people, confronted with the choice between presidential infallibility and respect for the majority of the Senate, naturally chose the latter, and the Democratic Party, by endorsing the President's position, invited the defeat it deserved. . . . The American people want the government to play its part in the abolition of war, but they are indifferent as to whether we are part of a league or part of an association of nations. There is nothing to a name, but everything in a sentiment. The real issue presented by the Democratic Party was not whether we should co-operate with other nations interested in peace, but whether we should assume a moral obligation which had no weight, except as it suspended the right of Congress to act independently when the time arrived for action. The nation will do its part in aiding to prevent war, but it will not surrender into the keeping of any foreign group the right to determine when we shall declare war."

Senator Borah Opposes Any League

Senator Borah, who is opposed to any form of political alliance with foreign nations and who has steadfastly adhered to this position from the opening of the discussion, in and out of the Senate, said:

"The overwhelming and engulfing vote for the Republican ticket was the judgment of the American people against this League or any political alliance or combination with European powers. The League was the issue. The last three weeks heard nothing else. The audience would listen to nothing else. The President clearly and courageously presented the League proposition in his last interview to the public. Mr. Cox made his final appeal for the League. The great Democratic papers told the people over and over again that a vote for the Republican ticket was a vote for absolute rejection of the League.

"The Ellots and the Fishers and the Parsons packed their trunks and departed and told why they had to leave the party, because it was against the League. Harding in his speeches, particularly at Des Moines, and in his speech at Akron, at the very close of the campaign, accepted the

issue. Republican speakers almost universally accepted it.

"The people rendered judgment. It was the triumph of nationalism. It was not a victory of the Republican Party, but the American people, because hundreds of thousands of Democrats voted the Republican ticket. It was an absolute rejection of all political alliances of leagues with foreign powers. It is a rededication of the nation to the foreign policy of George Washington and James Monroe, undiluted and unmeasured. The Republican Party, in my opinion, will accept the judgment as rendered and religiously live up to it."

Senator Johnson's Interpretation

Senator Hiram W. Johnson, of California, interviewed in San Francisco November 3, said:

"No amount of sophistry or pretense can obscure the issue in yesterday's election. Men and women who bear the burden and pay the price of war finally have had the opportunity to pass upon the foreign policy of their country. On the one hand was the internationalism of the League of Nations, and on the other the American policy of Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe.

"The menacing, dangerous, and entangling League has been emphatically and overwhelmingly repudiated. Sons and daughters of America have determined America shall remain the nation we have known, continuing steadfastly in the old path that led to our present greatness and glory.

"It's the end of the League of Nations; it's the recrudescence of Americanism. The victory of Senator Harding is the response of the American spirit to the endeavor to denationalize it."

Senator Reed's Diagnosis

Senator Reed, of Missouri, a Democrat and unvarying opponent of the League, said:

"The American people refused to haul down the American flag. It was the tragic mistake of supporting the League issue that split the Democratic Party and resulted in a Republican victory."

Mr. Taft's Comments

Ex-President Taft, in an interview, November 3, said:

"The issue has been Article X, although efforts have been made to focus the League fight elsewhere. My view is that the American people disapprove of Article X unless adequately safeguarded. If it is inserted at all, it must be so qualified as to postpone its obligations as regards the United States until some specific case shall arise which calls for an American decision; and then, in the face of a concrete case, Congress, acting under its war power, shall determine the country's course. This would be a colorless provision, and it is probably preferable that Article X be eliminated entirely, as far as the United States is concerned.

"Article X is President Wilson's provision, and neither England nor France have wanted it. With Harding elected, there should be little difficulty in agreeing on an association which will contain all the good things of the Covenant—disarmament, arbitration, mediation, and effective penalties for going to war before arbitration has been thoroughly tried.

"The Republican platform is clear, and Senator Harding has made himself clear, regarding our part in an association of nations, and I believe there is no chance of our holding aloof."

Ex-Attorney General Wickersham, a Republican champion of the League, says:

"I do not believe that the result of the election is that the Treaty of Versailles is scrapped. An agreement to which so many nations have given their assent cannot lightly be abandoned. But the countries dominant in the League will, of course, be reasonable, and the representatives of the United States under the new Administration will also, I believe, be reasonable, and a conclusion will be reached under which technical as well as actual peace will be realized

with honor, and the United States will discharge its moral obligations to the other nations of the world. I have firmly believed this would be the case, and for that reason I have consistently supported the Republican ticket throughout the campaign."

As Home Journalists See It

"It was they [the plain people] . . . who saw at a glance the misty shadow of super-government of Geneva."—*Boston Transcript*.

"Discontent with the Wilson Administration, racial opposition to the alleged effects of the League—these obviously were the prime causes of the avalanche which swept Senator Harding to victory."—*The Springfield Republican*.

"As we see it now, any man in the Presidency and any party in power would have met the same punishment that was meted out yesterday. . . . Any Administration that conducted the war would now be the target of the bewildering number of protests that merged yesterday into one gigantic protest."—*New York Evening Post*.

"The magnitude of the majority for Mr. Harding is sufficiently explained by this demonstration of interest in alien causes. It was foreseen, it was well understood, it was known, that it would bring millions of voters. The League of Nations' issue, the only one upon which the Democrats could have made any respectable showing, was altogether submerged by this tidal wave."—*The New York Times*.

"After 140 years of self-government, this country has not decided to take in half a hundred bankrupt partners to be managed by them.

"The United States has voted for government of this country by this country.

"The fourteen points are dead.

"The League of Nations, as regards this country, is dead.

"Europe has been notified that she must fight her own fights, if she cannot make up her mind to keep the peace."—*New York American*.

"The American people wanted a change, and they have voted for a change. They did not know what kind of a change they wanted, and they do not know today what kind of a change they voted for. All of the restlessness and discontent bred of the war has finally found expression at the ballot-box. . . . If Mr. Root and Mr. Taft and their friends gain the ascendancy, they will control the foreign policy. If Senator Borah and the Battalion of Death gain control, they will dominate the foreign policy. . . . Every reason that existed yesterday in favor of ratification of the covenant exists today. . . . Hundreds of thousands of the friends of the League voted for Mr. Harding in the belief that he and his associates had told them the truth. The record is made and the obligation must be redeemed or they, too, will have been convicted of defrauding both the living and the dead."—*New York World*.

Public Opinion Abroad

The various points of view of the press of Germany are indicated in the following quotations from the Berlin press:

"Mr. Harding will play politics and mix in world affairs only so far as they concern American interests."—*The Lokal-Anzeiger*.

"If today we shake hands in spirit with President-elect Harding across the sea, it is because we see in him a man who can quickly bring us peace with union, and who has the vision and desire for a better League of Nations."—*The Tageblatt*.

"That the United States should not sign the Versailles Treaty is far more important for us than she should enter the League of Nations. That will be better for our commercial relations. The Versailles hangmen must be made to recognize that Germany will regard those who signed the treaty of murder far differently from those who did not."—*The Kreuz-Zeitung*.

"To hope anything for Germany from this result would be foolish. The utmost we could expect is that instead of making life impossible, as Wilson did, his successor probably will not display a great interest in whether we can or cannot exist."—*The Zeitung am Mittag*.

British opinion is reflected in the following quotations:

"America intends to let the rest of the world sink or swim, as it may. The United States is tired of war, Europe, the Versailles Treaty, President Wilson, and all that President Wilson represents. All German and Irish enemies of England represented the League of Nations as an English dodge to entrap the United States. And so participation of the great Republic in the pacification of the world is greatly delayed."—*The Star (London)*.

"In electing Mr. Harding, the American people declared emphatically for a spell of conservatism in home politics and cautious Americanism in the world outlook. The defeat of Cox condemns the League of Nations as constructed at Versailles. But, while Mr. Harding discards the League, he and his party are aware that the United States must sooner or later take their part in settling the troubles of the Old World."—*The Daily Mail (London)*.

"It is well to bear in mind, however, that millions of Americans who believe that the United States should and will indorse the League of Nations, with certain reservations, voted for Harding yesterday.

"Faced not with an election to win, but with a world which is to be given over to war or bound over to keep the peace, the new President and the new Republican Administration will probably not fail in its duty to the paramount interests of civilization."—*The Star (Toronto)*.

"The main political motive for the electors' choice is, by general assent, accumulated dislike of Wilsonism and not love of Harding and his party. . . . The national repudiation marks a tragic change from those weeks in the autumn of 1913 when the material power of America was deciding the world war and her foremost mind was leading the world toward such a peace as might have given us a tranquil, swiftly convalescent world instead of the present world's fair of spites, greed, and suspicions between nations, and disunion inside each of them. The soiled, scarred old world of international politics seemed to be on the eve of redemption on the day when the news came that Germany would surrender on the basis of Wilson's fourteen points.

"In what proportion a want of dynamic genius in President Wilson and an irredeemable viciousness of spirit in other politicians contribute to darken that opening prospect we cannot tell yet. It is gone now. Europe is snarling, grabbing, and jockeying in the old slime, while all the remaining effect of Wilsonism in America is the decision of the presidential election by an overwhelming balance of public antipathy to it. The story is that of one of the most pitiful of all failures in the execution of a task nobly conceived."—*The Guardian (Manchester)*.

The French press generally interprets the decision as hostile to the League:

"The election may be considered as a referendum on the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations, the result of which is a personal defeat for President Wilson."—*La Temps*.

"American common sense has condemned Eutopia in all its forms. From an international standpoint, the day was a bad day for socialism and the society of nations, the consequence of which will be felt throughout the world."—*La Liberte*.

"Does the fact that America has abandoned the Wilsonian League of Nations mean that America has adopted an abstention from the affairs of Europe? . . . We are not of that opinion. The United States can take part in the affairs of the old continent in two ways: they can aggravate and

complicate them with disordered dreams, with humanitarianism, with their Biblical reformations and their Bolshevism; that was the method of the government that succumbed yesterday; or they can help in settling, in concert with us, certain concrete problems."—*Pertinax*, in "*Echo de Paris*."

"It is a League of Nations which will work that we expect from you. That one which has been built is a heavy and unwieldy carcass, in which there are no characteristics—life, rapidity, and fairness. Change it and put into it the qualities of your race."—*Stephane Lauzanne*, in "*Le Matin*."

Significant opinions from the press of other nations interested follows:

"The first natural reaction against the autocratic tendencies and international tendencies of President Wilson."—*The Bund (Berne, Switzerland)*.

"President Wilson's exemption of the Monroe Doctrine reduced the League's proposed effectiveness 50 per cent, and if Mr. Harding insists on further reservations the League will be seriously imperilled."—*Jiji Shimpo (Tokyo, Japan)*.

"If Mr. Harding picks men like Elihu Root and William H. Taft, then we can expect the United States in the League of Nations soon. If he picks Senators Johnson and Borah, then the United States will be out of the League for a long time."—*The Vaderland (The Hague, Holland)*.

"Many people in the United States have believed that the various South American countries, members of the League, would withdraw in order to follow the policy inspired by the United States, and contrary, naturally, to the League. The declaration on the Monroe Doctrine Senator Harding made to the correspondent of *La Nacion* hardly seems an adequate cause for the South American members of the League to abandon it. In effect, Senator Harding told our correspondent that the Monroe Doctrine was not an international pact or agreement, but a declaration of policy by the United States which promised protection against abuses or aggression by European nations, precisely an interpretation which causes the greatest resistance from most, if not all, of these countries, and which is contrary to the interpretation President Wilson has given, according to which the doctrine established among the American nations a most perfect equality, an equality that cannot exist if the question of protection that is not asked is the product entirely of the one-sided resolution of a power declaring itself the protector against dangers in which no one believes."—*From La Nacion (Buenos Aires)*.

On November 5 the President-elect issued from his home in Marion the following statement:

President-elect Plans for Conference

"Senator Harding let it be known today he is sending out a number of requests for personal and very informal conferences with men and women who have been eminent in the discussion of our foreign relations. These conferences will take place upon his return to Marion in December, and will be individual and personal, with the main purpose of learning what policy may enlist united support.

"Senator Harding means to avoid any unseemly anticipation, but he feels it wholly becoming to get an expression entirely free from campaign bias, and to get it at the earliest possible day. It is the first step toward the meeting of minds of which Senator Harding so frequently spoke during the campaign. He did not make public any list because it will not be complete before his vacation ends."

THE HARDING-WILSON CORRESPONDENCE

One incident of the campaign which attracted some attention at home and abroad, and brought from the French Government a formal disclaimer, was the correspondence between the Republican candidate and President Wilson,

arising from reported comments of the former upon France's attitude toward the League.

The letter of the President to Senator Harding follows:

"EIGHTEENTH OF OCTOBER, 1920.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"In the *New York Times* of yesterday, Sunday, October 17, 1920, I find a dispatch dated St. Louis, October 16, which purports to report recent public utterances of yours. In it occurs the following:

"Replying to criticisms of his proposal for an association of nations, he said in a rear-platform speech at Greencastle, Ind., that he already had been approached informally by a representative of France, who asked that the United States lead the way to a world fraternity."

"I write to ask if this is a correct quotation and if you really said what is there accredited to you. I need not point out to you the grave and extraordinary inferences to be drawn from such a statement, namely, that the Government of France, which is a member of the League of Nations, approached private citizens of a nation, which is not a member of the League, with a request 'that the United States lead the way to a world fraternity.' The Department of State has always found the Government of France most honorably mindful of its international obligations and punctiliously careful to observe all the proprieties of international intercourse.

"I hesitate, therefore, to draw the inference to which I have referred unless I am assured by you that you actually made this statement.

"Very truly yours.

"WOODROW WILSON."

Senator Harding's Answer

The text of Senator Harding's letter sent in reply to one from the President, asking whether the Senator had been correctly quoted in his Greencastle speech, is as follows:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"I have before me a press copy of your letter to me of this date, though I am not in receipt of the original copy. I am glad to make a prompt reply.

"It is very gratifying that you hesitate to draw inferences without my assurance that I am correctly quoted. The quotation as reported in your letter is not exact. The notes of the stenographer reporting my remarks quote me as saying: 'France has sent her spokesmen to me informally, asking America in its new realization of the situation to lead the way for an association of nations.'

"I am sure that my words could not be construed to say that the French Government had sent anybody to me. The thought I was trying to convey was that there had come to me those who spoke a sentiment which they represented to be very manifest among the French people, but nothing could suggest the French Government having violated the proprieties of international relations. Official France would never seek to go over your high office as our chief executive to appeal to the American people or any portion thereof.

"I can see no impropriety in private citizens of France, or in Americans deeply friendly to France, expressing to me their understanding of sentiment in that friendly republic.

"It is not important enough to discuss, perhaps, but I very respectfully urge that an informal expression to me is rather more than that to a private citizen. I hold a place as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, which is charged with certain constitutional authority in dealing with foreign relations, and I am necessarily conscious that I am the nominee of the Republican Party for President of our Republic.

"In the combination of these positions it ought not to be unseemly that some very devoted friend of a new and better relationship among nations, no matter whence they come, should wish to advise me relating to aspirations to cooperate with our own Republic in attaining that high purpose. Let me assure you again of the observance of all the proprieties and again assert that the French Government has maintained that great respect for your position to which I myself subscribe.

"With great respect, I am very truly,

"WARREN G. HARDING."

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Following prolonged and intimate consultations relative to the proposed restrictive legislation of California, and on the eve of the vote by the people of that State on the amendments which Japan deems hostile in their intent, Under-Secretary of State Davis, of the Department of State, on November 1 issued the following statement:

"The movement in California to recast the State laws affecting alien land tenure has been receiving since its inception the close and interested attention of the Department of State. The relations of certain treaty provisions to the proposed measure is being discussed clearly and ably in California and will doubtless prove an element in the State's decision as to the adoption or rejection of the proposed measure.

"In the meantime the department has had numerous discussions of the most friendly and candid nature with the Ambassador of Japan, and it is believed he thoroughly realizes, as we have sought to make clear, that no outcome of the California movement will be acceptable to the country at large that does not accord with existing and applicable provisions of law, and, what is equally important, with the national instinct of justice."

On November 2 the voters in California, in a ratio of 2 to 1, approved the proposed restrictive laws governing aliens' rights to hold property. At this writing it seems likely that an appeal to the Federal Supreme Court will be taken on the issue of the constitutionality of the discriminating legislation. Meantime the Japanese Government is bringing pressure on the home press to lessen attacks on the United States; and negotiations between Tokyo and Washington are proceeding for a new treaty governing immigration.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' APPEAL

Having, through a special commission, made careful investigation of the conditions that have increased friction between the United States and Japan since 1914, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, through its Commission on Relations with the Orient, has put forth the following appeal:

Japan and California are both intensely aroused over the problems, discussions, and political programs connected with the presence of Japanese in California. This commission was established by the Federal Council in 1914, in order to examine the entire question of American relations with Asia and Asiatics from the standpoint of Christian principles, with a view to promoting a solution in accord with these principles. For six years it has been steadily dealing with this problem.

I. It is pertinent, therefore, for this commission to call upon all men of good will, both in America and Japan—

1. To refuse to be stampeded into precipitate action by the vote-catching propaganda politicians, who appeal to race prejudice and strive to arouse mob feeling.

2. To urge that all the facts be taken into consideration. Partisan statements of any group are to be discounted.

3. To await the results of the conference of their responsible representatives in Washington and Tokyo.

II. To Americans this commission would state:

1. While the local stress of the Japanese problem in California is not easily appreciated by States not similarly affected, we should all remember that the question has international aspects of the gravest import in which the whole nation has a right to be heard. California's legitimate ends can best be secured through Washington. We therefore urge California to work out its local problem in the closest cooperation with the Department of State. Any other method is bound, sooner or later, to involve our country in international complications.

2. Only the patient exercise of the principles of honor, justice, and fair play between nations and races can afford

any real or permanent solution to a confessedly difficult problem. We wish to urge every effort to avoid humiliating race-discriminatory laws, which will only aggravate the situation.

3. The victory of the growing liberal movement in Japan, which has been battling valiantly against a long dominant arbitrary military bureaucracy, is essential, if Japan is to enter into right relations with the rest of the world; yet that victory is endangered by unjust anti-Japanese agitation and legislation in America.

4. Americans should keep clearly in mind certain important facts. The total population of California, for instance, has increased in ten years by 1,048,987, while the Japanese population has increased about 38,500, chiefly by births. This is 3.6 per cent of the whole increase. The entire Japanese population in California (approximately 80,000) is but 2.3 per cent of the whole population. Out of 11,389,894 acres under cultivation, Japanese own 74,769 acres, which is six-tenths of one per cent (.006). They also cultivate on lease or crop-contract 383,287 acres, which is 3.3 per cent. As for Japanese births in California, in 1917 they numbered 4,108 to 47,313 whites, or 8.7 per cent. Such facts do not warrant the assertion of agitators.

III. To the Japanese this commission would state:

1. The great body of citizens throughout the United States, particularly those in the churches for whom we are entitled to speak, stands for justice and fair play in the relations of the two countries and in the treatment of Japanese in America.

2. Expressions in Japan of confidence in America's sense of honor, justice, and humanity are highly appreciated here. We confidently believe that a large body in America will exert itself to take such steps for the fundamental solution of the American-Japanese problem as will ultimately justify that confidence.

3. At the same time it should be clearly understood in Japan as well as in America that the question is by no means so simple or so easy of solution as extremists of either side usually represent. The misunderstandings, the misrepresentations, and the wrong-doing are not all on one side. To set matters right, not only a new treaty but proper legislation is needed, both in Tokyo and in Washington.

4. Japanese also need to keep certain facts clearly in mind. Because of their presence in large numbers in California, Californians are confronted with real difficulties that call for real solution. Japanese have settled in several rather restricted, fertile, agricultural areas, tending to form "colonies" relatively impervious to Americanization and where the white population constitutes a minority. For this "colonization" the Californians are, indeed, in part responsible, since the strong opposition of a different social group has tended to prevent their wider distribution. It nevertheless constitutes a serious factor in the situation. Some Japanese, moreover, have evaded the spirit and purpose of our laws, especially in the matter of immigrant smuggling. And there is also the delicate patriotic question of the double allegiance of American-born Japanese children. These facts are widely felt to create an ominous situation, requiring thoroughgoing legislative remedies. Japanese should be reminded, moreover, that a very considerable group in California earnestly desires to have these problems solved in ways that are at once honorable for Japan and safe for California.

IV. In conclusion, we urge all men of good will, both in America and Japan, to join in expecting the best and not the worst and in finding a real solution. For this, time and patience, open-mindedness and sincerity, with friendly hearts and wise heads, are absolutely necessary. Legislation in Tokyo and in Washington, after mutual conference and agreement, should be enacted to rectify the difficulties of double allegiance, of local congestion, and of immigration, of principles that are just and honorable for all.

From California to Texas the anti-Japanese campaign now moves, and plans for the introduction of restrictive legislation at the State capital at Austin at the coming session of the legislature are maturing. In Japan, likewise, the friction is increasing, and student bodies have been debating the issue of war with the United States.

HAITI, THE UNITED STATES, AND JUSTICE

Inquiry as to the methods used by officials of the United States and marines of the navy serving in Haiti has been ordered by Secretary Daniels, of the Navy, in the following document summoning a court to assemble:

To Rear Admiral Henry T. Mayo, U. S. Navy.

Subject: Court of inquiry to inquire into the alleged indiscriminate killing of Haitians and unjustifiable acts by members of the U. S. naval service, including those detailed to duty with the gendarmerie d'Haiti against the persons and property of Haitians since the American occupation, July 28, 1915.

1. A court of inquiry, consisting of yourself as president, and of Rear Admiral James H. Oliver, U. S. Navy, and Major General W. C. Neville, U. S. Marine Corps, as additional members, and of Major Jesse F. Dyer, U. S. Marine Corps, as judge advocate, is hereby ordered to convene at the Navy Department, Washington, D. C., at 10 o'clock a. m. Friday, October 22, 1920, or as soon thereafter as practicable, and thereafter to meet at such places as may be deemed necessary, to inquire into the question of the conduct of the personnel of the U. S. naval service in Haiti since the navy were landed in that country, on July 28, 1915, with a view to determining whether any unjustifiable homicides have been committed by any of such personnel; whether any other unjustifiable acts of oppression or of violence have been perpetrated against any of the citizens of Haiti or any unjustifiable damage or destruction of their property has occurred. In case the court finds that any of the above-mentioned unjustifiable acts have been committed by any of such personnel, the court will so report in its findings and will further report as to the degree of responsibility attached to each and every person immediately or mediately responsible for such unjustifiable acts, and if further proceedings should be had in the matter. If further proceedings are recommended the court will comply with the provisions of section 523, Naval Courts and Boards, 1917.

2. The court will include in its findings its conclusions as to whether "practically indiscriminate killing of natives has been going on for some time," as alleged in the letter from Brigadier General George Barnett, U. S. Marine Corps, to Colonel John H. Russell, U. S. Marine Corps.

3. The attention of the court is particularly invited to section 511, Naval Courts and Boards, 1917.

(Signed)

JOSEPHUS DANIELS,

Secretary of the Navy.

Attacks on the policy of the United States in Haiti and charges against the officials executing that policy had been published in *The Nation* prior to this action by the navy's head. Action was forced by publicity given to a report by Brigadier General George Barnett, formerly commandant of the Marine Corps, the method by which report was given to the press not being disclosed. In this document he cited charges of "indiscriminate killing of natives," made by counsel in a specific case that he had investigated in Haiti, which charges he seemed to accept as true. General Barnett also alluded to a report of General John H. Russell on insular conditions—a report that had been sent to the Washington headquarters of the Marine Corps, but which was not on file then.

Action also was rendered imperative by comments upon the Haitian situation by clergymen of churches on the island returning to the United States and stating their convictions; and the necessity of fullest investigation was seen when the President of the Republic, in November, ventured to tell his version of the political and economic situation in the island.

One of the essential documents in the case, so far as it sheds light on details of administration of the Marine Corps and its relation to the Navy Department, is Colonel Russell's report, above referred to.

GENERAL RUSSELL'S REPORT

The text of this report by General Russell (for a history of it, see Secretary Daniels' statement) is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST PROVISIONAL BRIGADE,

U. S. MARINE CORPS, PORT AU PRINCE,

REPUBLIC OF HAITI, March 13, 1920.

Confidential.

From the Brigade Commander.

To the Major General Commandant.

Subject: Report of investigation of certain irregularities alleged to have been committed by officers and enlisted men in the Republic of Haiti.

1. From a careful reading and study of the attached testimony, statements, and other papers, I am reluctantly forced to the opinion that Major Clarke H. Wells, former gendarmerie department commander in northern Haiti, is responsible for the conditions in northern Haiti as found by Brigadier General Catlin on his inspection of the Hinche-Maïssade districts in March, 1919, if such conditions were not actually due to his orders and instructions.

2. I am further of the opinion that these gendarmerie officers under Major Wells' command who were enlisted men in the Marine Corps, on duty in said districts, were acting in accordance with what they believed to be the policy of their department commander.

3. It is difficult to believe that Captain Doxey was not fully aware of Major Wells' policy and of the existing orders and conditions in the Hinche-Maïssade district.

4. There is a doubt, however, in my mind, as to whether or not the evidence as here brought out is sufficient to warrant a trial before a general court-martial on charges of such a serious nature. It is extremely doubtful if further evidence can be procured.

5. The event referred to herein occurred over a year ago. Many changes have taken place in the personnel of the gendarmerie since that time. Nearly all the interested parties have either returned to the United States or been discharged from the service. Mr. Lavole (former captain G. D. H. and private, U. S. M. C.) has left the service and Haiti and his whereabouts is unknown.

6. It is therefore recommended that these papers be referred to the office of the Judge Advocate General, U. S. Navy, where the sworn statements and other evidence may be carefully sifted and weighed with a view of determining whether or not it is sufficient to warrant a trial.

7. If the decision is in the affirmative, it is requested that specimen charges and specifications be prepared by the Judge Advocate General's Office, and that a competent officer be assigned to temporary duty with this brigade to act as judge advocate of the court. At present there is no officer attached to the brigade who is considered to have sufficient legal knowledge to conduct a trial, to the best interest of the government, where skilled opposing counsel is present.

8. The return to Haiti of all witnesses and interested parties would, of course, be necessary.

JOHN H. RUSSELL.

As soon as the Navy Department faced the charges of General Barnett it acted vigorously, recalling him from San Francisco to Washington to testify and making provision for a court of inquiry, which was organized promptly and began its work by massing of the "documents in the case" on file in Washington, preparatory to examination of such witnesses as were in the country. Later it will proceed to Haiti.

Upon his arrival in Washington from California, General Barnett issued the following statement:

"I have consistently refrained from giving out any information and from granting any interviews on the Haitian situation. Any action taken by me as the commandant of the corps was taken considering only the good of the corps and the proper performance of duty by the corps to which I

am so proud to belong. My official letter of September 27, 1919, covered the case fully, but at the request of the Secretary of the Navy I should like to make it clear that the statement in my letter of October 2, 1919, as follows, namely: 'A statement by counsel showed me that practically indiscriminate killing of natives,' etc., was meant by me to express 'without due process of law' and not, as seems now to be misinterpreted, as 'promiscuous'; and I further meant, of course, that such 'statement of counsel' would have weight in my mind only when proved, and in order to have him prove or disprove the truth of these statements I wrote the letter of October 2, 1919, to the brigade commander. I am a soldier and not an author. I feel certain that the brigade commander to whom the letter was written fully understood my meaning."

Testifying before the special court of inquiry, October 27, General Barnett corrected a previous statement that a total of 3,250 natives had been killed in action or otherwise during the five years of occupation. He had learned from the historical division of the corps that the total was 2,250. He said that the statement of counsel and the testimony in the court-martial cases of two privates of the Marine Corps had so shocked him that he had ordered further investigation; and he said, also, that by "indiscriminate killing" he had not meant "promiscuous killing," but "rather executions without judgment."

SECRETARY DANIELS' STATEMENT

Secretary Daniels' comment on the situation is appended.

"This report of General Barnett, made public the day after I received it, was the first intimation that ever came to me that anybody had ever said there had been 'indiscriminate killings' by marines or the gendarmerie in Haiti. That expression was contained in a letter marked 'Confidential,' written by General Barnett to General Russell. General Barnett reported to me on January 12, 1920, that apparently certain marines in Haiti had been guilty of unlawful acts in the latter part of September, 1919. On the day he brought this reprehensible conduct to my attention he recommended an investigation. We were both indignant that any few men wearing the honorable uniform of a marine should be guilty of the offenses General Barnett called to my attention. I immediately personally directed immediate and full investigation, and, as General Barnett says, in my own handwriting wrote this endorsement on his recommendation:

"The action taken is approved and the department desires that this investigation be expedited and proper steps be taken in accordance with the views expressed above.

'JOSEPHUS DANIELS.'

"In his report, published last week, General Barnett says that late in September, 1919, the cases of Johnson and McQuilkin, for 'unlawful executions,' came to his attention and on October 2, 1919, he says he wrote of these unlawful acts to General Russell and in that letter said: 'The court-martial of one private for the killing of a native brought out a statement by his counsel which showed me that practically indiscriminate killing of natives had gone on for some time.' I never knew of the existence of that letter or heard of any 'indiscriminate killings' until I read General Barnett's report this week, and I am sure he never meant to convey what these words have been interpreted to mean. When he called my attention to several cases I approved his suggestion that the matter be gone into thoroughly and that all guilty parties be punished. He ordered the investigation. I supposed, of course, that the order for investigation and the trial of the guilty parties had proceeded in accordance with my direction until August, when inquiry was made as to the cases. No report could be found in the Marine Corps headquarters, and a cablegram was sent to General Russell in Haiti to ask about the result of the investigation of those cases. He wired that the report had been mailed in March. When it could not be found I directed General Lejeune and General Butler to proceed to Haiti to make an investiga-

tion. They did so and brought back with them a copy of General Russell's report.

"That report should have reached marine headquarters in April and action should have taken place at once, but General Barnett never received it and I obtained the copy only when General Lejeune and General Butler brought it with them from Haiti this month."

THE FUTURE

H. J. Seligman, whose writings on the situation in Haiti first directed the attention of some Liberals and Radicals to acts which he believed to be indefensible, has said to a *New York Evening Post* interviewer that he has no desire to see the marines withdrawn or the United States give over its trusteeship. He only wants decent treatment of the natives and actions by the United States consonant with its high-sounding professions of morality.

Rear-Admiral Knapp, who has recently investigated conditions in Haiti, in a statement made public October 20, says that "all the good accomplished in Haiti as a result of American intervention will be lost if the United States withdraws its military forces for a great many years to come." He says that "the actions of some individual Americans may in some cases have been unworthy," but he also declares that "to hold the greater number of able and conscientious American officials responsible for the actions of a few would be entirely unfair."

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

During the provisional presidency of De la Huerta, and especially since the success of General Obregon in the presidential election, negotiations between the United States and Mexico looking to a settlement of outstanding issues have been under way, and with a spirit of good will on both sides. The internal stability of Mexico has been such as to encourage the Department of State in Washington to proceed with alacrity toward a solution that would justify recognition of the new Mexican Government, and the messengers sent from Mexico to Washington to arrange details have shown tact and a willingness to admit the American point of view.

On October 29 Secretary Colby issued a statement, printed herewith, which pointed clearly to impending action by the United States that would almost certainly be followed by recognition of the incoming Obregon administration by Europe as well as by the United States. He explained that this course was predicated on pledges given by the De Huerta Government, through a special commissioner, Mr. R. V. Pesquera, whose statement to the Department of State also is reprinted.

Our readers will be interested to note the detail of this correspondence, which shows that the two republics are planning to leave to arbitral proceedings solution of matters not capable of settlement by diplomacy.

MR. PESQUEIRA'S PLEDGES

"DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

"While the informal and frank conversations I have had with Mr. Norman Davis, the under-Secretary of State, have resulted in a cordial and thorough understanding, I beg the liberty of putting on paper the exact position and definite desires of my government.

"As you know, and as the United States must see, it is a new Mexico that faces the world in pride and confidence. From border to border there is peace. Not a single rebel

remains in arms against the federal government, and a whole nation thinks in terms of law and order and reconstruction. On September 5 our citizens cast their votes in due accord with democratic procedure, and Alvaro Obregon, the great soldier-statesman, chosen to be President, is supported not only by a coalition of parties, but by a union of faith and patriotism.

"What you may not know, however, is the new spirit that animates my country. It is not only the case that our men and women have come to a deep and lasting realization what Mexico owes to the idealism of President Wilson, so nobly and patiently exhibited in the unhappy years during which our oppressed millions fought against the injustices which weighed them down for centuries; it is equally true that they have thrilled to the world vision of the President his tremendous ideal of universal fraternity.

"Mexico today is not merely planning a future of happiness and justice for all within her borders. Out of our new strength we are willing and eager to play our proper part in the creation of a new and better order that will lift ancient burdens from the back of humanity.

"A first task, of course, is firm and enduring friendship between Mexico and the United States. Not only are we neighbors, but every other consideration points to the wisdom of an understanding that goes beyond mere treaties and sinks its roots into the heart of each nation. We have the same political institutions, the same aspirations, the same ideals, the same goals.

"Such a friendship is fast forming. The governors of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, your border States, have already stretched out the hand of friendship, voluntarily telegraphing the President as to their faith in the stability, honesty, and sincerity of my government.

"Our business is to set this friendship on foundations so firm that it cannot be shaken by the attack of reaction. Permit me, therefore, to deal in detail with certain slanders that have not only prejudiced the people of the United States, but which have aroused much bitterness in my own country.

"Mexico cannot but feel deeply aggrieved over the charge that she intends or has ever intended to disavow her obligations. President de la Huerta as well as President-elect Obregon have on repeated occasions publicly declared that Mexico will respect all rightful claims, duly proved as such, submitting herself to the recognized principles of international law.

"The Mexican Government is prepared to establish a joint arbitration commission to pass upon and adjudicate the claims presented by foreigners on account of damages occasioned during the revolution. Any claim that cannot be adjusted by means of direct negotiations between the claimant and the Mexican Government will be submitted to the consideration of this commission, whose decisions will be deemed final and binding.

"Mexico has likewise held that, in order to place international relations on a solid foundation, the existence of a permanent machinery of arbitration is essential for the purpose of deciding any difference. As regards the United States specifically, Mexico has already expressed her intention in Article XXI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and is prepared to enlarge and strengthen this machinery.

"Our plan is to establish a national program based on order and justice. It is our firm belief that the people of North America are just as faithful to their own high ideals. Hence nothing could better shield the dignity of both republics, as nothing could be more efficacious for the continuance of peaceful relations, than the operation of a commission of this nature, organized in accordance with recognized international practices.

"This policy should be made permanent, and the Mexican Government desires to co-operate so far as may be useful toward this end.

"Another cause of deep national resentment for the Mexican Government is the oft-repeated assertion that our laws are of a retroactive and confiscatory nature, and that our national program is based on a policy of confiscation. This is entirely groundless. Not one square yard of land has been confiscated in Mexico, not a single legitimate right of property has been annulled. Nor do we intend to deviate from

this fundamental policy. President de la Huerta and President-elect Obregon have also made public declarations to the effect that Article XXVII of the Mexican Federal Constitution is not and must not be interpreted as retroactive or violative of valid property rights.

"We are a proud people, and the source of our pride is as high a conception of national honor as was ever erected by any nation. Therefore, sir, when the Mexican Government declares that it is willing and ready to assume full responsibility for all of its international obligations, it is a solemn pledge that will be kept to the letter.

"Present conditions in Mexico—the stability of the government, the spirit of the people—together with the plain statement of a sovereign people's purpose, all combine, it seems to me, to end misunderstanding, and I have the hope that your government will feel justified in recognizing the present government of Mexico and in resuming official relations in order that, with a spirit of true friendship and co-operation, we may look forward to the necessary rehabilitation of Mexico.

"Please permit me to thank you for your courtesies and never-failing understanding. In the spirit of your great President, you have not lacked in the appreciation of our struggle for liberty, nor have you ever lost sight of the fact that the sovereignty of Mexico is the most sacred possession of our people. It is because of this attitude that I am able to write to you in such frankness and such sureness that you will understand this letter to be no mere political utterance, but the honest expression of an honest friendship.

"Respectfully,

"R. V. PESQUEIRA."

SECRETARY COLBY'S COMMENT AND PROPHECY

"The discussions which have for some time been in progress with Mr. Pesqueira, representing the Mexican Government, give promise of a speedy and happy outcome. The letter which he has addressed to me, and which I am today giving out for publication, is a very significant, and I may add a very gratifying and reassuring, statement of the attitude and purposes of the new Government of Mexico.

"Mr. Pesqueira came to Washington bearing the fullest powers to speak and act on behalf of his government and has exhibited throughout the course of the discussions a complete realization of Mexico's international obligations, just as his letter reflects clearly the firm resolve of his government to discharge them.

"I think I am warranted in saying that the Mexican question will soon cease to be a question at all, inasmuch as it is about to be answered, not only as it concerns the United States, but, indeed, the whole world as well.

"The new Government of Mexico has given indications of stability, sincerity, and a creditable sensitiveness to its duties and their just performance. While the full protection of valid American interests, which is clearly enjoined upon us as a duty, has at all times been a matter of primary concern to us, I may say that on the part of this country there has been no attempt to prescribe rigid and definite terms upon which a recognition of the Mexican Government would be expressly conditioned.

"This we have deemed wholly unnecessary, and the disavowal of the Mexican representative of any policy of repudiation of obligation or confiscation of property or vested rights, either through retroactive legislation or future regulations, has the added value of being spontaneous and unprompted.

"There are certain pending matters in controversy between the two governments and our respective nationals, but these will be determined either by agreement or by the process of arbitration, to which Mexico is prepared to yield complete assent.

"The letter of Mr. Pesqueira offers a basis upon which the preliminaries to recognition can confidently proceed, and I am hopeful that within a short time the sympathetic friendship and the patient forbearance which President Wilson has manifested toward the Mexican people during the long period of their internal disorders will be fully vindicated. The desire reflected in Mr. Pesqueira's letter for the confidence and amicable regard of the United States is fully

reciprocated, and I am happy to believe that the last cloud upon the ancient friendship of the two peoples is soon to disappear."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE INTERNATIONAL PASSPORT CONFERENCE, which sat in Paris during the latter part of October, had representatives of twenty-six nations present. Recommendations were made embodying changes which, if adopted by governments, will very markedly better conditions that have made travel more or less a nightmare for tourists and for business men since the war ceased; and by the beginning of the tourist season of 1921 it is hoped that Europe will have returned to something like its pre-war state, though from the standpoint of idealism even that was far from satisfactory. The conference adjourned to meet in Barcelona, Spain, in January, when it is hoped that final action can be taken in the light of sympathetic co-operation by governments. Though the United States was not represented at this conference, its findings are to be sent to the Department of State, and the requisite action is expected from the Western Republic. Post-war restrictions in this realm have been partly due to fear, partly to a desire to increase national income by excessive fees, and partly to the existence of the Russian propaganda using persons who deliberately practice fraud.

REDUCTION OF NAVIES, following the Peace Conference, has not proceeded apace save where compulsory, as with Germany. Great Britain, to her credit, seems to be going about it in a more thoroughgoing fashion than any of the Allies, though even in her case it is more a process of "scrapping" outgrown or wornout craft than it is any serious diminution of her fighting strength. Chile has been conspicuous in this form of merchandising with Great Britain. In Japan and in the United States there has been steady increase of the navy, and these rivals in Pacific waters are proceeding on programs involving heavier taxation to meet new construction. The United States has advertised for sale five war ships which saw service in the Spanish-American war, and also a rather large fleet of small auxiliary craft used during the late war for scouting and similar service. The latter will find purchasers in the home market. The war ships may go, as some of Great Britain's have, to the lesser powers. Early in November the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Holland announced that Holland, relying on the League of Nations to proceed with its disarmament plans, planned at once to reduce its already small naval force.

THE EGOISM OF THE CAUCASIAN is well described by Sir Henry Johnston, writing in the *Manchester Guardian* and reviewing Lothrop Stoddard's book, "The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy." There is no Briton who knows better the facts and the implications of race contacts within the British Empire than this veteran civil servant, student of the sciences, and writer of clever novels. He says:

The colored people have acquired, through the missionary, the white man's education and knowledge. They are refusing serfdom; they are aspiring to equality of status and opportunity. There would be little to terrify us in all this were

we not so deeply attached to a pink-and-white skin as the hall-marks of gentility, of race dominance. Once we would agree to regard complexions of ivory-yellow, of pale buff, of bronze or chocolate-brown as equally beautiful with a white skin that shows through it the warm color of the blood, there would be nothing more to fuss about. All mankind would mingle, and in a few hundred years there would be but one physical type of man-god on the planet. But that is just where the white man will not yield. His women may occasionally, as in Shakespeare's time, look favorably on the burnished livery of the sun or the lineaments and strength of an Othello. But the white man says—so far as he expresses the policy of his race—"There shall be no intermingling of white and colored. The two divisions of the human stock shall live side by side, if need be, but there shall be no surrender of the white man's physical ideal or of his political supremacy. He shall always remain apart, a stage nearer the demigod than the humans with brown or yellow skins." Unfortunately for his consistency of purpose, the white male betrays little or no reluctance to contract left-handed unions with the colored female. So in all the continents these half-way types are increasing; they are resenting their position of bastardy; and they are beginning to join with their darker-colored Mongol or negro relations in attacking the white man's supremacy, and are fighting him now with his own weapons.

GERMAN MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES in lands now passed out of Germany's political control have been having until the present a difficult time. Their plight has not gone without sympathetic investigation and public discussion by the Protestant missionary officials of the United States, notably by Dr. Arthur J. Brown, of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, whose articles dealing with the different difficult problems involved, published in *Christian Work*, shed more light upon the subject than is to be found elsewhere. For Lutherans in the United States the pecuniary burdens have been heavy that this phase of post-war adjustment has created. Being the richest of the friends of the German missionary societies, they have had to aid them with counsel and with funds, helped in the task, be it said, by the Lutherans of Scandinavia. American Lutheranism today is much stirred, not only by the practical aspects of its duties in this matter, but also by the principle involved in the obstructions which are being put in the way of a return to their former stations of the German missionaries; and at the biennial convention of the United Lutheran Church, held in Washington in October, after considerable debate and careful editing of its pronunciamento, sent forth the following statement:

"The principle of religious liberty has slowly gained ground and is now recognized by all governments in peace treaties and international affairs.

"The right to propagate religious truth is a corollary of religious liberty. It is as inalienable as is the right of civil liberty.

"The exercise of the rights of conscience cannot be annulled unless it becomes subversive of good morals and public order. Only when it can be clearly shown that such exercise interferes with the rights of others and results in disorder may governments interfere.

"When properly taught and exemplified, the Christian

religion has ever promoted law and order, advancing civilization and strengthening good governments."

The debate which preceded adoption of this statement clearly indicated that the source of difficulty, from the German Lutheran and American Lutheran standpoint, is in the rigid prohibitive attitude of the British Government, where it has assumed mandatory power, awaiting action by the League.

THE EIGHTH WORLD'S SUNDAY SCHOOL CONVENTION, in session in Tokyo, in October, with attendants representing thirty countries, adopted resolutions affirming the conviction "that any conception of racial or national integrity that ignores the solidarity of the human race imperils the security of the world." Further, it was asserted "that any national or international policy that seems to discriminate in the treatment of nations and races engenders bitterness and is subversive of the best interests of mankind and inimical to the peace of the world." "Christian altruism must take the place of enlightened self-interest, in the settlement of all international contentions." "A passion for righteousness is the moral minimum with which international relations can be safeguarded. World brotherhood requires an international consciousness." "Nothing in this world is settled until it is settled right." "Spiritual sanctions must have a place in life, and moral mandates increasingly exercise their power in controlling the conduct of mankind." Naturally, registration of such convictions as these pleased the Japanese hosts of the delegates. They met quite a different set of views when their delegates at the Paris Peace Conference endeavored to get the delegates who were there to declare in favor of racial equality.

CHINA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WORLD just at present, as voiced by one of the best of her young liberals, is well defined, we infer, in the farewell words of Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, when he left Washington in mid-October for London, to take up his duties there as Minister from China to Great Britain. He said:

"It is, perhaps, difficult for the Chinese people to express in words the confidence and faith they have in the American people. We in China have no organized means of informing the world of our virtues and our progress. We have relied rather upon the inherent character and quality of our people to speak for themselves. This is, perhaps, a characteristic which we have in common with yourselves. We are a race built upon simple lines, liking work and minding our own business. The fundamental qualities of the Chinese people have been before the world for centuries. We do not radically change. This is our strength. It has also been our weakness, in that we were slow to respond to the pressure and the new order of the west.

"Today China, like other countries, is in heavy seas following the great tempest of the World War. We are struggling to understand and face the new issues and to hold ourselves united against those who would undermine us in this period of great confusion, and estrange us from our friends. China is not the only country today suffering from inter-racial differences, from cross-currents, and from the inevitable clashing of old and new thought. But this is a

sign of growth and progress, and must be if a wider liberty and understanding is to be established in China.

"China, being a land of immense distances, is inconceivably handicapped by her lack of communication, by her inadequate railway system, and by her lack of those physical means of communication which enable countries to sustain unity of thought and purpose among their peoples. Nevertheless, the differences existing in China today are but of method, and therefore superficial. The fundamental character of the Chinese is identical. It is this immeasurable and potential strength of 400,000,000 of people that the world cannot disregard, which must ultimately and inevitably unite and work out their common salvation.

"We are not adepts in the use of propaganda. On the contrary, we have been and are today the greatest sufferer from this subtle agent, which takes advantage of the friction and the ebb and flow in domestic politics for the purpose of advertisement, and so exaggerates and distorts the facts as to lead the world to believe that we are without stability and that chaos and confusion are the existing order in China.

"These are not facts, but in the face of this mischievous and persistent propaganda it is difficult for China, without resorting to similar methods, to present her case and hold the faith of the world. This war has shown, however, that in the last analysis nations will align themselves according to their inherent character. Therefore the Chinese people must have faith in the ultimate verdict of the world."

IRELAND'S CASE before the court of public opinion, British and non-British, has been much affected by the death of Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, in Brixton Prison, London, October 25. After seventy-four days of fasting, self-imposed, he ceased to be, and his name at once was added to the rôle of martyrs cherished by men of Irish race affiliations throughout the world. His imprisonment was based on charges of conspiracy against law and order and British authority in Ireland. His decision to die of hunger was his method of showing his loyalty to the Irish Republic and his refusal, if released, to condemn the Sinn Fein tactics. London, on October 28, witnessed a funeral procession which in impressiveness rivaled those following the deaths of Queen Victoria and Kitchener. The city's press, dealing editorially with the case, was representative, in that it stressed his combined physical and moral fortitude shown in behalf of "a cause." The press of the world interpreted the tragedy as more than personal and one involving the good name of the British as rulers. In the United States the most significant happenings coincident with the affair were the statement of the Democratic candidate that if elected he would bring phases of the Irish situation to the attention of the British Government and the opportunity given by Secretary of State Colby for a restatement by the American champions of the Irish Republic of the claims of the latter to recognition by the United States. On November 11 the Irish Home Rule Bill passed the House of Commons by a vote of 182 to 52, Liberal and Labor members generally abstaining from voting. The consensus of opinion of most observers in Ireland and England is that the new legislation, if approved by the House of Lords, will not figure in the ultimate settlement. It has been per-

functorily pushed through and meets none of the real issues.

AFFAIRS IN GREECE during the past month have been complicated by the death of King Constantine, October 25, after a severe struggle for life. His death was due to infection caused by the bite of a pet monkey. On the 28th the Chamber of Deputies elected Admiral P. Coundouriotis as regent, and the same day the Greek Government, through its Minister at Berne, opened negotiations with the family of former King Constantine in residence in that city. Prince Paul, they were informed, would be accepted as the new king, subject to the regency, provided Constantine formally abdicated the throne. Whether this policy meets with popular approval will be indicated by the result of the parliamentary elections to be held in November. It is the way out of the conflict between the royalist and the democratic factions that has been agreed upon by Venizelos and by the nations with which Greece was allied during the war. If Admiral Coundouriotis continues to serve as regent, there will be no substantial departure from the policy, military or civil, that Venizelos has maintained during the war and since. This policy has given Greece a place among the powers such as she has not had for centuries, one that substantially alters the political and naval balance of power in and about the Mediterranean.

CHILE'S COURT OF HONOR, created specially to pass upon the contesting claims of Arturo Alessandri and Luis Barros Borgoño for the presidency, decided in favor of Alessandri by a vote of 5 to 2, and on October 1 promulgated the decision in a formal communication to the Chilean people. The elections were held last June, and the Liberal Alliance and its candidate, Alessandri, claimed a victory. This being challenged by Borgoño's backers, the Liberal Unionists, the good sense of leaders in both parties agreed to the creation of a court of honor to investigate and arbitrate. It sat for a month and gave the above-mentioned verdict. The finding has not been disputed, but, instead, it has met with prompt ratification by a joint session of the national legislature. The press of South America justifiably has pointed to the affair as one of the most creditable chapters in Chile's history, and also as a symbol of a general disposition among Latin-Americans to avoid civil and foreign war and in ever-increasing measure to trust resort to judicial or arbitral methods. Citizens of the United States inevitably are forced by the incident to think of the Electoral Commission of 1877, that finally settled the Tilden-Hayes controversy, and the bitterness that both preceded and followed its creation and its verdict. Alessandri represents the more progressive and even radical elements of the Chilean electorate and is pledged to a reform of the national constitution, modification of the present parliamentary system, and a less centralized government, giving more rights and duties to the provinces. He also favors more equitable distribution of taxation.

COMMERCIAL TRAVELERS' MUTUAL RIGHTS, as agents of trade between nations, are now being defined and guaranteed by governments under treaty forms. On October 22 the United States and Argentina entered into

such an agreement, details of which had been finally fixed during Ambassador Stimson's recent visit to Washington. The United States, within a comparatively brief time, has signed similar treaties with Uruguay, Paraguay, Venezuela, Panama, Salvador, and Guatemala. This succession of compacts implies facilitation of Pan-American trade and indicates the type of work that is now falling upon foreign offices of governments, as nations reach out for a stabilized, standardized state of mutual trading. The treaty with Argentina, it should be noted, at her request, prohibits salesmen of liquor from enjoying the protective provisions of the treaty.

INVESTIGATION OF THE IRISH SITUATION by a commission of five persons named by a committee of one hundred citizens of the United States, organized upon the initiative of The Nation, has opened in Washington. The commission of seven, now taking evidence, has for its members Jane Addams, of Chicago; Joseph W. Folk, former Governor of Missouri; Frederick C. Howe, of Washington, District of Columbia; James H. Maurer, of Harrisburg, Pa., president of Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and David I. Walsh, United States Federation of Labor; Raymond Robbins, Alex. E. Moore, and David I. Walsh, United States Senator from Massachusetts. Early in the effort to constitute this tribunal of the citizens of one country passing upon the governmental policy of another country the British ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, was informed of the plan and provided with copies of the literature used in creating the committee of one hundred. In his reply he said:

"The British Government has more to gain than any one in insuring that the truth (about Ireland) is made known to the world. I am, however, unable to bring myself to believe that the truth can be established until there has been a period of quiet in Ireland. Any inquiry undertaken just now, more especially any inquiry undertaken by persons without power to compel the production of books, papers, records, etc., would, in my opinion, lead to a mass of statements, unsupported by verifiable facts, made for propaganda purposes."

He also announced that while Great Britain would take no steps against any British subject who might wish to give evidence before the committee, neither could it guarantee that reprisals would not be taken by Sinn Fein extremists in Ireland against persons who might come to Washington and give evidence against certain elements of the republican movement. He also said that while the British Government would not oppose the coming to Washington of witnesses resident in Ireland, neither would it promote their coming.

On October 30 the commission issued a statement to the following effect:

"The commission has accepted the task entrusted to it with the sincerest desire to improve the relations between the United States, Great Britain and Ireland, to obtain facts as to what is actually happening on Irish soil, and to discover ways and means of offering continuing mediation if such ways exist.

"Firmly believing that the present situation, if long continued, will menace the peace of the world, and realizing that it has already become a domestic political issue in

America," the statement continues, "the commission seeks to shed light upon what is happening in order to present an actual picture of the crisis to the American people, so that with this background constructive suggestions may arise as to a way out.

"The members of the commission are unanimously of the belief that the friendship of the English-speaking peoples for one another is of such priceless value to the welfare of the entire world that for Americans to leave a single stone unturned to preserve that friendship would constitute a grave culpability.

"The commission is, moreover, profoundly stirred by the long-continued reports of lawlessness and the wholesale shedding of blood in Ireland on both sides. Its members cannot sit by unmoved at the possibility of an outcome so terrible that it might easily mean the destruction of the bulk of the sorely harassed Irish people—a people so gifted as to be able to make a unique contribution to the culture and progress of the world; a people whose voluntary martyrs have begun to make the whole globe realize that the situation of Ireland has reached a pass where brave men prefer death to its continuance.

"If, in such an hour, the constitution of an unofficial commission of citizens of a friendly nation seems unusual, it is to be explained by the unprecedented circumstances in Ireland, by the fact that millions of Americans of Irish blood can know neither contentment nor happiness until peace is restored to their kin across the Atlantic, and by the historic American devotion to these peaceful ideals which but recently animated its troops in the World War. An American inactive in the face of the tragic events in Ireland would be an American recreant to America's traditions and to its faith."

THE 9TH GERMAN CONGRESS OF PACIFISTS took place in Braunschweig October 1 to 3. This congress, under the leadership of the German Peace Society, was made up of such organizations as the League for International Mediation, the German League for a League of Nations, the League New Fatherland, the Woman's League for Peace and Freedom, the German Pacifistic League of University Students, the League of Army Officers of the New Republic; also Catholic and Evangelical leagues, originating in the churches. The Peace League of the participants in the war and the League of the opponents of military service united in calling the congress. Naturally, the League of Nations was the main theme of the discussions. These discussions related to three principal reports: First, the League of Nations as a legal community; second, as an economic and working community; third, as a cultural community. The following special topics were also discussed: The League of Nations and the Peace Treaty, the League of Nations and the labor question, the League of Nations and educational questions. Among those appearing upon the program were Prof. Fr. W. Foerster, Dr. A. H. Fried, Count Harry Keszler, Professor Krausz, Dr. Elizabeth Rotten, Dr. Hans Wehberg. The annual meeting of the German Peace Society was held September 30. This Congress of Pacifists, ere it adjourned, issued the following statement:

"The Ninth German Pacifists' Congress is a unit in the hope of victory for the idea of a League of Nations, which

promises to free the political States of the world from the evils of the former system of international confusion, which has been exposed in all its destructiveness by the World War and the conclusions of peace. The congress does not reject on principle the Paris statutes for a league, despite the material defects certainly contained therein. The congress expects that the way in which the incompleting regulations will be worked out, if the League of Nations is only filled with the spirit of international relations based upon justice and honor, will be able to make up for many of the defects of the statutes.

"The congress emphasizes, however, the necessity of transforming and amplifying the statutes themselves into an effective weapon of the idea of international justice, even against the peace treaties, which are by no means reconcilable with this idea. The congress demands the extension of the Paris League of Nations by means of a world arbitration treaty, by means of a permanent international court of justice, by means of a non-partisan supreme council of mediation, and by means of a ban upon compulsory military service, to be applied to all nations. The League of Nations dare not, in any form, promote organized killing. The congress confidently hopes that the prerequisites for the entry of Germany into the League of Nations will be of such a nature that the invitation to enter can be accepted under consideration of both the international and national points of view."

FRANCE, THROUGH ITS SUPERIOR COUNCIL of National Defense, had decided against the rather numerous and in some respects politically powerful group of citizens and political leaders who wanted a shortened period of obligatory service in the army of tomorrow. The latter wanted it to be no longer than 18 months. The Council decides that it must be two years, though conceding that if the situation in Europe improves within 18 months, then men now being called to the colors shall have six months' leave of absence. This decision of the Council involves a heavy drain on the treasury at a time when the republic is staggering to get on its feet economically. But the Millerand Ministry and the forces now in control of France are getting more and more at odds with Great Britain over the reparation settlement, and they are preparing for action toward Germany that will be military as well as economic, and this without the aid or endorsement of the Allies; in which case, as they naturally argue, they will need an army maximum in its proportions.

SINKING OF THE GERMAN FLEET at Scapa Flow, whether by governmental orders or as an act of spite by naval officers, has proved a costly incident. The British government, together with the other parties to the Peace Treaty, have insisted that Germany must be penalized for the conduct of some of her subjects. On October 28 the reparation commission made public the following decision:

"In execution of the protocol of January 10, 1920, regarding compensation due from Germany for the sinking of the German fleet at Scapa Flow, the council of ambassadors decided that Germany be required to deliver forthwith 192,000 tons of port material, and to deliver supplementary tonnage within thirty months, the amount and kind to be determined by the reparations commission.

"The commission, after an investigation into Germany's ability to carry out deliveries without interfering with her economic development, has fixed the supplementary tonnage at 83,000 tons, to include floating docks and floating cranes, dredges, tugs, and barges."

AUSTRIA'S PLIGHT AT THE PRESENT TIME, whether it be described by the Chancellor of State, in his warning to Europe, or by Mr. E. A. Filene, of the International Chamber of Commerce, or by Rev. Arthur Judson Brown, of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, who has given more careful study to the state of the churches in Germany and in Austria than any other American, is pictured as terrible, whether judged physically or morally. In rural regions the wants of the people's bodies are met to some degree, but in Vienna, the "doomed capital," neither food for the body, illumination for the mind, nor an anchorage for the soul is to be found. Dr. Brown says:

"It is nothing less than amazing that the Peace Conference in Paris should have created conditions in Austria which it should have foreseen to be utterly impossible. There is absolutely no hope for Austria unless other governments or the League of Nations alter the political and economic conditions under which the people now rest, or permit them to unite with Germany.

"The latter is what the Austrians want to do, for practically all of them are Germans and speak the German language. The Allied governments, however, are not yet ready to see Germany strengthened by the addition of six millions of people and the territory that they hold, as it has strategic value. It is interesting also to note that Germany herself does not want Austria at present, for the simple reason that the addition of Austria's population and territory would bring with them Austria's debts and other obligations, and thus increase Germany's indemnities and reparations without adding corresponding financial strength. Moreover, the Socialist Party in Germany and the large Protestant element look askance upon the proposal, because the six million Austrians are nearly all Roman Catholics, and union would therefore bring such an access of power to the Roman Catholics in Germany, who practically constitute a distinct political party, that they could probably obtain control of the government.

"Accordingly, unhappy Austria, circumscribed by the Peace Treaty and not wanted by Germany, appears condemned beyond reprieve. If the Allied governments feel that they must adhere to their present policy, they should at least face the obligations which that policy entails. Austria is now a cancer near the heart of Europe. Even six millions of people can constitute a menace when they are in such a hopeless position as the Austrians now are. They must be fed and clothed, or they will inevitably become desperate and lawless. Either horn of the dilemma is bad for the rest of the world."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ANDREW CARNEGIE. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York. Pp. 372, bibliography and index. \$5.00.

Emerson said that America spelled opportunity. The Sage of Concord would have enjoyed reading a book as convincing as this one is in defense of his thesis. Whether the America

of tomorrow is to prove equally friendly to emigrants from Europe as she was to this Scot and his fellow-nationals in Pennsylvania remains to be seen. Many prophets doubt it.

But that is neither here nor there. The fact is that Andrew Carnegie seized his chance, and "his works do follow him." He had to his credit acquisition of a vast fortune, and later a disposition of it in accordance with a theory of trusteeship of wealth that never previously had been given such practical form on so large a scale. He began life in a humble social station, and he lived to consort with emperors, kings, presidents, statesmen, educators of eminence, and authors of renown. Why and how he wrought this change of social status, what his guiding principles of conduct were while he wrought, and the reasons for his likes and dislikes of men and measures he has set forth in this casually written autobiography. Fortunately, a discreet editor, Professor van Dyke (John, not Henry) has left the document substantially as it was written. The hand of the redactor has been light. You get the man as he was or as he thought he was. Shrewdness and naïveté mingle like wool and warp.

The social historian of the last decades of the nineteenth century, when he comes to deal with the United States, will inevitably discuss the rise to power and fame of a group of industrial captains the like of whom history never knew before. They will find that most of these men dispersed their accretions of wealth for social uses in establishing foundations—esthetic, educational, and eleemosynary—the immortality of which as functioning organizations is assured. As these historians enter on their tasks of appraisal of these men, they will value highly just such a "human document" as Mr. Carnegie left. Unfortunately, too few of his contemporaries have been similarly self-revealing. Probably he would not have painted his own portrait had he not been a Scot with a love of books, with an interest in literature, and with friendships that cultivated the disposition of self-analysis and self-registration. A man who was the host and friend of Herbert Spencer, Matthew Arnold, and John Morley could more easily become an author himself than if he incessantly talked steel-making with his subordinates or with his rivals in that field.

Of course, to all persons or organizations throughout the world dedicated to promotion of "peace" Andrew Carnegie is most significant because of his identification with that cause. The Palace at The Hague, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and other, but equally admirable, institutional proofs of his loyalty to this humanistic movement will carry his name down the ages. In his last years he had to undergo disillusionment that had its tragic results. The events of July and August, 1914, as his wife says in the preface to the autobiography, "broke his heart."

AMERICA'S AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS. By Patrick Gallagher. The Century Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 499.

The author of this interesting, clever, and at the same time informing book represented the *New York Herald* at the Peace Conference in Paris. Previously he had served the same journal and other news collecting and distributing agencies in Asia. During the war he was in Washington at intervals. These opportunities for getting at information about the affairs of the world he has utilized to his own and his readers' advantage.

He is a believer in "Asia for the Asiatics." He assumes that the spiritual heart of her peoples is sound, and hence he is not one who thinks that either Europe or America has any right to suppose that its type of civilization must supersede the Oriental. With the general tenor of the course of American diplomacy toward China he has no fault to find, but he does think that a sharp corner was turned at the Paris Conference, and he proceeds to register his reasons for thinking so.

That much of the positiveness of the book is based on inference only, and that some of its "good stories" about the by-play and by-products of the Peace Conference are gossip, pure and simple, we doubt not. The Celt in the author inclines him to imaginative flights on occasion. This trend, however, does not mar the fact that he has a way of getting

under the skin of a situation and exposing it for what it is; and when he comes to judgment on contemporary statesmen, he is, in the main, unusually fair and prone to concede good intentions, even if he has to deny possession of sound sense.

The chief value of the book is in its intimate disclosure of the relations of China and Japan during the past decade and of the "inside" of the maneuvering at Paris over the Shantung settlement and the vote of the Supreme Council against Japan's claim to a declaration of racial equality. The author's belief is that not until Asia is rid of her fear of the "White Peril" can Europe or America expect her to settle down. The Asiatics want to know whether Asia is to be denied or granted the right of Asiatic self-development; whether she is to meet the fate of Africa under Europe's heavy heel. The Paris Conference failed to remove that fear; and the United States, which had created an admirable precedent by its handling of the Philippines, failed to show the Conference its rightful course; and this mainly through ignorance, since we did presume to sit in judgment, but without "full knowledge of the facts." "We were very sincere, very determined, very vituperative, and sublimely foolish. We made much ado about things of relatively small importance and gave no heed to the one thing of major importance," says the critic.

Not the least interesting, though fragmentary, sections of this book are those indicating the degree to which the author apparently has been influenced by the pacifist teachings of Mo-ti and the effect that they have had on the Chinese people. Fully aware of the relative impotence, judged by military standards, of the Chinese nation and of the effect this has on its present state of inferiority to Japan and the outer world, it is quite clear, on the other hand, that Mr. Gallagher, at the bottom of his heart, profoundly respects the nation that has followed its great ethical teacher far more consistently than so-called Christian nations have followed Jesus.

MENSCHLICHSEERTE UND VÖLKERRUND—HUMAN VALUE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Five prize essays. Pp. 277. Friedrich Andreas Perthes, Inc., Gotha, Germany.

An organization known as the Grand Lodge is conducting a series of prize-essay competitions. The fourth of this series occurred in the summer of 1918, the last year of the war. The five essays which were awarded prizes are printed in this volume. The topic set for the contestants was "Which values in the world admit of a common administration of all the nations, and is this common administration apt to carry out the purposes of charity, justice, and tolerance?" As set forth in the preface, most significant events took place during the time between the writing of the five essays and their publication. There was the revolution in central Europe and the Peace of Versailles; and yet there is a freshness about the essays which makes them well worth reading. Back in 1915 there appeared in the preface of the publication of the first series of prize essays, addressed to the topic, "Charity, justice, and tolerance as pillars of human society," these words: "Lastly, this war is a receipt, written in blood for an era of European civilization. Salvation from its distress can only be found when the soul and the conscience of the individual, as well as of the nation, can revive and when the value and the dignity of human society are again placed in their rightful position and are not thrown into the mouth of the Moloch of material, selfish, and superficial interests." Surely such words in those warful days were brave words.

In this new volume of essays, written by five men working independently, essays carefully selected by the committee of experts, we have a picture of a genuine group of peace-minded Germans. The essays differ from each other, but they seem to agree in their criticism of any imperialistic League of Nations. Their *Weltanschauung* (theory of life) is substantially an outspoken socialism, which they conceive to be the solution of the international problem. The item of interest for Americans here is that there were groups in Germany during the war daring to raise their voices again and again in behalf of an international unity.

VERMITTLUNG UND GUTE DIENSTE IN VERGANGENHEIT UND ZUFUNFT. Von *Edgar de Melville*. Verlag Friedrich Andreas Perthes, A.-G., Gotha, 1920. Preis, M. 14.

This is a book dealing with mediation and good offices. The author, Edgar de Melville, is known as the author of a number of books particularly relating to The Hague Peace Conferences. In these pages he gives a historical statement of mediation and good offices as employed in peace times. There is an appendix of twenty-five diplomatic documents, together with a bibliography and index. The book is more than an expression of developing German interest in international organization; it is a scholarly and thoughtful contribution to the field of peaceful settlement of disputes between nations. This little book of 159 pages and in paper cover should be translated into English for those many persons unacquainted with the German who would gladly read the author's views upon the substance of mediation, its relation to the League of Nations and to diplomacy.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION. By *G. T. W. Patrick, Ph. D.* Houghton Mifflin Company, New York. Pp. 260 and index. \$2.00.

Dr. Patrick, by his articles in magazines and chiefly by his book "The Psychology of Relaxation," has rather quickly acquired a reputation that is more than professional. It is due in part to the modernity of his point of view, and also to his freshness and vigor of style. He can make a dry subject live. He is on side of the "angels" when war and its social consequences are considered, but he does well in this book, speaking as an educator, to emphasize the fact that, in much current discussion of the right way to conserve peace and to put an end to the "social suicide" that war involves, the perils, horrors, and wastes of civil war are overlooked. Today, as the result of internationalism, the plans for peace naturally stress ending wars between nations. As a matter of fact, the new social stratifications and combats make it probable that much of the blood-letting of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow is to be due to interethnic hates and fights.

Writing as a psychologist and aware of the psychological roots of war, and remembering how far back into time and how deep into the character of humanity they penetrate, he is far from optimistic about "paper" solutions of the war "complex." He puts his trust neither in legal compacts nor in applied science. He is not a devotee of "machinery," whether scientific or political. Mankind has to be trained to conservation, self-control, and limitation of desires. Moral values must be put above pecuniary. The centrifugal tendency of latter-day society must be reversed and become centripetal. Nations as well as men must inhibit their desires.

THE COLLEGE AND NEW AMERICA. By *Jay William Hudson, Ph. D.* D. Appleton & Company, New York. Pp. 197 and index. \$2.00.

This book, by its verve and courage, is likely to be much discussed in the American academic world. There is not much about the life of the ordinary college and university, as it existed prior to the war and still manifests itself in many institutions, that does not get hard knocks and deep probes. But it is especially valuable for its diagnosis of the effect upon the academic men who served their country as advisers and experts, and who came out of the conflict quite different men in their attitude toward scholastic traditions. Speaking for himself as well as for others, Professor Hudson says that he learned that the only justification of an educational institution or of a teacher is that the social order is to be conserved, the old monastic ideal given up, and that he must go out to men, whether in the class-room, or in a correspondence course, or in university extension lecture, and combine with his former isolation the new virtues of worldliness, a venturesome spirit, accurate and quick decision, and concrete human purposes.

In such suggestions as he makes as to the curricula of the rightly planned colleges and universities of tomorrow, Pro-

fessor Hudson includes provision for training youth to have the "international" as well as the "national" mind. Only thus can chauvinism be defeated and the world literally made one in its deepest political, moral, cultural, and religious ideals.

AFTER "THE DAY." By *Haydon Talbot*. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia and London. Pp. 301. \$4.00 net.

This is a story of "Germany Unconquered and Unrepentant," as discovered during 1919 by an American newspaperman who had unexceptional facilities for visiting Germany at that time. He interviewed Count von Bernstorff, Ludendorff, Hindenberg, Ratenau, and Maximilian Harden, and he had ample opportunities to get in touch with the people. His conclusions, tabulated in formal statements at the end of the book, are nine in number. The tenor of them all may be inferred from Nos. 1 and 2. "There is no German living who believes the German army was defeated or that it ever could be defeated." "There is no German living who honestly doubts, even now, the good old German maxim that right is might." Why "living"? The wonder is that the author does not attempt to speak for all the dead. Mr. Talbot is a better interviewer and reporter than he is anything else. But there is much in the book said by other men that is worth knowing.

JAPAN, REAL AND IMAGINARY. By *Sydney Greenbie*. Harper and Brothers, New York City. \$4.00 net.

The impressions of Japan herein recorded are those of a man who dwelt only a relatively short time within the land, and during that period was a teacher of Japanese youth. Prior globe-trotting had given him a certain facility in observation, and he has narrative power which makes him readable. His chief contribution in this record of impressions has to do with late developments in the political, economic, and educational evolution of the empire, even the latest conflicts between labor and capital and the arbitrary control of the censorship during the war and since being described.

The author's experiences with the people lead him to testimony that is both laudatory and hostile. He is by no means an unreflective admirer of the race and is far from optimistic as to the nation's future. At bottom he finds no ethical foundation on which the individuals and the government can build permanently. The old feudalism is passing, but a new industrial tyranny impends. Foreign criticism, however, sincere, is not welcomed. Loyalty to Bushido never has been as general as it has been said to be, and yet nothing is coming to take its place. Business ethics are defective. Militarism has ceased to be admired by the masses. Philanthropy by capitalism is at bottom hated by the workers and must give way to social justice, but a great national leader to show the people the way to light and freedom and equity is lacking.

THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA. By *William C. Bullitt*. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., N. Y. City. 50 cents.

This is a "fourth printing" of a set of documents official and personal in origin, some Russian and some American, which always will figure, in an important way, in the history of the relations of Great Britain and the United States to the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky. They and major figures of the Allies—men like Wilson, Lloyd-George, and Clemenceau—flit in and out of its pages, as the tragedy unfolds. Much information that is found in this report was deemed heresy, either to believe or discuss, at the time the report was made. Now it is the grimmest sort of factual evidence, staring Great Britain, France, and Italy in the face. The terms of peace that Lenin then laid down for the Paris Conference seem benign compared with those that the Allies must now reject or accept, and in either case at their peril, so subtly has he worked his game and so completely has he outmaneuvered western Europe's best diplomats.

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In this appeal it is assumed that you are acquainted with the labors and achievements of the American Peace Society, a work harking back to 1815. If, however, you are interested to know more about its operations, drop a line to its Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, Washington, D. C.

NOTICE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Permit us to call your attention to five facts:

1. The annual subscription to *Advocate of Peace* after January 1, 1921, must be increased to \$2.00.

2. You can renew your subscription *now* at the old rate of \$1.50.

3. You can send in new subscriptions for one year, if received in this office *before sundown, December 31*, at the old rate of \$1.50.

4. It would be difficult to select a more fitting and acceptable gift for a friend than a year's subscription to *Advocate of Peace*, especially at this season, when men's thoughts are peculiarly turned to "The Prince of Peace."

5. Whatever our "programs," there can be no "Peace on Earth" without "Good Will to Men."

Hence please accept our Christmas greeting to you and our best wishes for you, as we together enter upon another year of effort in behalf of that justice between States which alone can pull the fangs of war.

Most sincerely yours,

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

ADVOCATE OF PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

Vol. 82

DECEMBER, 1920

No. 12

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PRICE TWENTY CENTS

A Governed World

The American Peace Society urges upon the American Government, and upon all civilized nations, the following principles as the hopeful bases of a governed world. It may be said that these principles and proposals have the approval of the highest authorities on international law, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of practically every accredited peace society and constructive peacemaker in America.

I. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that, it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons whether native or foreign found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all

other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international: national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE

Concerning international organization, adopted by the American Peace Society, January 22, 1917, and by the American Institute of International Law, at its second session, in the city of Habana, January 23, 1917.

I. The call of a Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations shall be invited and in whose proceedings every such country shall participate.

II. A stated meeting of the Hague Peace Conference which, thus meeting at regular, stated periods, will become a recommending if not a law-making body.

III. An agreement of the States forming the society of nations concerning the call and procedure of the Conference, by which that institution shall become not only internationalized, but in which no nation shall take as of right a preponderating part.

IV. The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

V. An understanding upon certain fundamental principles of international law, as set forth in the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916, which are themselves based upon decisions of English courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States.

VI. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider, to discuss, and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character as may be submitted to such council by an agreement of the Powers for this purpose.

VII. The employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition for the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature.

VIII. The principle of arbitration in the settlement of disputes of a non-justiciable nature; also of disputes of a justiciable nature which should be decided by a court of justice, but which have, through delay or mismanagement, assumed such political importance that the nations prefer to submit them to arbiters of their own choice rather than to judges of a permanent judicial tribunal.

IX. The negotiation of a convention creating a judicial union of the nations along the lines of the Universal Postal Union of 1906, to which all civilized nations and self-governing dominions are parties, pledging the good faith of the contracting parties to submit their justiciable disputes—that is to say, their differences involving law or equity—to a permanent court of this union, whose decisions will bind not only the litigating nations, but also all parties to its creation.

X. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the foregoing nine propositions, in order that, if agreed to, they may be put into practice and become effective, in response to the appeal to that greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

Advocate of Peace

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Edited by ARTHUR DERRIN CALL

Assist. Editor, GRO. P. MORRIS

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

THE SACRED THING IN IT

THERE IS a sacred thing in the gifts men make to a noble cause. Gifts to the American Peace Society are no exception. The two "Notices" on the last page of this magazine have already brought results; not complete results, but results. Since the appearance of those notices, a month ago, we have averaged to receive approximately one hundred dollars a day. While at that rate the \$15,000 will not be raised for a long time, yet that simple appeal has already brought expressions of interest, sympathy, and support, more deeply helpful than money in itself could possibly be. When one giver from Connecticut sends with his check the message, "May the great work go forward," he voices the sentiment of many. Another writer from Florida says: "Enclosed please find check for — to cover subscription to ADVOCATE, balance to apply to Carnegie Endowment Fund grant. I should like to give a great deal more, but am not in position to do so." From Long Beach, California, another says: "Enclosed find postal money order for — to continue my subscription for another year. I am sorry not to do more, but local demands are such that it is impossible. However, good wishes and moral support count for something, and these I send in abundance." Another out of Boston, thanking us for calling her attention to the desirability

of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE as a Christmas gift and inclosing a check for a subscription to a friend, adds: "The ADVOCATE OF PEACE has become almost invaluable to me. It means more to me than any other publication or review. It impresses me as fair, broad-minded, and well balanced. I wish I could contribute to the fund you are raising, but just at present I must content myself with trying to extend influence through the publication." A Congressman for over twenty years writes: "Permit me to say . . . that I still stand on the platform of the American Peace Society more resolutely than ever before after what has happened." "It is not much, but it will help," says one of America's most distinguished scholars. The following letter from Amboy, Indiana, contains an unusual expression of that thing in the gifts to our work which we feel to be sacred:

"Your note received. I am intensely interested in the Peace cause. My father was a life member of the American Peace Society more than twenty-five years; has been dead forty-one years; my brother was a member about as long; has been dead sixteen years. Since his death I have been taking the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. I would like to give by the hundreds, but I don't feel that I can even do a little. I am ninety years old, on crutches for 17 years, and but little means; but I do want to know how the work is progressing, so will send a postal money order for \$1.50 for a yearly subscription. "Please excuse pencil; my hand is too shaky for pen."

In the language of John Greenleaf Whittier, himself for a number of years an officer of the American Peace Society—language addressed to Ellery Channing, one of the founders of the peace movement:

God blesses still the generous thought,
And still the fitting word He speeds,
And Truth, at His requiring taught,
He quickens into deeds.

We may be pardoned for saying that we are gratified when commendation comes our way. When we are made aware of the sacrifices which men and women make that our work may go on, it is with no spirit of apology that we confess that that is a sacred thing to us. We are pleased at remarks like this: "I have found your journal valuable as a source of information; and I have been so pleased with your criticism of the Versailles Conference and its work, and of the conduct of the Entente and associated powers, that I wish to continue my connection with you." But the sacrifices for us, they are sacred.

WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS DONE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT.

OUR READERS are familiar with the fact that a committee of jurists met at The Hague from June 16 to July 24 last. They know that that committee of jurists recommended the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. There was nothing new in this. A greater number of nations than are now represented in the League of Nations had agreed to such a proposal in 1907, indeed had drawn a definite draft convention relative to the creation of such a court, defining its constitution, its competency, and procedure, and including other provisions. The main contributions from this special committee of jurists were two in number; first, they submitted a plan for the selection of the judges; second, they provided for what is known as compulsory jurisdiction. The method for the selection of the judges submitted by the committee of jurists has been approved and adopted by the League of Nations. That is an important step. It means the establishment of an International Court. The one difficulty which blocked the establishment of such a court in 1907 has thus been removed. None could begrudge the credit due to the League of Nations for making this step possible. But the League of Nations has eliminated that portion of the recommendation of the committee of jurists providing for compulsory submission of justiciable questions to an international court.

A word about "compulsory" as used in this sense. It means simply that under the project as proposed, the nations would obligate themselves to submit certain questions to judicial settlement. When the twenty-six nations declared at the first Hague Conference in 1899 that an "arbitration convention implies the engagement to submit loyally to the award," they were subscribing to the principle of obligatory arbitration. When the forty-four nations represented in the second Hague Conference similarly declared that "recourse to arbitration implies an engagement to submit in good faith to the award," they, too, were subscribing to the principle of obligatory arbitration. If the Root-Phillimore plan had been adopted in its entirety by the League of Nations it would have meant that questions of right based on contract or positive law as between nations would henceforth go to a court which would have the power to decide the issue in accordance with principles of law and equity. It would have meant that all issues as between states, issues involving interpretation of treaties and international law, the existence in fact of a breach of international obligation, repara-

tion for the breach of the international obligation or of the interpretation of the sentences passed by the court in such cases, all such would by the very nature of the cases be within the jurisdiction of the court. In short, all cases of a legal nature involving such questions would under the law mutually agreed upon, be referred for decision to such a court. The states would be compelled under the law to submit all such cases to the court of international justice. This is what men mean when they say "compulsory arbitration." It is the compulsion of law. Incidentally it is a compulsion much stronger and more effective than any compulsion of arms. It is the most fundamental hope of those who labor for that permanent peace which must rest upon justice.

But the Assembly of the League of Nations has not seen fit to approve this principle of compulsory adjudication. It has revised Article 34 of the project submitted by the committee of jurists, with the effect that the court's competency is precisely where it was proposed it should be in Article 17 of the project of 1907 for a judicial court of arbitration, which reads: "The judicial court of arbitration is competent to deal with all cases submitted to it, in virtue either of the general undertaking to have recourse to arbitration or of a special agreement." One of the ironies of the international situation is that men willing to impose blockades upon recalcitrant nations and to promise in advance to use effective military force for the protection of the covenant of the League are unwilling to approve of this principle of the compulsion of law. Evidently the dominating members of the Assembly of the League of Nations are more fearful of the compulsion of law than they are of the compulsion of arms. Time and intelligence will change that.

The hope, the great hope in the situation is that, while the court approved by the League of Nations at Geneva is simply a court of arbitration and not essentially a court of justice, the Council of the Assembly have given effect to the method of selecting the judges, and a court at least of arbitral justice is about to be set up. The steps toward the establishment of the real court of international justice backed by the compulsion of law will be taken one by one as the need becomes increasingly clear. Indeed, under the conditions agreed upon, any or all nations are at liberty to give compulsory jurisdiction to the court in all matters upon which they may specially agree. So far, therefore, the court is a real accomplishment of the League. The history of the next generation is to be a process of supplanting the compulsion of guns with the compulsion of law.

SELF-DETERMINATION HAVING A HARD TIME

THE PRINCIPLE of the right of self-determination is not dead. We are in receipt of an article, entitled "Das Recht der Minderheiten," by Von Johannes Tiedje, of Berlin, in which he develops with measured reasoning the proposition that the right of self-determination in territories taken from Germany is and can be the only guarantee of any future peace in Europe. The Council of the League of Nations has, in our judgment, done violence to this principle in a number of ways, particularly with reference to the disposition of Eupen and Malmedy. Under Article 34 of the Paris Peace Treaty, it is the duty of the League to decide whether the transfer to Belgium of the sovereignty of Germany over the districts of Eupen and Malmedy shall be final. Under the terms of the treaty, the League must decide the question after the Belgian Government has communicated to it the result of the public expression of opinion held under the auspices of the Belgian authorities and designed to give to the people of the districts an opportunity to record their desire to remain under German sovereignty. Such a situation is indefensible.

The German Government has addressed to the President of the Supreme Council and to the Secretary General of the League of Nations a series of protests that the Belgian Government was making it impossible for the people of Eupen and Malmedy freely to register their wishes, the German Government proposing that a commission be appointed by the League of Nations to supervise the consultation of the people in those districts. The Council of the League has taken the position that it has no right under the treaty to interfere in Eupen and Malmedy "until the Belgian Government has communicated the result of the public expression of opinion and until the interval of six months prescribed by the treaty had elapsed." The Council has decided that Belgium, however, "definitely confirmed the transfer of the districts to the sovereignty of Belgium." The German Government has protested against this decision, denying the competency of the Council to deal with the matter. The Council has confirmed its competency in the premises; but when the German Government protested regarding the alleged breach of the Treaty of Versailles because of the action of the "Delimitative Commission," charged with fixing the frontier between Germany and Belgium, the Council has held that it is not competent to take action in the matter. Behavior such as this, calculated to promote ill-will and hatred, is characteristic of any purely political international organization such as is this League of Nations.

Thus it is a constant source of irritation and danger. The right of self-determination is a peace principle. The League of Nations, under its present form of organization, exists for the defense and perpetuity of numberless war principles. The two are twain and never, never can meet.

FREEDOM TO COMMUNICATE

INTERNATIONALISM, in the best sense of that word, is only possible at its maximum of efficiency and power when there is equal facility, fullness, and accuracy of transmission of news and of opinion.

When this problem is studied from the intercontinental aspect, it at once becomes obvious that on the technical side the case rests on ownership, operation, and motivation in use of the cable and radio systems of communication. They are costly to build and maintain and, of necessity, are relatively few in number. Control of these means of communication during the World War, so far as the Allies were concerned, naturally came, in the course of time, to be a war function; and such cables and radio systems as were owned and operated by Germany were early seized by the Allies.

With the close of the war, there came the necessity of settling formally the distribution of the cable systems taken from Germany, and also the need of laying down, if possible, some general principles or code by which all the governments should in due time govern their peace control of the arteries of the world's communication service. Under the terms of the Paris Treaty, steps were taken to solve this problem, and discussion of a preliminary sort has been going on in Washington, by commissioners from Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States, since October. On another page we make comment on some of the aspects of the problem on its news side.

Even had there been no evidence prior to the 1914-1918 war as to the highly strategical importance of solution of this issue, it would have clamored for discussion and action. But the experiences of the war made the situation acute. A controlled cable or radio line may, and in fact does, become a potential or an actual weapon of offense or defense to any nation with title to operate it exclusively and with power to defend that title. It is a power that in times of peace as well as during formal military war can be used to cripple the trade, misinform the press, and hamper the diplomacy of a rival nation. A cable or a radio line can be, has been, and even now is being used for the most narrow nationalistic purposes. Without agreement between nations as to ethics of management of lines of news com-

munication and without definition of the mutual rights of would-be users of these agencies, it may soon come to pass that a denial of mutual rights may be the cause of war or of an alliance calculated to cripple in an economic and industrial way the recalcitrant and selfish nation operating for monopolistic ends a given cable or radio line.

The United States at the present time is making a stiff fight for recognition of the principle of mutuality. If it is defeated, it will harden its heart against powers that defeat its purpose, and it will start in to construct its own intercontinental systems of communication, and in the meantime make it as uncomfortable as possible for nations that wish to use American terminals for cable landings and radio stations. The United States is not asking for any of the spoils taken from Germany, but it does not intend to let the Allies, with whom it fought and who are quite willing to take Germany's former property, turn right round and use the resources put within their power to injure the United States and make it a suppliant for their favor in intercontinental business.

DEFLATION AND ITS PRIVATIONS

SOMETIMES POVERTY, or the threat of it, is a blessing. At last the superwealthy United States is beginning to reef its economic sails, tighten its belt, and count its dollars in terms of thousands, not millions or billions. The "plunging" period is over. The wisest men of the nation are sitting down to see how a panic may be avoided. Inflated values are being punctured by the grim necessities of the hour. Prices to the consumer really are falling now, and producers who are hard hit in the process of deflation and because of inability to sell their goods abroad are squealing in their pain and asking Uncle Sam to carry them to an island of economic safety under his arm. If Uncle Sam is wise, he will not do it.

Feeling thus, legislative appropriations are being studied with unusual care, because State and national treasuries are facing deficits. Severest forms of economies are being recommended by officials who study possible sources of income and who can estimate with some degree of accuracy the costs of the essentials of administration that must go on if the State's bare machinery is to function. The call goes forth for elimination of the luxuries and non-essentials; and it is gratifying to see that in New York State, where Governor Miller hints that he will cut down estimates one billion dollars, they are seriously considering scrapping the year-old scheme of compulsory military education

of the State's male youth. War does not seem so essential an industry as it did while we were in it. As to the demand in Congress for a drastic cutting down of naval and military expenditures, we comment in another column. You cannot eat your cake and have it too. You cannot spend billions and then get prosperity by any other plan than by making good the losses through toil and sacrifice.

CANADA ÉMERGES

CANADA'S EXPERIENCES during the South African War and the recent war have taught her much. She has stopped at no sacrifice of men or wealth to carry out successfully, on a military scale, combats to which she deemed herself morally pledged by her ties as a loyal daughter. Nevertheless, they were sacrifices caused by policies which she had no part in shaping. They proved her obedience to Downing Street—glad obedience if you please so to term it; but they were based on no previous assent of hers to the imperial policies of Mr. Chamberlain in his day or of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd-George in their day.

The late war, with its grim horrors, the denudation throughout her sparsely settled territory of her finest youth, the huge increase of the national debt, the ceaseless friction with British officials, military and civilian, and the possible implications of the Dominion in later wars—these things sent to the Paris Peace Conference a group of men determined to assert Canadian nationalism as it never had been asserted before. This, ably led by Sir Robert Borden, they proceeded to do.

At the meeting of the Assembly of the League in Geneva now sitting, they have made it clear again that Canada, as a constituent of the British domain, has ceased to be a daughter and has come rather to be a sister. In other words, they have asserted the Canadian point of view in distinction from the British; they have won a place in the League that has made them independent, and they have taught the English and Scotch, as well as the French and the Italians, that the New World of America has bred another and second variety of Anglo-Celt, differing from the kind bred by generations of residence in the islands off the coast of western Europe or in the United States. Precisely as the Canadian troops fought in their own way, so did the Canadian representatives at Paris, and more recently at Geneva, negotiate in their own way.

We doubt whether there has been a more dramatic and significant moment in latter-day British history than when, at the Geneva Conference, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Fisher, of the British Cabinet, sitting in the Council, had to sit and hear themselves, as representatives of

Great Britain, indicted before the bar of the assembled nations as guilty, along with other European statesmen, for the recent war and as supporters of a sort of diplomacy, statecraft, and imperialistic militarism for which Canada would not stand and which she does not propose to accept—and this indictment by one of Canada's leading political leaders, who, by the way, is a leading Christian layman of the Dominion and a promoter of social reforms. We refer to Mr. N. W. Rowell, of Ontario.

Nor is it without considerable significance that again and again at the Geneva Conference, the United States being unrepresented, the Canadian delegates have presumed to speak not only for Canada, but for public opinion in the United States on definite concrete propositions. It was informal, to be sure, and without any official warrant, but grew out of the propinquity of the two countries. Their common, democratic political ideals and customs, their substantial agreement as populations with the same pioneering experience and the same economic problems, and last, but not least, the fact that, living side by side for more than a century, Canada and the United States have kept the peace without forts on their borders and armed craft in their waters—these facts enabled Canada to speak freely.

The notice which Canada is serving on the world at the present time, that she will not be party to European nations' politics, diplomacy, and territorial ambitions, and that she sympathizes with the United States in her disinclination to become entangled in a hard-and-fast compact dealing with boundaries and nationalistic ambitions will have a repercussion far beyond the halls at Geneva. Downing Street will consult Ottawa oftener, will play the game with more of the cards on the table, and will realize that while she has lost a daughter she also has won a sister who thinks for herself and who hates war. The United States will be heartened by understanding that at Ottawa there is to be a government hereafter that thinks more in New World than in Old World terms, and that can be won, perchance, in the course of time to an All-Americas' policy based on modes of settling international disputes without force; for South America also has shown at Geneva that it is against control of the League by the dominant powers of Europe.

Yet another rôle seems to be opening up for Canada. It was hinted at in a recent speech by Ambassador Geddes, who has arrived in the New World at a time when relations between Great Britain and the United States are somewhat strained, though not to the extent seemingly that they are between Great Britain and France. Ambassador Geddes has suggested that if ever

the Anglo-American situation becomes acute, the New Canada, with its mounting nationalism and independence, and with its close educational, literary, commercial, and industrial ties with the United States, as well as its sentimental ties with Great Britain, could well be relied upon to mediate any dispute. The Canadian knows John Bull. He also knows Brother Jonathan. Neither London nor Washington are going to be able ever again to treat Ottawa with the condescending superiority of a fond parent or a rich neighbor; which fact, of itself, is a wholesome sign for tomorrow.

THE MATTER OF DISARMAMENT

IT SHOULD cause no surprise that the question of the universal reduction of armaments should be a matter of concrete concern to all nations. Some form of armament limitation, at least, is now imperative. The Financial Conference at Brussels, through its committee on public finance, issued a series of resolutions, in one of which occurs the significant passage which Lord Robert Cecil saw fit to quote in his address before the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva, November 17. The passage reads:

"It is, therefore, imperative that every government should, as the first social and financial reform on which all others depend, restrict its ordinary recurrent expenditure, including the service of the debt, to such an amount as can be covered by its ordinary revenue; rigidly reduce all expenditure of armaments in so far as such reduction is compatible with the preservation of national security; abandon all unproductive extraordinary expenditure and restrict even productive extraordinary expenditure to the lowest possible amount. The Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, in its pronouncement of March 8th, declared that armies should everywhere be reduced to a peace footing and armaments reduced to the lowest possible figure compatible with national security, and that the League of Nations should be invited to consider as soon as possible proposals to this end. The statements presented to the conference show that on the average some 20 per cent of the national expenditures is still being devoted to the maintenance of armaments and preparations for war. The conference desires to affirm that the world cannot afford this expenditure. Only by a frank policy of mutual co-operation can the nations hope to regain their old prosperity, and in order to secure that result the whole resources of each country must be devoted to strictly productive purposes. The conference accordingly recommends most earnestly to the Council of the League of Nations the desirability of conferring at once with the several governments concerned with a view to securing a general and agreed reduction of the crushing burden which, on their existing scale, armaments still impose on the impoverished peoples of the world, sap-

ping their resources and imperilling their recovery from the ravages of war."

This sentence follows:

"The conference hopes that the Assembly of the League, which is about to meet, will take any energetic action to this end."

On the 11th of December the Committee on Disarmament of the Assembly reported, favoring in substance, first, an agreement among the powers to make no further increase in armaments; second, a gradual reduction of armaments; third, general complete disarmament except in so far as arms are needed for police purposes. On the same day Senator Walsh, a Democrat and strong supporter of the League of Nations, introduced a resolution, afterward referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, calling upon the President to express to the Council of the League of Nations the earnest desire of the United States to co-operate with the commission appointed by the Council in the formulation of plans looking to the reduction of armaments. On the day that Secretary Daniels asked Congress to appropriate nearly \$700,000,000 for the United States Navy for the current year, it was announced that President-elect Harding was to be urged to take the initiative in behalf of the five-year "Naval Holiday" for England, Japan, and the United States. Major General Tasker H. Bliss, speaking in Philadelphia December 10, addressed himself to the subject "The Limitation of Armaments." General Bliss, who was our military representative on the Supreme War Council and one of President Wilson's commissioners at the Paris Peace Conference, expressed the problem with such clarity that we hope to print at least its essential parts in an early number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Among other things, he declared that there can be no enduring and effective association of the nations so long as those nations are armed to the teeth against each other. He added, that neither can there be a successful court of arbitration so long as the present military system exists, since with preparedness such as is now in vogue any faithless nation always will be able to break agreements and defy the other nations.

Looking at the matter from the point of view of the nation embarrassed least of all, namely, the United States of America, the situation requires attention, and that right early. Faced with a deficit of one and a quarter billions, even this great country can't go on indefinitely spending ninety-three cents out of every one-hundred for the unproductive purposes of war.

The problem is not simple. It is very difficult; possibly the most difficult of all international problems. In any event, it is one of the most vital of all. Dr.

Christian Lange, of the Norwegian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations, expressed the view thus:

"The greatest authorities are unanimous in declaring that if the League of Nations does not make a decisive effort to pull the nations of the world out of the vicious circle and the dangerous habit of outbidding each other in armaments, it will deceive those hopes which the people of the world have built upon it. It would be a blow from which it would never recover."

At this writing there is another significant fact relating to this desire to reduce armaments. December 14, Senator Borah introduced a joint resolution, known as S. J. Res. 225, authorizing the President of the United States to advise the governments of Great Britain and Japan that the Government of the United States is ready to take up with them the question of disarmament. This resolution, which has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, reads:

Whereas a representative and official of the Japanese Government has advised the world that the Japanese Government could not consent even to consider a program of disarmament on account of the naval building program of the United States; and

Whereas by this statement the world is informed and expected to believe that Japan sincerely desires to support a program of disarmament, but cannot in safety to herself do so on account of the attitude and building program of this government; and

Whereas the only navies whose size and efficiency requires consideration on the part of this government in determining the question of the size of our Navy are those of Great Britain and of Japan, two governments long associated by an alliance; and

Whereas the United States is now and has ever been in favor of a practical program of disarmament: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is requested, if not incompatible with the public interests, to advise the governments of Great Britain and Japan, respectively, that this government will at once take up directly with their governments and without waiting upon the action of any other nation the question of disarmament, with a view of quickly coming to an understanding by which the building naval programs of each of said governments, to wit, that of Great Britain, Japan, and the United States, shall be reduced annually during the next five years 50 per cent of the present estimates or figures.

Second, that it is the sense of the Congress, in case such an understanding can be had, that it will conform its appropriation and building plans to such agreement.

Resolved, further, That this proposition is suggested by the Congress of the United States to accomplish immediately a substantial reduction of the naval armaments of the world.

ANTI-SEMITISM

OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION on December 11 by the Polish Government of the minority rights clause of the Versailles Treaty as part of the law of the land no doubt will help compose the situation within Poland somewhat and diminish the persecution of the Jews. But, like all laws, it will need sympathetic administration to be at all effective, and action or non-action will show whether there really is any sincere disposition by the Polish Roman Catholic Christians to ease up on the persecution. Real amity and honest enforcement of the law would directly and simply modify an internal problem now vexing the United States, for it is from the centers of anti-Semitic persecution that hordes of prospective emigrants to the United States are finding their way to Baltic seaports and thence to the United States. Congress, in the new immigration legislation that will be enacted at this session, may so rule as to exclude much of this proposed "exodus," in which case a bettered state of affairs in Poland would draw some of the fleeing Jews back there.

Regrettable as the fact may be, it is certain that both in western Europe and in America there is more openly avowed anti-Semitic feeling today than has existed before. After you have discounted much of it as due the "post-war complex" that breeds divisions of all sorts—racial, vocational, religious, political and commercial—and that gives the world today an aspect of universal disintegration, you have to reckon with other causes for the range and intensity of the anti-Semitic crusade. Some of it is based on the reading and acceptance as true of an alleged document purporting to give the details of a plan to which Jews, it is said, everywhere assent, the same having for its purpose the domination of the Gentile world. The document is unquestionably a "fake," but it is widely read and is accepted as true by the gullible.

Jews are now attacked by two groups of critics, one group attaching to them responsibility for bringing on the war and "queering" the Peace Conference's decisions, in order to promote their personal, family, and racial pecuniary interests, and the other group crediting them with responsibility for the radicalism now rampant throughout the world, and especially the Russia communistic form of it.

The situation is such that any lighting of new firebrands of hatred of any kind is most deplorable; and the more so if for the first time in its history the United States adds to its already acute race problems one that will array against each other the followers of Christianity and of Judaism. We are glad to note that the Federal Council of Churches, at its recent meeting in Bos-

ton, went on record condemning any attempt to ostracise, punish, or otherwise make uncomfortable a man whose only offense is that of being of the seed of Abraham and of the race of Jesus. Equally commendable is the elaborate challenge recently issued by representative men, orthodox and liberal Jews, calling upon Mr. Henry Ford to prove the charges against the Jews that from week to week he sends forth in his weekly newspapers.

On the other hand, it must be said with some frankness that there is some peril in the situation if Jewish moderates and loyalists, who are neither proletarians nor plutocrats, radicals nor reactionaries, do not watch out. They are likely to be drawn into indiscriminate attack on critics and into equally non-judicial glorification and defense of all their race. Like other races in the United States that during the past six years have formed "blocks" for group ends, they can add fuel to the flames of attack by any show of solidarity that puts race above everything else.

Rightly or wrongly, the intense nationalistic spirit of the United States at the present time is hardening into a very militant and grim attitude toward all "groups" that make the nation secondary to their group interests.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

DELEGATES from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, forming a commission of investigation known as the International Communications Congress, have been in session in Washington for two months. They have been acting for their respective governments in the rôle of experts, ascertaining precisely what the conditions now are governing collection and transmission of information throughout the world, and debating ways and means of co-operating and controlling cable and radio lines, both those that are owned and operated by governments and those that are privately owned and managed.

The commission has not found it possible always to agree on all important phases of this problem, but as it closes its work and its delegates report back to their several governments, it has issued a preliminary report for the benefit of the public to prove that it has not sat in vain. The recommendations of the commission, after being considered by the governments they represent, will, it is hoped, come before a World's Communication Congress, to be called later in the year.

A draft has been made of a code covering all forms of electrical communications—by telegraph, cable, and

radio. If approved, it would take the place of the so-called "St. Petersburg Convention" of 1875 and of the Radio Convention of 1918.

A tentative plan also has been framed for a universal electrical communications union, similar in intent to the universal postal union, having for its object "the international reciprocal exchange of telegraphic and telephonic communications, by land—line, cable, radio, and all other electrical devices and other forms of signaling, as well as encouraging the further extension and improvement of such means of communication."

Provision also is made for the formation of an electrical communications council, in which Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States and four representatives, selected by other powers, shall be represented.

The commission also has dealt with concrete inequalities now existing in rates imposed by companies and is recommending that "subject to the ordinary classification of messages, under like circumstances services and rates are to be the same to all users without preference, concessions, priority rebates, or discriminations."

The American delegates have found themselves much handicapped in the negotiations and debates because of the unique situation existing in this country, where telegraph companies are privately owned. Most nations control their own means of intercommunication, even when they do not own them; and this anomalous condition of the United States, now that it has become part of a grave matter affecting the equal place of the nation in negotiations for a better ordered world, is likely to become a live domestic issue sooner than it otherwise might have. This will be hastened by precisely such difficulties as the federal authorities are now having with one of the leading telegraph companies of the country over its charges for government service and because of its resistance to the government's policy toward a British cable company with which the American telegraph is in close relations.

One of the most important matters before this commission, and about which it is still undecided, has been that of the cables formerly controlled by Germany, taken possession of and used by the Allies and now to be distributed on a basis as yet undetermined. There is rivalry among the European powers on this issue, one that this commission at its first session has found it impossible to compose. The American representatives have stood squarely and steadfastly for equality of service and rights, whatever final disposition is made of the issue of ownership; and ere the commission ad-

journed, December 14th, they had gained the right of the United States to one-fifth control of the lines.

For the United States, just at the present time, the most acute situation grows out of Japan's disinclination to concede to the United States any formally guaranteed share in use of the cable that lands at the island of Yap, in the Pacific Ocean, Japan as a mandatory of the League coming into possession of this island, formerly controlled by Germany. As neither the Executive nor the Legislative arms of the American Government have recognized the title thus conferred on Japan, the State Department has been quite within the law and comity of nations in protesting against monopoly control of one of the keys to the Pacific news service; and as we go to press it would seem as if Japan had conceded the essence of the American claim.

FIVE HUNDRED women, prominent in New York society and in social welfare work and reform movements, recently sat down at a banquet in New York City to listen to persons who are to approach the legislature of New York asking for the legal right to preach "birth-control." The necessary legislation has been drafted by Prof. S. M. Lindsay, of Columbia University. Mrs. Margaret Sanger, the chief American exponent of this crusade for a smaller and better world population, has just returned from a trip to England, Holland and Germany, and has reported on the development of this school of thought in those countries. We are specially interested in her argument that no world peace is possible without a reduction of the birth rate. "Diplomats," she said, "may form leagues of nations, but so long as women continue to produce explosive populations all the leagues in the world will be merely proverbial scraps of paper." Mrs. Sanger does not go quite as far as Mrs. Jesse Hardy Mackaye, of Milwaukee, who has recently urged that women decline to bear children until the men of the world disarm the nations. But the opinions of both these women and the degree of support they are getting from prominent women of the country indicate that a ferment is at work which will leaven the social lump of the future. Of course, the time-honored way of getting rid of surplus population was that followed by Nature, when (as at present in China) millions starved. A more modern way is by the blockade, such as the Allies have used during the war and since the Armistice. Mrs. Sanger and her associates plan for "conscious" action in times of "normalcy," lest abnormal pressure of population induces war for territory and for supplies with which to feed surplus mouths.

AN ASPECT of the disarmament problem which cannot be ignored was dealt with by Bishop McConnell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in a striking address which he made before the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at its meeting in Boston, this month. So long as armament must be manufactured to "carry on this wretched business of killing," this progressive leader insists that it must be under government control. If it continues to be a business handled by private owners, then the Bishop is quite clear that the time is not far off when the labor organizations of the world will say just how much they will do for makers of implements and munitions of war, and just how much they will not do. In short, the time is coming when capital thus invested for personal profit and quite oblivious to the social consequences of the industry will find itself challenged by organized manhood saying, "Lay down your arms." The sensation will not be unlike that which some newspaper publishers have had recently. Compositors, pressmen, and organized workers have declined to manufacture papers that are hostile and unfair to labor *per se*. "There are a great many ways of skinning a cat," and the munitions business may understand some day that its ablest opponent and the one most to be feared is not the congressman with a bill calling for disarmament, but the group of labor it employs. We are not arguing. We are describing what has been seen already in England. It may yet be a fact with us.

FINLAND MAY not accept the report of the Committee of International Jurists, appointed by the League of Nations, a report which finds that the question of ownership of the Aalands is not a domestic one. Finland will probably not agree, under any circumstances, to the cession of its islands to Sweden. Finnish papers insist that if this principle is fully acted upon it will have to be carried out by force of arms. Thus it looks as if the League of Nations would have to pursue some other course in its attempt to settle the difficulties between Finland and Sweden. It is doubtful if Finland will even agree to a plebiscite, for the Finnish authorities have made it clear that the Aaland Islands are a political and economic necessity to Finland. This is particularly true because Finland is a prohibition country, while Sweden is wet. Because of this fact, Finland has great difficulty in preventing the smuggling of liquor from Sweden into Finland. If this be the case with forty miles of water separating the two countries, Finland is quite convinced that prohibition would be impossible for her should the Aaland Islands be added to Sweden. While the difficulty thus presented applies especially to

liquor, it applies in no insignificant sense to other dutiable goods. Furthermore, as one correspondent has cabled from London, the people of Finland are not overimpressed by Sweden's argument that the population of the Aaland Islands is of Swedish descent, because if that argument were followed to its logical conclusion, she would have to give up all the other islands off her coast and even parts of the mainland. Finland has just become a member of the League of Nations.

SOcialism and the League of Nations are not open to the charge of being fraternal in their temper and attitudes. There are socialists in the Assembly, notably Herr Brantling, of Sweden, and there are statesmen in the Council and otherwise co-operating with the League who, in the past, have had doctrinaire sympathy at least with socialism. But the many groups of Socialists in Europe, speaking through their formally summoned assemblies, do not find the League at all admirable or suited to their aims, according to their standards of internationalism. They claim that Socialists are all too few in the League's official ranks; that a League without Russia is a farce; that Germany should be admitted at once; that the League now stands sponsor for an inequitable division of the raw materials necessary for recouping a disorganized world, the strong nations, as usual, refusing to bear the burdens of the weak nations. Socialists also point to the failure of the League to enforce swiftly and effectively any of its decisions against disobedient and selfish nations, like Poland, as a sign of its inherent impotence. Moreover, as staunch believers in disarmament, they criticize the slowness of the League in meeting this issue.

"THE WORLD WAR was the logical result of animal emotions controlling the terrific power released by the human intellect," said one of the ablest of social engineers, in discussing "The Principle of Industrial Philosophy" before a recent meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. That is the modernistic way of saying that war is "bestly," we suppose; and as engineers of all kinds in the United States are now federating to promote a finer type of industrial relations in order to bring about economic peace, it is to be hoped that they also will throw their massed influence against the "terrific power (of Nature) released by the human intellect" being used for beastly ends in international affairs. Labor is federating with a distinct purpose to "strike" in future wars. How about science? In England, Professor Soddy, the distinguished scientist, has refused to co-

operate with the British War Office in undertaking chemical warfare research, and the National Union of Scientific Workers has appointed a committee to consider how far science is justified in withholding its attainments to further ways and means of taking human life and destroying property.

ONE GRASPS at all consoling news indicating that the strife since 1914 has had some beneficent effects. Hence it is well to note that American actuaries report a decline in the suicide rate in the United States and Canada similar to the one previously reported from Great Britain. White males especially have moderated their self-destructive propensities. Why? Because opportunity for service and labor, whether in or out of the army, put an end to morbidity and introspection. War wages removed from the minds of many American and British workers the fear of poverty. Wholesale enforced medical inspection of several million men disclosed to many of them the baselessness of their dreads and sure ways to win long and healthy lives. Indeed, so vastly has the point of view of the average civilian toward personal and social hygiene changed as the result of the war's teachings that the nation and the States are now getting legislation conserving the national health that under ordinary circumstances would not have come until after a much longer process of educational propaganda.

WE ARE IN RECEIPT of a most distressing pamphlet, entitled "Farbige Franzosen am Rhein," containing a documented account of the behavior of the French Senegalese troops in the Rhine regions of Germany. There are accounts of 14 cases of rape, of 30 cases of attempt at rape, of 47 cases of assault, and of 59 cases of immoral assault upon boys. Our own opinion is that the French are making a strategic mistake in keeping the Senegalese troops in that region. Reports out of Germany indicate to us clearly that it is the one outstanding thing which the Germans resent more than they resent their defeat in the war. The result is a bitterness that is sinking into the very soul of the German people—a bitterness which it was not necessary to arouse, a bitterness which augurs nothing but ill for the days that lie before.

A BRITISH non-official investigator, describing conditions in Petrograd as they were in April, cited, among other interesting facts, that whereas under the old régime there were not less than seventy students, on an average, in the School of International Law of the University, in April there were only two. This fact, if

it be a fact, is disquieting; for a sovietized Russia will find, despite all present indications to the contrary, that nations do hold the ideal of a law-governed world. Exigencies of present need may compel Lenin to emphasize domestic affairs and concentrate on sovietization of so much of Russia as he can retain under the nibbling-away effects of nationalization in the Baltic, Ukrainian, and Caucasus region. But some day he must, if he retains power, sign treaties with the major powers among the Allies. Will anything in the history of past international procedure have weight with him? Who will be his advisers? Old Russia had jurists. Has the New Russia men who can come into international conferences with a knowledge of the past as well as with hope for the future?

THE GERMAN PAPER *Die Brücke*, published in Danzig, has in its number of October 23 an article entitled "Soll ich Auswandern?" ("Shall I Emigrate?"). This is a question which, it appears, is being asked by many Germans, especially those of the eastern provinces, which the war has separated from Germany. The writer advises against emigration—first, for the sentimental reason that Germans should stay with their country when it is in distress; second, for practical reasons, such as the expense, the high cost of living abroad, the unfitness of the Germans for labor in hot climates, the opposition to Germany abroad, difficulties incident to language, etc. But the writer goes on to suggest that times may change after the financial conditions of Germany have improved and the entire international situation has cleared. When the world has real peace, then a temporary emigration of the ablest of the German citizens might become urgently necessary, "in order to rebuild abroad that which the war has destroyed and in order to show the nations of the earth that the Huns have been misrepresented by England." The article concludes: "Do not emigrate now, but wait until an opportune time for emigration arrives; and then, if you still adhere to your plan, turn trustfully to the officers and clubs that make the care for emigrating numbers of our people their business and who gladly assist with word and deed, free of all expense."

CREDIT SHOULD be given to the U. S. War Department for the speed and thoroughness with which it has settled most of the contractual claims against the government that existed when the Armistice came, in 1918. Orders for the production of a vast amount of material had been given on the common understanding among the heads of the armies that the war would not end prior to the summer of 1919, if it did then. To

adjudicate on the losses that manufacturers and other producers would undergo by orders of the government to stop production might have been left to ordinary judicial tribunals and to the processes of litigation, costly and lingering. But a special board was created within the War Department, equipped with jurists and technical specialists, and it has passed upon 30,000 claims that will call upon the Treasury for payments amounting to \$473,415,993, with a net saving to the government of nearly three billion dollars. Only 604 of these claims had failed of settlement on November 20. Some of these undoubtedly will find their way to the Federal Court of Claims.

Certainly it is a great feat in mediation and adjustment that the War Claims Board has to its credit; for, as Secretary Baker says in his report on the matter to Congress, "each of the 30,000 claims was a potential lawsuit . . . involving large sums of money as well as novel and difficult forms of law and accountancy." Hundreds of men and firms have been saved to solvency. Billions have been saved to the taxpayers. Future generations will escape the scandals that grow out of delay in settling war claims until evidence and witnesses disappear. The nation has established a record of equity in dealing with business that may well be imitated in trading and commercial circles. And all by mediation, conciliation, and adjudication, unhampered by precedents and the red tape of legalism!

INDIA'S ALLEGED MISRULE by Great Britain, like Ireland's case against Great Britain, has reached the stage of open discussion and formal sympathetic action by citizens of the United States, including some persons high in office, notably Senator Norris of Nebraska. At a convention of Freedom of Friends of India held in New York City, early this month, a commission was named to proceed to India and make investigation, the presumption being that full opportunity for such probing would be given by British officials in India. The persons backing this new form of attack on Great Britain are in many cases also prominent in the drive for American support of the Irish Republic's demands, and they also are active in the commission of investigation of Irish affairs which has sat in Washington and heard witnesses, notably the widow of the Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, who died in prison from self-determined starvation. This pseudo-judicial tribunal has not met with the approval of the American public. It is deemed to be presumptuous, and also offensive to a nation with which the United States is on friendly terms; and to be operating under a theory of criticism in international conduct, which we would

quite disapprove were the British to set up commissions in England to investigate the internal affairs of the United States. One direct result of the Commission's creation and its sessions in Washington has been to accentuate the differences between Irish and non-Irish elements of the population and to irritate further an already inflamed sore. Similar in effect has been the attack on the British flag by Sinn Fein sympathizers, and especially the flagrant case of the Union Club's invasion and sacking by a New York City crowd. The extreme policy favored by the faction of the Irish in the United States which is loyal to de Valera, is working steadily against the cause of Irish independence. Saner representatives of the race realize this and are trying to put on the brakes; but the extremists have the rank and file of the Irish-American group with them. It would seem that we have problems enough here in America without looking across three thousand miles of sea for new opportunities to try on our little formulas for uplift.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS has begun publication, for general use, of all treaties and international agreements registered with the secretariat. These, with literature, various in kind, pertaining to the League, may now be had at the League of Nations Bureau, Woolworth Building, New York City. Some of this material is on file for reference purposes only, and some of it is for sale, but in either case the intention is to make the facts available to as large a number of persons as possible.

ONE DOES NOT need to sympathize overmuch with the Austrians of pre-war days, living the Laodicean life of Vienna, that brilliant and shallow capital, countenancing the inequities and iniquities of the Hapsburg rule. In a sense, they are getting a retribution that is their dessert. But the educators, scientists, artists, clergy, and jurists, who are undernourished, illy clothed, and without funds, they do make a moving appeal. We say jurists because of a letter which has appeared in the *New York Times*, written by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Austria, to whom a food draft had been sent by a Connecticut judge. In reply the jurist wrote:

"No one who has not experienced it can have any conception of the present distress in Austria. Your gift especially gratifies us, because we see in it a sign that the international fellowship of judges and intellectual workers is not dead, but forms an unbreakable bond, uniting the intellectual workers of all nations. I shall share the good with the most needy members of the Supreme Court."

EUROPE'S SALVATION

By ALFRED H. FRIED

Dr. Fried, whose home is in Vienna, Austria, received the Nobel Prize for the promotion of international peace, 1911.—
EDITOR.

IT is the most fatal mistake to believe that we have peace because military actions have come to an end and a document has been solemnly signed. Here we see again the old, iron-clad, time-resisting misunderstanding of the peace idea, a misunderstanding which even the storms of the World War could not drive from the minds of men.

How often have we tried to prove that military action alone is not the decisive sign of war. The system of international relations based upon violence is in itself war. It is war, even though no shot be fired. The insecurity, the obstructions of life, the general antagonism, the conviction that the existence of the other endangers the own existence, the constant preparedness to attack, to kill, to destroy, based upon the conviction to be attacked and destroyed otherwise—that is war. It has its latent and its acute form.

The nations of Europe already lived in a state of war prior to July 28, 1914. Then the latent war changed into the acute form, until November, 1918, the reversion to the latent condition took place. This we have still; still there is war. The longed-for peace is yet to be concluded.

The League of Nations covenant is only a dawn of this coming peace. It gives to humanity only an idea of what peace really is: community, reciprocity, equality, basing of thought and action upon justice, reign of a jointly created order, placing of the power, to be exercised jointly, at the service of this order. If we had this, then the life of nations could develop freely; it would find no obstacles, only strength—increasing assistance from the collaborating forces of all. Every progress of any one nation would be the advantage of the other. All forces would work to the benefit of all humanity; no longer would there be wasted energy; death-dealing anarchy would be conquered, and then the true state of peace would be reached. But how far we still are from this state!

Before the world-catastrophe we were told that humanity had to go through a great war before it could have true peace. Well, we have had this war, and that which it leaves us is even more anarchy, even more deadly opposition of interests, even more flagrant latent war than we had before.

The Path to Salvation

Where is the path to salvation? Europe only is concerned. America no longer seems to take an interest in its fate. To be sure, even there the idea of solidarity will break through again. At the present moment, under the wrought-up passions of the war, the ideal has no strength. When it returns it may be too late for the old world. Europe must save herself. She cannot expect any help from abroad. But how can this torn, shaken, bleeding mass of humanity find the strength of body and of mind that is needed to do this work?

In Europe the World War has left no victors. There

are only more or less conquered. England belongs to those conquered the least.

The advantages obtained there are, to a certain degree, proportionate to the sacrifices made. Therefore enlightenment is already coming from England. There the idea has taken root that soon a change in human relations must occur or else death. There it is already known that the Versailles Treaty cannot be the basis for the new organization of humanity; that it enforces anarchy, and thus becomes a menace to the culture and existence of Europe.

The greatest obstacle, however, to having this wish changed into a saving fact is in those nations that, no matter whether they are conquered or victorious, have lost the war. They are France and Germany. France, because it thinks it finds its best protection against Germany in this treaty. Germany, because, on account of its internal vital changes, it does not permit the growth of that confidence which is a presupposition for the change of the treaty. The war has not overcome the antagonism of the two nations; it has only made it stronger.

France fears its complete destruction by a recuperating and recovering Germany; and Germany sees in France, which is afraid of its (Germany's) recuperation, the party principally interested in keeping it down and destroying it. There we have international anarchy in its highest development, namely, in that condition where the mere existence of one State means possibility of death to the other. This terrible antagonism between Germany and France is, at the same time, the result and the cause of the international anarchy. Before the war it was the dangerous disease of Europe; now it has grown to be the fatal disease of the continent. Europe cannot recover if Germany and France see their own destruction in the existence of the other. Europe must go down on account of Germany and France, who, in their mutual denial of existence, form the obstacle to the abolition of world anarchy and the foundation of the saving, peaceful condition of world organization.

The Last Resort

There is only one way to conquer this obstacle, even though the plan leading to it be diametrically opposed to all psychology—demand a reversion of all sentiments, an abrupt break with all tradition. However, the magnitude of that which is at stake justifies unheard-of efforts. It would be the last resort still available. France and Germany must come to their senses, must recognize the community of their interests, and, penetrating the stream of blood lying between them, and the heavy haze of hatred, must banish the devilish spook which condemns them to mutual destruction. It is given into their hands to save each other by helping each other. By doing that they will also save Europe.

Germany Should Act First

The initial impulse, however, must come from Germany. In Germany they must learn to understand France. The advantages which it has gained in the peace treaty are only of a moral nature. Materially, France has lost the war. Every Frenchman will admit that himself. To be sure, it has won Alsace-Lorraine,

with 1,350,000 inhabitants, but it has lost more people (1,394,000 men only). By decreased birth rate it has lost another 1,500,000 people. The material loss of its ten departments, which were among the richest, is computed to be 130 milliards. This amount, it is said, shall be repaid by Germany. The real expenses of war which it must bear alone amount to 200 milliards, which means from 10 to 12 milliards of annual interest. According to Charles Gide's computation, this means the fourth part of the income of every Frenchman. With all this heavy load, France must reckon with the danger that the conquered and maimed Germany is thinking of revenge and is going to start a new war at an opportune moment. This enforced preparedness is another immense load. Therefore every German must learn to understand why France exerts all her strength to hold Germany down, never to let it come up again; that, in order to save itself, it believes in the necessity of trying to destroy Germany.

In order to lighten its own load, to obtain reparation of inflicted damages, France ought to help Germany in its economic restoration. But France must be afraid to help its own assassin to become strong, since the economic restoration of Germany would also strengthen its military power, as long as the German people remain true to its old military traditions. And this old militaristic Germany will live, will be restored and kept alive by France, as long as the latter, for fear of a revengeful Germany, intends to find its protection in militarism. If anything proves the folly of world anarchy, it is the phenomenon that every action which might help to make life easier, might lead to salvation, at the same time engenders death-bringing results, that every attempt at salvation simultaneously becomes an attempt at suicide.

There is only one way out of this dilemma: France and Germany must make peace—real peace. In it Germany must assume the honest obligation to help to restore France economically, and France must assume the obligation of a gradual and systematic reduction of the life-restricting and degrading conditions of the Versailles Treaty. By doing this, France would help to restore Germany economically, but thereby the German democracy would be given that strength which will enable it to conquer alone its militarists and nationalists. France would do away with the danger threatening from German militarism. Germany alone can save France, and France alone can save Germany. The sensible people in both countries must get together to find this way out and to bring about a peace congress of the representatives of France and Germany. It need not be a peace of love and endearments, but a treaty in which both nations, soberly and without passion, merely moved by self-love, safeguard their common conditions of life. But it must not be a peace directed against another country. That would not help any. This peace treaty, securing the life and the restoration of both nations, would form the presupposition of the League of Nations becoming a fact. This would give to it a great historical importance. Humanity would breathe more easily. The German-French antagonism has pulled it into war; its rational settlement only would bring real peace. There is no other way.

LETTERS FROM THE KAISER TO THE CZAR *

By BARON S. A. KORFF, LL. D.

Formerly Professor of Russian Law and History of Law at the University of Heisingtors, Finland, and the Women's University of Petrograd, Russia.

THE PUBLISHING OF THE KAISER'S LETTERS to the Czar must be looked at as a great event for the historians of that epoch. There is no doubt that these letters will always occupy an important place in modern European history. They are most interesting as one of the many weighty sources of our possible knowledge of the psychology of the rulers of Germany and Russia; though certainly, taken by themselves, they are insufficient, as they give only one side of the picture; the answers of the Czar are still hidden in the depth of the Berlin State Archives. Unfortunately, one cannot hope for a speedy release of those Russian answers, as they will hardly tend to magnify the Kaiser's former glory.

The historical meaning of the Kaiser's letters can be viewed from three points of view: First, as depicting the Kaiser's rôle and policy, explaining at least some phases of Germany's position during his reign; secondly, as giving a most vivid picture of his personality, which as yet has not found a satisfying description; and, thirdly, as an influence on modern events. Their publication has called forth already a voluminous exchange of views, especially from Germany.

At the time Levine's volume was published, the main trend of the Kaiser's efforts in St. Petersburg was well known, because his telegraphic correspondence concerning the proposed treaty with Russia and France had been published by Mr. Herman Bernstein. The articles, entitled "The Willy-Nicky Correspondence during the years 1904-1907," gave us the gist of the matter, though certainly far less vividly and strongly than the full text of Wilhelm's letters.

In a long introductory chapter, Mr. Levine gives a detailed explanation of the way the Kaiser's letters were found and copied by him in Russia and how their first appearance in the press was met in Germany and England. Wilhelm's letters cover the period of practically the whole of the Czar's reign, viz., November, 1894, to March, 1914, their correspondence having stopped only very shortly before the World War. They are all written in English and couched in most friendly language, ending invariably with kind messages of love and greeting to the Czarina and signed "most affectionate" or "devoted cousin and friend, Willy." They were usually dispatched by special messengers of the Kaiser's or the Czar's personal suite.

Germany's Pre-war Policy

The most important historical meaning of this correspondence of the two deposed monarchs lies certainly in the light it throws on the pre-war general policy of Germany, and hence on the developments of these last decades in eastern Europe. The chief fact is the great change of policy that was caused by William turning his back on England, with whom he was on very friendly

* Copied and published by Isaac Don Levine (New York, Fred. A. Stokes Co., 1920).

terms at the beginning of his reign, and his turning to Russia as a counter-move. The explanation the Kaiser gives himself of this, as well as of his newly developed hatred of England, is the policy of his uncle Bertie; and no impartial observer can help feeling that there was some justification in such a point of view. King Edward VII did all he could to harm Germany. His plan of encirclement, his visit to Reval in 1908, his unending intrigues with Russia, France, Italy, etc., as well as his home armaments, could not but arouse Germany's suspicions; and it is a very poor excuse to say that this was done only in self-defense; the aggressive element in Edward's policy was much too evident, even to the uninitiated. Edward only too often acted independently of his ministers and sometimes behind their backs and probably without even their knowledge. He was a past master of personal talks.

Now, it was Bismarck's old, well-established policy, his firmest conviction and probably cleverest theory, that Germany always ought to maintain the closest friendship relations with Russia and the Czars, at all costs. The chief objects of this policy were two: as safe insurance against France or any attempt on the part of the latter to prepare a "revanche"; and, secondly, a best way to protect the institutions of autocracy of Germany as well as Russia. Only by keeping in close friendly touch with Russia, accordingly, could Germany feel safe on her western frontier and maintain her inner autocratic rule of an irresponsible Kaiser. Modern developments have sufficiently proved how right Bismarck was, from his point of view, no matter how undemocratic and reactionary such a policy might be deemed. The two autocracies were doomed to stand and fall together, and good relations with Russia did mean for Germany peace in the west.

At the time William came to the throne he violently reversed this policy of Bismarck. He hated and feared the old man, who was too strong and independent for him. This partially explains his immoderate desire to turn upside down all Bismarck's achievements. On the other hand, William was brought up by his mother to like and revere England and the English people, which accounts for his early friendship with that country, a friendship which lasted for several years.

Then came the change, caused by three main factors: 1st, the astonishing growth of German expansion in every domain and respect, which turned the heads of her rulers, made them conceited and overbearing to the possible limit, and finally led to their own downfall; 2d, the above-mentioned personal policy of King Edward, which was irritating and provoking Berlin; and, 3d, the change that came in the Russian policy in the gradual strengthening of her bonds with France, which necessarily broke Bismarck's traditions.

Hatred of England

Analyzing the historical events of this period, one must constantly keep in mind that Germany's policy was the personal policy of the Kaiser; that he alone directed it with all his personal impetuosity and passion. Thus, one of the most remarkable and historically probably the most important trait characterizing this correspondence of William is his evident and overwhelming hatred of England. The force of this factor cannot be

denied. Its evidence bursts on us at nearly every page of these letters, growing constantly stronger as time went on. It was caused certainly not only by the incidents of the international situation, but also by the inner development of Germany. William hated parliamentary institutions, and the English parliamentary rule rightly seemed to him the greatest danger to his beloved autocracy.

His letters prove clearly how his dread of and hatred of England gradually grew in strength, how this led to his planning a German-Russian-French alliance, as a necessary counter-move, and how the European situation worried him day and night. They do not prove, however, as the German historians try to state (for instance, Professor Goetz), that peace was the Kaiser's final and main object. The chief indictment against the Kaiser, that he willed the war, still remains unassailable and undeniable. Peace was necessary to him only as long as Germany, in his opinion, was not yet ready for war; and when the moment came, when he thought himself sufficiently strong and prepared, he was ready to fight and discard all his peace ambitions. The idea of the necessity and usefulness of a "preventive war," with all its immoral and treacherous consequences, was much too deeply rooted in the psychology of the German ruling class, Wilhelm included.

Studying the correspondence of the Kaiser, we find many interesting details of the international events of this epoch; no historian of these times will be able to avoid investigating these letters. One of the most interesting events was certainly his attempt to cajole Nicholas into an anti-English alliance. As is known since the publication of the Willy-Nicky correspondence, in a way he succeeded. The Czar did give him his signature at Björkö, and Witte's efforts could not destroy this later in Berlin. This is the explanation of Wilhelm's famous speech from the palace balcony the day of the declaration of war with Russia; he was waving a sheet of paper (the treaty with the Czar) and shouting, "*Er hat mir belogen, er hat mich betrogen*" (He, the Czar, lied to me and deceived me), alluding to this treaty. At the time, the treaty not being known to the outside world, these words remained for a long while an unexplainable mystery. This incident is also very characteristic of the analysis of the Kaiser's personality.

The Kaiser's Character

The Kaiser's letters are most interesting and enlightening to any one who would like to study his impetuous and unbalanced character. It is not surprising that he stigmatized their publication as a "dirty violation of propriety." He must have realized very well what a vivid picture his correspondence with the Czar gave the world at large; how they divulged some of his most secret political moves or ambitions; how they bared his violent passions and his overwhelming conceit. The educated and enlightened Germans well realize at present what harm was done to their people by such an uncontrollable and irresponsible ruler. Hardly can one find better proof of the dangers of autocracy. Maximilian Harden, the well-known German writer, branded the Kaiser only too well. The less passionate Hans Dehnbück concurred, using more scientific arguments (see the *Preuss. Jahrbücher*). The letters condemn Wil-

helm absolutely as a ruler and reveal in a glaring light all his governmental theories and ideals, his hopes and aspirations. He was the all-mighty Lord, chosen and blessed of God, the super-man of Nietzsche, the great ruler of the greatest people on earth. And yet we also see how limited his intellectual and political horizons were; how little he realized the modern trend of social development, and how very superficial (to say the least!) his achievements were—art, literature, and scientific knowledge included. In ordinary life he probably would have been a very secondary dilettante or amateur artist and scientist. The German governing system, his servile entourage, and the overbearing Prussian ruling class lifted him up to undeserved heights, to a position of which he was not in the least worthy.

Among the many traits of William's character, some seem very repulsive. Perhaps the worst one, pointed out long ago by the English press, was his singular moral obtuseness. The Jesuitic principle, that the end justifies the means, was constantly supreme, and all that seemed good and useful for himself was deemed best for others. This does not in any way contradict his possible love of Germany and of "his" people. William was patriotic, in his way, and he no doubt strove vigorously to establish the future happiness of the German people.

Another trait of the Kaiser's character, most unsympathetic, was his hypocrisy. Ever so many letters of William breathe that unwholesome spirit of falsity. His personal opinion of the Czar must have been all the time a very low one, and yet he constantly caters hypocritically to the Czar's pride and conceit. He flatters him, praises him, cajoles him, having invariably a personal motive or purpose in mind. Not a single letter gives us a proof of real personal friendship. What the Kaiser wanted was invariably and exclusively either Russia's help and military assistance or the strengthening of the institutions of autocracy, mainly of his own power, "by the grace of God." No matter what we think of William's other characteristics, hypocrisy and falsity will always remain his predominating traits.

What of the Future

Further, we come to the third element, suggested by the analysis of the Kaiser's correspondence, namely, the possible lessons for future generations, and especially for the Germans. From this point of view the Kaiser's letters are very instructive indeed.

As was to be expected, the Germans have reacted in two different ways on the publication of this correspondence: One group of writers, among whom Professor Goetz is the most prominent, has tried to analyze the correspondence from the point of view of international politics only; the other one, with Harden and Dehlbrück at their head, have gone deeper into the matter, and have studied as well the relations of the Kaiser, the government, and the German people at large.

The first-mentioned group avoids all personal attacks. They only point out the dangers and consequences of a wavering, unsteady, haphazard international policy of Germany during the reign of Wilhelm. They are mostly monarchists and do not want to undermine their main and beloved principle. They simply outline, according to their ideals, the necessary international policy of Germany. In most cases it amounts simply to the

further development of Bismarck's policy, as mentioned above, the foundation of which was always to be the friendship and good understanding with Russia. There is no doubt whatever, in our mind, that in the future this will certainly be the basis of the German policy. She will try to exploit, organize, and weld the Russian State, no matter what government the latter may have, and she will have a faithful and helpful ally on the other side of Russia, namely, Japan.

The second group of German authors who have written on the Kaiser's correspondence with Nicholas goes much deeper into the matter, and tries to show and prove how evil and dangerous the former autocratic system was for Germany or for any country—really, how much depended on the whim of an unbalanced and mediocre monarch! Time and again the German policy was changed or shaped according to the fleeting mood, the idiosyncrasies or sympathies of an utterly irresponsible individual, who could bring upon his people incredible suffering.

These writings have their own great meaning and importance, owing to the fact that the monarchial parties in many countries are still very strong and by no means diminishing in influence. Germany's example ought to be studied in this respect; and the intimate letters of Wilhelm can be the best possible illustration of what rôle autocracy can play in the welfare of a people.

For the Russian historian Levine's volume has quite an exceptional interest. We can see, for example, how the Kaiser was hypocritically urging the Czar to withstand the Japanese demands, how he was pressing the necessity of a struggle with Japan, and how he was falsely lamenting the failure of the Russian armies. We know at present from other sources that Germany was at that moment counting on the weakening of Russia, and that Wilhelm was quite pleased that the Japanese had destroyed the Russian armed forces for a long period of years to come. The more diabolical and shamelessly false, therefore, do the utterances of the Kaiser appear. I think this example is the limit of hypocrisy. Russia's weakness was necessary for Germany, in order to frustrate any too-close alliance between St. Petersburg and Paris. As long as Russia was so helpless, France was weak, too!

During the later period of social trouble in Russia, Wilhelm developed a feverish activity and bombarded the Czar with all sorts of advice and information, counseling him to grant some reforms, but certainly to maintain at the same time the sacred institutions of autocracy. He repeatedly warned Nicholas to "rule in person," and not to let the ministers get the better of him. It is in these letters of 1905-1906 that we find most of his attacks against the parliamentary system of government and his shortsighted outbursts against England in particular and democracy in general. There no longer can be any doubt but that the foolish policy of Nicholas of those years, which strengthened the forces of Russian reaction, was inspired, if not created, by the whisperings from Berlin. William thus upheld his dear principle of autocracy on the one hand and further weakened Russia on the other.

In conclusion, we must mention the very deficient spelling of the French words all through the text of the

book. It is possible, but not at all probable, that the Kaiser wrote so badly in French. If, on the contrary, these mistakes were made during the copying of Wilhelm's letters, which is much more likely, this fact cannot help detracting from the authenticity and historical value of the text. This would be especially the case concerning the text of the treaties proposed by the Kaiser (§XL, for example). Historical writers must be very careful, in consequence, in handling these texts.

WAR, TAXATION, AND THE HUMANITIES

By E. B. ROSA, of the Bureau of Standards, Washington

The full text of this admirable address on "The Economic Importance of the Scientific Work of the Government" may be found in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, June, 1920. We have made quotations from it, with the author's permission.—EDITORS.

OR MANY YEARS the revenues of the Federal Government were ample and easily obtained. Taxation was indirect and not felt and many of the developmental functions of the government were exercised with little question or objection. The World War involved enormous expenditures and increased the fixed charges due to the public debt and other war obligations to several times the former budget. The result is that expenditures for education, scientific research, and developmental work are severely scrutinized, and the question is raised as to whether we can afford to carry on such work on a generous scale. It is, of course, proper that every item in the national budget be closely scrutinized, and that nothing be passed which cannot justify itself. It is desirable, therefore, to inquire whether scientific research as carried on by the Federal Government is a luxury or a necessity; whether it is something to be enjoyed when taxes are light and curtailed when taxes are heavy; or whether it is creative and wealth-producing, and therefore to be increased and developed when expenses are abnormally large and a heavy debt must be liquidated. The question is, in short, whether scientific and industrial research and education are like good seed and fertilizer to a farmer, which are essential to the best success; or whether they are as luxuries to the rich, which consume but do not produce, and which should be curtailed when necessary expenses increase.

The National Budget

In order to discuss the question concretely and with reference to actual conditions, let us examine the national budget as it stands for the current fiscal year, with appropriations amounting to a total of \$5,686,005,706, as given in the regular supply bills and three deficiency bills prior to May 1, 1920. For convenience, we may divide it into six parts, as follows:

Group I. Obligations arising from recent and previous wars, including interest on the public debt, pensions, war-risk insurance, rehabilitation and care of soldiers, deficit in the operation of railways, expenditures of the Shipping Board, European food relief, and the bonus to govern-

	ment employees to partially cover the increased cost of living due to the war, a total of..	\$3,855,482,586
Group II.	War and Navy Departments, expenses somewhat above a permanent peace-time basis.....	1,424,138,677
Group III.	Primary governmental functions, including Congress, President and White House staff, courts and penal establishments, Departments of Justice, State, Treasury, Interior, Commerce, Labor, Interstate Commerce and other commissions, one-half the District of Columbia, including all the necessary functions of government other than defense, except the commercial activities of Group V and the research, education, and developmental work of Group VI.....	181,087,225
Group IV.	Public works, including rivers and harbors, public buildings, reclamation service, post-roads, national parks, and railway in Alaska	168,203,557
Group V.	Commercial or self-supporting activities, including the Post-Office, Patent Office, Land Office, Panama Canal, and Housing Corporation, which, taken together, earn their expenses.	
Group VI.	Research, educational, and developmental, including the wide range of work of the Agricultural Department, Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Bureau of Standards, Bureau of Fisheries, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Women's and Children's Bureaus, Vocational Education, College for Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, and the Public Health Service.....	57,093,661
	Total.....	\$5,686,005,706

The first two groups together amount to 92.8 per cent of the total; public works amount to 3 per cent, primary governmental functions 3.2 per cent, and research, education, and developmental work 1 per cent. The population of the country being about 110,000,000, the total budget is about \$50 per year per capita, of which 50 cents per year per capita is expended for the wide range of research, education, and development.

Scientific Research and War

The war called for scientific research in connection with the standardization and making of munitions, finding and using substitute materials, locating enemy guns by sound and flash ranging, locating submarines, building and equipping ships and submarines, building and equipping airplanes, dirigibles, and balloons, and many other major subjects as well as countless minor ones. This called for well-equipped scientific laboratories and the trained personnel of research workers and assistants. The government laboratories were utilized to the limit of their capacity, and all kinds of makeshift facilities

IT IS REPORTED

That only 33 1/3 per cent of the population of Chicago is American.

That census figures in Japan show the death rate to be gaining over the birth rate.

That Havana, Cuba, has the reputation of being the richest city per capita, in the world.

That for reasons of economy the German Government has decided to close a number of German universities.

That diplomatic relations between Germany and Brazil, which were broken off in 1917, have again been resumed.

That the Y. M. C. A. is still keeping overseas no fewer than 615 American men and women engaged in various services.

That 7,000 workers in the linen industry, out of a total of 13,000, are without work in the Ghent district, owing to the shortage of raw materials.

That the United States Department of Agriculture has suggested the breeding of skunks as a means of stabilizing the "depressed fur market."

That the city of Chicago is spending \$150,000 yearly to serve meals to children from needy homes, about 50,000 children of school age being fed daily.

That Berlin University has advised its students not to take up dentistry as a career as the training is very expensive and chances of financial success very poor.

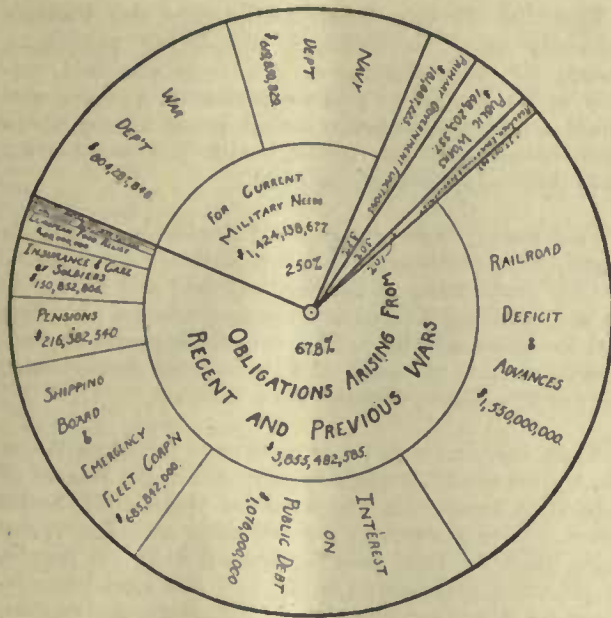
That the results of experiments in Dresden in the manufacture of German porcelain money are considered unsatisfactory, and that the "coins" will not be put into circulation.

That it is proposed to hold a great international exhibition in Philadelphia in 1926 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

That Francisco de la Barra, former provisional president of Mexico, is to be president of the mixed Franco-Austrian Arbitration Commission established by the Treaty of St. Germain.

That the Court of Appeals of British Columbia has declared ultra vires and contrary to treaty engagements with Japan, recent provincial legislation prohibiting the employment of Japanese laborers.

That Gianni Caproni, the airplane inventor, is now completing plans for a giant plane to carry 300 persons across the Atlantic in about thirty-six hours, the plane being designed with dining and sleeping accommodations.



were pressed into service. If preparations had been begun several years before, it is needless to say results would have been obtained sooner and the war appreciably shortened. In view of this experience and the probability that science and technology will be no less important in the future than in the past, the question naturally arises whether the government is making adequate preparation for scientific research as a part of its program of military preparedness. In time of war the civil branches of the government will be called upon immediately, and they will be able to render invaluable service if they are adequately equipped and manned. In the meantime, pending the arrival of the war, which we hope will never come, they will be able to render useful service in civil problems and so be more than self-supporting. This kind of preparation for war, which adds nothing to the military budget if the civil departments are adequately supported, should appeal to all as practicable and desirable.

Summary of the Argument

The Federal Government, having emerged from participation in the World War, finds itself with a large debt and heavy annual charges caused by the war. These, together with the current cost of the army and navy, amount for the present fiscal year to 92.8 per cent of the total budget. The cost of public works and the necessary administrative cost of the Federal Government amounts to 6.2 per cent of the total. There remains 1 per cent for a large number of governmental activities classed as research, educational, and developmental. The question arises whether, in the interest of economy and efficiency, the 1 per cent shall be decreased; or, because this work is constructive and of great economic value, it shall be increased, possibly doubled. * * * This consideration should appeal to legislators and business men alike; namely, that research and development work by the government develop wealth, and the burden of taxation is thereby lightened.

That the American Red Cross has given to the League of Red Cross Societies 500,000 suits of reconditioned underwear and 100,000 pairs of rubber gloves, for use in the campaign against typhus throughout Central Europe.

That the Northern Peace Union of Stockholm has petitioned the King of Sweden to introduce English as the fundamental foreign language to be taught in all State-aided schools, in order to facilitate international communication.

That German public opinion looks with disfavor on the granting of a Nobel Prize to President Wilson, alleging that he has been responsible for post-war difficulties for Germany tending to make her punishment greater.

That a Mandarin Version of the Chinese Bible has been completed at a cost of \$700,000, after twenty-five years' work on the part of translators, thus making the Bible accessible to over 400,000,000, that is to say, to one-fourth the population of the world.

That wireless telephone messages from England were plainly heard in Geneva at a demonstration recently given by William Marconi, and that newspaper men in attendance at the Assembly of the League of Nations plainly heard messages spoken 500 miles away.

That Germany, through private initiative, is establishing in all her large cities "High Schools of Politics," which, according to their founder, Professor Ernest Jaekch, are to "reduce politics to a science and restore the nation's greatness by peaceful methods."

That the five Central American countries, at their conference at San Jose, Costa Rica, this month, have practically perfected a federation, and worked out a plan of joint governmental action and ultimate merger in which organized labor is to have its recognition.

That the foreign trade of Germany for the first five months of 1919 was as follows: imports, 3,339,000,000 marks; exports, 1,169,000,000 marks; during the first five months of 1920 these have increased to 28,480,000,000 marks for imports and 23,688,000,000 for exports.

That St. Mihiel, where American troops did some of their most heroic fighting, is to have a unique memorial, the Junior Red Cross of America having made an appropriation to be used in co-operation with the French Government for the establishment of a model children's hospital.

That the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, has decided to place on the walls of the handsome building, provided for it by Italy, a tablet in memory of David Lubin, the American Jew, who conceived the plan of the Institute, was its founder under the patronage of the King of Italy, and served as the first representative of the United States on its governing board.

That the British Government, with the Premier especially eager, is seriously considering naming a woman for the diplomatic service, to be stationed possibly in Washington as a first experiment; a person who would act as a go-between on all issues having to do with women, children, public health and social evils. Lady Astor is sponsor of the plan.

That Sidney Webb, the eminent English sociologist, is urging twin parliaments for the National government, one for functioning in the political field and having to do with national defense and the maintenance of order; and the other a social parliament, dealing with the nation's economic resources, and its cultural development, the people's health, education and taxation.

That, inadequate as the expenditures for education in the United States are, figures compiled in the Bureau of Education show that the people of the United States are now paying annually for education as much, if not more, than the total paid for education by the peoples of all other countries; that is, half the total expenditures for education, elementary, secondary, and higher, of the whole world are made in the United States, which contains approximately one-seventeenth of the population of the world.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE LEAGUE President Wilson's Message to Congress— Opinions of Political Leaders— Conferences at Marion

President Wilson, in his message to Congress, December 7, made no specific reference to the League or to the attitude of the United States toward it; but in general terms he had the following words to say about the ideals of the nation and their relation to contemporary domestic and foreign duties:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

When I addressed myself to performing the duty laid upon the President by the Constitution, to present to you an annual report on the state of the Union, I found my thought dominated by an immortal sentence of Abraham Lincoln's: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it"—a sentence immortal because it embodies in a form of utter simplicity and purity the essential faith of the nation, the faith in which it was conceived and the faith in which it has grown to glory and power. With that faith and the birth of a nation founded upon it came the hope into the world that a new order would prevail throughout the affairs of mankind, an order in which reason and right would take precedence of covetousness and force, and I believe that I express the wish and purpose of every thoughtful American when I say that this sentence marks for us in the plainest manner the part we should play alike in the arrangement of our domestic affairs and in our exercise of influence upon the affairs of the world. By this faith, and by this faith alone, can the world be lifted out of its present confusion and despair. It was this faith which prevailed over the wicked force of Germany. You will remember that the beginning of the end of the war came when the German people found themselves face to face with the conscience of the world and realized that right was everywhere arrayed against the wrong that their government was attempting to perpetrate. I think, therefore, that it is true to say that this was the

faith which won the war. Certainly this is the faith with which our gallant men went into the field and out upon the seas to make sure of victory.

Democracy's Mission

This is the mission upon which democracy came into the world. Democracy is an assertion of the right of the individual to live and to be treated justly as against any attempt on the part of any combination of individuals to make laws which will overburden him or which will destroy his equality among his fellows in the matter of right or privilege, and I think we all realize that the day has come when democracy is being put upon its final test. The old world is just now suffering from a wanton rejection of the principle of democracy and a substitution of the principle of autocracy as asserted in the name, but without the authority and sanction, of the multitude. This is the time of all others when democracy should prove its purity and its spiritual power to prevail. It is surely the manifest destiny of the United States to lead in the attempt to make this spirit prevail.

Two Ways to Assist

There are two ways in which the United States can assist to accomplish this great object: First, by offering the example within her own borders of the will and power of democracy to make and enforce laws which are unquestionably just and which are equal in their administration—laws which secure its full right to labor and yet at the same time safeguard the integrity of property, and particularly of that property which is devoted to the development of industry and the increase of the necessary wealth of the world. Second, by standing for right and justice as toward individual nations. The law of democracy is for the protection of the weak, and the influence of every democracy in the world should be for the protection of the weak nation, the nation which is struggling toward its right and toward its proper recognition and privilege in the family of nations. The United States cannot refuse this rôle of champion without putting the stigma of rejection upon the great and devoted men who brought its government into existence and established it in the face of almost universal opposition and intrigue, even in the face of wanton force, as, for example, against the orders in council of Great Britain and the arbitrary Napoleonic decrees, which involved us in what we know as the War of 1812. I urge you to consider that the display of an immediate disposition on the part of the Congress to remedy any injustices or evils that may have shown themselves in our own national life will afford the most effectual offset to the forces of chaos and tyranny which are playing so disastrous a part in the fortunes of the free peoples of more than one part of the world. The United States is of necessity the sample democracy of the world, and the triumph of democracy depends upon its success.

OPINIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERS

President-elect Harding, in a speech before the Senate, December 6, in which he bade farewell to that body, said:

We are facing no easy task. We have our full part in the readjustment of human affairs, after the world tumult. We have our tasks at home, we have our part in the inevitable work of the civilized world. I am sure that the necessity of wise solution will inspire us to work together, to take common counsel, to be tolerant of one another and give the best which is in all of us to attain the ends which become our Republic at home and will maintain its high place among the nations of the earth.

Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, on December 5th, in an interview, said that he would continue to fight against the League "to the finish":

It is unthinkable, after the recent election, that the United States will be taken into the League. The Republican platform, the utterances of President-elect Harding, the promises made the American people, to which they so overwhelm-

ingly responded, will keep us out of any entangling alliances and specially out of the League.

The election presented the contrast between just common folks and the intelligencia. The common folks made up their minds about the League and voted their belief, no matter what their political party. The victory in the election was a victory of sturdy citizenship or common folks who desired to be just Americans.

Senator Borah has announced his program for the United States and the policy for which he will stand in his speeches and by his votes in the Senate. He would—

1. Pass the Knox resolution, declaring a status of peace with Germany.
2. Declare in favor of recodification and simplification of international law.
3. Expand The Hague Tribunal, giving it greater powers in the settlement of disputes between nations.
4. Declare that all territory seized by nations in the peace settlement shall be given back to the countries from which it was appropriated.
5. Provide for settlement of all disputes by the international court without resort to war.

NO ACTION BY CONGRESS AT SHORT SESSION

On December 8 it was announced that the Republican leaders had decided not to take any action on the Knox peace resolution at the short session of Congress which now is sitting; and, moreover, that nothing would be done to remove from control of the Foreign Relations' Committee the treaty providing that the United States and Great Britain should come to the aid of France in case of attack.

MARION CONFERENCES

Early in December, after his return from his trip to Panama, Mr. Harding went to Marion and began a series of conferences with men of both parties respecting the wise course of policy toward the League to be followed by him and by the majority back of him in the Congress that will meet probably in March, 1921.

On the 10th he said to a *New York Times* correspondent:

I am trying to find out what middle ground there is on which we can unite American public opinion in the matter of foreign policies. As you know, I am desirous of talking not only with pro-League but Irreconcilables, those who would have us play our full part in the world and those who would have America retain her freedom. Between the two it would seem probable that we can find some middle-ground viewpoint that possibly has not been brought out before, one to which all shades of American public opinion will agree.

In this I am carrying out my campaign promises to sift and combine the best opinion on foreign relations. It may be impracticable, but as present I am not of that opinion.

The President-elect declined to divulge the topics he intended discussing with his visitors, but said:

I expect to talk with at least a hundred people on this matter. Later, but not now, it may be desirable to give out an outline of our conclusions.

On the 11th he had Mr. Herbert Hoover as a guest and adviser. Mr. Hoover, commenting on the conference, said:

We talked over the League situation, of course. I have always been in favor of taking this League and the peace treaty and modifying them. I see no use in reopening the 10,000 questions which have been closed and committed to documents. It must be substantially changed in machinery and in other ways, we all know, but I believe it can be done and other members of the League will show an inclination to follow America's lead.

Mr. Hoover also laid before Mr. Harding his own prescription for a restoration of sound conditions in Europe, as follows:

First. Extension of credits to European countries to revive the export trade of the United States. The extension of credits should amount to an investment of American capital in European enterprises with the definite idea of putting the European nations on their feet and getting them back to work.

Second. Determination of the exact amount and terms of the indemnity Germany must pay, as the only means of restoring industrial and agricultural activity in Germany.

Third. Adoption of some plan to put Russia back in the ranks of producing nations.

THE HARVEY PLAN

From the Harding headquarters there issued on the 13th the following statement of a plan favored by "Colonel" George B. Harvey and discussed by him and Mr. Harding. It read:

The whole topic of discussion between the two has been a proposal which dwarfs all previous propositions designed to perpetuate peace and to democratize the world. It was, in brief, that the United States should stand as a sponsor for an association of peoples who should pledge their respective governments for all time never to engage in offensive warfare until the question will be submitted to, and decided by, the people themselves.

The President-elect declined to discuss the latter, but Colonel Harvey, while disclaiming any authority to speak for him, personally espoused the idea with vigor, and expressed the belief that a practicable plan could be devised through friendly consultation and helpful co-operation with other nations. Of the merits of the proposal, if it can be made effective, he thought there could not be any doubt in any mind sensitive to the highest ideals and most worthy traditions of America.

MR. ROOT IN CONFERENCE

On the 13th Mr. Harding had a three-hours' conference with Mr. Elihu Root, in which the latter gave special attention to description of the plan for the International Court of the League, which, the same day, was being approved, without any compulsory feature, by the Assembly at Geneva. After the conference with the President-elect Mr. Root gave to the press a detailed résumé of the history of the movement in this country for settlement of international disputes by arbitration and by adjudication, and he explained how the plan for which he was contending would go beyond the work of The Hague conferences and provide the League with an indispensable instrument of service.

CHANGES IN THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF JURISTS

The Assembly of the League of Nations, meeting at Geneva, has made certain fundamental changes in the project submitted by the Committee of Jurists, which met at The Hague during June and July. The essential changes are in Articles 34, 36, 37. The original of each of these articles, together with its revised form, follows:

Article 34 (original).

Between States which are members of the League of Nations, the court shall have jurisdiction (and this without

any special convention giving it jurisdiction) to hear and determine cases of a legal nature, concerning—

- (a) The interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) Any question of international law;
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) The nature or extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation;
- (e) The interpretation of a sentence passed by the court.

The court shall also take cognizance of all disputes of any kind which may be submitted to it by a general or particular convention between the parties.

In the event of a dispute as to whether a certain case comes within any of the categories above mentioned, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court.

Article 34 (as adopted).

Without prejudice to the right of the parties, according to Article 12 of the Covenant, to submit disputes between them either to judicial settlement or arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, the court shall have jurisdiction (and this without any special agreement giving it jurisdiction) to hear and determine disputes the settlement of which is by treaties in force entrusted to it or to the tribunal instituted by the League of Nations.

Article 36 (original).

The court shall give an advisory opinion upon any question or dispute of an international nature referred to it by the Council or Assembly.

When the court shall give an opinion on a question of an international nature which does not refer to any dispute that may have arisen, it shall appoint a special commission of from three to five members.

When it shall give an opinion upon a question which forms the subject of an existing dispute, it shall do so under the same conditions as if the case had been actually submitted to it for decision.

Article 36 (as adopted).

When the parties to a dispute agree to submit it to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the court shall, in the first place, apply the rules of procedure which may have been laid down in the agreement, and, in the second place, in so far as they are applicable, the rules of procedure contained in The Hague Convention of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes, always provided such rules are consistent with the provisions of Articles 1-36, 37, 39, 49, and 59 of the present convention.

Article 37 (original).

The official language of the court shall be French.

The court may, at the request of the contesting parties, authorize another language to be used before it.

Article 37 (as adopted).

The official languages of the court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment will be delivered in French.

If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment will be delivered in English.

In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the court will be given in both languages. In this case the court will at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.

The court may, at the request of the parties, authorize a language other than French or English to be used.

ARMENIA, THE POWERS, AND THE UNITED STATES

On November 25 the Council of the League, after receipt of news from Armenia indicating the gravity of the situation, sent out a call to the nations signatory to the treaty, asking some one or more of them to act as mediator between Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the leader of the Turkish Nationalist Party, and the Armenians. In addition, the appended communication was dispatched by cable to President Wilson. It read:

The Assembly of the League of Nations passed on November 22 a resolution couched in the following terms: "The Assembly, anxious to co-operate with the Council in order to put an end within the shortest time possible to the horrors of the Armenian tragedy, has requested the Council to arrive at an understanding with the governments with the view of entrusting a power with the task of taking necessary measures to stop hostilities between the Kemalists and the Armenians."

The Council of the League has, after consideration, decided to transmit this resolution to the governments of all States members of the League and also to the Government of the United States. The object is to find a power which will use its good offices to put an end as speedily as possible to the present terrible tragedy.

The proposal does not involve a repetition of the invitation to accept a mandate for Armenia. The Council does not wish to suggest an assumption of duties which might be unwelcome, but has felt bound to offer to the United States the opportunity of undertaking this humanitarian task, since the fate of Armenia always has been of special interest to the American people, and the President of the United States has already agreed to delimit the boundaries of that country. As the matter is of great urgency, the Council ventures to ask for a reply with the shortest possible delay.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S GUARDED REPLY

President Wilson, on November 30, in a guarded communication, making clear the limitations under which he must act, accepted the post of mediator. He said:

President of the Council of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your cabled message, setting forth the resolution adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations, requesting the Council of the League to arrive at an understanding with the governments with a view to entrusting a power with the task of taking the necessary measures to stop the hostilities in Armenia.

You offer to the United States the opportunity of undertaking the humanitarian task of using its good offices to end the present tragedy being enacted in Armenia, and you assure me that your proposal involves no repetition of the invitation to accept a mandate for Armenia.

While the invitation to accept a mandate for Armenia has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, this country has repeatedly declared its solicitude for the fate and welfare of the Armenian people, in a manner and to an ex-

tent that justifies you in saying that the fate of Armenia has always been of special interest to the American people.

Personal Mediation Offered

I am without authorization to offer or employ the military forces of the United States in any project for the relief of Armenia, and any material contributions would require the authorization of the Congress which is now in session and whose action I could not forecast. I am willing, however, upon assurances of the moral and diplomatic support of the principal powers, and in a spirit of sympathetic response to the request of the Council of the League of Nations, to use my good offices and to proffer my personal mediation through a representative whom I may designate, to end the hostilities now being waged against the Armenian people and to bring peace and accord to the contending parties, relying upon the Council of the League of Nations to suggest to me the avenues through which my proffer should be conveyed and the parties to whom it should be addressed.

WOODROW WILSON.

AMERICAN LOAN PROPOSED

President Wilson, in his message to Congress, December 7, said:

In response to what I believe to be the impulse of sympathy and opinion throughout the United States, I earnestly suggest that the Congress authorize the Treasury of the United States to make to the struggling government of Armenia such a loan as was made to several of the allied governments during the war; and I would also suggest that it would be desirable to provide in the legislation itself that the expenditure of the money thus loaned should be under the supervision of a commission, or at least a commissioner, from the United States, in order that revolutionary tendencies within Armenia itself might not be afforded by the loan a further tempting opportunity.

ARMENIA'S HOME TROUBLES

Prior to sending his reply the President had forwarded to the League officials his report as their agent in reporting on suitable boundaries for Armenia that should receive the League's protection. But while the League's officials were considering ways and means of giving effect to the mediating enterprise on terms laid by President Wilson, the Turkish Nationalists and the Armenians were facing a proposition laid down in the following terms:

First. Armenia shall renounce its benefits under the Sevres Treaty.

Second. Armenia shall adopt a friendly policy toward Turkey.

Third. Turks living within the Republic of Armenia shall receive full protection.

Moreover, the Armenians had to consider the intimate relations existing between the Turkish Nationalists and the Russian Government, broadly set forth in the following platform of co-operative action in the Near East:

1. Assurance on the territorial integrity of Turkey and restoration of Turkish administration in regions entirely inhabited by Turks.

2. Turkish control to be established in the new States of Arabia and Syria.

3. Facilities to be accorded Russian delegates with a view to the development of communism in Turkey.

4. Russia and Turkey agree to "liberate Moslem countries, such as India, Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia from foreign yoke and grant them independence."

5. Russia recognizes the independence of the Moslem States in her territory and guarantees their integrity.

6. Russia agrees to grant financial and material aid to Turkey.

7. Russia agrees to dispatch two army corps, followed by more if necessary.

8. Hostilities may be continued against the Entente without previous reference to the national councils of both countries.

On December 3 it was announced that the Armenian Republic had agreed to become friendly in its relations with Russia, and that the latter power, in consequence, had called off the attacks of the Turkish Nationalists and of its own forces, and that Armenia was "at peace."

Naturally, this "accomplished fact" disconcerted the major powers of the West; it made of none effect the negotiations of the League for "mediation" and at once made perilous the remedial labors of the Near East Relief Fund representatives, who are under the ban of the Russian Government.

THE MILITARY, NAVAL, AND AIR COMMISSION

Wishing to have the United States represented in a "consultative" capacity on the League's permanent military, naval, and air commission, the President of the Council of the League, late in November, cabled to Washington the following communication:

The Council of the League of Nations, acting on a unanimous recommendation of the permanent military, naval, and air commission of the League, passed at its meeting in Geneva on November 25, invites the Government of the United States to name representatives to sit on that commission in a consultative capacity during the study by the commission of the question of the reduction of armaments—a study which the Council has requested the commission to undertake forthwith.

The permanent advisory commission was constituted by the Council of the League at its meeting in Rome last May, and held its first session at San Sebastian in August. The commission is at present composed of military, naval, and aerial officers of States represented on the Council of the League. Its decisions are purely advisory and not in any sense binding, but they represent the common technical judgment of the experts of many countries.

It would of course be perfectly understood that the presence of the representatives of the United States would in no way commit the American Government to whatever opinions may be finally put forward in the report of the commission. Nor, indeed, can that report itself be more than a basis for the consideration by the members of the League of the measures of reductions in armaments which united action may enable them to achieve. Nevertheless, just as in the case of the financial conference at Brussels, the presence of an American representative, whose function was only that of giving and receiving information, was an important factor in the success of the work of the conference, so it cannot be doubted that the general consideration of the subject of the reduction of armaments will be greatly facilitated if the Government of the United States can see its way to be represented in a similar manner at the meetings of the permanent advisory commission.

The problem is one to which public opinion in all countries attaches the highest importance.

It is unnecessary to point out that the reduction of armaments is essential for the well-being of the world, and that unless some measures of relief can be found by international co-operation for the excessive taxation due to armaments, the general economic situation must become increasingly worse.

The Council in extending this invitation cannot but hope that the Government of the United States, particularly in view of the attitude of America toward the question of the competition in armaments, will not refuse to associate itself

with the governments of the members of the League in beginning the preliminary work necessary for ultimate success and to lend to the present effort an assistance which can in no way encroach upon its own perfect liberty of action.

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

At midnight, November 30, General Alvaro Obregon took the oath of office and became President of the Republic of Mexico, the fourth official of that rank to assume such responsibilities in days of peace and with no revolt under way anywhere within the State. As is the custom, he gave no inaugural message, either on taking the oath or in meeting the national legislature the next day.

But the day prior to his inauguration he sent forth a statement, which we append, that may be fairly deemed his working policy as an executive in whom there is more confidence, both within and without the Republic, than has been given to any President for many years past. General Obregon (which, by the way, is Mexican for "O'Brien") said in this statement:

The provisional government under President de la Huerta did not request such membership, and it is the intention of this government to continue this policy of aloofness, as Mexico in making overtures for membership in the League would engage in a humiliating act, entirely inconsistent with its traditional national pride.

The great problem I face as the next Mexican executive is that of general reconstruction. I have reflected my attitude toward various problems in a series of projects which I have already submitted to Congress for consideration. Of first interest to Americans, of course, is the oil problem, and in this connection I might say that articles 14 and 27 will not be abrogated. But I am sure that within a short time a commission will be appointed to regulate the application of these articles. I do not intend to make any recommendations to Congress regarding petroleum matters beyond urging that the commission be established, and that all parties concerned be given fair and just treatment. I feel certain that this problem ultimately will be settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The most significant results accomplished by the Mexican Government which retired last night undoubtedly was the pacification of the Republic, which is a sequence to the revolutionary movement of last summer. The institution of economical methods in public administration, which has resulted in the equalization of the national budget and an approach to financial stability, is another significant result.

Problem of Labor

One of Mexico's greatest problems at present is that of labor. I am positive that radicalism here is not so widespread that it constitutes a menace to the peace of Mexico. However, I do recognize that the workers have a right to fight for the betterment of their conditions, and my government will lend all possible aid to secure such betterment, if the workers act within the law and order. I recently submitted a system of pensions and insurance policies for employees who have grown old in service or who have become disabled as a result of their work. Certain wage increases are also proposed by the law.

The constitution of 1917 delivers too much power to the chief executive without providing sufficient responsibilities, and it was the exercise of these almost tyrannical powers by Carranza that led to the revolution against him. The proposed law would make the President subject to trial if he in any way restrained the liberties of voters or attempted to prejudice elections, either federal or state; if he exerted pressure upon Congress or the Supreme Court to influence their action; if he attacked the sovereignty of any State; if he were a party to the formal administration of public funds or concluded treaties with foreign powers without the consent of Congress. The various members of the cabinet

would be made equally liable for not opposing the chief executive in such illegalities.

I take the oath of office with the profound feeling that I have an immense task before me. I shall strive to administer my office with due regard to justice for all abiding by the law and the constitution. With the co-operation of the country at large, I hope to see unbroken peace and the prosperity of my country.

IRELAND'S CASE AND LORD GREY'S WAY OUT

Viscount Grey, writing to the *London Westminster Gazette*, had this to say to his countrymen:

"The government of Ireland has been unable to punish or prevent the constant murder of those who serve it; in parts of Ireland its authority has apparently ceased and been superseded by Sinn Fein courts, from which alone can any redress be obtained for ordinary crime or wrong-doing, and some, if not all, of the once Unionist minority in Nationalist Ireland, hopeless of protection from the British Government, is now advocating dominion home rule, or looking to an agreement with the Sinn Fein.

"The British administration, in fact, is exhibiting the helplessness of an extremely feeble government, while incurring all the odium of one that rules by force. Ireland is more discontented than ever, and there is no prospect of a settlement or improvement.

"To this we have come after centuries of British rule, and it would be well for every one, whether he be a Home Ruler or a Unionist, to look for the cause with a fresh mind.

"The permanent underlying cause of a failure so pronounced and persistent as that in Ireland is not to be found in the shortcomings of individual governments, not even in those of the present governments. Faulty as all governments may be and as many British governments in Ireland certainly have been, the Irish question would have been solved before now but for one thing—the difference between Irishmen themselves—that is, between Ulster or part of Ulster and the rest of Ireland. Now, the lesson of past years is that this difference is inflamed, and not composed, by British proposals for the government of Ireland.

"The present Home Rule bill now before Parliament is no exception. There is much to be said in the abstract for the lines on which it is drawn—they could easily be expanded into dominion home rule for a united Ireland. But apparently no one wants the bill, no one accepts it as a solution, and Irishmen will refuse to put it into operation. We must therefore look to some other policy for relief.

"Nothing that is in the nature of a bargain between the British Government and one part of Ireland has any chance of success. If the Sinn Fein accept it, Ulster will denounce it. If Ulster accept it, the Sinn Fein will reject it.

"The only prospect for future peace and good government in Ireland is that the Irish should draw up their own scheme. This is a point which Lord Hugh Cecil made very clearly a few weeks ago. But his proposal had, I think, a fatal defect—it stopped short of the one thing essential to make Irishmen agree upon their own problems. They will never do this except under pressure of a real sense of responsibility.

"This is what they have never yet had, for it has always been understood that as long as Irishmen differed Great Britain would go on governing or proposing plans for the government of Ireland. As long as this is so the Irish Convention or Constituent Assembly will either differ and break up in internal discord or propose something different."

THE UNITED STATES MILITARY FORCES

A regular army of approximately 300,000 men and a national guard affiliated with it that by 1924 will have a strength of more than 400,000 privates and officers is contemplated by the General Staff. This force, it is urged,

would and should be available, and it could be enlarged to a total of 2,000,000 fighters by use of conscription.

The method by which this is to be effected is set forth in a recent War Department statement:

"In line with the policy of the War Department in organizing the troops of each corps area, the reserve and national guard officers of the General Staff, on duty in the War Department, have been ordered to visit each corps area headquarters and there to advise and confer with the corps area commanders and the State authorities with reference to the organization of the national guard divisions allocated to the various corps areas.

"It has been deemed advisable by the War Department to begin the reorganization of the national guard immediately, and a table of tentative allotments has been prepared showing the number of troops to be organized in each State, under section 62 of the National Defense Act, as amended, which requires a proportion of 200 men for each Senator and Representative in Congress, and a number to be determined by the President for each Territory and the District of Columbia; with a proportionate annual increase until 800 men per Senator and Representative has been reached, which minimum is required under the statute by June 30, 1924. If the provisions of this law are fulfilled, a total enlisted strength of approximately 427,000 men will be provided as the peace organization of the national guard component of the army.

"It is realized by the War Department that the number of national guard units allocated to the several corps areas may at first glance appear ambitious, but they provide only the tactical units required in the general scheme of defense to absorb the minimum strength directed in the National Defense Act to be reached by June 30, 1924.

"The policy of the War Department will be to give every assistance possible to State authorities in the solution of the predicaments which may confront them during the reorganization, and it is contemplated that corps area commanders will confer with State authorities with a view to recommending to the War Department changes in the tentative State allotments which may be considered desirable, and such changes as may be approved will be incorporated in the final allotments before their issuance, for the guidance of all concerned.

"It is contemplated that troops required under the allotment which are armed with weapons not susceptible to use in State emergencies will be provided with infantry equipment and will be trained as infantry to a limited degree, in order that they may have a distinct value from the standpoint of State requirements.

"After the allotment tables have been formally approved, the localization of units called for will be worked out by committees in the several States, of which a majority membership will be made up of national guard and reserve officers."

THE COSTS OF MAKING AND KEEPING PEACE

President Wilson submitted to the Senate and House, December 8, a statement in detail showing the expenses incurred by the commission of which he was head, that represented the United States at the Peace Conference. The period covered was from December 1, 1918, to December 31, 1919. The sum, he states, not only covers the cost of transportation to and from Paris and of residence there of the commission and its advisers, but also the expenses of the various delegations that were sent to Russia, Germany, Austria, Poland, Armenia, and the Near East. The interesting fact is disclosed that Colonel House drew a salary of \$1,000 a month, and that the "confidential expenditures" of the President amounted to \$17,534. The total cost of the enterprise was \$1,651,191.

THE COSTS OF ADMINISTERING THE LEAGUE

In reporting to the French Parliament upon the national budget, M. Nobelmaire discussed frankly the costs that were piling up for France, owing to her share in the administrative costs of the League of Nations, and the effect of his statements have been reflected in the proceedings of the Assembly at Geneva, where France has led in a determined effort to reduce the amount of money to be spent by the League, France insisting that the salaries paid are much too high, and that the offices and working plant of the League in Geneva are much too luxurious.

M. Nobelmaire insisted that the League should have a special controlling body, charged with supervision of the League's expenditures and auditing its accounts. He cited that in the first six months of its existence the League had cost 10,000,000 francs in gold, and that the third budget approved by the Council, that was to come before the Assembly in Geneva, called on France to pay 2,700,000 francs into the League treasury during 1921. He showed that the secretarial staff alone cost the signatory States more than 8,000,000 francs during the first six months of the League's life. The Brussels Conference cost the League 1,500,000 francs, and the International Labor Bureau had incurred expenses amounting to 8,000,000 francs and was asking for an enlarged staff, while for the work of the League as a whole its secretariat was proposing a "working fund" of 4,000,000 francs. Inasmuch as many parliaments of the signatory powers had not met the financial responsibilities involved in their membership in the League, M. Nobelmaire showed how the League had been forced to become a debtor and to borrow funds for its running expenses. His plea is for stricter accounting, more severe economy in administration, and all possible effort to save the League secretariat from becoming a bureaucracy. France, he said, must stand for this broader policy, if it is to stay in the League and to pay its share. Any other policy would be folly, in the light of the plight of the national treasury and credit.

THE ASSEMBLY'S REACTIONS

This problem of keeping the administrative expenses of the League within bounds came before the meeting of the Assembly at Geneva quite early in the sessions, and at times took on quite an acrimonious form of debate, with specific charges against the extravagance of the salaries paid the secretariat and the status of splendor in which the League's officials are housed, etc. French, Swedish, and Canadian champions of economy were conspicuous, and the net effect of the debate was to make temporary appointment of commissions to do specific tasks for the League rather than to set up new permanent commissions, as had been recommended by the administrative officials at Berne and by the Council. The Argentina Republic's representatives, after they withdrew from the Assembly, announced that the Republic would not be liable for further assessments.

NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS, 1919-1920

The Storting of Norway, functioning in accord with the terms of the bequest of Alfred Nobel, has awarded two peace prizes, one for 1919 to M. Leon Bourgeois, the eminent French promoter of international arbitral and judicial relations and a representative of France in the Council of the

League of Nations, and the other—for 1920—to President Wilson.

The latter, in instructing the American Minister to Norway to accept on his behalf the award of the Storting, wrote:

In accepting the honor of your award, I am moved not only by a profound gratitude for the recognition of my earnest efforts in the cause of peace, but also by a very poignant humility before the vastness of the work still called for by this cause.

May I not take this occasion to express my respect for the farsighted wisdom of the founder in arranging for a continuing system of awards?

If there were but one such prize, or if this were to be the last, I could not, of course, accept it. For mankind has not yet been rid of the unspeakable horror of war. I am convinced that our generation has, despite its wounds, made notable progress. But it is the better part of wisdom to consider our work as only begun. It will be a continuing labor. In the indefinite course of years before us, there will be abundant opportunity for others to distinguish themselves in the crusade against hate and fear and war.

There is, indeed, a peculiar fitness in the grouping of these Nobel awards. The Cause of Peace and the Cause of Truth are of one family. Even as those who love science and devote their lives to physics or chemistry, even as those who would create new and higher ideals for mankind in literature, even so with those who love peace, there is no limit set. Whatever has been accomplished in the past is petty compared to the glory and promise of the future.

PRIZE ESSAYS ON PEACE THEMES

The American School Citizenship League, formerly the American School Peace League, in announcing its 1920-1921 prize essay contest, again opens the competition to students of all countries. One contest is for seniors in normal schools. The theme on which competitors will write will be, "What education can do to secure co-operation as against competition between nations." The other contest is open to seniors in secondary schools, and the theme is, "The essential foundations of a co-operating world." Three prizes of \$75, \$50, and \$25 will be given for the best three essays in each set. The judges, of whom there are eight, are educators prominent in normal-school and high-school work, and the list is headed by Paul Monroe, director of the School of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City. Essays must not exceed 5,000 words in length; must be accompanied by a topical outline, and preferably be in typewriting. They should be sent to Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the League, 405 Marlborough Street, not later than June 21, 1921. One of the prize-winners in the 1919-20 contest lives in England, and the other prize-winners were from Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE MESOPOTAMIAN MANDATE

On November 26 the following communication from the Secretary of State of the United States to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was made public, without the series of five which had preceded it. The full text of the correspondence, giving the British side of the case, is soon to appear in a White Book.

Mr. Colby, the representative of the United States, wrote:

NOVEMBER 20, 1920.

America for Equality

THE RIGHT HONORABLE EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K. G.,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

MY LORD: I have the honor to refer to your note of August 9 regarding the application of the principle of equality of treatment to the territories of the Near East to be placed under mandates, and specifically to the petroleum resources of those territories as affected by that principle.

Before considering the observations of His Majesty's Government on the general principles advocated by the United States, and agreed to by the allied powers, for application to the mandates over former Turkish territory, as outlined in the notes of May 12 and July 28, addressed to you on behalf of this government, I think it will clarify the discussion to indicate certain of your statements and assurances which this government has been pleased to receive. Thus, I note that the assignment to Great Britain of the mandate for Mesopotamia was made and accepted subject to no friendly arrangement whatever with any third government regarding economic rights, which, of course, would have been wholly at variance with the purpose and contemplation of any mandate.

It is also gratifying to learn His Majesty's Government is in full sympathy with the several propositions formulated in the note of May 12, above referred to, which embody or illustrate the principles which this government believes should be applied in the mandated regions, and which are essential to the practical realization of equality of treatment.

The statements of your note, to the effect that the British Government has refrained from exploiting the petroleum resources of the mandated territories in question; that the operations referred to have been conducted for purely military purposes under the immediate supervision of the army authorities and at army expense; and that no private interests whatever are in any way involved, are accepted with a full sense of the good faith of the British Government.

Assurances of Britain

The Government of the United States notes that His Majesty's Government has found it necessary to suspend, during the period of occupation, the grant of facilities and opportunities to British as well as to other private interests to investigate the natural resources of the country, either for the purpose of acquiring new claims or strengthening old ones, and that there is no reason for assuming that the administration either of Mesopotamia or of Palestine has at any time failed to carry out the assurances of His Majesty's Government.

This government welcomes your pledges to the effect that the natural resources of Mesopotamia are to be secured to the people of Mesopotamia and to the future Arab State, to be established in that region, and that it is the purpose of the British Government, fully alive to its obligation as a temporary occupant, not only to secure those resources to the Mesopotamian State, but also its absolute freedom of action in the control thereof, and in particular that it is far from the intention of the mandatory power to establish any kind of monopoly or preferred position in its own interest.

The Government of the United States appreciates, likewise, the concurrence with its view that the merits of all claims to rights alleged to have been acquired in the mandated territories before the outbreak of hostilities must be duly established before recognition of such claims will be accorded.

Adverting, at this point, to the views of His Majesty's Government regarding the nature of the responsibilities of mandatory powers under the League of Nations, I desire to call to the attention of His Majesty's Government the fact, that while the draft mandate, Form A, was not adopted at Paris, it was the understanding of the American representatives there present that the British Government entertained and had expressed convictions favorable to said form, and that, presumably, its representatives would exercise their influence in conformity with those convictions.

I need hardly refer again to the fact that the Government of the United States has consistently urged that it is of the utmost importance to the future peace of the world that alien territory transferred as a result of the war with the Central Powers should be held and administered in such a way as to assure equal treatment to the commerce and to the citizens of all nations. Indeed, it was in reliance upon an understanding to this effect, and expressly in contemplation thereof, that the United States was persuaded that the acquisition under mandate of certain enemy territory by the victorious powers would be consistent with the best interests of the world.

It is assumed, accordingly, that your statements with reference to Mandate A, together with the statement that the draft mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine have been prepared with a view to secure equality of treatment for the commerce and citizens of all States which are members of the League of Nations, do not indicate a supposition on your part that the United States can be excluded from the benefits of that principle of equality of treatment.

This government is pleased to find that His Majesty's Government is in full sympathy with the principles formulated in its communications of May 12 and July 28. But it is unable to concur in the view, contained in paragraph 15 of your note, that the terms of the mandates can properly be discussed only in the Council of the League of Nations and by the signatories of the Covenant. Such powers as the allied and associated nations may enjoy, or wield, in the determination of the governmental status of the mandated areas, accrued to them as a direct result of the war against the Central Powers. The United States, as a participant in that conflict and as a contributor to its successful issue, cannot consider any of the associated powers, the smallest not less than itself, debarred from the discussion of any of its consequences, or from participation in the rights and privileges secured under the mandates provided for in the treaties of peace.

Notes to Go to League

This government notes with interest your statement that the draft mandates for Mesopotamia and for Palestine, which have been prepared with a view to secure equality of treatment and opportunity for the commerce, citizens, and subjects of all States which are members of the League of Nations, will, when approved by the interested allied powers, be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. The United States is, undoubtedly, one of the powers directly interested in the terms of the mandates, and I therefore request that the draft mandate forms be communicated to this government for its consideration before their submission to the Council of the League. It is believed that His Majesty's Government will be the more ready to acquiesce in this request, in view of your assurance that His Majesty's Government is in full sympathy with the various principles contained in the two previous notes of this government upon this subject.

The establishment of the mandate principle, a new principle in international relations, and one in which the public opinion of the world is taking a special interest, would seem to require the frankest discussion from all pertinent points of view. It would seem essential that suitable publicity should be given to the drafts of mandates which it is the intention to submit to the Council, in order that the fullest opportunity may be afforded to consider their terms in relation to the obligations assumed by the mandatory power and the respective interests of all governments which are or deem themselves concerned or affected.

The fact cannot be ignored that the reported resources of Mesopotamia have interested public opinion of the United States, Great Britain, and other countries as a potential subject of economic strife. Because of that fact they become an outstanding illustration of the kind of economic question with reference to which the mandate principle was especially designed, and indeed a peculiarly critical test of the good faith of the nations which have given their adherence to the principle. This principle was accepted in the hope of obviating in the future those international differ-

ences that grow out of a desire for the exclusive control of the resources and markets of annexed territories. To cite a single example: Because of the shortage of petroleum, its constantly increasing commercial importance, and the continuing necessity of replenishing the world's supply by drawing upon the latent resources of undeveloped regions, it is of the highest importance to apply to the petroleum industry the most enlightened principles recognized by nations as appropriate for the peaceful ordering of their economic relations.

This government finds difficulty in reconciling the special arrangement referred to in paragraphs 18 and 19 of your note, and set forth in the so-called San Remo Petroleum Agreement, with your statement that the petroleum resources of Mesopotamia, and freedom of action in regard thereto, will be secured to the future Arab State, as yet unorganized. Furthermore, it is difficult to harmonize that special arrangement with your statement that concessionary claims relating to those resources still remain in their pre-war position, and have yet to receive, with the establishment of the Arab State, the equitable consideration promised by His Majesty's Government.

This government has noted in this connection a public statement of His Majesty's minister in charge of petroleum affairs to the effect that the San Remo agreement was based on the principle that the concessions granted by the former Turkish Government must be honored. It would be reluctant to assume that His Majesty's Government has already undertaken to pass judgment upon the validity of concessionary claims in the regions concerned, and to concede validity to certain of those claims which cover, apparently, the entire Mesopotamian area. Indeed, this government understands your note to deny having taken, and to deny the intention to take, any such *ex parte* and premature action. In this connection, I might observe that such information as this government has received indicates that prior to the war the Turkish Petroleum Company, to make specific reference, possessed in Mesopotamia no rights to petroleum concessions or to the exploitation of oil; and in view of your assurance that it is not the intention of the mandatory power to establish on its own behalf any kind of monopoly, I am at some loss to understand how to construe the provision of the San Remo agreement that any private petroleum company which may develop the Mesopotamian oil fields "shall be under permanent British control."

Question of Motives

Your lordship contracts the present production of petroleum in the United States with that of Great Britain and some allusion is made to American supremacy in the petroleum industry. I should regret any assumption by His Majesty's Government or any other friendly power that the views of this government as to the true character of a mandate are dictated in any degree by considerations of the domestic need or production of petroleum or any other commodity.

I may be permitted to say, however, for the purpose of correcting a misapprehension which your note reflects, that the United States possesses only one-twelfth approximately of the petroleum resources of the world. The oil resources of no other nation have been so largely drawn upon for foreign needs, and your lordship's statement that any prophecies as to the oil-bearing resources of unexplored and undeveloped countries must be accepted with reserve, hardly disposes of the scientific calculation upon which, despite their problematical elements, the policies of States and the anticipations of world production are apparently proceeding. The Government of the United States assumes that there is a general recognition of the fact that the requirements for petroleum are in excess of production, and it believes that opportunity to explore and develop the petroleum resources of the world wherever found should without discrimination be freely extended, as only by the unhampered development of such resources can the needs of the world be met.

But it is not these aspects of oil production and supply, in so far as they are of domestic interest to the United States, with which I am concerned in this discussion. I have alluded to them in order to correct confusing infer-

ences, liable to arise from certain departures, which I believe I discern in your lordship's communication, from the underlying principles of a mandate, as evolved and sought to be applied by the allied and associated powers to the territories, brought under their temporary dominion, by their joint struggle and common victory. This dominion will be wholly misconceived, not to say abused, if there is even the slightest deviation from the spirit and the exclusive purpose of a trusteeship as strict as it is comprehensive.

Accept, My Lord, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

WAR CAUSES VAST MIGRATIONS of civilians and survivors of the fray. Denudation of home territory, wrecking of industries, scarcity of sustenance, and impending burdens of taxation if men remain where they are—these causes provoke emigration to more favored lands; and, as present figures show, nothing but difficulties in getting passports and transportation and the right to enter new lands across seas is preventing an exodus from Europe to the Americas such as never has been seen in the past. Much of this planned for transplanting of peoples will be state-sanctioned. The Poles, for instance, are only too glad to get rid of the hordes of Gallician Jews. Italy, with her past experience in mind, welcomes settlement of her sons abroad, knowing how much of their earnings comes back home. Germany has a surplus population of 12,000,000 to feed. All the governments wish to get rid of their diseased, crippled, and defective folk. Hence they expedite the exoduses.

To meet this incoming flood and check it, Canada, by an order in council, has just decreed that all artisans, mechanics, and laborers other than farm laborers seeking admission must possess \$250 in their own right and have transportation to their destination. Tourists, farmers, and domestic servants are not touched by the new regulation. Canada's restrictions always have been more rigid than those of the United States, and she has not had to face, as yet, any marked variation from colonization by North of Europe races, though Jews are growing in number rapidly in and about Montreal.

In the United States, the first day that Congress opened, December 6, the House Committee on Immigration reported favorably on a bill, introduced by its chairman, forbidding admission of aliens for two years, the bill to become effective 60 days after its enactment. Blood relatives of naturalized aliens are exempted.

The American Federation of Labor is supporting this restrictive legislation.

"CANCELLATION" OF ORDERS FOR GOODS has gone on to such a degree as between the merchants and manufacturers of different countries, and also within nations as between wholesalers and retailers, that the phenomenon has become a recognized form of war "by-product." The chancelleries of the nations are wrestling now with charges brought by one set of nationals against another group. The International Chamber of Commerce has been forced to deal with the problem, and the Chamber

of Commerce of the United States already has taken action through its committees. On every hand there has been a disposition to lower standards of "honor" and to crawl out of obligations. Just what the remedy must be is defined in the report of a subcommittee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, recently published. It says:

First. That the practice is the result of war-time irregularities and will pass as we return to a normal basis.

Second. That we are now reaping the results of the loose business practices inaugurated before the war, when many lines were in a state of over-production and the measures taken to unload this surplus were demoralizing. Those entertaining this belief feel that the remedy is in a general reformation of our system of order-taking, making each order a contract enforceable by law.

Third. That we have been drifting away from the fundamentals of sound business and the "Golden Rule," and that we must return to a stronger belief in the rights of others, and a higher regard for our own integrity, if the change is to be permanent.

FRANCE AND THE VATICAN have been drawn closer together by the common experiences of the war and its aftermath. The valor and self-sacrifice of the priests who succored the troops and the entire loyalty to the national cause of the upper clergy prominent in ecclesiastical politics have accounted for the change from the governmental side. On the part of the Vatican there has been gratitude for the aid of France in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Syria and sections of the Near East, where church interests have been protected. Moreover, relations between France and the Roman Catholics of the Rhenish provinces and of Bavaria have become intimate in a common enterprise to shake off Prussian domination of the Germany of tomorrow. The Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 397 to 209, December 1, voted to re-establish the French Embassy in Rome and to receive a Papal Nuncio in Paris. The size of the minority opposing this action indicates that the strictly secular party is still strong. What the Senate will do remains to be seen. There the anti-clerical forces are more strongly entrenched.

SCIENCE, LABOR, AND LAW are to have a much closer connection than formerly. The formation in the United States of a federated society of engineers, with a membership of 80,000 persons, which already has assumed, under the presidency of Mr. Hoover, the special task of investigating economic and labor problems in the light of engineering standards and professional ideals of efficiency, is a sign of the times. Nor should the fact be overlooked that the American Federation of Labor plans to co-operate with this engineering society, having now overcome its former opposition to "scientific" conduct of business and industry. As a foretaste of the new era that lies ahead, the vote taken by the Taylor Society of New York City, following a conference with representative officials of the national organizations of the mechanical and electrical engineers of the country, may be cited. Discussion had been centered on the "12-hour shift in the steel industry of the United

States." The expert, whose paper dealt exhaustively with the evidence in the case, had contended for a shorter day. The difficulties of competition with nations having varying standards of legal labor days had been dwelt upon. Therefore the Taylor Society decided to give the investigation a wider range than had been first proposed. They selected an organ of the League of Nations, one that some persons consider its most commendable agency. The text of their vote is appended:

Whereas the profession of management engineering views as uneconomic and inefficient the two-shift or average twelve-hour day in industry; and

Whereas we welcome the widespread effort to increase production by a considered shortening of the hours of labor; and

Whereas the steel industry in the United States, with its large percentage of workers engaged the long day, offers an inviting field for investigation and readjustment; and

Whereas during the last few years the leading steel-producing nations of the world, with the exception of the United States, have abandoned the two-shift day and there is now available a mass of information as to the effect under varying conditions of the three-shift day:

Resolved, That the Taylor Society, in annual meeting assembled, request the governing body of the International Labor Office to place the subject of the long day in the steel industry on the agenda of the International Labor Conference of 1922.

THE EUROPEAN RELIEF COUNCIL, with Mr. Herbert Hoover at its head, has been formed during the past month, for the sensible purpose of co-ordinating the operations, administrative and altruistic, of eight agencies laboring in Europe and relying for their support on American donors. In the council are the Red Cross, the Near East Relief, the Y. M. C. A., the K. of C., and other well-known associations with a splendid war and post-war record. Their total estimated budget is put at \$23,000,000, and it is this sum which the Council is now appealing to the country to raise. Much of this sum—indeed, most of it—will be spent on saving the children of the lands where the American workers go; and it is this particular phase of the enterprise that has made Pope Benedict XV a friend of the cause and a promoter of gifts to it from Roman Catholics. The following extract from his letter, transmitted through Cardinal Gibbons, is worth reprinting, partly because of its estimate of Mr. Hoover and partly for its statement of facts of which the eminent Italian and pontiff is aware. The Pope wrote:

The splendid services you already have rendered in this regard, which assure you without doubt an abiding place in the history of Christian charity and give you a unique title to the gratitude of the people, fill us alike with heartfelt satisfaction and consolation at the prospect of the great good that will thus accrue to the needy multitudes of Europe.

We have learned that you are now devoting your time and earnest endeavor in a special way in behalf of the suffering little ones. What you did to succor the helpless children of Belgium when the utter lack of proper food threatened their frail lives—all this is still fresh and living in our memory.

At that time we were moved to lift up our voice in praise of your noble initiative, and we are all the more disposed to do so now in view of the fact that it is no longer a question of saving the lives of the children of one nation alone, but rather, as we are credibly informed, of three million children belonging to various nations of Europe.

RENEWAL OF THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE last July was automatic and for a limited time. The issue of formal and enduring re-establishment of this compact is now before the statesmen of the two empires, with the British Foreign Office in steady receipt of information showing that opposition against such action is steadfast in the Australasian and North American portions of the empire and also among British traders in the Far East. China, also, is not failing to let Great Britain know that any desire the latter may have for retaining her traditional influence in the republic may be defeated if Britain allies herself with China's foes, cases being cited by Peking indicating that such formal relations with Japan do hamper the British Government at times when it would naturally come to the relief of China. British opponents of the renewal also point to the possibility that close ties with Japan will not facilitate the best sort of understanding between Great Britain and the United States, and that therefore, for that reason, if for no other, Japan should be set aside. The British Government undoubtedly will act with imperial interests in view, not omitting to note certain contingencies in which Japan's aid might be valuable in the fight against Russian proletarianism that is being so shrewdly preached throughout Asia, in Japanese, British, and other foreign controlled territory. Czaristic Russia, against which Great Britain and Japan originally united under treaty pledges, has gone; but another régime, quite as autocratic and vastly more aggressive and insidious, has taken its place, and both Great Britain and Japan have to reckon with a force that may drive them together to protect governments and peoples that they do not wish to see turned communistic in theory but proletarian and autocratic in form.

VICE IS INTERNATIONAL in its range of appeal and action, and when in its complicated problems of emigration and settlement of the more fortunate portions of the world it takes on portentous forms. To illustrate: Toma Jonneau, brother of the former Premier of Rumania and now head of Rumania's delegation to the League's Assembly, has made a special report to the League Council on the "white slave" traffic as affected by the war. It is based on an authorized investigation by him made for the League. He found that exportation and importation of immoral women had ceased during the war, owing to stiff passport regulations; but he said that with the armistice came a resumption of the traffic on a wholesale scale, owing in part to the excess of women over men in Europe and also because of the breakdown of morale, which made young girls an easier prey for "slavers." He said that open markets for the purchase of women now existed in the Near East, and that the girls there bought were finding their way

first to Europe and then to America. He calls upon the League to act in the premises, and he urges an international conference to deal with the problem as soon as possible.

GERMAN SCHOLARS AND SCIENTISTS recently sent to Yale University an appeal for restoration of former relations between the two groups of investigators. President Hadley turned the communication over to the Institute of International Education, with headquarters in New York City, an organization which has for one of its aims the creation of formal and mutually satisfactory relations between the university and college men of the nations. The attitude of the scientists of the United States toward German scientists, at the present time, is probably accurately expressed in the following letter to the *New York Times*:

Concerning the invitation extended by the fifty-seven Oxford professors to renew at once the old personal relationships, your editorial article of today and the article reprinted from the *London Times* represent very precisely the views of most American scientists. The prevailing American policy of delay is not based upon hate in any degree, but upon duty. I am not aware that hatred of Teutonic scholars exists in any American community of scholars. I think we are above that. Exchange of publications with Teuton scientists is under way and will soon reach pre-war dimensions. It is a question merely of resuming intimate personal relationships. The manifesto issued late in 1914 by ninety-three intellectual leaders of Germany, especially in the light of Prof. Wilhelm Ostwald's Stockholm interview on why Germany went into the war, made a bad impression in this country, and no adequate retraction has been forthcoming. Letters received from our German colleagues since the signing of the armistice show no evidence of contrite hearts, but only bitterness that Germany was defeated, not on the battlefield, but in the Peace Conference.

A leading Swedish scientist, who thoroughly understands German universities and would not consciously misrepresent them, recently wrote, for publication: "Every German believed [in 1914] that war would be cheaper than the maintenance of the vast and rapidly growing military establishments." Should we compromise with and overlook that sort of thing? Should we forget that Germany defeated the proposal of the other great nations at the second Hague Conference, in 1907, to reduce armaments by diplomatic agreement?

Last year Professor Foerster, of Munich, was quoted all over the world as saying: "We Germans have only ourselves to blame for the moral blockade which surrounds us, and the removal of that blockade depends upon ourselves alone." The representatives of the allied nations who organized international scientific societies at Brussels in July, 1919, have said, again and again, officially and otherwise, that the Teutonic scholars would be received into fellowship as soon as, and no sooner than, the outrageous Prussian views on international political relations are thrown overboard. The next step is not for us to take.

W. W. CAMPRELL,
 Director Lick Observatory, University of
 California, Chairman of American Delegation
 to Brussels Conference, 1919.

IN TERRITORY FORMERLY TURKISH, but assigned to the powers, providing it remains in the hands of "infidels," change of title to the British, French, Greek, and Jewish governments will mean a striking extension of the activities of archaeologists and of all delvers into the history of the past. Explorations already have begun under new concessions that promise to be astonishingly rewarding. Enterprises operating under the rather limited concessions of the Turks given prior to the war are resuming operations. The whole world of scholars is agog with anticipation, and some of the spoil already has found its way to this country and to western Europe, never to return, come what may in the Near East. In Palestine, naturally, there is much expectation of rare "finds," and Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, already has placed in charge of a society specially created for the task the care of all monuments, guarding of all sites, and watchfulness as to exportation of ancient objects, the same being now forbidden by the law of the new State.

SECRETARY COLBY, OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, with a suite including high military and naval and civilian attachés, left Washington December 3, for a brief trip to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. In Brazil and Uruguay his errand will be to take the place of President Wilson in formally returning the visits recently made on President Wilson by the heads of those States. In Argentina he will be a spokesman for the goodwill of the Republic of the North toward the rich and powerful State on La Platte River. He was sent on his way by formal exercises held at the Pan-American Union Building, where he and Ambassador Mathieau, of Chile, exchanged formal and fraternal addresses. The Chilean diplomat said:

You will carry to the peoples and governments before whom you will represent the eminent President of the United States the eloquent expression of a policy which has created new and broader horizons of peace and at the same time strengthened on our American continent those sentiments of mutual confidence and solidarity which the American people have inspired by reason of a moral elevation superior to their material greatness.

And in addition to all this, my dear Mr. Colby, you are going to make hosts of friends among nations open to the influence of noble sentiments, and among those sentiments there is none which is more highly appreciated than the sincerity which so markedly characterizes your personality.

We desire, sir, that you carry with you for the success of your great mission the warm wishes which are here expressed by the representatives of the American nations seated around the table. Combined with these warm wishes there goes with you the affectionate regard of each and every one of us, who feels proud to be considered among your friends.

Secretary Colby said:

I do not know that there is anything that the President feels more deeply than the sense he has of South America's appreciation of the great ends and the great ideals he has sought to conserve and promote.

I only wish that the American people could have a voice and a personality which would more adequately embody and bring to your people the great common interest that is felt

in the United States for her sister republics of America. You must have appreciated that there is not an audience in the United States where you have found yourselves unappreciated or a lack of enthusiasm and interest for your countries.

You can scan the utterances of our public men and can find nothing but evidences of goodwill, interest, and admiration which is felt in this country for your people. Most of us do not differ fundamentally. Cultivation and honor have no meridians or latitude. A gentleman, a man of honor, a man of faith, a man of conscience, is the same thing the world over. Civilization is in the custody and guardianship of such men in all the countries that belong to the corporate body of the Pan-American Union.

THE GREEK'S PLEBISCITE VOTE showed an overwhelming majority in favor of the return to the throne of the former King Constantine. More than 90 per cent of the voters rallied to their former monarch, despite his alleged pro-German affiliations and inclinations. The action also was taken despite a general understanding that his return would prejudice the powers against Greece and might lead to a formal veto.

The dimensions of his victory undoubtedly modified any intention of the Allies, especially Great Britain and France, to take the drastic position indicated by pre-plebiscite utterances, such as withdrawal of all financial aid if Constantine were elected, and to call for payment of outstanding loans (this by France). The authorities at Athens, however, were at once given to understand that affairs would be closely watched.

Formal invitation to Constantine to return was long in issuing and did not go to him until the 11th. Meantime a slight reaction in favor of Venizelos had become noticeable in Athens, influenced possibly by clear indications that Hellenes in Turkey were decidedly hostile to the drift of home affairs.

The day he was elected Constantine said to an American interviewer:

My government will follow the foreign policy of Venizelos. It is ridiculous to allege otherwise, because the charge that I am pro-German I must stoutly repudiate. What if my wife is the Kaiser's sister? I did not marry her yesterday. We were married twenty-five years ago, when it was no crime to have a German wife. I am also first cousin to the late King Edward. Did that make me pro-British? Also I am a cousin of the late Russian emperor. But what of it? My policy never was pro-German, or anything but Greek.

Asked about the guaranties which it is reported the Allies have demanded from Greece for his return, Constantine said:

If the British and Greek interests in the Near East are identical, why not have confidence in my government? The Greek army will continue to enforce the Turkish treaty.

AN INTERESTING DETAIL of the effect of the election of Constantine was the immediate assembling of the Holy Synod and Lay Council of the State Church in an extraordinary session. These prelates and laymen, with the best national interests at heart, appealed to Constantine to abandon his claim to the throne, since his return would imperil the nation's good and jeopardize the future of Hellenism. They said that they hoped

that he would nominate Prince George as the occupant of the throne. From Lucerne, December 10, Constantine sent forth a special message to the people of the United States. He said:

I feel in duty bound to express to the great American people my most heartfelt thanks for the sympathy I received from them in my trials. I thank them also for the impartiality they certainly have endeavored to show in judging me and in criticising my attitude during the most disastrous war ever known in the history of mankind.

I, upon whose family crest stands the device, "The law of the people is my power," ever have had at heart the interest of the people by whom I am now called, by their express and indisputable will, to rule.

Mindful of the great upheaval the war was going to cause, I endeavored to follow a line of action which I considered would serve the best interests of my people, and I feel I did it with enmity toward none and good will toward all. The combination of circumstances all tended to make credible the calumnious reports that an alert and indefatigable statesman, who, unluckily, out of spite for me, had been blinded to all the dictates of reason, had caused to be spread sedulously abroad.

JAPAN'S PLEA FOR FORMAL RECOGNITION of the principle of racial equality in international negotiations and settlements, made at the Paris Peace Conference, was negatived. With the assembling in Geneva of the delegates to the League's popular body, one of the "ghosts" hovering in the background was Japan's probable strategy in reopening this issue. Would she force it at once? Would she bide her time and spring it at an hour when tactically she had the best chance of carrying her point? What would she do? She has not forced the issue. Instead, from representatives of the British dominions—Canada, Australia, and South Africa—there has come unequivocal reiteration of the position taken by Premier Hughes at the Paris Conference. Viscount Ishii, of the Japanese delegation, also has made the following memorable declaration, making it clear that for reasons of prudence and also of loyalty to the League Japan will not press the issue now, but will await a later day for final action by the League on the principle involved, its rejection or its affirmation. He said:

Japan had the opportunity, when the covenant originally was formulated, to declare her belief that equality before the law should be assured all men, irrespective of nationality, race, or religion.

That principle should be established, so that the various merits of mankind should be emancipated and given free play in the interest of human civilization. That principle of equal opportunity should be one of the bedrocks of the great peace organization in order that nationals owing allegiance to the League should, to a man, be loyally willing to make sacrifices in blood and treasure when the occasion arises, in order that all should know that the League unflinchingly is for right and not for might, and in order that a lasting peace should be doubly assured.

It was to the poignant regret of the Japanese Government and people that the original framers of the covenant found themselves unable to accept the Japanese proposal in this matter. The Japanese delegates declared they would continue their insistence for the adoption of their just demands by the League in the future.

In view, however, of the present circumstances, Japan is strongly persuaded that the League is yet in a stage when consolidation of its organization and its actual working, based on the present covenant should be accorded greater attention and deeper deliberation than questions relating to fundamental principles, which might make for revision of the covenant, and deliberation of which should be deferred for some time.

From this point of view, Japan is refraining from making any concrete proposal in this Assembly as to the question of equal opportunity and treatment, and will patiently bide her time until the opportune moment shall present itself.

Asked by a *New York Evening Post* correspondent at Geneva as to just what he meant by the "opportune moment," Viscount Ishii said:

By opportune moment I mean when the time comes that our campaign of education in California, Canada, and Australia has succeeded and we have convinced the people of those countries that they have nothing to fear from Japan. We know your central government has sympathy in this matter with my government, but cannot act while prejudice continues in a part of the United States. The edifice will cease in future because of our strict adherence to the agreement concerning labor and emigration. Then California will realize she has been oversuspicious and apprehensive. When that realization comes then it will be the opportune moment to appeal to the League for recognition of the equality of my race and the United States will support us.

The same also will be true for the same reasons in Canada, and even Australia, which is far more bitter against Japanese than either California or Canada. It was not President Wilson or Colonel House who denied our appeal for recognition when the covenant was first framed at Paris, but it was set aside because of the influence of British dominions.

IN PORTO RICO AND THE PHILIPPINES there are stirrings indicating that "self-determination" is an issue that the United States will have to face sooner or later in its dependencies. A letter from a resident in San Juan, Republican (United States), to Senator Harding, asking him for his views on Porto Rican independence, drew from him the following reply:

"MY DEAR MR. TODD:

"Thank you for writing me as you did on September 8. There has been more than one instance of the demand for independence of certain sections of our territory. History has shown clearly enough that these demands were founded on short-sighted policy, and that if autonomy had been obtained the result would have been the loss of those great benefits of protection, freedom, equality of opportunity, and prosperity which America has always brought to her component parts. If there is a minority opinion in Porto Rico for independence represented in a political party, I believe that it will not flourish long, because the wisdom of your people is too sound to even consider casting aside the ultimate welfare which flows from a unity with the American Republic.

"In all cases known to the past or the present, this unity and loyalty is based upon the good sense of men and women, watchful against demagoguery aimed at gaining untrammelled political power under so-called 'independence.' Often when in various corners of the world independence has been gained it has resulted in exploitation of the poor, in chaos, bankruptcy, and misfortune, brought on by the very same forces which led the demand for autonomy.

"I believe in the loyalty of the people of Porto Rico to the United States and in the loyalty of the United States to the people of Porto Rico.

"Very sincerely,

"WARREN G. HARDING."

ISAURO GABALDON, NEWLY ELECTED RESIDENT COMMISSIONER from the Philippines to the United States, on his arrival in Washington, early in October, said:

"It is of the utmost importance to continue friendly relations between the Philippines and the United States that Congress should take up the question of independence without further delay. The officials of the Philippines and the masses of the Filipino people are alike insistent that independence shall be granted. Equal protection will be given the rights and property of Americans and foreigners resident in the islands with that given to our own people. I wish to emphasize, the Filipino people have very friendly feelings toward the United States. We realize you have rendered us a great service in assisting us to prepare ourselves to take over the responsibilities that will come with independence. We are practically unanimous in desiring a Philippine republic."

THE WORLD STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION, at a recent meeting in Switzerland, had representatives of thirty-seven nations present. The conference was notable for several precedents established. Within its own ranks it plans to gather relief for the impoverished youth of the world seeking an education. Making less doctrinal its tests for membership and still asserting its reason for existence to be the evangelization of the student world and the spiritual culture of youth, the delegates, led by Mr. John R. Mott, nevertheless voted that there must be a forward step into the world of internationalism along quite new lines. Hereafter the Federation cannot be content to promote religious fellowship and co-operation between citizens of many nations, but it must positively assert itself in defining what political international relations should be and in seeing that they make for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ. This broadening scope of the Federation, it is admitted, is the direct result of the war upon leaders of the movement. They are finding that the youth with whom they have to deal now are realists, not romanticists, mystics, or pietists. They want States, as States, to begin to obey the Law and the Gospel.

THE Y. M. C. A. OF THE UNITED STATES is doing a larger relief and educational work in Europe, Asia, and Africa at the present time than most persons realize. Not less than 2,650,000 soldiers and sailors of non-American forces, as well as those of the home land, are getting the same service that was given prior to the armistice, but with such modifications as peace naturally suggests. To the Association also has been left much of the work among prisoners of war not yet repatriated. It is doing all this with a reduced staff, without any of the glamour of war attaching to the service, and at a time when neither volunteer nor paid helpers are as numerous as they were during the war. Seldom do any of the newly established governments make demands upon the Y. M. C. A. for such help as it may give without receiving an affirmative reply. In the United States the duty

has just been assumed of aiding the Bureau of Emigration of the Department of Labor to guard incoming immigrants from seductions of human leeches and breeders of social strife, and to aid them in reaching their destinations.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEW WORLD ORDER—INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, INTERNATIONAL LAW, INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION. By Frederick Charles Hicks. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co. 1920. Pp. viii + 496. \$3.00.

Here we have a book packed with facts and written by one versed as a briefer. The author is the law librarian of Columbia University, but he has done more than to "turn over half a library to make one book"; he has organized his informing data, until, with apologies to Hegel, his "creative synthesis" has given us something better than existed before.

There are 290 pages of text and 190 pages of appendices. The text is divided into three main divisions, dealing respectively with: 1, International Relations; 2, International Law; 3, International Co-operation. The appendices give us the most relevant parts of the peace treaty; the treaty establishing the Dual Alliance in 1879; the published sections of the treaty establishing the Triple Alliance, renewed finally in 1912; the French texts of the two papers relating to the Russo-French Alliance; the Holy Alliance Act; Central American treaties of 1907; the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes; the draft convention relative to the creation of the Judicial Arbitration Court, and the convention relative to the creation of an International Prize Court, all taken from The Hague conventions and drafts of 1907; the treaty between the United States and Guatemala, 1913, and a bibliography. There is a respectable index.

Hence we have here an ambitious work; but a dip into its substance does not disappoint. It contains excellence. History in abundance falls before the author's power of analysis. Thus a service is rendered to the inquiring mind bent on knowing something of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The early portions of the first chapter will bring the prejudice of many to the author's support at the outset. Like the men who gathered at The Hague in 1899 and in 1907, he recognizes in his beginning paragraphs "the solidarity uniting the members of the society of civilized nations." But a careful reading of the entire chapter reveals more caution than seems necessary. It may be true, as he says, that the society of civilized nations has no written covenant, no officers, no seat of government or administration; but The Hague conferences, with their statutes, their Court of Arbitration, and other organs, came nearer to being these things than the author seems to grant or realize. Instead of saying dogmatically that no world legislature "at any time has been in existence," he might have acknowledged more appropriately the quasi-legislative acts, say, of The Hague conferences. Indeed, he does grant in another connection (page 107): "In any case the work of the two Hague conferences and of the International Naval Conference ought not to be lost. In the light of a new and unparalleled experience, their product should be revised, if only to attempt anew to record the progress of custom and the common consent on which all international law is founded."

Many people will probably agree that the present League of Nations is "a new manifestation of the desire to give more definite organization to the existing Society of Nations upon which it is based and out of which it has grown." But all will not agree with "the author's personal conviction that the League of Nations should be supported not merely because it provides means for putting war a few steps farther in the background, but because it emphasizes the necessity for co-operation between sovereign States." This latter view is expressed only in the preface, however. In justice to the author, it must be granted that in the body of his text "the facts have been allowed to speak for themselves, opinions and prophecies rarely being hazarded."

The book is typical of the fact that a movement for some form of a governed world seems now to be substantially in that period of its development which science, particularly biological science, found itself following the work of the Swedish botanist, Carl von Linné, at about the time of the American Revolution. With Linné collection and classification were a methodic passion. Because of his influence, in no small measure, the museums of Europe became choked with specimens. The naïve notion prevailed that by the collection of a sufficient number of specimens, clearly classified, ultimate truth could be adequately attained. Dr. Hleeks gives us something of an impression of a Linnæus bent upon attaining unto ultimate international truth by the method of collecting and briefing as many facts as possible relative to the League of Nations. This seems just now to be peculiar to most of the books treating of that hotly debated subject.

But the weaknesses of the book are incidental to its elements of strength. It is evidently the product of a careful and conscientious note taker, assisted by his students, and bent upon using his notes for lecture purposes. Failure to employ a sufficient number of connectives, relatives, and periods leaves some of the passages correspondingly nebulous. In a book thus constructed even the schoolmaster's "baby blunder" is probably inevitable; in any event, on page 14, there stands unabashed the unlawfully wedded sentences: "In 1919 the attempted answer was the League of Nations; but let us not imagine that this is a new conception produced by the latest necessity for something better than had yet been devised." It is difficult to defend the inclusion of the long quotation from President Lowell, pages 64 and 65, distinguishing futilely between an automatic and a delegated form of a League of Nations. There are still more glaring errors. In his "Economies Royales," Pfister seems to have disposed, in 1894, of the theory that Henry IV was the author in fact of the "Great Design," rather than Sully, his minister of finance. It is very doubtful if this, as our author says, is "a doubtful question." On page 74 the author seems to have made two misstatements of fact within the compass of one sentence. Referring to William Ladd's plan for a separate court of international justice, the author says: "He had been preceded in this conception by Bentham in 1789; but as Bentham's plan was not published until 1843, Ladd could not have been indebted to him for the idea." Since Bentham's tribunal was essentially a diplomatic body, called by its author "a Congress, or Diet," it could never have been said with accuracy that Mr. Ladd's court had any relation to the conception by Bentham. Furthermore, for the sake of historical precision, Bentham's plan was first published in 1839; not in 1843. On page 114 the author says: "It may well be contended historically that the primary purpose of the Monroe Doctrine was not to maintain peace," etc. And yet the Monroe Doctrine specifically says, speaking of European countries, "that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." It would seem nearer to the truth to say that it may be well contended historically that the primary purpose, like the primary result, of the Monroe Doctrine was and is to maintain peace. It is difficult to picture Alexander VI issuing a Papal bull recognizing the paramount interests of Spain "in the Gulf of Mexico" as early as 1493. It is inaccurate for the author to say, as he does on page 291, that the Interparliamentary Union has "now 3,300 members drawn from the twenty-four groups." But errors like unto these, and there are others, do not detract from the value of the book so materially as one would naturally conclude before reading it.

The author achieves his general purpose of examining the Covenant of the League of Nations at first hand. He wisely abstains from defending a thesis. In no way does he criticize directly or indirectly the reservations of the Covenant of the League of Nations as proposed by the United States Senate. Thus layman or expert, be he for or against the League of Nations, will be glad to possess this informing text both for purposes of general reading and ready reference.

There are twenty chapters in the text. Chapters I to VI deal with international organization. These chapters are

not coherently arranged, but they are valuable just the same, for they do summarize previous League proposals, lay before us facts relative to the balance of power and the concert of Europe, and sketch the beginnings and the salient features of the League Covenant. Chapters VII to XIII deal with international law under such headings as customary international law and treaty made law, the development of international law, international law and peace, international arbitration and the administration of territory. Chapters XIV to XX treat of international co-operation. Here there are chapters devoted to international co-operation during the war, diplomacy as a means of international co-operation, co-operation in national legislation, and international co-operation through public and private associations. Chapter XVII, dealing with the subject of conflict of laws—that is to say, co-operation in national legislation as it relates particularly to extradition, nationality, naturalization, expatriation, and labor—is one of the most thoughtful and helpful, if not the most helpful of all the chapters; but this is an expression of personal opinion with which many others would undoubtedly differ.

Emerson defines a good book as the book which puts us "in a working mood." Measured by that standard, we have here a good book. Every careful reader of its pages will agree to that.

THE HYPHEN. By *Lida C. Schem.* E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City. Two volumes. \$6.00 per set.

Persons who have wished for light on the experiences of German-Americans of various types during the war and since may find an approximate answer in this extended imaginative narrative. Fiction in form, in fact it is near-history. In its technique the story is open to criticism. There is too much of the didactic in the conversations of the characters. That which was implicit in their deeds should oftener have been left for the reader to discover. Nor would this have been a difficult process.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding this defect to which the prolixity of the book is due, it is a valuable contribution to the record of an era. For lack of just such knowledge as this novel gives many a non-German-American did the grossest sort of injustice to his former neighbor and friend, whose inner life during the strife of loyalties he, the "patriot," investigator, and social boycotter and government informant, never understood for a moment.

TAFT PAPERS ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Edited by *Theodore Marburg* and *Horace E. Flack.* The Macmillan Co., New York City. Pp. 331. \$4.50.

This collection is serviceable for its massing of documents necessary to pass judgment on the share that Mr. Taft had in influencing the course of history. The most valuable section, dealing with a part of his personal record hitherto unilluminated, is that addendum to the book giving his cable correspondence with President Wilson when the latter was in Paris shaping the League Covenant. Included within the volume are the comments made by the former President from day to day while the treaty was under debate in the Senate. These appeared in newspapers as syndicated articles. Confessedly ephemeral, they add but little to the fame of the commentator. Documents issued from time to time by the League to Enforce Peace, which were drafted by Mr. Taft, are included in the book, and as data for final judgment upon that organization are valuable.

THE MAKING OF THE REPARATION AND ECONOMIC SECTIONS OF THE TREATY. By *Bernard M. Baruch.* Harper Brothers, New York City. Pp. 344.

Mr. Baruch was economic adviser to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. He was a member of the Economic Drafting Committee, the Reparation Commission, and the Economic Commission. He also was a member of the Supreme Economic Council. To these important duties at the Paris Conference he came with combined experience and prestige gained as chairman of the War Industries Board during the war, at which post he exercised more power than any man in the country save the President.

It is his function in this book to show the conditions under

which the treaty as a whole was drafted by the delegates in Paris, and to make clear the special difficulties under which the men labored who shaped the reparation clauses. If incidentally he answers and controverts some of the charges against the treaty's financial settlements made by Mr. Keynes in his widely read and famous book, "The Economic Consequences of Peace," it is because Mr. Baruch realizes the weight of those charges and the effect that they have had upon the public opinion of the world.

Mr. Baruch admits that he and his countrymen, in shaping the "reparation clauses," did try to remember that the horrors of war were heavy upon the world. But he also frankly admits that the "spirit of vengeance or of selfish advantage could not be entirely eradicated from the minds of the framers. On them the pressure of opinion in their respective countries was constantly being exerted." The Paris Conference did its work at a time when "blood-rav passions were still pulsing through the people's veins." To have found conditions otherwise would have been to find humanity transcending itself. Hence the best that could be done was to provide an elastic mechanism for the Reparation Commission that would enable it to act more justly when passions had cooled. Under the treaty, the Reparation Commission can help humanity to look forward with hope instead of backward with hate. So much for the completed work; but how even such measure of leniency to Germany as the treaty now contains was won by the steady fight of the American delegates on the Reparation Commission, against the opposition of British and other foreign members, is set forth with particularity in this book, including the arguments on the main issue made before the Supreme Council by John Foster Dulles for the United States, by Rt. Hon. William Hughes for Australia, and Mr. Klotz, the Minister of Finance of France.

CHILEANS OF TODAY. By William Belmont Parker. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Pp. 663. \$5.00.

This is one of a series of handbooks projected by the Hispanic Society of America, with headquarters in New York, of which this is the fourth volume to be published. The sponsor of this series, Mr. Huntington, and the editor, Mr. Parker, rightly have argued that English-speaking peoples need to know more intimately the outstanding personalities and the actual makers of the republics of Central and of South America, and to secure that end they are making these "Who's Who" handbooks. The editing and the printing are done in the capital city of the country described. Thus all available material is at hand, and the assistance of competent scholars and publicists is easily secured. No important element of the population is overlooked—artists, authors, clergymen, farmers, engineers, soldiers, merchants, educators and statesmen being included. In this book on Chile 275 persons are described verbally, and in 96 cases also are pictured photographically. For journalists, diplomats, merchants, and custodians of public libraries in the United States and the British possessions this book and its associates in the series will be invaluable.

THE ARMY AND NAVY HYMNAL. Compiled by the Chaplains of the Army and Navy. The Century Co., New York City.

This experienced firm of publishers, with a long history of success in making and marketing hymnals, has co-operated with a representative group of army and navy chaplains in making a book that will supplant any previous collections by civilians. Protestants and Roman Catholics have united. The best of the old and of the very latest martial hymns and tunes have been included, and the result, to quote the words of compilers Prazler of the navy and Yates of the army, is sent forth "to the glory of God and the upbuilding of patriotic citizenship." Daniel Webster's words, "God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it," are quoted as the authority for issuing the collection; and Prof. Harry Emerson Fosdick, of Union Theological Seminary, who has arranged the responsive readings from the New Testament, thereby gives the ethical approval of a progressive Christian training school of ministers. The inclusion of a distinct Roman

Catholic section, with hymns suited to adoration of the Heart of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, and to be used in "Prayers for the Dead," gives the book quasi-official standing with the Roman Catholic chaplains and soldiers. As for hymnody due to the late war, there is George Sterling's "Flag of Honor, Flag of Daring"; John Finley's Red Cross hymn, "Wherever War With Its Red Woes," and Lena Gilbert Ford's "Keep the Home Fires Burning," not to mention the hymn with which the U. S. Marines go into battle, "From the Halls of Montezuma," and Stoddard King's "There's a Long, Long Trail."

Criticism of this compilation by persons who deprecate all relation between institutional religion and war in any of its phases, offensive or defensive, will be easy. But their point of view is not the common one in most Christian lands, where patriotism and religion go hand in hand, and God is assumed to be on the side of the righteous. Each combatant assumes righteousness, hence consistently expects Divine aid. Accepting this point of view, a purchaser and user of this collection will find it most serviceable. For quite apart from its militant hymns, it includes the classics of the past that have to do with purity and self-control, conflict and heroism, missions and world peace, and the life and ministry of Jesus.

A LIFE OF ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. By E. T. Raymond. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass. Pp. 279.

This British critic's estimate of the veteran conservative and aristocrat, whose character is so baffling, whose cynicism is so subtle, and whose range of intellectual interests is so much above that of most of his contemporaries, is far from being a formal biography. Rather is it a broadly stroked picture of the man at important crises of his career, with occasional more detailed, analytical portrayals of the subtleties of character of a Scot who also is a Cecil and never a democrat. The net impression derived from the "portrait" is not that of a great soul equal to the highest moral tasks of his time. If he had been the history of modern England would have been different. Had he had the moral fervor and deep religiousness of Sir Robert Cecil, along with the undoubted subtlety and finesse as a parliamentarian which is his own dower, Arthur Balfour would have remained in power longer than he did and left a deeper mark on national history. He never, as Mr. Raymond points out, has been "possessed" by any belief, any creed, or any "cause." His mind is speculative and not directive. Without being inhumane and insensitive, he at the same time never fully champions the cause of man. His view of society is that of the "few," who in every age are born to rule and enjoy life. "What has been shall be, and there is nothing new morally under the sun." Politics he regards as a game. Diplomacy of the "open sort" he abhors, condemns, and defests. His authority in conduct is not "that of Reason, but that of Custom."

The unfortunate effect which the influence of such a thinker and such a political reactionary has had upon the course of British history, especially in the field of foreign affairs, during his lifetime it would be difficult to overstate. Compelled by the necessities of politics to work with party partners as uncongenial as Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Lloyd-George—since the war opened in 1914—he never has failed to throw his influence for militarism and imperialism. He is not a believer in open diplomacy, and he did not practice it when in the United States as a special commissioner for Great Britain, appealing to President Wilson for aid. He might say, as he did say, "I have no secrets from President Wilson. Every thought I have of the war, or of the diplomacy connected with the war, is as open to him as to any human being." It is Mr. Raymond who says, "but it invited the retort that in the English statesman's mind were recesses to which neither the President nor any other mortal man had ever penetrated." The general impression in the United States today is that both France and Great Britain, through the "words" of Joffre and Viviani and Balfour, got more out of the United States than they would have won if they had been more candid and less subtle and less voluble; and Mr. Balfour, especially, is held to have played his game without showing all his cards.

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