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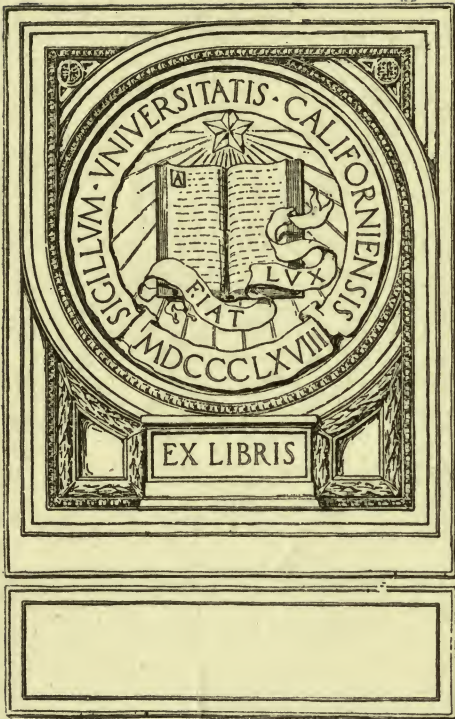
AN ALLIANCE?

OR

A NATION OF NATIONS?

BY

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER



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LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SHALL IT BE AN ALLIANCE, OR A NATION OF NATIONS?

(Must be one or the other!)



By

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER

Author of "Nation of Nations," "The Magnet," "U. S. Money vs. Corporate Currency," Etc., and of the plan for an international Nation of Nations with a strong central police power.



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President Wilson

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DEDICATION

To the hallowed memory of the seven million men killed during this last world war—the “Battle of the Nations”—this volume is sacredly dedicated.

They died martyrs, victims of a false system universally conceded to be wrong, the policy of international force instead of Justice, but which the nations have not abolished because of lack of wisdom and unselfish moral courage.

PREFACE.

The Pioneer plan for a league of nations to be organized at the end of the world war, so as to make another such war impossible or improbable, was fully prepared on August 10, 1914, ten days after the great world war began. That plan is described herein in detail and contrasted with other plans. It was mailed to President Wilson August 18, 1914. It was referred by the White House to the Department of State, according to the letter of the Secretary of State to the author, dated September 17, 1914. In October, 1914, it was made public.

The volume "Nation of Nations," elaborating the plan with a tentative draft of a Supreme Constitution for the suggested international government and police power, was published just after June 17, 1915, when the League to Enforce Peace was organized at Philadelphia to promote a league of nations of an entirely different character, a world treaty alliance, as herein shown. Both plans are described and contrasted in that book, and in this volume.

The original statement describing the plan, sent to the President on August 18, 1914, reprinted in full in the Appendix of this volume, began with these words:

"The United States will take a leading part in ending the prevailing world-war. It is the only strong nation in position to be an umpire acceptable to all warring nations. President Wilson recognized this fact in tendering his good offices.

"This nation should use its dominant influence for a plan that will insure permanent peace without insanely large universal armaments. It must not help patch up a mere temporary armed truce that can only mean a still greater war later and unbearable burdens upon all humanity meantime.

"Now that war is unavoidable and in progress, it should be allowed to proceed until all nations so clearly realize the

futility and folly of war that they will gladly co-operate in adopting a settlement of past differences and a plan of future action that will make another great international conflict forever impossible. That course will sacrifice more lives now, but less in the end; and it will rescue the world from perpetual strife and insure the onward march of true civilization until it reaches its divine goal."

The undersigned will leave to others to judge as to the prophetic or rather the deductive accuracy and wisdom of those early words. The war did go on to its logical finish. No temporary armed truce was made. It is believed the nations have come to see the futility and folly of war. The United States is in a position to take a leading part in the settlement, and its President, as a counselor, seems to be acceptable above all others.

Will the nations now actually create a constitutional Nation of Nations with a strong central police power to safeguard the world's future peace? Or, will they discuss, divide, postpone and finally drop and forget the whole matter? Of course, that would mean another and greater war. Knowing that to be true, every nation would begin at once, and continue steadily, to increase armaments and forces until the inevitable conflict occurs.

The world forgives and forgets easily and quickly. Nations that are enemies in one war are allies in the next, a few years later. This often has occurred and may again, and very soon. Mere alliances are only temporary affairs, made today and dissolved tomorrow. Changing conditions or selfish national aims make them transitory. Nations, or governments, are selfish, although their peoples are reasonable and even generous. In the face of common danger they combine for defense, or unite in joint attack to gain mutual advantage. The immediate danger over or postponed, they settle back to the old ways and forget all but their own individual aspirations.

This war has taught a great lesson: that world wars

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do not pay any nation and endanger the existence of all countries. Will it move the nations to co-operate unselfishly in constructive action for preventing future conflicts? The loss of millions of lives and untold billions of treasure should stimulate action. But will it cause actual adoption of a thoroging plan? We earnestly hope so.

But we can not forget that following the devastating Roman wars, nineteen hundred years ago, there was strong demand for an international plan to prevent future wars; and periodically since, after great widespread conflicts, the same idea was discussed—then dropped or forgotten.

The future welfare and safety of mankind is in greater danger now than at any time since the world war began. That is because of the danger of differences between the victorious associated nations over the details of the peace settlement and the possibility that the indifference or selfish interest or ambition of one or more countries, existing but perhaps well concealed, will prevent the creation of the only kind of a league of nations that would "make the world safe for democracy" by making future international wars impossible. They may insist on an unwelcome and ineffective alliance, instead of organizing a genuine mutual, international government.

This volume, "League of Nations," is contributed to further explain, with the aid of the light of four years of war, the plan suggested in August, 1914, and thus help stir world opinion to demand action that will insure a peace of justice and make it permanent.

The suggested complete frame work, and tentative provisions of a Supreme Constitution for an international government, were published in the author's former book, "Nation of Nations,"* issued in 1915, and are reproduced in the Appendix to this volume.

*The book, "Nation of Nations" (by Alfred Owen Crozier)—Publishers, Stewart & Kidd Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, U. S. A. Price, paper cover, by mail, 75 cents.

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The entire draft of the Constitution for a League of Nations, read by President Wilson before the Supreme Peace Congress at Paris, France, on February 14, 1919, is given in the following pages, together with a very frank, and we trust fair, analysis of the true legal character, meaning and effect of each of its twenty-six important Articles.

THE AUTHOR.

140 Cedar Street, New York City, March 4, 1919.

INTRODUCTION.

The terms (fourteen points) set forth by President Woodrow Wilson as essential to peace, in his address to the Congress on January 8th, 1918, and formally accepted by the belligerent nations, ~~are as follows~~:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed ~~always~~ frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will reduce to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more

than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory shall be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman

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Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. 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.

CHAPTER I.

THE DAWNING NEW ERA.

The great Battle of the Nations ended November 11, 1918. Countries with nine-tenths of the earth's billion and a half inhabitants were active participants. The other tenth were indirectly involved. Thus all mankind was drawn into the vortex of the world conflict. More than seven million men were killed, more than ten millions crippled or incapacitated and countless other millions, men, women and children, starved, impoverished or terrorized. The human race has been mortgaged with debt and expense for 200 billions of dollars, or five times the 40 billions that comprised the aggregate public debts of the 42 nations when the war began on August 1, 1914. Interest and pensions ultimately will increase the burden imposed upon mankind by this one war to an amount exceeding the total wealth of the world fifty years ago and equal to a very substantial part, in fact more than half, of its present wealth.

Civilization, democracy, justice, liberty and freedom, those priceless possessions accumulated by mankind through thousands of years of toil and struggle, escaped destruction narrowly and almost miraculously. Another such war and all would be lost. Therefore the greatest problem ever faced for solution by mortals, the most pressing and sacred duty of this grave hour of all human history, is to devise and adopt a workable plan that would make another world war unnecessary and impossible.

There must be a League of Nations or popular protest may become universal revolution and wreck governments or tear the whole world into pieces. But it must be a League of Nations of the right kind or it will be useless and fail. Shall it be an "entangling" world alliance, or a limited international government or Nation of Nations with

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central police power in which all countries are mutually represented? It will be one or the other. The future safety of the world depends upon the wisdom of the choice between these two plans, to be made by the General Peace Congress now in session at Paris, France.

The opportunity for permanent peace is now freely offered for the mere acceptance. Will mankind take or refuse it? When the best scheme of salvation was offered to mortals nearly two thousand years ago the people, or their statesmen, crucified their benefactor on a cross. It is to be hoped that two thousand years of growing intelligence and the fiery lessons of a conflict that shook the whole social structure of mankind to its foundations have so impressed the minds and moved the consciences of men and women throughout the world that they will require their leaders to act definitely, promptly and wisely for the creation of a practical common agency for the common protection and guidance of all peoples.

Providence neither prevents man from doing wrong or compels him to do right. He leaves him a free moral agent, to make or break himself. He may "throw out the life-line" to man, but will let him sink if he lacks the sense, courage or ambition to seize it and survive. And it is quite certain that the war devil will not chain himself. Will the nations and races now rise above their selfish aims, mutual fears, jealousies and hatreds and co-operate in doing the one logical necessary thing to abolish international wars forever? What will happen if they fail to take that course? What may not happen, in the present stirred and impatient world?

WORLD'S GENERAL PEACE CONGRESS.

The first formal meeting of the General Peace Congress, or conference of the nations, was held at Paris, France, on January 18th, 1919. On January 25, 1919, the Congress issued the following statement of its unanimous action.

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"The conference, having considered the proposals for the creation of a League of Nations, resolved that:

"It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement which the Associated Nations are now met to establish that a League of Nations be created to promote international obligations and to provide safeguards against war. This league should be created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace and should be open to civilized nations which can be relied on to promote its objects.

"The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and secretaries to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the conference.

"The conference therefore appoints a committee representative of the Associated Governments to work out the details of the Constitution and the functions of the league and the draft of resolutions in regard to breaches of the laws of war for presentation to the Peace Conference.

"That a commission composed of two representatives apiece from the five great powers and five representatives to be elected by the other powers be appointed to inquire and report upon the following:

"1. The responsibility of the authors of the war.

"2. The facts as to breaches of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and their allies on land, on sea and in the air during the present war.

"3. The degree of responsibility for these offenses attaching to particular members of the enemy's forces, including members of the general staffs and other individuals, however highly placed.

"4. The constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate to the trial of these offenses.

"5. Any other matter cognate or ancillary to the above which may arise in the course of the inquiry and which the commission finds it useful and relevant to take into consideration."

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In moving the adoption of the above resolution, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, made a speech of earnestness and convincing power. He was followed by British Premier Lloyd George, Italian Premier Vittorio Orlando, M. Leon Bourgeois for France and representatives of other nations, all heartily supporting the resolutions and favoring creation of a League of Nations. There was no opposition. In stating the unalterable position of the United States, President Wilson said:

"It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

"Therefore it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing,—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency—but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations, and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive. And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centers upon."

British Premier Lloyd George, after describing to the General Peace Congress the desolation of France caused by the war, which he had just seen, said:

"I said to myself that it is surely time we set up some other method to settle quarrels than this organized slaughter. I do not know if we shall succeed in our enterprise, but it is already a success that we have undertaken it."

As the official representatives of all the Associated Nations duly convened in a General Peace Congress to readjust and reorganize the family of nations have solemnly declared by formal resolution unanimously adopted and

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published to the world that they should and would create for their mutual protection and benefit a "league of nations," it may be assumed that such a "league" soon will be an accomplished fact. This action, if all goes wisely and well, may make January 25, 1919, a memorable date in the history of the race, the turning point in human history, the end of the old dispensation and the beginning of the New Era.

What kind of a league of nations will it be? That is the most important question confronting the world now. Is it to be a mere world treaty alliance, or entente, disguised or camouflaged with the name "League of Nations"? Will it be just a loose moral suasion society under that pretentious name, with power to meddle, cause complications and disputes and involve nations in dangerous liabilities and obligations, but with no ample authority, no practical governmental machinery and no effective police power under its own independent control to force individual nations to reduce armaments and prevent rearmament and to compel order in the family of nations? Or, will the General Peace Congress have the wisdom and courage to avoid the old discredited alliance plan and to refuse the suggestion for a mere temporary, impotent, delusive makeshift? Will it do the logical, the obvious thing, create for the mutual safety and benefit of the nations and peoples of the world, a league of nations that will be a limited but genuine federal international government, a Nation of Nations with the usual successful machinery of modern representative government, legislative, executive and judicial, in which all orderly countries are fairly represented on an agreed basis, with a central police power under its own control, having sufficient delegated authority and ample means for insuring justice and preventing wars between nations?

Most statesmen and thoughtful men of all countries agree that sometime the nations should and will provide for their mutual protection and benefit a federal Nation of Nations in which they will all be represented, to formulate and

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exercise in the international field for the good of mankind as a whole the combined will and power of the nations so associated. They will intend that any alliance or temporary makeshift organization they now form shall gradually develop into a restricted international government of that character. It might do so, but there is grave danger if not certainty that the whole program would be deranged and smashed by discord and disputes before that occurs. Then it would require another and greater world war to bring about the creation of the Nation of Nations that now is so easily attainable. Why "send a boy to do a man's job"? Why not finish the task *now*, do the right thing and make the peoples of the world secure, happy and contented? Why experiment, temporize, procrastinate or delay and thus recklessly gamble with fate and all the increasing world forces of danger?

On January 30, 1919, Admiral Mayo was before the House Naval Committee of the Congress urging that a billion dollars, a sum exceeding the entire annual cost of running the United States government before the war, be spent each year on naval construction to make our's the largest navy in the world. The committee promptly reported a bill appropriating \$750,000,000 and congress will enact it into law. No doubt even a greater amount will be voted to keep the army of the republic up to the new standard. This action is ample evidence of what the United States will do in the way of increasing instead of decreasing armaments, and all other countries will do the same thing to the limit of their resources, unless some plan is adopted that will make it unnecessary if not impossible for individual nations to remain armed at all, except to an agreed moderate extent for domestic police purposes.

Any mere alliance, treaty agreement, or non-governmental committee, conference or society, whatever its name may be, possessing no supreme authority in international matters and no central police power to enforce respect for its authority and decisions, would cause instead of prevent

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the increase of national armaments and forces as soon as the nations have recovered and are able to follow that course. It would increase international fears and distrust. Ultimate war, a greater world conflict, will be the inevitable result of such an impractical spineless policy. No plan at all is needed to prevent another world war during the years when the nations are rebuilding their shattered fortunes, but a very practical and powerful agency is needed to prevent an ultimate world war and increase of armaments meantime.

When Admiral Mayo was asked his opinion of the proposed league of nations he said:

“This idea is rapidly getting down to a sewing circle, with no means of enforcement and with no international police force.”

This criticism, it must be confessed, was justified by the very disquieting press reports of the drift of events at Paris toward a useless and dangerous compromise on a loose international conference or organization without authority to decide or means for enforcing its decisions—a mere gossiping, meddling, helpless international sewing circle that no unruly nation would fear or respect. It is devoutly to be hoped, and we firmly believe, that the futility, folly and war-provoking danger of such a scheme, the discredited alliance plan, will become clear to the minds of the distinguished world statesmen before too late, and cause them to provide the same proved and successful legislative, judicial and executive governmental machinery, (whatever they may name it,) used everywhere else to establish order and peace and administer justice. Only thus can efficient machinery for the difficult and varying work in hand be provided without involving individual nations in unlimited liability for the acts of others and dangerous obligations of an unknown character. The Nation of Nations plan involves no nation in such liability or obligation and therefore would be both safe and attractive. France very properly

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is insisting on a genuine international organization with a strong central police power under its exclusive control.

President Wilson said that the League of Nations "should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest, an eye that did not slumber; an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive." He should have added: "the League of Nations shall also be the combined mighty fist of the nations, ever ready to protect the weak and defenseless nations against injustice and to restrain or punish the most powerful when they are tempted to adventure on schemes of lawless conquest."

MEMORIAL TO PEACE COUNCIL.

The succeeding chapters of this book (except the last three) were written before the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. This preliminary chapter is designed to briefly summarize the suggestions made and discussed in this volume. To that end the memorial by author to the General Peace Congress is here published, as follows:

140 Cedar Street, New York City,
Supreme Peace Council, January 22, 1919.
Paris, France.

Gentlemen:

In the league of nations matter, it is assumed that you represent all mankind and will welcome, hear and consider suggestions made even by private citizens; therefore:

1. Any failure to adopt a plan making future world wars impossible or improbable would make this war a failure, even for the victors. And it would be considered a confession that the present system of national governments is inadequate and powerless to prevent slaughter of "the workers" by millions in war. That cry would help Bolshevism extend anarchy to other countries.

2. An alliance plan for preventing wars would seem to be merely experimenting with a system discredited by this war. Any nation by attacking another, could then start a

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world war and automatically involve all countries anytime. An "entangling alliance" of that kind would be dangerous and is unnecessary. I believe most of the American people are unalterably opposed to it.

3. A general alliance would have to depend upon forty scattered, unready, competing, jealous national police power forces. It would increase instead of reduce armaments and burdens, make universal military training and service and conscription a necessity and another and greater world war certain. It would develop "militarism" in many countries. It is neither an evidence or act of civilization when everybody goes fully armed all the time.

4. What the world needs is one strong ready-to-strike police power under one central management in which the forty nations shall be fairly represented; then the forty national forces under forty different and conflicting managements can be gradually reduced and ultimately largely abolished. This change could be quickly and cheaply made by requiring each country to turn over say half of its armaments, and adding the surrendered German naval vessels. Is there any other practical way to accomplish the necessary mutual reduction of national armaments? The central police power would chiefly be a naval force. In time it could be reduced; for a relatively small force could police the world when it shall be largely disarmed and prevented from rearming.

5. Government is the only thing that ever properly created and managed a police power or maintained order and administered justice. It is the civilized way. It is the conservative process. There is nothing radical about it. It is not an experiment. The family of nations is the only place where this successful system for establishing order has not been employed. Why not now civilize the family of nations by creating and setting up in the international field the usual machinery of orderly government modified to fit the special situation? Anything else would be an experiment.

6. It should be a permanent independent federal government composed of official representatives of all orderly nations allotted on an agreed fair basis. It would be neither a world government or a super-state over or above other nations. It would be merely an international government, an artificial body existing between other nations and exercising jurisdiction only beyond their boundaries and authority. Even there it would represent and wield merely the collective will and judgment of all nations as framed and administered by the chosen representatives of such nations, and for their mutual welfare. But it must have executive, legislative and judicial branches, functions and powers, the usual machinery of modern representative government.

7. The Supreme Senate, in which all loyal nations would be equitably represented, would enact all international laws, the General Supreme Court would construe such laws and administer justice in accordance with the Supreme Constitution, the Supreme President would be the chief executive, and the Supreme Council, composed of say twenty-five of the leading statesmen of various countries, would check and guide the Supreme President in the exercise of his functions and the use of the police power forces. Why should the world be given a less complete and efficient instrumentality for regulating the international field? The regular meeting together of the representatives of all nations in the Nation of Nations for high objects should increase international confidence and friendships.

8. The name "Nation of Nations" would plainly show that it was a federal government created by the nations for their common protection and purposes; and that name could readily be translated into various languages. All its powers would be delegated, coupled with proper restrictions and safeguards, by the individual nations, and enumerated in its constitution. But there would be no delegation, surrender or limitation of national "sovereignty." As you so well know, an independent nation can, without impairing

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its sovereignty, voluntarily limit its freedom of action to begin a war, just as it can to fish in certain waters. Of course any nation, because it is sovereign, can violate its agreements of honor, but it would be unlikely to do it when certain of prompt and adequate punishment by the strong central police power under the exclusive control of the Nation of Nations. The fact that its sea license could be cancelled, its commerce driven from the oceans and all intercourse with other countries by way of the seas prevented, would be sufficient to deter any commercial nation from violating the common covenant of peace.

9. You may find that a well organized mutual Nation of Nations will be needed to act as a general receiver to take over and administer for the good of inhabitants and the impartial benefit of the associated nations, all captured German colonies and disputed territories and waters not otherwise amicably and satisfactorily disposed of. Suitable naval and military bases for use of the police power forces of the Nation of Nations can thus be lawfully obtained in different parts of the world. The opportunity may never come again. The Nation of Nations should also be granted a permanent easement or right for its police power forces to go and come on the Rhine and Danube and in adjacent territories, and also in countries liberated by this war. A complete plan for effectively and permanently policing the whole world by a governmental agency representing the authority of the whole world should be formulated now.

10. The moral, economic and physical power of the peoples of the world is ample to insure or enforce permanent peace without war or insanely large, competing, dangerous national armaments and armies. It only lacks proper organization and suitable machinery for bringing such irresistible power to bear directly in the right way, at the right time and in the right place. To create such machinery is your high privilege and sacred duty. Without it, the system of nations, civilization and the entire human race

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must be left exposed to deadly danger if not to destruction during future wars. Permanent "peace on earth, good will to all men," is now within the reach of man for the first time, and the Supreme Peace Council has the fateful decision. With the highest respect and hopes, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER.

In view of the character of the plan set forth in the "Constitution" for a League of Nations (hereinafter given and discussed) read by President Wilson to the Paris General Peace Congress on February 14, 1919, and the more recent action of nearly half of the members of the United States Senate in signing a written statement that they would vote against ratifying a treaty containing a constitution of that character, and thus making ratification by the United States impossible, it may become highly important to clearly establish the fact that the one practical alternative Plan, the suggestion of an international government or Nation of Nations, described in the above memorial, actually was presented for consideration to those officially engaged in the negotiations as members of the General Peace Congress. This can be done without here publishing the perhaps twenty letters on this subject written to President Wilson during the last four years by author, or his other letters to Secretary Lansing, Mr. House, Lloyd-George, Balfour, Lord Grey, Lord Northcliffe, Bourgeois, Clemanceau and others. The following letter just received will be accepted as sufficient evidence of that fact:

AMERICAN COMMISSSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE.

Mr. Alfred Owen Crozier,
140 Cedar Street,
New York City, U. S. A.

Paris, Feb. 11, 1919.

Sir:

By direction, I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 22nd ultimo, addressed to the Honorable Robert

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Lansing, Paris, France, enclosing a copy of a communication addressed by you on the same day to the "Supreme Peace Council," Paris, France, making certain suggestions with respect to the organization of the proposed League of Nations.

As you have doubtless learned from the newspapers, the creation of a League of Nations is now having the serious consideration of the preliminary peace conference at Paris which, there is no reason to doubt, will give your communication an attentive reading.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

I. C. GREW, Secretary.

CHAPTER II.

THE NATION OF NATIONS PLAN.

President Wilson, during his New York address on September 27th, 1918, publicly announced for the first time a great new American Doctrine. It was a memorable message to mankind. Universal Justice for all peoples was proclaimed. Henceforth the world should be absolutely free from the danger of wars between nations. That should be the priceless fruit plucked from the bitter tree of this titanic world conflict.

To accomplish these world important things a definite workable plan is necessary. A program of action must be formulated and followed. Such blessings would not come to the human race automatically, and when gained they could be retained only by ceaseless vigilance.

WORLD FEDERATION BUT NOT UNION.

The great democracies of the world are scattered and divided into many national units. Differences of race and language make their physical union impractical and impossible. But it is practical to federate their separate national police powers into one great central force of an overwhelming character under common control for their mutual and impartial protection. Then abolish or greatly reduce all national forces and armaments. That is the only way the world can be made and kept "safe for democracy." And it must be done now, at the end of this conflict, or it never will be done at all. The frightful losses of lives and treasure will not have been in vain if a new system of this character shall be adopted. But the high price humanity has paid entitles mankind to a complete and thorough-going system, not a mere make-shift compromise.

It seems to be the concensus of world opinion, forced by the logic of events and the necessities of the new situa-

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tion created by this war, that a league of nations must be formed to establish and maintain international Justice and Peace.

What kind of a league of nations shall it be? Should it be merely an alliance, a world entente, based on treaty agreements—"scraps of paper"—or must it be a genuine and permanent international organization or instrumentality with proper functions and ample power to guard the family of nations and prevent future world wars?

The President of the United States, in his New York speech, seemed to largely settle this question definitely. He stated what was to be the policy of this country; and the influence of the United States and the President is such as to make it reasonably certain that other nations generally would adopt the same policy. President Wilson then said:

"THAT INDISPENSABLE INSTRUMENTALITY IS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS FORMED UNDER COVENANTS THAT WILL BE EFFICACIOUS. * * * AND, AS I SEE IT, THE *CONSTITUTION* OF THAT LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE CLEAR DEFINITION OF ITS OBJECTS MUST BE A PART—IS IN A SENSE THE MOST ESSENTIAL PART—OF THE PEACE SETTLEMENT ITSELF."

TWO GENERAL PLANS.

Two general plans have been suggested and discussed here and abroad:

1. A league of nations that shall be nothing more than a world defensive alliance, a mere treaty agreement, signed by all governments if possible. That is the plan proposed by the League to Enforce Peace, of which former President Taft is the head. This plan was formulated June 17, 1915, at Philadelphia.

2. A league of nations that shall be a new, distinct, complete, working governmental organization, sovereign in

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the international field only, possessing limited powers and duties mutually granted to it by all the various nations; those powers, duties and limitations being set forth in its supreme constitution. Such organization, to be most practical and effective for the high purposes in view, necessarily must be in the nature of a governmental body, having proper authority, ample police power and the usual legislative, executive and judicial branches and functions. It should be a representative government of the governments created by the various nations for their mutual protection and welfare. Such a league of nations may be called Nation of Nations, Society of Nations, Council of Nations, League of Nations or any other suitable name. The name is relatively unimportant. For brevity we will call it "Nation of Nations." That name would express the true character of the organization and be most readily translated into the various languages. But it must have a written constitution. Of course each country would be equitably represented in its management and control. This plan was prepared by the author of this volume on August 10, 1914, and first published in October, 1914.

THE TWO SYSTEMS COMPARED.

The first, or alliance plan, would be similar to the entente and triple alliances, except that an effort would be made to have all instead of part of the nations sign the general treaty agreement. It is the identical plan now found to be a mere rope of sand when the inevitable crisis comes, and useless to prevent war.

The second, or Nation of Nations plan, would be a theoretical federation of the nations for certain limited objects. It would be much like the federal government of the United States, except that its delegated exclusive powers would be more limited, while its field of operations and jurisdiction would be entirely outside instead of inside of the boundaries of the various states or nations co-operat-

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ing in its creation and enjoying its protection. It would be strictly an international entity, existing and acting between and not within or above the several countries. There would be a ~~nominal confederation~~ of the world's nations and peoples but only to create a simple governmental instrumentality that would establish international justice and prevent future world wars. That is all. Nothing more is desired, needed or intended.

The only political organizations possessing formal constitutions are governments, some kind of supreme authority with a police power. Alliances never have constitutions. Therefore it can of course be fairly assumed that when President Wilson said the coming league of nations must have a constitution he at that time intended to formally put the United States on the side of the second of the above plans and thereby rejected the first, the alliance plan of the League to Enforce Peace. We will describe what seem to be the logical details without claiming any authority to speak for the President in the matter.

To determine the wisdom of that action by the President of the republic, and his subsequent course at the General Peace Congress, it is necessary and proper to consider and compare such two plans in detail. The alliance plan will be considered first. After that the second plan will be fully described.

BATTLE OF ARMAGEDDON?

Those who accept the Bible and its inspiration consider this the great battle of Armageddon, to be followed by the promised thousand years of peace on earth. The Millenium, then, is to be part of this world, this life, not of the next. But the devil of war must be chained by human hands and kept chained by human agencies. That is the stupendous task to be performed now, at the end of this conflict, by a great constitutional Nation of Nations that shall martial, regulate and wisely direct the overwhelming combined

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police power of all the nations and keep it always ready to strike, if necessary, for the impartial protection of every loyal member of the family of nations. It must protect the peaceful many nations, large and small, against the brutal few.

This is by far the biggest question mankind ever had to face. It is the first and greatest opportunity for genuine and permanent constructive action, and it may be the last. Unless civilization is a failure and the human race utterly impotent to save itself from self destruction, this problem of the ages will now be solved and settled right. The time to act is at hand. Every intelligent person should compare and earnestly study these plans and help form that great body of enlightened world opinion on which all Governments hereafter must rely for guidance and power.

CHAPTER III.

THE WORLD ALLIANCE PLAN.

The League to Enforce Peace, with former President Taft at its head, was organized at Philadelphia, June 17, 1915. Its proposed plan was set forth in detail in the following declaration of policy then adopted:

"We, therefore, believe it to be desirable for the United States to join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following:

"First: All justiciable questions arising between the signatory Powers, not settled by negotiations, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

"Second: All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiations shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

"Third: The signatory Powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

"Fourth: Conferences between the signatory Powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal mentioned in Article I."

ONLY AN ALLIANCE.

The league of nations proposed by the above plan clearly was only an alliance. It might include all or only part

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of the nations. An agreement or treaty containing the above four articles would be drawn up and signed by such "signatory Powers" as might approve it. The League to Enforce Peace simply said: "We, therefore, believe it to be desirable for the United States to join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following": (said four articles). That was all. It did not suggest any other machinery or propose to bind the "signatory" nations to anything else. All nations refusing to sign would not be bound. They would be on one side and the signers, in alliance, on the other. Virtually, the world would be left with two alliances, divided into two armed camps. Wherein does that plan differ in any essential from present treaty alliances proved by this war to be ineffective for preventing conflicts? In what legal or practical sense does it differ from the alliance proposed in the "Constitution" for a League of Nations drafted at Paris but not yet adopted?

There was in those four articles no thought of a league of nations that would be a permanent international organization with a constitution, such as President Wilson said at New York must now be created.

UNOBJECTIONABLE FEATURES.

Article one says "Justiciable" questions shall all be disposed of finally by a Judicial Tribunal, similar to the Hague. Article two says all other questions arising between nations in the alliance shall be heard by a commission or council of conciliation that would not have power to decide the question but could only "recommend." Article four provides for occasional "conferences," like those held at the Hague, to make "rules" to be followed only by the "Judicial Tribunal mentioned in Article I." Such "rules" would not be "laws," because a "conference" is not a legislative body.

The provisions of articles one, two and four are unobjectionable. In fact they are commendable. They represent an advance, perhaps a rather vague and timid advance,

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or an attempt to patch up and slightly enlarge the Hague plan. But no way is suggested for enforcing the "Judgments" of the Judicial Tribunal and either party to a dispute heard by the council of conciliation may lawfully ignore its "Recommendation." They can even go to war without violating the treaty of alliance, for they shall then have complied strictly with article two.

Such a plan provides no insurance against war. One of the fatal defects in the Hague scheme is that there is no way to enforce the decisions of its tribunals. It has no police power under its control. It is like a law without a penalty, or means to enforce it, impotent. It has only moral power, but that is not sufficient in a world containing unmoral autocratic nations. This plan does not cure that fatal defect. Further, it provides no way to give accepted international usages the authority of legislative sanction so they may become in fact genuine international laws and bind and guide all countries and thus avoid resorts to arms. In fact, even the "rules" formulated by the "conferences" of the Powers (article 4) for the guidance of the "Judicial Tribunal" cannot become effective if just one power vetoes them. How many laws would be enacted if every law passed could be vetoed by any one citizen? Therefore even the unobjectionable part of the plan of the League to Enforce Peace is unworkable.

A STARTLING PROPOSAL.

Article three, however, is a startling innovation. It proposes that all nations joining the alliance shall, far in advance of possible disputes, blindly and completely bind themselves by such treaty agreement to all "forthwith" use their "economic and military forces" in an immediate joint attack on any nation in the alliance whenever such nation "goes to war or commits any act of hostility against another of the signatories" before the dispute has been heard by the Judicial Tribunal or council of conciliation, as in articles one and two.

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Who is to decide whether the accused nation was the aggressor? No plan or machinery for ascertaining and determining the fact of guilt or innocence is proposed or even suggested. And yet a large portion of all great wars have begun in a way to leave the world in honest doubt as to which nation really was the aggressor. Most of the entire neutral world for months was kept in doubt as to the nation responsible for beginning this war. Each side accused the other. It took two years for the facts to leak out, from high German sources, and convince the neutral countries that this great conflict was deliberately begun for conquest by Germany and its Allies. Going to war "forthwith" against an accused nation without any judicial inquiry as to the facts would be the introduction of lynch law into the family of nations by formal treaty agreement signed by all countries. Disputes over this and other matters soon would occur within the alliance. Some nations honestly and others perhaps in bad faith would refuse to join their forces in attacks on every accused nation. The alliance then would go to smash. Probably the nations in the alliance would dispute, quarrel and then go to war with each other.

At the time of the recent Philadelphia meeting of the League to Enforce Peace, in May, 1918, an unsuccessful effort was made to induce the League to change or amend its world treaty alliance plan by substituting the plan for a genuine international organization with a constitution, such as seemed to have been favored by President Wilson in his New York speech. A prominent officer of that organization then told the writer that they were afraid the League would be divided and destroyed if it attempted to propose anything definite or specific. But the time has come when a plan that is definite, constructive and practical is required, if the world's future is to be made secure.

CHAPTER IV.

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE ACTION.

The League to Enforce Peace spent large sums for propoganda here and abroad. It flooded newspapers with prepared data. The press certainly has treated it generously. Local leagues and committees were formed by active agents everywhere. Legislatures were asked to pass resolutions. Many excellent men have been drawn into the enterprise, but some do not yet understand the plan to which they have given their active or moral support. Others, some of them of national and international prominence, on discovering the facts abandoned the movement as futile.

Unfortunately, much confusion of thought, grave doubts and opposition have been occasioned by the League, particularly in England and other foreign countries. It tended to give the false impression abroad that the American people favored a mere alliance. Statesmen and other able men have expressed scepticism or hostility. They say they favor the principle of a league of nations but do not see how it can be made to work in practice. The only kind exploited over there is that shown in the four articles of the declaration of the League to Enforce Peace which trained statesmen see is impractical and visionary. And yet leaders in allied countries hesitated to oppose or expose the fatal defects of the plan because the public had been led to believe that the United States and its President, and the American people, all earnestly want just the kind of a league of nations alliance proposed by the League to Enforce Peace.

It is time the people here and abroad learn just what that League to Enforce Peace plan is and means. Of course no reflection on the excellent gentlemen comprising the official roster of that organization is intended. No doubt they will welcome plain and candid analysis of their alliance plan.

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PLAN WOULD CAUSE WARS.

Suppose a world alliance precisely like that proposed by those four articles was formed and all nations had signed the treaty, what would happen? What might not happen!

Just as soon as one nation violated the common treaty agreement, all the other nations, according to their solemn treaty obligation, would be obliged to "forthwith" go to war against such offending nation, and, of course, its allies. *That would be another world war.* It would be a greater conflict than the present because every nation on earth necessarily would be actively engaged. *Every future war then automatically would become a world war.*

Would any sane country join a league of nations of that character or make a treaty alliance agreement of that kind? Would it tie itself irrevocably to a plan making it possible for any one nation, by simply attacking another nation, to easily start another world war suddenly any time? Must the world continue dependent solely on the will of one mad monarch for peace and security? Every country then would have to arm to the teeth and stay armed and prepared for war. All would go on to a permanent military basis. That is what the world is determined to avoid. It is the situation that breeds dangerous autocracies and somebody somewhere sometime would throw a match into the universal powder magazine and once again blow up the world's peace.

IS THE PLAN CONSTITUTIONAL?

Could the United States lawfully join any such alliance or make a treaty of that character? The President and Senate is the treaty-making power. Could that power constitutionally bind the United States by a treaty that would compel this country to go to war again and again with all its forces and resources whenever any nation anywhere on earth thus attacked another nation, and this without any right to determine for itself at the time the trouble occurs?

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Congress represents the people. Is it within the treaty-making power (President and Senate) to thus deprive Congress without its consent of its constitutional right to determine when this country shall go to war? Or, to delegate that power to a league or alliance controlled by foreign nations? If not, then clearly any such treaty would be unconstitutional and the United States could not join a league of nations of that kind. This country certainly should not propose to its allies any plan it cannot itself lawfully adopt.

On the other hand, suppose it should be held that such a treaty could be constitutionally made, for the reason that Congress, without any such reservation being stated in the treaty, always would have implied power to decide the question of war because it would have the right to determine for itself whether the accused nation was or was not guilty and the proposed war justified. It could arbitrarily say the accused nation was innocent when its guilt was obvious to all. In such circumstances this country could always go to war or refuse to do it. Of course every other country would have the same right. The alliance then never could know whether in any case it would have the armed support of all or any of its member-nations. That would make it impotent and useless. While pretending to combine the martial forces of all nations to be used "forthwith" against any offending nation, it in fact would combine nothing. The whole thing would be merely a huge bluff. Common knowledge of this fact and fatal weakness would encourage violations of the treaty and soon destroy the alliance.

Surely the United States either could not if it would, or would not if it could, join any such delusive alliance. It would be just the kind of "entangling alliance" against which Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln wisely and solemnly warned the American people, and they will not ignore that prophetic advice. An alliance of that kind might become a devil's endless chain and drag all nations

and peoples to destruction. It would cause instead of prevent future wars, many of them. Obviously it is not the remedy for war being anxiously sought by all mankind. And it is not necessary to try such a dangerous experiment when another plan that is practical, safe and unobjectionable is available.

ALLIANCE PLAN NOT PRACTICAL.

The League to Enforce Peace plan is wholly impractical for another reason. It proposes to rely only on the forty scattered and unready national forces or police powers and to negotiate for their co-operative armed action only after the crisis occurs. The nation that wantonly starts war will be ready, just as Germany was this time and it might win before the other nations could prepare and get their widely scattered forces together. Has not this war driven that tremendous fact home in the minds of all men? There must be one overwhelming, central, ready-to-strike police power under one strong, impartial, mutual management, instead of forty widely separated and unprepared police powers under forty different, independent, conflicting national managements, if brutal irresponsible autocracies are to be kept within bounds and the world's peace made secure and permanent. So long as there are hereditary kings claiming to rule by divine right, new autocracies may arise to menace the world's peace.

If the Allies in this conflict had not at last put all of their many national armies under absolute control of one central directing management—Marshal Foch—Germany probably would have won the war and the Kaiser now be master of the world.

The kind of a league of nations that would be only a world treaty alliance would be a dangerous delusion and snare. The kind that would be a limited constitutional Nation of Nations would be practical, safe and no doubt satisfactory to every civilized country.

CHAPTER V.

LEAGUE REVERSES ITS POSITION.

The President on September 27, 1918, announced that the policy of the United States would be the creation of an international instrumentality with a *constitution*, which of course was understood to mean a regular government with the usual legislative, executive and judicial branches and functions. One month later, on November 24, 1918, after preceding chapters of this volume (except Chapter I) had been prepared, the League to Enforce Peace announced a new platform that had been formulated by a committee of which William H. Taft, A. Lawrence Lowell, Oscar S. Straus, Theodore Marburg, Hamilton Holt, Talcott Williams, William H. Short and Glenn Frank were members.

The new platform is an absolute reversal of the plan adopted by the League to Enforce Peace when it was organized on June 17, 1915. It abandoned the world treaty alliance plan it had been promoting all over the world, and began advocating the plan President Wilson seemed to have publicly approved on September 27, 1918. Its new platform demanded an international government with legislative, executive and judicial branches and functions. Thus the League adopted the precise plan for a Nation of Nations that was formulated by author on August 10, 1914, and sent to the President on August 18, 1914.

NEW PLAN OF LEAGUE.

The new platform of the League to Enforce Peace announced November 24, 1918, says that it is necessary to create:

"1. For the decision of justiciable questions, an impartial tribunal whose jurisdiction shall not depend upon the assent of the parties to the controversy; provision to be made for enforcing its decisions.

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"2. For questions that are not justiciable in their character, a Council of Conciliation, as mediator, which shall hear, consider, and make recommendations; and failing acquiescence by the parties concerned, the league shall determine what action, if any, shall be taken.

"3. An administrative organization for the conduct of affairs of common interest, the protection and care of backward regions and internationalized places, and such matters as have been jointly administered before and during the war. We hold that this object must be attained by methods and through machinery that will insure both stability and progress; preventing, on the one hand, any crystallization of the *status quo* that will defeat the forces of healthy growth and change, and providing, on the other hand, a way by which progress can be secured and necessary change effected without recourse to war.

"4. A representative Congress to formulate and codify rules of international law, to inspect the work of the administrative bodies and to consider any matter affecting the tranquility of the world or the progress or betterment of human relations. Its deliberations should be public.

"5. An executive body, able to speak with authority in the name of the nations represented and to act in case the peace of the world is endangered."

The possibility of backing the President of the United States with the solid support of the people of this country for a legally sound proposal as he went abroad to persuade the nations of the world to accept an American plan for abolishing wars from the earth, was one of the chief reasons for gratification over this change of position by a large organization of influential men.

For nearly three years writer endeavored to induce President Taft and other leaders of the League to Enforce Peace to thus change its policy and support a more safe and practical plan. For that purpose he attended its national meeting at Philadelphia in May, 1919.

LEAGUE REVERSES ITS POSITION

After the League thus reversed its policy by repudiating its alliance plan and taking up the international government plan, Mr. Taft by his public speeches and conferences did a splendid educational work along safe and sound lines for the cause of permanent peace, until he back-slid.

In his speech before the Lotus Club in New York in December, 1918, Mr. Taft declared, according to the press, that he and his associates were visionary "dreamers" in June, 1915, when they got together at Philadelphia and organized the League to Enforce Peace on the idea that an alliance and arbitration was all that was needed to abolish war. He said they now realized that there must be created, what really would be, an international government and police power with a constitution and legislative, judicial and executive powers and branches to regulate the international field and prevent wars.

No doubt this reversal by the League to Enforce Peace on November 24, 1918, and its abandonment of the alliance plan in favor of the international government plan, was due to its belief that President Wilson, in his speech of September 27, 1918, repudiated the plan for any kind of international alliance and proposed to demand the organization of some form of international government or Nation of Nations, when he said the League of Nations must be an international instrumentality with a *Constitution*. Mr. Taft of course knew that alliances do not have constitutions but governments do.

But presto, change! The document President Wilson brought back from Paris, although dubbed a "constitution," in fact and in law would create a League of Nations that would be a mere alliance between the nations signing the treaty agreement and would not be an international government at all. It would create substantially the very kind of alliance the League to Enforce Peace at first advocated and later repudiated as visionary. So Mr. Taft and his League have decided to flop again and once more become "dreamers" in order to be on the band-wagon with President Wilson,

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where, in his December speeches made when he thought the President favored an international government, he advised the protesting Republican Senators to also climb. Of course, if the plan for a mere alliance and arbitration was bad and visionary on November 24, 1918, when the League to Enforce Peace repudiated it, then it is bad now. And if the plan for an international government with legislative, judicial and executive branches and functions was needed then, as Mr. Taft declared, it is needed now.

CHAPTER VI.

ONLY GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHES ORDER.

Government, some form of supreme authority with a police power, is the only thing that ever established and maintained justice, order and peace anywhere in nation, state, city or tribe, since the dawn of history. But this proved instrumentality never has been used in the family of nations, where it has always been needed the most.

There has been no organized and recognized supreme Governmental authority empowered by the individual nations to preserve order among them and establish and enforce Justice between them. There has been no strong international police power able to prevent nations attacking each other. Therefore each country was obliged to arm and be prepared to defend itself.

That started the system of competitive national armaments. It soon grew into giant proportions, accelerated by mutual fears, distrust and hatreds which its rapid development kindled in every country. The inevitable outcome of that suicidal system was world war. Militarism and swaggering autocracies were its natural by-products. Honest recognition of these cold and cheerless facts, and the responsibility of all nations for the fatal neglect, is necessary before a way can be found to deliver the world from war bondage.

REMEDY FOR WAR.

Suppose fifty years ago the nations had created for their mutual protection a suitable international agency with proper delegated authority and sufficient means under its own control for forcibly preventing all attacks by nations on each other and all increases of national armaments and forces, what would have been the result? Those great terrifying armaments would not have been built up and this world war could not have occurred.

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The way of deliverance, then, is to supply that fatal omission. The world should do now that which would have saved seven million lives and two hundred billions of treasure if it had been done a half century ago. It is now or never. It must, as President Wilson said, be made the chief provision in the war settlement.

A new, independent, representative and internationally supreme governmental organization with the usual legislative, executive and judicial functions and branches and a written constitution setting forth its limitations and delegated powers should be created. All civilized nations must cooperate in forming and thereafter sustaining such a nation of nations. It is the way of salvation for this stricken world, the rational way. The plan is conservative, not radical. It is only doing the same thing in the same way with the same instrumentality but in a different place,—in the family of nations.

Some workable plan must be devised very soon, for the war has ended and the Peace Congress must act. Reasonable men will not reject this plan unless prepared to suggest one more practical and acceptable. What is the alternative?

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

Mutual and concerted reduction of national armaments now is imperative. Every country must reduce its naval and military burdens to a minimum. Unless that is done the bending backs of the people will break.

On August 1, 1914, the aggregate public debts of all nations was 40 billions of dollars. Now it is over 100 billions and when the accounts are balanced it is likely to exceed 150 billions. Thus the mortgage on the human race has been increased more than three fold by four years of war, while nearly a half of the world's wealth has been shot away on the battle fields or destroyed. Mankind is more nearly bankrupt than is yet generally realized. Nations will gradually recover but it will be a long, laborious

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task. Meantime they must lighten their load in every possible way, and also be protected against the danger of more wars.

The most practical, if not the only way to accomplish a general reduction of armaments without changing the comparative strength of nations is to require each nation to turn over to the proposed Nation of Nations at least half of all its armaments. It would be better to surrender all, but it should be at least half. Thereafter no nation would be permitted to increase its armaments or forces without the express consent of the Nation of Nations. When that organization has proved its ability to guard all countries against outside attack, individual nations will largely dispense with the balance of their armaments and forces. Then the Nation of Nations would correspondingly reduce its armaments; for a relatively small force would be able to police an unarmed world that is not allowed to re-arm.

CENTRAL WORLD POLICE POWER.

The above plan of national disarmament would create the most overwhelming power in the world, chiefly naval, largely without cost. The cost of maintenance of this one mutual police power, equitably divided among the nations, would be slight compared with their present expense or with the burdens from which they would be relieved.

As we have said, there are now forty conflicting, suspicious, jealous, intriguing, warring national police powers scattered throughout the earth. Each is under a different head. This duplication is expensive. They often dispute and occasionally go to war. Gradually conditions have developed likely to make most wars world wars. The rights, interests, and existence of all nations are jeopardized by such a conflict.

A remedy for this dangerous situation must be provided. Nations should make any reasonable sacrifice to es-

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cape recurring war perils. By so doing they will avoid the greater sacrifice of lives and treasure.

The nations must now merge their forty scattered and conflicting police powers into one great central international police power. It shall be controlled and managed by the Nation of Nations exclusively, but each country would be fairly represented in the new organization. Every safeguard to insure just and impartial administration shall be provided. Sufficient forces could be obtained on the volunteer system and without conscription, those of any one nationality to be limited to a certain portion of the total forces of the central police power.

WARS TO BE UNLAWFUL.

The nations must each delegate to their Nation of Nations certain necessary powers, limiting their own freedom of action somewhat, in the international field, in the interest of the common safety. There is no other practicable way. But why should any honest nation object to agreeing not to start an unjust war?

War shall be made unlawful. Positive plain law, not mere chance or force, shall regulate the family of nations. Henceforth no nation shall have the right to attack another nation without just cause or before it has the approval of the Nation of Nations, the impartial representative and umpire of all countries. This may or may not be a surrender or permanent loan of a slight portion of its "sovereign powers" by each individual nation, the same as when any treaty is made. So be it. What of it? The necessities of the new world situation and the vital interests of each country justify, yes, demand just that contribution to the cause of humanity and the common welfare of the family of nations. And that course could in no way harm the legitimate interests of any country.

Hereafter the nations must stand together if they do not want to fall together. Any nation that shall refuse to surrender, in common with all other nations, its sov-

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ereign "right" to wage an unjust war of aggression against a neighbor nation must not only be under suspicion but must actually be put under the permanent and effective restraint of the combined police power of the more enlightened and civilized countries that have united their moral and physical forces for the impartial protection of all mankind. No longer shall it be lawful or possible for any autocratic monarch claiming divine right to rule and destroy the lives and fortunes of a people without their consent, to drive his "subjects" to slaughter like cattle or swine, and while crazed with ambition for conquest or glory run amuck in the family of nations terrifying, robbing and destroying the peaceful peoples of the earth with red war. Such dangerous beasts must be destroyed or caged by the organized will of all nations. The best way to stop such a thing is to provide machinery that will make it impossible.

Honest nations will gladly cooperate in forming a world federation of that character for those high objects. Dishonest nations must be forced to submit to regulations devised by the common agency of all nations and imposed for the impartial benefit of all peoples.

CHAPTER VII.

FRAME WORK OF NATION OF NATIONS.

A central world police power and government of the character and size proposed must be built up and supported and then managed with courage, discretion and skill. It must perform its delegated duties without violating its constitutional restrictions.

The nations never will create any such overwhelming power without making it certain that it cannot be autocratically used in violation of the constitution of the Nation of Nations and the reserved rights of individual nations. The great statesmen who will comprise the Congress of Nations when the new organization is formed can safely be trusted in that matter. The entire plan when completed must be safe and fair and generally acceptable or it never will be ratified by the necessary two-thirds or three-fourths of the cooperating nations.

There must be international laws; therefore the Nation of Nations should have a supreme Senate to enact them. Such laws, and the provisions of the Supreme Constitution, must be construed and disputes judicially adjusted without resort to arms; therefore it should have a General Supreme Court. The Supreme Constitution, laws and decrees must be enforced; therefore there should be a chief executive, the Supreme President. As an additional safeguard and aid there also should be a fourth supreme coordinate branch, the Supreme Council, an administrative body composed of say twenty-five leading statesmen of the various countries, to conduct the plain business and check and guide the Supreme President in the use of the police power forces under his command.

In short, the Nation of Nations must be a regular government. It must have the usual powers, functions and machinery commonly employed among civilized people to establish justice and order and for managing such forces

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and administering such duties in an orderly and business-like manner. Anything less would lack efficiency. Anything different would be a mere experiment. Of course such machinery will be simplified to fit the special restricted field it is to occupy. To meet the necessities of the situation, the Nation of Nations must be a sound and permanent institution of great dignity, independence and integrity, like other governments of the highest type, for to its protection would be entrusted the welfare and safety of the entire human race.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

The Supreme Senate or Parliament, the sovereign legislative branch, would be the controlling body in which all nations would be equitably represented. Individual nations would have no means for exercising any control except through their representatives in the Supreme Senate and only to the extent of their votes in that body. Therefore the basis of representation is of prime importance to each country. It should be so arranged that the deciding balance of power always would be in the representatives of disinterested nations. That will best insure impartial justice and make the Nation of Nations strong and enduring. The statesmen no doubt will devise the best basis of representation human ingenuity can create, one fair to every country.

In the tentative draft of the frame work of the proposed Nation of Nations and Supreme Constitution given in full in author's volume "Nation of Nations," a definite basis is suggested to stir thought and discussion. In fact all of those provisions, and the suggestions made here, of course, are subject to any modifications that may be necessary. The basis of representation there suggested is: Each country with less than 20 million population, one; 20 to 50, three; 50 or more, five. This would give all so-called first class powers equal representation, five each. Small countries would not have an unduly large representation. The

size of such a legislative body would not be unwieldy. There should be no objection to giving Canada and each of the other large self-governing British dominions one representative each in a legislative body of that size and character, because it would represent peoples rather than governments.

International laws passed by a representative world legislative body of that character and dignity would be accepted and obeyed by all nations. Every law, to be effective, must be clear and certain. For the first time all countries then would be agreed and know just what is international law. It would remove forever a most prolific cause of grave international disputes and wars. That alone would justify the adoption of this plan and the creation of the Nation of Nations. Any plan that does not provide a legislative body, in which all orderly nations are represented, with authority to enact all international laws that are to be obeyed by every nation would not meet the vital needs of the family of nations.

"FACE UP" DIPLOMACY.

Hereafter the game of world diplomacy must be played with all cards "face up" on the table. The day of secret treaties between nations has passed. All treaties between nations that in any way affect the international matters under the jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations must, to be effective, have its approval.

By bringing representatives together face to face in the open around one table there will be more frankness and less intriguing, and they will promote more friendship and peace and less dissension and war. Representatives of disinterested countries always would be at hand to restrain or guide with friendly counsel. Constant association together of the chosen representatives of all countries in friendly accord striving for the common welfare around one council table should gradually draw the peoples of the world

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closer together and make them better friends. In fact it might work a great moral and spiritual revolution and make the brotherhood of man more of a reality.

America has a great mission to perform. It must help extend the blessings of democracy and freedom to all peoples. It can best do this with the leaders of the people of every country gathered together regularly in the councils of the Nation of Nations to advance the common interest and promote the general welfare.

AMERICA'S WONDERFUL OPPORTUNITY.

This war has saddled upon the United States a great responsibility, a splendid opportunity. China with its hundreds of millions of people is earnestly seeking the light of liberty and progress. The sterling honesty of that race is good soil in which to plant the precious seeds of democracy and civil and religious liberty. They only need instruction, friendly encouragement, wise counsel and protection against outside selfish interference. Then in due time China will be one of the strongest supports of popular government and the principles of justice and humanity.

Russia, too, is seeking the light of a new day. Just now she is sadly groping in the dark shadows of ignorance and superstition but she will rise again purified by the fires of a bitter experience. She must be aided and guided until she escapes from her present unhappy state. With one-fifth of all the land on the globe, boundless undeveloped resources, a large population of men of high ideals, Russia will be a splendid contribution to the side of democracy. She must be held for liberty against anarchy on one hand and reaction on the other. By adopting the federal government system and republican institutions she will have as a safe guide and help the successful experience of the United States extending over more than a hundred years. She should avoid the swamps and quicksands of visionary experiment and seek freedom and liberty by way of the

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known and safe paths of human experience. Then she will become a worthy example to help guide the struggling peoples along her borders to the Temple of Freedom.

WORLDWIDE DEMOCRACY COMING.

The position of the United States in all these matters must continue to be largely one of genuine, frank, unselfish friendship. By increasing the number of sound, prosperous and happy democracies in the world we are not only extending blessings but getting them. We are making it more certain that our own republic will endure and prosper through all the coming years.

With a powerful Nation of Nations to protect them against all wanton attacks, the people of every country ultimately will work out their own destinies and gain for themselves that freedom to which they are justly entitled. This war has made the opportunity and shown the necessity. They will, if they are wise, take all power into their own hands and erect sound governments of their own choice. They should not delay, and lose their present golden opportunity. The end of hereditary rulers by divine right is near.

In the coming new era there will be a worldwide democracy. It will be divided into nations for convenience of race, language and administration. The number of republics or their size will be immaterial. But ultra, selfish, unreasoning and warring nationalism will disappear from the earth; but nations will remain, all sheltered and shielded by their Nation of Nations. A new world patriotism and human loyalty will fill the hearts of all mankind. When all peoples enjoy the same blessings, the same justice and equality of opportunity, it will be relatively unimportant which side of any invisible national boundary a man resides.

The Nation of Nations then will have fulfilled half of its high mission. Thereafter it must forever stand as the

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alert and prepared guardian and protector of the world's liberated peoples to block every attempt of royal adventurers, or the "man on horseback," to rob them of their republican birthright.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPREME CONSTITUTION.

"The Constitution of the League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects," said President Wilson at New York, will be the "most essential" part of the peace settlement.

This declaration by the far-sighted chief executive of the nation makes it not only proper, but necessary, for Americans, and other peoples generally, to at once consider and discuss that "most essential" question now up for definite and final settlement. What shall be the "defined objects" of the coming league of nations? What should be the precise provisions of its promised supreme "constitution"?

The announcement that the organized league of nations was to have a constitution seemed to settle the fact that it would be a regularly organized government, no doubt a representative government. As such modern governments all have legislative, judicial and executive branches, or departments, the constitution should describe the precise character of each branch and its duties, powers and limitations. These should include a Supreme Senate composed of the chosen representatives of all nations, a General Supreme Court, a Supreme President and, preferably, a Supreme Council. The method of selection, term of service and other usual provisions should be included.

A suggested tentative draft of a complete constitution for an international Nation of Nations is printed in the Appendix of this volume.

The limitations or restrictions on the powers and operations of the Nation of Nations should be clearly set forth in the constitution. That is vital, necessary to render the system safe and insure its adoption. It should state that all powers not expressly delegated to the Nation of Nations

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and stated in its Supreme Constitution, the charter of its creation and authority, are reserved to the several individual nations. The only powers and duties it would have are those expressly granted to it by agreement of the nations and enumerated in its constitution. In this respect it would be following the plan of the federal government of the United States. This national government has no powers other than those delegated by the several states and enumerated in the constitution; all other powers are reserved to the states themselves. That kind of a federal constitution is peculiarly adapted to the needs of an international Nation of Nations deriving its limited sovereign powers, (that are to be exercised only outside of the various countries) from many confederated nations by express grant. It is simple, definite and well understood throughout the world. Anything different would be an experimental makeshift.

SOME SPECIFIC PROVISIONS.

As the constitution would be made international law by consent of all nations, the supreme fundamental law, it should make all wars and acts of hostility between nations unlawful crimes, unless first expressly authorized by the Nation of Nations. Now all such wars, once "declared" by any one country, big or little, are lawful. Any nation violating this chief international law shall be liable to punishment by the whole central police power. Before inflicting such punishment the facts shall be ascertained and determined and declared by the proper agencies of the Nation of Nations.

When that has been done the economic or military punishment shall be speedy and exemplary. Then other nations will be deterred from future violations of international laws. It is the certainty of prompt punishment, quite as much as the severity, that restrains the unruly from committing unlawful acts. And it is better to fix it so that the law itself will deter and prevent crime, instead of permitting

violence to occur and then having to punish it. The Nation of Nations shall not interfere in the domestic affairs of any country, would be another provision. And "domestic" includes national sovereignty, boundaries, commerce and immigration, of course. That is just as important as it is to prohibit individual nations interfering in any way in matters expressly put under the jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations. The General Supreme Court exclusively will decide whether a given matter is within the control of the Nation of Nations or individual countries. But in doing it the court must be governed by the provisions of the Supreme Constitution, which it is to construe. This line between national and international matters must mark the clear and definite boundary between the powers and jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations and the powers and exclusive jurisdiction of individual nations. It is the true line of safety and most likely to give general satisfaction, and thus make the Nation of Nations strong and enduring.

For example, each country of course would continue to fix the terms and conditions on which it will admit immigration and commerce from foreign countries. Whether a nation shall be required, once it has fixed such terms and conditions, to admit commerce from all foreign countries on those terms and conditions without discrimination (the "most favored nation" provision) is an important question that will be determined by the framers of the Supreme Constitution, or rather by the nations themselves when called upon to ratify such constitution.

It may be best to also provide authority to seize, try and punish persons guilty of unauthorized acts of international hostility.

OBLIGATION OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONS.

The Nation of Nations shall undertake to preserve order in the family of nations with its own police power forces exclusively, and it must be provided with ample forces

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for that purpose. Such forces could and should be obtained by voluntary enlistment. The general police power tax will be apportioned between the nations on the basis of representation in the Supreme Senate. The share of each country would be relatively insignificant compared with the burdens of duplicating armaments, military preparedness and war. The Nation of Nations could *invite* and accept the armed assistance of other countries when necessary, but it would have no constitutional power to *require* any individual nation to go to war for any purpose. That restriction differentiates this plan from the alliance plan of the Paris "Constitution" and is absolutely necessary in order to make it possible or safe for any country to become a member of the league of nations and be represented in the Supreme Senate. *The only binding obligation on an individual nation would be to abstain from unauthorized attacks on other nations and furnish its share of the armaments and financial support for the Nation of Nations. If soldiers are needed, they must volunteer for such police power service; they cannot be drafted. That is all.* What nation would refuse to purchase its future security on those easy terms? Is there any other practicable way of permanently federating the nations of the world, and their police powers, to establish, defend and protect international justice and peace? No alliance of any kind could or would accomplish it.

The only objection that will be raised to this logical, simple, practical and just plan for insuring world peace and justice will be due to false national pride, or to the well concealed but deliberate purpose to allow no effective organization to be created in the world that might prevent future aggressions by large upon small countries. But the slaughter of millions of men and destruction of billions of wealth in senseless wars to gratify mere erroneous national pride can no longer be permitted in a civilized world.

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THE INTERNATIONAL DOMAIN.

The high seas, beyond three marine miles from the coast line, and all lands and waters on the earth not belonging to any organized state or nation, shall be under the exclusive control and jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations, to be held in trust for the use and benefit of all orderly civilized countries without discrimination or preference. It shall make and impartially enforce all regulations governing use of the high seas and such unowned lands and waters. By leaving everything inside of organized states and nations to the control of such states and nations exclusively, and everything outside to the Nation of Nations exclusively, everything on the globe is disposed of and nothing is left to quarrel or fight over. In that way another prolific cause of wars will be removed.

In order to definitely determine beyond present or future controversy the precise line between national and international authority, the congress of nations convened to organize the Nation of Nations shall make provision for having the true exterior boundaries of every organized state and nation in the world permanently established. Thereafter no boundary so fixed shall be changed without the mutual consent of the nations concerned and the express approval of the Nation of Nations, and the Supreme Constitution shall so provide.

TRUSTEE FOR ALL NATIONS.

As the Nation of Nations itself would have no citizens other than the citizens of its loyal supporting nations, it would have no use for such high seas, lands and waters. It would merely hold them in trust for the use of all nations so each might share equally in the benefits. Might it not be a universal blessing if all distant so-called colonies could be so disposed of, put under the guardianship of this great agency of all the nations for mutual benefit, to be administered by, or under the direction of, the Nation of

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Nations, primarily for the welfare of their inhabitants, in accordance with the great principles of justice, liberty and democracy? Would not that be putting into practical effect the essential policy of equal rights and opportunity for all countries? Would it not be for the best interest of the inhabitants to thus be assured of justice and freedom and the sure and ready protection of the world's combined police power?

In the readjustment following the war would it not do justice to all and avoid dangerous disputes if such colonies and disputed territories and waterways were all placed under the protection of the Nation of Nations exclusively on those conditions and for those high purposes? Would not that course give the most general satisfaction and thus best avoid future disputes and wars?

Why not make the Nation of Nations, as the trusted agent and friend of all countries, a general receiver to take and hold and administer, for the impartial use and benefit of all nations, everything now in controversy between individual countries not readily adjustable by agreement or otherwise satisfactorily disposed of? Such a course might greatly simplify and accelerate adjustment of the many difficult and complex problems that must be settled at the close of this world war.

This Supreme Constitution shall be the world's staunch anchor of faith and the great charter of hope guiding the oppressed peoples of the earth out of war bondage and into the promised land of perpetual peace.

CHAPTER IX.

NOT A WORLD GOVERNMENT.

The proposed Nation of Nations would not be a world government. It would be an international, not a universal, nation. It would not hold dominion throughout the earth. It would not embrace or rule all peoples. Primarily it would possess only lands, waters and skies that now are not owned by any organized state or nation. Its title would be obtained through the common agreement and relinquishment of all nations. Its supreme authority would hold sway only outside the boundaries of the various countries of the world. While its constitutional charter necessarily should make its control of and title to all unowned lands, waters and skies absolute, exclusive and sovereign, in effect those possessions would be taken and administered in trust for the impartial benefit of all nations. It could manage outlying colonies itself or delegate the work to "mandatory" nations that would act under its constant supervision. That course is fair to all, and, if conquests and seizures are to be abolished and disputes and wars over unowned territories and waters avoided, such action is necessary. It is one of the steps in the essential process of ridding the world of the danger of war by removing the causes of serious international controversies and armed conflicts.

An important additional effect of such action would be to bring about the development and use of the resources of such unowned possessions for the benefit of all peoples without discrimination and establish enlightened civilization and justice for the good of the inhabitants of such possessions.

Everything else the Nation of Nations may obtain from any source, whether it be territory, privileges or power, would be acquired by some form of express grant made by individual nations and be taken and held in strict accord-

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ance with the terms and conditions of such grant. This includes gift, purchase, lease, cession by mutual agreement, judicial decree, arbitration award and terms of peace settlements. It can get nothing by conquest because henceforth the right of conquest, the process of acquiring territory, property, dominion, privileges or rights by force or duress, shall be abolished throughout the world and made unlawful by a provision in the supreme constitution, to be enforced by the Nation of Nations. National and personal larceny hereafter shall be considered of the same nature.

CHARACTER OF ORGANIZATION.

The Nation of Nations should be a genuine government, with a constitution and the usual machinery of modern representative government. Only that kind of an international instrumentality would be permanent and possess the powers and means necessary for accomplishing its great objects.

In many ways it would be like a confederation. It would be created by and derive all of its authority and power from the several independent nations co-operating by agreement. But the charter of a confederation is a "compact," not a constitution. The agency of a confederation can do only the things enumerated in the compact. It always is subject to the will of the individual governments in the confederation except as such meddling may be expressly prohibited by the provisions of the compact agreement. And the agreement could be cancelled and the confederation dissolved any time by the nations that are parties to it even if the compact expressly provided otherwise.

At the very most, and even that is very doubtful, any League of Nations of the character proposed by the "Constitution" now pending in the General Peace Congress would be only a loose confederation and in no sense a government, and its charter would be a mere "compact" and in no legal or moral respect a "Constitution."

The Nation of Nations must be permanent. Therefore

it must be a regular government possessing the right and power of perpetual existence and full independence. The nations creating it should have no power to destroy it. The individual nations would have no more control over the operations of the Nation of Nations than over any other independent national sovereignty. Each nation would have a fair share in the control and management of the Nation of Nations itself, but this would be exercised only through the voice and influence of its regular representatives in the Supreme Senate, the sovereign legislative body of the Nation of Nations. A nation is the people, while a government is only the corporate machinery for framing and exercising the popular will. Therefore the delegated powers of the Nation of Nations really would be derived from the peoples of the earth, the source of all human power, instead of from their governments. The federation or congress of the nations will have completed its work and ended its existence when it shall have fashioned and given birth to the Nation of Nations as a new, independent, sovereign government in the family of nations, with a supreme constitution clearly defining its restrictions and very limited jurisdiction, powers and duties, and when such constitution shall have been formally approved and ratified by the requisite three-fourths of the nations concerned.

The Nation of Nations thus born and given the breath of life and authority would thereafter be both independent and auto-existent. Its machinery, functions and delegated powers would operate automatically forever in accordance with the provisions of its constitution and constitutional laws, restrained and guided by the limitations and restrictions of its constitution. The powers delegated to the Nation of Nations never could be cancelled or recalled by the individual nations, but when necessary such powers could be modified or increased by formal amendment of the supreme constitution. Such amendment, to be effective, must have the approval of three-fourths of the regular representatives of individual nations, except that an

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amendment changing the basis of national representation in the Supreme Senate must be approved by say nine-tenths of the representatives of the supporting nations.

SAFE SYSTEM.

Only two things are necessary to make a Nation of Nations of that character successful and accomplish all that mankind hopes to attain through its instrumentality. First, the organization must be given proper powers and be subject to all necessary restrictions. Second, the Nation of Nations must exercise such powers wisely and efficiently and observe such restrictions faithfully.

As to the first essential, it is quite reasonable to expect that the genius and trained caution of the world's greatest statesmen, who will work together in constructing the machinery and constitution of the Nation of Nations, will be equal to the task. They can safely be trusted to erect a governmental agency that will be efficient and suitable for the purposes in view and to provide all necessary safeguards for protecting every country against all possible abuse of power by the Nation of Nations. If such statesmen cannot accomplish that task, who can?

As to the second, the other essential, it would seem that a Nation of Nations organized for such supremely sacred objects by the master minds of all countries, and in which every nation in the world is equitably represented, would be as nearly perfect and safe as human ingenuity and foresight could devise. The voting balance of power on any question likely to arise always would be in the hands of disinterested representatives and thus insure wise and just legislation by the Supreme Senate in the interest of the common safety and welfare. The General Supreme Court, composed of the most distinguished Judges in the world, could be trusted to honestly and correctly construe such legislative acts in strict accordance with the provisions of the Supreme Constitution. And the Supreme President, checked and guided by the Supreme Council, com-

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posed of perhaps twenty-five of the greatest statesmen of the various countries, certainly would administer and enforce such laws and constitution as construed by the General Supreme Court. What more do we want? Why should we have less? Some plan to prevent wars must be adopted. What workable alternative plan is suggested?

Anyway, would not such a system be better than any mere loose alliance, or the present method of leaving the entire family of nations unprotected and constantly exposed to the danger of a world war that can be started any time by any one nation? If experience shall develop defects in the machinery or constitution of the Nation of Nations such defects can easily be removed any time by amending the Supreme Constitution. That is the safety-valve in every representative constitutional government. It is the orderly process for exercising the popular will in making changes in government without violent revolutions.

All history is more or less a record of the births and deaths of governments, states and nations. War has been the great destroyer of nations. In the new era some individual nations may cease to exist and new nations come into being and be admitted to representation in and to share the equal protection of the Nation of Nations. Whatever may be the destiny of fate of any single nation, the safety of the family of nations, the progress of civilization and the welfare of the entire human race all require that the Nation of Nations, as the mutually authorized guardian of the world's peace and official custodian and administrator of international justice and friendship, shall be as strong and enduring as the eternal rock of ages.

CHAPTER X.

WORLD TERRITORIAL SURGERY.

A permanent peace of Justice can not be established and the future political health of the world guaranteed without many acts of more or less severe territorial surgery. Before being established permanently, many boundary lines must be rectified to remedy past injustice and to correspond with the will of inhabitants.

First, of course, any changes caused by unlawful force during this war must be restored, because such alterations represent only the fruit of violence and aggression. Brutal national aggressors shall be punished for their crimes against humanity and world order instead of being allowed to profit by their lawless deeds. Justice and future security demand that it be done.

If necessary changes of boundaries affect Germany and Austria more than other countries, it will be chiefly because those nations, more than other countries during modern times, have seized more property of their neighbors and therefore have more to restore. These changes, however, must be made without malice, or any injustice to the inhabitants of the territories affected, whose will shall determine their own destiny. The impartial justice with which this important work is done will increase mutual satisfaction and the certainty that the settlement will be permanent.

EXAMPLES OF PROBABLE CHANGES.

Alsace and Lorraine shall be returned to France solely because they were taken from France by Germany in 1871 by force and without just cause. Such acts of aggression inspire national resentment, necessitate increase of world armaments and forces and create conditions likely to cause future wars. Therefore, great care should be exercised in

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adjusting the problems caused by this war so that the settlement may not inspire future conflicts.

The Italian provinces of Austria shall be returned to Italy for the same reason and because that is the desire of the inhabitants. Many oppressed peoples have been liberated by the fortunes of war and are establishing self-governing republics. That was inevitable if the war went to a finish; and it was desirable.

Poland shall be restored in territory and to that independence of which she was ruthlessly robbed by the selfish injustice and overwhelming might of three conscienceless monarchs, the autocratic rulers of Germany, Austria and Russia. When Poland shall have been liberated by the powerful aid of democracy it is to be hoped she will establish only a republican form of government in which all the people share. To inflict upon herself some hereditary princeling of some reigning house claiming to rule over the lives and destinies of men by right divine, will be to involve Poland once more in the vast and complex intrigues and ambitions incident to European royalty and thus jeopardize the permanency of Polish independence and increase the chances of being involved in future wars that would endanger the world. The people should control their own destinies and not allow Poland to become the property of a King to be bartered away or staked as a prize on the gaming table of European royalty.

Finland, and any other peoples gaining freedom and independence, should follow the same course for the same reasons.

SAFETY IN DEMOCRACY.

The dawning new era is to be one of democracy, and every backward step toward hereditary royalty is reactionary and calculated to endanger the permanency of their new freedom and entail upon the people undeserved and unnecessary suffering.

There would be no more objection to electing a prince, or king as president than anybody else, if done by the

people, except for the fact that he might change his royal mind when in possession of authority and power, forget that the term for which he was elected was limited, overturn the constitution, establish an hereditary monarchy and thus destroy democracy and increase the danger of future wars. There have been, and are now, kings who were good men; but we can not forget that many if not most wars have been caused by hereditary royalty.

What would a country gain by incurring such risks? Only more burdens for the people to bear, all for the sake of witnessing a little vain pomp and display by the few at the expense of the many. The United States is making enormous unselfish sacrifices largely to confer the blessings of liberty and democracy upon oppressed peoples. It will not insist on liberated peoples avoiding the dangers and burdens incident to royalty if it be the will of the people to go on playing with fire. But out of the depths of its own long and successful experience the American republic earnestly advises liberated peoples to hold firmly to genuine untainted democracy. It is the way of safety and salvation.

Russia should establish a representative federal republic like the United States. That is best in a country covering a vast area and having a large population. It would enable the various races and localities to have a fair voice in government. It is the best way to unite many local self-governing states or provinces into one strong harmonious union to guard against outside intrusion and permit the people of localities to control and manage their local affairs in their own way. Start right and the task is half accomplished.

The constitutional functions, powers and limitations under which the United States has survived and prospered for more than a century have been defined and made clear by Supreme Court decisions by the ablest legal minds. If Russia, and other countries, shall adopt the American system they will find ready for use the most splendid guide

and charter of liberty ever devised by the genius of man for the liberation of a people and the building of a great and prosperous nation on the principles of justice, liberty and equal opportunity for all. If the federal system is not adopted, Russia may be broken up into many weak independent republics or kingdoms. Some of these may import kings to reign over them. In time conflicts no doubt would arise between them and wars further devastate the land. If Russia desires to be strong, influential and prosperous, the federal system alone will give her what she wants. Then she can forever stand with the United States, France, China and other democratic countries, a combination for democracy that would possess a majority of the world's population and resources ready always to support the cause of justice and human freedom.

The Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs are to gain nationality and independence. Austria must pay the penalty for her unjust seizures of Bosnia and Herzogovina, an act that provoked the slaying of the Austrian Crown Prince which led to the ultimatum by Austria to Serbia, believed to have been inspired by the German Kaiser as an excuse for launching a world war long contemplated and prepared for. Hungary, too, no doubt will gain her independence. Possibly Denmark at last will demand and get justice from Germany in regard to its territory seized long ago.

The boundaries in the Balkans should be reorganized with due regard to the rights of the people and in a way that will best avoid future armed conflicts instead of to please the personal claims of Kings and Czars.

THE CASE OF TURKEY.

Turkey must be carved, not to gratify a thanksgiving feast of neighboring nations but to liberate her oppressed subject races and deprive her of power to again endanger the world's peace. As this is a war against war and for permanent peace, the nations should finish the task in a way

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to best attain that end. They must do that now or begin to prepare for another and greater war certain to come later.

Turkey has forfeited all claim to special consideration. She has long depended on the support of European countries for existence. She was left in possession of Constantinople as trustee, in a sense, and has betrayed her trust and outraged her benefactors. Her's must, however, be the punishment of justice, not revenge; but her conduct has opened the way and justified, as a war measure, the extreme changes that now must be made in the status and boundaries of Ottoman authority in order to prevent future outrages due to religious intolerance, and future wars. The world now proposes to permanently end the wholesale slaughters of human beings because of their religious opinions, inflicted by or with the approval or sufferance of the forces of organized government.

The fortunes of war have taken Palestine from Turkey. It will never be returned. Subject to proper guaranty of security for sacred Christian shrines and equality and tolerance in all matters religious, the Jews may re-erect the Hebrew nation in the land of their prophets. The United States alone should not, as suggested, guarantee Palestine's security. It is too far away, and such a responsibility would force the United States to remain fully armed and ready for battle forever. That burden and duty should be exercised by the Nation of Nations. Palestine then would have the protection of the world's combined police power.

Constantinople, the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles and adjacent territory have caused many wars in history. That prize probably will be fought for so long as it remains the property of one nation only. For that reason it should be put under the control of the Nation of Nations to be managed with justice to inhabitants but for the impartial benefit of all nations, Turkey included. The Dardanelles and Bosphorus must at least be completely internationalized. Hereafter no nation shall be permitted to appropriate to it-

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self alone, and prevent the proper use of, any great natural water highway the use of which is vitally essential to the interests, welfare and safety of other countries. Such waterways shall be classed with the high seas, to be regulated by the Nation of Nations and open to all countries on equal terms.

PANAMA AND SUEZ CANALS.

The Panama and Suez Canals are great artificial waterways. The former was built by the United States at a cost exceeding 300 millions of dollars chiefly for purposes of national defense. Great Britain holds Suez largely for the same object. Germany built the Kiel canal for such a purpose. If the nations in cooperation now provide adequately for their common defense and safety by combining their armaments and forces in one great central police power, and control of these canals by the Nation of Nations would aid such police power in the performance of its world-important tasks, no doubt the nations owning those canals would surrender them to the perpetual control of the Nation of Nations for the common good when repaid the cost of such canals.

That question at least is one proper to be considered by those seeking to create a world instrumentality with every necessary means for preventing future wars between nations. If it be intended that the Nation of Nations shall inflict economic as well as military and naval punishment upon any nation wantonly starting war, possession of these great canals would make it easy and effective. It might make it possible to bring a guilty nation to its senses without resorting to armed force.

CHAPTER XI.

A WORLD GOLD RESERVE.

Merging the world's entire available supply of gold in one great international gold reserve may become necessary to promote and safeguard the world's welfare. That may be the only way to prevent a titanic financial war between the nations for physical possession of the wholly inadequate gold supply. Words cannot describe or the imagination fully conceive all the consequences that might result from such a contest. Almost anything would be possible.

The first effect would be to enhance the value or market price of gold because of the artificially increased demand. As the price of gold went up the prices of securities, property and everything the value of which is measured in gold would go down, at least correspondingly. In fact the sudden shrinking of prices would force upon the market such a volume of property and stocks seeking immediate sale that all values and prices would be wrecked and wild panic reign supreme throughout the world. This danger is very real and one that concerns the early future.

The possibility of drastic political action would be greatly increased by any such catastrophe. The world's peoples are willing to follow the advice of financial leaders and economists and permit gold to be the arbitrary measure of values and the sound basis of issues of currency and bank credit and the brake on inflation and even the stipulated commodity with which public and private debts must be paid. They realize the need of a stabilizer or balance wheel of some sort in that mysterious world of finance. At least they are willing, as a practical matter, to take the word of finance for it so long as the plan works well and in no visible manner injures their material welfare.

But the moment the nations start a fight for gold and the yellow metal goes to a premium and demoralizes prices and causes panic that closes factories and makes men lose

their jobs and subjects their helpless wives and children to hunger and suffering, then watch out! The gold standard of value might be overturned and gold be demonitized by law. That of course can be done any time the people compel their political representatives to take such action. In fact the reaction might go to the extent of repudiation of the vast public debts of the nations by the people. So there is every reason why intelligent leaders in the world of business should give early and serious attention to devising and adopting some practicable plan that will head off these dangers before they actually inflict themselves on the human race. The need also is very apparent, for a safe, sound and practical, mutual system for controlling and regulating international exchange and dispensing with the great cost and loss of shipping actual gold back and forth to settle balances between nations.

THE VAST BURDEN ON GOLD.

There is in the whole world only about 8 billion dollars of available gold, and production at the mines is decreasing so rapidly financial authorities are gravely concerned if not alarmed. This decrease of the yearly output is occurring at the same time that the burdens resting upon the gold basis are being multiplied almost beyond the power of man to calculate.

On August 1, 1914, the aggregate public debts of the 42 countries was about 40 billions of dollars. Now it has been estimated to be much more than 100 billions and soon may be at least 150 billions. The yearly interest thereon will be perhaps 8 billion dollars, or equal to all the gold in the world, and double the gold available for commercial purposes. Many billions of government bonds mature each year and must be paid or refunded. Every dollar of this staggering mortgage on the human race is expressly payable in actual gold, both principal and interest.

It is roughly estimated that nearly an equal amount

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of railroad and other corporate bonds, bearing much higher interest, are also payable in gold. The yearly interest on such corporate bonds no doubt exceeds the total 8 billions of gold in existence. These figures may not be strictly accurate, but are near enough to illustrate the situation.

Next we have the currency of the various countries. In normal times the aggregate of this currency is double the world's 8 billions of gold. But during the war this currency of governments has been inflated to dangerous totals. Every dollar of this vast volume of currency is directly or indirectly secured by and expressly redeemable in actual gold on demand! Then there is the still greater volume of bank credit throughout the world, all resting on a gold basis. That of the United States' banks alone is more than three times the whole 8 billions of gold. Bank deposits are supposed to be payable on demand, in gold when requested.

The enormous tides of international commerce directly, and the still greater domestic commerce indirectly, must be largely settled with gold when required.

There must be between 300 and 500 billions of dollars of bonds, currency, credit, commerce and values, all heavily resting on the small pivot of only 8 billion dollars of gold! It would seem that a mere breath of suspicion or doubt might upset the equilibrium of this vast whirling business edifice and crash it to the ground with disastrous consequences to all. It is quite certain that if the fight for possession of the few tons of gold in the world is once begun by the nations, or any of them, gold will rise in value and then no doubt everybody would demand payments in actual gold, as all legally can do. The crash would come at once, for there would not be enough unhoarded gold within reach to make the payments due the first twenty-four hours.

UNITED STATES POSITION.

The United States now occupies a commanding position in world finance. Already it actually possesses nearly

a third of the entire 8 billions of gold in existence. It has the resources and means for getting the balance if it should go after it. The annual balance of international trade in favor of this country in normal times is about \$500,000,000, all payable in gold. War has increased this many fold. There is sound reason for expecting the balance, including interest on our holdings of foreign securities, to be at least \$1,000,000,000 in favor of the United States each year for many years. So if we should merely stop loaning abroad and require payments in gold, all the gold in the world would come into our possession in a few years without any effort on our part to corner gold.

It would seem that the United States then would be financial master of the world and could work its will and pleasure upon all nations and peoples. Some may think that is just the thing we should do. But would it be for the best interest of Uncle Sam to open a world pawn shop, corner gold under forms of law and usage and then undertake to fleece all mankind?

That, it seems to us, is just the thing we should not do or attempt. The United States entered this great world war unselfishly and thereby won the confidence and friendship and good will of all peoples. It will not now betray that confidence for gain by unfair or ungenerous business methods. Its policy should not be to destroy our international customers by cornering and robbing them. Instead, we should help build them up and thus make them better and more permanent customers and friends so that they and we together may all mutually reap the rich rewards of a general prosperity created by common effort and a generous and far-sighted business policy.

The reverse of this policy would not pay us. If we obtained all of the world's gold and then made unfair demands, other countries might be driven to demonitize gold and largely destroy its value, as they have the legal right to do, or repudiate their debts to us, as they could do without legal right.

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NATIONS ALL IN ONE BOAT.

In a financial sense, particularly as to the gold supply, the United States is in the same boat with all other nations. Any serious dispute over the golden cargo would rock the boat and all might go overboard to financial destruction together. The United States, because of its greater wealth and business, has more to lose by any general panic or disaster and more to gain by keeping world conditions stable, sound and prosperous. Therefore, it should heartily join with other nations, if it does not lead, in any common effort of a practical character calculated to prevent a world gold war and other financially unhealthy conditions while the stricken nations are struggling to repair their losses and readjust their financial and economic systems during the coming years.

The suggestion for creation of one great mutual world gold reserve into which all available gold shall be merged and held for the impartial protection and benefit of all countries on some practicable basis is, of course, tentative and made with the object of directing attention to the rather dangerous gold situation in the hope that the financial and economic leaders may study the problem and perhaps devise a workable plan for international cooperation that will permanently remove the evils feared. Writer first proposed this plan during a public address made at Des Moines, Iowa, in February, 1916.

If the nations shall decide to create a Nation of Nations with a mutual central police power for their future security, and other efficient governmental machinery for handling the international situation, no doubt it will be found expedient to put the world gold reserve under the control of the Nation of Nations for safe keeping and wise administration.

As the present supply of gold is entirely inadequate and unlikely to be materially and speedily increased to any sufficient extent, some way to increase the efficiency and utility

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of the world's present stock of gold should be devised and adopted without delay. It might be thought best to hold the actual gold in one reserve as sound security for an issue of elastic gold currency to be furnished by the Nation of Nations to individual countries on a business basis, there to be used for circulation or as a sound basis for an issue of domestic currency. This would be adapting the gold reserve and currency plan of our federal reserve bank system to the international field, modified to make it fit world requirements. Possibly the entire cost of running the Nation of Nations and maintaining its armaments and forces permanently could be paid with the interest received for the use by the nations of such elastic gold currency.

With this system in general use and the domestic prosperity of every country constantly dependent upon the supply of such world gold currency as a sound elastic basis, the Nation of Nations at all times would have power to largely effect if not destroy such prosperity by withdrawing such currency. An individual nation then would hesitate long before violating the world's peace by attacking another country when it knew that the Nation of Nations would promptly paralyze its domestic prosperity and international commerce by withdrawing from such country its entire necessary gold support.

This economic and financial power might, in the hands of the Nation of Nations, become a more potent weapon than bristling armaments and vast armies for deterring nations from acts of aggression and hostility and for punishing countries violating the new covenants that hereafter must permanently bind all nations together in one peaceful family. And it would have the virtue of being humane and bloodless. Gold, then, would become not only a strong support of commerce and business but a great instrument for banishing war and extending civilization and happiness to all the peoples of the earth.

CHAPTER XII.

SUPREME RIGHT OF DEMOCRACY.

The time has come for democracy to assert its right to universal sway throughout the earth. The first great opportunity to do this effectively will be when the Nation of Nations is created. Its Supreme Constitution should recognize and declare that the unchangeable source and depository of all sovereign human power and authority is the people themselves; that all governments, whatever their form or character, are merely the administrative creatures and agents of popular power and ever subject to its sovereign will; that hereafter government among men shall be only of the character that recognizes that its existence at all times depends upon the consent of the governed and not upon heredity or force; that the divine right of the people to rule themselves shall hereafter forever replace the worn out dogma of the divine right of kings to inherit the power of life and death over the masses of mankind. Any nation unwilling to accept this fundamental principle of advanced modern civilization and to square its practices therewith shall be excluded from the fellowship of the progressive nations in the councils of the Nation of Nations and from participation in its control and benefits.

ALL KINGS TO BE MADE RESPONSIBLE.

This does not mean that countries with kings or other royal establishments will be excluded simply because of that fact. However much we may differ with their judgment or wish they would dispense with all the trappings of royalty, we must recognize the absolute right of the people of any country to permit themselves to be governed by a king, emperor, Sultan, or Czar. It is only a nation in which royalty autocratically claims to rule only by hereditary divine right, and refuses to be responsible to the popular will

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and to give the people a free and dominant voice in all matters of government and general welfare, that will be classified as an autocracy and denied admission. No doubt the people in countries retaining the royal system soon will insist on changes that would make their Kings, Emperors or Czars depend for their right to rule upon an election by the people, or by a popular assembly representing the people. That would permit retaining a modern royalty that has proved acceptable and useful and yet bring it into harmony with the great and irresistible democratic principle of "self-determination," which is the right of the people to determine their own affairs. The term for which a king is so elected could be limited, preferably to four, six or eight years, or it could be unlimited as to time, the people or their representatives being given the power and means to terminate without revolution, the service of their royal ruler any time. Royalty then would cease to be irresponsible and absolute and at all times would be in accord with the popular will.

ABDICATE OR REFORM.

Those enjoying the prerogatives of royalty, and those honestly believing in the necessity of retaining royal establishments in certain countries, at least for some time, should realize that the best, if not the only way, to avoid ultimate and perhaps early revolution, violence and possible anarchy is to promptly change to a republican form of government or else voluntarily alter the imperial system by making its tenure and powers completely subject to the popular will. Only changes that are honest and complete will satisfy and prove to be successful and enduring. The cumulating force of world thought and opinion, and the on-sweep of the mighty tide of aspiration for democracy, liberty and freedom, spreading throughout the world, is certain to soon destroy every reactionary royal system that attempts to obstruct or neglects to promptly adjust itself to the democratic spirit of the dawning New Era.

If the people are not given the right to rule they will

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take it, for at last they have come to know that that right is inherent in their nature and inalienable, and has belonged to them from the beginning Creation; that it has been taken from them by fraud or force practiced by self-appointed men calling themselves princes, kings, emperors or czars, or by the hereditary descendents of the original transgressors. They also know now that it would be impossible to count the dead or calculate the treasure destroyed during the innumerable wars caused by kings in quarrels between themselves or between royal despots and their oppressed peoples. If there never had been any kings there would have been far less wars in history.

DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS MYTH.

The divine origin of the right of kings to rule, and the claim that the Almighty daily supports and approves all that royalty does or attempts simply because the acts are the acts of kings, is now an exploded myth. If the doctrine was ever true of one king, it necessarily would be true of all kings, emperors, sultans and czars, past and present. In that case the Kaiser would be right in claiming that God was his active partner in, and equally responsible for, the frightful butcheries and brutalities of this world war that has sent millions of men prematurely into eternity. If the Kaiser was wrong, then every other royal prince is wrong in his claim of divine origin as the source of his power and authority. The present kings of other countries would be the first to deny that the Kaiser was sent from on high by the God of justice, mercy and peace to become imperial ruler and master of the German people and to lead them to slaughter and in slaughtering their peaceful neighbor peoples. And yet by denying that right to the Kaiser they are denying it to themselves.

The safety and sanity of the world and the cause of justice will be advanced by honest recognition of the fact that arbitrary human force and not the divine will is the source of the power of hereditary kings, and that the asser-

tion of divine origin and support always is made by kings for the purpose of keeping their wronged peoples in subjection to their arbitrary will by working upon their superstitions and fears. It is a fraudulent claim that becomes brazen and offensive blasphemy when asserted.

ABOLISH "LESE MAJESTY."

The legal maxim, "the king can do no wrong," is a ghastly joke in these modern days when viewed by the lurid light of a world conflict in which every legal and moral principle has been brutally trampled in the dust by the forces of an imperial ruler who deliberately started the war for selfish conquest and waged it without regard to any laws, human or divine.

"Lese majesty," the crime of criticising a princely ruler, must be abolished and such rulers held accountable for their official acts the same as other rulers, and subject to reasonable discussion and criticism. A government that is above criticism is not a responsible government, and only tyrants punish as criminals subjects who complain when oppressed. Tyranny and oppression must be given no place at the future council table of civilized nations associated with the Nation of Nations; they should be destroyed by the organized opinion of mankind; they must not be allowed to desecrate the Temple of Freedom that is to occupy the whole earth during the coming New Era, when "peace on earth, good will to all men," shall be the ruling spirit animating and restraining and guiding all peoples.

A great mutual Nation of Nations, standing as the armed and ever alert sentinel guarding the eternal rock of justice to which all civilized nations shall be securely anchored, must radiate this spirit to all corners of the earth, propelled by the moral force of its own impartial conduct and of the high principles indelibly engraved in its Supreme Constitution. It would be a Big Brother to the many new "war baby" republics, shielding, gently restraining, guiding

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and encouraging their peoples as they struggle for democracy, freedom and orderly justice.

RIGHT OF REVOLUTION.

The human race is on the threshold of better days, but moderation and restraint, not violence and disorder, are the qualities needed to successfully harvest the bountiful crop of liberty and happiness soon to come within reach of all mankind.

There are times when armed resistance to imperial oppression is not only justified but absolutely necessary to gain freedom. Revolution is recognized as entirely legal, but only when completely successful. That was the way the great republic of the United States was born. Freedom usually has been gained that way. But the prospect of ultimate success should be carefully weighed before any active attempt is made to overthrow constituted authority and set up a new system. The wrongs and injustice complained of should be of such a character that they affect and outrage a large majority of all the people and all constitutional methods for righting such wrongs should be exhausted before resort to revolution. Public sentiment is the important thing at such a time. The act must be justified by the people generally. It should ever be kept in mind that ordinary violence, bloodshed, robbery, disorder, and injustice usually tend only to discredit, delay or destroy democracy. They harm the cause of democracy by giving the false impression that the people are incapable of governing themselves; that they can not establish and maintain order and justice because of lack of intelligence and self-restraint. History shows that when the people have had equal opportunity and experience, their republican governments are as sound and orderly as that of any Monarchy, and in addition they confer a higher degree of impartial justice, liberty and freedom, more equal opportunity and better means for extending general education and enlighten-

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ment. But we should closely follow the path of successful experience and avoid all discrediting, visionary experiments.

The ultimate destiny of the human race is, to come into its own, regain its natural rights and establish democracy throughout the world. The speed will depend quite largely upon the avoidance of mistakes likely to impair confidence in the wisdom of democracy.

CHAPTER XIII.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

In the New Era, if the plan herein suggested is adopted, the high seas outside of three marine miles from the shore would be under the exclusive control of the Nation of Nations. The privilege of going under, on or over the seas then would depend absolutely upon possession of a license granted by the Nation of Nations, and the privilege at all times would have to be used in strict accordance with the terms and conditions of such license. Any nation or person using the high seas without such license, or in violation of the express provisions thereof, would be a trespasser and liable to seizure and punishment in accordance with the international laws of the Nation of Nations as administered in its courts; the judgment or sentence would be enforced by use of its central police power.

The sea license would be granted only to nations represented in, and in good standing with, the Nation of Nations. Each nation would get the same kind of a license, entitling it to the same privileges granted to, and making it subject to the same restrictions and liabilities imposed upon, all other supporting nations. There would be no preference or discrimination between nations so long as they all remain in good standing and obey the international laws of the Nation of Nations. But the moment any nation by its deliberate act violates international law and thereby challenges the supreme authority of the Nation of Nations, menaces the equal rights of other nations on the seas and endangers the peace of the entire family of nations, its license would, at the option of the Nation of Nations, be forfeited and canceled. Use of the seas by the guilty nation and its people thereafter would be denied, and if necessary forcibly prevented, until such nation shall have been reinstated to good standing in the Nation of Nations.

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Individuals and corporations would get no sea-license from the Nation of Nations. They would, as now, obtain their permission to navigate from their respective countries. But when the sea-license of any country shall be legally forfeited, that automatically would act as a forfeiture of the sea privileges of all its individual or corporate citizens or subjects.

MUTUAL CONTROL OF HIGH SEAS.

Possession of this absolute and exclusive control over the high seas by the Nation of Nations as the mutual creature and protector of all nations, with delegated and irrevocable authority from all loyal nations and their peoples to license use of the seas on terms of absolute equality, and to forcibly prevent the use of the high seas by disloyal nations or their subjects for any purpose whatever, would be the best means the world could devise for establishing and maintaining international justice and preventing future wars between nations. And that, we should bear in mind, is now the greatest need of the world. In fact the necessity for the creation and maintenance of an instrumentality that will make future world wars impossible is so imperative that use of force to that end against any rebellious minority of nations will be justified and no doubt employed if necessary, when the large majority of the nations shall have agreed upon a system that would put all countries upon a plane of absolute equality before the law and in the enjoyment of mutually guaranteed protection and privileges. Hereafter the security of all the world shall not depend upon the mere will of any one nation that may be devoid of international honor.

Only a foolish nation would wantonly attack another nation if thereby it would lose its right to representation and good standing in the Nation of Nations (which means the civilized family of nations) and forfeit its license to use the high seas for any purpose. The commerce and shipping of such offending nation and its citizens or subjects

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then could be lawfully driven from the high seas immediately. Such country could be isolated and prevented from having intercourse or communication of any kind with countries from which it is separated by seas.

In this age when the domestic welfare of every country so much depends upon its commerce and intercourse with other countries from which it must derive food and raw materials and to which it must, in exchange, sell finished products, there could be no greater practical punishment imposed upon a lawless nation than the effective economic punishment of canceling its sea-license and driving its commerce from the high seas of the world.

AMERICAN SEA DOCTRINE.

The high seas, like the air and the sunshine, have been provided by Providence for the impartial use and benefit of all mankind. They constitute means of transportation and communication essential to the proper existence of every civilized country; therefore they can never be appropriated or monopolized by any nation.

No country ever had or can have title to any part of the seas beyond three marine miles from the shore, or any right or privilege under, on or above such seas that is not shared equally with every other organized nation. As all countries have equal privilege and must necessarily use the high seas in common, they can adjust differences and disputes certain to arise outside of their respective national boundaries only by amicable methods or by force. Such controversies cannot always be composed by agreement. There should be provided an international supreme court, with full authority to decide, to which nations would be required to submit for final decision every question pertaining to the seas that they cannot amicably adjust between themselves.

A legislative body, in which every interested country is represented, is also needed. Such body would enact inter-

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national laws, so that all may know the regulations pertaining to the seas and otherwise. An executive with an adequate police power to enforce international laws and court decisions and to regulate the use of the high seas would complete the machinery needed.

Thereafter the Nation of Nations alone would police the oceans of the earth and have authority to regulate the use of the seas. This would be done in strict accordance with the powers delegated to it by the nations of the world and set forth in its supreme constitution.

The inauguration of this plan would end for all time the dangerous practice of search and seizure and blockade on the high seas by one nation against another, and the doctrine of contraband. Those hostile or violent acts, so likely to provoke war, would thenceforth be unnecessary, because it would be impossible for nations lawfully to begin war on each other. The Nation of Nations, however, in the lawful performance of its authorized police power duties, could blockade the ports of any lawless nation, search and seize its ships and drive its commerce from the seas; and it could authorize, but not require, other nations to help it inflict such restraint or punishment on an offending nation. Other nations could be prohibited from trading by sea routes with such guilty nation while it was not in good standing in the Nation of Nations.

The alternative of this plan is force—more war.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WORLD COURT MOVEMENT.

A thoroughly respectable and earnest movement for the establishment of a permanent World Court has been started by men of high character and standing. They demand that remedy and nothing else. They frankly say they fear if they ask for more they will not get even a world court. It is like a man buying a tent for a home to shelter his family when he wants and is perfectly able to buy a house.

A permanent world court no doubt would be a desirable thing. It would be an advance. It would be better than nothing. But why stop at that? Why attempt to regulate and manage the family of nations and prevent war with only a court?

Why not demand just what the world wants, and all that is needed, to govern the international field, the family of nations, in a way to insure justice and order permanently? There must be a government, of the usual kind and with the regular machinery and functions, established there in the only place where such authority and agencies never have existed. Until that is done there will be disputes and wars. Knowing that fact, every nation will remain armed and increase its armaments and forces to the limit so not to be again caught unprepared. A world court alone would not meet the necessities of the present world situation in any way whatever.

A JUDICIAL AUTOCRACY.

Suppose all government and all laws in the United States were at once abolished and there was substituted merely a general court, what would be the result? And yet if that was done this country would be in precisely the same predicament as the family of nations would be in with a world court and nothing else to regulate it?

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The world court would have to be a legislative body to enact international laws, a judiciary to construe such laws and administer justice, an executive to enforce such laws and police the family of nations and prevent one nation attacking another, and an administrative body to conduct the plain business affairs. There would be no constitution to define and limit the powers of such court because governments, not courts, possess constitutions.

The handful of judges could do nothing unless given authority, and if given authority they could be as autocratic and irresponsible as any absolute divine right monarch that ever lived. To be effective and successful, the court would have to organize and maintain armed military and naval forces of such strength that individual nations would obey the laws and decrees of the court for fear of the penalties that would be inflicted for disobedience. If it did not do that its laws would be jokes to be laughed at and its decrees mere "scraps of paper" to be torn up instead of obeyed.

Why establish either a judicial autocracy with unrestricted sovereign power over all nations, or a "world court" with no effective power at all? The former would be dangerous and the latter impotent and useless.

When the world is on fire, why stop to experiment with new and untried methods for extinguishing the flames when there is at hand for the taking an abundance of water and plenty of fire-extinguishing apparatus of the kind proved by long experience to be the most successful and efficient ever used for the purpose?

A world court is needed, but it should be only one of the supreme coordinate branches of an international government or Nation of Nations that also has a legislative branch to enact international laws and an executive branch to enforce such laws and the decrees of such court, and to maintain order in the family of nations. And such government must have a supreme constitution clearly setting forth

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the powers and limitations delegated by the supporting individual nations to their nation of nations, and the powers to be exercised by and the restrictions imposed upon each of its said branches. Thus the usual agencies or machinery of which every progressive modern government is composed would be employed in the family of nations for the same identical purposes for which it is used in every country, state, city and town in the world.

There is more prospect of the nations creating a mutual international government than a lonesome world court, to govern the international field. That is because they would be able by means of its constitution, to grant to the Nation of Nations just the powers and duties they desire it to exercise and to impose constitutional restrictions that would forever prevent it from exceeding the bounds of its delegated authority.

VIGILANCE COMMITTEE GOVERNMENT.

In new mining camps and other primitive frontier places, where the usual agencies of civilized government have not yet been organized, disorder, violence and crime are common, open and unrestrained. Such a community, so long as it remains in that condition, is considered quite as uncivilized as some tribes of pre-historic stone-age savages. Brute force alone rules. Every man carries a weapon and keeps it ever ready, just as the savage keeps his club handy for quick use in case of emergency. Neither the owner of the weapon or the possessor of the club may have any desire to assail others, but they know that in such circumstances their safety may depend wholly on their ability to defend themselves when suddenly attacked by less peaceful or more brutal persons.

Finally some more shocking crime or general disorder and danger suggests the idea of a mutual effort to protect against a common danger. They get a few of the more orderly and intelligent together and quietly form a "vigi-

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lance committee" and authorize it to take any steps necessary to check the volume of violence and crime and punish, expel or exterminate those who resist this newly created authority by continuing their depredations.

The community thus has established the rudiments, the mere beginnings, of orderly government. It would not yet be considered civilized but has taken the first primitive step toward civilization. There is as yet no trial, hearing or chance for defense, because there is no court or jury to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused. The vigilance committee kills on sight those it deems guilty. The only law is lynch law, whether it be employed by the vigilance committee or the inflamed mob.

With the growth of intelligence the idea that the accused should have a chance to explain and that he should be confronted by witnesses and proof of guilt before being punished began to spread. That suggested that there should be somebody to regulate the proceedings and pass upon the sufficiency of such proof and pronounce upon the guilt or innocence of the accused. And then there must be some one designated to execute the sentence. And so a crude form of government was organized with a committee authorized to make and proclaim general rules that all must obey, and a sort of court to decide whether any accused had violated such rules, and a sheriff, or other persons authorized to carry out the decisions of the court. And soon it was found advisable to let this court also decide civil disputes instead of permitting the parties to fight over the matter or quarrel and perhaps kill each other and start a feud that would involve whole families.

So the step toward civilization, represented by the organization of a vigilance committee to establish order by lynch law without a trial, was followed by the actual embrace of civilization of the most rudimental kind, shown by the actual organization of crude agencies of a governmental character designed to represent the authority of the popular will in establishing order and administering justice.

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As time went on, experience and practice and growth of general intelligence enabled men to improve these agencies and the processes employed until the splendid system of modern government, with its legislative, judicial and executive branches and its checks and balances, was evolved and established in complete or modified form in every country, state, city and town in the world. It thus became the chief means for establishing and insuring justice between men, maintaining public order and guarding liberty and freedom. Only when this had been fully accomplished, and only where these orderly governmental agencies exist, were the people considered fully civilized and true modern civilization deemed to exist.

BUT ONE UNCIVILIZED PLACE.

There is only one place in the world where these universally recognized agencies and evidences of modern civilization have never been established or used; only one place where no government, no court, no law-making body, no law-enforcing or order-compelling executive were ever authorized, created or used. Was that in a new mining camp? No. Was it among the dense and ignorant and superstitious masses of India or China? No. Was it among the semi-savage tribal villages of darkest Africa? No.

The one place in all the world where orderly government has never been created, the place that has steadily refused to accept and embrace true modern civilization and its approved agencies and processes, is the great heathen, brutal, semi-savage place known as the family of nations!

There, only, is where every member goes armed to the teeth and they attack and kill each other without reason, justice, trial, witnesses, evidence or opportunity for defense. Lynch law alone is the instrument, not of justice but of vengeance, hate, envy and greed, when periodically the whole family of nations is drawn into the vortex of brutal, bloody strife and war.

It has taken the first step toward civilization, but only the first step. It has created two vigilance committees to try and make the family more secure. They were named "Entente" and "Triple Alliance" respectively. These two vigilance committees proceeded to see which could build the most battleships and organize the biggest band of fighting men. By and by one thought it had the best fighting machine so it attacked and tried to exterminate the other. During the melee they killed more than seven million men, crippled ten millions more, destroyed nearly two hundred billions of dollars' worth of property, came near destroying most of the members of the family of nations and threatened to exterminate civilization and a large portion of the entire human race.

It took all of that to prove to everybody that in a primitive, stone-age place like the family of nations, lynch law is not just the right method when two vigilance committees exist and try to use it. So now it is proposed to "improve"; to take a second actual step *toward* civilization. The League to Enforce Peace suggested that the same lynch law remain but be enforced by one vigilance committee instead of two, by one world treaty alliance. And that is precisely the thing proposed by the alleged "Constitution" for a "League of Nations," now pending before the General Peace Congress, and it is all that it proposes.

Of course that in no sense is civilization, because there would be created in the family of nations no government, courts, legislative body, police power, executive or other governmental agencies that are the recognized agencies of civilization.

Is it not high time for the family of nations to emerge from the primitive state, shake off the shackles of almighty precedent and actually embrace civilization itself by adopting and using for its protection and security the recognized and common implements and processes that have established, developed and protected civilization and its high ideals everywhere else in the world?

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Must we wait until another and greater world war kills more millions and destroys further billions of treasure and perhaps blots civilization from the earth, in order to prove simply that lynch law is not a good way to regulate the family of nations even when it is used by one vigilance committee alliance instead of two?

Why not at once do the simple and practical thing, create a Nation of Nations as a new international government with the usual functions and powers, a great, strong, central police power, with authority and ample means for protecting the entire family of nations, establishing orderly justice in the place of lynch law, and for guarding liberty and freedom and the world's peace forever?

Then can we truly say that civilization and its beneficent agencies and processes prevail everywhere on earth and the stubborn and rebellious will of man at last has been brought into accord with the divine will of his Creator.

CHAPTER XV.

UNITED STATES IN THE WAR.

Under modern conditions the nation beginning a war of conquest against one country really begins it against all nations. Such a war gradually spreads until it becomes a general world war and involves all countries, directly or indirectly. With the system of duplicated national armaments and offensive and defensive alliances, all mankind is helplessly enmeshed in the coils of the war serpent with no chance for escape. And this hopeless condition will prevail on this earth, and more world wars be certain, until the peoples abolish such alliances and national armaments and substitute one central mutual police power with authority and means for forcibly preventing war.

The United States entered the war without one selfish object. It could not, in honor stay out. It was forced in by the lawless acts of Germany and the cry for help by the spirit of democracy and a perishing civilization. In 19 months, from April 2, 1917, the republic raised an armed force of 3,700,000 and sent 2,000,000 to Europe to fight for democracy and humanity on the "frontier of freedom."

During the same time it raised and expended 18 billions of dollars, or six times the cost of conducting its Civil War for five years. Seventy thousand Americans died in service and nearly 200,000 were wounded. That is the price the United States has already paid in its unselfish crusade to help "make the world safe for democracy." When to its present outlay is added the sums yet to be paid for soldiers' insurance, pensions, interest on the war debt and otherwise it will be found that this peaceful country was forced by one world war to expend an amount equal to nearly one-fourth of its entire wealth, a sum likely to exceed the 40 billions dollars that comprised the aggregate public debts of the 42 nations of the earth on August 1, 1914.

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In view of the above facts, and because the United States came into the war at its darkest hour and rendered important aid in gaining the common victory, the people of this republic feel justified in urging to the utmost that all countries unite in creating such a league of nations as will make another world war and a repetition of these frightful losses forever impossible. They want no special advantage or protection. They only propose the creation of a mutual Nation of Nations in which every country, large or small, will be represented and that will render impartial service and security to all.

Unless this plan is adopted, the nations of the world will remain exposed to not only the danger but the certainty of more wars of even greater size and ferocity. And they must increase instead of diminish their armies and armaments and their annual financial burdens in order not to be again caught unprepared.

MUST AMERICA REMAIN ARMED?

The United States does not desire an acre possessed by any other country. It wants no privilege on the seas or elsewhere that it is not ready to grant to every other nation. It now has no quarrel with any other country and no feeling of hatred or envy toward any other people. It has no hostile aims and is conscious of no reason why any country should have hostile designs toward this republic. It wants to live in peace, enjoying the friendship of every other nation, so that it may be helpful to other peoples by extending the blessings of democratic freedom and civilization throughout the world.

Notwithstanding these facts, the United States must, and no doubt will, immediately proceed to increase its navy until it is larger if not double that of any other country, and maintain a vast standing army, unless a Nation of Nations is formed to make such "preparedness" unnecessary. And it also would have to establish and maintain the system of teaching and training its children almost from

the cradle the art and most scientific methods of killing human beings wholesale in war. Nothing could induce the republic thus to go upon a permanent military basis but the refusal of the other nations to join with it in the plan that would make militarism unnecessary and impossible. And if the United States thus is forced to devote its energies and vast resources to the creation of a gigantic military machine stronger than anything yet produced, who can now say to a certainty that the process will not also develop a military party and leaders who may be tempted at some future time to seek territorial expansion if not positive world dominion and once more inundate the world with a tide of human blood and tears? The people of republics sometimes are led astray by the ambitions and intrigues of the magnetic "man on horseback."

DOES EUROPE WANT MORE WAR?

Civilization and the free nations of the world were saved three times during the world war by a mere "scratch." First, when the brave little Belgian army at Liege held back the Teuton hosts for about two weeks and gave France time to mobilize. Second, when the splendid army of France, assisted by the British, stopped the German forces at the Marne and forced a retreat. Third, when the French and American forces blocked the armies of the Central Powers at the second battle of the Marne. And a fourth occasion nearly as critical was when the drive toward Amiens and the sea was stopped by the British and French.

If on any one of those historic occasions conditions had been slightly different, the Kaiser no doubt would now be master of the world, instead of a fugitive from his own country, and the free democracies would have permanently surrendered vast territories and their peoples been compelled to toil and struggle for a century to pay off the staggering indemnity with which they would have been cruelly mortgaged for the benefit of a conquering autocracy.

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Accurate figures of the cost and losses of the war are not yet available. Careful estimates seem to indicate that it has killed more than 7,000,000, crippled or impaired over 10,000,000 more and caused losses by way of expenditures and damage to an amount nearly equal to half of the entire wealth of the world!

It is said that when the figures are all in, the direct money cost will be more than 200 billions of dollars, nearly three-fourths of which will be funded by the nations and spread upon the people as a great and unescapable bonded mortgage on all mankind. Thus the 40 billions that was the aggregate public debt of all nations on August 1, 1914, has been increased about four-fold by four years of war.

The estimated total wealth of Great Britain in 1914 was 85 billion dollars, Germany 80 billions, France 50 billions, Italy 20 billions, Austria-Hungary 25 billions and Russia 40 billions; each spent on this one war a sum exceeding half of its total wealth.

The human mind cannot readily grasp the size and meaning of \$200,000,000,000.00, two hundred billions of dollars! It is 40% of the 500 billions of dollars estimated to be the total wealth of the world. It is twenty-five times the total 8 billions of gold in the world, with which such debts and interest must be paid. It is twenty times the entire 10 billions of gold and silver in existence. It is upwards of five times all the gold dug from the earth since the morning stars first sang together!

WORLD IN DEBT BONDAGE.

But that is not the total legacy of debt, toil and suffering left to humanity by one world war. Besides increased expenses, pensions and reconstruction costs, the interest and expense that must be paid every year on these war debts will be at least 10 billions of dollars, or 2 billions more than the 8 billions of gold in the world with which such interest, and the installments of principal annually

falling due, must be paid. The amount of this interest is nearly ten times the total yearly interest on all national debts before the war. It is several times the aggregate annual cost of running all the governments on earth before the year 1914. Much of this new interest burden cannot be paid when due by peoples struggling to repair the damage done by the war to property, industry and commerce.

It will have to be refunded and added to the principal of the debt each year. Thus humanity, burdened with an unpayable war debt that compound interest is ever increasing and perhaps will double every 20 or 30 years, may constantly sink deeper and deeper into the quicksands of hopeless debt bondage.

The world war has driven the human race into a slavery almost as helpless and hopeless as physical bondage. In either case the victims are permitted to exist and are fed and maintained, so that they may labor and produce; but the fruit of their toil largely goes to others.

Modern conditions and interlacing alliances make it possible, if not certain, that a war started anywhere will spread until the whole world is involved. That emphasizes the imperative necessity of the civilized countries combining to create and maintain a strong and efficient mutual agency and police power that can and will prevent a war of any kind starting between nations anywhere. It is the only logical, practical, safe and effective plan. A comparison of the size and cost, in lives and money, of former wars and of the recent world war, should enable all to see that the most important thing in the world right now is to construct an anti-war machine that under any and all circumstances will operate satisfactorily, safely, quickly and successfully; and the only machinery that will do that is Government, a limited mutual Nation of Nations.

The United States used only 309,781 men in the Revolutionary war, 576,622 men in the war of 1812, 2,772,408 men (on Union side) in Civil war and 274,717 in Spanish

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war, a total of 3,733,528, which is almost the exact number actually put under arms in the world war. The money cost of this war was several times the aggregate cost to this country of all other wars.

The aggregate total figures of all prior modern wars anywhere in the world, from 1793 to 1914, show, cost 26 billions of dollars, men employed 18,552,200, men killed 5,498,097; while the total figures for this one world war show, cost 200 billions of dollars, men under arms nearly 25,000,000, men killed, more than 7,000,000!

During the dozen years preceding this war the leading nations actually spent (and taxed the people to raise) nearly 20 billions of dollars for building naval and military armaments and forces and then mortgaged the entire human race for nearly 200 billions of dollars which has been spent during one four-year-long mad carnival of death in mutual attempts to destroy the armaments and forces so created.

Those are the horrid and terrifying conditions from which the peoples are attempting to escape by making a repetition of such bloody orgies impossible and titanic world-wide preparation for such criminal death carnivals unnecessary. And yet their assembled statesmen composing the General Peace Congress, because of selfish national ambitions, envy and pride, and mutual suspicions and distrust, seem to be unwilling to provide the peoples with a genuine Nation of Nations, a real mutual government in which all peoples would be represented, that could and would make future world wars impossible and the maintenance of vast competing national armaments and forces unnecessary. Instead, they offer the stricken, sorrowing and pleading peoples only a dangerous, impotent, discredited international alliance, or just what failed to prevent this war but did multiply its size and frightful losses; and this deceptive and futile alliance they disguise with the stolen garments of government, a so-called constitution—and camouflage it with the alluring name "League of

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Nations." The peoples cry for the bread of peace and their statesmen give them only a stone of war!

There is but one objection, one reason why they do not want to create a genuine representative international Nation of Nations. *They fear it.* Those statesmen who happen for the moment to be the political masters of the peoples of leading countries are afraid that their particular individual country might not be able single-handed to control or even dominate for selfish national objects a regular international government in which all countries were fairly and permanently represented, an impartial and honest Nation of Nations representing in the usual organized form the moral and physical power and will of the various national peoples of the world, that was obliged to strictly and openly follow the clear and definite lines prescribed in its written constitution. They prefer to create only a loose and intangible and confusing alliance that they can steer and alter to serve their future purposes, or abolish altogether at their pleasure.

They do not oppose a Nation of Nations with a strong mutual police power *because it would not prevent future wars, but because it would too well prevent such wars,* and therefore might completely block forever all chance of employing national armed force for purposes of territorial and trade conquest. Are the *peoples of the earth* going to submit to being robbed of their *right* to have for the *prevention of wars a common governmental organization in which they can have a voice on the supreme question of peace and war,* a mutual Nation of Nations?

Does Europe want more war? Its insane policy of alliances and increasing armaments has fastened upon its people a war bondage from which escape seems impossible. Can it not at least rise above its international suspicions, envies and hatreds long enough to see the wisdom of adopting the plan that will prevent more wars and thus remove the torture of fear and not increase the sufferings of

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its peoples while they stagger along for the next century under the frightful burdens imposed by this mad conflict?

The United States, departing from its life-long traditions, is willing and ready to help Europe solve this problem. It offers for acceptance the only possible plan that would be practicable. Will Europe accept or reject it? If without reason or justice it now demands a mere intangible alliance and refuses to join with the United States in devising and adopting some genuinely effective plan for preventing another world war, and one the United States considers it safe to join in, it must expect to have to fight the next war alone. If Europe makes it impossible to create a just and impartial Nation of Nations for the protection of the whole world, then the United States should and no doubt will, promptly withdraw its armies from Europe and bring about the formation of an American Nation of Nations for the protection of the American continent exclusively. That continent, protected by oceans and a Monroe Doctrine navy larger than other navies, then would be inclined to forever refuse to join in outside conflicts and would permit the nations of Europe to commit suicide by exterminating themselves and their civilization with the inevitable future wars from which they would have escaped if their mutual jealousies had not caused them to reject America's unselfish aid and plan.

Great Britain can not be blamed for now desiring to keep a navy large enough to make her empire secure. But if by helping create a great Joint Navy under mutual management to insure safety, justice and peace for all countries, and accomplish general disarmament, she can obtain equal or better security for much less cost, on what legitimate grounds could England object? If she refuses to thus cooperate at this grave hour, could she blame others for suspecting that she really intended her great navy to be a standing silent threat for perhaps extorting unfair and unjust trade or territorial conquests from weaker countries?

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If that course should force the United States to spend a billion a year on naval increase and prevent reduction of armaments or the creation of a genuine means for preventing more wars will it not tend to impair the splendid friendship between the two countries so happily augmented by common effort, sacrifice and comradeship during this war? We cannot believe England intends to do any such thing.

The splendid peoples of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England and the United States, bound together by common language, ideas, ideals, sentiment, and aspirations for a world civilization extending to all mankind the principles and policies of justice, equity, civil and religious liberty, freedom, intelligence and human happiness, should stand together and work together for those high aims forever. It would be a world calamity, almost a crime, to do otherwise. Why then now try to illegitimately capitalize our delightful and welcome new Anglo-Saxon friendship by trying to force the people of the United States into the very kind of entangling foreign alliance against which they have been warned by all their great leaders and statesmen of the past, and thus precipitate a great and bitter political controversy over the matter that will fail of its object, but may once more estrange these great English speaking peoples and make cordial cooperation for their common aims more difficult, if not impossible? Why try to inflict an odious world alliance when a genuine government would be more satisfactory and successful?

The fate of nations, peoples, civilization and humanity may depend upon a decision of the General Peace Congress as to whether a permanent mutual Nation of Nations shall be created. What nation for selfish reasons will obstruct the movement and thereby accept responsibility for all the resulting consequences of a failure to act and thus win and deserve the eternal execrations of all mankind?

CHAPTER XVI.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS CONSTITUTION.

On Friday, February 14, 1919, the full text of a constitution for a League of Nations was read before the General Peace Congress, at Paris, France, by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. It was a memorable occasion, to which President Wilson's striking personality and world popularity contributed substantially. It was a victory for the idea and the ideal rather than the precise plan presented. The document has not yet been adopted, or even discussed, by the General Peace Congress. The draft is tentative and subject to amendment. It should be radically amended. The representatives of several governments gave notice that they would propose changes. Therefore it is fair to assume that the whole question is before the world for discussion and that constructive criticism is expected and invited. There are plenty of advocates to praise the many good points, so we must address ourselves to the more disagreeable task of pointing out the bad features so they may be corrected. This of course must be done without prejudice or favoritism.

Shall there be any League of Nations at all? What kind shall it be? Shall the so-called constitution be adopted as it now reads? Should it be amended, and if so, in what particulars? Would the constitution in its present form create a League of Nations that legally would be an international government, or only a mere alliance? What would be the powers, and the limitations, of such a League? What effect would it have on the rights and powers of the nations accepting the plan? Could any nation withdraw from the League any time? If all nations reserve that freedom, what guarantee is there that the League would be strong or permanent? Would a League of the kind proposed in said document abolish wars, or would it involve the member-nations in disputes between themselves and with

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nations outside and cause more wars? Would nations not admitted form a rival league and the two later clash in a greater world war? Would armaments be abolished or reduced, or would resultant uncertainty cause nations to maintain, and even increase, armaments and forces so as to be prepared for possible conflicts? Is the proposed plan logical, legally sound and practical, or is it a mere unsound experiment or gamble? These are a few of the many questions being asked, and they should be frankly faced and candidly answered.

The first step in pursuing light and information should be a critical examination of the "Constitution" for a "League of Nations" now before the General Peace Congress. And readers are invited to compare that with the plan and tentative draft of a Supreme Constitution for a Nation of Nations printed in the Appendix of this volume. The Paris draft would create an alliance. The alternative draft in the Appendix would create a very limited and simple international government. To facilitate this comparison and contrast, the complete Paris document is printed in full in this chapter. Frankly, the author believes the League of Nations can not be made permanently successful, useful and safe unless its proposed constitution is redrafted or altered by amendments that would change its legal character from an alliance to a government.

One absolutely essential change necessary to that end would be to create an international parliament, congress, senate or other genuine legislative body in which all orderly nations or peoples would be permanently represented on an agreed fair basis, with full and independent responsibility and power to enact all international laws for the regulation of the international field and prescribe proper penalties for violations of such laws. This could be done perhaps by making the "body of delegates" an independent legislative body with such authority, instead of the mere irresponsible conference of diplomatic agents with no legislative power or independent responsibility, as it is now.

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And it is equally necessary that a genuine permanent General Supreme Court be created with full and exclusive authority to construe and administer international laws so that the family of nations hereafter may be ruled by law instead of force and the civilized processes of orderly justice be permanently established in the international domain as well as within national territories. And the League should have a regular President, elected by the legislative body, as chief executive, acting under the guidance or direction of the Executive Council. The League of Nations then would be a real representative government with full treaty-making power, entitled to perpetual existence, voicing in tangible but well regulated form the combined will of all the peoples of the world effectively federated for the sole purpose of freeing mankind from the menace of international wars. The carefully prepared constitution of such a Nation of Nations would grant to it exclusive control of the high seas and everything outside of national boundaries and should prohibit interference in the domestic affairs of any country. Then, indeed, it would be a great super-Magna Charta, establishing world freedom and happiness by emancipating the human race from war bondage forever. That dream and hope of all the ages is now easily attainable if present governments will modify their national selfishness even slightly, and their official representatives in the General Peace Congress possess the wisdom and courage to do the logical and wise thing by creating a sound, modern, representative government instead of an unsound treaty alliance or entente to regulate the international domain for the impartial benefit of all nations and peoples.

LEAGUE "CONSTITUTION" ANALYZED.

The following is a full draft of the Constitution now before the General Peace Congress, its twenty-six articles being printed in italics, each article being followed by author's comments in brackets :

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PREAMBLE OF THE COVENANT.

In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable 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 scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations.

[The high objects stated are commendable and patriotic. Alliances never have constitutions but political governments always do, or should. As the provisions of the document in no legal respect create a government of any kind but do create an ordinary treaty alliance or entente between the signatory nations, it is an error to call it a "Constitution." In fact, is it not a betrayal of the confidence of the anxiously waiting peoples of the world to falsely call the document a constitution and thus cause them to believe they are getting the well-known security afforded by a regular modern representative government when in truth they are getting only the insecurity of a mere common treaty alliance? Is it just frank and fair to disguise or camouflage such an alliance with the improper, misleading but enticing name, "League of Nations," and then not openly admit to all the world that legally the organization created is an entangling alliance and nothing else? In all honesty and honor, should not the League be legally changed from an alliance to a government, or else call its agreement a treaty instead of a constitution? Legally, it is absolutely nothing but a mere ordinary treaty agreement between the signatory powers, that may easily become a "mere scrap of paper" or legally cease to exist any time signatory countries care to give notice of cancellation.

President Wilson says it is understood that any country can withdraw from the League and terminate its obliga-

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tion any time. If that be true, then the League would have no certain permanency, power or influence and would be useless and ineffective, because no nation could safely depend upon its protection and no lawless nation would fear its spineless strength and toothless jaws. And then, when one of several parties to a general treaty agreement that prescribes mutual duties and obligations suddenly withdraws from the combination does not that morally and legally release the other parties to the agreement instantly and automatically? If so, then any one of forty member-nations in the League of Nations, big or little, would possess the absolute power to legally wipe out, extinguish and destroy the entire League any time by simply withdrawing from membership therein. Would any such loose alliance have deterred Germany from starting the world war? Will it stop any other strong country when it is prepared and the inevitable temptation comes? Why did not the Entente alliance prevent the world war?

The only thing that deters crime is a police power that is strong, efficient, centralized, organized and ready to strike suddenly and powerfully if necessary. That is why there should be one central police power under one mutual management instead of forty scattered national forces under forty conflicting managements. It is, however, more important to have the creation of an international police power authorized than it is to actually create it now. There is little danger of another such world war for many years, because the nations are so nearly bankrupt. But this is the opportunity and time to devise and adopt a thorough-going plan and system that will shape things so that another world war will be impossible even in the distant future. If it is not accomplished now it may never be done; individual nations will now restrain their selfish ambitions and co-operate in building a common agency for their common protection, if they ever will, and the peoples of the world demand it strongly. The nations are all in a bad way financially, industrially and commercially. They must have

help, and security against war until they repair their fortunes and forces. Some of them no doubt prefer an alliance that is a temporary expedient which they can control, or abolish when once more they are strong and ready to give full rein to selfish aims and ambitions. But that is not what the peoples of the earth need and want. They want something tangible, strong and permanent to stand as a mighty barrier against recurring wars and unjust, selfish national aims and ambitions; something political governments can not destroy without the consent of the peoples of the earth. Nothing but government, a mutual Nation of Nations, can thus endure and safeguard the liberties and peace of all mankind.

A word of solemn warning! Candor requires the statement that the character and contents of the document prepared at Paris creates the firm conviction that some powerful nation or nations are more determined and bent on creating something they can control and ultimately use for their selfish national interests, or destroy when ready, than they are on unselfishly creating something that would impartially protect the peoples of the world against the danger of future wars, and would permanently operate without special favor to, or discriminating against, any nation. Unless the plain people behind their political governments get busy and demand a real international government, a Nation of Nations, they may be robbed of their only chance of obtaining genuine protection against the danger of more world wars.]

ARTICLE I.

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council and of a permanent International Secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

[The "Body of Delegates," the "Executive Council" and "Secretariat" (secretary) are the only agencies here author-

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ized to act. What they do is not their action or that of the League. These agencies, together or separately, or the League as a whole, have no independent judgment, authority or power. Everything done must be expressly authorized or approved by the nations in the League. It is "the action of the high contracting parties," the individual nations as such, and not the League as an organization, that is taken, according to Article 1, and therefore not effective until expressly authorized or ratified by such nations; and it is restricted to only the things coming "under the terms of this covenant" (agreement).

The "delegates" are mere diplomatic agents in the employ and pay, and under the direction, of the governments sending them, and must follow instructions. They are not "representatives" of nations or peoples who, when they come together, comprise an independent body or congress with jurisdiction over certain prescribed matters and with full authority to act in regard thereto. In fact, Article 6 expressly says these "representatives of the high contracting parties (governments) shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities."

It is merely a conference of ambassadors or agents of the various governments who come together for convenience to confer and act for their respective governments in certain matters as the Foreign Offices of such governments may order. This conference is to be called "League of Nations." Is it morally or legally entitled to that name? We shall soon see. It differs little, if any, legally from the Hague Conferences that were useful but powerless as a means for preventing war.]

ARTICLE II.

Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League or at such

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other place as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

[In the meetings of the "body of delegates," who acts? It is the national governments that act, and not the delegates, for Article II says: "Each of the high contracting parties (governments) shall have one vote, but shall have not more than three representatives." Clearly it is the governments themselves that vote, each acting by its own "delegate" agent. They are named "delegates" and not "representatives" because they are mere agents of the governments, and not representatives of the peoples, with an independent judgment and responsibility for action taken.

The "body of delegates" is not a parliament, senate, congress or other legislative body. It has no independent authority or power to decide or do anything. It is only a conference to discuss certain matters. The whole decision on everything is made by the individual governments by means of instructions to their "delegates" as to how to act and vote or by subsequent ratification or approval of the resolutions tentatively passed by their agent "delegates" in their "meetings."

The League of Nations, then, would be only an alliance or entente between governments bound together by a mere treaty agreement that would be nothing but a rope of sand, and not even a "scrap of paper," if it is true, as President Wilson said, that any nation in the League was at liberty to withdraw any time. Others, however, claim that the treaty certainly binds a nation morally to stay in and take its chances with the others, and they believe the obligation is also a legal one. And they hold that withdrawals, or threats of withdrawals, because of difference ultimately would cause quarrels between governments in the League that would wreck the organization and probably cause war between its members. Italy was in a League of Nations with Germany and Austria, the Triple Alliance. It had

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the legal, and it claims moral, right to withdraw, but when it exercised that right it was immediately plunged into war with its former allies. It is easier to get into an international alliance than to get out of it. An alliance is a good thing to create for the purpose of waging common war against a common enemy, but history proves that it is not the instrumentality for successfully preventing wars.

The fact that the terms of the proposed League of Nations treaty of alliance between governments are to be carried out by a conference (called "body of delegates"), or an "Executive Council," of special diplomatic agents instead of through the regular diplomatic ambassadors stationed at the various national capitals, makes no difference, because in both cases everything is done under direct orders from the Foreign Offices of the different governments. The new plan may increase convenience and facilitate action, but in no legal respect does it change the nature of the proceedings or the character of the combination. In either case the thing is simply an ordinary "entangling alliance," whether it be named Entente, Triple Alliance or League of Nations.]

ARTICLE III.

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, together with representatives of four other states members of the League. The selection of these four states shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other states, representatives of (blank for names) shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League; and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

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Invitations shall be sent to any power to attend a meeting of the council at which matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such power unless so invited.

[What would be the power of the Executive Council? What power would it not have, under the express grant to it by every nation ratifying the treaty and becoming a member of the League of Nations? Under Article III the Executive Council of nine persons would have full and absolute power and authority as to "any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings." Who is to be the judge as to what is "within the sphere of action of the League"? Who is to decide whether anything a majority of the nine men might desire to meddle in was or was not a thing "affecting the peace of the world"? Clearly the Executive Council of nine men, who are granted by this treaty the power to absolutely rule the whole world for the benefit of their own governments, would be the sole judge, and from its decision there would be no appeal, however wrong, unjust and dangerous the action taken might be. No Supreme Court to pass upon such matters and administer international justice is proposed anywhere in this constitution. The Supreme Council is made judge, jury and executioner. It could, under this broad grant, interfere in the domestic affairs of any country. What could it not do? The words "may be dealt with" would seem to grant power to do absolutely anything in case action was decided upon, and one can think of a thousand things that ought not to be done that might be done under such a wide open grant. Is there not danger of such a treaty creating a more irresponsible autocracy than the one recently destroyed by war? Might it not become an irresponsible World Trust to rule the people of the whole earth? In his speech before the Economic Club in New York on March 11, 1919, former President Taft said:

"The whole function of the Executive Council is to be

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the medium through which the league members (governments) are to exchange views, the advisory board to consider all matters arising in the field of the league's possible action and to advise the members (governments) as to what they ought by joint action to do. The council makes few, if any, orders binding on the members of the league."

In order to persuade the people of the United States that the League of Nations would not be dangerous he attempts to prove that it would have no power whatever to do anything; that it would be impotent and useless; that what Admiral Mayo said of it is true, namely:

"This idea is rapidly getting down to a sewing circle, with no means of enforcement and with no international police force."

Taft calls it "exchanging views" between a lot of diplomatic agents, while Mayo calls it "gossiping" about their neighbor nations.

Taft, in that speech, quoted from the speech of Senator Philander C. Knox, who was Secretary of State when Taft was President and who is one of America's ablest constitutional lawyers, as follows:

"If any of the high contracting parties breaks its covenant under article XII, then we must fly to arms to protect the covenants. Whether or not we participate, and the amount of our participation in belligerent operations is determined not by ourselves but by the Executive Council in which we have, seemingly, at most but one voice out of nine—no matter what we think of the controversy, no matter how we view the wisdom of a war over the cause—we are bound to go to war when and in the manner the Executive Council determines."

Here we have two statesmen and great lawyers taking absolutely opposite views of the legal meaning and effect of the language of a treaty constitution the American people are asked to adopt as the basis contract of an entangling alliance between us and all foreign nations. Taft says

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it binds us to nothing, Knox, that it binds us to everything. Taft argues that the League would be harmless, while KNOX says it would be very dangerous. With such a chance for honest difference of opinion over the powers and duties of nations joining the League, is it not likely the other eight of the nine members of the Executive Council would construe the document to favor their own governments whenever the interest of those foreign nations conflicts with the interest of the United States, say, as to the Monroe Doctrine otherwise?

When two good doctors disagree as to whether the medicine is harmless or is poison that will kill, the patient better not take the dose.]

ARTICLE IV.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council and may be decided by a majority of the states represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V.

The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at _____, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council; the secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General, subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the

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states members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VI.

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League when engaged in the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

ARTICLE VII.

Admission to the League of states not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as states to be invited to adhere to the covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the states represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No state shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be proscribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

[Membership in the League "shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies." There would be little if any objection to permitting Canada, Australia, South Africa, India and the several other British "self-governing" dominions and colonies to be directly and independently represented, with voice and vote, in a genuine representative government or international Nation of Nations. That is because in such a government the representation would be of, by, and for the peoples of such dominions and colonies, whose duly chosen representatives would have independent responsibility, authority and judgment to decide and act for the peoples they represent. They would not be mere human automatons mechanically

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acting only when and as their political governments pull the directing strings.

But if the League of Nations is to be an alliance, and delegates are to be mere diplomatic agents of the Foreign Offices, representing political governments and not peoples, that is different. British dominions and colonies have no Foreign Offices and no legal right or power to act independently of Great Britain in international relations by making treaties. They must all act through the British Foreign Office and as it dictates. Therefore, in such circumstances, is not the allowing of representation by "dominions and colonies" in the "body of delegates," where each nation, dominion or colony, big or little, has but one vote, a rather clever device for giving Great Britain five or ten times as much voting strength and legal power as that possessed by the United States, France or any other country? In effect it would give Great Britain more legal strength and voting power in the body of delegates than the United States, France, Italy, Japan and several other countries all combined. Why this British world rule? What is there to justify or explain such national discrimination?]

ARTICLE VIII.

The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each state; and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction.

The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the programme of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted,

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shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programmes.

[This is a declaration of the "principle" of, and a pious hope for, reduction of armaments, the same as the Hague Conferences have been solemnly voicing, led by the Czar of Russia, for many long years; but it is no plan for accomplishing disarmament or even an agreement to mutually reduce armaments. It is a mere promise to study the question and see if some way of accomplishing reduction can be found. It is a good thing to study, no doubt, but there is nothing definite about the proposal and no certainty of anything tangible resulting. It is a pity that the chief motive is not so much to find a sure way of preventing future wars as to lighten the financial load until nations can recover from the staggering results of the world war.]

The Executive Council shall "determine," but only "for the consideration and action of the several governments," just "what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the programme of disarmament; and these limits when adopted, shall not be exceeded, without the permission of the Executive Council." That sounds fine, and encour-

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aging, but means nothing, because they have not yet disarmed, or agreed to do so, or formed any plan or suggestion as to how it can be done; and the nations that are to consider and act may refuse to do so or be unable to agree. And one nation can not, and will not, reduce armaments unless all do it. Therefore the language used may kindle unjustifiable hopes and expectations.

It is as intangible as the reply of the hopeful boy to an inquiry as to how many fish he had caught: "If I catch the one I am after and five more I'll have a half dozen!"

Contrast the above proposed vague and unpromising course of a League alliance with the specific and practical plan for accomplishing general reduction of armaments that would be followed by a Nation of Nations under the Constitution printed in the Appendix. It is provided in such constitution that each nation shall at once permanently turn over to the Nation of Nations at least half of its naval and other armaments and thereafter never increase its national armaments or forces without the consent of the mutual Nation of Nations. That would immediately accomplish prompt, general and concerted reduction of armaments and burdens one-half, in the only way practical or possible, because it does not change the comparative strength of the various countries. How else can the necessary reduction of armaments and prevention of rearmament be accomplished? Does it not need something stronger, more tangible and permanent than a mere alliance treaty, to enforce the reduction agreed upon and prevent rearmament during the next hundred years? The machinery and power of a mutual international government will be needed for that purpose if for nothing else.

The only other suggested plan for reducing armaments so far made is, that the \$200,000,000.00 worth of surrendered German warships be sunk in the ocean, because, otherwise, the Allies might get into a fight among themselves over a division of the spoils! If they would quarrel

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over that, are they not likely to also dispute, quarrel and perhaps fight over some of the very many complex and dangerous problems certain to arise within the League, or over the meaning of the many obscure, confusing, indefinite and perplexing provisions of its "constitution"?

Why junk and destroy a billion dollars' worth of good naval vessels and armaments that have been paid for by taxation of the peoples, when they may be needed and could be safely and effectively used to permanently insure the security of all peoples and the future peace of the world if merged into one great central police power of a beneficent Nation of Nations in which all orderly countries were fairly represented and have a voice? And the German warships should be used for the same purpose.

Such a police power can now be created practically without expense to anybody, and the reduction of national armaments it could achieve would greatly reduce the yearly tax burdens imposed upon the aching backs of all the peoples. Sometime there must be, and will be, one strong central police power to protect the family of nations against war. And the peoples will be again taxed to create it, unless we now have the wisdom to use for that purpose the millions upon millions of dollars of good naval vessels and armaments that will be rendered available by any material reduction of national armaments and forces. Is there any sound, practical or legitimate basis on which any honest nation can found an objection to such a definite and logical course?

The language about limiting the manufacture of munitions and war armaments and supplies sounds fine. But is the scheme logical or practical? Is it not opening the door wide, to permit foreign governments to have the right and power, under express treaty grant, to continuously pry into and vexatiously meddle in and even dictate, as to the purely domestic affairs of our country? Munitions and such things will not be manufactured and sold when it is

fixed so that they can not be used in war. The thing to do is to make it impossible to wage war in the international world. Then there will be no munitions ordered or made. Instead of striking at the root of the deadly upas war tree, the alliance scheme is designed only to cut off a few of its malignant, wide-spreading branches.]

ARTICLE IX.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article Eight and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE X.

The high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

[Here is something definite. It is a plain, unequivocal, morally and legally binding treaty agreement and obligation. The nation ratifying that must perform—or repudiate its agreement of honor and perhaps have to fight for doing it. The United States has no desire or intention of imitating Germany by treating its solemn treaties as “mere scraps of paper,” so it should carefully consider the character and size of the job it is undertaking when it joins a League of Nations alliance under a treaty containing the terrific provisions of Article X. And what applies to the United States applies with equal force to every other country that joins.

“The high contracting parties” (every government signing the League treaty) “undertake” (which means “will perform”) “to respect and preserve” (that is, defend by war if necessary) “as against external aggression” (any attack

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from outside of a country made by anybody) "the territorial integrity" (present boundaries) "and existing political independence" (sovereignty) "of all states" (nations) "members of the League." All countries are expected ultimately to be in the League. Each nation then, under this treaty, would be legally bound to the extent of all its physical resources, armaments and conscripted man power if necessary, to "preserve" and defend the territorial boundaries and possessions, and also the existing political independence or sovereignty of every one of the forty or more countries, big and little, scattered throughout the whole world, as against any and all "external aggression," or attacks from the outside.

It may be a perfectly natural and proper thing, for example, for Great Britain to want to secure by the mere stroke of a pen the permanent and binding guarantee of the United States, that all its wealth, navy and man power will be kept constantly prepared and ready, and whenever necessary be employed, without cost to Great Britain, to protect and preserve its title and possession to every single acre of its vast and far-flung territories, and its political independence or sovereignty, as against any and every attack that may be made from the outside on any of her dominions, colonies or islands in Europe, Africa, Asia or America! But does the United States want that thankless, expensive and permanent job? Does it want the job of doing the same thing for every country on earth? Yet that is just the job it might have, along with other nations that now are so nearly bankrupt, a task from which it could not honorably escape if it ratified any treaty containing the provisions of Article X.

Without expressing any opinion on the Irish question, we can properly say that this treaty would be likely to destroy forever all prospect of Irish independence, because nobody believes Ireland can achieve independence by force without outside armed aid; and the moment outside help

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came, the United States and all other nations in the League would be obliged, under this treaty, to go to war on the side of Great Britain.

Poland and other menaced "war baby" republics no doubt will be in the League. The moment Bolshevist Russia, for example, sends one armed man across the border to make an aggressive attack, it would be the legal duty of the United States, under this treaty, to promptly go to war on the side of Poland and against Bolshevist Russia because it had solemnly contracted by this treaty to do just that thing. Perhaps we should so help Poland, but is it safe or sensible to blindly bind the United States in advance to do so without regard to the situation or circumstances that may prevail at the time the trouble shall arise? Could the United States lawfully bind itself by mere treaty to thus go to war without any constitutional action by Congress? Certainly it should not, even if it could. These examples might be multiplied indefinitely, and they apply alike to all other countries in the League.

What prospect would there be for reducing naval and military forces and burdens if the United States was under such a continuous binding blanket obligation to thus insure with its bayonets and the blood of its sons the territorial possessions and political sovereignty of every nation on earth? Does the republic desire thus to become the guarantor of the property title and political sovereignty of many royal systems, agreeing blindly in advance to use our army and navy against those who might be seeking only to help liberate the oppressed peoples of another country from tyranny?]

ARTICLE XI.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace

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of nations. It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

[This is the kind of diplomatic language commonly employed to create an offensive and defensive war alliance between nations, such as this would be.

But it does far more than that. By it each nation in the League surrenders its sovereignty absolutely to the other nations by binding treaty agreement. It agrees that if it has a civil or other domestic war wholly within its own borders, each or all of the other nations may interfere and "take any action" they may desire. Article XI makes all nations agree that any and all wars, international, national or civil, and all threats of war, anywhere on earth, shall be the business or "concern" of the League. And "the high contracting parties" (governments signing the treaty) "reserve" (possess) "the right to take any action that may be deemed" (by them) "wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

Suppose the people in a country start war to rid themselves of some reigning royal despot and gain freedom from oppression, or to achieve democracy. Or suppose in a republic some royal adventurer or "man on horseback" should attempt to destroy the republic and establish a monarchy. In either case any or all such outside nations could lawfully take a hand and "take any action," military or otherwise, which they desired. Such action might be the very thing that would cause the defeat of the people's cause and rob them of liberty and freedom. This article would breed wars.

Time works great changes and no one can foretell which way they will go. If this power is granted by mutual treaty

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agreement to all nations in the League alliance, to meddle in the internal affairs of each country, who can say that this League and that power may not some time fall under the control of a combination of royal rulers who would try to imitate the "holy alliance" by attempting to destroy democracy and every free government on the earth? A League alliance, therefore, might become very dangerous. On the other hand, an international Nation of Nations would be expressly prohibited by its constitution from interfering in the domestic affairs of any country.]

ARTICLE XII.

The high contracting parties agree that should dispute arise between them which can not be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case, under this article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE XIII.

The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the Court of Arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

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The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award, the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

[No doubt agreements to arbitrate are desirable and better than nothing, but they never have or will make wars impossible. Such treaty agreements bind the virtuous but not the vicious countries. Would such a treaty have prevented Germany from starting the war? There must be something more powerful and practical than treaty agreements for arbitration, and tribunals to arbitrate but which have no power to enforce their decisions. The Hague experience proved that fact.]

ARTICLE XIV.

The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

[This "Court of International Justice" sounds big, broad and grand. But, reading carefully, we find that it is not a regular court at all, with power to construe international law and hear and decide disputes. It is a mere arbitration commission or tribunal, not entitled to be called a court. The only authority it would have is granted by Article XIV, and that is "to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article."]

ARTICLE XV.

If there should arise between states, members of the league, any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting par-

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ties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanation as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council thinks just and proper for the settlement of the dispute.

If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that if any party shall refuse so to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation.

If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may, in any case under this article, refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute.

In any case referred to the body of delegates all the pro-

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visions of this article and of Article XII, relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

[The long and complicated procedure here provided is simply an attempt to prevent wars by contracting not to start them, treaty contracts. It never has been, or will be, possible to stop wars by contract. That is not enough, because lawless rulers never hesitate to break a contract or treaty when it stands in their way and they are ready to act. And history proves that good kings sometimes are succeeded by very bad kings. The bulwark against war must be something far more tangible, powerful and practical than treaty contracts and powerless arbitration boards if the masses of men are to be freed from the danger of wholesale slaughter in recurring wars.]

ARTICLE XVI.

Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article Twelve, it shall thereby, ipso, facto, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the league, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

The high contracting parties agree further that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article, in order

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to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the league.

[In case a nation in the league shall attack another nation that is in the league, without first arbitrating and then waiting three months after the award, as provided in Article XII, before starting war, it shall be deemed to have committed an act of war against all countries in the league. Thus a general "state of war" would prevail without any declaration of war by the Congress or Parliament of any country. Would that be constitutional? And would it be wise to so fix it that any one country could, simply by attacking another country, create a universal "state of war" over night any time, and automatically force all nations in as active parties to what may become a great world conflict?

By shaping the language of Article XVI so as to avoid expressly saying that each league nation will wage war with its army and navy and all its resources against the lawless country and its allies, it may have been intended to evade the provision of the constitution that grants to Congress exclusively the power to declare war. But the spirit of the constitution would be violated, even if its letter was evaded, which would not be the case. The other things that Article XVI binds each nation firmly to do would, if done, legally constitute an act of war by all of the nations in the league against the offending nation and its allies. Such nations must open their territories for the operation or passage of armed forces bent on attacking such offending country, and also actively participate in isolating it from all other countries by blockade and by driving its commerce from the high seas. That is war; and it is deliberately started by operation of a treaty agreement without any

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action by Congress and in violation of its constitutional rights. No one will be deceived by this obvious and illegal subterfuge except those who want to be, or who close their eyes to the plain facts.

While Article XVI uses careful diplomatic language about the "effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league," any court in the world would construe the meaning and legal effect to be a moral and legal treaty obligation absolutely binding every nation in the league alliance to furnish naval and military forces whenever and as the majority of the nine members of the Executive Council may determine. Thus five men in the Executive Council, representing five foreign governments would have legal power to force this country to go to war for their benefit again and again.

The use of economic and other pacific pressure as a means of restraining lawless nations in the interest of world justice and peace is justified and can be made a powerful instrument for good. So can blockade and other semi-hostile acts short of actual open warfare. But these should not be carried on by the many nations themselves with their more or less conflicting and scattered national forces, because that would tend to breed actual and widespread conflicts. And a mere alliance league would have no efficient machinery or organization for martialing, organizing, coordinating, managing and directing such action and the forces employed.

A regular and permanent Nation of Nations, however, could do all of these things efficiently, promptly and impartially with its own organization and the mutual police power armaments and forces under its exclusive control.]

ARTICLE XVII.

In the event of disputes between one state member of the league and another state which is not a member of the

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league, or between states not members of the league, the high contracting parties agree that the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league.

Upon such invitation being given, the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purpose of such dispute, and taking any action against a state member of the league which, in the case of a state member of the league would constitute a breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

[This provides a way for the league to gain power, for the object in view, over all nations outside of the alliance.]

ARTICLE XVIII.

The high contracting parties agree that the league shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

ARTICLE XIX.

To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of

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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 wellbeing and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the league.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the league.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

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 power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure

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equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific isles, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical continuity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned, in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate the mandatory state shall render to the league an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The decree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory state shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the league a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers and to assist the league in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

[The purposes intended by the proposed mandatory system for managing certain colonies and orphan territories are high and commendable. Some such plan is necessary if only an alliance league is to be created, because such a league would have neither power, means or practical machinery for properly managing and administering such territories and their peoples. And manifestly it would be unjust, unfair and unsatisfactory to turn over for the exclusive use and benefit of some nations great territories taken from Germany and its allies by the common effort and sacrifice of all the allied countries. Nor could such territories be satisfactorily divided and their populations bodily

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delivered over to unregulated and unsupervised exploitation and domination by alien races.

A more scientific, just and satisfactory course would be to put all such colonies and territories under the absolute control of the proposed Nation of Nations in trust, to be forever protected and administered impartially for the benefit of all co-operating nations and the native populations. Other convenient nations then could, and no doubt would, be employed as mandatories to manage certain of such colonies and territories for the trustee Nation of Nations on terms to be mutually agreed upon. Every nation then would share in the benefits equally and have a fair voice in all such matters through their regular representatives in the Supreme Senate of the Nation of Nations. Such territories and peoples then would have the protection of the federated moral and physical force of all the world's nations and peoples combined in the ever-ready-to-act central police power of such mutual Nation of Nations; and its courts would establish law and justice throughout such territories. That is the best way to enable all civilized peoples to enjoy the privilege and share the burden of extending to the earth's submerged and untutored millions the blessings of liberty and enlightenment and happiness, because the cost of the operations of the Nation of Nations and of maintaining its organization, agencies and police power, would be apportioned between the nations on the basis of their representation in the Supreme Senate.

The United States and its generous citizens would galdly assist in every possible way in a great benovolent work organized unselfishly on sound business lines by a strong, responsible and thoroughly-organized representative government uniting, on even terms, all the peoples of the world in the common undertaking.

But the United States, I believe, would show little inclination to become the mandatory guardian for far-distant peoples and territories at the request of a more or less selfish,

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weak and transitory alliance league, not of the world's peoples, but of political governments.]

ARTICLE XX.

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the league a permanent Bureau of Labor.

[The object in view is desirable and commendable. There can be no objection to the creation and maintenance of a permanent Labor Bureau to investigate world labor conditions and, by education and moral means, improve such conditions. Any attempt, however, to employ coercion or force against any one nation imposed by a league or alliance of many nations might be an interference in domestic affairs by outside nations that would react and defeat the very objects in view.]

ARTICLE XXI.

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the league to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all states members of the league, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

[What does it mean, or what may it not mean, where Article XXI says, "The high contracting parties" (governments) "agree" "to secure and maintain" "equitable treatment for the commerce of all states members of the league"? If this means that the principles of the "most favored nation clause" of treaties shall have universal application to all nations in the league and their commerce, it is a good thing. But if the words "equitable treatment for the commerce of

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all states members of the league" means, for example, that because England has free trade, and admits American goods without duty, therefore the United States must admit all British goods free, it would be a very bad thing. That might force the United States, on account of the most favored nations clause in its commercial treaties, to grant absolute free trade to all other countries. That would end the protective tariff system and establish universal free trade. It would not raise European and Asiatic labor and wages to the American standard and level, but it might materially reduce the standard of living and wage scale of American labor down toward the European and Asiatic level. It would put American workmen in direct competition with foreign workmen, including the half billion people of Asia where workers are willing to labor for about thirty cents per day. If the American protective tariff system is to be abolished and free trade substituted, it at least should be done by the Congress of the United States and not under cover of a general peace treaty framed to settle the issues of a world war. This matter is so important, if the provision was not intended to apply to tariff matters, that fact should be shown now by unambiguous language so there can be no dispute later.]

ARTICLE XXII.

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the league all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under the control of the league.

ARTICLE XXIII.

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any state member of the league, shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published

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by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XXIV.

It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by states members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions, of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XXV.

The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any of the powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the league shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

[Every provision of this alliance treaty is here made absolutely binding on every nation ratifying it, irrespective of existing treaties and obligations. It solemnly binds each nation not to hereafter make any treaty or "engagements" inconsistent therewith. As this is to be the one supreme and dominating contract, legally binding the nations by its every provision, to the extent of peace or war, national sovereignty and existence, and uniting all nations now in, or that hereafter may join, in one great entangling alliance and partnership, imposing on each nation unlimited liability for the acts and conduct of all, the United States should, and will, think twice before fastening upon its neck the team yoke that is expected hereafter to draw the world's staggering load. The Supreme Court says, a treaty, when ratified, becomes the supreme law of the land.

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President Wilson is reported to have declared that any nation would be at liberty to withdraw from the League of Nations any time. But, in case the United States should withdraw, would it not remain morally and legally obligated never to enter into any "engagement" inconsistent with the constitution of a league to which it no longer belonged, even if its very existence should happen to depend on its ability to enter into just such an engagement?]

ARTICLE XXVI.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the states whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the states whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE:

It is claimed that this treaty does not interfere with the Monroe Doctrine because it extends that policy to the whole world. That Doctrine is the edict of the United States that hereafter no European or Asiatic nation shall increase its territorial holdings on the American continent or interfere with the territorial integrity or political sovereignty of any nation on this continent. Theoretically the same idea is extended to all countries by this alliance treaty, or may be so extended. But the United States should not surrender its right and power to thus protect itself by protecting the American continent, at least until certain that the alternative plan will be carried to a successful finish and it actually has accomplished its wide pretensions.

But suppose the United States should join and later drop out of the alliance League of Nations. Could it then resume the Monroe Doctrine, or recover back its lost right or power to act independently of other nations in protecting the American republics? No; because it would have legally bound itself by solemn treaty, under Article XXV, *never* to make any engagements inconsistent with such alliance treaty.

And it certainly would be inconsistent with that treaty, and its plan for joint control and action by the league of all nations, if the United States ever should act independently under and in accordance with its time-honored Monroe Doctrine.

CHAPTER XVII.

WHERE DOES JAPAN STAND?

The world's last great interrogation point of uncertainty, uneasiness and doubt is Imperial Japan. She now is the only nation possessing a truly autocratic imperial system. The ambitious and aggressive military imperialism of Germany, of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey and Russia are all dead and gone forever. That of Japan alone remains in all otherwise democratic and peace-anxious world, to kindle doubts and fears that may make reduction of national armaments difficult, if not unsafe and impossible. Just as helmeted Germany, by its vast military and naval program and known ambition for territorial expansion, compelled all Europe to arm and stay armed to the limit until the inevitable war came, so an armed, ambitious, aggressive, clever and mysterious Japan can by its unexplained course and purpose compel all the world to stay armed and overburdened with naval and military expense; because if it forces one it thereby forces all nations to remain continuously prepared for war.

This comment is regretfully written by one who is not unfriendly to, or prejudiced against, that splendid, enterprising, enlightened and civilized people. And it is earnestly hoped that no injustice will be done by these words. But the hour for plain speaking and frank discussion is here, if the new world order is to be one of peaceful progress instead of dangerous reaction. Therefore certain things Japan is reported to have done sound to us a note of warning as we plan for the future.

If, as charged, Japan agreed with the allies that no country should send more than 7,000 soldiers into Russia and then, without the consent of her allies, she sent 70,000 men to Siberia and seized possession of all or many strategic points in that vast, rich and helpless land, how can

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she blame other countries if they become distrustful of Japanese promises and purposes on all subjects? We sincerely hope the grave but specific charge made will be disproved.

Such things are calculated to make some people wonder whether, if Germany had won the war, the Kaiser and Japan would have become allies and divided between them Russia, China, the British fleet, dominions and colonies, control of the high seas, the Philippines and South America and the Western part of Canada and Alaska, after jointly attacking and imposing upon the United States a gigantic indemnity and forcing our country open to the free admission of Asiatic laborers in unlimited numbers. It is remembered that Japan once whipped Russia and shortly thereafter became the pledged ally of the Czar. Japan's enemies charge that she "was playing both ends against the middle," intending to tie up with the victor and share in the spoils whichever side won. We prefer to believe that Japan was sincere, but things she is reported to have done tend to encourage the opposite view.

The attempt to force China to grant concessions calculated to reduce that country, with its limitless resources and a fourth of the world's entire population, to the position virtually of a Japanese province, to the serious disadvantage of her allies, while they were absorbed in a great life and death struggle in Europe, was an impressive circumstance of grave import. Was it not a violation of the spirit and letter of the "open door" policy to which Japan, by solemn treaty, had pledged its national honor? Does she understand that by conceding that Japan, because of her geographical nearness, had a "special interest" in China, the United States thereby intended to license Japan, so far as this country is concerned, to proceed to impose its will upon, and selfishly exploit, China? The kind of Monroe Doctrine Japan seems inclined to enforce in Asia is not the kind the United States enforces in South America.

The fate of Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, the action

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of Japan as to the disposition of Germany's lost colonies and islands in the Pacific, her treatment of China, notwithstanding her recent treaty of friendship with the United States, are things calculated to give the impression that Japan is dangerously ambitious to vastly increase her territorial possessions at the expense of other countries irrespective of international justice and right.

ASIATIC IMMIGRATION QUESTION

At the General Peace Congress, Japan is, according to reports, strenuously seeking to have the League of Nations peace treaty require all countries to admit Asiatic laborers without restriction or discrimination. She claims to urge this only as a matter of racial pride and sentiment, not for economic purposes. She promises to continue preventing Japanese laborers coming to this country, without any binding agreement on the subject being made. But it is not a businesslike proceeding for an individual, or a nation, to enter into a written contract to do a thing that would be ruinous if carried out and then depend for protection wholly on the mere unenforceable and legally not binding promise of the other party not to insist on the contract being performed.

It may be true that Japan is actuated only by race pride and sentiment and not by the desire to gain for millions of her laborers an opportunity to come here so that they can increase their wage income from 30 and 90 cents per day to \$2.00, \$4.00 and \$6.00 per day, until they desire to return to Japan with their rich accumulations. But if it is true, then there is no sound basis of fact, moral justification, or foundation in international law or justice for the demand of Japan. Therefore it will be resisted to the utmost and can not prevail. And the more the demand is pressed the bigger the interrogation point of doubt will grow in the mind of the world as to Japan's purposes, and the more other countries will be inclined to stay armed so they can defend the legal right of their own peoples to

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“self-determination” as to what, if any, alien peoples they will or will not admit to their national home as guests or neighbors.

So far as the United States is concerned, and no doubt the same is true of other countries, the exclusion of Japanese and Chinese immigration is not intended, and in no way does, discriminate against those peoples on racial grounds, or make any invidious comparison or detrimental reflection on those great peoples because of race or color. Therefore there is no justification for taking offense because there was no intention or desire of giving offense by wounding racial sentiment or pride.

The entire and only reason for excluding Japanese and Chinese workers from America is because there are so many of them, and their standard of living and scale of wages are so low that they would, if admitted without restriction, completely, immediately and permanently demoralize and destroy the American labor situation by reducing wages and the standard of living of American citizens generally toward the Asiatic level. That by taking away the jobs of American workers all over the United States they would cause general idleness, poverty, strikes, violence and other evils injurious to the welfare of the people and the safety of the republic. There can be no sound reason for wrecking the prosperity of this country solely to appease a foreign people whose pride and sentiment may take offense without moral or legal justification when they are, for economic reasons only, denied admission to a country where they have no legal right to go without the invitation or desire of those who own that country.

For the same reason, and only that reason, it is necessary to protect American labor with a reasonable tariff barrier that will prevent the products made in foreign countries by such cheap labor from coming in here on such a basis that they could profitably be sold below the cost of producing such articles in American mills unless the scale of American wages was greatly and permanently reduced.

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Otherwise great mills and factories would be built in China and Japan with Japanese, English, German and perhaps American capital, where raw materials are abundant and cheap and labor in absolutely unlimited quantities available at 30 to 90 cents per day, the products being shipped by cheap water routes to the United States and admitted duty free to be sold here so cheap that American mills would have to shut down unless American workers would accept more nearly the Asiatic scale of wages and standard of living. Only a reasonable but adequate tariff can protect American labor, industry and agriculture against that deadly danger.

The only sure and proper way to increase the prosperity and improve the condition of the great masses of people of Japan and China is to do it at home by developing industries in those countries, just as Japan has done so greatly during this war. And Japan never before was so prosperous and happy. This can readily be done because raw materials and labor are so abundant and cheap. Capital can be obtained and enterprise developed. Markets, it is true, are needed, but these will quickly develop right there in China and Japan the moment wages and employment are increased and the purchasing power of the half billion people of those countries is thus increased.

The home market of the United States normally consumes ninety per cent of all the products of the United States notwithstanding the output has been increased during the past forty years almost beyond calculation with the aid of the protective tariff system, making this country the most prosperous, and financially the strongest, country in the world. It was general employment and high wages that increased the purchasing power of the people and made the home market so large and permanent.

If all the men of China, for example, could ultimately be put to work steadily there in China at an average wage of a dollar a day they would earn and spend thirty billion dollars every year and make that country the greatest

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home market in the world, consuming most of all the products made by their own labor. Such a policy would greatly improve the standard of living, promote general intelligence and change China from one of the most unfortunate to one of the most prosperous and happy countries in the world. The same is true of Japan, to the extent of her population. Then their people would not desire to emigrate to other countries.

The United States would gladly assist actively in carrying out a great sound, scientific and successful policy of that character because the mutual benefits and satisfaction would make our countries strong and permanent friends forever.

In all fairness to Japan, it should be stated that there is in that country a strong peace and friendship party as well as a big military party, and the former just now seems to be in control. And there appears also to be a strong movement among the people in favor of changing the imperial system so that splendid and alert people may keep abreast of other progressive countries and in accord with the irresistible spirit of democracy that is so rapidly spreading throughout the world.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNMENT VS. BOLSHEVISM.

Was the Bible story true, about the Spirit of Evil being cast to Earth from Heaven, here to seek revenge for his degradation by inflicting upon mortal man sin and sorrow instead of happiness? If so, he certainly has been successful. Within the human mind Greed, Suspicion, Hate, Envy and Jealousy were the passions implanted to be his ever ready servants for making men do wrong. Anarchy, Violence, Disorder, Injustice, Oppression, Tyranny, Murder, Ignorance and Superstition were his potent emissaries working among the children of men, stirring trouble and destroying harmony. From the cradle of the race to the mighty and troubled present these masterful imps of Evil have "made monkeys" of men by steering them into complications and dangers that caused human brothers to seek to destroy each other.

Instead of being allowed to remain together and in one big, contented, happy family with one language and common ideas, ideals and aspirations, the human race was caused to split up into tribes and races with different languages, ideas, ideals and aspirations and then scattered far apart over the face of the earth so that they would be strangers to each other and later become mortal and malignant enemies. Multiplication of population, and the annihilation of space by invention, in due time brought these scattered and embittered divisions of the human family into contact and conflict. The crowning achievement, the great final goal of revenge of the masterful and diabolical Spirit of Evil, was the Battle of the Nations, an Armaggon in which the entire human race was engaged in mutual extermination on a scale that in four years killed seven million men, crippled ten million, beggared hundreds of mil-

lions and shot away and wasted a sum equal to nearly half the entire wealth of the world.

The Spirit of Good, however, has also been at work among men. Thought, Reason, Conscience, Intelligence, Faith, Hope and Confidence have been its gentle and persuasive hand-maidens housed in the intellects and hearts of men, women and children ever trying to thwart the designs of Evil and the machinations of his imps of passion. In the outer world the Spirit of Good has employed Religion, Schools, and Government as its chief instruments for resisting the constant and powerful influences and encroachments on the race by the Spirit of Evil. The fruit of these agencies of Good is Civilization.

The Battle of the Nations was the supreme attempt of the Spirit of Evil to defeat the Spirit of Good by the complete and final destruction of Civilization. The attempt failed, but only as by a miracle. Does that end the eternal struggle between these two irreconcilable Spirits of the Almighty's universe? No! Already the Spirit of Evil, smarting under his defeat and profiting by the experiences of this conflict, is planning to steer mankind into another and greater war, one where no miracle could save Civilization from complete destruction or the human race from mutual annihilation

DANGEROUS INTRIGUES AFOOT.

The General Peace Congress now in session at Paris, France, will, by the plan it adopts, determine whether the Spirit of Evil or the Spirit of Good is to finally conquer and rule the human race.

The Spirit of Evil, that great master of intrigue, is on the job. With him are his subtle servants, Suspicion, Greed, Envy, Jealousy, and Hate. They are kindling improper ambitions and dangerous national aspirations. They are preaching the doctrine of a sordid and selfish nationalism, armed to the teeth and ever ready to fight other similarly

organized and armed groups of the human family. They appeal to national pride and patriotism, stir false alarms and fears as to the plans and purposes of other peoples, and thus seek to not only preserve the present forty divisions of the human race with their forty separate armaments and forces, but to keep them independent of each other and in more or less hostile camps. When it is proposed, not that the various peoples and races unite under one government, but that they remain separate and apart, each under its own independent national government, but that the nations simply create a mutual agency or governmental federation, an international Nation of Nations, composed of and controlled by, the duly elected representatives of the various nations or peoples, so that they can abolish their forty frightful and fighting national armed forces and substitute one small central police power under the control of their mutual agency for the common protection and security of all nations, then what happens? Instantly the imps of Evil cry "Internationalism!" "Socialism!" "Bolshevism!" "You must not surrender national sovereignty!" As though the only duty of a "sovereignty" is to fight to try to exterminate other "sovereignties." These cries, of course, are false, but they are effective. Such a plan is neither Internationalism, Socialism or Bolshevism, and there would be no surrender or infraction of national sovereignty. But the cry stirs prejudice and helps persuade Reason, Judgment and Conscience to surrender to the seductive wiles of the imps of selfish passion by accepting the deadly and dangerous compromise Plan for which the Spirit of Evil is striving so as to keep the road to more wars open and provide means for making future world conflicts easy and certain.

The Spirit of Evil is for a world alliance. Why shouldn't he be? He knows that if there had been no Triple alliance and Entente alliance there would have been no titanic world war into which the bonds of these alliances

ultimately dragged the entire human race. There would have been built no such gigantic armaments and armies for murdering human brothers wholesale and the destruction in one great war conflagration, half of all the fruits of the toil of mankind accumulated by six thousand years of struggle and privation. The alliance that would be created by the so-called "constitution" disguised under the name "League of Nations" will answer the purposes of the Spirit of Evil very well. It preserves the system of exclusive, selfish, conflicting and contending ultra-nationalism and prevents any effective, efficient, practical and permanent federation for preventing wars. It keeps intact forty separate and antagonistic armed military and naval forces under forty separate, suspicious, envious and jealous managements. The death trap is left open and set, ready for the nations and peoples to walk into when the Spirit of Evil has once more spun his vengeful web of intrigue.

The one thing the Spirit of Evil does not want is *Government*. That would establish order, justice and right. It would defeat wrong, injustice, oppression, and block Anarchy. Government, some form of organized supreme authority with a police power, has been the most powerful instrument used by the Spirit of Good throughout all the ages to establish order and justice and thus defeat the designs of the Spirit of Evil, therefore Evil wants no civilized government created in the international field to there establish justice and enforce order. It seeks to keep the nations apart and fighting each other, instead of joining them together in one great and permanent anti-war federation. It is struggling to prevent the organization of such a mutual Nation of Nations, because then he no longer could control the situation, and the forty national fighting forces, so useful to him, would be no more.

An entangling world alliance, where any one nation could, by attacking another, force all nations to go to war, would be the Devil's best and most helpful ally. Satan

then would have to deal with only one of the forty member-nations in the "League of Nations" whenever he wanted to precipitate world war and harvest a fresh crop of human souls.

WORLD ON THE BRINK.

The whole world now is in a state of flux, made so by the flames of war and the fires of a newly-born passion for universal liberty and human freedom. All mankind is being poured into the mold of Fate to be refashioned for the coming new Era.

Whatever prospect there ever was for the pacific inauguration of universal state socialism, including all peoples under one world government, with the workers in control, has been blasted and banished by this war. The stirring of national passions, patriotism, prejudices and race antagonisms, has made any such physical union of the peoples impossible. It will take a hundred years to remove these effects of four years of war. Then again, the bloody and insane work of Bolshevism, done in the name of socialism very largely, has been an object lesson so vivid that it has prejudiced mankind very generally against even those principles of social justice that are right and highly desirable.

There is, however, some prospect of setting up an international Nation of Nations solely for, and that would, prevent wars between nations and the mutual slaughter of the workers in bloody battle. That would enable the peoples of each country, in peace and security, to work out in their own way the social and political problems that concern their welfare and daily lives. But there is strong opposition to such a plan by selfish, sordid and ambitious national interests, and the plan will fail and a dangerous entangling alliance be substituted unless the rank-and-file of the people in every land bestir themselves instantly and publicly demand of their governments, by petitions with boots on them, the organization of a Nation of Nations instead of an alliance.

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If governments were less selfish and narrow and more wise and thoughtful they would all realize that the one thing most needed, and the only thing practical, to insure the entire system of national governments against the threatening danger of destruction by the fastly rising tide of international anarchy typified by the name Bolshevism, is a regularly organized international government, a Nation of Nations in which all orderly nations are fairly represented, with a strong central ready-to-act police power to the upbuilding, maintenance and management of which each country shall contribute. It is the one sure way to dam back the swelling tide of criminal lawlessness and injustice that is succeeding by playing upon the credulity of the ignorant as it masquerades in the sacred garb of liberty and freedom. In that way only can all the righteous moral and physical forces of the forty separate nations be effectively and permanently combined for the defense of civilization and human liberty against the reactionary forces of anarchy and pillage on the one hand and the reactionary powers of Imperial autocracy on the other. That is the one sure way to establish and maintain justice and permanent peace throughout the world. And it must be done quickly or it can not be done at all.

Unless statesmen are so selfishly blind they can not see things perfectly obvious to the man in the street, they soon will realize that internationalism of some kind is inevitable, and impending now; that it is merely a choice as to whether they shall have a beneficent and orderly Nation of Nations, in the control of which all nations would share, to permanently insure their national existence, or an international Bolshevik Soviet that would perhaps wipe out all of the nations and governments in the world in a reign of universal terror and red anarchy. At bed-rock, those are the two alternatives, and a League of Nations that was merely an alliance could not save or handle the situation or long postpone the inevitable. The choice, and the grave respons-

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ibility, rests with the General Peace Congress composed of the authorized official representatives of most of the governments of the earth.

May Providence inspire those men with courage and wisdom to decide in favor of a genuine government and not compromise by creating only an alliance!

CHAPTER XIX.

U. S. SENATE AND THE LEAGUE.

President Wilson, Balfour, of England and Bourgeois, of France, all members of the General Peace Congress, have each declared that there can be no successful League of Nations unless the United States is a member. That is undoubtedly true. And it is also true that the United States can not and will not be a member unless the treaty creating the League is of such a character that it will be ratified by the United States Senate by the constitutional two-thirds vote.

Thirty-three negative votes of the total ninety-six members of the Senate would defeat ratification of the treaty, and thirty-eight members of that body have actually signed a written statement that they never will vote to ratify any treaty creating a League of Nations of the character and with the powers provided for in the so-called constitution for a League now pending before the General Peace Congress. In fact forty-seven Senators, an actual majority, are said to have declared that they would oppose ratification.

The General Peace Congress has had timely notice of the position of the United States Senate. If the General Peace Congress persists and adopts and submits for ratification a treaty creating a League of Nations of the character now proposed, it will do so knowing in advance that the Senate will reject it, that the United States will not become a member of the League, and that it would be a failure. So that course, if taken by the General Peace Congress, would, in its final results, be the same as if such congress had refused or neglected to take any steps at all for the creation of a League of Nations. The General Peace Congress alone then would be responsible for leaving the world exposed to the danger, and in fact the certainty,

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of more world wars and the peoples all burdened with the absolute necessity of maintaining, if not increasing, armaments and forces to be ready when the next and greater conflict shall come.

If the General Peace Congress, in the face of these circumstances goes ahead and adopts and submits a treaty providing for the organization of a League of Nations of the kind now proposed, knowing that it would be rejected by the Senate, its only evident purpose would be to try to shift the blame, for the failure to put into legal force a plan to establish international justice and prevent future wars, from its own shoulders and put it upon the Senate of the United States. But the General Peace Congress can not so shift the blame for failure, or evade its moral and legal responsibility. It is the official duty of the General Peace Congress, and not the United States Senate, to devise a plan that would insure permanent world peace, and, if ratification by the United States is absolutely essential to the plan's success, then it is the moral and legal duty of the General Peace Congress to submit such a plan, and only such a plan, as would to a certainty be ratified by the United States Senate.

These cold and unescapable facts may be unpalatable to some, but they dominate the situation and everybody concerned must govern themselves accordingly. What opinion one may have of the Senators who have unalternably committed themselves on the matter in writing, has nothing to do with the case. Those Senators have both the power and the Constitutional right to refuse to ratify such a treaty, and there is not the slightest doubt that they will exercise that power by defeating ratification, just as they said they would. And these men will control the situation for the next six years at least and probably for the next twelve years, because we have no parliamentary system by which Senators can be removed from office before the end of their terms by any vote of "Want of Confidence."

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It would be the most rank and stupendous gamble of the world's entire history, if the General Peace Congress should go ahead and pass such a treaty relying solely on the desperate hope that sometime through the exigencies of American politics some kind of moral public pressure could be exerted that would induce the Senators to change their openly declared position and voluntarily vote to ratify the treaty. It would, indeed, be a rank gamble because there would be staked on the outcome, the welfare and safety of the entire human race.

The plea that it is a peace treaty and must be ratified, notwithstanding its League of Nations provisions, in order to end the war, would be without merit and ineffective, because the General Peace Conference knew in advance what the fate of the treaty would be, and it had the right and power to submit a treaty to end the war, one not containing the League provisions, that would be promptly ratified by the Senate. The General Peace Congress has no right, and could not, coerce the United States into ratifying an odious treaty of alliance by including same in the terms of peace settlement, when it could easily divide the matter and submit two treaties.

SENATE OPPOSITION JUSTIFIED?

But is not the Senate fully justified in its refusal to ratify any treaty creating a League of Nations of the kind proposed? The senators believe, and have a right to believe, that the American people still have faith and confidence in the wisdom of Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Webster, Clay and Lincoln, when those great leaders warned the American people against ever ensnaring the republic in any "entangling alliance" with foreign nations, such as the proposed League of Nations would be. The only reason the people are not aroused almost unanimously in opposition to this scheme, is because they are not yet fully informed of the dangerous character of the

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plan and the fact that the treaty would create nothing but a common offensive and defensive alliance cleverly camouflaged with the attractive name "League of Nations." But long before it is time for the people to express themselves or for the Senate to act on the treaty the American people will study the plan in detail and know all the facts pertaining to this, the most important question they have had to face since the Civil War if not since the nation was born.

In these dominant and conclusive circumstances, would it not be the part of wisdom and prudence for the General Peace Congress to formulate a plan that would meet the approval instead of stirring the bitter and relentless and successful opposition of the United States Senate and the American people? Any kind of alliance is out of the question. America simply will not have it. But the American people are generous and want to help the peoples of the world in their extremity, and even the nations of Europe in their dire need. They are by no means anxious to concern themselves in the titanic and dangerous troubles of other lands and would much prefer to stay at home and look after only the American continent under the Monroe Doctrine.

The United States, however, is ready to play its part in the settlement of world problems without thought of reward or selfish advantage. But it should not be asked to make these sacrifices, chiefly for the benefit of other nations and peoples, under any odious alliance plan that would involve the republic in indefinite and undetermined liabilities and dangers; and if it is asked to do so it certainly would refuse. The American people do not dictate to the General Peace Congress or to other nations as to the plan they shall adopt, but they do say, and have the moral and legal right to say, that the United States will join no League of Nations that is a mere alliance; and that if the other nations need and must have, as is claimed, the active support of the United States, then they must

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change the plan and create an international organization of a character the American people would consider to be safe to join and effective for establishing justice and preventing future wars.

The people of the United States fully understand, and have entire faith in, the safety, soundness, fairness and practical efficiency of genuine representative government. No doubt they would be entirely willing and ready to take their chances and play their part on even terms along with the other great nations of the world by helping to create and permanently manage a governmental Nation of Nations, in which all orderly countries were represented on an agreed fair basis, to federate the peoples of the world and their power and moral influence for the one and only purpose of establishing and maintaining international justice and preventing future wars between nations.

It is up to the General Peace Congress to decide whether it prefers to create a world alliance with the United States refusing to be a party to it, or a mutual Nation of Nations with the United States duly represented therein and cordially supporting the plan.

Or, whether it considers it wise or safe to disappoint and perhaps anger the great masses of the world's peoples by adjourning sine die without providing to a certainty any workable and acceptable League of Nations to establish international justice and prevent future world wars.

APPENDIX

TIME FOR ACTION!

Only the pressure of the world's peoples can now save the situation and prevent a fatal miscarriage of Justice at the General Peace Congress. The rank and file in every land should act powerfully and at once, or all may be lost and the workers and others left exposed to mutual butchery during insane future wars. Americans especially should act, and act quickly. They should warn Paris that America will refuse an Alliance but support a Government.

There is no time for formal organization. Each patriotic person should immediately constitute himself or herself a committee of one to prepare, have signed with names and addresses of friends and neighbors, a memorial and then mail it direct to "General Peace Congress, Paris, France." If copies of these lists are mailed to author "Alfred Owen Crozier, 140 Cedar Street, New York City," they will be used to start a great "Nation of Nations League," if that becomes necessary.

Each person should write a dozen letters to friends in other places or countries urging them to read and study the two pending plans and circulate petitions. That would start an endless chain for good that should literally smother the General Peace Congress with the protests and petitions of a million patriots every week. Statesmen could not evade or long resist the determined pressure of such multitudes. It is a great opportunity to prove that the people can and do rule this world. But it is time to act! Even minutes now are precious.

The great patriotic public press of the country can render a splendid service to mankind by actively helping such a movement. The people should fill the papers every day with letters on this great question.

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The following may be copied as a form for head of the Memorial petition :

“To the General Peace Congress :

“The undersigned, inhabitants of the United States of America, protest against a foreign Alliance of any kind and earnestly favor creation of an International Government or Nation of Nations to establish and maintain Justice and prevent wars between nations.

State..... Town.....

Names.	Addresses.

NATION OF NATIONS CONSTITUTION

The following draft of a Supreme Constitution for a limited international government called “Nation of Nations,” to be mutually organized and controlled by duly appointed representatives of all nations, for the one object of preventing international wars and disorder, was written by the author of this book and plan in the early part of the year 1915 and published in his volume “Nation of Nations.”

The only changes made now in that former draft are printed in italics. Of course it was and is tentative and subject to such modifications and changes as the Congress of Nations may deem best.

Would not such a simple, but governmentally regular, form of mutual Nation of Nations, legally controlled and guided by such a plain, definite and fair Constitution, be more practical, efficient, safe and satisfactory to all reasonable countries than the dangerous “entangling” world Alliance proposed in the Constitution now under consideration

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by the General Peace Congress at Paris, France? It must be one or the other, because to do nothing might endanger the very existence of orderly government in the world. Which shall it be?

Every patriotic reader is earnestly invited to study the Constitution for a so-called "League of Nations," printed in Chapter XVI, and then study the following Supreme Constitution for a genuine Nation of Nations; also compare and contrast the two radically different plans set forth in those documents. Which seems to be the more clear, plain, simple, efficient, practical, sound, safe and satisfactory?

"Language is the instrument with which men conceal their thoughts," is a statement said to have been made by Gladstone, the illustrious father of Lord Robert Cecil, the reputed author of the Paris "constitution." No doubt many thoughts and purposes are concealed in the prolific language of that document, and not disclosed by the hurried legal ex-ray analysis in this book.

If the family of nations is ever to be governed by law and civilized government instead of injustice, force and anarchy, a Nation of Nations with a Constitution of this character must be organized. Why not do it now? Why wait for a greater war to compel such action?

The following is the proposed Nation of Nations Supreme Constitution:

NATION OF NATIONS.

SUPREME CONSTITUTION.

PREAMBLE

LED by Providence and impelled by the recent experience of war that involved *nine-tenths* of the entire human race directly and the other *tenth* indirectly, the nations of the world participating in this action have resolved to co-operate with each other as herein provided to abolish armed conflicts between nations; establish, maintain, and enforce international peace; promote justice, concord, and friendship between nations, governments, peoples, and races, and thereby increase the safety, liberty, intelligence, happiness, and general welfare of all mankind.

To accomplish and insure those high objects, the nations of the world, assembled in a Congress of Nations, have, and hereby do, firmly and permanently create and establish a new, independent, sovereign, and internationally supreme representative *power, nation, and government with the name, jurisdiction, powers, limitations, and duties set forth in this supreme constitution, with power to make treaties with other nations. This Preamble shall be legally a part of the Constitution.*

ARTICLE I

NAME AND POLICY

Section 1. The name of the nation and government hereby created shall be "Nation of Nations"; and it shall possess and exercise all of the usual powers and duties incident to national sovereignty except as same are changed, modified, limited, or defined herein.

Section 2. The normal condition of human society being peace, it is a supreme right of mankind as a whole to enjoy the blessings of universal peace free from the dangers or

menace of international armed conflicts. The obligation of each nation to other nations and to humanity to help maintain the world's international peace for the good of all nations and peoples is hereby declared to be primary and supreme. Any nation that does not accept or conform to the above declared supreme policy shall be considered irregular in the family of nations and subject to surveillance and regulation by the Nation of Nations in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.

Any act or threat of armed international aggression, made without the express formal approval of the Nation of Nations, shall forever be a high crime against the rights and welfare of all nations, and nations and individuals found guilty of that offence in the courts of the Nation of Nations shall be liable to punishment according to its laws. Extradition of such persons for trial or punishment shall be compulsory on all nations.

Section 3. The Nation of Nations shall forever recognize and observe the sovereign right of each civilized, orderly, supporting nation or country to—

(a) Exclusively control as to all matters within its own territorial boundaries and possessions where the legal rights of other nations or their citizens, subjects, or inhabitants are not involved.

(b) Regulate, except as otherwise herein provided, the terms and conditions on which any alien shall be admitted to its territory, and determine the privileges aliens shall enjoy while in such territory.

(c) Exclusively determine the rates, terms, and conditions on which foreign commerce shall be admitted to its markets or territory so long as same are applied and enforced impartially and without discrimination between supporting nations.

Section 4. Each civilized, orderly nation with more than two million population that was represented in and

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officially approves, accepts, and ratifies, within a reasonable time, the creation and establishing of the Nation of Nations, and this constitution, shall be deemed a supporting nation of the Nation of Nations, and as such entitled to representation therein as hereinafter provided while such supporting nation remains in good standing.

Any other civilized, orderly nation with more than two million population may apply for admission to representation; and when duly accepted and admitted shall also be deemed a supporting nation, with like effect, privileges, and duties.

Section 5. Any supporting nation shall cease to be in good standing, and at the option of the Nation of Nations shall forfeit its right to representation in and to enjoy the benefits of the Nation of Nations, and may be suspended or expelled or otherwise dealt with, whenever such supporting nation shall—

(a) Neglect or refuse, without being excused, to pay within one year, after it is due and demanded, any police power tax lawfully levied against it by the Nation of Nations.

(b) Neglect or refuse, without being excused, for a period of two years, to be represented in the Nation of Nations as herein provided.

(c) Neglect or refuse to comply with the provisions of this constitution and the lawful orders and laws of the Nation of Nations, or shall fail to further, in every reasonable way by moral means and influence in all sincerity and honor, the high purposes and objects set forth in this constitution.

(d) Threaten or engage in any armed conflict with another nation without the express approval of the Nation of Nations first obtained, except such conflict be to defend itself when wrongfully attacked by another nation.

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ARTICLE II

JURISDICTION.

Section 1. The Jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations shall be of three kinds, namely: (a) General Jurisdiction; (b) Special Jurisdiction; (c) Police Power Jurisdiction; and such Jurisdictions, respectively, as to their powers, duties, character, extent, conditions, and limitations, shall be as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. Its General Jurisdiction shall be as to all supporting corporate nations that shall have become qualified hereunder for representation in the Nation of Nations, and not over the citizens, subjects, or inhabitants of such nations or any specific empire or territory; and, subject to the provisions hereof, throughout all future time the Nation of Nations in all things shall be impartial and just and in no way discriminate between supporting nations in good standing in the exercise of the sacred duties, privileges, and powers hereby entrusted to its honor. *Provided, the jurisdiction as to supporting nations shall be only as to those matters and such powers as are expressly granted to the Nation of Nations by such supporting nations in this constitution; all other powers are expressly reserved to the supporting nations.*

Section 3. Its Special Jurisdiction shall be over—

(a) All high seas and waters of the world more than three *marine* miles from the exterior boundaries of the lawful territories and possessions of all organized sovereign nations; such Jurisdiction to be sovereign and exclusive.

(b) All the lands of the world not now owned by any organized nation or state, such Jurisdiction to be sovereign and exclusive; and when any such lands shall be adequately populated with civilized inhabitants capable of establishing and maintaining self-government, such a government shall be created and maintained under the protecting shelter and counsel of the Nation of Nations.

(c) All territory or parts of territory owned or pos-

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essed by any organized nation and in which civilized, orderly government and safety of human life has ceased to exist; such Jurisdiction, however, shall only be in trust and temporary, the powers of government to be restored to the inhabitants when orderly government and a state of safety have been reestablished.

(d) Territory or parts of territory accepted when voluntarily and lawfully ceded, transferred, or leased to the Nation of Nations by the formal action of the regularly constituted government of any organized nation or country or with the approval of a majority of its voting inhabitants and the civilized inhabitants of such territory shall, when qualified, be granted the largest measure of self-government consistent with their character and intelligence and the world's welfare.

(e) All territory or parts of territory or waters accepted when ceded, transferred, or leased to the Nation of Nations in compliance with, or by reason or operation of any lawful award rendered in an arbitration respecting such territory or waters, to which those interested are voluntary parties.

(f) All property, rights, easements, franchises, territory, waters, straits, harbors, fortresses, and places of naval, military, or other value deemed by the Nation of Nations to be needed to enable it to properly carry out its constitutional purposes, powers, and objects or for its principal seat of government or its agencies, and which it may accept when acquired by voluntary gift, grant, lease, or purchase by mutual agreement from the nation or country owning or possessing same or by lawful arbitration award or with the formal approval of three-fourths of the representatives of the supporting nations or under the peace terms or other agreement between warring or disputing nations in disposing of the prizes or fruits of war or property or territory in controversy; the Jurisdiction in all such cases shall be sovereign and exclusive except as same may be modified or limited by the express provisions of such purchase,

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gift, grant, lease, agreement, award, approval, or peace terms.

Section 4. The Police Power Jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations shall extend throughout the world, but only for the following purposes:

(a) To prevent, suppress, or regulate armed conflicts between sovereign nations and to promote or guard the peace of the world.

(b) To prevent, suppress, or regulate armed conflicts between a sovereign nation and a portion of the inhabitants of another nation or country or between the inhabitants of parts of two or more nations or countries.

(c) To restrain, regulate, or punish any sovereign nation or country that, without the express approval of the Nation of Nations first obtained, threatens or wages or permits its inhabitants to wage a war of aggression against another sovereign nation or country or the inhabitants thereof, or that initiates and commits any unauthorized act of international hostility.

(d) To support with arms or otherwise any sovereign nation or country wrongfully attacked by another sovereign nation or country; and if the wrongfully attacked nation be one of the supporting nations in good standing, it shall be the duty of the Nation of Nations to come to the assistance of such supporting nation with arms or otherwise in accordance with the constitution, laws, regulations, and orders of the Nation of Nations.

(e) To invite and authorize other sovereign nations to support the Nation of Nations in any emergency with military and naval forces or otherwise in exercising its legal powers or in carrying out its lawful purposes; but it shall have no power to require or compel such armed support.

(f) To authorize and regulate and license the use or occupancy of the high seas and other waters and territories under its Jurisdiction by other nations and countries and their citizens, subjects, or inhabitants; and all supporting

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nations in good standing shall enjoy such use and occupancy on equal terms and conditions.

(g) To execute and enforce the constitution and lawful orders, laws, decisions, awards, or decrees of the Nation of Nations or its legally authorized courts or tribunals.

(h) To require admission of its representatives, officers, agents, and forces into any part of the territory, possessions, and waters of any nation or country for the purpose of lawful investigation and legal carrying out its constitutional functions, powers, purposes, objects, and duties, including the protection of the lives of citizens, subjects, or inhabitants of other nations therein; but the Nation of Nations in no way shall impair the sovereignty or independence or territorial integrity, or interfere in the domestic, political, educational, religious, social, industrial financial, commercial, revenue, or business affairs, of any supporting nation.

(i) To regulate, restrict, and reduce as herein provided the size and character of military and naval armaments, works, and forces of the various nations of the world, same to be done so far as practicable in a way to maintain substantially the present comparative naval and military strength and efficiency as between such nations, except that any nation may voluntarily further reduce its said strength or efficiency at will; and hereafter no nation shall at any time increase its military or naval establishment, strength, or efficiency, or offensive or defensive works or forces, or permit same to be done without first obtaining the express authorization of the Nation of Nations, and then only as so authorized.

(j) To require the immediate surrender and permanent delivery to the Nation of Nations by gift, grant, or lease with nominal rental, by each nation of the world of one half of its naval and auxiliary vessels and equipment of each class, character, value, and efficiency, of its military property, arms, munitions, and equipment; and on request

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of the Nation of Nations each nation shall provide at nominal rental for not exceeding thirty years, suitable storage and other facilities within the borders of such nation for the custody, care, and handling by the Nation of Nations of such property and additions thereto, and in every reasonable way shall co-operate with and further the lawful purposes of the Nation of Nations; any nation, however, may at its option so surrender and deliver more than one half of its property of the above character to the Nation of Nations on such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon.

(k) To create, organize, maintain, regulate, reduce, or abolish any of its military, naval, police, and other executive forces, and to accept voluntary enlistments therein of citizens, subjects, and inhabitants of any nation or country on terms and conditions fixed and required by the Nation of Nations, and to compel performance of such terms and conditions; and such armaments and forces never shall be employed or used for any purpose not expressly authorized by this constitution or by lawful orders, laws, awards, decisions, or decrees of the Nation of Nations or its legally authorized branches, courts, tribunals, officers, or representatives.

Provided, that the military or naval forces of the Nation of Nations shall not at any time include nationals of any one supporting nation in amount greater than one-fifth of the total of such forces without the express formal approval of the Supreme Senate by three-fourths vote; and no supporting nation shall be required to conscript its subjects or citizens, but its quota shall be supplied only from those who may voluntarily enlist for such service.

(l) To impose and collect from any nation or country against which the police power of the Nation of Nations has been lawfully used all or part of the cost of such action; and also any special pecuniary or other penalty approved by

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the Supreme Senate by the affirmative vote of three-fourths of all its regular members.

(m) To impose and collect from the supporting nations whenever needed by the Nation of Nations for its lawful purposes or expenses, a general or special police power tax, provided that any such tax shall be approved by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote and be apportioned between the supporting nations on the basis of their authorized representation respectively in the Supreme Senate. The Supreme Senate in the interest of justice or mercy may by two-thirds vote excuse, modify, remit, or cancel any police power tax imposed on any supporting nation, or postpone its collection.

ARTICLE III

ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The government of the Nation of Nations shall consist of four co-ordinate branches—executive, administrative, legislative, and judicial; and each branch exclusively shall exercise its own functions and powers except as herein otherwise provided.

Section 2. The executive branch shall consist of a Supreme President. The administrative branch shall consist of a Supreme Council, its regular members being Supreme Councilors. The legislative branch shall consist of a Supreme Senate, its regular members being Supreme Senators. The judicial branch shall consist of a General Supreme Court, its members being Supreme Justices and its presiding officer Supreme Chief Justice.

Section 3. There shall be the following supreme ministers at the head and in charge of the various departments, acting under control of the Supreme Council:

Supreme Minister of Peace, who shall be the chief minister of government and in charge of international relations and diplomacy.

Supreme Minister of Business.

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Supreme Minister of Justice.

Supreme Minister of Laws.

Supreme Minister of Finance.

Supreme Minister of Human Welfare.

Supreme Minister of Works and Waterways.

Supreme Minister of the Navy.

Supreme Minister of War.

No person shall hold two offices or receive two salaries, except that members of the Senate, Council, or General Supreme Court may also serve as Ministers, but while doing so shall receive salary as Minister only. Ministers shall be *ex-officio* voting members of the Supreme Council and also shall have right to a seat and a voice in the Supreme Senate, but no vote unless they are regular members of that body.

Section 4. Each official, representative, agent, and employee of the Nation of Nations shall make the following official oath or declaration:

“In the presence of the great Architect of the Universe, the supreme guardian of the peace of nations and the welfare of humanity, I hereby pledge unending loyalty to the Nation of Nations and its high purposes, and on my honor as a supreme citizen bind myself to forever observe, support, maintain, and defend its constitution, laws, and lawful orders.”

ARTICLE IV

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Section 1. The executive functions and powers shall be exercised by the Supreme President exclusively, except as otherwise herein provided. He shall be commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, and, with the advice and consent of the Supreme Council, shall appoint all officials authorized by the constitution or by law, except as otherwise herein provided; and, with the approval of the Su-

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preme Council, he may any time dismiss without stated cause any official he is hereby authorized to appoint except Supreme Justices. All such appointments and dismissals, and every official act of the Supreme President, shall be subject to ratification, rejection, revision, or substitution by the Supreme Council; and the Supreme Council shall have authority, by two-thirds vote, to require the Supreme President to perform any lawful official act it may direct.

Section 2. The Supreme President shall declare formal war against any nation, or authorize one nation to wage formal war against another nation, only when instructed to do so by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote.

When directed by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote, the Supreme President shall order and employ the armed and other executive forces and agencies of the Nation of Nations informally to execute its constitutional duties and police powers and to enforce any lawful order, law, decree, decision, or award of the Nation of Nations or its lawful courts or tribunals; provided, that the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote may suspend, stop, alter, amend, or reverse any such action.

Section 3. The Supreme President and three Supreme Vice-Presidents shall be elected and may be dismissed without stated cause or be impeached for cause by two-thirds vote of the Supreme Senate. Vacancies in such offices shall be filled in the same manner within two years. The Vice-Presidents as such shall have no executive authority; but they shall be *ex-officio* voting members of the Supreme Council.

Section 4. One of the Supreme Vice-Presidents shall be designated by two-thirds vote of the Supreme Council to be "Acting Supreme President", with full executive authority, during any unfilled vacancy in the office of Supreme President or while the Supreme President is incapacitated by sickness or absence, not exceeding two years at one time; and the Supreme Council by like two-thirds vote may

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substitute one Supreme Vice-President for another as such Acting Supreme President. No Vice-President shall exercise his privileges as *ex-officio* member of the Supreme Council while he is Acting Supreme President.

Section 5. A Supreme President shall be ineligible for re-election, but may be elected or appointed to any other office except Supreme Vice-President. The office of Past Supreme President is hereby created, and shall automatically be occupied by each former Supreme President so long as he lives except during the time he may occupy a different office, and unless impeached for cause while in office; and such Past Supreme Presidents shall be non-voting *ex-officio* members of the Supreme Senate.

Section 6. The regular governmental term of all officials shall be seven years, subject to the provisions hereof. The first term, however, shall begin on the organization of the Nation of Nations and end October thirty-first in the year A. D. 1925. Any official other than Supreme Justice, Supreme Senator, Supreme Councilor, Supreme President, and Supreme Vice-President, and any representative, agent, or employee of the Nation of Nations may be dismissed without stated cause any time by the branch, official, or department authorized to elect, appoint, or employ same, or may be dismissed without stated cause or impeached for cause by order of the Supreme Senate passed by two-thirds vote, or as otherwise herein provided. No person shall be an official of the Nation of Nations except while a supreme citizen of the Nation of Nations.

Section 7. Each branch and department of the government, except as herein otherwise provided, may employ and dismiss its own agents, representatives, and employees and prescribe the duties, conditions of service, and compensation, subject to approval, rejection, substitution, or amendment by the Supreme Council.

The salaries of all officials shall be fixed or revised by the Supreme Council, subject to the right of the Supreme

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Senate to change same by two-thirds vote within two years after official notice of such action has been given.

Section 8. The Supreme President, in person or by his legislative secretaries, may approve or veto any Act of the Supreme Senate within thirty days after its passage. If an Act is not so approved or vetoed, or is again passed by two-thirds vote of the Supreme Senate within thirty days after such veto, it shall become law.

Section 9. Every civilized, intelligent, law-abiding, and peaceful citizen, subject, or inhabitant, male or female, of any of the supporting nations in good standing with and represented in the Nation of Nations, and every person of that character who is an inhabitant of territory or waters as to which the Nation of Nations has general or special jurisdiction and who is a citizen or subject of no other nation, shall be deemed a Supreme Citizen of the Nation of Nations, and as such entitled to all of the privileges and duties of citizenship; such supreme citizenship, however, shall be automatically forfeited on loss of any of said qualifications or when the nation of such person ceases to be a supporting nation in good standing with the Nation of Nations.

ARTICLE V

THE ADMINISTRATIVE BRANCH

Section 1. The administrative functions and powers shall be exercised by the Supreme Council exclusively, except as otherwise herein provided. Its formal public Acts shall be called Supreme Orders, and have the authority, force, and effect of general public laws enacted by the Supreme Senate. All official acts of the Supreme Council not intended to have the authority, force, and effect of general public laws shall be deemed informal and called Administrative Orders, resolutions, or motions. Supreme Orders shall be made public; and Administrative Orders,

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resolutions, and motions may be made public or kept temporarily private, as the Supreme Council shall direct.

The Supreme President in person or by his legislative secretaries may approve or veto any Supreme Order, Administrative Order, resolution, or motion of the Supreme Council adopted by the affirmative votes of less than two-thirds of the voting members. If this is not done within thirty days, or same is again adopted by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote within thirty days after such veto, it shall become effective.

The Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote any time may suspend, amend, or repeal any Supreme Order or Administrative Order, resolution, or motion of the Supreme Council, or postpone indefinitely or to a future date named the time same shall become effective.

Section 2. The Supreme Council may meet and act in public or in executive session, and may punish for contempt any councilor or other person making any unauthorized disclosure or publicity of proceedings or acts the Supreme Council has decided shall temporarily be private.

The Supreme Council shall determine the time, place, and duration of its regular meetings. Special meetings shall be held on order of the Supreme Senate, Supreme President, or Supreme Council, or on written request signed by a majority of its members.

The Supreme Council may adopt rules for the regulation of its own business, proceedings, and conduct, and that of all officials, agents, representatives, employees, boards, bureaus, commissions, committees, and other bodies under its jurisdiction or control.

Section 3. The Supreme Council shall consist of the Supreme Vice-Presidents and Supreme Ministers as voting *ex-officio* members and fourteen regular members, two appointed each year, one by the Supreme President with the advice and consent of the Supreme Council and the other by the Supreme Senate, except that in the first in-

stance the Supreme President and Supreme Senate each shall appoint seven members, to serve one, two, three, four, five, six, and seven years, respectively, provided, that if regular sessions of the Supreme Senate are not held each year, it may appoint two councilors every two years, one to begin to serve that year and the other a year later. Vacancies shall be filled in the same way within two years.

Section 4. Any councilor appointed by the executive branch may be dismissed without stated cause by the Supreme President with the approval of the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote, and any councilor appointed by the legislative branch may be dismissed without stated cause by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote.

The Supreme Council by two-thirds vote may dismiss any Supreme Minister without stated cause, or same may be done by the Supreme President with the approval of the Supreme Council.

Any regular or *ex-officio* member of the Supreme Council may be suspended and barred from active service for not more than two years at one time for cause, after due hearing by the Supreme Council, by two-thirds vote; and when the Supreme Council after such hearing has suspended or refused to suspend the member, the matter may be brought by appeal before the General Supreme Court by petition of the member involved or any other member of the Supreme Council, and that court shall make final decision of the matter on its merits.

Section 5. Except as otherwise herein provided, the Supreme Council shall have exclusive authority to authorize the expenditure of moneys, make appropriations, general and specific; incur liabilities and obligations, and secure and pay same; borrow money, on government bonds or otherwise, on the faith and credit of the Nation of Nations; issue, secure, redeem, and reissue national currency, and make same legal tender lawful money; issue credit instruments and regulate their value, payment, and use; coin

metallic money and coins, and regulate the value and use thereof; make foreign coin and currency full or limited legal tender; provide against counterfeiting and other monetary frauds; devise and adopt sound monetary, banking, and international exchange systems, and authorize their extension into other countries when it deems that course advisable; unite or co-operate with other nations in joint monetary, banking, and credit arrangements; provide gold and other reserves, maintain the gold standard of value, and keep all national currency, coin, and credit instruments on a par with gold in value; *and create, maintain and administer gold reserves and monetary systems of its own, or as trustee or agent for other nations or persons, with the object of stabilizing, strengthening or safeguarding world financial, commercial and business conditions to impartially promote the prosperity and welfare of all peoples.*

Section 6. Except as otherwise herein provided, the Supreme Council exclusively shall control, direct, manage, and administer the business and affairs of the Nation of Nations through its own body and subordinate agencies, officials, representatives, agents, and employees, and regulate private business within the *special* jurisdiction of the Nation of Nations; and it shall provide public revenues for the support and conduct of the Nation of Nations and its military, naval, and executive forces, and carrying out its purposes and duties and exercising its police powers, such revenues to be raised by direct police power tax on supporting nations, international commerce tax for use of the high seas and waters, tariff or customs tax, revenue, income, and monetary taxes, or otherwise; and any such direct police power tax shall be imposed upon all supporting nations and be apportioned between them on the basis of their authorized representation respectively in the Supreme Senate; such revenue measures to be in form of Supreme Orders that may be passed, modified, or repealed by the Supreme Council. The Supreme Senate, however, by two-thirds vote, may

suspend, modify, veto, or repeal such measures, and in the interest of justice or mercy may remit, reduce, cancel, or postpone the collection of any police power tax levied against any nation.

Section 7. Treaties and agreements between the Nation of Nations and other nations shall be negotiated and executed by the Supreme Minister of Peace or his authorized subordinates; but before same shall become effective or binding upon the Nation of Nations, they must be ratified by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote. Ambassadors and other representatives and agents of the Nation of Nations sent to other countries shall be subordinates and in charge of the Supreme Minister of Peace, subject to the orders of the Supreme Council. The representatives of other nations accredited as ambassadors or ministers to the Nation of Nations shall at all times be satisfactory to the Minister of Peace, with whom, exclusively, they shall deal, and to the Supreme Council.

A copy of every treaty, agreement or understanding between any two or more nations shall be promptly registered with the Nation of Nations and made public at once, and until so registered it shall not be legally effective; and hereafter any treaty, agreement or understanding between nations, which in any way is inconsistent with this constitution or lawful laws or orders passed thereunder, shall be void, and of no force or binding effect.

ARTICLE VI

THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Section 1. The legislative functions and powers, except as herein otherwise provided, shall be exercised exclusively by the Supreme Senate, its legislative Acts to be called Supreme Laws.

The Supreme Senate, except as herein otherwise provided, shall have exclusive authority to enact, amend, or repeal, by two-thirds vote, all international laws for the

regulation of the conduct of nations toward each other pertaining to the herein defined constitutional objects, purposes, jurisdiction, function, or powers of the Nation of Nations; and such laws shall protect and be binding upon and control the conduct of all supporting nations of the world and the inhabitants thereof. Other supreme laws, acts, or action of the Supreme Senate shall be passed by majority vote, except as otherwise herein provided. The international and other laws, orders, acts, decrees, decisions, and awards, and the action or conduct of the Nation of Nations or its courts, tribunals, branches, officials, agents, or representatives, shall be construed, questioned, tried, or enforced only by the courts, tribunals, and branches of the Nation of Nations.

Until, and except as, the Supreme Senate shall otherwise provide by law, the principles of recognized international law and of the Common law and Equity, civil and criminal, shall prevail and govern where the Nation of Nations has special jurisdiction and in its courts and proceedings.

Section 2. The Supreme Senate shall be composed only of Past Supreme Presidents and Supreme Ministers, as non-voting *ex-officio* members, and regular members, called Supreme Senators, elected or appointed by the various supporting nations or governments entitled, as herein provided, to representation in the Nation of Nations.

The supporting nations shall be entitled to representation only in the Supreme Senate, and shall not participate in the appointment or election of the members of the other three branches of the Nation of Nations or any of its departments, courts, tribunals, officials, representatives, agents, or employees.

The basis of representation by the authorized supporting nations in the Supreme Senate of the Nation of Nations shall be as follows:

Qualified nations with less than twenty million popu-

lation shall each have one representative; those having more than twenty million, but less than fifty million, shall each have three representatives; those having fifty million or more population shall each have *nine* representatives. *Only fully self-governing countries, including Dominions and Colonies, having two million or more inhabitants shall be eligible to representation.* This basis of representation never shall be changed, by amendment of this constitution or otherwise, without the formal official approval of at least three fourths of the *representatives of the nations* in good standing and represented in the Nation of Nations.

Section 3. The Supreme Senate, by the affirmative vote of three-fourths of all its qualified regular members, may invoke and adopt the Supreme Veto, and thereby annul any specified official act, order, decision, or decree of the executive, administrative, or judicial branches, or of any department, court, tribunal, official representative, agent, or employee of the Nation of Nations; and by like vote may invoke and adopt the Supreme Mandate, and thereby require the executive, administrative, or judicial branches, or any department, court, tribunal, official, agent, representative, or employee to perform any lawful act or make any order, decision, or decree specified in such Supreme Mandate and that is authorized or permitted by this constitution.

Section 4. The power to impeach and remove from office, or otherwise punish for cause, the Supreme President, Supreme Vice-Presidents, Supreme Councilors, Supreme Senators, Supreme Justices, and Supreme Ministers shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be exercised by the Supreme Senate, exclusively, by two-thirds vote, except that it shall require the affirmative vote of three-fourths of all members of the Supreme Senate to remove from office or suspend for more than one year a member of that body. The Supreme Senate may itself conduct such impeachment trial, or it may delegate same to a com-

mittee of its members or to a judicial tribunal appointed by the General Supreme Court to hear the testimony and report same, with recommendation, to the Supreme Senate for decision.

The impeachment, trial, or punishment of any other official, agent, representative, or employee for cause shall, unless otherwise herein provided, be conducted by, or under the direction of, and be decided by the Supreme Council by two-thirds vote; and said Supreme Council may refer the matter for hearing, report, and recommendation to a committee of its members or to a judicial tribunal appointed by the General Supreme Court.

Provided, that the impeachment, trial, or punishment for cause of any official, agent, representative, or employee appointed by or serving under the judicial branch shall be conducted by the General Supreme Court or its tribunals exclusively.

Impeachment for cause shall be based only on violation of the oath or declaration of office; disloyalty to the constitutional purposes, functions, powers, or lawful acts, laws, orders, decrees, decisions, or awards of the Nation of Nations or its branches, tribunals, or officials; misfeasance, malfeasance, or corruption in office; commission of serious crime other than of a political character, and refusal or neglect, for an unreasonable time, to perform the duties of office or employment.

The Supreme Senate, Supreme Council, and General Supreme Court each shall have power to discipline or punish its own members for contempt for any offense committed in its presence while in session, or for violation of its rules; and others for refusal to obey its lawful authority or orders. Any authorized judicial or quasi judicial tribunal of the Nation of Nations shall have power to adjudge and punish for any legal contempt, subject to the right of appeal to the next higher court for reversal or approval.

Section 5. Regular sessions of the Supreme Senate

shall be held as often as every two years, at such times and place as that body, by law, shall determine; and special sessions shall be held whenever it shall, by resolution, order, or on call of the Supreme President by order of the Supreme Council, or on written request signed by a majority of the regular Supreme Senators. Its sessions may be suspended or adjourned by majority vote, and ended by two-thirds vote. A majority of the regular members shall constitute a quorum necessary for the transaction of business. It may adopt rules to regulate the conduct of its proceedings. It shall elect its presiding officer, the Supreme Speaker. It shall, by law, provide governmental machinery, agencies, and means for carrying out the purposes for which the Nation of Nations was created.

ARTICLE VII

THE JUDICIAL BRANCH

Section 1. The General Supreme Court, as the judicial branch, shall, unless otherwise herein provided, exclusively exercise the judicial functions and powers, and devise, adopt, alter, control, and direct a suitable judicial system and procedure for the Nation of Nations.

It shall be the supreme authority for construing, interpreting, and judicially enforcing this constitution, international laws, usages, customs, and treaties, and the laws, orders, and acts of the Nation of Nations and its branches, tribunals, official agents, and representatives.

The General Supreme Court, in judicial session, or its subordinate courts and tribunals, may, on request, and when it approves, act as a court of final authority and appeal from the decisions of the Supreme Court of any supporting nation on any question of international law or justice, or as a court or tribunal of arbitration of any dispute or difference between nations that is submitted voluntarily by the nations concerned; and in such cases its decision or award shall be final, and be enforced, when

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necessary, by the police or executive power of the Nation of Nations.

Section 2. The General Supreme Court shall consist of fifteen members, called Supreme Justices, not more than three of whom shall be citizens or subjects of any one supporting nation. They shall be appointed, and vacancies shall be filled, by the Supreme President, with the advice and consent of the Supreme Council. Supreme Justices shall serve for life, or until incapacitated by infirmity or retirement for age, unless sooner impeached and removed for cause or dismissed without stated cause by the Supreme Senate by two-thirds vote or by the Supreme President with the approval of the Supreme Council and Supreme Senate by majority votes. The General Supreme Court, in business session, may impeach and remove any Supreme Justice or Past Supreme Justice for cause, or punish him for any contempt committed in the presence of such court. It may request the Supreme Senate to remove, without stated cause, any Supreme Justice it deems incompetent or who refuses or neglects to diligently, faithfully, honestly, or impartially perform his official duties.

Section 3. After any Supreme Justice has attained the age of sixty years, he may be retired from active service at his own request, or at the will of the General Supreme Court in business session. When so retired, a Supreme Justice shall become Past Supreme Justice, which office he shall occupy during life at two thirds the regular salary of Supreme Justice, unless he shall resign or be impeached and removed for cause. Past Supreme Justices, on request, shall advise the General Supreme Court and its members, and perform special judicial services assigned by that body or its presiding officer.

Section 4. The General Supreme Court, in business session, shall devise, adopt, and thereafter direct, a general judicial system that in its judgment will best further the constitutional purposes of the Nation of Nations; and it

may, in its discretion, alter, amend, or change the same. To that end, it may from time to time create subordinate courts and tribunals, with such jurisdiction, powers, limitations, and procedure as it may determine; and appoint or dismiss at will the judges, arbitrators, and other officials, agents, and employees of such judicial system; and, subject to the approval of the Supreme Council, may fix their salaries and compensation.

The General Supreme Court may devise, adopt, and change supreme judicial rules to regulate its proceedings and those of its subordinate courts and tribunals, and to govern the action of its judges and other officials, agents, representatives, and employees.

Section 5. The General Supreme Court, when performing judicial duties, shall sit in judicial session, and when hearing any cause may consist of all its members or such number and members as the General Supreme Court or Supreme Chief Justice may assign for the purpose. Its decisions in judicial session shall be final, except that when the cause was heard and decided by less than two-thirds of the Supreme Justices it may at the option of the General Supreme Court be reheard and redecided by a larger number of justices.

When not in judicial session, the General Supreme Court shall sit and act in business session, when a majority of the Supreme Justices shall constitute a quorum necessary for the transaction of business.

Section 6. The Supreme Senate or Supreme Council, by two-thirds vote, may submit to the General Supreme Court in judicial session, for its informal opinion or formal construction and decision, any question pertaining to the constitutional or lawful powers, purposes, limitations, or duties of the Nation of Nations, or its branches, tribunals, courts, officials, agents, representatives, or employees, or any existing or proposed constitutional provision, law, order, or action, or any international law, usage, custom, regula-

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tion, or treaty, without first waiting for a legal controversy over the matter to arise.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT

Section 1. This constitution, or any part thereof, may be amended any time by the affirmative vote of three-fourths of the regular members of the Supreme Senate and three-fourths of the members of the Supreme Council and three-fourths of the members of the General Supreme Court;

Provided, that any amendment so adopted that changes the basis of representation of supporting nations in the Supreme Senate shall not be effective until officially approved by three-fourths of the representatives of all supporting nations in good standing and represented in the Nation of Nations.

The peoples of the world want wars between nations abolished. They are sincere, honest and whole-hearted in that desire, and ready to make any reasonable concession or sacrifice to that end.

If the political statesmen and rulers of governments were as unselfish, sincere and honest in this matter as their peoples, international wars could easily be, and quickly would be, abolished forever by the creation of a mutual Nation of Nations in accordance with the above Supreme Constitution. The people now should force their statesmen and rulers to so act.

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Following is the outline of a suggested plan for obtaining a League of Nations, reduction of armaments and permanent world peace, written August 10, 1914, and submitted to President Woodrow Wilson, August 18, 1914; by Alfred Owen Crozier:

THE WORLD WAR—AND AFTER.

The United States will take a leading part in ending the prevailing world-war. It is the only strong nation in position to be an umpire acceptable to all warring nations. President Wilson recognized this fact in tendering his good offices.

This nation should use its dominant influence for a plan that will insure permanent peace, without insanely large universal armaments. It must not help patch up a mere temporary armed truce that can only mean a still greater war later and unbearable burdens upon all humanity meantime. Now that war is unavoidable and in progress, it should be allowed to proceed until all nations so clearly realize the futility and folly of war that they will gladly co-operate in adopting a settlement of past differences and a plan of future action that will make another great international conflict forever impossible. That course will sacrifice more lives now, but less in the end; and it will rescue the world from perpetual strife and insure the onward march of true civilization until it reaches its divine goal.

"FRUITS OF VICTORY."

There will be alternate victories and defeats on either side—many of them. The struggle may go on until ammunition and supplies are largely exhausted and all combatants are weakened and unable effectively to continue. On the other hand, the accidents of war may suddenly result in a victory for one side or the other that will be overwhelming and decisive. One must finally suffer defeat and the other win success. Then will come the necessity

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of agreeing upon terms. The "fruits of victory" will be claimed by the victors, who will desire to impose on the vanquished the penalties of defeat.

The actors alone should not be allowed to settle that question. The whole world is interested in having the adjustment such that its provisions will not of necessity result in another and perhaps greater disturbance of the world's peace at some future time. Because innocent neutral nations suffer greatly from war, they have a moral right as a third party to have a voice, and perhaps a dominant voice, in framing the terms of peace. They should not allow the victor to gain territory and power that would be likely to tempt it to become a wanton aggressor at a future time, to the disadvantage of all nations, or that may cause renewal of hostilities by the defeated nations at a later day after they have again become strong. Peaceful nations have a right to enjoy the benefits of universal peace and to demand the adjustment most likely to avoid future wars.

Any settlement that puts one race in political bondage to another will mean increased friction and race hatred and ultimate rebellion instead of peace, contentment, and happiness. The welfare of mankind and the highest good of civilization as a whole should be the guiding principles in the negotiations and agreement. Passion, greed, excessive selfishness, and revenge are things that must be sternly repressed and not allowed to control. Only the neutral powers will be able to do this. It will be a difficult duty, but unless it is done, permanent peace will be impossible.

The questions at issue should not be settled or adjusted on the field of battle while passion rules and unreasoning hate would demand unfair and unwise terms. Money indemnity might perhaps be at once agreed upon, but the adjustment of territorial and armament matters and other vital questions should be left for decision to a deliberative conference in which neutral powers would be represented

and possess the balance of power. Even the victors can be made to realize that their future peace and welfare will depend upon the settlement, provided they do not themselves arbitrarily fix the terms hastily and before the blood of battle has cooled.

The United States, without desiring or accepting anything for itself, at the right moment should bend its energies toward reference of all matters in dispute to a properly constituted world's conference or congress for decision. It should also insist that the nations agree that such conference shall have power to formulate a definite plan that will absolutely and permanently safeguard the future peace of the world. Anything short of that will mean greater armaments, higher tax burdens, and more war.

FIGHTING FOR PEACE.

The remark of the man who said he would have peace if he had to fight to get it is no longer a joke. Ten nations with seventeen million armed soldiers in the year of our Lord 1914 are doing that very thing. They are all fighting for peace. Each claims that it did not want to fight and that the other began the conflict. All say they are fighting for civilization with God on their particular side. Assuming that each nation at least thinks it is stating the truth, then the war is an accident that is likely to kill millions of human beings and wipe out countless billions of treasure. All concerned, including neutrals, are chiefly anxious to make another such accident forever impossible.

This world-wide war will be a failure for all, no matter which side wins, if it fails to secure permanent general disarmament and limitation of future preparation for war and the abolition of offensive and defensive alliances between nations by removing all necessity for such fighting alliances.

The problem of peace and protection against war can not be solved by ever-increasing armaments, mutual prom-

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ises, or The Hague Peace tribunal. The failure of the plan of guaranteeing peace by individual force or by alliance is shown by the prevailing war. As the plan of getting peace by talking peace and promising to arbitrate differences would be inadequate, a new plan must be devised if the world is to ever have permanent peace.

If the combined wisdom of the world can not work out and adopt such a plan, then mankind is impotent and civilization a failure, and we must go on forever killing each other my millions to settle quarrels that at the beginning usually are petty and insignificant. I have faith in the intelligence and general good intentions of the people of all countries, and believe they can and will act to provide an effective remedy, because it is the people who bear the brunt and burdens of war. They will be likely to abolish any ruler who stands in the way of their attaining permanent peace.

Government by the consent of the governed is likely to be advanced by this war and ultimately prevail throughout the world. Meantime the plan devised must absolutely protect the rank and file of the people and all peaceful countries against the possibility of war being started by some individual ruler who may apply the match to the powder while temporarily drunk with power or wine, or may be possessed of an insane desire to glorify himself in the world's history by means of war and conquest. The world no longer can afford to depend wholly upon the will of any one man for peace and prosperity.

A GOVERNMENT OF GOVERNMENTS.

The nations are not ready to merge into a universal republic with the various countries as self-governing subordinate states. Political and race conditions and antagonism, intensified by this war, make actual union of the warring nations impossible.

Alliances or contracts between governments have caused

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instead of prevented war. The United States, for one, never will enter into entangling offensive and defensive alliances to preserve peace or avoid war. No nation should be forced to do so by circumstances or otherwise. Such alliances give one the power to involve both in actual war against the desire and judgment of the other.

Treaties, arbitration agreements, and other mere promises between individual nations never can be an absolute guarantee of peace or insurance against war. They are useful, help to a better understanding, and often delay hostilities; but when the inevitable clash comes, they are always found to be mere ropes of sand. They bind the virtuous but not the vicious government.

The world must now have practical means to stay the hand of the nation or ruler that would make war on a neighbor without just cause. There must be an authority authorized to hear and decide all serious or vital international differences, with right to make a decision binding upon the disputing nations. And such central authority must have power under its exclusive control to enforce compliance with its decision by the nations concerned. Without means to back its decisions or decrees by force—adequate force—it would be impotent and useless for the purpose in view. It would be like a law without a penalty or police power to enforce it.

The supreme need of this grave hour is a world's police power with authority and means to regulate the conduct of nations toward each other and armed force sufficient to insure that no nation ever will disobey its orders or violate the world's peace on any pretext without the consent of such supreme police power.

That power should be a Government of governments. It must be over and above all governments. In it and back of it must be the moral power and sovereign force of every nation in the world.

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THE WORLD'S COUNCIL.

The "Council of the World," "Council of Nations," or whatever its name may be, should not be a mere conference or loose federation of nations. It should be a real government with the usual functions, a representative government framed on the general plan stated in the Constitution of the United States, with such changes as conditions may make necessary. Every civilized nation should be represented in such government on some equitable and practicable basis to be agreed upon by a conference of nations called to adjust and settle the issues of the prevailing war and to frame a plan to insure permanent peace.

The duties and powers of this world government shall be clearly defined in its written constitution, framed by such conference and ratified by the various nations, same to be binding upon all when, say, two-thirds or three-fourths of the nations have approved the same. Its powers should be restricted and limited to vital differences between nations, including all questions of "national honor." The Council of Nations should have no authority to interfere in the internal affairs of any nation, except to the extent of protecting the rights of other nations against injury due to civil conflict. It shall be merely a central police power to protect every nation against unjust aggression by any other nation, and thus safeguard all nations and bestow upon the whole world forever the blessings of universal and permanent peace and prosperity. That is all.

The Council of the World should rule over no territory. It should possess no land except the title or lease of such naval stations, harbors, and military quarters as may be necessary for the proper accommodation and disposition of its armed sea and land forces.

It may be found necessary or advisable in the settlement to turn over to the Council of Nations certain disputed strategic fortresses or places involved in this conflict that might tend to cause a future renewal of hostilities, if other-

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wise disposed of. This might help to make the Council of Nations a sort of universal "buffer state," getting the nations together by keeping them apart and reducing the shock and friction between them to a minimum.

The Council of Nations should have its headquarters in some one country—the United States, The Hague, or other convenient place—and a suitable branch in every country. It shall not rule over peoples or empires, but merely over the corporate governments of the world respecting only the matters set forth in its constitution or charter of existence.

GENERAL DISARMAMENT.

The mortgage on the human race in form of bonds of governments exceeds thirty-nine billion dollars. It will be increased several billions by this war. All is payable in gold, principal and interest, yet there is only seven billion dollars of gold in the world and less than half that available for commercial use.

This debt never can be paid, or even reduced, while the nations maintain their present naval and military establishments. This prodigious burden increases steadily even in times of peace. If it goes on, compound interest may double the principal every fifteen to thirty years forever. All peoples will sink deeper and deeper into this slavery of hopeless debt unless the world quickly comes to its senses and accomplishes general disarmament and provides against rearmament.

The people of every land want disarmament and reduced tax burdens and relief from other things inflicted by war and the fear of war. Every government claims to favor disarmament or at least reduction, if it can be done in a way that will not change the relative fighting strength of the nations. The United States favors it, but will not practice it while other nations are increasing their armies and navies. It would be suicide to do so. If some plan of general disarmament is not adopted, this republic should

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and will build a navy larger than that of any other country, and, if the fatal offensive and defensive alliance program continues, larger than any two or three other nations combined. It has the money or resources, and surely will do it if necessary.

In a world containing jealous and envious nations, all armed to the teeth, such a navy is the cheapest and only practicable insurance of the republic against attack and guarantee of peace. The above is true in spite of the fact that the United States does not covet or desire an acre possessed by any other country, and bears no ill-will or desire for trouble with any nation on earth. But, unfortunately, it must play the martial game while it lasts, because it also is a helpless victim of that strange doctrine that peace is the fruit only of frequent wars and preparation for war.

The only reason general disarmament, at least partial, has not already been accomplished is that no one has invented a practical plan that was acceptable to all nations and would not change their relative military and naval strength. Such a plan must now be devised and adopted. This war will make that imperative, the people of all countries will demand it. It is the one opportunity for civilization to prove that it is a real civilization and can work out and impose upon the entire world a practical and effective plan that will greatly reduce the armament of each nation and also insure the world against future increase of armaments by any of the nations. This can be done easily and quickly, and in the most simple manner.

A WORLD NAVY.

The conference that creates the permanent Council of Nations should require every nation to turn over to such world government, by gift or lease, a substantial portion of all its best naval and military equipment, to be held and used as an effective police power to prevent all future wars between individual nations not authorized by the Council of

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Nations. This combined force will be greater than the force of any nation or any two or three nations. Its size can be steadily reduced as the nations reduce and dispense with their remaining armaments and future conditions justify. The combined military organization should be relatively small, made up largely of trained officers of various nations—a skeleton army; but each country shall maintain a small force, subject to call and use by the Council of Nations, to sustain its authority and enforce its orders anywhere in the world. The expense or cost of the Government of Governments shall be equitably apportioned between the nations.

The various details and the form, scope, and powers of the Council of Nations, of course, must be carefully worked out by the world's conference after study and thought and world-wide discussion. This plan at least would provide means for uniting the great and powerful moral sentiment of the people of all nations and bringing that tremendous force quickly to bear direct upon the evils to be removed for the safety of each country and the good of civilization as a whole.

It is easy to see that in some respects this plan is not ideal, or desirable if a better one can be devised. There will be great difficulties to surmount. But the solution of such grave problems in a crisis usually is a choice of evils, and better than doing nothing.

Any plan of this character, so devised and adopted, is certain to be carefully framed to safeguard the reasonable and legitimate rights of all concerned. It will provide against all possibility of abuse, and, therefore, in the absence of another and more feasible plan, will be likely to give fairly general satisfaction. With the administration and powers divided between and exercised by the joint action of representatives of so many countries not specially interested in a particular dispute that may arise between any two nations, the system should safely check and balance the use of the functions of the Council of Nations and guard

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against unfair discrimination and insure exact justice to all concerned. No nation will then care to outlaw itself in the eyes of all nations by running amuck or seeking to use the Council of Nations in any way to gain unfair advantage over another nation, weak or strong.

The friendly fraternizing of representatives of all nations and races for mutual benefit, on terms of equality and for a high and noble purpose, is an important advantage of this plan. This in itself may solve many problems and ward off many dangers, because every nation and person is in fact better than some prejudiced minds realize. If nations and races were better acquainted, they would be better friends.

If this plan, or some modification of it, can be adopted and used in the right spirit, every act being open and before the whole world, it will tend powerfully to bind up the wounds of nations caused by this war and allay race hatred, envy, and jealousy, and be a long step toward final attainment of the brotherhood of man and the golden rule in intercourse between nations.

No other human road seems open and ready for the approach of that desired millennium when the teachings and spirit of the Nazarine shall prevail in the hearts and affairs of all mankind.

Before this suggested plan is dismissed from thought and consideration as unwise or impractical, it is earnestly hoped that the reader will at least try to think of another that will be better and more certain of adoption. Some plan must be devised soon, and the welfare of the whole world depends upon its wisdom.

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER.

College Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio.

August 10, 1914.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The following letter refers to the foregoing document :

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, September 17, 1914

MR. ALFRED O. CROZIER,
Wilmington, Delaware.

Sir:

The Secretary of State directs me to acknowledge the receipt, by reference from the White House, of your letter of August 18th, enclosing your article entitled "The World War—And After," and in reply to inform you that this is not a matter regarding which the Department should express an opinion. As the article may be desired by you, it is returned herewith.

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

1 Enc.

MANTON M. WYDELL,

as above stated.

Private Secretary.

LETTER TO GENERAL PEACE CONGRESS

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER,

140 Cedar Street,

NEW YORK, March 18, 1919.

GENERAL PEACE CONGRESS,

PARIS, FRANCE.

DEAR SIRs:

According to a letter dated February 11, 1919, from the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the memorial dated January 22, 1919, which I had the honor of addressing to you, was received and no doubt duly considered by you, for which please accept my earnest thanks.

The plan therein briefly outlined for a very limited and simple form of representative international government, a mutual Nation of Nations with strong central police power to maintain order in the family of nations and insure permanent peace, is more fully described in my volume, "League of Nations," just off the press, a copy of which I take the liberty of mailing to you today. In it you will

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find tentative draft of a complete Supreme Constitution for such a government.

A Nation of Nations of that character would provide in usual form the efficient machinery needed and be an effective anti-war organization controlled and managed by the regular representatives of all countries chosen for that purpose. Its only object would be to prevent international war and establish justice. It would not interfere in the domestic affairs, or impair the sovereignty of any nation. Any country safely could join, because no nation could be required, although it could be invited, to render armed assistance. The Nation of Nations would police the world with its own ample police power acting under its exclusive direction.

The proposed League of Nations Constitution now pending before you would, as you so well know, create legally merely an ordinary treaty alliance like the Entente or Triple alliances, only bigger, same being given the name "League of Nations." In no respect would it be a real government, and its charter should be called a treaty and not a "Constitution." It would, we feel, be precisely the kind of "entangling foreign alliance" against which the American people were warned by Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. And I am very certain it would be relentlessly and successfully opposed by the United States Senate and a large majority of the American people.

The people of this country, however, would almost unanimously support a League of Nations of a character they considered safe and efficient, and make heavy sacrifices gladly to help the great peoples of Europe solve their life and death problem of peace and war. But, in my judgment, they never will do it under any treaty alliance. If the nations of Europe and Asia want the assistance of the United States, or must have it as is claimed, they should be willing to cooperate in setting up and permanently managing a simple form of sound and permanent representative Nation of Nations to safely combine the moral and physical

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power of all nations that it may be used under mutual direction to render common and impartial protection to all peoples against war.

Therefore we earnestly urge that you so change the pending constitution that it will create a genuine government and not a treaty alliance.

Faithfully and hopefully yours,

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER.

LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER,

140 Cedar Street,

NEW YORK, March 18, 1919.

HONORABLE WOODROW WILSON,

PARIS, FRANCE.

DEAR SIR:

It is my duty and pleasure to transmit herewith for your information and consideration a copy of the communication I have this day mailed, addressed to the General Peace Congress, and under separate cover a copy of the book "League of Nations."

The manuscript of this volume (most of it) was twice sent to you for any use you might consider would help the League of Nations cause. Evidently it never reached you, as my later and many former letters did. The White House returned it the first time, early in December, 1918. The State Department returned it the second time, in January, 1919, after it was mailed to you at Paris. Believing the facts therein are important, and entitled to be heard and considered, I have exercised the other alternative by publishing same, and trust they may be helpful in ultimately obtaining for this distressed and stricken world a league of nations of the right legal character and efficiency so that wars may be abolished.

With highest respect, and anxious hopes, I am,

Faithfully yours,

ALFRED OWEN CROZIER.

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