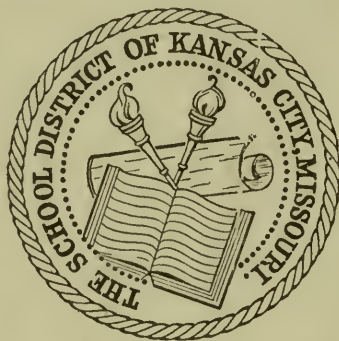


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ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



Such Unpopularity Must Be Deserved



From Baltimore Sun, December 13, 1927

Price 30¢

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

Founded 1828 from Societies some of which began in 1815.

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

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No. 1

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THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonprofit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness will be fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, during the early days of May, 1928. The Century Celebration will be the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

MEMBERSHIPS

The classes of membership and dues are: Annual Membership, \$5; Sustaining Membership, \$10; Contributing Membership, \$25; Institutional Membership, \$25; Life Membership \$100.

All memberships include a full subscription to the monthly magazine of the Society, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.

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NATURE OF THE CENTEN- NIAL CELEBRATION

THE spirit of the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, May 7-11 next, clearly appears in the invitation which the Society is preparing to extend to all of its members. That invitation will urge that the members of the American Peace Society, after carefulest consideration, in conference assembled, lay before the Board of Directors their best views as to the aims and methods of the Society, now and for the immediate future. It is in this spirit that the program of the coming celebration is being developed.

That proper opportunity may be offered and results achieved, it is now clear that the Conference will have to consist of three major divisions, having to do with the general public, with special Commissions, and with the one hundredth annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.

The public will be admitted to the general sessions as far as the seating capacity permits.

The Commissions will be six in number, each with conferences dealing with the following aspects of human endeavor, representing a rather inclusive transection of public opinion: First, there will be a series of Commission Conferences, devoted to the international implications of *Industry*, to which delegates will be invited from trade bodies, manufacturers, labor groups, bankers' associations, and kindred

organizations. Second, another on *International Justice*, to which delegates will be invited from the legislative, the executive, and judicial departments of the government, from bar associations, international law societies, teachers of international law, and the like. Third, another on *Methods of Settling International Disputes* — past, present, and future — to which delegates will be invited from peace and patriotic organizations. Fourth, another on *Education*, to which delegates will be invited from schools, colleges, universities, learned societies, and the press. Fifth, another on *Religion*, to which delegates will be invited from the churches and other religious groups. Sixth, another on *Social Agencies*, with delegates from the various groups of social workers, such as specialize in the social sciences, the American Association of Social Workers, charities, libraries, and parent-teachers' associations. Interest already shown in the coming Centennial clearly indicates that the invitation from the Centennial Celebration Committee will be generously accepted from a large number of these bodies.

There will be the annual meeting, through a number of sessions, of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society. At this meeting the Board will receive the annual reports of the officers, the recommendations of the conference, and take such action upon these reports, recommendations, or other matters as the Board may see fit. The Board of Di-

rectors, under the Society's Constitution, is the only body capable of speaking for the American Peace Society.

Official delegates shall be the duly accredited members of the American Peace Society. As such they will have the privilege of the floor and the right to vote in the commissions and in the general sessions.

Associate delegates will have the privilege of attending the commissions and the general sessions and, where agreeable to the official delegates, of participating in the discussions.

All delegates, official or associate, will have the right to reserved seats in all sessions of the conference, commission or general.

It has already been found necessary to adopt the plan of sending out tickets, which the various delegates will have to exchange for reserved seats at all sessions to be held in the Public Auditorium. Of course, all members of the American Peace Society will be given an opportunity to obtain, as official delegates, reserved seats before the invitations go out to the general public. Arrangements, under the rules of the railroads, have been made for a special passenger rate of one and one-half fare for the round trip to Cleveland for all delegates. In order that these efforts to meet the wishes of the members of the Society may be effective, it will be necessary, however, that all prospective delegates notify the officers, with headquarters at the Hotel Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio, of their plans at the earliest possible moment, certainly not later than March 1st next. After that date it is probable that all members of the Society will be on the same basis as non-members, so far as seating privileges and other rights are concerned. In the meantime, the officials are reserving the largest possible block of seats for the members of the Society.

The management is pleased to announce that Dr. James Brown Scott, former solicitor of our Department of State and former President of the Institute of International Law, well-known authority on international matters, has accepted the chairmanship of the Program Committee.

Thus, it will appear, the Cleveland celebration in honor of the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society is to be an event of importance. It is the first opportunity offered since the war for the members and other friends of the American Peace Society to meet, to discuss, and to aid the Society in its desire to profit by counsel, to revise, to enlarge, and to improve its service as an effective agency for the promotion of a world order, better in the coming century than has been possible through the hundred years now past.

THE CELEBRATION IN MAINE

PEOPLE interested in the American Peace Society will not need to be reminded that the Legislature of the State of Maine unanimously voted last March a joint resolution heartily endorsing the efforts of the American Peace Society to recall and honor the memory and services of William Ladd, the founder of this Society. In this resolution the Legislature requested the Governor of the State to express to the American Peace Society the appreciation of the people of Maine for its purpose thus to honor its former illustrious citizen, and to do what he may consider lawfully proper to aid such efforts. The resolution also requested the Governor to appoint a committee to aid in such a commemoration, and provided that the American Peace Society be invited to hold its Centennial exercises in whole or in part in the State of Maine; and, finally, that the resolution itself be given the widest publicity, "to the end

that the interest and support of every loyal citizen of Maine, especially of her boys and girls, may be enlisted in this most worthy memorial celebration."

Under date of December 13, Governor Ralph O. Brewster wrote to the Secretary of this Society the following letter:

"In accordance with the resolution of the Eighty-third Legislature of the State of Maine, and in compliance with the unanimous desire of the committee in charge of the Sesquicentennial of the birth of William Ladd, it is a pleasure to extend to the American Peace Society a most cordial invitation to participate, to such extent as they may find convenient and advisable, in the exercises which it is planned to carry out in the State of Maine this coming spring in recognition of the distinguished services of William Ladd to the cause of peace.

"Maine is gradually awakening to the shadow of the very great man who lived so long within our midst.

"Will you please advise us at your convenience as to how far your organization may be able to participate in this event, together with any suggestions you may have as to the manner in which this observance may profitably be carried out."

Of course, this invitation will be accepted in all its fullness. A great State celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of one of its great men and the one hundredth anniversary of the Society which he founded is a fine object lesson in the idealisms at the heart of every people. The celebration by such a State of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of William Ladd and of the hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, which he founded, will mark an epoch not only in the history of the American Peace Society, but of the peace movement throughout the world. It, like the great gathering planned for Cleveland, Ohio, cannot but affect with a potent wholesomeness the views and feelings of men

and women not only in this country but abroad.

The success of the celebration throughout the State of Maine is already assured by the fact that President Kenneth Charles Morton Sills, of Bowdoin College, which through the century has contributed conspicuously to the development of the American Peace Society, is chairman of the Celebration Committee. Others, also already appointed by the Governor to serve upon this committee, are President Harold S. Boardman, of the University of Maine; President Clifton B. Gray, of Bates College; Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, State Commissioner of Education, and Mr. Hiram W. Ricker, all of whom have accepted their appointments.

It is interesting to note that these people of Maine are planning not only to celebrate the memory of William Ladd; they are proposing to emphasize that particular portion of Mr. Ladd's services that relate to the development of Pan-Americanism. In the light of Mr. Ladd's well-known interest in the attempt of Bolivar to organize in 1826, at Panama, a conference of American States, the first effort of its kind; in the light, further, of the nearness of Canada to the State of Maine, and in the light also of the great labors of other distinguished men of Maine, particularly of James G. Blaine, in the interest of a greater international understanding among the States of the Western Hemisphere, this aspect of the celebration in Maine will be peculiarly appropriate. Incidentally, it should not be overlooked, the Maine celebration will be held early in June, at a time when the glories of that State are at their best.

The people of Maine know with Matthew Arnold that "Greatness is a spiritual condition worthy to excite love, interest, and admiration," and that it was greatness of that kind which marked the life of William Ladd.

THE GENTLE CRITIC

AT THIS the beginning of another year, especially as it contemplates the American Peace Society about to celebrate its one-hundredth anniversary, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* wishes it might lay the whole case of the Society before the people of the world. It is convinced that if that could be done the Society would have the universal support of men and women, with perhaps just enough opposition to keep it respectably humble. Two difficulties seem to lie in the way of this consummation. One is that there are a few unfortunate people who do not read the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Another, difficult for the Editor to appreciate, is that some who read it do not seem to understand it.

The position of the American Peace Society, the only program of the Society, is set forth regularly in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, under the heading "The Foundations of Peace between Nations," adopted by the American Peace Society November 30, 1925. Everything else in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is simply the effort of the Editor to advertise these "Foundations" and to measure by them the major happenings of our world. That he may not embarrass the Society overmuch, he has announced faithfully every month since our country entered the World War that he accepts full responsibility in this business.

Since criticisms against the American Peace Society are seldom addressed to the Society's official platform, as set forth in the "Foundations," the Editor sometimes strongly suspects that few ever read even that document. He is strengthened in this view by a letter received from Rev. Walter Amos Morgan, D. D., pastor of the New First Congregational Church, Chicago, Illinois, a Director of the American Peace Society and a member of its Executive Committee. Among other things, Dr. Morgan says:

"I am of the opinion that we need a simpler statement concerning the program of the American Peace Society than that which is printed monthly in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. I took pains while in Washington to talk with a number of people who took the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and ask them about the program of the American Peace Society as set forth in that publication. Invariably they were ignorant of it.

"I am wondering if we could not put somewhere regularly the statement of a twofold fact: first, that the American Peace Society theoretically is opposed to all war, and that it works for an organized world based upon laws to be interpreted by a properly constituted court; that The Hague conferences are American in their genius and sound in principle. In the experience of America with forty-eight sovereignties under one government without the ultimate authority of force, we have a method to present to the world. In the second place, I would say that we ought to state very clearly that in matters of crises the American Peace Society will use its judgment as to the next practical step to be taken toward the ultimate realization of our goal. The goal never can be achieved at one great leap, and we can only take steps toward it. The laying down of a method of procedure to help us arrive at the goal before the concrete crisis arises probably would get us into trouble in the long run. But we must (1) keep before us the ideal and (2) use judgment as to the next step to be taken, which has meant, and may mean again, war.

"As to what ought to be accomplished at Cleveland, I find myself a bit up in the air, not being very close to the situation. Being a man, however, I am willing to venture a suggestion.

"In my judgment, one of the things needed most in the peace movement in America and in the world, too, is an attempt to unify the forces working toward the same goal. If it could be possible at the meeting in Cleveland to arrive at two or three simple conclusions that could be heralded as the conclusions of the men present and of the American Peace Society, probably we could get the attention of interested men more readily than we can now. I know a number of peace work-

ers here in Chicago. My judgment is they are mostly 'nuts.' One or two of them pester the life out of me. I am sorry to say the average citizen thinks that all of us who believe in a warless world are 'nuts.'

"Perhaps it is expecting too much to correct that opinion, but I do feel that the movement needs (1) simplifying; (2) unifying; (3) energizing.

"You have my prayers, my dear fellow, that you may be able to bring something out of the Cleveland meeting. I only wish I was able to do more to help you."

Among that type of letters most dampening to editorial ambition, the Editor selects this from Prof. Emily G. Balch, prominently associated with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Professor Balch writes under date of November 20:

"I am extremely sorry to say that I do not find myself in such sympathy with the American Peace Society as to desire to help sustain it.

"Its attitude as shown in its editorial, *Back-Seat Driving*, last year distressed me. I think the whole-hearted desire of this country for arbitration instead of intervention in Mexico, as shown last January, was an enormous strengthening of President Coolidge's very real peace policy. And there have been other matters in which I felt the American Peace Society, which ought to be a wise leader, was not such. I meet this same feeling as to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* among people of nation-wide reputation.

"I shall be interested to see the discussion in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* of Senator Burton's proposal in regard to refusing shipment of munitions to an aggressive nation. I am very happy over this initiative of the chairman of the American Peace Society."

The interesting thing about this letter is that the particular editorial of last year to which the distinguished professor refers happens to be the one editorial that has received the widest commendation of any editorial the magazine has run for many a year. Indeed, it was read and com-

mended both in the Senate and the House of Representatives and appeared twice in the *Congressional Record*. Any poor editor would be pardoned for slipping in a fact like that. As for the "people of nation-wide reputation," it might be replied that among the supporters of the American Peace Society are a few "people of nation-wide reputation"—more, in fact, than at any time in its honorable history. The Editor still dares to hope that among these will soon reappear Miss Emily Balch.

Still another type of criticism, more difficult to answer, is set forth in a letter, under date of December 12, from the distinguished Professor in Columbia University, the acting President of the New York Peace Society, Dr. John Bates Clark. Since Dr. Clark says that he would like to feel at liberty to give publicity to his letter and to our reply, we are here glad to aid him in that respect. Dr. Clark says (the paragraph numbers are ours):

(1) "The invitation of the American Peace Society to attend its Centennial Jubilee has been received. The current issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* contains an article by Mr. David Jayne Hill criticizing Monsieur Briand's proposal for 'outlawing war' between France and America. The criticism is based on the inalienable right of Congress to declare war. The issue contains also an editorial which arraigns the League of Nations for dilatoriness in supporting the effort to codify international law, though it admits that in this respect the League is '*beginning to see the light*;' the italics are ours. Of its covenant it says: 'The instrument, so far as we are able to understand it, is an attempt to set up an international organization opposed to the principles of international law.' Efforts to disarm are unsuccessful when nations are not assured of safety after disarming. Plans suggested for affording such security are called, in your publication, futile, and the only course of action that is pronounced sane is developing international law. The distinguished foreign statesmen whose biographies are sketched in the *ADVOCATE*,

and who may be about to honor by their presence the jubilee of the American Peace Society, should certainly have before them these frank expressions of the attitude of that Society toward the League and its policies.

(2) "There are three different questions at issue concerning the League of Nations. One of them is whether our country should or should not become a member of the League. Another is whether, while remaining outside of that organization, it should or should not effectively co-operate in its efforts to prevent war. The third is whether the League itself is or is not doing fruitful work; whether the sum total of its many activities is or is not an influence favorable to peace and to human welfare. Only on the supposition that it is not so can it possibly be right to take either a hostile or a contemptuous attitude toward it. At the worst, it is a union of most of the world for preventing future Armageddons, and discrediting it would be working for them.

(3) "It is impossible to claim with an iota of reason that the efforts of the League of Nations have been fruitless. It is an almost equally unreasoning position which would ignore the profound interest that our own country has in its further success. Its activities safeguard our own vital interest, and a systematic effort to thwart them would place among the enemies of human welfare the man or the organization making such an effort. We are reluctant to place the American Peace Society in that position, and till recently it has not been so. We rejoice in the further fact that there is nearly a half year before its Centennial Celebration will occur, and that by word and by action within that time its position may be made unquestionable.

(4) "The question of world disarmament affords one practical test. As Lord Cecil has recently said, nations shrink from disarming unless their security is in some way guaranteed. The League of Nations has undertaken to give protection against aggressive war and will give it if its course has moral support. Disarming may then be a safe measure. Does the American Peace Society think that this can be accomplished by any other agency

than the League of Nations? Will the mere codifying of international law do it? If not, should the world forego more direct efforts to keep the peace because there are difficulties to be surmounted in doing it?

(5) "The honored President of the American Peace Society has introduced in the House of Representatives a bill that, if enacted, will prevent the sending of arms or war supplies from America to any country that is making an aggressive war. Doubtless the Peace Society will advocate this measure. It is in order to say, in this connection, that Article 16 of the League's Covenant will unite all nations that accept that covenant in a similar course of action. It will align most of the world in effective opposition to wars of aggression.

(6) "If you are right in thinking that the Covenant of the League is 'an attempt to set up an international organization contrary to the principles of international law,' it must be on the ground that that law permits *aggressive* war. The sacred right to attack an unoffending State must be the one that Mr. Hill's argument contends for, since no other right is affected by the measure referred to. No one for a moment thinks of renouncing the right of a people to defend their country when it is attacked.

(7) "A mode of distinguishing offense from defense is indispensable, and there is good reason to hope that a clear and workable distinction may in time be accepted by the League of Nations and confirmed by necessary treaties. It will then become an established feature of international law, thanks to the League of Nations.

(8) "The supreme problem now at issue is that of another Armageddon. If eminent international lawyers formulate the laws of nations as they stand, will the laws of themselves prevent the catastrophe? If high authorities suggest an amendment or an addition to the code, who can adopt it and make it effective except the nations themselves, and what power but the League of Nations is available for securing such united action?

(9) "A sailor on a ship has exceptional facilities for scuttling it, and a pilot at the wheel has exceptional power to run

it on the rocks. A peace society that turns against its cause can damage it in a short time more than it can advance it in a long time. Will the coming celebration be devoted solely to the codifying of international law? Will it belittle other aims and efforts of the League of Nations? Will it favor a policy of aloofness from it so thorough-going that it will call for disparaging it in its present sphere of activity? We, and doubtless many other organizations that are deeply interested in efforts to avoid another Armageddon, would value information on these points."

Taking up seriatim the major points of Dr. Clark's letter as he understands them, the Editor begs leave to say that the editorial to which the Doctor refers was an attempt to congratulate the League of Nations upon its decision to call at The Hague a conference of all the nations in the interest of international law, showing thus a return to that fundamental principle of the Covenant of the League as set forth in its preliminary statement in behalf of "the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments." The Editor finds it difficult to believe that the friends of the League will wish to object to that.

As to the three questions set forth by Dr. Clark in the second paragraph, the Editor is glad to reply categorically: First, he does not believe that the question whether or not the United States should become a member of the League of Nations is at this time of practical importance. Second, he believes that the United States will be glad to co-operate with the League in every practical manner, in the future as in the past. Third, he believes that no person could possibly deny that the League is doing hopeful work, and that to "take either a hostile or contemptuous attitude toward it" would be quite unjust. Of course, the friends of the League welcome every honest criticism,

for they know that they are often breasting an unchartered sea. In the light of what he has said, the Editor does not understand that paragraph 3 of Dr. Clark's letter requires further reply.

Paragraph 4 relates to the problem of disarmament. The Editor does not believe that the United States will enter into any alliance to guarantee the security of any nation or group of nations. He believes that all such alliances are more of the nature of war than of peace. He believes that security stands a better chance by the gradual disarmament of policy than by trying first to whittle off here and there a fighting machine. He believes, therefore, more in the ways set forth in the American Peace Society's "Foundation of Peace Between Nations" as the bases of any enduring security between nations than in the variety of proposals now current in Europe, plans based upon the rather ancient and exploded, not to say explosive, theories of alliances, ententes, balances of power, and the coercion of arms. He believes that the hope for any adequate reduction of international armaments must begin with international conferences of all the nations in behalf of those agencies of justice essential to abiding national interests and to that feeling of security without which no reduction of armaments in the interest of peace seems possible.

The Editor does not understand that Dr. Clark, in paragraph 5, asks him to expound Article XVI of the Covenant of the League, and the Editor confesses that he had not before associated with that article the resolution introduced by the President of the Society in the House of Representatives relative to the exportation of arms.

In reply to paragraph 6, the Editor is quite willing to let Dr. David Jayne Hill's argument stand on its own feet. Until convinced of the contrary, he agrees with

Dr. Hill. Of course, the Society has taken no position on the matter.

The Editor hopes that the view set forth in paragraph 7 will be successfully worked out.

In reply to paragraph 8, the Editor believes, as already indicated, that an international conference of all the nations, aided by the League of Nations, is probably the hopeful direction along which the most constructive effort to avoid another Armageddon will proceed.

What has here been said, together with the explanation elsewhere of what the coming celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society aims to accomplish, answers, the Editor dares to believe, the question set forth in paragraph 9 of Dr. Clark's thoughtful and helpful letter.

There remains one other type of criticism of the American Peace Society which involves the nature of the Peace Society itself. This type of criticism is based upon the theory that the American Peace Society is faced with a dilemma due to the fact that it is quite clearly a totally different organization from the American Peace Society of years ago; that formerly the Society was a non-resistant organization, made up of radicals who in the eyes of the general public, and especially of government officials, were more or less fanatical zealots, unanchored to practical realities. One correspondent who has been studying the American Peace Society suggests that the Society should now repudiate all radical pacifists and renounce radical ideas on war and peace, and that definitely and openly, quite as it has already done in its current and openly stated aims indirectly.

The reply here is that the American Peace Society has existed from the beginning for the purpose of co-ordinating a maximum amount of intelligent public

opinion in behalf of an attainable international peace. It is concerned to win friends and support and not to engender enmities and ill-will. The American Peace Society has never been a non-resistant Society, although many non-resistants have worked with it. It has stood throughout the years as an exponent of the principles of international justice found to be consonant with American principles and the best practice of nations. Its platform today clearly embodies the program of its founder. The thing it is working for is the thing for which he gave his life.

It has not been an easy course. As early as 1831, in the third year of the Society's existence, its founder felt constrained to unburden himself in the Society's magazine with these words:

"Some abandon us because we carry our principles too far, and others because we do not carry them far enough.

"Some think us too orthodox, while others complain that there is nothing of orthodoxy about us. For my own part I have only one opinion, and that is that it is incumbent on me to do the best I can to promote the cause of peace on earth and peace in the Society."

Looking out over another hundred years, the American Peace Society is quite aware that it will have to face, as did William Ladd, the barbs of criticism and divisions among the brethren. The Editor, somewhat familiar with the record, believes, however, that there is a diminishing unloveliness in the temper of the critics, and that, as illustrated by Dr. Morgan's suggestions at the beginning, there is a wholesome, growing demand that the peace movement shall be simplified, unified, and energized. To aid in this business must be the American Peace Society's answer to its critics.

FOUR CORNERS OF OUR CONGRESSIONAL NEW YEAR

AS FAR as we can forecast the immediate efforts in Congress to promote international peace on a world scale, they will be associated with four names—two members of the United States Senate and two members of the House of Representatives—namely, Representative Burton, Senator Borah, Senator Capper, and Representative Tinkham. The proposals represented by these men have been referred to heretofore by the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, but we are glad here to recall them.

Representative Burton, in his Joint Resolution No. 1, now before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, proposes that the United States declare it to be its policy to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to any country which engages in aggressive warfare against any other country in violation of an agreement to resort to arbitration or any peaceful means for the settlement of international controversy; that whenever the President determines that any country has violated such an agreement by engaging in aggressive warfare against any other country, and makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful, until otherwise proclaimed by the President or provided by act of Congress, to export any arms, munitions, or implements of war from any place in the United States or any possession thereof to such country, directly or indirectly. This resolution manifestly represents an effort to forestall an illegally overt act by a would-be aggressive nation, and thus to lessen the chances of war. The resolution has received widespread commendation from various quarters, both in this country and abroad. It is now in the realm of practical politics, a thing to be reckoned with. In a very real sense, it is one of the four corners of our Legislature's New Year.

December 12, Senator Borah submitted his Senate Resolution, No. 45, setting

forth that it is the view of the Senate of the United States that war should be a public crime under the law of nations, and that a Code of International Law of Peace, based upon the outlawing of war and on the principle of equality and justice between all nations, amplified and expanded and adapted and brought down to date, should be created and adopted; and that, with war outlawed, a judicial substitute for war should be created, or, if existing in part, adapted and adjusted, in the form or nature of an International Court, modeled on our Federal Supreme Court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign States. Mr. Borah's resolution goes on to provide that such a court shall possess affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide all purely international controversies, as defined by the code or arising under treaties. The resolution further provides that the judgment of the court shall not be enforced by war under any name or in any form whatever, but shall have the same power for their enforcement as our Federal Supreme Court, namely, the respect of all enlightened nations for judgments resting upon open and fair investigations and impartial decisions, the agreement of the nations to abide and be bound by such decisions and the compelling power of an enlightened public opinion. Here, surely, is another major effort to express the opinion of America upon matters of peace and war. Senator Borah has expressed in the later provisions of this resolution the faith of the American Peace Society through a hundred years. It, too, is an international corner stone in Congress' effort to take an advanced step toward a warless world.

In Joint Resolution, No. 14, Senator Capper approaches the problem from a slightly different angle. He proposes treaties with France and other likeminded nations formally renouncing war as an instrument of public policy and substitut-

ing for it mediation, arbitration, and conciliation. The Senator's resolution proposes further to define an aggressive nation as one which, having agreed to submit international differences to conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement, begins hostilities without having done so; and similarly to declare that the nationals of the contracting governments should not be protected by their governments in giving aid and comfort to an aggressive nation. Here, again, is an honest effort to enable our country to do something in behalf of international peace. It is an attempt to advertise the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, as set forth in our practice of a hundred years and as solemnly declared by the Congress of the United States on August 29, 1916. It is a proposal to accept and widen the offer of M. Briand of April 6, 1927. It is inspired in part by the fact that the existing arbitration treaty between the United States and France is to terminate February 27, 1928. It is aimed against those of our private citizens who may aid or abet the breach of similar agreements between other nations. It undoubtedly expresses the opinion of a wide section of our American people. It may be said to be a third corner stone of the congressional international thinking of our New Year.

House Concurrent Resolution No. 2 was introduced in the House of Representatives December 5, the opening session of Congress, by Representative Tinkham. Here, too, is a New Year corner stone in the aspirations of Congress. This resolution would provide for the calling of a Third Hague Conference for the purpose of codifying international law. By this Mr. Tinkham means that there shall be an international conference of delegates from all civilized States for the purpose of restating, reconciling, and of declaring the rules of international law. This reso-

lution conforms to the recommendation of the Advisory Committee of Jurists assembled at The Hague in 1920, representing ten different countries, a resolution which was rejected by the League of Nations.

Such a conference, however, is now favored by the League, providing it be held under the ægis of that body. With this qualification, it is also favored by the Special Commission on the Codification of International Law, set up by the League, and by the Interparliamentary Union. It now appears that such a conference is to be held in Holland, probably in the year 1929, unless, by the passage of this resolution the convening of such a conference be advanced as to the time of meeting. In any event, this important resolution, peculiarly American in its nature, is a fourth corner stone in our congressional outlook upon the New Year in international affairs.

There is a fine unity running through all these plans. They support, each in its own way, the common will to find a method for the settlement of international disputes without resort to war, the effort, often so scattered and sadly dissipated, to lessen the tragic in human travail.

The hearings to be held upon these resolutions will go far to clarify public opinion in America on the world's most difficult of problems.

Of course, other plans and projects will be submitted to the Congress. Indeed, Senator Lynn J. Frazier, of North Dakota, upon the initiative of the Woman's Peace Union, has introduced a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by the terms of which it would be illegal for the United States to prepare for, declare, or carry on war. Senator Frazier believes, we understand, that this amendment will solve the difficulties now confronting the opponents of treaties to outlaw war. This is the re-introduction of an amendment originally

introduced April 23, 1926. Whatever the logic in this proposal, there is, we believe, little chance of its adoption.

The other plans are, however, thought to be sufficiently possible to be debatable. They will be debated. The unity in these proposals, as we see it, lies in their common requirement of a universal acceptance, if any one of them is to end in a maximum effectiveness. This leads to the conclusion that an international conference of duly accredited delegates from all the nations is, perhaps, the outstanding need, especially at this, the beginning of another year. In such a conference, and only in such a conference, could Mr. Burton's type of non-intercourse, Senator Borah's scheme for outlawing war, Senator Capper's series of universal arbitration treaties, become most effectively the practice of nations. This, indeed, seems to be the theory behind the Tinkham resolution, which contemplates just such a Conference. It is the Tinkham resolution, therefore, which rounds out and completes the four major international proposals now before the Congress.

WE MUST KNOW

WE MUST know and lead others to recognize that a régime of positive law is the normal status within a civilized State, and that such a régime, supported by a juristic system, is the hope of peace between nations. In a carefully written analysis of "A Working Theory of Sovereignty," Prof. John Dickinson, of Princeton University, concludes:

"It is therefore manifest that there will from time to time be periods of political development when sovereignty will be in abeyance; when force or compromise will dictate the outcome, not through law and in an orderly fashion, but irregularly and to the exclusion of law. These periods are the great germinal epochs of politics; but they are inevitably periods of disorder and confusion, and commonly also of

bloodshed, and accordingly such periods must be occasional and infrequent if progress is to be orderly and if society is to enjoy the advantages of political organization as contrasted with anarchy. Men have not attained the unity of viewpoint, the tolerance of adverse opinion, and the breadth of understanding of the needs of other classes than their own which will enable them to live together fruitfully under a régime of voluntary compromise to the exclusion of positive law. A régime of positive law must, therefore, be accepted as the normal status of civil society; and a régime of positive law presupposes and requires the existence of juristic sovereignty."

When we say that the overwhelming moral sentiment of civilized peoples everywhere is against the cruel and destructive institution of war, we mean, not that men and women are afraid to die in defense of their right, but that deep down in their hearts they know that wars may be won and justice defeated, and that therefore war, as a means of settling international disputes, is not only destructive, it is a precarious, uncertain, and therefore discredited, method of establishing the right.

It is for this reason that war is the greatest existing menace to the common weal. History clearly teaches that civilization runs its course parallel with the development of law and courts as substitutes for the methods of coercive violence. It is true that human beings have discovered but two methods of compelling the settlement of human disputes, namely, the settlement by law and the settlement by war. It is one or the other. There is no "happy medium" here. All alliances or plans to promote peace by basing security upon the power of bayonets carry within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. Americans familiar with the history of their own Union of States cannot forget that it was founded, among other things, upon the disarmament of the States. They cannot forget that Madison, Hamilton, Ellsworth, Mason, Sherman,

Wilson, and the rest agreed in 1787 that the use of force upon a people collectively is war, and nothing else, and that the peace of justice does not lie in that direction.

Furthermore, we need to recall, as set forth by the founder of the American Peace Society through the many years, that our Federal Supreme Court is a practical and effective model for a real international court, it itself hearing and deciding controversies between free, sovereign, independent States, and that, at last, to the satisfaction of all. The difficulties in the way of outlawing war as an institution resolve themselves when men recall that our Supreme Court for one hundred and thirty-seven years has been showing the way for States to settle their disputes without resort to arms.

There remain, of course, many things to do before the relations between law and the sisterhood of nations can be made as effective as the relations between law and the settlement of controversies of the States of our American nation; but the principles in both cases are identical. International law is no myth. Rules of conduct, written and unwritten, have been adopted by the nations in response to the practical demands of international activity. These rules are looked upon and regularly employed as legally binding upon all States in their relations with each other. Much of this law is distinctly legislation, resting upon voluntary agreement, without any imposition from above. This type of legislation among free, sovereign, independent States partakes of the nature of contract, legal from every point of view, theoretical or practical.

Addressing himself to the problem of international legislation, Prof. Frederick S. Dunn, of Johns Hopkins University, has written:

"It need hardly be pointed out that the great need in world affairs today is the expansion and modification of the existing body of international law to correspond with the rapidly changing character of the international community, and to reduce those wide areas of relationships now subject to no control but that of comity or caprice. Present efforts to provide adequate judicial and arbitral facilities in the community will help to some extent, but real progress can only be achieved through recourse to the legislative process. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that serious attention be given to the forms in which this process has appeared in the community in the past, its proper place in the international legal system, and the ways in which it may be made more effective in the future."

At the beginning of another year the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* knows no better way to start its task than by recalling these fundamental things.

GERMAN POLICY RELATIVE TO FURTHER BORROWINGS

A DEFINITE policy for the control of foreign borrowings by States and municipalities has been formulated by the German Government. Its loan advisory committee (*Beratungsstelle*) has had its powers broadened and has issued new regulations, the commercial attaché at Berlin, Fayette W. Allport, has advised the Department of Commerce.

A summary of the action and regulations, as forwarded from Berlin, follows in full text:

The demand for capital, which continues unabated, and the necessity of at least a potential means to regulate and supervise all borrowings from abroad prompted the German Government to consider reorganizing the *Beratungsstelle* (loan advisory committee). On October

19 the Beratungsstelle convened for the purpose of formulating a definite foreign-loan policy.

It was thought that the power of control conferred upon it should be altered and, if possible, broadened; thus, one issue before the committee related to controlling the amount of short-term foreign loans and their conversion into long-term loans.

After the conference on October 19, proposed changes were announced which settled somewhat more precisely the Beratungsstelle's scope of authority.

The following terms were definitely determined:

1. All foreign borrowing by States or groups of municipalities, whether direct or indirect, falls, potentially at least, under the authority of the Beratungsstelle. This provision includes practically any form of transaction involving the use of foreign funds. No foreign loans may be contracted unless warranted from the standpoint of the currency and of the general business conditions of the country.

2. Foreign loans must run at least 10 years and be callable by the borrower after five years at the latest.

3. Foreign short-term loans of the States may extend for a maximum of one year, and they may be used only to strengthen operating capital. Assurance must be given that they will be repaid at maturity and not be converted into long-term loans.

4. Proceeds of loans from abroad must be used by the borrower alone and may not be transmitted to private persons.

5. Foreign loans must serve a productive purpose—they must create revenue for interest and sinking fund, and, in so far as possible, by increasing exports or decreasing imports. In any event, they must serve the general economic welfare of the country.

After a subsequent meeting of the Beratungsstelle it was stated that long-term and short-term loans by States and municipalities, which fulfill the policy formulated at the conference of October 19, would be temporarily exempt from prior approval by the Beratungsstelle.

The régime of prior approval might be resumed at any time by notifying the States and municipalities. It was expected that such notice might be given during the week ended November 12.

The composition of the Beratungsstelle remains unchanged. It includes the presidents of the Prussian State Bank and of the Bavarian State Bank and a representative each of the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Economics, the Reichsbank, and the State in which the loan application originates.

A majority of votes determines the decision of the Beratungsstelle; but if any loan application be disapproved by even one of the finance, economics, and Reichsbank representatives, the dissenting member may demand a rehearing. In this case the Finance Minister, the Minister of Economics, and the President of the Reichsbank personally will replace their representatives on the Beratungsstelle for the particular occasion.

After an application for a loan is submitted, the Beratungsstelle is to take immediate action upon it, and the decision is to be made known, as soon as possible, to the finance ministry of the government and to the government of the State applying for the loan.

The foregoing regulations remain in force for two years, and they are intended to be sufficiently inclusive and exact in their application to prevent any evasion by prospective borrowers.

NICHOLAS TITULESCU

BRIEF biographical notes of distinguished speakers at the Cleveland celebration next May have appeared in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Our readers will be pleased to learn that Nicholas Titulescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rumania, has accepted the Society's invitation to be present and to address the conference.

Nicholas (Nicolae) Titulescu was born in Craiova in 1883. After brilliantly completing his studies in Bucharest and Paris, while still very young, he distinguished himself as one of the best lawyers and orators of Rumania. He was a personal friend of Take Ionescu. During the war he entered Parliament, and in 1918 became Minister of Finance in the Coalition Government presided over by Ion Bratianu, and again in 1920 in the ministry presided over by General Averescu. In this capacity Mr. Titulescu prepared the first project for the reorganization of the finances of Rumania after the war, which, with small modification, was adopted by his successor, Mr. Vintila Bratianu. In 1922 he was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to London, and as Rumania's delegate to the League of Nations he achieved great success every time the Rumanian interests were at stake. In 1926 he was sent to Washington by the Rumanian Government to negotiate with the American Government in regard to the arrangements for the payment of the war debt, and on this occasion he came in contact with many prominent persons in the United States. In July, 1927, on the eve of the death of King Ferdinand, he entered the ministry presided over by Ion Bratianu, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, remaining, at the same time, the Rumanian delegate to the League of Nations, where he enjoys wide popularity and a universal reputation.

THE BRITTEN METRIC BILL

STEPS should be taken in this Congress to promote the use of the metric system as a substitute for the system of weights and measures now most in vogue in this country and England.

If the people of these two countries could master the words meter, liter, and gram, with their modifiers, milli and kilo, depending upon the division or multiple, the trick could be turned. Such a task does not seem Herculean. Or course, it could not be accomplished at once. But something has already been done and more should follow.

There seems to be no doubt that our present system is unsystematic, whereas the metric system is simply an extension of the cent and dollar system, already more or less familiar. The system is already used extensively in science, in factories, in jewelry and optical industries, in radio, in government departments, and foreign trade. The importance of extending its use, from our point of view, relates to the matter of international intercourse. It is the system in use throughout Latin America, and the inability on our part to handle metric orders is an embarrassment in many ways, especially a hindrance to international understanding. If commerce, technology, and science find it an advantage to use the system of weights and measures common to practically all the other countries of the world, it is reasonable to assume that it would be of advantage to manufacturers.

The metric system is no new innovation. It has been in exclusive use in France since 1799, in Italy since 1861, in Germany since 1872, in Japan since 1921. The Britten Metric Bill represents a desirable "reform."

THE Nobel Peace Prize for 1927 has been granted to two university professors, laborers in the world peace movement—Ludwig Quidde, of Germany, and

Ferdinand Buisson, of France, the former sixty-nine years of age, the latter eighty-seven. Nominations for this prize are open to members and late members of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, as well as the advisers appointed at the Norwegian Nobel Institute; to members of the governments of different States, and to members of the Interparliamentary Union; to members of the International Arbitration Court at The Hague; to members of the Council of the Permanent International Peace Bureau; to members and associates of the Institute of International Law; to university professors of political science and of law, of history, and of philosophy; and, finally, to persons who have received the Nobel Peace Prize. According to the rule, the grounds upon which any nomination is made must be stated and handed in, together with such papers as may be referred to. The awarding of this prize, therefore, is against the background of achievement. As a friend of both of these men through many years, the ADVOCATE OF PEACE offers its heartiest congratulations.

UNDER date of December 7, the ADVOCATE OF PEACE received from the Mexican Embassy the following statement:

"In view of the fact that the Hearst newspapers in their editions corresponding to yesterday and today have used his name in connection with the ridiculous story of alleged intrigue of his government, the Mexican Ambassador feels compelled, ratifying his previous statements, to declare again that the whole and every part of the absurd story is a mere fabrication of malicious falsehoods and forgeries."

COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH seems to be the most important single force for international peace throughout all our groping world. One touch of Lindbergh makes the whole world kin.

DIFFICULTIES in the way of Disarmament appeared again in all their barrenness throughout the sessions of the Disarmament Commission ending at Geneva December 3. The failure of that conference, like the failure of many a conference, was due to the collision between two irreconcilable views. One group of States, standing irrevocably for the Treaty of Versailles, insists that there can be no disarmament until first security is achieved. The other view is that disarmament is the necessary prelude to security. The former view is supported by the French and their followers, the latter in its most pronounced form by the Russian. Characterizing the situation as an observer of the scene, the Editor of the *Journal de Genève*, rather sarcastically observes:

"Listening to these discussions, it is difficult to avoid an impression that everybody is right. Thus, we may begin to disarm, but we shall never get ahead because nations will not dare to disarm without guarantees of their security. But if we begin with security we risk never getting on to the next stage, that of disarmament. So we have been discussing whether to register, first, failure on disarmament, or, secondly, on security. And we have finally decided to fail on both at once. It is a courageous decision."

THE failure of the Geneva Arms Conference is another illustration of the difficulty facing the governments in their direct attempts to reduce arms. This break-down at Geneva has been followed by a renewed interest, rather widespread throughout the United States, in substantial additions to our Navy, by evidences of resentment in England, and irritation in Japan.

WHILE the crux of the difficulty between Poland and Lithuania, namely, the right to Vilna, has not been settled, the dispute is less acute because of the

conferences of the Council of the League of Nations, where both sides appeared and discussed their grievances. M. Pilsudski, Prime Minister of Poland, and M. Walde-maras, of Lithuania, will now enter into direct negotiations to end the state of war between the two countries, continuing for more than seven years. Furthermore, the

Council of the League, through a special committee, is to hear Lithuania's case that her minorities are being wronged in Poland. We believe the temporary ad-justment of this controversy is but another illustration of the beneficent services of the League of Nations.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

NEW CABINET IN ALBANIA

ON OCTOBER 21 the President of Albania asked for the resignation of his cabinet and proceeded to the formation of a new one. At the same time he inaugurated a number of rigorous measures against misappropriation of public funds and "graft" and granted an amnesty to political prisoners and those political offenders who had fled to Yugoslavia.

Composition of the New Cabinet

In the reconstructed cabinet the following ministers retain office: Elias Bey Vrioni, as Minister of Foreign Affairs; Abdur Rahman Bey Dibra, as Minister of the Interior; and Jaffar Bey Ypi, as Minister of Education. Suleiman Bey Starova becomes Minister of Finance, a post he held in an earlier cabinet; and Ferid Bey Vokopolo, a hardworking and energetic deputy, the first Minister of Agriculture—a newly created ministry. There remain to be filled the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Public Works, the duties of which will be carried out *ad interim* by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Agriculture, respectively.

The outgoing ministers include the Minister of Finance, Faizi Bey Alizoti, whose methods in the realm of finance were neither successful nor popular and whose patent Italian sympathies were severely criticized throughout the country; Musa Bey Yuka, the Minister of Public Works, whose fanaticism as a Moslem while acting Minister of the Interior was,

in the opinion of many, the primary cause of the revolt of the Catholic tribes of the north in November of last year, and whose accession to wealth, since becoming a minister, has been the subject of much comment; and the Minister of Justice, Petro Pogo, whose advanced years proved to be too great a handicap on his energy and capacity for work.

Foreign Instructors and Advisers

A number of Italian officers have reported for duty with the Albanian army and will act as instructors in all the more technical branches. Their advent has given rise to a good deal of adverse criticism in some Albanian quarters, but it is obvious to the more thoughtful people that, if the army is to be put on an efficient and modern footing, it must have trained instructors. Major General Sir Jocelyn Percy, while still Inspector General of the gendarmerie, remains in direct command of the troops in the Northern Province of Scutari and at present is actively engaged, with the assistance of several of the British officers attached to the Albanian gendarmerie, in relief measures in connection with the floods in Scutari. A considerable river, the Kiri, has changed its course and is now flowing through a part of the town, causing much alarm and some damage.

Lieutenant Colonel W. F. Stirling, for some years adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, has now been given an appointment immediately under the President as

Chief Inspector of all Administrations, and it is hoped that a general tightening up in all departments may result. It is understood that the President is still anxious to find a Financial Adviser able to remodel and simplify the financial system, for it is evident that, so long as the financial organization remains what it is, the work of all the foreign advisers and inspectors will be largely stultified.

CURRENCY STABILIZATION IN POLAND

AFTER long negotiations, the Polish Government finally succeeded, on October 12, in obtaining an international loan for the stabilization of the currency. In these negotiations the Polish Government was represented by M. Czechowicz, the Finance Minister, and the foreign interests by Mr. H. Fisher (Bankers Trust) and Mr. J. Monnet (Chase National Bank of the City of New York). The presidential decree concerning the loan and the plan of stabilization of the zloty was published in the official *Journal of the Laws of the Republic of Poland* on October 13.

Details of the Loan

The loan amounts to 62 million dollars plus £2,000,000—gross, less the costs of the loan. Thus the 4th section of the stabilization plan speaks only about 60 million in bonds to be repaid in 1947 and to bear interest at the rate of 7 per cent per annum; issue price, 92, less commission; redemption price, 103, duration of loan 20 years, with the right, however, for the Polish Government to redeem the bonds before maturity, at 103, in whole or in part, commencing October, 1937. Repayment of bonds and interest will be secured by the revenues of the import and export custom duties.

Mr. H. Fisher (Bankers Trust) and J. Monnet (Chase National Bank of the City of New York) are appointed as fiscal agents of the Republic for the service of the stabilization loan 1927.

In connection with the inauguration of the stabilization plan, based on the international loan, the Polish Government has

invited Mr. C. Dewey, former Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, to act as its financial adviser. Mr. Dewey's contract runs for three years, during a part of which he will be assisted by Dr. E. Dana Durand, who has temporarily resigned for the purpose from the Department of Commerce.

The Stabilization Plan and the Currency

The stabilization plan introduced by the presidential decree is based on the recommendations made by Prof. E. W. Kemmerer, who had spent several months in Poland last year studying the problem. Under the plan, the gold content of the Polish currency, the zloty, is reduced by 72 per cent. During 1924 and 1925 the Polish Government attempted to maintain its currency at parity with the gold franc, but this proved impossible, and the gold value of the zloty has been fixed in such a way that one dollar equals 8.91 zlotys.

The principles of the monetary system are fundamentally changed by the introduction of the full gold standard. The Bank Polski is henceforward obliged to exchange the banknotes against gold, gold coins or foreign exchange and checks having full gold value; on the other hand, the Polish mint shall issue gold coins on the account of the Treasury or that of private persons, without limitation.

Thus the circulation of currency will be composed of the (1) notes of Bank Polski; (2) gold coins; (3) bullion, which will be coined by treasury, but only to the amount of 320,000,000 zlotys. The government resign, once for all, the right to issue government (treasury) notes, and as well as the right of requiring advances and credits of any kind on the part of the Bank Polski. The new duties of the Bank Polski will be secured by the gold cover, which henceforward will amount to 40 per cent (instead of the former 30 per cent) and shall be applied not only to the notes of the Bank Polski, but also to the treasury and private deposits. Three-quarters of the cover shall consist of gold bars and gold coins.

Other Provisions of the Plan

Under the stabilization plan, the State budget must, during the next two years,

not only be in equilibrium, but *must* show an actual surplus, and the government must increase the revenues by 300 millions yearly. The taxation system shall be amended under auspices of a specially appointed committee. In accordance with the recommendations made by Professor Kemmerer, the land, income and indirect taxes shall be increased and partly amended (income tax), the capital levy shall assume a permanent character and will be paid by yearly installments, while the industrial tax will be reduced.

One of the most important provisions stipulates that the Finance Minister shall have no right to grant credits to State banks, communities, public undertakings, or credits of any kind, except to the communities to an amount not exceeding one-fifth of the taxes due to them, for one year only, a procedure which gives such credits rather the character of an advance against these taxes. Another provision deprives the government of the right of contracting loans, foreign as well as internal, of any kind during the period of three years, with the exception of those for productive investment.

The State railway system will be reorganized and based either on autonomy or commercial principles, thanks to which they are expected to yield profits in conformity with the capital invested. Hopes are expressed that a large foreign loan may be obtained for them, which would enable the system to be extended, thus meeting one of the most vital needs of the country, especially as regards agriculture.

Disposal of the Loan Proceeds

The larger part of the proceeds of the loan (over 400 million zlotys) is destined for stabilization purposes, namely, 75 mill. zl. for increasing the share capital of the Polish Bank, 140 mil. zl. for the redemption of the treasury bills, 90 mill. zl. for the silver conversion, 25 mill. zl. for the floating debt, 75 mill. zl. to form a treasury reserve, while the remainder, amounting only to 135 mill. zlotys, is destined for economic purposes, especially for State undertakings and agricultural credits.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR

THE British Government has just issued the first two volumes of *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914* (H. M. Stationery Office), which have been edited by Mr. G. P. Gooch and Mr. Harold Temperley. Volume I is entitled *The End of British Isolation*, and Volume II *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Franco-British Entente*. The decision to publish this selection of diplomatic documents was made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald when Foreign Secretary, and it was subsequently confirmed by Sir Austen Chamberlain. Mr. MacDonald's view was that as the secrets of the archives of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg had been disclosed to the world, it would be in the interests of historic truth that the contemporaneous British dispatches and memoranda should also be published.

The Policy of Isolation

The papers published in the present volumes begin in 1898, when the decision to abandon the traditional policy of "splendid isolation" and to substitute for it one of alliances was taken, and they end with the signing of the Anglo-French agreements in 1904, which might properly be described as the establishment of the Entente Cordiale.

The grounds on which British ministers came to the conclusion that a new departure in foreign policy was expedient can be found in a dispatch from Lord Dufferin when he was Ambassador in Paris in 1893. He there described the sentiments of the French people of all classes towards us as that of unmitigated and bitter dislike. "Not a day passes," he wrote, "that we are not taken to task for our sordid politics; our overbearing manners, our selfishness, our perfidy, and our other inveterate bad qualities." Lord Dufferin concluded by saying that it was incumbent on him to call serious attention to "the desirability of being prepared to meet, and cope with, all eventualities."

Anglo-German Negotiations

The first attempt at an Anglo-German understanding appears to have been made in March, 1898, but the matter was in the hands of Mr. Chamberlain, and was treated more or less as a private transaction, with the result that there is practically no evidence in the official records of the Foreign Office as to what took place. The effort was not attended with success.

In 1900 China was thrown into confusion by the Boxer Rebellion, and it became necessary for the Powers to send forces to relieve the besieged European legations at Peking. The German Emperor took the opportunity of making overtures to the British Government with a view to co-operation in maintaining the principle of the "open door" in China, and an agreement to this effect was arrived at. Sir Eyre Crowe comments on this transaction in a memorandum dated 1907:

About this time Germany secretly approached Russia with a view to the conclusion of an agreement by which Germany would also have obtained the much-desired foothold on the Yangtze, then considered to be practically a British preserve. These overtures being rejected, Germany wished at least to prevent England from obtaining what she herself had failed to secure. She proposed to the British Cabinet a self-denying agreement stipulating that neither power should endeavor to obtain any territorial advantages in Chinese dominions, and that if any third power should endeavor to do so both should take common action.

The British Government did not conceal their great reluctance to this arrangement. There was no obvious reason why England should lend herself to this gratuitous tying of her own hands. Nevertheless, the policy of conciliating Germany by meeting her expressed wishes once more triumphed. The sequences. Russian aggression in Manchuria agreement was signed—with the foreseen con- was declared to be altogether outside the scope of what the German Chancellor took care to style the Yangtze agreement, as if its terms had referred specially to that restricted area of China, and the German designs on Shantung continue to this day to be tenaciously pursued.

"The Triple or Dual Alliance?"

The next chapter is the proposal for an Anglo-German alliance. According to the German account, what took place was that during a visit to Chatsworth in 1901 Baron Eckardstein was assured by Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire that the time for "splendid isolation" was over; that England desired to settle all pending questions, especially Morocco and the Far East, in co-operation with the Triple or the Dual Alliance; that, unlike some of their colleagues, they would prefer the former, and that, failing agreement with the Triple Alliance, they would turn to France and Russia.

Lord Lansdowne attributed the suggestion of an alliance to Baron Eckardstein. However that might be, Lord Lansdowne, in a dispatch to the British Ambassador at Berlin on March 18, 1901, stated that a conversation on the subject with Baron Eckardstein took place at the Foreign Office; that what the latter suggested was "a purely defensive alliance between the two powers, directed solely against France and Russia," and that "so long as Germany or England were attacked by one only of the two other powers the alliance would operate, but if either Germany or England had to defend itself against both France and Russia, Germany would have to help England or England Germany, as the case might be."

Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, was abroad ill and nothing was done for the time, though Lord Lansdowne remarked that Baron Eckardstein "several times reverted to the subject." In a conversation with Count Hatzfeldt, the German Ambassador, the latter told Lord Lansdowne that the proposal was that "we should join the Triple Alliance."

When he returned to England, Lord Salisbury threw cold water on the whole project. He pointed out that the liability of having to defend the German and Austrian frontiers against Russia was heavier than that of having to defend the British Isles against France. As to what the German Ambassador had said about our isolation constituting a serious danger for us, he asked, had we ever felt that danger practically, and insisted that "it would hardly be wise to incur novel and most

onerous obligations in order to guard against a danger in whose existence we had no historical reason for believing." "The British Government cannot," he said, "undertake to declare war for any purpose unless it is a purpose of which the electors of this country would approve."

"Tortuous" German Policy

A memorandum on the subject by Sir F. Bertie clinches the arguments used by Lord Salisbury. According to him, the Germans had become more insistent in their advice that we should lose no more time in coming to terms with them, as otherwise we should be too late, as they had other offers. For years, he remarks, they had constantly made use of these threats and blandishments, but in considering the offers of alliance from Germany it was necessary to remember the history of Prussia as regards alliances, and the conduct of the Bismarck Government in making a treaty with Russia concerning and behind the back of Austria, the ally of Germany, and also to bear in mind the position of Germany in Europe as against France and Russia, and her position in other parts of the world as against the British Empire.

After pointing out that Germany was in a dangerous position in Europe, and that she was surrounded by governments who distrusted her and peoples who disliked her, he observed that it was her object to create and maintain distrust between the powers not in alliance with her, and particularly between England and Russia and between England and France. She therefore did what she could to keep open sores with England. He continued:

Numerous instances might be given of the tortuous policy of the German Government, but for a good example of it we need go no farther back than last spring (March). They then informed the Japanese Government that they disapproved the Russian proceedings in regard to Manchuria, and being, they said, aware of the vital importance of the Manchurian question to Japan, they would observe a benevolent neutrality in the event of matters coming to a crisis, and this attitude would keep the French fleet in check, while England would probably support Japan. On inquiry it turned out that "benevolent" neutrality meant "the strictest and most

correct" neutrality towards all parties. The German Government could not answer for France, but they were strongly of opinion that France would follow the example of Germany.

A month later (April) the German Emperor described His Majesty's Government as a set of unmitigated noodles for having missed the opportunity afforded by the Manchurian question of asserting the position of England in the Far East—and, as he did not say, of falling into the arrangement designed for them by His Majesty, namely, that they should ease the situation for Germany in Europe by joining with Japan in a war against Russia in the Far East. The Emperor further said that the Japanese were furious with England for not giving them active support, but of this we have not had any indication from Japan.

A German Refusal

Lord Lansdowne then thought that the objections to joining the Triple Alliance would not apply to a much more limited understanding with Germany as to our policy in regard to certain matters of common interest to both powers, and he drew up a memorandum outlining the heads of such an agreement. But Lord Salisbury's verdict was that it seemed to him to be full of risks and to carry with it no compensating advantage.

Lord Lansdowne then had an interview with Count Metternich, the new German Ambassador, on the subject, and asked him whether, assuming that we could not join the Triple Alliance, it might be possible for the two countries to arrive at an understanding with reference to the policy which they might pursue on particular questions or in particular parts of the world in which they were alike interested. Count Metternich unhesitatingly replied that no such minor proposal was likely to find favor with the German Government. It was a case of "the whole or none."

That might be said to have ended the overtures and negotiations for an understanding with Germany. During the next few years unofficial efforts were made to bring about an improvement in the relations between England and France, and proposals for a permanent treaty of arbitration between the two countries were made. When the matter was brought to Lord Lansdowne's notice he gave a sympathetic reply. In a conversation with M.

Etienne in July, 1903, he stated that "nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to promote a reasonable 'give and take' arrangement between the two governments, and that if the French Government would put their cards on the table and say what they wished to obtain and what they were prepared to concede with that object, we should be ready to meet them in a similar spirit."

The Agreement With France

President Loubet, who was accompanied by M. Delcassé, then visited London, and the two Foreign Ministers met and discussed all the outstanding questions between the two countries. M. Delcassé was anxious that the French position in Morocco should be recognized, and Lord Lansdowne was equally desirous that "the Government of the French Republic should recognize that the British occupation of Egypt, which was originally intended to be temporary, has, under the force of circumstances, acquired a character of permanency."

An understanding on these points was reached, and all the other vexed questions, such as the Newfoundland fisheries, Siam, the new Hebrides, Nigeria, Zanzibar, and Madagascar, readily lent themselves to an amicable solution. The convention and declarations giving effect to the agreement arrived at were signed on April 8, 1904.

These two volumes deal with a great variety of other matters, such as the negotiations that led to the signing of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902, the relations between Great Britain, Germany, and Portugal in 1898 and 1899, Anglo-German friction in Samoa, the delimitation of spheres of influence in North Africa, and the proposals for intervention or mediation in the South African War.

A German Contribution to the Subject

Almost simultaneously with the publication of the above two volumes, there appeared in Germany a very interesting contribution to the same subject. This was the new book of Prince Karl von Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador to Great Britain in 1914, entitled *On the Way to a Precipice*. Prince Lichnowsky declares that Germany approved fully Austria's wish to destroy the Pan-Serbian

movement, and while England at first sympathized with Austria, the English changed their attitude when the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia was published.

All the world, he says, except Berlin and Vienna, knew that a World War was threatened. But Serbia's reply was more docile than could possibly have been expected. "If Russia and England wanted war," Prince von Lichnowsky declares, "one word to Belgrade would have been sufficient, and the scandalous note would have remained unanswered." Sir Edward Grey then discussed the best way of settling the Austro-Serbian dispute and made practical suggestions through the Prince to the Reich.

They were of no avail, however. Just one gesture on the part of Berlin, he continues, would have sufficed to induce the Austrian Foreign Minister to be satisfied with his diplomatic success. On the contrary, pressure was exercised in favor of an Austro-Serbian war. Sir Edward Grey asked for German suggestions, but Prince von Lichnowsky could not obtain any satisfactory reply from Berlin and the impression grew that Germany wanted war.

Continuing, the Prince says:

Fervent requests and definite statements by Sazonov and later by the Tsar's almost humiliating telegrams. Italian warnings, my urgent advice, all were unavailing. Berlin was determined that Serbia should be chastened. The latter wish, as the Prince shows, was expressed by the Kaiser in most definite manner in several of his notorious marginal notes.

After the Austrian Foreign Minister, who until then had showed strength, owing to his backing by the Reich, decided to yield, Dr. Bethmann Hollweg too lost courage. Russian mobilization—Russia waited and negotiated in vain—was answered by Germany's ultimatum and declaration of war.

Is it surprising, he asks, if in view of these facts almost the entire civilized world outside Germany charges Germany with the responsibility for the war? Prince Von Lichnowsky cites Herr Von Jagow, then head of the German Foreign Office, as having declared that Russia was not prepared for war. He moreover tells how all the German ambassadors in Paris

denied that France really wanted revenge. France was merely afraid of Germany, the Prince writes. England, he depicts as the nation working hardest for the maintenance of peace, which he proves by countless incidents.

FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY

ON NOVEMBER 30 the French Chamber of Deputies began the discussion of the budget estimates for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, as usual, the discussion turned into a debate on the whole subject of the foreign policy of France. The most striking feature about the debate this year is that in it Germany was scarcely mentioned. It turned rather on the question of the Franco-Yugoslav pact and the whole topic of French policy in the Balkans and with regard to Italy. The treaty with Yugoslavia has aroused a certain amount of uneasiness in France, owing to the uncertainty which exists as to its real implications. Public opinion in France is disturbed at the thought that her new obligations to Yugoslavia might bring her into conflict with Italy, and she has a strong desire for a satisfactory settlement of her relations with that country. This anxiety can be traced in political quarters, which have little in common in their way of looking at things. There is certainly more anxiety at the moment in France over French relations with Italy than over those with Germany.

Foreign Minister Briand's Speech

In his reply to the critics of the government policy, especially representatives of the Left groups, Foreign Minister Briand made extremely friendly reference to Signor Mussolini and seemed to be extending to him an invitation to come to a frank settlement of the differences between France and Italy. Signor Mussolini, he said, was a great friend of France, who had done good service for the Allied cause during the war. He had met him at Locarno and would meet him with pleasure again. He was convinced that the two countries would be able to reach an agreement on all points without great diffi-

culty. It was impossible to conceive of their ever being embroiled with one another in war.

As for the Treaty with Yugoslavia, it was absurd to think that France had signed it out of pique, or that Italy could find any reason to take offense by it. It was the concrete realization of the friendship between France and Yugoslavia which had arisen out of the war. The original intention had been to include Italy in the treaty and make it a three-cornered matter; its signature had been postponed several times in the hope that this could be realized, but the idea had eventually had to be abandoned. Its text, however, had been communicated to the Italian Government six weeks before the signature, so that there was no question of its having taken Italy by surprise.

Provisions of the Franco-Yugoslav Treaty

In view of the great amount of speculation caused by the provisions of the Franco-Yugoslav treaty, the French Government has made public the text of the pact. Following is a summary of the provisions:

In the preamble the two contracting parties express their desire to adhere to the maintenance of peace in Europe and to the political stability necessary to both countries. They also declare themselves attached to the principle of respect of international treaties solemnly confirmed by the League of Nations. Convinced of the duty of modern governments to avoid a return to war and to prepare for the peaceful settlement of disputes they have resolved to give mutual engagements of peace, entente, and friendship.

Article 1. That France and Jugo-Slavia reciprocally undertake not to engage in any attack or invasion, nor to have recourse in any even to war. This, however, does not apply (a) in the exercise of the right of legitimate defense, that is, in opposition to a violation of the engagement taken in the first paragraph; (b) in action taken under the application of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations; or (c) in action taken by a decision of the Council of the League or in the application of Article 15 of the Covenant, provided in the last case

that such action is directed against another State which has been the first to attack.

[Article 16 of the Covenant deals with the "sanctions" of the League, and Article 15 with the method of dealing with disputes not submitted to arbitration.]

Article 2. The contracting parties agree to settle as follows all questions which may divide them and which cannot be settled by diplomatic means: those questions in which each claims a right will be submitted to judges by whose decisions they agree to abide; all other questions will be submitted to an arbitration commission, and if the recommendations of this commission are not accepted by both countries the question will be brought before the Council of the League of Nations. The methods and means for arriving at such peaceful settlements are contained in an annex to the treaty.

Article 3. The two countries undertake to examine in common, subject to resolutions of the League of Nations, any question the nature of which may endanger the external security of either country or the present order as established by treaties of which one or other country is a signatory.

Article 4. If the two countries find themselves attacked without provocation they will, notwithstanding pacific aspirations, at once consider future action, and proceed to carry out their plans, always within the framework of the League, with a view to safeguarding their legitimate interests and to the maintenance of order as established by treaties of which one or other is a signatory.

Article 5. In the event of any modification or attempted modification of the existing political status of Europe, the two countries will discuss, subject to any resolution which may be taken by the League, the attitude respectively to be observed towards such modifications.

Article 6. Nothing in this treaty is to be interpreted in contradiction of treaties already in force concerning their foreign policy and signed by either of the contracting parties. Undertaking to exchange views concerning European politics, with the object of co-ordinating their efforts to maintain peace, each party will acquaint the other with any treaties or agreements they may conclude

with a third power in this connection and aiming at the same peaceful ends.

Article 7. Nothing in this treaty can be interpreted as being in opposition to the obligations of both parties to the League of Nations.

Article 8. The treaty will be communicated to the League.

Article 9. The treaty will come into force immediately upon ratification. It will remain in force for five years and can be renewed at the end of the fourth year.

The annex setting forth the methods of peaceful settlement of differences between the two contracting parties contains 21 paragraphs.

France and the Italo-Albanian Treaty

While there is apparently nothing in the Franco-Yugoslav pact to indicate danger for Italy, the Italian reaction to it has been one of bitter resentment, built on charges of alleged "secret" clauses. Italy's official reply to the signing of the Franco-Yugoslav pact was the conclusion of a new defense pact with Albania. The purpose of the Italo-Albanian pact has been stated in Rome to be "the stabilization of the natural relations happily existing between the two States in order that a policy of peaceful development may be assured."

The term of the defensive alliance contemplated is 20 years, and, unless denounced during the eighteenth or nineteenth year of its duration, it will be considered as renewed for an equal period. It is provided that all previous treaties between the high contracting parties negotiated after Albania's admission to the League of Nations shall be fully observed, so as to insure complete amity between the two nations, and that each of the high contracting parties shall protect the interests of the other with a zeal equal to that shown in the protection of its own. The mutual efforts of the high contracting parties shall be directed towards the maintenance of peace and tranquility, and they are pledged to employ all the means in their power to guarantee each other's security and to defend each other from external aggression. Should one of the parties be threatened with a war of aggression, the other party shall use all possible means to prevent hostilities and to secure just satis-

faction for the menaced party. In the event of the failure of such efforts to maintain peace, each party is bound to provide the other with whatever military, financial, or other assistance may be requested. In the case of war neither party shall initiate independent negotiations for peace.

According to the two letters exchanged between the signatories, which will constitute an annex to the seven clauses of the treaty and, as such, be ratified and registered, the contracting parties agree in case of war to confide the command of their allied forces to the commander-in-chief of the country attacked, and upon the conclusion of peace to repatriate within a period fixed by that commander-in-chief the troops sent to his assistance.

The Italo-Albanian treaty was signed eleven days after the signing of the Franco-Yugoslav pact. In the Italian press no attempt is made to disguise the obvious connection between the two. The *Impero*, for example, published the text of the treaty with the following headlines: "While France and Yugoslavia are plotting secret clauses and occult codicils, Italy signs a treaty of alliance with Albania in the light of day."

This attitude on the part of Italy is naturally causing a great deal of uneasiness in France. A part of the French public opinion is worried over the possibilities of entanglements in the Balkans.

At the same time efforts are being made to remove the strain which now characterizes the relations between Italy and France. At the December session of the League of Nations Council attempts were made to arrange a conference between Briand and Mussolini. It is considered that a frank discussion of the differences would go far toward clearing up the situation.

FIVE YEARS OF FASCISM

ON October 28 Italy celebrated the fifth anniversary of the Fascist march on Rome. This occasion was made use of by official writers for compiling and publishing the accomplishments which the Fascist Government had realized during its fifth year in power. The balance

sheet, which fills many long columns in Italian newspapers, has been summarized as follows by European economic and political survey:

Ministry of the Interior.—Readjustment of provincial divisions and creation of seventeen new provinces. Readjustment of communal divisions and suppression of 188 small communes. Reform of the law of public safety. Methodical application of the law for the defense of the State.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs.—Protocol between Italy and Egypt concerning regulations, decisions, and declarations of motives which were elaborated by mixed commissions under the Italo-Egyptian agreement of December 6, 1925, with regard to the delimitation of the Cyrenaico-Egyptian frontier. Convention of commerce and navigation, with two annexes and one final protocol, concluded between Italy and Greece. Pact of friendship and security between Italy and Albania. Treaty of conciliation and arbitration between Italy and Germany. Commercial convention between Italy and the Republic of Haiti. Treaty of friendship, conciliation, and judicial settlement between Italy and Chile. Treaty of friendship, conciliation, and arbitration between Italy and Hungary. General convention on air navigation between Italy and Spain. Treaty of conciliation and judicial settlement between Italy and Lithuania. Commercial convention between Italy and Lithuania, with a final protocol.

Ministry of Public Works—Railways.—Among the great works which were finished during the year V, first place belongs to the construction of the railway Rome-Naples line. During the year work proceeded on the following lines: Cuneo-Vintimiglia, Fossano-Mondovi-Ceva-Savona-S. Giuseppe di Cairo, direct line Bologna-Florence, Vittorio Veneto-Ponte delle Alpi, Ortiglia-Treviso, Aulla-Lucca, Lucca-Pontedera, Sant-Arcangelo-Urbina, Messina-Reggio.

Reconstruction of Devastated Regions.—Great progress was made in the construction of cheap houses in the zone which had suffered from the Calabro-Sicilian earthquake and in the construction of public buildings in Messina.

New Roads.—Among new constructions mention is made of the termination of the great artery Lago di Garda-Meran and of the development of ordinary roads in the south; for instance, in Calabria and Sicily. Moreover, important constructions of new provincial roads have been undertaken and many roads connecting with remote localities or giving access to seaports and railway stations have been completed. The automobile road between Milan-Bergamo has been finished.

Ports.—The important work of organization in the large seaports, a large part of which was given on the concessionary plan, has been greatly developed.

Land Improvement.—For the coming year concessions for hydraulic improvement of land have been granted over a territory of 350,000 hectares. In Sandinia, Sicily, and Basilicata various agricultural villages were built with a view to preparing for cultivation vast tracts which are at present uncultivated or little cultivated.

Hydro-electric Plants.—The production of electric energy has increased considerably. The power in the existing hydro-electric plants has increased from 4,000,000 H. P. at the end of the fourth year to 4,200,000 H. P. in the present year. Among the plants which have begun to function, the following may be mentioned: The plant on the lower Siro, in the province of Sondrio (100,000 H. P.); the Marleno plant, in the province of Bolzano (40,000 H. P.); the Casseva plant (11,000 H. P.), which is connected with the water system of the Piave across the lake of Santa Croce (Belluno), the latter being already attached to another system of 60,000 H. P. furnished by various existing plants; the barrages of Pavana and Suvania, which hold the waters of the Remo and the Limena and are to furnish the energy for the electrified line of Porrettana; the first group of hydro-electric plants of the Sila (utilization of the central Neto, beginning from Timpo Grande, with a production energy of 140,000 H. P.); the system of various plants destined for the utilization of the waters of the Neto and of the tributary rivers of the Arbo and Ampollino, which will consist of six reservoirs with an aggregate capacity of 190 million cubic meters and

of five central reservoirs; Sassari, with a capacity of 342 million cubic meters and a nominal energy of approximately 20,000 H. P. During the year, moreover, concessions for hydro-electric utilities were granted capable of producing another 400,000 H. P. of energy. Parallel with the development of electric power the utilization of water for irrigation purposes has been intensified; during the year concessions granted for irrigation purposes extended over a territory of 30,000 hectares.

Ministry of Corporations—Fundamental Act.—The labor charter approved on April 21, 1927.

Corporative Action.—Elaboration of standard rules of employment in banking institutions. Collective labor contract containing standard rules for discipline of labor, the principle of co-operation, disciplinary sanctions, provisions concerning personal rights. Constitution of the Corporative Executive Committee for regulation of prices, production costs and salaries, draft of corporative and organic statute within public administration with a view to unifying the policies of the Fascist State.

Ministry of Colonies—Libyan Colonies.—Organic rules for the functioning of the governments of the Libyan colonies. After repeal of the statutes of 1919 and suppression of the parliaments, a government council and a general consultative assembly (*Consulta Generale*) were created and the financial autonomy of both colonies was confirmed. By a royal decree which is now on the eve of approval, the legal rules for concessions of the State domain to municipalities and colonists in Tripoli and Cyrenaica will be fixed, leaving a large measure of autonomy to the local governments.

The study of the exploitation of great salt deposits in Carenza, capable of producing 400,000 tons, has been begun. In Tripoli systematic experiments on an industrial scale have been conducted in connection with the extraction of sodium and magnesium salts from the saliferous basins of Pisida (Bu Chammasse). These saliferous basins will yield 10,000 tons of magnesium chloride and 600,000 tons of sodium chloride.

In the year V road constructions were particularly important in Tripoli, which

already possesses 3,000 kilometers of roads; 1,000 kilometers being built on natural and 2,000 kilometers on artificial foundations. In Cyrenaica the road between Benghazi and Barca (108 km.) has been completed and other roads, notably Barca-Cyrene (120 km.) and Derna-Cyrene (90 km.), have been started, all of these roads being constructed on artificial foundations. Furthermore, many truck and caravan routes have been put in proper condition. The first section of the railway, which will run from Aziza over the Jebel, has been contracted for.

Presidency of the Council.—Reorganization of the "Dopolavorao." Constitution of the National Organization "Balilla." Provisions in favor of the National Fascist Institute of Culture. Provisions concerning the functioning of the national institution "L'Italiana." Disciplinary regulation governing the use of the Fascist Lictorial Emblem. Provisions in regard to the functions of the Italian Naval League. Establishment of Lictorial recreation and sport grounds. Complete regulation of the statute governing right of succession in the Italian nobility.

Ministry of War.—Application of the new statute of the royal army, established by law of March 11, 1926. Formation of the new territorial army corps of Alessandria. Formation of a new territorial army corps (Udine). New regulations in regard to the technical service in the artillery; institution of a service of specialists in the engineers' corps; new statute concerning the command of the general staff corps. Reorganization (organization and instruction) of the officers' corps of the royal army by application of the new laws of March 11, 1926, numbers 396 and 398, regulating respectively the status and promotion of officers. Exclusive authority of the law on recruitment of the royal army approved by royal decree of August 5, 1927. Gradual introduction of new army equipment. Reorganization of supply of materials for artillery, engineer, and automobile services. Constitution of the "Union of Pensioned Officers of Italy."

Ministry of the Navy.—Order for construction of four scouting ships of 5,500 tons and of five submarines of 850 tons. Addition to the colonial radio-telegraphic system of high power stations for short

and long waves; the radio stations of all great and small men-of-war were refitted and improved. Reform of the statute of the Royal Naval Academy. Under the direction of the office of the chief of the naval general staff, great impulse has been given to the consolidation and instruction of the fleet and its personnel in all branches of naval warfare.

Ministry of Aeronautics.—New organization which gives the royal air force greater power in aerial warfare. The necessary program of improvements has been prepared. Enactment of provisions relating to the formation of an air force reserve and to pre-military aeronautical instruction. Rules regarding recruitment and treatment of noncommissioned officers and troops of the royal air force. Establishment of schools for pilots.

Ministry of Finance.—Issue of the Lictor Loan of November, 1926. Institution of the Office of Amortization of the Public Debt. Tax reductions amounting to about 1,000 million lire. Establishment of a society for production of natural fertilizers. Reorganization of the National Institute of Exchange. Guaranty of credits to exporters. Disciplinary regulations of commerce and commercial bonds. Amalgamation of the autonomous bank for mining credits of Sicily with the Bank of Sicily. New statute of the Bank of Naples.

Ministry of Justice.—Law of November 25, 1926, for the defense of the State. Law concerning the Lictorial Fasces as emblem of the State. Establishment of a Court of Appeal in Rodi. Provisions for the Italianization of the names of the new provinces. Law on rents and expulsion of tenants. Rules and regulations for the exercise of professions. Reorganization of prisons and improvement of agricultural and industrial penitentiary colonies. Reform of all codes, which will be completed in the year VI.

Ministry of Communications.—Introduction of electric traction for all passenger and freight traffic on the Spezia-Leghorn line. The Ministry authorizes the administration of the State railways to buy and build, up to a cost of 80 million lire, cheap houses to be rented to railway workers. The management of the "Providence" society's food section is

charged with selling its merchandise to all State employees. Speeding up the establishment of the State hydro-electric generating station in Pavane, which is destined to supply energy for electric traffic on the line Bologna-Pistoria-Florence. Speeding up the introduction of electric traction on the section Bologna-Florence. Reduction of freight rates. Reduction of accessory fees on freight. Opening of the straight railway line between Rome and Naples. Speeding up the introduction of electric traction on the section Pozzuoli-Solfatara-Villa Literno. Establishment of free ports. Submarine cable Anzio-Barcelona-Malaga. New radio station Rome-Torrenuova. Inauguration of the railway station in Forli.

Ministry of National Economy.—Establishment of provincial offices and councils of economy. Provisions for the development of grain cultivation. Appointment of itinerant lecturers on agricultural subjects. Establishment of State domain concerns for exploitation of forests. Reorganization of agricultural credit. Amendment of the law concerning industrial property. Institution of the National Office of Silk Industry. New mining law. Establishment of national standard for products of fruit cultivation destined for export. Law concerning the protection of savings. Reorganization of the Cooperative Alliance of Turin. Reorganization of the National Institute of Cooperative Credit. Disciplinary regulations concerning the flour-mill industry. General regulations concerning hygiene of labor.

THE SOVIET ARMY

IN VIEW of the participation of the Soviet Government in the disarmament discussion in Geneva, the question of the strength and character of the Soviet army acquires special significance. According to a "Military Correspondent" of the *London Times*, the strength of the Red army is almost equal to that of the pre-war imperial army.

In 1914 the peace establishment of the Imperial Russian army amounted to 1,300,000, all ranks, a number swelled during the annual training period by about

500,000 reservists. Today the Red army, including the air arm, has a peace strength of about 1,124,000. Of this number, 562,000 are provided by the regular army (including the organized Ogpu (political peace) troops) and the remainder by the 1st Line territorial divisions. It is estimated that in time of war the Soviet Government would have at its disposal about 10,000,000 men between the ages of 18 and 31, all of whom would have received varying degrees of military training. But only a limited proportion could be armed and equipped.

Recruitment

As in imperial days, the army is recruited by conscription, and the men selected for military service are called up at the age of 21. But preliminary military training begins at the age of 16, and all youths between the ages of 16 and 18 receive annually 160 hours of drill and physical exercises. From the autumn of the present year the students in the higher educational establishments receive 180 hours of theoretical training (and in this course women students are included) and two months' practical training in camp. At the age of 18 pre-conscription training begins, and in the following two years each youth undergoes a total of ten weeks' military training, the instructors being drawn from the army. In the 21st year he is medically examined and, according to the number which he draws at this examination, is allotted to the regular army, to the regular cadre of a territorial division, to the territorials, or escapes embodied service altogether.

The period of service with the regular army is five years—two years with the colors and three on "leave." In the air force each man serves three years with the colors. The territorial army, to which many of the men not required by the regular army are sent (the remainder go straight to the reserve), has a four-year period of intermittent color service. After the end of the five years of conscript service, men are transferred to the reserve, there to remain, with occasional course of instruction, until they reach the age of 40. Even then the country does not relax its rights, and the time-expired reservists are transferred to local formations.

There are ten military districts (including the Army of the Caucasus) in the U. S. S. R., each under a commander with a staff of 800. These commanders are responsible for the training and administration of all military formations, regular and territorial, within the area allotted to them. Their districts are subdivided into divisional, regimental, and battalion areas under commissariats entrusted with the duty of registering men, animals, means of transport, &c., for military purposes.

The army is organized into 21 corps and three cavalry corps. As a rule, each corps has three divisions and the usual corps troops, to which is added a gas regiment. Each infantry division (about 18,595, all ranks, on war footing) has three regiments, each of three battalions—artillery, engineers, and signal formations. There are in all 69 infantry divisions, 30 of which are regular formations and the rest territorial, and 12 cavalry and Cossack divisions, one of which is territorial (Cossack). New divisions are probably in course of formation.

Automatic Weapons

The infantry regiment (1,683, all ranks) is itself a composite body of three battalions, with mounted and dismounted scouting companies and a close support brigade of two three-gun batteries of 76mm. guns. Each regiment has about 150 machine guns, light machine guns, and automatic rifles.

Cavalry divisions (each with a war establishment of 8,500 all ranks) have six regiments (each 900 strong, with 16 light and 16 heavy machine guns), a mechanized force, and a cyclist company. A reduction of the number of regiments per division to four is under consideration.

The great number of automatic weapons in use in the Red army should be noted. The dependence on machine guns implied by the numbers supplied to units is explained, in part, by the relative inefficiency of the Russian soldier in rifle shooting, and in part by the inherent difficulties of the supply of gun ammunition to troops operating, as Soviet troops must, in areas lacking the means of communications which are found in the territories of the other great powers. The decision to increase the complement of automatic weap-

ons gives some proof of the military ability of those controlling the destinies of the Soviet régime.

Transport is one of the more serious problems which those directing the fortunes of the Red army must face. An infantry division has under present conditions 3,900 vehicles and 9,000 animals and very little mechanical transport. This number is greatly in excess of that in any other army of the first grade. Measures are being taken to provide adequate mechanical transport and much use is being made of the Fordson tractor, which has a value also as an agricultural implement, and can be made, therefore, to serve two purposes—one in peace and the other in war.

It is probable that, in the event of war, the Soviet Government would decide to expand its forces through the territorial army. The regular army would be the covering force and the cavalry the striking force. The territorial army would complete its training—with relative rapidity in view of the system of compulsory military education—and would be the nucleus from which new divisions would be created.

In addition to the normal troops of the red army, there are those controlled by the OGPU. They are a political weapon, devised for the suppression of revolution, the detection of espionage, the guarding of the frontiers, and many other functions for the protection of the government in being. Because of these duties, they are treated with special benevolence, are trained and equipped with care, and are maintained out of grants independent of those for the Red army proper.

The special section—the anti-revolutionary troops and the arm of protection for the Soviet Government—is organized as follows: A three-regiment division with one regiment at Leningrad and the other two in Moscow, seven other regiments and 100 other sections (each of three infantry platoons, a machine-gun platoon, and a troop of cavalry) distributed throughout the country. The majority of the personnel are Communists. The frontier guards protect the frontiers and engage in espionage and contra-espionage and the convoy troops are employed usually in the escorting of prisoners.

The Air Force

The air force is an organization apart from the Red army, but is under the direction of the Commissar for War. Its reconstruction began in 1921 and today it is attaining some recognizable degree of efficiency. Many machines have been purchased abroad and some have been constructed in Russia. There is a belief that Russia will shortly be able to meet her own air needs by internal construction. Designs have been purchased from other countries, and skilled aeronautical engineers have accepted service under the Soviet Government. Some endeavor is made to select special personnel for this force, and youths who are sound in their Communist principles are drawn from secondary schools and undergo special courses in the Red Air Normal School. There are approximately 90 squadrons of 12 machines each. Of these about 50 are reconnaissance squadrons, 25 are fighting squadrons, and the rest bombing. There are 14 schools for pilots and observers. The most efficient machines are distributed along the Russian western front.

Armored vehicles, including tanks, armored cars, and armored trains, are under the direction of the inspector of artillery and armored forces. Careful selection is made of the personnel in order that none but professed Communists may be recruited into the branch. Each must have had initial training in mechanics. There are few tanks in the Red army and none of them of a modern type. Preparations are being made for the equipment of tanks with anti-gas devices, and in the matter of defense against enemy tanks it is proposed that anti-tank mine fields should be laid not only with explosive mines, but also with gas mines.

Gas warfare is regarded as important and endeavors are being made to devise new gases and to extend the means of production. At present there are few gas masks in relation to the strength of the Red army and only a small proportion of these masks are of modern type. It is said that during field exercises weak gas is discharged in order to accustom the troops to its use. As a form of training, this method is not popular. Gas officers are attached to corps, divisions, and regi-

ments and each infantry regiment has a chemical section. There is a central gas school at which courses of training of one or two years are given.

Officers

There is today a great lack of suitable officers for commissions. The Soviet Government, anxious about its own security, has a preference for officers and non-commissioned officers selected from the Communist Party, a preference which narrows the source of supply. There are many military schools. Among them are 64 "normal schools," which take in soldiers or civilians between the ages of 17 and 23 and educate them to be platoon commanders. There is also a senior officers' school for the training of brigade commanders and officers of still higher rank. The course is so arranged as to fit these officers for the command of higher formations. The course lasts for nine months. The highest school is the Red General Staff Academy, with a course of three years. At this establishment a thorough staff training is given. There is also the Military-Political Academy at Leningrad, where "military-political workers" are trained. Graduates are to be able to reply to the questions of Red soldiers. They must understand the international situation and must be able to set a correct party course. Their military knowledge should be satisfactory and in development they should keep pace with the executive officers.

The Red army lacks military *matériel*. There is a plentiful supply of rifles, and the means of production are adequate. Several types of machine guns and automatic rifles are in use, but many are badly worn, and as yet the supply of new weapons falls far behind the demand. Divisional artillery is equipped, as a rule, with one type of gun, but the heavy artillery has many types, with consequent disadvantages in regard to the supply of ammunition.

The moral of the Red army is good, if the state of discipline can be accepted as a standard. The Russian soldier has not changed his attributes, and his powers of stubborn fighting still remain. At the same time his qualities in the offensive have not increased, and in operations out-

side his own country his military enthusiasm might decline rapidly. There are signs that the Soviet Government has not complete confidence in the loyalty of the army to the Soviet régime, and the Ogpu troops alone are fully trusted. All the available evidence tends to show that, though the Red army is a good defensive force, it could not wage successful war outside Soviet territories, and it is not in itself a real threat to the peace of Europe.

REORGANIZATION OF THE BELGIAN CABINET

BELGIUM has just passed through a brief ministerial crisis, which resulted in a reorganization of the Jaspar Cabinet. The crisis was brought on by the resignation of the four Socialist ministers, and the new cabinet has been formed without Socialist participation.

The New Jaspar Cabinet

The Belgian Cabinet fell on November 21. For some days prior to that there had been a great deal of uneasiness in parliamentary circles in regard to the reorganization of the army and the introduction by the Socialist Left of a bill to reduce the period of military service from ten months to six months. At a cabinet meeting on November 21, the Comte de Broqueville, Minister of National Defense, made a general statement on the situation in connection with army reorganization, with particular reference to military *cadres*, the fortifications system, and reduction in the period of service. He stated that it was impossible for him to introduce at present a bill dealing with the period of military service which would have the approval of all the ministers, and he therefore proposed that the military problem as a whole should be submitted to a commission similar to that which dealt with the subject in 1920.

As there was disagreement among the ministers in regard to this proposal, it was decided that the ministry should resign. The Socialist ministers were driven towards resignation by the growing hostility of their party to co-operation with the Catholics and Liberals.

The new Jaspar Cabinet was formed two days later. The places of the four Socialist ministers was taken by two Liberals and two Christian Democrats. The program of the new ministry will be limited to financial and economic problems and to questions connected with the army reorganization. The new government will meet Parliament on Tuesday. M. de Brouckère has resigned his appointment as the Belgian representative on the Disarmament Commission at Geneva.

The members of the Catholic Right in the Chamber and the Senate held a meeting on November 23 to consider the political situation, and passed a resolution expressing their confidence in the Catholic members of the government. The Liberal Deputies and Senators have decided to support the new ministry, which will have a majority in the Chamber of 17 in a total of 187 deputies.

The Causes of the Crisis

The ministerial crisis which has thus been ended has been considered as inevitable for some time past. The Catholic and Liberal ministers refused to accept the Socialist proposals for the reduction of the period of military service from ten to six months until such time as the defense of the country was assured by the necessary armaments, fortifications, military cadres, and an adequate recruiting organization.

The Socialist Ministers, bound by party decisions, demanded, if not an immediate diminution of the period of service to six months, at least a promise from the government that it would be reduced at some time in the future. The government could not give the promise. The Comte de Broqueville, Minister of National Defense, had intended to draw up a bill for the reorganization of the army, but the Belgian general staff, which in 1920 had opposed the introduction of ten months as the period of military service, definitely declared that in the present circumstances it was impossible to consider a further reduction. The Prime Minister, M. Jaspar, then proposed that the whole military problem should be referred to a commission of 21 members, half of whom would be selected from members of Parliament

concerned with military affairs and the other half from the army. This commission would have been instructed to report to Parliament in the same manner as did the 1920 commission. The Socialist ministers were unable to accept this proposal, not for reasons of procedure, but for reasons of party tactics, as the Socialist Party had decided recently to begin an energetic campaign all over the country in favor of the reduction of the military service period to six months. This was the actual cause of the ministerial crisis.

The new government will appoint the commission and will refer to it the present military problem. This commission will be asked to carry out its work as quickly as possible, but the Minister of National Defense will in the meantime introduce a bill dealing with military works and credits for the purchase of armaments. The reference to the commission will certainly have the support of the Chamber, with the exception of the Socialists and the two Communist deputies. The early settlement of the crisis was due to M. Jaspard's success in obtaining the support of the Catholic Party and the Liberal Party.

DISARMAMENT

THE Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference began its fourth session on November 30. At this meeting, for the first time, all the great powers of the world were represented, including Soviet Russia. It was the Russian delegation that provided the sensation of the meeting.

The Russian Proposal

The Russian proposal, which was made by M. Litvinoff, head of the Russian delegation, was as follows:

(a) The dissolution of all land, sea, and air forces and the non-admittance of their existence in any concealed form whatsoever.

(b) The destruction of all weapons, military supplies, means of chemical warfare, and all other forms of armament and means of destruction in the possession of troops or military or general stores.

(c) The scrapping of all warships and military air vessels.

(d) The discontinuance of the calling up of citizens for military training, either in armies or public bodies.

(e) Legislation for the abolition of military service, either compulsory, voluntary, or recruited.

(f) Legislation prohibiting the calling up of trained reserves.

(g) The destruction of fortresses and naval and air bases.

(h) The scrapping of military plants, factories, and war industry plants in general industrial works.

(i) The discontinuance of assigning funds for military purposes, both on State budgets and those of public bodies.

(k) The abolition of military, naval, and air ministries, the dissolution of general staffs and all kinds of military administrations, departments, and institutions.

(l) Legislative prohibition of military propaganda, military training of the population, and military education, both by State and public bodies.

(m) Legislative prohibition of the patenting of all kinds of armaments and means of destruction with a view to the removal of the incentive to the invention of the same.

(n) Legislation making the infringement of any of the above stipulations a grave crime against the State.

(o) The withdrawal or corresponding alteration of all legislative acts both of national and international scope, infringing the above stipulations.

The Soviet Delegation is empowered to propose the fulfillment of the above program of complete disarmament as soon as the respective convention comes into force, in order that all necessary measures for the destruction of military stores may be completed in a year's time. The Soviet Government considers that the above scheme for the execution of complete disarmament is the simplest and most conducive to peace. In the case of the capitalist States rejecting the immediate abolition of standing armies, the Soviet, in its desire to facilitate the achievement of practical agreement proposes a program of complete disarmament, to be carried out simultaneously by all the contracting States by gradual stages during a period of four years, the first stage to be accomplished in the course of the coming year. Under this

proposal the national funds freed from war budgets are to be employed in each State at its own discretion, but exclusively for productive and cultural purposes.

While insisting upon the views just stated, the delegation is, nevertheless, ready to participate in any and every discussion of the question of the limitation of armaments whenever practical measures really leading to disarmament are proposed. The delegation declares that the Soviet Government fully subscribes to the convention on the prohibition of the application to military purposes of chemical and bacteriological substances and processes and expresses its readiness to sign the convention immediately.

Replies to the Proposal

The Russian proposal was discussed by several delegates to the conference. The first reply came from the French delegate, M. Paul-Boncour, who pointed out that the negotiations for disarmament are carried on on the basis of Article 8 of the League Covenant, and it would never do to swap horses in midstream. For thousands of years the world has longed for a simple solution like that of the Bolsheviks, but the difficulties have to be met one by one. The States concerned have international engagements and responsibilities. Even without armaments, small nations would be at the mercy of the larger, whose populations were more numerous and whose industrial capacities were greater. Soldiers, even when disbanded, would be soldiers still. First of all, security must be established, and the technical work they are trying to do was the first step towards that end.

Dr. Benesh (Czechoslovakia) explained that when they had first studied the business of disarmament, in 1921 and 1922, proposals very like the Soviet's had been put forward, but they had found that the only way of approach which promised a practical result is the technical consideration of the problem in a scientific spirit. It was really time to say that M. Litvinoff's proposals had been before the League in its earliest days.

M. Politis (Greece) added the argument that there had not been in history an organized society which had been able to dispense with force altogether.

Committee on Security

An important feature of the meeting was the creation of a Committee on Security, the principal object of which is the interpretation and possible elaboration of certain clauses of the League of Nations Covenant. The committee consists of representatives of the following nations: The British Empire, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Finland, the Netherlands, Poland, and Rumania (which are the 14 countries represented on the Council), and, in addition, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay. These are all the nations represented on the Preparatory Commission, with the exception of the United States and Soviet Russia, both of which will probably have observers.

After discussions lasting several days, the commission adjourned for further study of the questions on its agenda and will meet again in March, 1928. It is expected that the plenary Disarmament Conference will be held during the year 1928.

POLISH-LITHUANIAN CONFLICT

ON DECEMBER 10, through the intermediary of the League of Nations Council, an important step was made in the adjustment of a protracted conflict between Poland and Lithuania. The two Baltic countries had been in "a state of war" for nearly seven years, and although there had not been any armed encounter the condition of affairs represented a source of uncertainty and danger in eastern Europe. The present dispute arose over the Lithuanian claim that Lithuanian schools have been closed by the Poles in the Vilna district, which claim was submitted to the League of Nations under Article II of the Covenant. Back of this dispute, however, is the conflict between the two countries over the Vilna question.

The Vilna Question

The Vilna question came into existence soon after the war, when the Poles occupied the Vilna district. Since then both Poland and Lithuania have claimed this territory, with the Poles in occupation.

Ethnographically speaking, according to a handbook prepared by the British Foreign Office before the Vilna question became acute, "there is no doubt that Polish influence is strong enough to make the Province of Vilna and the northern districts of Grodno form a Polish wedge between the Lithuanians on the north and the White Russians on the south and east. The Poles in the population of the whole government of Vilna are probably about a quarter of the inhabitants and their center is the Vilna (town) district. The remaining three-quarters are a mixture of White Russians, Lithuanians, and Jews, the latter residing exclusively in the towns, Vilna especially. The land-owners throughout are mainly Polish and of the rest the White Russians are much more numerous than either Poles or Lithuanians.

Historically, however, as the London correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor* points out, Vilna has always been the headquarters of the Lithuanian national movement. In 1905, for instance, 2,000 Lithuanian delegates assembled at Vilna and demanded autonomy for Lithuania. Further back, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Vilnius, as the Lithuanians call it, was the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which acquired great military glory in wars against the Teutonic Knights, the Poles and the Russians. Later on, in the fifteenth century, Poland and Lithuania were united under a single scepter, which was when the Polish infiltration into Vilna took place. When Poland, with Lithuania, was partitioned, in the eighteenth century, however, the Vilna district was kept by the Russians outside Russian Poland proper.

In the confused period which followed the Bolshevik revolution of November, 1917, Vilna changed hands about half a dozen times, being held sometimes by Lithuania, sometimes by Poland, and sometimes by the Soviets. The Lithuanian State Council proclaimed the independence of Lithuania at Vilna on February 16, 1918. A year later it was captured by the Bolsheviks, from whom the Poles took it on April 19, 1919, forestalling a Lithuanian advance by a few days, perhaps hours.

Friction between the two rival armies rose to such a pitch that the Supreme Council at Paris decided to establish a demarcation line between them a week later. The terms of the settlement were not observed and on July 2, another line was laid down, giving the Poles appreciably more territory. A year later, at the end of April, 1920, the Poles attacked the Soviet Government and captured Kieff, capital of the Ukraine, only to be driven out again to lose more than they had gained, including Vilna, which they evacuated on July 15, 1920.

The town was then occupied by the Russians and by them handed over to the Lithuanians in accordance with the treaty of peace between the two countries signed at Moscow on July 12, 1920.

For a brief three months thereafter the Lithuanians held Vilna, their claim to which had been recognized by the Allies in Paris on December 8, 1919, when Vilna was still in the hands of the Poles. The Poles, however, protested to the League of Nations in September, and as there was every prospect of hostilities between the two rivals, an allied military mission was sent to Vilna to try to keep the peace. An armistice was negotiated at Suvalki on October 7 and signed by a couple of Polish officers on behalf of Poland. This left Vilna on the Lithuanian side of the frontier pending a final decision.

But a couple of days later a force of Polish "irregulars" under General Zeligowsky drove the Lithuanians from Vilna, which has remained Polish ever since. The Allies recognized the *fait accompli* on March 14, 1923, but their decision has never been accepted as final by the Lithuanian Government, which still, as a result of the Zeligowsky *coup d'état*, considers itself at war with Poland.

The Present Dispute

The present dispute arose out of alleged attempts made by the Polish Government to close Lithuanian schools and to remove Lithuanian refugees from the Vilna District and scatter them through other parts of Poland. Reports of this aroused a great deal of excitement in Lithuania, which communicated itself to Poland and found expression in the

Polish press. The feeling in Lithuania arose to such a pitch that a mobilization was even ordered. In order to avoid an outburst of armed activities, both sides were persuaded to refer the whole question to the League of Nations. The Polish Government, in addition to agreeing to this, also dispatched a note to all the powers, protesting its desire for peace.

An interesting aspect of the situation lies in the fact that Russia also stepped into it. The Russian Foreign Office addressed a note to the Polish Government, in which it warned Poland against any aggressive designs upon Lithuania. The note stated that "public opinion in the Soviet Union is disturbed by the fact that there have appeared in the responsible Polish papers, without eliciting any denial from competent quarters, reports that the Polish Government has decided upon a drastic cutting of the knot of Polish-Lithuanian relations." As to whether these reports are well founded or not, the Soviet Government does not inquire, but it adds: "The Government of the Soviet Union, being an immediate neighbor of Poland and Lithuania, and by this very fact particularly interested in the preservation of peace in eastern Europe, feels itself obliged to call the very special attention of the Polish Government to the immense danger that any attempt that may be made by any country whatever upon the independence of Lithuania would constitute, whatever form it might take."

End of the State of War

The climax of the negotiations in Geneva at the session of the League Council was very dramatic. It is described as follows by the Associated Press correspondent:

Marshal Pilsudski, Premier of Poland, and Augustin Waldemaras, Premier of Lithuania, faced each other at the Council meeting, which was held in the office

of Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League.

Before entering the session, the Polish delegation said that broad lines had been established for the settlement of the dispute. It said, however, that the exact formula had not been found.

While the Council was deliberating the Lithuanian spokesman said that what Lithuania really wanted was documents signed by the powers and Poland that the question of the sovereignty over the Vilna District is not settled, and that Lithuania had the right to open pourparlers with Poland for a definite determination of the Lithuanian-Polish frontier.

The spokesman declared that Waldemaras was ready to ask for such a document in case the Council pressed him to resume diplomatic relations with Poland.

The crisis in the negotiations occurred when Marshal Pilsudski suddenly leaned over the table, pointed his finger at the Lithuanian Premier and said:

"I have a definite question to put to the honorable representative of Lithuania; is it peace or war?"

The Lithuanian Premier did not quail under the gaze of the Polish marshal. He looked Marshal Pilsudski squarely in the eye and answered clearly:

"It is peace."

A ripple of applause broke from the members of the Council, and when this had died down, Marshal Pilsudski declared: "As it is peace, I no more need personally to discuss details of the settlement, which I leave to my foreign minister, Mr. Zaleski. I shall order a *Te Deum* of joy to be sung in all the churches of Poland."

Marshal Pilsudski then solemnly took an engagement before the Council that Poland will respect the independence of Lithuania, while Mr. Waldemaras undertook an engagement that Lithuania does not consider herself in a state of war with Poland.

NEW YEAR VIEWS

TO OUR request for a statement of views as to the next steps in the interest of international peace, we select the following replies:

From the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives:

MY DEAR MR. CALL:

Peace with all the world and entangling alliances with none should be the watchword of America. We should quit considering the human race as fit only for gun fodder and lead them on to the promotion of peace, happiness, and good will.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN D. MADDEN.

From the Junior Senator from the State of Rhode Island:

MY DEAR MR. CALL:

I have your letter of December 12th, inviting me to submit a short statement for publication in your magazine, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and take pleasure in sending you the following:

Any society that will work for peace, even for one day, has my best wishes, but when a society has worked for 100 years it has my most hearty support, and I hope that it will continue for another 100 years.

It has been my experience that when I have loaned money to a friend that I have lost that friend and made an enemy, and it seems to work that same way between nations. At the present time it is most important that these United States should by word and deed show that our spirit and ideals are those of true friendship to all. So at this Christmas season let us renew the pledge, peace on earth, good will to men, and resolve to carry it out throughout the years.

Yours very truly,

JESSE H. METCALF.

From the leader of the Republicans on the floor of the House of Representatives:

MY DEAR MR. CALL:

In response to your very courteous request of December 13, I have dictated a few lines for your centennial number symposium.

If you think it too militant, throw it in the waste basket, but it at least expresses my own views.

If the words "next steps in the interest of international peace" imply action or mean a new movement of some character, then I am not prepared at this time to make even a suggestion. It seems to me that the cause of peace is most surely advanced by a modest, friendly attitude on our part and by a steady march forward, with as little of ballyhoo methods as possible in our progress. The development of our means for national defense especially should be along these lines. A failure to keep our army and navy in a reasonable state of readiness to perform the functions for which they are maintained would be inimical to the cause of peace equally with swashbuckling demands for sudden and immoderate increases in military armament. We desire the good will of all peoples everywhere. Without excellent reasons to the contrary, we should assume that we have it and act accordingly. Possessing the good will of others, we can best serve the cause of peace by pursuing a course that will prove to all the world our desire to merit and retain this good will.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN Q. TILSON.

From the Junior Senator of Connecticut:

DEAR MR. CALL:

You ask me for my views relative to the next steps which ought to be taken in the interests of international peace. I cannot express my feelings more accurately than by repeating the words of the President's recent message to Congress, in which he says:

"While having a due regard for our own affairs, the protection of our own rights, and the advancement of our own people, we can afford to be liberal toward others. Our example has become of great importance in the world. It is recognized that we are independent, detached, and can and do take a disinterested position in relation to international affairs. Our charity embraces the earth. Our trade is far-flung. Our financial favors are widespread. Those who are peaceful and law-abiding realize that not only have they nothing to fear from us, but that

they can rely on our moral support. Proposals for promoting the peace of the world will have careful consideration. But we are not a people who are always seeking for a sign. We know that peace comes from honesty and fair dealing, from moderation and a generous regard for the rights of others. The heart of the nation is more important than treaties. A spirit of generous consideration is a more certain defense than great armaments. We should continue to promote peace by our example, and fortify it by such international covenants against war as we are permitted under our Constitution to make."

Sincerely yours,

HIRAM BINGHAM.

From the Junior Senator of Kansas:

DEAR MR. CALL:

More than ten years ago we entered the war to end war.

Yet, as this is written, formal announcement has just been made of a new naval building program to involve an expenditure over a period of years of more than \$800,000,000 by our own country.

In this time of peace three nations—France, Great Britain, and the United States—spend not less than one billion dollars a year for the upbuilding and maintenance of their navies.

No one will deny that the people of all civilized nations are single-minded in their horror of war, in their desire to use every honorable means to avoid another armed conflict.

Nevertheless, the melancholy fact is that in the nine years that have elapsed since the World War ended our own nation has made little, if any, real progress on the path to enduring peace with other nations. Indeed, we are in danger of losing ground, for during the year 1923 the Bryan treaties of arbitration with France, Great Britain, and Japan all expire by their own terms.

We have put our faith in pious platitudes and mere fond hopes of enduring peace. We have not taken the first practical steps to insure it. We have clung to a belief that our geographical position isolated us from the troubles of the remainder of the world. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Our isolation ended many years ago. Our industrial and agricultural prosperity, the comfort and convenience of all our people, are largely dependent upon the maintenance of peace among other nations, whether we will that to be so or not.

As the most powerful and secure nation in the world, we owe a duty to our own people, as well as to those of less fortunate nations, to take the initiative in transforming mere talk of peace to actual insurance against war.

The way is open to us. We have the invitation of M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France, extended many months ago, to enter into negotiations for a treaty that will definitely outlaw war. Such a treaty would be but the forerunner of many similar treaties with and between other nations.

It is in acceptance of M. Briand's invitation that I have introduced in the Senate of the United States a resolution declaring the policy of the United States to be:

1. To enter into treaty with France and other like-minded nations formally to renounce war as a means of settlement of international disputes, and to substitute mediation, arbitration, and conciliation.

2. To regard as an aggressor that nation which, having agreed to submit international differences to conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement, begins hostilities without having done so; and

3. To refuse protection to nationals of the contracting governments who give aid and comfort to an aggressor nation.

By adoption of the resolution, the President will be requested to enter into such negotiations with France and other nations.

Mere public sentiment for peace cannot outlaw war. Action is needed. Adoption of the resolution will be the first practical step toward peace. The time has arrived for definite and absolute renunciation of war as a legitimate means of settling international disputes. The nation to lead in that renunciation is the United States.

The responsibility rests on the United States Senate.

ARTHUR CAPPER.

From one of America's best-known men:

MY DEAR MR. CALL:

I have your letter of the 9th and enclosure.

I do not feel that I can give you a well-thought-out expression and would prefer, therefore, to write you this informal letter, with the understanding that I be not quoted in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Commenting upon your letter to Dr. Thwing, there is no question that if war is

forced upon this country every patriotic citizen, including the membership of the American Peace Society, must uphold the hands of the government. There can be no argument as to that. What we can do as a Peace Society must be done before a declaration of war is made or actual warfare begun.

The suggestion made by Mr. Steed, that our government pass a resolution that we would discontinue all relations, furnishing no munitions, funds, and would not have communication with any country in the world that declared war without first having submitted their case to arbitration, either through the League of Nations or the World Court, appeals to me as one of the ways to prevent war, and particularly if it is done in co-operation with practically every other nation in the world making similar pledges.

For myself, I am anxious to see some arrangement worked out which would make it unnecessary for any nation in the world to act upon the principle that they should have a navy "second to none." This "second to none" is likely to be an endless-chain affair, the size of any navy being controlled only by the amount of money that can be raised, and it does seem to me that the effort should be one for peace and agreements of mutual co-operation and defense, rather than a contest for armaments.

I can see no objection whatever to our having an air force sufficient to control the air in this country and its adjacent waters.

I favor the passage of such legislation as would make all our resources, capital and individuals at the call of the government.

I have no suggestions as to the Centennial Celebration in Cleveland, other than such program as might forward the above.

From the President of the American Exchange Bank, Pierre, South Dakota:

DEAR MR. CALL:

Personally I am more in favor of using what influence we may have as against the extremely large and excessive expenditures by our government for the upbuilding and maintenance of our great war machine, the army and the navy; a smaller army and a smaller or different navy would satisfy me better. How much did we really use our great battleships during the last great war? They soon become obsolete and we use them as targets, &c. I would spend more than we are spending on aviation, which would be the more effective, &c.

Agitation along these lines is what I advocate.

On the other hand, I stand for 100 per cent patriotism and loyalty to our government and *all* of its enacted laws.

For *defense* of home and country, 100 per cent.

Our Society must stand full and always as an upholder of such laws as the majority have passed after due deliberation, and placed upon the books. Respect for law, for all law, is my own choice of method of advocating peace, the upholding of *law*.

I have nothing but contempt and opposition for those who try to uphold their own personal desires and judgments as proper to take the place of duly enacted *law*.

Anything I ever say or write may be quoted. I am neither afraid nor ashamed of anything I stand for. If it is possible I am wrong, I desire more than any one to get right.

Yours faithfully,

CHAS. L. HYDE.

DR. ELLERY'S "THE SAVING TRUTH" (11,000 P. C.)*

Reviewed by ETNA McCORMICK

NOWHERE has Newton Ellery's historical insight found happier expression than in his latest volume, *The Saving Truth*, which was cerebellegraphed† to members of the Subliman Scientific Society at the fifth magnetic cycle yesterday. This history completes his mental and spiritual evolutionary series and in many ways is the most significant of them all. The theme of the book is our species's narrow escape from annihilation. Dr. Ellery graphically pictures the Super-Primate—the link between the Primates and the Presublimen—caught in the trap made by his own fierce nature joined to his evolving mentality.

Dr. Ellery's excavations on the sites of New York and London—those ancient Super-Primate holds regarding which so many legends have been handed up through countless ascenderations to ourselves—convince him that the Subliman species passed through a dangerous period, during which, in spite of a mentality highly efficient in dealing with material facts, the race had not yet stumbled on the truth, obvious to the most atavistic of our own day, that individuals or groups ultimately prosper least when attempting to prosper at the expense of other groups and individuals.

Dr. Ellery suggests that during this Super-Primate phase great numbers organized themselves into belligerent bands for the destruction or exploitation of other

*P. C. refers to the period of the Cerebellegraph, the formulation of whose laws and governing principles was deemed significant enough to mark the beginning of a new era. It would require volumes fully to discuss the evolution of the cerebellegraph. The reader is referred to *The Fourth Brain* and subsequent volumes.

†During this period the cerebellegraph was used for transmitting most ideas. Print was seldom employed, except for material which might be valuable for future reference.

hordes of Super-Primates. He even suggests that within the various groups a similar system maintained, and that not infrequently less influential members were required to die toiling or fighting for the material aggrandizement of their oppressors. The author is further convinced that an almost unbelievable proportion of the time and energy of the earlier Super-Primates was devoted to the production of agents of destruction. Certain highly complicated machines for hurling projectiles and certain gaseous bombs unearthed near Paris, another Super-Primate city, had no connection, he believes, with the promotion or betterment of life, but rather were dedicated to the forces of death and destruction. They were deliberately created, he believes, for the purpose of wiping out large sections of population, irrespective of the eugenic possibilities of those about to be destroyed.

The author presents the rather startling view that during this critical Super-Primate phase of the Subliman racial development there existed certain individuals whom he designated as Men to differentiate them from their contemporary Super-Primates; that these Men had begun to grasp the truth and to distinguish the factors of creation from those of destruction; and that for this they were persecuted by their contemporaries, who were intent upon maintaining the ancient murderous and suicidal policy as the established mode. Men increased, Dr. Ellery believes, not so much through the biological evolution of the species as by the weight of the idea. Prophets arose who pointed out what every schoolboy of today accepts as axiomatic, but which at that time were great and profound verities with the stamp of novelty upon them. False faiths were swept away; clear thinking became the aim; *heaven here* was accepted as the new Golden Rule.

Once well started, the new idealism swept like liquid fire through the hearts

of the more intelligent of the Super-Primates. The eager and questioning youth of all lands accepted the new doctrines and pledged themselves and their lives and all their endeavors to creativeness as opposed to destruction. Thereby the race, through both personal endeavor and a conscious attention to the problem of racial improvement, more and more nearly approached the Pre-Subliman type.

The task was not an easy one. The problem of intergroup appreciation had to be solved. Strictly differentiated types showed a tendency to regard their ideas and their racial stock as worthy of predominance. At times, Dr. Ellery believes, the very desire for *heaven here* led certain groups of late Super-Primates or Pre-Men, distinguished by numbers rather than by real intelligence, to contemplate launching attacks on rival groups. Dr. Ellery offers convincing proof that at one interval all that had been gained was saved only by the appearance of a great leader, who was able to demonstrate to the conviction of all individuals that an ability to appreciate the worth of antithetical types is the most conclusive evidence of one's fitness for survival.

During this period of evolution—the period of evolving Man—service became an honor. In the Super-Primate period certain false standards regarding honorable and dishonorable employment had maintained, but under the newly discovered truth any work was honorable which promoted the realization of the new Golden Rule; any activity was dishonorable which delayed this realization. Results alone became the test of rightness. All the world was consciously toiling upward toward a finer, gentler, braver, more beautiful racial development. All the people of the world regarded themselves as tenants, passionately determined to leave to future tenants bodies, houses, lands which were more beautiful, more useful, more delightful than any yet known.

Dr. Ellery is not content to paint thus emotionally the struggles of the early, ugly, afflicted, mentally darkened, suffering, toiling Super-Primate species. He voices a warning that our beautiful and benign race is in one respect inferior to

those Pre-Subliman monsters. They were swept onward toward the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible by the strength of their will and the potency of their vision. Dr. Ellery urges us to aspire to their energy and their altruism. The motto of our own eon, he says, should be *every Subliman a god*, for the Subliman was created to accomplish the impossible.

The Saving Truth is an interesting book, highly imaginative and almost convincing. Dr. Ellery's contentions regarding the conscious upward climb of the race are, of course, not to be questioned. It seems a bit far-fetched, however, to represent the Super-Primates as ever having engaged in the wholesale intergroup destruction he believes once existed. Of course, he goes far toward establishing the plausibility of his theory by pointing out that during the age of the Primates life could exist only by struggle and bloodshed, and that a million years of conquest were in the muscles and nerves of the Super-Primates. Even so, however, Dr. Ellery's case seems imperfect.

The creation of the type of destroyers he describes required a high degree of mental activity and acumen. It is unthinkable that a species so skilled in mechanical intricacies would fail to grasp the simple and fundamental truth that, after achieving a modicum of mentality, the inhabitants of a planet prosper only by helping each other, and suffer and decline by working at cross-purposes. With the exception of this logical defect—a serious one, to be sure—the book is superior and should awaken new interest regarding our origins. Perhaps the experts will busy themselves with an exhaustive study of the facts or seeming facts which inspired Dr. Ellery to his interesting and stimulating work.*

*NOTE.—Just as I conclude this review, news comes of a significant discovery made by Dr. Small, of the Battle Creek Excavation Expedition. Dr. Small has unearthed a well-preserved bit of pressed wood pulp bearing the slogan "The food that's shot from guns." This find, Dr. Small believes, will go far toward establishing his theory that the instruments for hurling projectiles long distances through the air were used in the distribution of food, and not, as Dr. Ellery contends, for the purpose of intergroup destruction.

WOMAN'S WAR FOR PEACE*

By LADY ASTOR, M. P.

THE last time I wrote to you, for I am writing mostly to women, I wrote on War and Peace. Since then there has been not a storm in the teacup, but a smash in China. It is hard to understand China. I am told that their wars generally last a hundred years, and that there are very few killed outright. Often it is not the people who are killed that matter most in wars, but the ones who are left to live in a country devastated by war.

But to my mind the failure of the Geneva Conference on the further limitation of naval armaments is a more serious world matter than the war in China. This failure is a direct challenge to women—not so much the women of the world, for that would be simply using words—but to the women of the English-speaking nations and the other democracies where we have the vote.

Most people in America and Britain have at some time in their lives said that war between our two countries was “unthinkable” or a “crime against civilization.” Yet countries, like human beings, disagree, and frequently they quarrel most over points of little importance. War is the only way at present of deciding clashes between our peoples. It will be too late to try to find an alternative way of settling differences when we are in the midst of them; when national pride, jealousy, suspicion, have blinded us temporarily.

At the Geneva Conference the United States and Britain disagreed—amicably, it is true, but yet dangerously. The main reason was that the two delegations and governments behind them looked at the problem from the point of view of what might happen in the event of war, instead of first of all absolutely ruling out this contingency and then thinking how they might use their strength to preserve international peace and to vindicate international justice. What is to become of our civilization if the people of the British

Empire and the United States dare think in terms of war? It is because I believe that civilization largely depends on us that the failure at Geneva fills me with horror.

The people of the U. S. A. do not want war any more than the people of Great Britain. But let us face the fact that there will often be points which will create differences, misunderstandings, and suspicions between them, and that unless these two countries can find a way of settling international disagreements by some other method than war, then war we shall have. I face facts, and one of the sad facts of life is that people do disagree, profoundly. They even quarrel. But in enlightened countries people no longer resort to fists and revolvers. They no longer carry arms or learn self-defense. So it should be with civilized nations. So it must be if we want peace. Mothers must declare that war is the greatest failure of modern times. Ask the nations of Europe what they think about war. Poor devils, they have seen so much of war that some of them cannot visualize peace.

The Washington Conference in 1921 was the greatest event in modern civilization. England, the United States, Japan, and France agreed not to build battle-ships against each other. America made great sacrifices and England gave up her position as ruler of the waves. The Big Navy Group in America did not like it; nor did the Big Navy Group in England. Each thought that it was sacrificing too much. Perhaps, too, certain business interests which make money out of building ships and preparing steel and other materials for ships did not like the results achieved or wish to extend them further. Mercifully for civilization at that Conference we had men like Mr. Hughes, Mr. Elihu Root, and Senator Lodge, with Lord Balfour and Sir Robert Borden, both former prime ministers within the British Empire. They were accustomed to thinking as statesmen, not as naval experts. The Geneva Conference failed largely be-

*Reprinted with permission from the January Issue of *McCall's Magazine*.

cause the admirals of both countries took too leading a part. Navy departments exist to win wars and to make sure that they win. They would fail as navy departments and admirals if they did not aim at superiority in war time.

If Great Britain and the U. S. A. agree to settle their differences by some other method than fighting, it won't matter a scrap what ships they have. They may each have different needs. I think both can be trusted not to start a war, and I believe that they are the only countries in the world to be trusted to stop a war.

Both the United States and Great Britain stand for something good and worth while in the world. Each has its limitations and weaknesses, no doubt, but the world would be infinitely poorer if they were interfered with in their chosen fields.

The United States has shown the modern world the practical road to democracy. She has created the highest standard of living for the mass of the people that has ever been known. She has been able to take millions from all the races of Europe, free them of their racial hatreds, and turn them into loyal American citizens. She ought, and can, lead mankind in developing the ideas which she has evolved within her own boundaries. It would be wholly to the disadvantage of the British Commonwealth that this process should be hindered. The only thing which could hinder it would be war between the two English-speaking nations, with the rest of the world lined up on either side for what they could get out of it. Such a war, whichever side was victorious, would inflict immeasurable loss and suffering on the United States, would harden—indeed, imperil—the liberty of her institutions, and impose on her a military tradition which it would be very hard to erase.

Great Britain has done and is doing an immensely valuable work in both her system of administering justice and in parliamentary government. She has fought and beaten the great military autocracies of the world, one after the other. She has given ordered government, economic development, and peace to countless millions of politically backward peoples and now is steadily training them in self-

government. If anyone wants to get some idea of what British rule for backward peoples means, let him read the remarkable book *Mother India*, just written by an American woman, Katherine Mayo. It would be wholly to the disadvantage of the United States that this work should be interrupted or destroyed.

No question can arise between the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa which would justify settlement by war. War is the most hideous, the most uncivilized, the most unjust, and the most expensive method of settling disputes which man has conceived. In the past, war has sometimes in some countries been necessary in order to prevent still greater evil. But, at this epoch and in the future, it would be a crime that democracies like ours should allow a situation to develop in which war was forced on us.

Nothing is so inevitable as war, if once nations drift into competition in armaments or commercial suspicion and hostility, if they have not previously voluntarily agreed to rule out war as a method of settlement.

Let America and Britain (and if possible also France and Germany) decide to rule out war between them.

I do not pretend to know exactly how this outlawry of war is to be effected. Some people suggest arbitration. Others believe in the ideas embodied in the League of Nations or in The Hague Convention. Mr. Houghton, the American Ambassador in London, has made the extremely interesting proposal that our democracies should not allow their governments to declare war upon each other except after a direct popular vote.

I am not concerned at the moment as to the exact method to be followed. I am only concerned to point out the supreme importance of the issue. The Geneva failure is proof that the drift towards war has begun once more. Unless we tackle the question now, it will become progressively more difficult to deal with. The root of the problem lies in the fact that as between nations there are only two ways of settling disputes—by peaceful methods or by war. We all know how bitter partisan political spirit can become inside

our several countries, only there issues are settled by majority vote enforced by the machinery of law and violence is prohibited by the police. Even more violent partisan spirit arises between nations from time to time, and these differences are likely to become more and not less frequent as time and space are annihilated. Only in this case there is no legislature to give effect to majority decisions, no court with unlimited jurisdiction, no policeman to intervene. Today between nations there is no redress save war.

The women must take the lead in this crusade against war. I am for equal rights between the sexes, but it is obvious that

men alone have failed to end war largely because the appeal of heroism and sacrifice makes them blind to its hideous wickedness. It is women who see most clearly the horrors and futile madness of war. They realize that almost no cause can justify the wholesale massacre of their own children. Let it be the primary business of our women to decide now that war shall be ruled out as a method of settling international disputes, at any rate between the most civilized nations of the world. The time for them to act is not tomorrow or next year, but now, for the adversary is once more active in the land. The Geneva failure proves it.

ABREAST THE NEW YEAR

Let us, whatever our origin or creed and regardless of our station in life, enter upon this new year with the determination to recognize honest differences of opinion and to make serious effort to get other peoples' point of view; to credit others with good intentions; to think and speak well of others; to ask no privileges for ourselves we are not willing to accord to others; and to remember that true personal liberty goes hand in hand with self-control.

PERCY B. BAXTER.

Piracy used to be legal, but when made a crime it disappeared. The same is true of slavery. Why should war, the most stupendous of curses, wear the crown of legality?

WILLIAM E. BORAH.

A day will come when a cannon shall be exhibited in our museums as an instrument of torture is now, and men shall marvel that such things can be.

VICTOR HUGO.

He who is plenteously provided for from within needs but little from without.

GOETHE.

THREE THEORIES OF THE BINDING FORCE OF TREATIES

By THEODORE E. BURTON

(The following discussion of the binding force of treaties was given by Representative Theodore E. Burton in the House of Representatives, May 16, 1922. It is regretted that the limits of space have made it necessary to eliminate some portions of the discussion.—THE EDITOR.)

In determining the respective powers of the President, acting with the concurrence of the Senate, on the one hand, and of the Congress, or the House of Representatives, on the other, three distinct theories have been advanced: First, this treaty-making power is final and binding on every subject for negotiation with a foreign power. The concurrence of the House of Representatives is obligatory, and in its essential nature only formal or perfunctory. In the language of Justice Daniel in a Supreme Court opinion opposing this view, it would be a power single, universal, engrossing, absolute. Second, that it is the right of the House of Representatives to nullify a treaty which contains provisions which in any way infringe upon the powers of the House or may require its separate action, as in making appropriations or fixing duties upon imports, and that this right of confirmation or rejection is a salutary check upon the Executive and the Senate which may be exercised at will. Third, that while the right of the House to disapprove or nullify exists, there is, nevertheless, a necessary comity between the respective departments of the Government, a binding moral obligation, and it would be in violation of the established division of powers to withhold action; also that the observance of good faith in dealing with other countries requires that stipulations contained in any treaty ratified in the manner prescribed by the Constitution be made effectual by action of the House.

The first view was strenuously maintained by President Washington in a letter transmitted to the House of Representatives March 30, 1796, in response to a request for the papers relating to the Jay Treaty. In this letter he expressed himself as follows:

Having been a member of the general convention and knowing the principles on which the Constitution was formed, I have ever entertained but one opinion on this subject; and from the first establishment of the government to this moment my conduct has exemplified that opinion—that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and that every treaty so made and promulgated thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations, and in all the treaties made with them we have declared and they have believed that, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, they became obligatory. In this construction of the Constitution every House of Representatives has heretofore acquiesced, and until the present time not a doubt or suspicion has appeared, to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced, for till now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

The same contention was supported by Alexander Hamilton in a series of letters and at other times. Mr. Hamilton asserted that the making of treaties was an essential fact incident to the existence of a nation; that its proper prerogatives could not be exercised unless complete authority was given to some agency of the government to negotiate agreements with other countries and included all proper subjects of compacts with foreign nations. He argued with great force that the contention of those who objected to the right of the President to make treaties with the concurrence of the Senate leads to an absurdity. Such a principle would interfere with the making of treaties of commerce, treaties of alliance, and treaties of peace, and that on a minute analysis there were hardly any treaties which would not in

some way clash with these objections, and thus the power to make treaties granted in such comprehensive and indefinite terms and guarded with so much precaution would become essentially nugatory. He said:

But the construction which is advanced would cause the legislative power to destroy the power of making treaties. Moreover, if the power of the executive department be inadequate to the making of the several kinds of treaties which have been mentioned, there is then no power in the government to make them, for there is not a syllable in the Constitution which authorizes either the legislative or judiciary departments to make a treaty with a foreign nation. And our Constitution would then exhibit the ridiculous spectacle of a government without a power to make treaties with foreign nations, a result as inadmissible as it is absurd, since, in fact, our Constitution grants the power of making treaties in the most explicit and ample terms to the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The same view was maintained by many leading men of that time. Mr. Ellsworth, who was later appointed Chief Justice and was a member of the Constitutional Convention, said:

The grant of the treaty-making power is in these words: "The President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall make treaties." The power goes to all kinds of treaties, because no exception is expressed, and also because no treaty-making power is elsewhere granted to others, and it is not to be supposed that the Constitution has omitted to vest sufficient power to make all kinds of treaties which have been usually made or which the existence or interests of the nation may require.

Mr. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury in President Washington's administration, under date of March 26, 1796, wrote:

The obligations arising from public faith when pledged by the representative organ of our nation in all foreign concerns, agreeably to the mode prescribed by the Constitution, are justly and properly declared to be laws. The legislative power is bound not to contravene them; on the contrary, it is bound to regard them and give them effect.

Chancellor Kent sustained this theory. He wrote (vol. 1 of his Commentaries, early edition, p. 165):

If a treaty requires the payment of money or any other special act which cannot be done without legislation, the treaty is still binding on the nation, and it is the duty of the nation to pass the necessary laws. If that duty is not performed, the result is a breach of the treaty by the nation, just as much as if the breach had been an affirmative act by any other department of the government. Each nation is responsible for the right working of the internal system by which it distributes its sovereign functions, and as foreign nations dealing with it can not be permitted to interfere with or control these, so they are not to be affected or concluded by them to their own injury.

Mr. Caleb Cushing, Attorney General, in interpreting a treaty with Great Britain, said on February 16, 1854:

The conventions being a contract between the two nations, duly entered into and ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, it thereby is a law of the United States without any further action by the Government of the United States. No act of Congress is necessary to create or perfect the *vinculum juris*. The stipulations of the convention operate as a law to the courts of justice, State and Federal; they are of a character to operate of themselves as constitutionally obligatory, without the aid of any legislation by Congress. Such is the effect of the Constitution of the United States. A treaty, it is true, though it be as such a portion of the supreme law of the land, yet may require the enactment of a statute to regulate the details of a process or of a right embraced in its stipulations; but such necessity, if it exists, does not affect the question of the legal force of the treaty *per se*. 1. A treaty constitutionally concluded and ratified abrogates whatever law of any one of the States may be inconsistent therewith.

So recently as the time when the payment of \$20,000,000 to Spain under the treaty of 1898 was under consideration in the House of Representatives, on February 14, 1899, Mr. Joseph W. Bailey, a very

thorough student of the Constitution, afterwards Senator, said:

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this proposition to the gentleman from Kentucky. The Constitution makes the Senate and the President "the government" in the making of treaties. Now, when the President and the Senate make a treaty with a foreign nation, that foreign nation deals with the government. The government, as recognized by the Constitution, obligates itself to pay a given amount of money. That obligation is complete. The Constitution itself says that the Senate and the President can make the treaty, and when made it is the supreme law of the land. Every nation in the world has a right to deal with us on the ground that the Senate and the President constitute our government in the making of treaties. }

Mr. Carmack, of Tennessee, afterwards Senator; Mr. Henry, of Texas; and Mr. Clayton, now a Federal judge, though all opposed the treaty, supported the same view.

It was plainly not the intention of the framers of the Constitution to require legislative approval to insure the validity of treaties. On August 23, 1787, Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved in the Constitutional Convention to add to the section defining the treaty-making power the words—

but no treaty shall be binding on the United States which is not ratified by law.

In the vote on this proposed amendment Pennsylvania alone voted in the affirmative with North Carolina divided, New York and New Hampshire not voting. On September 7, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, having stated that treaties were to be the "laws of the land," moved to insert, after the words "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," the words "and the House of Representatives," maintaining that "as treaties have the operation of laws they ought to have the sanction of laws also." This motion received only the support of his own State of Pennsylvania. A proposition that no rights acquired by the treaty of peace should be ceded without the consent of the legislature was not pressed to a vote. Also, when a proposed draft of what is now clause 15 of section 8, article 1, was

reported so as to read: "To execute the laws of the Union, enforce treaties, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," the words "enforce treaties" were stricken out on the suggestion that they were superfluous, since treaties were to be laws.

Mr. Crandall, in his review of the discussions in the Convention, concludes:

From these debates it appears that the House was excluded from participation in the making of treaties by the framers of the Constitution, with the understanding that treaties were to have the force of laws. (Crandall, p. 48.)

One argument in favor of limiting consideration of treaties to the President and Senate frequently expressed in the Convention was the necessity for secrecy and dispatch. In the later debates on the ratification of the Constitution in State conventions and among the people it was taken for granted that the negotiation and ratification of treaties was vested exclusively in the President and the Senate, and this fact was one of the principal objections to ratification.

The second, or opposing, theory is to the effect that the Constitution, laws passed in pursuance thereof, and treaties are all upon an equal footing and each must be taken into account in determining the validity of a treaty. These three fundamental features relating to governmental action constitute, as it has been termed, a trinity. Attention is called to the fact that a statute may nullify a treaty and a treaty may nullify a statute, the one last ratified or enacted becoming binding. Under this theory, in order that a treaty may become operative, it must have the support of Congress if any action is contemplated upon which the legislative branch has power to act, such as the raising of revenue or the making of appropriations, control of the territory or property of the United States, regulations relating to commerce, provisions pertaining to the Army and Navy—in fact, upon any subject on which Congress has authority to legislate. This means practically the House of Representatives, as the approval of the Senate may be taken for granted if two-thirds of the Members present have already advised ratification. Foreign nations, it is alleged, must be

held to understand the limitations upon the treaty-making power as interpreted under the Constitution, and while the failure to comply may create international complications—indeed, may even lead to war—the agreement is not binding upon the people of the United States until the necessary action has been taken by Congress. There is also the argument that certain forms of legislative action, as in the case of the levying of duties, must originate in the House of Representatives. Mr. Jefferson was a supporter of this view. Perhaps the best statement of his opinions may be found in a letter to James Monroe of March 21, 1796, in which he says:

We conceive the constitutional doctrine to be that though the President and Senate have the general power of making treaties, yet whenever they include in a treaty matters confided by the Constitution to the three branches of legislature, an act of legislation will be requisite to confirm these articles, and that the House of Representatives, as one branch of the legislature, are perfectly free to pass the act or to refuse it, governing themselves by their own judgment whether it is for the good of their constituents to let the treaty go into effect or not. On the precedent now to be set will depend the future construction of our Constitution and whether the powers of legislation shall be transferred from the President, Senate, and House of Representatives to the President and Senate, and Pianningo or any other Indian, Algerine, or other chief.

This differs somewhat from an earlier expression of his recorded in the *Anas* under date of April 9, 1792, which was as follows:

The President has wished to redeem our captives at Algiers and to make peace with them on paying an annual tribute. The Senate were willing to approve this, but unwilling to have the lower House applied to previously to furnish money; they wished the President to take the money from the Treasury, or open a loan for it. * * * He asked me if the treaty stipulating a sum and ratified by him, with the advice of the Senatè, would not be good under the Constitution and obligatory on the Representatives to furnish the money. I answered it certainly would and that it would be the duty of the Repre-

sentatives to raise the money; but that they might decline to do what was their duty, and I thought it might be incautious to commit himself by a ratification with a foreign nation, where he might be left in the lurch in the execution; it was possible, too, to conceive a treaty which it would not be their duty to provide for.

He was violently opposed to the Jay Treaty and used the strongest expressions against the treaty-making power while it was under consideration.

In a letter to Madison, of March 17, 1796, he writes:

The objects on which the President and Senate may exclusively act by treaty are much reduced, but the field in which they may act, with the sanction of the Legislature, is large enough, and I see no harm in rendering their sanction necessary and not much harm in annihilating the whole treaty-making power except as to making peace

In a message to the Congress in 1803, stating that a treaty had been concluded with France for the cession of Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson conceded that action by the House and Senate was necessary for the fulfillment of the treaty in this language:

You will observe that some important conditions can not be carried into execution but with the aid of the Legislature and that time presses a decision on them without delay.

Another expression by Mr. Jefferson was on the occasion of a treaty with an Indian tribe for the acquisition of lands for which a consideration was to be paid. He said:

As the stipulations in this treaty also involve matters within the competence of both Houses only, it will be laid before Congress as soon as the Senate shall have advised its ratification.

Mr. Calhoun while a Member of the House of Representatives concurred in the same view. In a debate in January, 1816, he said:

To talk of the right of this House to sanction treaties and at the same time to assert that it is under a moral obligation not to withhold that sanction is a solecism. No sound mind that understands the terms can possibly assent to it. I would caution the

House, while it is extending its powers to cases which I believe do not belong to it, to take care lest it lose its substantial and undoubted power. I would put it on its guard against the dangerous doctrine that it can in any case become a mere registering body. . . . The treaty-making power has many and powerful limits, and it will be found, when I come to discuss what these limits are, that it can not destroy the Constitution, or our personal liberty, or involve us, without the assent of this House, in war or grant away our money.

But as Secretary of State in 1844, when a commercial treaty had been negotiated with the German States in 1843 and the Senate committee reported adversely on the ground of "want of constitutional competency" to make it, Mr. Calhoun thus commented on this action:

If this be a true view of the treaty-making power it may be truly said that its exercise has been one continual series of habitual and uninterrupted infringements of the Constitution. From the beginning, and throughout the whole existence of the Federal Government, it has been exercised constantly on commerce, navigation, and other delegated powers.

In treating of necessary appropriations he said:

It—the power—is expressly delegated to Congress, and yet scarcely a treaty has been made of any importance which does not stipulate for the payment of money.

Mr. Clay, in a discussion on a treaty relating to a boundary between Louisiana and Mexico, in 1820, expressed himself very vigorously against the binding power of treaties without the concurrence of the House. He said:

The Constitution of the United States has not defined the precise limits of that power, because from the nature of it they could not be presented. It appears to me, however, that no safe American statesman will assign to it a boundless scope. . . . If the concurrence of this House be not necessary in the cases asserted, if there be no restriction upon the power I am considering, it may draw to itself and absorb the whole power of the government. To contract alliances, to stipulate for raising troops to be employed in a common war about to be waged, to grant

subsidies, even to introduce foreign troops within the bosom of the country, are not infrequent instances of the exercise of this power; and if in all such cases the honor and faith of the nation are committed by the exclusive act of the President and Senate, the melancholy duty alone might be left to Congress of recording the ruin of the Republic.

Mr. Blaine, on the occasion of a claim by the Chinese Government for indemnity under treaty provisions for Chinese killed within the jurisdiction of one of the States, said in a letter to the Chinese minister:

Your observations to the effect that treaties form a part of the supreme law of the land equally with the Constitution of the United States is evidently based on a misconception of the true nature of the Constitution. . . . Such is the language of the Constitution, but it must be observed that the treaty, no less than the statute law, must be made in conformity with the Constitution, and were a provision in either treaty or a law found to contravene the principles of the Constitution, such provision must give way to the superior force of the Constitution, which is the organic law of the Republic, binding alike on the government and the nation.

Judge Cooley, in his work on Principles of Constitutional Law, said:

The Constitution imposes no restriction upon this power, but it is subject to the implied restriction that nothing can be done under it which changes the Constitution of the country, or robs a department of the government or any of the States of its constitutional authority.

Perhaps the most extreme statement asserting the limitations on the treaty-making power of the President and the Senate is contained in an article by a German publicist, Prof. Ernest Meier, of the University of Halle, as follows:

Congress has under the Constitution the right to lay taxes and imposts, as well as to regulate foreign trade, but the President and Senate, if the treaty-making power be regarded as absolute, would be able to evade this limitation by adopting treaties which compel Congress to destroy its whole tariff system. According to the Constitution, Congress has the right to determine questions of

naturalization, of patents, and of copyright. Yet, according to the view here contested, the President and Senate by a treaty could on these important questions utterly destroy the legislative capacity of the House of Representatives. The Constitution gives Congress the control of the army. Participation in this control would be snatched from the House of Representatives by a treaty with a foreign power by which the United States would bind itself to keep in the field an army of a particular size. The Constitution gives Congress the right of declaring war; this right would be illusory if the President and Senate could by a treaty launch the country into a foreign war. The power of borrowing money on the credit of the United States resides in Congress; this power would cease to exist if the President and Senate could by treaty bind the country to the borrowing of foreign funds. By the Constitution "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law"; but this limitation would cease to exist if by a treaty the United States could be bound to pay money to a foreign power. . . . Congress would cease to be the law-making power as is prescribed by the Constitution; the law-making power would be the President and the Senate. Such a condition would become the more dangerous from the fact that treaties so adopted being on this particular hypothesis superior to legislation, would continue in force until superseded by other treaties. Not only, therefore, would a Congress consisting of two Houses be made to give way to an oligarchy of President and Senate, but the decrees of this oligarchy when once made could only be changed by concurrence of President and of senatorial majority of two-thirds.

Professor von Holst, in his work entitled "Constitutional Law of the United States," says:

As to the extent of the treaty-making power the Constitution says nothing, but it evidently can not be unlimited. The power exists only under the Constitution, and every treaty stipulation inconsistent with a provision of the Constitution is therefore inadmissible and according to constitutional law *ipso facto* null and void.

According to the third theory, while it is conceded that the House of Representatives can refuse to render operative the

provisions of a treaty, it is nevertheless maintained that there is a moral obligation to do so. The treaty is in the international forum a binding agreement, and every consideration of good faith requires its fulfillment. On this subject at the time of the conference between the President and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate on August 19, 1919, President Wilson contended that Article 10 of the Versailles Treaty constituted a very grave and solemn moral obligation. He said:

It is a moral, not a legal, obligation.

When asked by Senator Knox if in case of external aggression against some power which could not be repelled except by force of arms we would be under any legal obligation to participate, he answered:

No, sir; but we would be under an absolutely compelling moral obligation.

Senator — late President — Harding asked him as to the scope of the obligations proposed to be incurred, and President Wilson replied:

There is a national good conscience in such a matter. . . . Now, a moral obligation is of course superior to a legal obligation, and, if I may say so, has a greater binding force.

And during the presidential campaign of 1920 President Harding said, in speaking of the right to refuse to perform a treaty obligation:

Technically, of course—

Congress—

could do so. Morally, with equal certainty, it could not do so, nor would it ever do so. The American people would never permit a repudiation of a debt of honor. No Congress would ever dare make this nation appear as a welscher, as it would appear and would be in such an event before the eyes of the world.

Judge Cooley, when asserting that the House of Representatives may in its discretion at any time refuse to give assent to legislation necessary to give a treaty effect, adds:

This would be an extreme measure, but it is conceivable that a case might arise in which a resort to it would be justified.

The facts which militate against the unqualified admission of the first theory are perfectly plain. There are three departments in the Federal Government. There are two legislative bodies. In the performance of the conditions of a treaty action by the House in numerous cases is essential. That action may be withheld. The different legislative bodies or the departments of the government may clash, but the question arises whether the omission or refusal of the House to act differs from failure to act by an official or by Congress in other activities of the government: The President after the ratification of a treaty might decide not to carry it out. It is conceivable he might omit to enforce a law passed by Congress.

President Jackson is said to have remarked of a decision of the Supreme Court:

John Marshall has made a decision, now let him enforce it.

Congress might refuse to make appropriations for the established salaries of Federal officials, or might decline to take action in pursuance of the laws of the land. Committees of the House such as those on naval or military affairs might recommend substantive legislation which afterwards would become law, and the Committee on Appropriations might postpone or refuse the insertion of the necessary amounts in appropriation bills. The whole theory of the machinery of government contemplates the possibility of failure in co-operation, or in the performance of duties by different organs of the government. That, however, does not render laws or treaties less obligatory, and it must be reiterated that there are no obligations of a higher type than those which pertain to our relations with other countries.

Acceptance of the second theory is equally out of the question as contrary to the intention of the framers of the Constitution and as creating a situation which would hopelessly embarrass us in our foreign relations. Stated briefly, there is, in the enforcement of treaties, a possible

conflict between international and municipal law. Which shall prevail? Opinions expressed upon this subject have not been free from confusion. But if we expect to maintain good faith in our dealings with other nations and to secure the fulfillment of promises made by them, every consideration of national interest as well as of national honor demands strict compliance with agreements or treaties made in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution.

The question of the function of the House of Representatives in passing upon treaties has been repeatedly under discussion. The first instance was on the occasion of the Jay Treaty. This treaty was held to require action by Congress and on March 24, 1796, a resolution was carried by a vote of 62 to 37 requesting President Washington to lay before the House copies of the instructions to the minister who had negotiated the treaty with Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relating thereto. President Washington on the 30th of March, 1796, in the message from which quotation has already been made, declined and a heated debate ensued. Two resolutions were voted upon, one to the effect that the treaty was highly objectionable and another that it was objectionable. The vote on both of these was a tie, 48 to 48 and 49 to 49, respectively, the deciding vote being cast against the resolutions by the Speaker. A resolution to carry the treaty into effect was passed by a vote of 51 to 48.

In 1803, when Mr. Jefferson transmitted his message asking for an appropriation for the purchase of Louisiana, a similar resolution asking for papers were adopted. There was a difference in party alignment in the support and opposition to this resolution. It was rejected. Similar discussion occurred upon the commercial treaty of 1815 with Great Britain. Among other provisions, this treaty abolished discriminating duties. It was contended that no commercial regulation could be made by treaty without the concurrence of Congress.

After the purchase of Alaska in 1867, which required a payment of \$7,200,000 in gold, there was opposition to making the appropriation on two grounds; first,

that the Territory was worthless and it was a waste of money, and, second, that the treaty for the acquisition should not have been enacted without the action of the House. This led to a conference report, the House asserting its rights in the premises, and the Senate finally made the concession that under some circumstances treaty stipulations can not be carried into full force and effect until the House shall take action.

Again, in 1887 the question was before the House of Representatives upon the question of an extension by a later treaty of the reciprocity treaty of 1875 with the Hawaiian Islands, which provided for the free importation of rice, unrefined sugar, and other products. The first treaty was not to take effect until a law to carry it into operation should be passed by Congress. The second omitted this provision. A very able report was prepared on this subject by Mr. J. Randolph Tucker, which is printed as Report No. 4177, Forty-ninth Congress, second session. This is monumental in scholarship and strength of reasoning, and sets forth as clearly as any document the arguments favoring the necessary concurrence of the House of Representatives in treaties whenever modification of duties, appropriations, or supplemental legislation are required.

The appropriation of \$20,000,000 for the purchase of the Philippines in the treaty with Spain, which was ratified by the Senate on February 6, 1899, was adopted, and but slight opposition arose. Another treaty of recent date, under which the amount promised was appropriated without substantial opposition in the House, was that of November 18, 1903, with Panama. This treaty contained an agreement that \$10,000,000 should be paid for the necessary rights acquired for the building of the canal and for further payments of \$250,000 per annum beginning nine years later. These later payments have been appropriated without question. A substantial argument for the binding force of treaties is found in this provision for deferred installments of \$250,000 per year. How could Congress have appropriated for these installments in advance? On the other hand, such a provision was an essential part of the treaty. Very recently the treaty with Colombia, involving the appropriation of

\$20,000,000, was regarded as conclusive, and no objection was made in the House to an appropriation of \$5,000,000 for the first payment required.

It has been said that every President from John Adams down to date, in treaties requiring appropriations, has asked Congress for action, but the question may well be raised whether messages asking for appropriations have been in the nature of a request or of an injunction to perform a duty.

President Johnson, in notifying Congress of the treaty for the purchase of Alaska, said, in a message of July 6, 1867:

The attention of Congress is invited to the subject of an appropriation for this payment.

And President Grant, in a message on the 8th of March, 1870, transmitted a communication from the Secretary of the Interior relative to what he termed the obligation of Congress to make the necessary appropriations to carry out the Indian treaties made by what is known as the Peace Commission of 1867. Mr. Crandall in his work on treaties, page 179, enumerates some 30 treaties carrying appropriations, all of which have been approved by the House. He adds that in no case has the necessary amount been refused, and that since 1868 little question has been raised. In fact, there has never been a failure to pass the necessary legislation.

It will be seen from these facts that in recent years the authority of the President and the Senate in the making of treaties has aroused little question.

Another class of treaties should be named in which a condition has been inserted in the treaty itself to the effect that duties should not be changed without the concurrence of Congress. There is a considerable number of these. They create a condition, and notice is given to foreign countries that the agreement is not binding until Congress acts. In this regard there has been a marked difference between treaties relating to duties and those which require appropriations. In almost every treaty, beginning in 1854, with the treaty with Great Britain for reciprocity with Canada, followed by that with Hawaii in 1875, and then by the treaty with Cuba in 1902, in all of which there were regulations as to duties, the

provision is inserted that the treaty must be approved by Congress or by the appropriate authorities. Section 3 of the tariff act of 1897 authorized the President to enter into reciprocal commercial conventions with other countries. The proposed reciprocity treaty with Canada in 1911, which failed because of the non-concurrence of Canada, was submitted to the Congress for approval.

Some Judicial Decisions Would Seem to Limit the Binding Force of Treaties

As regards action by the Supreme Court, it must be understood that the judiciary have to do merely with interpretations in accordance with the action of the legislative and executive departments of the United States. With the question of observance of good faith they have nothing to do. This fact was most clearly stated in what is called the Cherokee Tobacco case (11 Wall., pp. 616, 620, and 621), to the effect that an act of Congress may supersede a prior treaty and a treaty may supersede a prior act of Congress. This was a very strong case. A treaty with the Cherokee Nation exempted the produce of the farmers from taxation. Afterwards an internal-revenue tax was levied on tobacco, and it was held not only that the law imposing the tax applied to the Cherokee Nation but that it annulled the previous treaty. The treaty was made in 1866 and the act levying the tax was passed in 1868.

As a result of its distinctive position the Supreme Court has repeatedly stated that treaties must be in accordance with the Constitution, and while as regards private rights of individuals under treaties it has frequently asserted that their construction is the peculiar province of the judiciary, the court has limited its decisions upon political questions. The general scope of the treaty-making power from the standpoint of the judiciary is nowhere better stated than by Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Foster v. Neilson* (2 Peters, 233, 314):

A treaty is in its nature a contract between two nations, not a legislative act. It does not generally effect, of itself, the object to be accomplished, especially so far as its operation is infraterritorial, but is carried

into execution by the sovereign power of the respective parties to the instrument.

In the United States a different principle is established. Our Constitution declares a treaty to be the law of the land. It is, consequently, to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an act of the legislature whenever it operates of itself without the aid of any legislative provision. But when the terms of the stipulation import a contract, when either of the parties engages to perform a particular act, the treaty addresses itself to the political, not the judicial, department; and the legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court.

It has been asserted by the Supreme Court, as in *United States v. Arredondo* (6 Peters, 691), that a treaty is in its nature a contract between two nations and the legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court.

That treaties are subject to such acts as Congress may pass for the enforcement, modification, or repeal is maintained in *Edye v. Robertson* (112 U. S. 580), in which last case Justice Miller says:

The Constitution gives it—

A treaty—

no superiority over an act of Congress . . . nor is there anything in its essential character, or in the branches of the government by which the treaty is made, which gives it this superior sanctity. A treaty is made by the President and Senate. Statutes are made by the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives.

On this subject Justice Field says in *One hundred and thirty-third United States*, 266, 267—

The treaty power, as expressed in the Constitution, is in terms unlimited except by those restraints which are found in that instrument against the action of the government or of its departments, and those arising from the nature of the government itself and that of the States. It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government or in that of one of the States, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter without its consent. But with these exceptions, it is not perceived that there is any limit to the ques-

tions which can be adjusted touching any matter which is properly the subject of negotiations with a foreign country.

One of the latest discussions in which the question of the duties of Congress to take steps for the enforcement of a treaty is in the case of *De Lima v. Bidwell* (182 U. S. 1). By the treaty of Paris, Porto Rico was ceded to the United States. After the treaty had been duly ratified goods were imported into the United States which if brought from a foreign country would be subject to a duty. It was maintained by the government that until legislation was enacted for the administration of the island and a recognition of its position as a Territory of the United States, duties must be imposed as in the case of all importations from a foreign country. This case was elaborately discussed, and by a majority the court decided that Porto Rico became domestic territory on the ratification of the treaty and no further action by Congress was necessary to make it such.

In the majority opinion, on page 198, Justice Brown said:

We express no opinion as to whether Congress is bound to appropriate the money to pay for it. This has been much discussed by writers upon constitutional law, but it is not necessary to consider it in this case, as Congress made prompt appropriation of the money stipulated in the treaty.

He refuted the contention that ceded territory might be treated in every particular except for tariff purposes as domestic territory, and that until Congress enacts otherwise it would remain a foreign country. Yet the Supreme Court has sustained treaties contravening State laws, for illustration, relieving aliens from disabilities under State laws pertaining to land ownership; also in annulling discriminatory taxes upon foreigners. Laws of States and municipal ordinances under State authority discriminating against foreign immigrants protected by treaties have been declared void. The same is true of the enforcement of treaties superseding or contrary to Federal laws.

There is a collateral question, which assumes especial importance, of the right of the Federal Government to assume jurisdiction for the protection of aliens under

treaty rights. On this subject President Harrison, in his message of December 9, 1891, said.

It would, I believe, be entirely competent for Congress to make offenses against the treaty rights of foreigners domiciled in the United States cognizable in the Federal courts.

Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt sustained this contention in messages; also President Taft, in both his inaugural address and his annual message of December, 1910. He also expresses himself to the same effect in an address to the members of the American Society of International Law, in April, 1910, saying:

I can not suppose that the Federal Constitution was drawn by men who proposed to put in the hands of one set of authorities the power to promise and then withhold from them the means of fulfilling them.

In a report to the Lake Mohonk Conference of May 26, 1911, Senator Root with Messrs. Baldwin and Kirchwey say:

After careful deliberation we have come unanimously to the conclusion that the power to make good its treaty obligations is now vested in the government under the Constitution.

Extended references on this subject are contained in chapter 17 of Mr. Crandall's book on Treaties.

It is said that there are two classes of treaties, executed and executory. The fact is practically all treaties are executory. They do not pertain to something that has been done. They pertain to something that is to be done. They constitute a contract which is to be carried into effect, and is quite as binding as any agreements, so we can not, in judging of the treaty-making power, give any especial weight to this distinction. When the treaty is negotiated by the President and has the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senate, either it is complete or not complete. There is no time when, like Mahomet's coffin, it is suspended in the air. There must be a time when those with whom we are dealing know whether minds have met. How desirable that is, because if another nation knows that the treaty must be mulled over by at least two

legislative bodies, that country by its representatives will not make the concessions to which it would otherwise agree. There will be certain reservations made to meet reservations.

I can not agree to the argument just advanced that a treaty should be submitted to the House of Representatives. What would the House do with it? When would it be submitted? When the parties first meet for negotiations, should the President transmit the subject under consideration and ask for instructions, although this House has no power to make treaties? Should he transmit it when the first draft is completed? Should he send it here before or after it is approved by the Senate? There is no possible warrant for such a course. What good would it do? What could happen except that it would create confusion and interfere not merely with the orderly course of proceedings but with securing a favorable result. I recognize very clearly that it is a bit ungracious for a Member of the House to in any way decry its powers in treaty making. In view of our larger relations with other countries I regard it as one reason why this House is at a disadvantage, that it does not have more to do with foreign relations, and I am always loath in any way to say anything which would in the least diminish the powers and prerogatives of this House. Mr. Fisher Ames, the eloquent orator, expressed himself very aptly upon the desire of a legislative body to maintain its prerogatives. He said:

The self-love of an individual is not warmer in its sense or more constant in its action than the self-love of an assembly—that jealous affection which a body of men is always found to bear toward its own prerogatives and powers. I will not condemn this passion.

Following him, no more shall I. But there is a point where our powers have a limit.

I may add that I can not agree with the argument which has been made on this subject by the gentleman from Virginia that a treaty can not override a statute of the State in regard to the rights of aliens. In addition to the general statements I have made, reference may be had to the case of *Ware against Hylton* (3 Dal., p.

199), decided in 1796 and repeatedly referred to with approval. Anyone who will read that decision must come to a different conclusion from that which the gentleman has expressed. That involved the question of a British subject.

In 1846 we made a treaty with New Granada guaranteeing the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama, and after the Boxer rebellion of 1900 we joined with other powers and agreed to maintain a military force at Peking and at Tientsin in China, and those forces are there until this day. In 1904 we guaranteed the independence of Panama. At one time our warships were sent there to carry out treaty provisions.

Let us look at the other side of the shield, that in regard to treaties of arbitration and for the promotion of peace. In the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 we agreed that there should be maintained a warship of not more than 100 tons on each of the lakes, Champlain and Ontario, and two on the "upper" lakes, and no more. Each of these ships, as I recall it, was to carry one 18-pounder gun. We did more than that. We agreed to scrap, as in this treaty, the rest of our naval armament upon those lakes, and President Monroe issued a proclamation in 1817 saying that the treaty, or arrangement as he termed it, having been approved by the Senate, was of full force and effect.

He did not ask the concurrence of the House. We have entered into arbitration treaties almost without number, and it is the most splendid phase in all of our diplomacy. I need go no further than to refer to the so-called Bryan treaties, some 20 in number. Those treaties provide that when a dispute arises between our country and any other which can not be settled by the ordinary processes of diplomacy the questions of law and fact shall be submitted to a commission of inquiry, and no step looking toward war shall be taken until that commission reports. Will some member come in here and say that those treaties are invalid because they disable the House of Representatives from sending bristling bayonets into the field? They are binding on the country, and they should be binding. Suppose Mr. Hughes while he was speaking before that great gathering and was received with so much

acclaim had said, "We are moving to stop this mad race of naval expansion right now." "The time for action has come," as he did actually say. "We will scrap certain of our ships; we will abate our naval program. We will take hold of every golden chain to bind us in amity and co-operation with those nations between which and us there has been friction." These were inspiring thoughts, but suppose he had punctuated his remarks by saying, "All this can be done, provided the House of Representatives comes to the conclusion it is not an interference with a bill they passed in 1916 for an ambitious naval program." What kind of a position would have been occupied before the nations of the earth if such a postscript had been added? And in this day, this day when the threat of chaos still hangs over the world, I most earnestly desire to impress upon the members of this House the importance of contracting in the easiest and readiest way any treaty that looks toward peace with nations. We no longer can say, as did a distinguished United States Senator, "What have we to do with abroad"?

Our relations extend to the remotest bounds. Whatever happens in Petrograd or in Tokyo or in far-off Bagdad is of the utmost interest to the United States. Our trade relations, our social relations, all those things which make for the betterment of humanity, are bound up with the hopes and fears of all the peoples of the

earth. The most ardent hope is that the movement for peace may be a mighty procession, ever moving onward. Gentlemen of the committee, it is not altogether a constitutional proposition which concerns us, though I think these treaties are clearly binding under the Constitution. If we concede it is within the power of this House to stand in the way and stop progress toward peace, we surely will never do it. I hope this bill will pass by a unanimous vote. This question of treaties is of the utmost consequence to us in our international relations, which are assuming ever-increasing, almost supreme, importance among our national policies. We will not neglect the home life of the nation; we will not neglect the welfare of the weak and of the struggling. We will endeavor in all our legislation to hold the scales equally and to devise such laws as, like gracious drops of dew, shall spread their blessings all abroad.

But there is need of the broadest vision. Our larger outlook is beyond the windows which look out upon a narrow landscape. It is upon the whole world, and in the making of treaties we should define clearly where that power rests. And may the time never come when in pursuance of any constitutional theory or any policy of obstruction this House shall for one moment stand in the way of that great mission which we have to perform for peace, for good will, and for an advancing civilization.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

INTERNATIONAL LAW CODES NOT FAVORED BY THIS GOVERNMENT

Department of State Replies to Three Questions Submitted by Secretary of League of Nations

(*U. S. Daily, Dec. 20*)

The Department of State has addressed a communication to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, Sir Eric Drummond, which states that the United States

cannot agree to the advisability of the codification of three questions of international law.

These three questions, according to information made public by the Department of State on December 19, are: Communication of Judicial and Extra-Judicial Acts on Penal Matters; the Legal Position and Functions of Consuls; the Revision of the Classification of Diplomatic Agents.

The full text of the announcement by the Department of State follows:

The following communication was sent on December 16, 1927, by the Department to the Secretary General of the League of Nations through the American Legation at Berne:

"The Secretary General of the League of Nations, with a communication dated June 7, 1927, was good enough to transmit to the Secretary of State of the United States certain questionnaires and reports prepared by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law and to request the opinion of the Government of the United States as to whether the regulation by international agreement of the subjects treated in the questionnaires, having regard both to their general aspects and the specific points mentioned in the questionnaires, is desirable and realizable in the near future.

Use of Letters Rogatory

"*Question No. 8:* With respect to the amended draft convention on this subject submitted with the report of the subcommittee of the Committee of Experts, it may be stated that the taking of the testimony relating to criminal cases in foreign countries by the use of letters rogatory, with which Article I of the amended draft deals, is a process for which no provision has been made by the legislation of the Federal Government and one which under the system prevailing in the United States can be employed, if at all, only pursuant to the laws of the several States. It is not deemed advisable to make commitments by international convention to change the existing practice in this regard prevailing in the United States. Moreover, evidence obtained in foreign countries through letters rogatory could not be used in criminal cases in the United States, since under the Constitution the accused must be confronted by the witnesses against him.

"With respect to the second article of the revised draft it may be stated that the Government of the United States is not prepared to commit itself to serve summonses emanating with foreign courts on witnesses or experts resident in the United States or to surrender persons in custody, except through the process of extradition.

"It is the view of the Government of the United States that the matter of the surrender of exhibits dealt with in the third article of the amended draft convention can be adequately provided for in extradition treaties. Indeed, provisions for the surrender of property in possession of fugitives are contained in some of the extradition treaties of the United States. The list of treaties appended to the report, as examples of judicial co-operation, indicates that the subject as heretofore treated is closely related to extradition.

"While conventions on the subject of judicial co-operation doubtless serve a useful purpose among countries in close geographic proximity to each other, it is not apparent that uniform application of such agreements is necessary.

Agreement on Courts

"*Question No. 9:* The experience of the Government of the United States has not revealed any considerable uncertainty regarding the legal position and functions of consuls. Furthermore, this matter has been the subject of numerous provisions in bilateral treaties. It is the view of the Government of the United States that no compelling necessity exists for the treatment of this subject by a general international convention.

"*Question No. 10:* The Government of the United States does not consider it desirable to revise the classifications of diplomatic agents as proposed. No circumstances or conditions demonstrating the desirability of changing the classification have been revealed, nor is there reason to expect that the purposed change, if made, would effect any material improvement.

"The Government of the United States does not consider that the regulation by multilateral international agreement of questions 8 and 9 or the change of classification proposed in question 10 is desirable or attainable in the near future.

"*Question No. 11:* The Government of the United States is inclined to the view that an international agreement on the subject of competence of the courts in certain classes of cases against foreign States, would serve a useful purpose, and would therefore be desirable, and that there should be no insuperable obstacle to the concluding of an agreement on that subject.

"The Government of the United States thanks the Secretary General for the report on 'effect of the most-favored-nation clause, forwarded with the communication of June 7.'

RUSSO-PERSIAN GUARANTEE PACT

(NOTE.—Following is the text of (I) Pact of guarantee and neutrality between Russia and Persia, signed at Moscow on October 1, 1927, and (II) Note addressed on the same day by the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Soviet Commission for Foreign Affairs.)

I. Text of the Treaty

Article 1

The mutual relations between Persia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continue to be based on the Treaty of February 26, 1921, all articles and stipulations of which remain in force and the authority of which extends over the entire territory of the Union of Socialist Republics.

Article 2

Each of the contracting parties undertakes to abstain from every attack and aggressive

action against the other party and from advancing its armed forces into the territory of the other party.

In case, however, one of the contracting parties should be attacked by one or several third powers, the other contracting party undertakes to remain neutral during the entire conflict, which neutrality the party attacked must not violate regardless of all strategic, tactical or political considerations or advantages that might accrue to it from such violation.

Article 3

Each of the contracting parties undertakes not to participate either *de facto* or formally in political alliances or agreements directed against the security of the other party, on land or at sea, or against its integrity, independence or sovereignty.

The two contracting parties, moreover, renounce all participation in economic boycotts and blockades organized by third powers and directed against one of the contracting parties.

Article 4

In view of the obligations assumed under articles 4 and 5 of the Treaty of February 26, 1921, the two contracting parties, desiring not to interfere in the internal affairs of each other and to abstain from carrying on propaganda or struggle against the government of the other, will strictly forbid their officials to carry on such activity on the territory of the other contracting party.

If nationals of one of the contracting parties residing on the territory of the other party should carry on propaganda or struggle prohibited by the authorities of the latter party, the government of this territory will have the right to put an end to their activity and to apply to them the legally established penalties.

Likewise, in conformity with the stipulations of the above-mentioned articles, the two contracting parties undertake not to support and not to allow on their respective territories the formation or the activity of: (1) organizations or groups, regardless of the name by which they are known, whose object is to struggle against the government of the other contracting party by means of violence, insurrections or attacks; (2) organizations or groups which arrogate to themselves the rôle of the government of all or part of the

territory of the other contracting party and whose object is likewise to struggle against the government of the other contracting party by the above-mentioned means, to violate its peace and security or to attempt against its territorial integrity.

Inspired by the above-mentioned principles, the two contracting parties undertake to prohibit the formation on, as well as the entrance into, their territories of armed forces, arms, ammunitions, and all kinds of military supplies intended for the above-mentioned organizations.

Article 5

The two contracting parties undertake to settle by peaceful means, suitable to the occasion, all disputes that might arise between them and which could not be settled through the ordinary diplomatic channels.

Article 6

Outside of the obligations undertaken by the two contracting parties in virtue of the present agreement, the two parties reserve to themselves entire freedom of action in their international relations.

Article 7

The present agreement is concluded for a period of three years and shall be submitted at the earliest possible date to the approval and ratification of the legislative bodies of the two parties, after which it shall enter into force.

The exchange of ratifications shall take place at Teheran within one month following the ratification.

Upon expiration of the first established period, the agreement shall be considered as automatically prolonged each time for the period of one year unless one of the contracting parties notifies its intention of denouncing it. In the latter case the agreement shall remain in force for a period of six months after the notice of denunciation made by one of the contracting parties.

Article 8

The present agreement shall be drawn up in the Russian, Persian, and French languages in three authentic copies for each of the contracting parties.

For purposes of interpretation, all three texts are authentic. In case of any dispute as to interpretation, the French text shall be regarded as authentic.

II. Note of the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Moscow, October 1, 1927.

MR. PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR:

At the time of the signature of the pact of guarantee and neutrality signed at this date between Persia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honor to inform you of the following:

Whereas the Persian Government always endeavors to fulfill entirely all its obligations voluntarily, it signs the present agreement with the desire to respect sincerely all the obligations deriving from it, and, according to the conviction of the Persian Government, the above-mentioned obligations are in no way contrary to the obligations of the Persian Government toward the League of Nations.

The Persian Government declares to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that the Persian Government shall also respect and fulfill all its obligations as a member of the League of Nations.

I have the honor, etc.,

(Signed)

ALI GHOLI KHAN ANSARI.

News in Brief

AN ASSOCIATION OF MUTUAL CO-OPERATION for American Concord has been organized in Buenos Aires. Its purposes are to co-operate with "all steps initiated for the establishment of American concord, and to combat prejudices, errors, imperialism, and injustice which stand in the way"; to publish a magazine in Spanish, Portuguese, and English; to found a news service which shall be gratis, non-sensational, and impartial; to foster public meetings and lectures in accord with its general purpose; and to foster the founding of affiliated associations to help in mutual understanding and fraternal relations.

THE GOVERNMENT OF PARAGUAY has signed a contract with a French company for a tri-weekly air service between Asuncion and Buenos Aires, with stops at five or more

ports along the Parana River, a distance of about 850 miles.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION of the Council of the League of Nations ended December 12, after the harmonious settlement of several trying problems.

EDUCATION OF PUBLIC OPINION, publicity on all international issues, and establishment of a high moral standard for international dealings were advocated as the most effective means of insuring the world peace, by Jeremiah Smith, Jr., before the Academy of Political Science, in New York City, November 18. Mr. Smith, who was the Commissioner-General for the financial reorganization of Hungary, further stated that laws and resolutions to outlaw war would not be enough. A well-informed public opinion on international affairs should be the objective of every peace society.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS ANNOUNCED that hereafter a committee composed of officials from the State Department and the Agricultural Department will have control of decisions regarding embargoes on plant and animal products. This decision follows long negotiations of the Argentine Embassy, which resulted in the practical lifting of Agricultural Department embargoes on grapes and chilled meat and modifying that on alfalfa seed.

PROFESSOR ANZILOTTI OF ITALY has been elected President of the World Court for the term 1928-30, succeeding Dr. Huber, of Switzerland. John Bassett Moore, of the United States, was elected member of the Chamber for transit and communication cases and substitute member in that for labor cases.

AN INTERNATIONAL HOUSE at the University of California, Berkeley, will be erected by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. It will be a large and modern dormitory, planned to accommodate 300 foreign students and 200 Americans each year. It will be similar to the International House in New York City. Permanent friendships, resulting in a strong influence for international peace and understanding, is expected to grow from the contacts formed in these houses.

THE BOW SCHOOL OF LONDON invited, this year, a group of French boys and their masters to spend three weeks with them in a summer camp for study and out-of-door life. This was in return for hospitalities extended by French schools to the English boys on their holiday trips to France.

THE INTERNATIONAL RADIO-TELEGRAPH CONFERENCE completed on November 22 the formulation of an international treaty governing the uses of radio in international communications. The conference had been in plenary session for seven weeks. The convention decided to meet in Spain in 1932.

THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES, to be held in Havana, Cuba, January 16, is of immediate interest to the Western World. It is reported that President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg will attend the conference. The United States delegation, headed by Charles Evans Hughes, will be made up of James Brown Scott, Henry P. Fletcher, Oscar Underwood, Dwight Morrow, Morgan O'Brien, Leo S. Rowe, and Ray Lyman Wilbur.

THE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED IN GERMANY has decreased from about 3,000,000 a year ago to 100,000, according to a statement of Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, American Ambassador to Germany. This has been made possible largely through foreign loans, especially from American sources. In former days the army alone kept 700,000 men from productive work.

THE RATIFICATION OF THE LAUSANNE TREATY between the United States and Turkey will be the chief purpose of the mission to this country of Ahmed Moukhtar Bey, new Turkish Ambassador. The Ambassador assumed his post on November 29.

A MEETING AT 10 DOWNING STREET, convened November 24, by Mrs. Baldwin, in support of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches, was addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Balfour, and others.

A SERIES OF LECTURES on international relations, given under the auspices of the Social Sciences Faculty of the University of Washington, began October 18 and are to continue fortnightly for the remainder of the year. The theme for the autumn quarter was "Problems of the Pacific."

THE SOCIAL STUDIES SECTION of the Pennsylvania State Education Association met at Lancaster on December 29 and considered the topic "Promoting international understanding through teaching the social studies."

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE in civil aviation, to meet next December, was suggested by President Coolidge in a letter from the White House addressed to the Civil Aeronautics Conference, which held a five-day meeting closing December 9.

BOOK REVIEWS

IMPERIALISM AND WORLD POLITICS. By *Parker Thomas Moon*. Pp. 566 and index. Masmillan, New York, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

Believing that the ideas and interests productive of the war in 1914 had caused many previous wars, and that they are in large measure still working, Mr. Moon has sought for the principle underlying these ideas. Imperialism seems to be the best word available to designate the main operative principle in the last century and the first quarter of this one.

The book is analytical and historical rather than controversial. The author candidly says that he sees no immediate solution of the problems he states, though an enlightened public opinion and a better working international co-operation would greatly hasten a solution.

He does not define imperialism, but it is evident from his use of the word that he takes it in an elastic sense. In the case of the relations of the United States with Latin America, for instance, economic or financial control, or even pressure, is called imperialism. At the same time he credits public opinion in this country with the belief that actual seizure of territory is akin to theft.

There are many studies in the book particularly discriminating. That of Cecil Rhodes in relation to South Africa is one

useful interpretation. The battle of concessions in the Far East is another; especially good is its unprejudiced exposition of the part the United States has played in the Pacific.

But of real moment to us just now is the study of Pan-Americanism. It should help the North American reader to understand that the proper position for the United States ought to be the acceptance of Latin American nations as our associates rather than our protégés.

Unlike many serious studies of our times, this book does not focus on the World War. The war is merely incidental or interpretive of the main current of influences, still flowing on.

The economic imperialism of the last decade, he thinks, is quite as threatening as the earlier forms of the struggle for national mastery. But we see things foggily. Imperialism seems to be able to call out a flow of humanitarian sentiment quite as fervid as that elicited by anti-imperialism. Both are hung about with glamorous mists hiding unpleasant facts. Mr. Moon is not quite clear as to the path we should follow, but his book is like a keen fresh wind blowing through the mists and showing us at least where we now stand.

A clearing up of the present ought to enable both the extreme patriot and the extreme "pacifist" to see each other more distinctly. It ought to help them find their mutual path, with further patient study.

FRANCE AND AMERICA. By *Andre Tardieu*. Pp. 311. Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

AMERICA COMES OF AGE. By *Andre Siegfried*. Tr. by H. H. Hemming and Doris Hemming. Pp. 353 and index. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

We are prone to take ourselves for granted and forget that facts basic to ourselves may need to be explained to some one else. Therefore the two books above are particularly salutary. They are written by Frenchmen, and France differs from America even more than does Great Britain. Moreover, they are written by Frenchmen who know their America through residence and intimate, thoughtful study. Besides all this, they are written for a French public, only secondarily for American readers.

M. Tardieu takes for a subtitle "Some experiences in co-operation." He begins by demonstrating that it is an erroneous though common assumption that Franco-American friendship is a natural and sentimental affinity. On the contrary, he says all the past has made the two nations opposite in their manner of thinking. Twenty centuries of defense of frontiers and wresting liberty from tyrants has made France primarily nationalistic. Her activities are political in their nature, but she takes nationalism and national defense for granted. Her people are a unit here, however they may differ on economic or political policies.

In America, on the other hand, he finds the spring of action to be economic. Personal equality before the law is the thing here taken for granted. Nationalism may be a subject of discussion, as it could not be in France.

The contrasts which he finds are interesting, but as he goes on one sees that in his attempts to explain America M. Tardieu does not take sufficient cognizance of the fact that we are really, here, a federation of separate States, while France is a single entity. It explains many things.

M. Tardieu gives generous space to American participation in the world war and reconstruction, showing how our fundamental differences forced a separation afterwards. But he shows clearly the French viewpoint, that since America withdrew from the peace treaty, she has no right to exact full payment from France of debts which were pledged on the assumption that America would stay in and help collect reparations.

Far more searching is M. Siegfried's book. An economist himself, he perhaps understands the essence of American life more naturally. But he is as well, a historian of no mean caliber.

A friendly book, but it is not altogether pleasant to read some of his analysis of us, unprejudiced and logical though it is. We wish he would not make the "Babbitt" and "Main Street" conception of America quite so general. It seems too that he lays too much stress on the conflict between Protestant and Catholic thought here.

Yet, when all is said, the book is a masterpiece, a work to ponder over, a statement to make us pause. Our slavery to public opinion, our elaborate machinery of propaganda, are at least dangerous. Our "Fordism" has

made artisanship out of date. Creative effort cannot survive under mass production.

The analysis of prohibition is astonishingly unbiassed. The outline of political parties is clear and quite different from one that might be done by an Anglo-Saxon.

The book is decidedly one to be read and with alertness. Furthermore, the translation is in itself an achievement in distinguished, lucid English.

JEFFERSON AND THE EMBARGO. By *Louis Martin Sears*. Pp. 320, bibliography, and index. Duke University Press, 1927. Price, \$4.00.

When the philosopher becomes an administrator his ideas receive the acid test. Dr. Sears, who had made a previous study of Jefferson's pacificism, was led to pursue a larger study involving Jefferson's whole philosophy, and the application he made of it as an executive. He finds that the second President's practical ability has been generally underestimated.

As proof of the essential sanity and logic of this great soul, he takes the embargo approved by Jefferson in December, 1807, and shows how it was the most perfect substitute for war up to that time devised. It was, too, a direct outcome of Jefferson's idea of combating war with the instruments of peace.

The book shows, through quotation, reference, and summary, a harassed Jefferson, appearing "at his unhappiest, yet at his best." The book has two outstanding excellencies. It is an undoubted contribution to the history of our foreign policy; it is a fresh help to the study of the man, Jefferson. It shows him larger than the opportunist, a man "possessed of a philosophical consciousness of his own purposes." If not the greatest of world heroes, "he should," says Dr. Sears, "rank high as a friend of man."

THE SPIRIT OF '76. By *Carl Becker, J. M. Clark, and William E. Dodd*. Pp. 135. Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government, Washington, 1927.

The three lectures here bound together were delivered at the Robert Brookings Graduate School in November, 1926. The subjects were chosen because of the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and of the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." The authors have each covered a particular field and have viewed past events in relation to the present.

Mr. Becker chose the narrative method. He gives a fragmentary manuscript which he professes to have found, which expounds the developing Federalist principles of one Jeremiah Wynkoop, a merchant in New York City just preceding the Revolution. So realistic is the paper that one has to look up the list of members of the Continental Congress to convince oneself that no Wynkoop was among them. It is an interesting study of the thought of '76 and quite in harmony with the trend of contemporary letters.

The second lecture, by Professor Clark of Columbia, takes up Adam Smith and his exposition of the case for individualism. The subject is considered chiefly in its economic setting, though political implications are not neglected. The author attempts, too, the interesting task of guessing how Adam Smith would write today.

The last lecture, "Virginia takes the road to revolution," is centered upon the personality of Patrick Henry. It shows how inevitably one event after another committed Virginia to the Revolution before the signing of the Declaration.

The little volume throws us back in spirit to the beginnings of our nation.

HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY; A SYLLABUS. By *William Whitley Pierson, Jr.* Pp. 169. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926. Price, \$1.50.

Schools and colleges today are giving much more of Latin American history than ever before. The two continents of the hemisphere are rapidly discovering their innate relationship. The syllabus here given by Professor Pierson is quite as useful for the student who is studying alone as for the class.

In the introduction a reading list is given which has two rather unusual qualities; it is full, but not so voluminous as to be discouraging, and all the books are to be had in the English language. The ten chapters of the syllabus, arranged by historic periods, are, even without the reading references, an interesting and logically conceived outline of Hispanic-American history.

The author, with the modern outlook, emphasizes the institutional, social, and economic aspects of his subject. As it stands, it is a book to invite study, and its topics are suggestive of many new approaches to international understanding.

ADVOCATE OF
PEACE
THROUGH JUSTICE



The Latchstring Is Out



From Christian Science Monitor
January 19, 1928

Price 30¢

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DERRIN CALL, Editor
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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

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JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Secretary Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C. President, Institute of International Law.

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THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and non-profit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness will be fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, during the early days of May, 1928. The Century Celebration will be the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

MEMBERSHIPS

The classes of membership and dues are: Annual Membership, \$5; Sustaining Membership, \$10; Contributing Membership, \$25; Institutional Membership, \$25; Life Membership, \$100.

All memberships include a full subscription to the monthly magazine of the Society, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.

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CLEVELAND CELEBRATION RECEIVES NEW ENCOURAGEMENT

THE celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 7 to 11 next, seems to have no opposition. Talk about it is all one way. It is friendly and most encouraging, and the encouragements are coming in from practically every "school of thought." The church, including the Quakers, government officials, universities, peace organizations of every stripe, patriotic organizations, Daughters of the American Revolution, Kiwanis clubs, chambers of commerce, are but a few of the groups kindly offering to help the Celebration.

Something of the nature of this friendly and encouraging co-operation is set forth in a set of resolutions, adopted January 14, 1928, by the National Executive Committee of the American Legion, meeting at Indianapolis, Indiana. These resolutions, typical of others, will be especially gratifying to every member of the American Peace Society. The resolutions read:

"Whereas the American Peace Society is to observe in May, 1928, the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of that Society, by holding its convention in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, and by sponsoring in connection with that convention a gathering of distinguished representatives of the leading nations of the world at a so-called World Conference on International Justice; and

"Whereas the policies of such Society are under the guidance of officers and di-

rectors, most of whom are of outstanding and recognized experience in matters of national or international policy; and

"Whereas, upon the entry of the United States into the World War, the officers of the American Peace Society supported the United States Government and, as evidenced by the published editorials of the Society, loyally and repeatedly announced this position; and

"Whereas the declared purpose of the American Peace Society is 'to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world'; and

"Whereas, in seeking the accomplishment of such purpose, the Society is not unmindful of the present responsibilities of our government to provide for itself reasonable defense and has published the following statement of its attitude on that subject: 'In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units, it (the American Peace Society) stands for adequate national defense. It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies'; and

"Whereas the Society has secured the acceptance of many men of outstanding international influence and responsibility to address the World Conference on International Justice to be held next May, including, among many, such speakers as President Calvin Coolidge, Hon. Aristide Briand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Dr. Gustav Stressemann, German Minister of Foreign Affairs; and

"Whereas the above-quoted purposes and policies of the American Peace Society are thoroughly in accordance with the declared principles of the American Legion; and

"Whereas the American Legion owes it to its members and to the public to take a definite and constructive stand upon all matters of importance pertaining to the promotion of international peace; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Executive Committee of the American Legion hereby expresses the belief that on this basis the forthcoming World Conference on International Justice sponsored by the American Peace Society has great potential promise of substantial and well-directed progress toward the 'promotion of peace and good will,' as sought in accordance with the principles of the American Legion in a sane, conservative, constructive and loyal advance toward an honorable self-respecting international peace; and be it further

"Resolved, That National Headquarters of the American Legion announce this attitude of helpful encouragement to the American Peace Society in the forthcoming World Conference on International Justice and give proper publicity to this action through the press and through the *American Legion Monthly* as long as the American Peace Society and the other sponsors of the World Conference on International Justice continue to support the principles of an adequate national defense and as it is defined by the National Defense Act, to the end that the public and the members of the American Legion may not misunderstand the significance and character of the proposed conference and the attitude of the American Legion toward peace."

There is reason for believing that the coming Cleveland Celebration will result in a co-ordination of many agencies concerned to place the peace movement once again upon its enduring principles, a co-ordination perhaps unprecedented in the history of America. Peace and patriotic organizations can and ought to be shoulder to shoulder in this peculiarly American enterprise of finding substitutes for war.

THE PATENT MEANING IN AN ASTONISHING PROPOSAL

THE most astonishing proposal in the name of international peace, at least within the last decade, came from our Secretary of State in a note to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aristide Briand, December 28, 1927, which note was made public January 3. The note proposed "an effort to obtain the adherence of all the principal powers of the world to a declaration renouncing war as an instrument of national policy." This means that our Department of State is ready to join with the other principal powers to renounce all war as an instrument of national policy. To one at all acquainted with the struggle of the peace workers during the last one hundred years this is an astonishing statement indeed.

When, upon the proposal of the Polish delegation, the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted last September a declaration that all wars of aggression are, and shall always be, prohibited; that every pacific means must be employed to settle disputes of every description which may arise between States; and that the States, members of the League, are under obligation to conform to these principles, there was little enthusiasm among the delegates in the Assembly. It was generally felt, notwithstanding the unanimity with which it was passed, that the action was little more than an innocuous gesture. The declaration received little attention from the press. Members of the League do not seem to have changed their policies in any way because of this action.

When M. Briand transmitted to our government last June his "draft of pact" between France and the United States, his proposed treaty aroused little interest in this country except among a few. It proposed that the United States and France should condemn resort to war and renounce it as an instrument of national

policy. From the text, it is clear that M. Briand proposed the renunciation of all war as an instrument of national policy for France and the United States.

While there was considerable enthusiastic support by a limited number of persons in our country, the proposal was definitely condemned by others. It was pointed out, for example, that the proposal, if accepted, would be in violation of our policy of treating all nations alike; that it was more in the nature of a political expedient than an extension of those judicial processes upon which rests most securely the abiding processes of peace. It was further pointed out that the proposal could not be accepted under our Constitution, because under the terms of that instrument Congress is specifically given the right to declare war. It was felt by some that if the plan were generally adopted it would establish the disinterestedness of the United States in every European conflict and make it impossible for this country to extend aid to a deserving nation, as we chose to do in 1917. In short, it might mean, under certain circumstances, that the United States would find itself deprived of the right to defend the right by force. And yet our State Department has accepted M. Briand's original proposal with the understanding that it be extended to include all the principal powers of the world.

In this situation it is proper to recall that Judge William Jay, son of John Jay, and for the last ten years of his life President of the American Peace Society, wrote in 1842 his little work, entitled "War and Peace," in which he proposed what is now familiarly known in international practice as the *clause compromissoire*. This clause has been incorporated in many international treaties. An interesting aspect of Mr. Jay's proposal was that he suggested that it be inserted "in our next treaty with France." The clause in the

form which Mr. Jay advocated it is as follows:

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

While there were certain forms of the clause in earlier treaties, for example, our treaty with Tripoli in 1796, Mr. Jay's idea was incorporated in Article XXI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, between the United States and Mexico, signed February 2, 1848. This article of the treaty makes use of many of the exact phrases of Mr. Jay's proposal. Out of such background sprang the Root treaties, the Bryan treaties, and the various arbitrations of actual disputes between nations. In a real sense the suggestion of William Jay has served to outlaw war. It was what is now the original Briand proposal; and, if extended to "all the principal powers of the world," it would represent with no little exactness the position now taken by Mr. Kellogg.

Nevertheless, Mr. Kellogg's proposal has aroused astonishment, especially in Europe. One reason for this astonishment, of peculiar interest to the United States, is the unanimity with which the European press points out that the proposal runs counter to certain articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations—indeed, of the Locarno Treaties—which articles provide under certain circumstances for the waging of war by the League or by allies. Mr. Kellogg's proposal, if adopted, would do away with the

machinery of sanctions contemplated by the Covenant and with the guarantees in the treaties of Locarno. This is found, particularly in France, to constitute an insuperable objection. Then, too, the English press finds it difficult to square Mr. Kellogg's principle with our government's enlarged naval program. Furthermore, there is the United States Senate. How it will treat the proposal, once it appears before that body, in the light of that section of our Constitution which grants to Congress the right to declare war, remains to be seen. Some are led to ask if the United States is proposing to renounce its right to uphold the Monroe Doctrine by force, if necessary. Others wonder what is meant by the phrase first used by M. Briand, "an instrument of national policy." The fact is that Mr. Kellogg's proposal is astonishing.

In it, however, there is one patent meaning. It is a recognition of the demand by peoples everywhere that some way shall be found for the maintenance of a general international peace. There is a solidarity uniting the community of nations. War as a means of settling international disputes is viewed at last with a general disfavor. Men and women responsible for the work of the world are expecting their statesmen to find better and saner ways for adjusting differences between nations. This is the patent meaning in the astonishing correspondence between France and the United States.

CAN WE RESCIND OUR CALENDAR?

THE difficulties facing the effort to achieve something definite in behalf of international peace appear when confronted with a specific proposal. This is true of the definite need for the abolition of our present calendar and for the adoption in its place of a new and more sensible substitute.

There is nothing sacrosanct about our calendar. It is a sort of illegitimate child of foolishness and egotism. In a vain-glorious attempt to improve upon the Egyptian set of months, Julius Cæsar grabbed a day from February and made and named one of the longer months July, after himself. Later, Augustus Cæsar, sensitive to have a month quite as big as Julius', took the next month, added to it another day, which he also took from February, and had it named August, after himself. He then proceeded to jumble some other days and to give us the hodge-podge known as our modern calendar.

The word month is quite meaningless. It may mean twenty-eight, twenty-nine, thirty, or thirty-one days. It may mean a calendar month or a lunar month. And there are different kinds of lunar months. Our poor calendar, as a measure of time, is both inaccurate and varying. It is impossible for business men to compare their business results by months. It is impossible to compare one month with the next, or a month with the same month in another year, for each year every month is different from the same month in the year before and the year after. The silly calendar gives the workmen a maze of pay-days. As a result of it, days have a different economic value. The date for Easter jumps around through March and April over a bewildering gamut of thirty-five days. It has been ascertained that a weekly periodical gets a larger daily average of receipts on Monday than on any other day of the week. It charges its salaries and wages to Saturday and its other expenditures to Wednesday. In 1922, for example, there were four months in which there were five Saturdays, four months in which there were five Mondays, and four months in which there were five Wednesdays. But those months did not coincide. In January there was an extra Monday; so the periodical's income that

month was disproportionately large. In March there was an extra bill-paying day. In April there was an extra salary day. In May there was an extra income day and an extra bill-paying day. In July there was an extra salary day and an extra income day. In August there was an extra bill-paying day. In September there was an extra salary day. In October there was an extra income day and an extra bill-paying day. And in December there was an extra salary day. This irregularity not only makes it impossible to compare one month with the next, but it also makes it impossible to compare the month with the same month in another year, for, as has been said, each year every month is different from the same month in the year before and the year after. Under these conditions, what do monthly comparisons mean? Nothing. In some cases it means worse than nothing, for it misleads directors and confuses executive officers.

As a piece of business machinery, it must be confessed, the month is a joke.

In the presence of such a situation it is reasonable to hope for, at least to desire, an international fixed calendar.

Such a calendar is possible. The year can be divided into thirteen months of twenty-eight days, each comprising four complete weeks, beginning on Sunday and ending on Saturday. This would necessitate provision for an extra month in the calendar. This month could be inserted between June and July by combining the last thirteen days of June and the first fifteen days of July. In this way the twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-first days from the present months would disappear and we would have thirteen months of four weeks each, with every month in every year exactly alike as to dates and as to names of the days of the week. The last day in every year would be dated December 29 as an extra

Sabbath ending the last week. In leap years the difficulty of an additional day might be met by inserting another extra Sabbath, to be known as June 29. Indeed, this rearrangement of the calendar is provided for in substantially these ways by what is known as the Cotsworth Plan.

The advantages of this plan, if adopted, would be many. All months being equal, the day of the week would always indicate the monthly date, and the monthly date would indicate the week-day name. Both day and date could then be simply recorded on the dials of all clocks and watches. Weekly wages could be harmonized with monthly rents and other accounts. Pay-days would come around on the same date each month. Fractions of weeks at month-ends would cease. The new calendar would simplify accounting and statistical reports, not to mention interest amounts. It would simplify one's plans for Easter. It would save money in printing and circulating calendars. It would save time in referring to calendars. It would do away with holidays in the middle of the week and assure workers of two or three days when holidays occur.

There is no argument against changing the calendar except inertia. Since the calendar has been changed from time to time; since, indeed, nations with a population of more than three hundred million inhabitants have changed their calendars since the late war, the Turkish Government changing the Mohammedan Sabbath from Friday to Sunday, this argument is not impressive.

Under date of October 7, the Secretary to the League of Nations Committee having to do with the reform of the calendar wrote to Mr. M. B. Cotsworth, of the Fixed Calendar League, Rochester, New York, as follows:

"The following letter was sent to the United States and other governments on September 30th:

The Secretary General of the League of Nations has the honor to communicate to the United States Government the following resolution which was adopted by the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit during its eleventh session, held at Geneva from August 19th to 22nd, 1927:

"The Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit decides to request the Secretary General of the League of Nations to invite all the administrations and organizations concerned to give the committee all information of value to it on any action taken on the suggestions contained in the report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Reform of the Calendar, and more particularly on the national proposal for the establishment of committees of enquiry to study this reform."

"In accordance with this resolution, the Secretary General has the honor to request the United States Government to forward to him any useful information on this subject which it may possess."

Simplification of the calendar is a question of immediate and international importance.

Calendar simplification will be of the greatest value to all classes and all professions. It involves no controversies of any kind. It is a scientific proposition backed by leaders in all walks of life. Mr. George Eastman, of Kodak fame, and many other leading men of affairs are especially interested.

The International Chamber of Commerce and the League of Nations have both investigated and acted favorably on it. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, on the recommendations of its board of directors and national counselors, has just formed a special committee of eleven men to investigate the subject and report. The Department of State has just canvassed all government departments on the question, with the result that all are favorable.

An international conference, similar to the one held in this country which estab-

lished standard time, will eventually be called by international agreement to consider the equalization of the months for universal adoption.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION INVESTIGATES THE PROBLEM OF MIGRATION

THE Interparliamentary Union hopes to discuss at its Twenty-fifth Conference, to be held in the City of Berlin, probably in July next, certain aspects of migrations. At the Twenty-second Conference, meeting in 1924, at Berne and Geneva, the Union established a Permanent Committee on Social Questions and instructed it to study the problems of emigration and immigration. The committee is devoting itself especially to certain political features of the problem. Since the members have been kind enough to address specific inquiries to us, we believe our foreign friends will be interested in the following attitudes of our country toward given phases of the matter.

Briefly, public opinion in the United States may be said to favor our immigration laws as they exist. Some there are who would like to see the act somewhat liberalized; others who would do away with all immigration to the United States. In the main, however, our people seem to favor our present selective immigration law, which lets into the country only the better class of immigrants, irrespective of the country of embarkation.

Our government does not interest itself in emigration from the United States, for the reason that few Americans emigrate to other countries, these consisting of a comparatively few immigrants and their children born here.

Our government welcomes immigrants from the learned professions, visitors, tourists, transients, and students, no matter from what country they come. Immigration from Asia is practically forbidden,

due, it would seem, to certain incompatibilities between Oriental and American tastes. Immigration from the south of Europe is restricted because of the feeling that the better class of persons from that section of Europe do not come for the purpose of settling in America. Immigration from the north of Europe is favored because immigrants from that part of the world belong to stocks similar to our own and assimilate more readily with our people.

The authorities of our country do not seek to maintain ties of a political, social, or other nature between immigrants to our shores and their mother countries. Emigrant Americans remain Americans until they expatriate themselves. The government neither encourages nor discourages such emigrant Americans. It pursues the same policy in all countries to which our nationals may go.

Our government makes no attempt to assimilate the Orientals, expecting that such persons will soon return to their own homes. This is true also of many who come from the south of Europe. Those who come here with the intention of remaining, however, are helped to become assimilated. Assimilation schools exist to teach immigrants American ideas. These schools are usually of a local nature and often supported by private enterprises. They exist for the benefit of the more ignorant and less favored classes, wholly independent of the country of origin.

The people of this country would probably not be interested in any general treaty concerning immigration or emigration affecting the United States. There would be no opposition, of course, to other countries adopting general treaties of such a character.

These remarks, offered in reply to the questions submitted from the committee, should include the assurance to our friends abroad that all thoughtful persons in America will be glad to know that the

Interparliamentary Union is studying the problem, and they will await with interest the results of its investigations.

THE INTERNATIONAL WHALE

THE conservation of the whale, in the view of our government, is entitled to an international conference. The information has cropped out in correspondence between Washington and the League of Nations. Our Department of State, according to this correspondence, is not favorable to the suggestion that we permit testimony relating to criminal cases in foreign countries to be carried on by the use of letters rogatory on the ground that there is no provision for such a procedure in the laws of our Federal Government. Since such proceedings could be carried on only pursuant to the laws of the several States, our Department of State does not deem it advisable to make commitments by international conventions to change the existing practice. Moreover, evidence obtained in foreign countries through letters rogatory could not be used in criminal cases in the United States, since under the Constitution the accused must be confronted by the witnesses against him. The Government of the United States is not prepared to serve summonses emanating from foreign courts on witnesses or experts resident in the United States or to surrender persons in custody except through the process of extradition.

Our authorities have recently held that conventions on the subject of judicial cooperation will doubtless serve useful purposes among countries of close geographic proximity; but that it is not apparent that uniform applications of such agreements is necessary. It appears that we would not look with favor upon any general international convention regarding the legal positions and functions of consuls.

It is the view of the Government of the United States that international arrangements on the general subject of (1) nationality, (2) territorial waters, (3) diplomatic privileges and immunities, and (4) responsibility of States in respect of injury caused in their territory to the person or property of foreigners would serve a useful purpose and would, therefore, be desirable; and that there should be no insuperable obstacles to the concluding of agreements on these general subjects. It is in relation to the exploitation of the products of the sea that the Government of the United States has turned to the matter of whales. It has expressed the opinion that information as to the status of fisheries for most of the true fishes is not sufficiently completed to admit of adequate regulations at the present time; that in most cases fisheries may best be regulated by treaties between the nations most directly concerned; that investigations to determine the best interests of various fisheries should be encouraged, and that an international conference is desirable to consider the problem of conserving the whale.

PAN AMERICA ADVANCES

THE Sixth International Conference of American States convened in the city of Havana, January 16, is a major international fact. It is devoting itself to an examination of the Pan American Union as an organization, to matters of justice in the Western Hemisphere, to problems of communications, to intellectual co-operation, to economic and social problems, to reports on treaties, conventions, and resolutions, and to the possibilities of future conferences.

These conferences, the first one of which met in Washington in the winter 1889-90, the second in Mexico City in 1901, the third in Rio de Janeiro, 1906,

the fourth in Buenos Aires in 1910, the fifth in Santiago, Chile, in 1923, have all contributed to the upbuilding of Pan Americanism. Indeed Pan Americanism may be said to date from 1826, when, upon the initiative of Simon Bolivar, it was attempted to organize at Panama a conference of envoys from republics of the Western World "to deliberate upon objects of peculiar concernment in this hemisphere." This early will to co-operation in our Western World found vibrant expression in Henry Clay, "the most determined champion in the United States of the Latin American nations"; in the work of John Quincy Adams, and, much later, in the energetic initiative of James G. Blaine, who, as Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Benjamin Harrison, planned in 1889 the conference "to consider and discuss methods of preventing war between the nations of America," which conference began the series of which this is the sixth.

The fact that President Coolidge saw fit not only to appoint a commission of most distinguished jurists to represent us at the Conference in Havana, but himself to go to the conference and to deliver at the opening session a carefully prepared address, is evidence of the importance attached to the event. This address, appearing elsewhere in these columns as an international document, was an address in the interest of peace. It pointed out that one of our strongest characteristics in this Western Hemisphere is "a determination to adjust differences among ourselves, not by resort to force, but by the application of the principles of justice and equity." Mr. Coolidge clearly showed his faith in the sovereignty of small nations. Not for a long time has the position of the American Peace Society been so adequately stated by one in official position as by President Coolidge when in his address he said:

"It is a high example that we have set for the world in resolving international differences without resort to force. If these conferences mean anything, they mean the bringing of all our people more definitely and more completely under the reign of law. After all, it is in that direction that we must look with the greatest assurance for human progress.

"We can make no advance in the realm of economics, we can do nothing for education, we can accomplish but little even in the sphere of religion, until human affairs are brought within the orderly rule of law. The surest refuge of the weak and the oppressed is in the law. It is pre-eminently the shield of small nations. This is necessarily a long, laborious process, which must broaden out from precedent to precedent, from the general acceptance of principle to principle.

"New activities require new laws. The rules for the governing of aviation are only beginning to be considered. We shall make more progress in the end if we proceed with deliberation. No doubt you will find in your discussions many principles that you are ready to announce as sound and settled rules of action."

Persons acquainted with the facts cannot accuse the United States of imperialistic designs in Latin America. This country contemplates the acquisition of no territory anywhere south of the Rio Grande. On the contrary, it is our concern that freedom and self-government shall become increasingly the pride and strength of our sister American republics. When President Machado of Cuba, speaking at the opening sessions of the conference, referred to the people of this country as "the great people whom Cuba had the honor of seeing at her side in her bloody struggle for independence, which she enjoys without limitation," he said not only a true and gracious thing, he aroused the justifiable pride of us all.

There is no doubt that the Sixth Inter-national Conference of American States

will register an advance in what President Machado called "the welfare and glory of this hemisphere, root of a new humanity and crucible of a new civilization."

It is the view of many that there is a wide difference of opinion between the Latin Pan-Americans and the North Pan-Americans; that, indeed, these divergent views represent two dangerous opposing forces. It appears that Latin Pan-Americans crave a fuller share in the decisions affecting inter-American affairs. We are told that Latin America's chief grievance against the United States is that we are altogether too willing to dominate the Western Hemisphere. There may be some ground for this view. The Conference in Havana will lessen these frictions.

One acquainted with the history of these American conferences, with the record of the men serving as delegates in Havana, cannot "view with alarm" any of these differences. The Monroe Doctrine is a common possession of our twenty-one republics. It will remain such for a long time. Objections to it are of no appreciable importance. Every delegate at Havana representing the United States is known to recognize the equality of American republics under the law of nations. We may believe that our own delegates stand for the territorial integrity of all the Latin American nations, and that they are opposed to all acts of aggression between any of these States. When Charles Evans Hughes, head of the United States delegation at Havana, presented as Secretary of State, on March 2, 1925, the thirty projects prepared by the American Institute of International Law to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, he knew that Project No. 7 was a declaration of the rights and duties of nations. In presenting these

projects, including this declaration of the rights and duties of nations, he referred to them as marking "a definite step in the progress of civilization and the promotion of peace." It should be added that the man who drafted this declaration of the rights and duties of nations, James Brown Scott, is also one of our delegates at Havana. There is no reason for doubting that the conference in Havana will recognize that every State has duties as well as rights, and that these correlative rights and duties relate to the existence, equality, protection, and happiness of all the States.

It is fair to presume that the conference in Havana will facilitate the peaceful settlement of international disputes on this hemisphere. Judging from a recent address by President Coolidge, nothing will be done at Havana to imperil the Panama Canal or to belittle the fact that disturbances in the Caribbean are almost always of special concern to us. Our Latin American friends, as a result of the conference, will see more clearly than seems to have been possible of late that this country seeks no additional territory, and that the chief aim of the United States is to advance the processes of friendly co-operation, upon which depend the common interests of all the peoples.

Latin American States will learn again, what in their innermost consciousness they have always known, that the United States has no designs upon the independence of any of them. They will realize afresh, as pointed out by Mr. Hughes in his able speech of January 21, that the primary motives of this country are to advance stability, mutual good-will, and co-operation throughout this Hemisphere. These are not merely pious wishes with us of the northern regions of our western world. They represent a desire to play our part actively, constructively, and worthily in the business.

OUR COUNTRY'S GREATEST PEACE SOCIETY

IT WOULD contribute to sanity if the various peace societies of our country would recall from time to time that, important as is their work, there is a peace society greater than the greatest of them, namely, our Department of State. This, our greatest peace society, is financially supported by the membership of over one hundred eighteen million of us. It is working through ambassadors and ministers in fifty-five different countries. These ministers and ambassadors are aided in their work by approximately six hundred persons. This peace society is working also in over four hundred cities, scattered through fifty-seven countries, with a personnel of nearly three thousand others. No other peace society in America—indeed, not all of the other peace societies put together—can compare, even in personnel, with such an organization.

The head office of this, our greatest, peace society, located in Washington, D. C., is itself an impressive organization. Acting under the President of the United States, the chief officer of this Society is known as the Secretary of State, ranking member of the President's Cabinet. There is an Undersecretary of State and four Assistant Secretaries of State. There is a legal department in this society headed by an official known as the Solicitor of the Department of State. There is a chief clerk, with an administrative assistant. There is a Division of Far Eastern Affairs, another of Latin American Affairs, another of Mexican Affairs, another of Near Eastern Affairs, another of Eastern European Affairs, and another of Western European Affairs. There is an economic adviser. There are divisions having to do with publications, with the control of passports, with current information, and with our foreign service ad-

ministration. There is a Bureau of Accounts and another of Indexes and Archives. There are other divisions. Over six hundred persons carry on the immediate labors of the main office of this functioning society of peace.

An interesting thing about this peace society is that it does not devote its entire time to discussing theoretical questions and controversial problems of moral aspiration. It deals directly, continually, and almost always effectively with definite international situations.

Some of the work of this peace society has to do with our foreign trade. This trade is not a negligible matter. In 1927 our country's exports amounted to \$4,968,318,000, representing an increase of 4½ per cent over the export values of 1926. The merchandise purchased by the United States from foreign countries in 1927 was \$4,252,024,000. Thus during 1927 our foreign trade amounted to \$9,220,342,000. This business affects all of our consular officers in foreign fields and often our diplomatic representatives. There are the customs invoices, the issuing of bills of health, shipping, seamen's rights, landing certificates, trade disputes, customs rulings, and countless other duties, some of them affecting war and peace.

The statistics of the activities of the consular officers give a clear picture of some of the effects of our foreign trade upon the activities of the Department of State during the fiscal year 1927. During that year the consuls certified 964,566 invoices of merchandise shipped to the United States; they rendered 172,912 notarial services; they cleared 19,349 American vessels; they shipped and discharged 40,467 seamen; they issued 45,263 bills of health; they made more than 100,000 reports on trade conditions for the information of American business men and the Department of Commerce; their correspondence reached the total of

2,918,157 pieces; the total number of the services rendered by them was 1,949,516, and the total amount of fees collected was \$7,116,495.92, which was \$267,183.48 more than the amount collected in 1926, and far more than enough to pay the entire cost of the consular branch of the foreign service. Mr. Wilbur J. Carr, Assistant Secretary of State, speaking before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations last November, gave the following interesting information relative to the simple matter of passport fees. He said:

"It follows, as matter of course, that the more our interests in foreign countries multiply and our trade increases, the greater is the number of Americans who go abroad. This increase in travel is shown by the number of passports issued by the Department of State. The number issued in 1927 was 189,762, an increase of 3.7 per cent over the number issued in 1926 and 53 per cent over the number issued in 1923. The fees received therefrom amounted to \$1,587,409, enough to pay the entire cost of operating the Department of State in Washington, with \$181,204 to spare."

Thus we have here a peace society representing us all and dealing with sizable business. Take the matter of our private investments abroad. According to our Department of Commerce, these investments, increasing from 1923 to 1926 by 38.3 per cent, reached at the end of 1926 the grand total of \$11,215,000,000. Nearly one-half of these investments are in Latin America. One of the most important functions of this our common peace society is to protect and further the interests of American citizens in foreign countries, including their investments.

It is engaged in the practical peace task of maintaining peace conditions in which international trade and intercourse may flourish. It aims to promote peace

in the interest of peaceful pursuits. It tries to achieve this end through its agents abroad and through various international conferences.

These conferences relate to a variety of problems. We have participated in a series of meetings in Geneva relating to the reduction of arms. We have succeeded in getting unconditional favored-nation treatment for our investors in Spain. We have participated in the largest international conference ever held, associating ourselves with eighty different governments, concerned with problems affecting radiotelegraphy. We are at the present time negotiating commercial treaties with a score of countries. We are in conference at this moment with our sister republics to the south. We are dealing with complicated situations in China. Our Department of State is a peace society working at the job twenty-four hours of every day.

The success of this organization is directly attributable to the wisdom with which it handles realities. This wisdom is not an accident; it is carefully prepared for and guarded. As has been said, there is a solicitor. It is to this legal advisor, with his twenty-three assistants and a clerical staff, to whom is submitted a very large volume of questions, ranging over the entire field of legal jurisprudence. This is why it is possible for the department to act effectively through its wide area of problems, involving diplomatic claims, boundaries, aliens, contracts, official rights, shipping, citizenship, extradition, and many others. It is the solicitor, functioning as the legal expert of the department, to whom the Secretary of State turns for advice and counsel in matters of Federal and State laws, or the laws of foreign countries, treaties, and international law. The solicitor finds that practically every case submitted to him involves the consideration and appli-

cation of from one to four different legal tests—its relations to municipal law, to the laws of a foreign country, to treaty provisions, and to the principles of international law. It is the solicitor who has charge of the duties of negotiating and drafting as well as construing treaties, conventions, protocols, and executive agreements with foreign governments. The solicitor deals with legal questions involving millions of dollars of claims. Upon his recommendations our government admits or denies millions of dollars of claims. Upon his advice we present to foreign governments a variety of claims, often amounting to millions. The department, when it acts, acts with the advice of its legal department, headed by the solicitor.

This very effective peace society, which has grown up in our midst, quite outside the Constitution and in answer to definite needs, commands the attention and support of every peace society concerned to advance the interests of justice between nations.

LACK of information about our Department of State has a direct bearing upon the quality of our foreign relations. We of the United States should know more of this department and its work. In particular, we should know that it is insufficiently manned and remunerated. Out of 632 employees in the department, 79 per cent receive salaries below the average compensation for their grades. The inevitable result is an unsatisfactory morale and a disturbing turnover in personnel. During 1927 the turnover in the stenographic section alone was 68 per cent, due almost entirely to a lack of adequate compensation. Clerks required to know French and Spanish and to have a "pretty thorough knowledge of American history" receive \$1,680

a year. Mr. Tyler Dennett, Chief of the Division of Publications, recently told the House Committee on Appropriations of a young woman engaged upon the archives, a graduate of Radcliffe College, who had studied abroad and had several years' experience teaching French and Spanish, rated on the civil list as a typist at \$1,320 a year. Salaries of men at the head of the important department divisions are wholly inadequate. The Undersecretary of State receives \$7,500; the Solicitor, \$7,000; the Chief Clerk, \$4,200; Chief of the Division of Latin American Affairs, \$6,000; Chief of the Division of European Affairs, \$4,000; Chief of the Division of Publications, \$4,200, one of the chiefs receiving as low as \$3,600. Invaluable papers stored away in damp basements are going to tragic ruin because there is insufficient money properly to repair and to house them.

WHEN the League of Nations recommended the co-operation of States in the interest of the progressive extension of arbitration by means of special collective agreements on the Locarno model, the recommendation aroused interest in various quarters. Both Sweden and Norway have submitted model draft treaties of conciliation and arbitration, proposing that all disputes between the contracting parties over the interpretation of treaties should go to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The drafts further provide, however, that parties in dispute may, if they choose, set up a judicial court of their own. Councils of conciliation are provided for in the case of political disputes. Both treaties provide for a recourse to the League of Nations under certain circumstances. Neither provides for any reservations as to the questions to be dealt with. The Norwegian treaties go the further in direction of compulsory arbitration. These two Scandinavian

countries are, we understand, the first to respond to the invitation of the League. It is reasonable to expect, however, that others will follow.

THE clarification of American views relative to the Codification of International Law will be appreciably aided by the research in this field now undertaken by a group of American specialists in preparation for the Conference on the Codification of International Law, to be held at The Hague next year. These studies and research are to be conducted in co-operation with the special committee set up two years ago by the League of Nations. The work will be under the direction of Prof. Manley O. Hudson, of the Harvard Law School. It is to relate to the problems of nationality, under the direction of Richard F. Flournoy, of Washington; of territorial waters, under the chairmanship of Prof. Charles Grafton Wilson, of Harvard University; of the responsibility of States for damage done on their territory to the person or property of foreigners, this committee to be headed by Prof. Edwin Borchard, of Yale University. There is an Executive Committee composed of Joseph E. Beale, Manley O. Hudson, Charles Cheney Hyde, Eldon R. James, Francis B. Sayre, James Brown Scott, and George W. Wickersham. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is pleased that this important work is to be done and by men of this standing. It regrets, however, that they are not to act as official spokesmen for the United States Government.

THE invisible items, we have long believed, have entered too little into the calculations of our international economists. When told, as is frequently the case, that because we buy from abroad less than we export, that therefore it is physically impossible for Europe to pay her

debts to the United States, we have had our doubts. The "balance of trade" formula has never quite seemed convincing. We now know from the Department of Commerce that the invisible item of tourists' expenditures from abroad last year amounted to probably over \$700,000,000. The Director of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has been quoted recently as saying that "if the whole of Europe had ratified the entire debt settlement agreement, the entire

costs for the year would have been only \$213,000,000. It was estimated that approximately \$275,000,000 was spent in France alone. Furthermore, it appears that while our trade with Europe fell off slightly last year, it has not fallen as much as European trade in other parts of the world. Furthermore, it is interesting to note, while our trade is increasing with Australia, England's trade with Australia is increasing also.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE LIRA ON THE GOLD BASIS

ON DECEMBER 21, the Italian Government promulgated a decree placing the lira on the gold basis. Although this important step in Italy's financial policy has been expected for some time, the actual action of the government came as a surprise.

Details of the Decree

The decree fixed the following exchange rate of the lira as from December 22: 19 to the dollar, 92.46 to the pound sterling.

The gold parity is fixed at 7.919 grams of fine gold to 100 lire. No change is made in the validity of the silver and paper currency at present in circulation. The Bank of Italy is authorized to estimate its whole reserve of gold or foreign gold-standard currencies in Italian lire at the gold parity fixed by the decree. Any balance resulting from this revaluation of the Bank of Italy's reserve is to be placed to the credit of the State. The Bank of Italy must hold reserves in gold or foreign gold-standard currencies for not less than 40 per cent of the value of its notes in circulation.

Mussolini's Explanation of the Decree

Signor Mussolini, in presenting the decree for the approval of the cabinet,

recalled the passage in his speech at Pesaro in August, 1926, in which he declared his determination to defend the lira to the utmost; and then reviewed the results of that pledge, culminating in the return to the gold standard.

The revaluation policy had, he said, stopped, once for all, all speculation on the fall of the lira. An even higher revaluation would at present be possible, but undesirable, because it might lead to international speculation, would aggravate the economic crisis, and impose unbearable burdens on the State, and therefore on its citizens. The present value of the lira corresponded to the gold index of world prices, and represented the point at which State and private interests found the fairest equilibrium. It had never been the intention of the Fascist Government to return to pre-war parity, but the establishment of a gold standard was easier to achieve with a rising than with a falling currency value.

The Council of Ministers, Signor Mussolini concluded, could take the present decision with clear consciences, certain that it would close the period of exchange fluctuations and place Italy once more among the nations which enjoyed a stable exchange. Italy's return to a gold standard would not only have a profound effect upon the development of national economy, but would contribute toward the

definite and peaceful reconstruction of world economy.

Collaboration of Foreign Banks

In explaining the measures taken for the accomplishment of this important step, before a meeting of the cabinet, Count Volpi, the Minister of Finance, told how the Bank of Italy, following the example of the Bank of England in 1924, had, before taking the present step, assured for itself the collaboration of the international banking world. He outlined the negotiations recently concluded in London between Signor Stringher, director general of the Bank of Italy, the governor of the Bank of England, and representatives of American Banking. The Bank of Italy would in all probability have to avail itself of the credits for a total of \$125,000,000. The return to a gold standard did not, Count Volpi continued, constitute a solution of all Italian economic difficulties. The efforts to reorganize industry and agriculture must continue unabated, but in the long run the country could not fail to reap incalculable benefits from the present decision.

The Bank of Italy has arranged special agreements with a group of the central banks, headed by the Bank of England and by the Federal Reserve Bank, for a credit of \$75,000,000, and with a group of ordinary banks, headed by J. P. Morgan, for a further credit of \$50,000,000. These credits are at its disposal for the defense of the new Italian gold lira (new parity). With these credits Italy will have in gold or its equivalent 16,497,000,000 lire, against 17,500,000,000 lire (nearly) of notes, which gives a proportion of about 94 per cent.

FRENCH FINANCIAL POLICY

THE financial policy of France is definitely headed in the direction of a legal stabilization of the franc. With Belgium on a stable monetary basis for over a year and with Italy on a gold basis, it becomes increasingly difficult for the French Government to delay the final step in formally placing the currency on a stable basis, since in reality the franc has been stable for nearly a year and a half.

Two important events have recently taken place which indicate the approach of stabilization. These were the adoption of a balanced budget for the next fiscal year and the promulgation of a decree permitting the export of capital; but, on the other hand, the financial and political situation in France is such that the final step may still be delayed for some months to come.

The Budget for 1928

The financial bill, embodying the budget for 1928, did not pass the two chambers of the French Parliament without much debate and bitter controversy. The Chamber passed the bill on December 12, but the Senate took exception to several items, with the result that the final passage of the bill was delayed until December 26. The final figures of the budget are as follows: Revenues, 42,496,616,196 francs; expenditures, 42,441,457,260 francs. This leaves a surplus of 55 million francs, which, it is expected, will be used up for extra expenditures.

In a comprehensive review of the budget, prepared for the Senate by its reporter, M. Henry Chéron, every 100 francs paid by the French taxpayer is applied as follows:

	Francs
Public debt and sinking fund....	41.50
Old age, war, and war victims' pensions	16.44
Civil and military personnel....	16.44
National defense	15.61
Public authorities	0.15
Civil expenditure	7.25
New public works.....	0.70
Social insurance and relief.....	1.85
International expenditure	0.06
Total	100.00

It is, of course, not possible to judge the exact meaning of these figures without more detailed information than is at present available; but, accepting them as a rough indication, they show, as they are obviously meant to show, the extent to which France is burdened with debt and pensions arising directly out of the war and the reaction of this burden upon the present and future welfare of the country. The figures indicate that considerably

more than half the revenue is devoted to paying for the war and its consequences, and that military expenditure as such does not occupy in the French budget the formidable position generally supposed. M. Chéron observes with satisfaction that at least there has been no new increase in the debt, and that as the result of the various consolidating operations the public has been relieved of disturbing fluctuations and the treasury has reaped considerable advantage.

Export of Capital

The question of introducing freedom of export of capital has been one that has received a great deal of discussion. France has maintained through the whole post-war period more or less stringent government regulation of the movement of capital; but lately there has been a rather insistent demand that this system be relaxed.

The question was raised in the course of the debate on the budget, and on December 12, in replying to M. Margaine, a Socialist-Radical deputy, who asked for the removal of restrictions, M. Poincaré said that the governor of the Bank of France was opposed to liberty of export. The Prime Minister added that personally he was trying to re-establish freedom of export, but in the present period of financial restoration the government should be in agreement with the bank of issue as to the time at which freedom of export can be restored. He asked the Chamber to have confidence and leave it to the government to choose the proper moment.

The government chose this "proper moment" about a month later, and France now has free export of capital, which is a necessary prerequisite to legal stabilization of the currency. There seems little doubt, however, that this measure was taken as a means of testing the situation. The huge reserves of foreign currency held by the Bank of France have been accumulated largely through an influx of foreign capital since the *de facto* stabilization. It is obviously necessary for the government and the Bank of France to test in some way how much of this capital is likely to leave the country again.

THIRD YEAR OF THE DAWES PLAN

THE Agent General for Reparation Payments has issued his report on the third year of the operation of the Dawes Plan. The report is dated December 10 and the general observations extend into the first few months of the fourth year. These observations have been awaited with eagerness in consequence of the warnings contained in the interim report of last June and the striking criticisms of German public finance which the agent general conveyed in a special memorandum on October 20 (which is published in full, together with the German Government's reply, as an appendix to the annual report). If the observations are, as was expected, expressed in somewhat milder terms than the memorandum, the agent general adheres firmly to the general views he has already expressed. He takes note of the various admissions in the German reply to the memorandum, of the various reforms announced, and of the improvements already effected during the last two months, and expresses the hope that they foreshadow a period of sounder finance in the interests both of Germany and of the Dawes Plan.

During the six months that have elapsed since the presentation of the interim report, the agent general says, the plan has continued to function normally in the field of reparation payments and transfers; the latter have gone forward regularly and currently without disturbance to the exchange and to an increasing extent in the form of foreign currency payments. During these same months, however, the dangerous tendencies which had already appeared developed still further. "It accordingly became necessary, on October 20, 1927, for the Agent General for Reparation Payments to present to the German Government a memorandum" to draw attention to the dangers which these tendencies seemed to involve for the German economy and the Experts' Plan. It will be noticed that the agent general makes no references to a request by the German Government for the presentation of the memorandum.

Foreign Borrowings and the Budget

After a brief summary of the memorandum, the agent general turns to the German reply, which, he says, expressed its general agreement with the need for economy in public finance, and stated that if the plans which the government was making could be successfully carried out, the period of high extraordinary expenditures by the Reich might be looked upon as closed. The reply also indicated the intention of the government to work for administrative reform and for a better development of the finances of the States and communes, and a better organization of their foreign borrowings. "It is to be hoped that actual results will follow along these lines, and already some positive steps have been taken."

In the section devoted to the budget Mr. Gilbert recalls his various earlier warnings and again points out that the last two Reich budgets have not been soundly balanced. He suggests that the lesson was driven home only when the government tried to borrow in an exhausted home market to cover its extraordinary expenditures. But, whatever the cause, a change was made. The results, as seen in the draft budget for 1928-29, which has become available early enough this year for treatment in his report, he finds welcome and promising, particularly the reduction of the extraordinary expenditure—471,000,000 marks last year to 176,000,000 marks with no fresh authorization to borrow. He also welcomes the simplifications in the accounting system. Although these changes do not represent much advance in the essential control of expenditure, he regards them, together with recent evidences of more resistance to new expenditure in other ways, as an encouraging sign.

Moreover, he calls attention to indications that public opinion in Germany is becoming more and more united on the opportunities for administrative reform which undoubtedly exist, and welcomes the conference of State premiers summoned for next month to consider them, as well as the efforts of the Foreign Loans Advisory Committee to obtain by means of questionnaires a comprehensive survey of the total loan requirements of States and municipalities.

The agent general expresses, but with-

out very strong conviction, the hope that the lead given by the Reich will be followed by the States and communes, whose extravagance he continues to criticize. He makes an interesting comparison between the restraint on private and public borrowing. In the case of the local public bodies, he mentions such considerations as "matters of prestige of one city against another, questions of social or political advantage," which do not influence the private borrower, who is guided by plain business principles. He also points out that, owing to the inflation, State and municipal debts in Germany, even after revalorization, remain relatively low, a consideration which influences the foreign banker, for the service of whose loan the general taxing power can be relied upon. The distribution among the States of revenue collected by the Reich under the present provisional system is criticized along the now familiar lines, especially in view of the increased revenue expected next year, which may tempt the States and communes to expand their expenditures to keep pace with the increasing transfers from the Reich and lead to their being unwilling in any final settlement to take less than the maximum they have received under the provisional system.

Problem of Transfers

In an important section on transfer, Mr. Gilbert reasserts the legal claim of the Reparation Commission and the Transfer Committee to the priority of reparation payments and transfers. He points out that the only German public loan which has been excepted from this provision under Article 248 of the Versailles Treaty is the German external loan of 1924. Fifteen State loans have been placed abroad so far, and in no case has application been made for such an exception. In only one case, the Prussian loan of 1926, was the loan formally brought to the attention of the reparation authorities. On that occasion Mr. Parker Gilbert replied, stating that he had consistently advised both the Reich Finance Minister and the issuing bankers that, in the absence of an express exception by the Reparation Commission, an external loan of the State of Prussia must be regarded as ranking secondary to reparations. In the case of the

external loan, the Reparation Commission had granted a priority over reparation payments, "and the Transfer Committee, by appropriate resolution, recognized that priority as against the transfer of reparations."

In the absence of an application for an exception, the Transfer Committee understood that the secondary character of the Prussian loan was recognized. In the same letter exception was taken to the wording of the prospectus "unless qualified by reference to the priority of reparation payments and transfers." In fact, whenever the question has arisen the reparation authorities have fully reserved the legal rights of the creditor powers and have made it quite clear that they regard all the State loans as secondary in respect of transfer as well as of payments.

Future of the Plan

In his conclusions Mr. Gilbert touches upon the future of the Dawes Plan. He points out that the Experts' Plan established a protected system, designed to safeguard the German exchange and secure the maximum of transfers without involving a general control over Germany's affairs. It is fundamental to the experts' conception that the plan should be given a fair test, during which Germany should exercise prudence and not dissipate her resources and credits through overspending and overborrowing by the public authorities. The assurances contained in the government's reply to the memorandum furnish a basis for proceeding with the test of practical experience.

In forming judgments, the weaknesses of the protected system must be considered. Transfer protection tends to save the German public authorities from some of the consequences of their actions, and the uncertainty as to the total amount of the reparation liabilities inevitably tends everywhere in Germany to diminish the normal incentive to do the things and carry out the reforms that would be clearly in the country's own interests. The report regarded the protected system as a means to meet an urgent problem. The only alternative is the final determination of Germany's liabilities on an absolute basis that contemplates no measure of transfer protection. The experts did

not—indeed, could not—say when they considered such a settlement would become possible, but they described their plan as providing "a settlement extending in its application for a sufficient time to restore confidence."

Mr. Gilbert concludes:

We are still in the testing period, and further experience is needed. . . . But confidence in the general sense is already restored, and the proof of it is present on many sides. . . . As time goes on and practical experience accumulates, it becomes clearer that neither the reparation problem nor the other problems depending on it will be finally solved until Germany has been given a definite task to perform on her own responsibility, without foreign supervision and without transfer protection. This, I believe, is the principal lesson to be drawn from the past three years, and it should be constantly in the minds of all concerned as the execution of the plan continues to unfold.

ITALY AND ALBANIA

ON DECEMBER 4 the Italian Parliament ratified by acclamation the treaty of Tirana, signed on November 27, 1926, and the Italo-Albanian Treaty of Defensive Alliance, signed on November 22, 1927. The two treaties are now in full force.

Mussolini on the Albanian Problem

In presenting the second treaty to Parliament, Signor Mussolini appended to it a report on the Albanian situation and the wisdom, from Italy's point of view, of the two treaties.

Had Italy really desired to apply the Treaty of Tirana in the manner maliciously attributed to her, Signor Mussolini pointed out, it would have been sufficient for her to allow the threatening situation which arose between Yugoslavia and Albania last March to develop. By sounding a note of warning on this occasion Italy proved that she desired not only the peaceful application of the treaty, but was anxious to collaborate with all the interested powers in assuring the maintenance of peaceful relations between Albania and her neighbors. The Duce restated the pacific intention of the treaty

and Italy's fundamental need to guarantee through the independence of Albania her own security in the Adriatic. "Italy," he said in conclusion, "finds in the Treaty of Tirana the conditions necessary for the liberty of her commerce and the safety of her shores, which means conditions necessary to establish her equilibrium, liberty, and security in other seas." On these grounds she is convinced that she has added a further factor toward the maintenance of that peace upon which her policy of development and reconstruction is based.

In a short speech the *rapporteur* of the treaty, Signor Torr , compared the respective positions of Italy and Albania with those of Great Britain and Belgium. The independence of Albania is, he considered, of even greater importance to Italy than is that of Belgium to Great Britain, because the latter is the strongest naval power and has no land frontiers to protect. Were the independence of Albania not guaranteed, a situation similar to that of Macedonia would inevitably arise. Italy's justification, if nothing else, lies in the fact that during the last 40 years it had been Balkan incidents which had most frequently upset the peace of Europe.

The Reaction in Yugoslavia

According to the Belgrade correspondent of the *Central European Observer*, Yugoslav public opinion was not greatly disturbed by the new treaty between Italy and Albania, since it has not really changed the situation created by the Treaty of Tirana. Moreover, the Yugoslavs believe that the present President of Albania, who may soon become King, is a man of tremendous cunning and can be counted upon eventually to drive the Italians out, just as they were thrown out of Valona some years ago.

THE SYRIAN MANDATE

SYRIA has cost France much life and treasure and has given her in return "a lonely and thankless furrow to plow," according to a British observer, who has recently visited the mandated territory. One of the greatest difficulties faced by the mandatory power was Syria's lack of

homogeneity. Lebanon, already for 50 years accustomed to a form of independence, was Christian with a strong Moslem and Druse minority. Jebel Hauran was Druse, the home of warlike Arab nomads with a form of Unitarianism, neither Christian nor Moslem, as a religion, whose nature it was to live according to their own lights and customs and whose inaccessibility had ever rendered the imposition of foreign control in any form hazardous and difficult. Major Syria, the provinces of Damascus and Aleppo, was Arab and Orthodox. The Alouites, the "mountain" folk of the northwest, were yet another separate entity.

It is no secret that in 1919 many Frenchmen looked askance at the acceptance of responsibilities so foreign to their national genius and so fraught with ill-assorted problems. To begin with, there was never an idea of Syrian unity. The country lacked the elements of cohesion, and the French rightly concentrated on a policy of a federation of self-governing States under an ever-lessening mandatory control. Syrian history since the Armistice is the story of the evolution of this policy.

The Damascus Rising

As a beginning, they retained the existing organizations of Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, replacing British by French officers to assist and guide the native personnel on behalf of the mandatory. But within nine months trouble had started in Damascus as a result of the Emir Feisal's subscribing to the cry of the Nationalist Party for independence "without any form of foreign interference." Feisal was expelled and his government abolished. Having thus cleared the air, the French were ready to embark upon their federation policy, and in the winter of 1920 the Lebanon was declared independent and three autonomous governments were established in the Damascus, Aleppo, and Alouite provinces.

Meanwhile the Turks had begun raiding across the frontier, which then ran north of Cilicia to the Euphrates. The raids quickly became a war, and the outcome was the Franklin-Bouillon-Mustapha Kemal agreement and an economically unsound readjustment of the frontier on a

line just north of Aleppo. In making this arrangement with Angora the French acted independently of their allies, with results disastrous for all Western interests in the Near East. The immediate local reaction was a rising of the Alouites round Antioch and a year of exhausting guerilla fighting before mandatory authority was re-established in the district.

Federation Policy

On the return of peace, however, the French were able to resume their federal policy and in 1922 followed up the 1920 arrangement by promulgating the federation of the three autonomous States under a Federal Council responsible to the mandator. A year and a half of non-cooperation and racial and religious jealousies sufficed to prove the scheme unworkable; the federation and its council were abolished; Aleppo and Damascus were amalgamated into one administrative unit, and the country reverted to decentralized government. The next crisis was the outbreak of the Druse rebellion in the south and southeast, which dragged on for eighteen months.

M. de Jouvenel succeeded General Sarraïl, whom the Druse rebellion had unseated. He celebrated the conclusion of a twelve months' mission of pacification by surprisingly endowing the Lebanon with a complicated and top-heavy Parliamentary régime. This body, at his departure, rushed into opposition against the mandator over certain provisions of the Lebanese budget; whereupon M. Ponsot, the new High Commissioner, had the unpleasant task of bringing it to reason. He then went on leave to Paris, which, orientalwise, was interpreted as foreshadowing a change in French policy; but his only pronouncement since his return has been to reaffirm the idea of federation.

British Impressions

The British observer sums up his impressions of mandated Syria in the following words:

Syria makes curious impressions on the British traveler. He will be as embarrassed by the unvarnished French condemnation of our mandatory vagaries as by the stories told by Lebanese notables, Maronite priests, and Damascus waiters of how the French are

driving the country to the dogs. He will instinctively react against the ubiquitous policing of French troops, mostly black. He will be shocked that an anachronistic censorship still cramps the activities of, among others, reputable and recognized foreign journalists. But on the balance his sympathies will be with the French in their ungrateful duties, in their past experiences, and in their anxieties for a future which is still complicated.

CHINESE NATIONALISTS BREAK WITH MOSCOW

TWO outstanding events took place in southern China during the month of December. In the first place, General Chiang Kai-Shek returned to active participation in public affairs and was named virtual dictator of the territory held by the Nationalists. In the second place, the government formed under his direction, influenced by a Communist uprising in Canton, broke off relations with Moscow.

Communist Uprising in Canton

The city of Canton was seized by Communists on December 10. While they remained in control only three days, their short reign and the series of fights by means of which the government troops finally dislodged them almost reduced the city to ruins.

The experience which Canton underwent is said to be the worst in living memory. It is estimated that 70 per cent of the shops were wholly or partially looted and the damage caused by fire was serious. The Central Bank was destroyed, but the strong room and its contents, it is reported, have been found intact, while the post office and customs were untouched, and no attempt was made to molest foreigners. A Chinese correspondent during a walk of one mile counted over 200 bodies.

The rapidity with which government troops acted in dealing with the Canton situation undoubtedly prevented the spread of the Communist movement to other portions of the Nationalist territory. Plans were discovered for a more or less concerted Communist rising in several important centers.

The following communique was issued by the Nationalist Government:

Under the instigation and direction of the Russian Soviet consul in Canton on the night of December 10, 1927, the Communists, together with the local bandits and some few disloyal soldiers, ransacked the city of Canton, setting on fire important business sections, occupying administrative offices, robbing, raping, and murdering. The government of Canton on the night of December 12, with the revolutionary army under the leadership of Chang Fah-hui [Chang Fat-Kwai], Huang Chi-chang, Li Fu-lin, Hsueh Au, and Chu Hui-yet, successfully and completely defeated and destroyed Communism in Canton. Peace and order were restored on the following day.

Break with Moscow

As a result of the Canton uprising, the Nationalist Government ordered the closing down in all of the Nationalist territory of Russian consulates and other governmental agencies and the deportation of their personnel. A note to this effect was sent to the Russian Government, which in reply sent the following note, signed by Chicherin, the Commissary of Foreign Affairs:

The Soviet Government has never recognized the so-called Nationalist Government at Nanking, on whose behalf was handed to the Soviet consulate in Shanghai the note of December 15. The Nationalist Government at Nanking must know that all the consulates of the U. S. S. R. exist on Chinese territory by virtue of the treaty between China and the Soviet Union signed in Peking in 1924, and that every appointment of consuls at Shanghai as well as at any other point in China occurred with the knowledge and agreement of the Peking Government. The Shanghai authorities, just as any other local Chinese authorities, merely took cognizance of those appointments. [The Peking Government broke off relations with the Soviet following the raid on the Soviet compound in Peking.]

Therefore the statement contained in the note of the "Nationalist Government" at Nanking terminating the recognition of the consuls in the various provinces can only

mean that the generals who have seized power in Nanking have, under pressure from the Imperialists, found it convenient to have in the area under their control mainly consuls of those countries which have maintained "the unequal treaties" with the Chinese.

The Soviet Government must most emphatically reject the unproved statements contained in the note of December 15 that the Soviet consulates and State commercial agencies are being used for Red propaganda and as refuges for Communists.

Particularly we must most emphatically reject the charge against our consulate in Canton, which is alleged to have served as a basis for directing the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants in Kwangtung. It is no novel thing for the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in China to be looked upon as a result of the activities of official Soviet institutions. For several years now the enemies of the Chinese people, Imperialists in all countries, have viewed the great revolutionary movement of the Chinese people as a result of the intrigues of "alien forces." The fact that the "Nationalist Government" at Nanking is now repeating the counter-revolutionary legend of the oppressors of the Chinese people is the best evidence as to whose will it is now doing.

The Soviet Government is convinced that the position taken up by the Chinese authorities in Shanghai above all prejudices the Chinese people and China's national interests, and that those who so lightly embark on a policy hostile to the U. S. S. R. will be the first to feel its negative consequences.

In a communication acknowledging the receipt of this note, Dr. Wu, the Nationalist Minister of Foreign Affairs, pointed out that the Nationalist possess documents from the Canton consulate showing Moscow's complicity in the catastrophe there. The purport of these documents is that the disarmament of the gentry classes must take place in accordance with the program of the agrarian revolution and that the poor class of peasants were to be armed. The friendship of Nationalists toward the Communist Party and the Soviet in the past was due to the belief

that these latter were sincere in their sympathy for the Chinese Nationalists movement, but recent events fully showed that the Soviet had attempted to denationalize the Nationalist movement with the object of converting China into a mere appanage of the Soviet Union. Elementary considerations of self-defense required a removal of centers of hostile activity.

Dr. Wu mentions that he gave warning last June, but the warning had no effect. He concludes: "In taking this purely defensive measure, it is immaterial to us whom such action happens to please or displease."

Chicherin Blames Great Britain

On December 23 Chicherin issued a statement, in which he said:

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has repeatedly had to point out that whenever a revolutionary movement occurs in any country the enemies of the Soviet Union invariably declare it has been provoked by agents of the Soviet Government. Thus, the counter-revolutionary generals in that country who have drowned in torrents of blood the great revolt of the workers in Canton, heaping the corpses of tortured workers in the streets, have manifested especial hatred toward the Soviet citizens who were in Canton and who were among the first of innumerable victims.

But although the crimes of the Canton generals against the Soviet Union are unprecedentedly serious, the heavy responsibility for these cannot be confined to Canton. The political responsibility for these atrocities rests on all persons in the region of so-called "Nationalist" governments. Not only Generals Chang Fat-kwei and Li Fu-ling, who acted at Canton, but also others, such as Li Chi-sheng, Chiang Kai-shek, and Pei Chung-shi, are guilty of these crimes.

Responsibility also falls on other forces of world reaction which are hostile to the Soviet Union. It may be said that a decisive factor in causing these events was the instigation by all the Imperialist and "White Guardist" groups in Shanghai, Hongkong, and other centers of colonial policy in China, and by inspiration from London. This fact was per-

fectly clear, and has now been confirmed by the jubilations of the English press.

British Imperialist reaction must be recognized as the chief motive force of the Canton slaughter and the acts of violence perpetrated on Soviet citizens. The toilers of the Soviet Union are deeply afflicted at the death of their comrades, tortured by henchmen of the South Chinese counter-revolutionaries, but their martyr blood has not been shed in vain.

The Soviet Government sees in the barbarous acts of the Chinese counter-revolutionaries and of the forces standing behind them an open attack on the Soviet Union. While immutably pursuing its policy of peace, a new expression of which was the proposal for general disarmament made recently at Geneva, the Soviet Union is at the same time ready for the worst and will not be taken unawares. On behalf of the Soviet Government, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs protests before the whole world against the outrages of the Chinese counter-revolutionaries. The Soviet Government reserves the right to undertake all measures which it may deem necessary in view of the bloody crimes committed in South China against the Union. These savage acts cannot remain unpunished.

THE NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS

THE Nobel Peace Prize this year was awarded, as was last year's prize, to two persons. They were Prof. Ludwig Quidde, of Germany, and M. Ferdinand Buisson, of France. Following are the biographies of these two workers for world peace:

Professor Quidde

Dr. Ludwig Quidde was born in Bremen in 1858. He studied history at the Universities of Strasburg and Göttingen. After taking his doctor's degree in 1881, he spent some years in Frankfurt, Königsberg, and Munich working on old German parliamentary records. In 1890 he founded and published for six years a historical review, the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*.

From 1893 onward Dr. Quidde took an increasingly prominent part in the democratic and pacifist movements. In 1894 he caused considerable excitement by publishing a study entitled "Caligula," which contained some sharp criticism of the young Kaiser Wilhelm II and his methods of government. The book went through 30 editions. Dr. Quidde continued to write along the same lines and in 1896 he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for *lèse-majesté*. Later he became a town councilor in Munich, and in 1907 he was elected to the Bavarian Second Chamber. After the revolution in 1918 he was vice-president of the Bavarian Provisional Council and he also attended the Weimar Assembly.

The international peace movement has, however, absorbed even more of Dr. Quidde's attention than home politics. He founded the Munich Peace Society in 1894 and has been a member of the International Peace Committee since 1901. Dr. Quidde is now the leader of the German pacifist movement, being president of the German Peace Society. His pen has always been active in the cause of peace and it got him into trouble for the second time in 1924.

Although a convinced pacifist, Dr. Quidde has never shared the view of some of the more fanatical German pacifists, that the best way to serve the cause of peace is to work against their own country. He is gifted with a certain dry humor which has generally preserved him from exaggerations. His feelings with regard to the treaty of Versailles and the Ruhr occupation were hardly distinguishable from those of the Nationalists. Early in 1924 he came to the conclusion that the activities of the illegal semi-military Nationalist organizations were merely providing the French with the very material as to the failure of Germany to disarm which they desired as pretexts for maintaining measures of coercion. He wrote an article to this effect, expressing at the same time the opinion that the higher

military authorities were not responsible for these harmful activities, but hinting that Germany's position would be improved if the illegal organizations were not shielded by certain other authorities particularly as the Allied governments knew all about them.

Dr. Quidde had some difficulty in getting any newspaper to publish the article. Eventually it appeared in the pacifist *Welt am Montag* in Berlin. The extreme Nationalists in Bavaria, against whom it was chiefly directed, were furious, and the Munich judicial authorities were prevailed upon to have Dr. Quidde arrested on a charge of treason, for which he was informed he might receive a death sentence. His treatment while under detention in Bavarian prisons was harsh, and he claimed afterwards that it was contrary to a number of regulations. He was not even taken before a magistrate for three days. Eventually it was found impossible to uphold the charge.

M. Buisson

M. Ferdinand Buisson was born in Paris in 1841 and educated at the College of Argentan and the Saint-Etienne and Condorcet Lycées. From 1866 to 1870 he taught in Switzerland, and in 1871 he returned to France and was appointed inspector of schools. His advocacy of non-sectarian education met with strong opposition, and he was forced to resign after being denounced in the National Assembly. In 1875 he was sent as official delegate to the Vienna Exhibition and in 1876 and 1878 he carried out similar duties at the Philadelphia and Paris exhibitions. He became director of primary education in 1879 and successfully resumed his campaign in favor of non-sectarian schools. M. Buisson entered Parliament as Deputy for the Seine in 1902 and became a Senator in 1919. After the war he became a leading figure in the movement for peace and conciliation, presided over the dinner at which M. Caillaux was welcomed back to public life, and became president of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme. He has published several works on political and educational subjects, is a Commander of the Legion of Honor, and holds the degrees of Agrégé de Philosophie and Docteur ès Lettres.

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

LAST December a unique type of research and training center in the humanistic sciences was established in Washington. This center, which has been named the Brookings Institution, is the outgrowth of experimentation in research and training conducted at the National Capital for some years past by the Institute of Economics, the Institute for Government Research, and the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government. The institution is to have an international as well as national scope.

Purposes of the Institution

The new institution, which is the amalgamation of the three existing agencies, is designed to cover eventually the whole range of the humanistic, or social, sciences, providing facilities for research and for advanced research training in such subjects as economics, government administration, political relations, history, law, and social organization. The Institute of Economics and the Institute for Government Research will retain their names and continue their activities as divisions of the Brookings Institution; similar institutes devoted to other branches of the humanistic sciences are in contemplation.

The Brookings Institution will be unique in its provision for a series of specialized research institutes equipped to carry out comprehensive and interrelated research programs. Such researches are expected not only to promote a greater realism in economic, social, and political thought, but also to render important service in connection with public affairs.

In its training function, the institution will not attempt to give an ordinary graduate training leading to a Ph. D. degree. The design is rather to extend the period of research training and of research opportunity to those who have already completed the formal work of graduate schools. By providing an opportunity for selected young scholars to spend from one to three years in a well-equipped research organization, the graduate work now done by universities will be supplemented.

A third major purpose of the institution is to provide headquarters for visiting scholars from both the United States and foreign countries. Increasingly, students from all over the world come to Washington to pursue research work in the field of the humanistic sciences. The National Capital is a vast repository of materials bearing upon economic, political, historical, social, administrative, and legal problems. It is not merely the materials which are to be found in the great collections of published books and documents in the Library of Congress and in the libraries of the various departments of the government and of specialized institutions in Washington that are important. Of even greater significance to the student of the living processes of economic, social, and political life are the materials contained in the records and files of the regular departments of the government—of such official agencies as the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Trade Commission, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Supreme Court of the United States, and of unofficial agencies such as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the Bureau of Railway Economics, the American Federation of Labor, the International Labor Office, and the innumerable trade associations whose headquarters are located in the capital. The Brookings Institution will endeavor to enable such scholars to realize the maximum opportunities which the capital affords.

Officers and Finances

The institution is named in honor of Robert S. Brookings, formerly of St. Louis and during recent years a prominent figure in the National Capital, well known for his war service and as the founder of the separate institutions which form the nucleus of the new Brookings Institution. An endowment of several million dollars is already assured.

The trustees who are responsible for the formation of the Brookings Institution are as follows:

Robert S. Brookings, President, Washington University Corporation.

Leo S. Rowe, Director General, Pan American Union.

Frederic A. Delano, formerly member of Federal Reserve Board.

Arthur T. Hadley, President Emeritus, Yale University.

John C. Merriam, President, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

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George Eastman, President, Eastman Kodak Company.

Vernon Kellogg, Permanent Secretary, National Research Council.

Ernest M. Hopkins, President, Dartmouth College.

Harold G. Moulton, Director, Institute of Economics.

Raymond B. Fosdick, Curtis, Fosdick and Belknap, New York City.

Bolton Smith, President, Bolton Smith and Company, Memphis.

Paul M. Warburg, Chairman, International Acceptance Bank, New York City.

David F. Houston, President, Mutual Life Insurance Company, formerly Secretary of the Treasury.

The officers of the Board of Trustees are: Robert S. Brookings, Chairman; Leo S. Rowe, Vice-Chairman; Frederic A. Delano, Treasurer.

Primary responsibility for formulating general policies and co-ordinating the activities of the various divisions of the institution is vested in a president. Dr. Harold G. Moulton, Director of the Institute of Economics and chairman of the Problems and Policy Committee of the Social Science Research Council, has been elected to this office.

Housing Facilities

For an institution of this unique type, the location and character of housing accommodations are of more than ordinary importance. Financial provision, in the form of a memorial gift, has already been made for an adequate and attractive home for the institution. Plans have been nearly matured for a group of buildings of an exceptionally attractive as well as utilitarian character. The buildings as projected provide for individual offices, statistical, conference, and seminar rooms, an assembly hall, and an attractive and commodious library. Provision is also made for living accommodations and recreational and club facilities.

THY PART

By Charles Ramsdell Lingley

He speaks not well who doth his time deplore,
 Naming it new and little and obscure,
 Ignoble and unfit for lofty deeds.
 All times were modern in the times of them,
 And this no more than others.

Do thy part
 Here in the living day, as did the great
 Who made old days immortal!

—From "Since the Civil War."

THE WAY OF THE LAW

The Judicial Settlement of Disputes between the States of the United States In their Relation to International Law

By LYLE W. OHLANDER

Member of the Bar of the District of Columbia

THERE has been some conjecture as to the value of an international court of justice for clarifying the rules of international law and for the practical work of rendering impartial justice between nations. The purpose of this paper is to call attention to some of the things that may be expected of such an international tribunal from the experience of the United States Supreme Court as the court of justice for the States of the United States.

Certain Implications

The United States of America, as a nation, consists of a Union of many States, each having a certain degree of autonomy and independence in local matters, but with a central Federal Government, to which all the sovereign rights and powers of nationality are assigned. The relations between these States are, for the most part, governed by the Constitution; but in many cases concerning boundaries, rights, and relations that instrumental is silent or ambiguous. In answering questions that have arisen in such disputes as are submitted to it, the United States Supreme Court, the common tribunal for the States, has turned freely to the principles of international law, and in a number of cases has discussed and decided questions according to the law of nations.

The Federal Government of the United States is alone a complete international person; but the member States of the Union, being for the purposes of their internal government separate sovereignties, independent of one another, may be said to enjoy a degree of international personality. These States are not nations, either among themselves or toward foreign nations; but, in the controversies that arise between them, these States take on the character, to a certain degree, of independent nations, and in the settlement of disputes between them the Supreme Court, their common tribunal under the Constitution, gives due regard to the characteristics of

statehood that each State possesses. And in no other instance is the distinct, quasi-international character of the States more clearly seen than in the history of the judicial settlement of controversies between these States, from the time they were yet the original colonies up to the present.

When the original States were still colonies they enjoyed complete independence of one another; they were distinct entities and looked only to England as their sovereign. Disputes that arose between them were referred to the courts of England. A dispute between the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut over their mutual boundary was submitted to the Privy Council in 1727, and in 1746 a boundary dispute between Rhode Island and Massachusetts was submitted to the same body. A dispute between the heirs of Lord Penn and Lord Baltimore over mutual boundaries was heard in Chancery in 1745 and 1750. (See 12 Pet., 657, 739-743.)

Under the Declaration of Independence, 1776, the colonies asserted that they had assumed the position of nations in the society of nations, like other independent States, with the power in each to "declare war, make peace, contract alliances, and of consequence to settle their controversies with a foreign power or among themselves, which no State or power could do for them." But there was no longer any common tribunal to which the States might resort in the settlement of their controversies, and interstate friction, mutual re-primations and reprisals in boundary disputes were a continual source of serious trouble.

Under the Articles of Confederation there were eight interstate disputes. New Hampshire and New York each claimed the territory now comprising the State of Vermont. A dispute between Rhode Island and Massachusetts was not settled until after the adoption of the Constitution. Connecticut claimed part of Penn-

sylvania and New York, and although she submitted to a decree of commissioners under the Ninth Article of Confederation, maintained her right to certain soil until 1800. New Jersey disputed her boundary with Delaware and was in a dispute with New York over other matters. Maryland and Virginia were in a dispute over their boundary line. Disputes between Virginia and North Carolina and between South Carolina and Georgia were settled by mutual agreement.

A tribunal established under the Ninth Article of Confederation to settle such controversies was merely temporary, though there was an appeal to Congress; but the general weakness of the central government and the lack of confidence by the States made such a system of interstate justice unavailing.

Edmund Randolph, before the Virginia Constitutional Convention, said as to interstate controversies: "There have been disputes respecting boundaries . . . reprisals have been made by Pennsylvania and Virginia on one another. . . . It is with respect to the rights of territory that the State judiciaries are not competent. If the claimants have a right to the territories, it is the duty of a good government to provide means to put them in possession of them."

Then came the Constitution and the establishment of the Supreme Court as the arbiter between the States, a tribunal of last resort, with original jurisdiction over the disputes between two or more States of the Union.

For more than a century the States of the United States have availed themselves of the opportunity provided in the Constitution for the settlement of their disputes by judicial means. They were not allowed the process of diplomatic settlement, and the thought of war was abhorrent to the most contentious; so a third method, that of litigation before a competent court, was left invitingly open. It was for this specific purpose that the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was extended to ". . . controversies between two or more States. . . ."

The States by their union did not lose their separate and independent autonomy, and the maintenance of their governments and the preservation of their remaining

quasi-sovereign interests are as much within the care of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union and the National Government. The Supreme Court, in *Texas vs. White* (7 Wall., 700, 725), held that "the Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States." No State may legislate for another, nor impose its authority or decrees upon another. But conflicting claims of States may always be referred for settlement to the Supreme Court, whose jurisdiction, said Justice Story, "extends to controversies between two or more States, in order to furnish a peaceful and impartial tribunal to decide cases where these States claim conflicting rights, in order to prevent gross irritations and border warfare."* (Story on the Constitution (1840), xxxi.)

The actual decisions of interstate litigation have covered questions concerning the characteristics of statehood in international law, the extent of territorial jurisdiction, the determination of boundaries, control over territorial waters, and rights in interstate streams. In several cases the Supreme Court has had to consider the responsibility of States in the matter of their debts.

International law is a system of rules of conduct generally accepted as a reasonable guide to the rights and duties of nations; deduced by reason, as a consonant to justice, from the nature of the society existing among independent nations; with such definitions and modifications as may be established by the general consent of nations. It is a law in equity. There being no superior sovereign to dictate what the law shall be, international law has been evolved from abstract reasoning, customs and usages, and the conclusions of publicists, based on consent and admitted practices, and, finally, from judicial de-

* The distinct quasi-international character of the States has led to many cases not strictly of States against States which nevertheless involve the peculiar status and relations of the several States of the United States and so have raised many questions of international law. These cases cannot be included, however, within the limits set by the title of this thesis. (See *Keith vs. Clerk*, on the continuity of States, 97 U. S., 454, and *Coleman vs. Clark*, 97 U. S., 509, on military occupation; *The Collector vs. Day*, 11 Wall., 113, on power to tax, and others.)

cisions which involve questions of international law and relations.

The value of judicial decisions lies in the reasoning of the judges and the authorities collected; and, moreover, judicial decisions tend to render certain and stable the loose general principles of international law, and to show their application and how they are understood in the countries where the tribunals are sitting. The consideration of the methods of judicial approach in the determination of interstate disputes within our American Union is of some importance, therefore, to the whole problem of international judicial settlement. This will readily appear from even a cursory study of a few of the cases.

Illustrative Cases

In the case of the Cherokee Nation *vs.* Georgia (5 Pet., 1) the characteristics of nationality are considered in determining that an Indian tribe or "nation" is not a nation qualified as a member of the family of nations.

It was there held that a true State in international law is a distinct political entity, capable of managing its own affairs and interests and governing itself by its own authority and laws, sovereign and independent of any outside power, responsible in its political character for its foreign engagements, and capable of maintaining the relations of war and peace. It is formed of a body of men united for their mutual protection and advantage; it takes resolutions in common, as an artificial person; it has an understanding and will peculiar to itself; it is capable of entering into contracts and of assuming obligations; and it may possess property apart from the private property of its individual members.

The position of the States of the United States is that of constituent parts of the United States, their status as independent nations in the family of nations having been surrendered to the Federal Government. (*New Hampshire vs. New York*, 108 U. S., 76, 90.)

The greater number of the disputes between States settled in the Supreme Court have concerned the establishment of boundary lines. These cases are very important, for they involve private and public title, jurisdiction, and sovereignty.

The territorial property of a State consists of all area, land and water, included within certain boundaries, over which a State exercises complete jurisdiction. These territorial limits are ascertained by treaty or prescription, together with such land as may be added by accretion; and when the territory abuts upon the sea, the right of jurisdiction extends over a certain margin of the water.

The exercise of territorial jurisdiction, therefore, is limited to a State by the extent of its boundaries, and because of this it becomes very necessary at times to determine with great exactness the line of demarcation between neighboring States.

Boundary lines may be classed as artificial and natural. Artificial lines are those traced by certain astronomical lines, parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude, or they may be straight lines between two points. Natural lines are those traced in such natural barriers as rivers, streams, and lakes, the sea, and coastal inlets.

When an artificial line has been established and run out and acquiesced in for a long time, it is conclusive, even if it happens to vary somewhat from the courses given in the original grant. (*Virginia vs. Tennessee*, 148 U. S., 503, 522.)

Said the Supreme Court in *New Mexico vs. Texas* (1927), 48 S. Ct., 126, 134, "It is well settled that governments, as well as private persons, are bound by the practical line that has been recognized and adopted as their boundary."

Long acquiescence in the possession of territory and the undisputed exercise of dominion and sovereignty over it is conclusive of a State's title and rightful authority. This doctrine of prescription, fostered by Vattel, is adopted by the United States Supreme Court. (*Virginia vs. Tennessee*, *supra*, 523; *Rhode Island vs. Massachusetts*, 4 Howard, 591, 639.)

Boundary lines may be designated in treaties. When so done, the entire instrument must be examined in case of a dispute as to the meaning and the real intentions of the parties; and maps mentioned in the treaty are to be considered as a part of the treaty. But a map imperfectly made may be considered only as a general guide where a more perfect survey is provided for, and will not stand

where an astronomical line is provided for in the treaty. (*United States vs. Texas*, 162 U. S., 1; *Missouri vs. Kentucky*, 11 Wall., 395, 410.)

Where a navigable river constitutes the boundary between two States, the interests of those States including, as it does, an equitable control of the navigation of the stream, the boundary line extends to the center of the main navigable channel. This doctrine is known as "thalweg." (*Iowa vs. Illinois*, 147 U. S., 1, 13; *Louisiana vs. Mississippi*, 202 U. S., 1, 49.) Where there are several channels, the main channel is that one habitually followed by vessels of the largest tonnage. (*Minnesota vs. Wisconsin*, 252 U. S., 273.) But where the States have agreed as to which of the channels shall govern the boundary line, that must stand. (*Washington vs. Oregon*, 211 U. S., 127, 135.)

Gradual changes in the channel, due to erosion and accretion, carry the boundary line with it. Erosion and accretion occur together, the bits of dirt being taken from one side of the stream and deposited on the other—a gradual and almost imperceptible change. But if the stream suddenly and violently abandons its old channel and finds a new one, the boundary remains in the old channel, though water may cease to flow therein. (*Arkansas vs. Tennessee*, 246 U. S., 158, 175; *Nebraska vs. Iowa*, 143 U. S., 359; *Arkansas vs. Mississippi*, 250 U. S., 39.)

When a boundary river remains, by virtue of treaty or otherwise, within one State, that State's jurisdiction extends to the entire bed of the stream, which is defined as that portion of the soil ". . . adequate to contain it (the river) at its average and mean state during the entire year . . ." without reference to extraordinary freshets or extreme droughts. (*Alabama vs. Georgia*, 23 How., 505, 513-515.)

The usual line of demarcation as to non-navigable streams that form boundaries is a medial line between the banks of the stream. (*Alabama vs. Georgia, supra*, p. 513.) And that applies also to shallow boundary lakes. (*Minnesota vs. Wisconsin*, 252 U. S., 273.)

As to navigable boundary lakes and landlocked seas, where there is no par-

ticular track of navigation, the line of demarcation is drawn in the middle; and this is true of narrow straits separating the lands of two States; but where there is a deep water channel for sailing, the rule of thalweg applies. (*Louisiana vs. Mississippi*, 202 U. S., 1, 50.)

And with respect to such water boundaries as sounds, bays, gulfs, estuaries, straits, and other arms of the sea, where these are navigable, the rule of thalweg applies. (*Louisiana vs. Mississippi, supra.*)

Similarly with respect to fishing rights, islands located in the boundary waters, and bridges, the rules that govern the demarcation of the boundary line in that particular body of water apply. (*Louisiana vs. Mississippi, supra*, as to fishing rights; *Indiana vs. Kentucky*, 136 U. S., 479-507-512, as to islands; *Georgia vs. South Carolina*, 257 U. S., 519; *Iowa vs. Illinois*, 147 U. S., 1, 11, as to bridges.)

A number of cases involving the right to divert waters of an interstate stream have come before the Supreme Court in interstate disputes. The decisions have been aimed at maintaining an equality of use by the States of such interstate streams; and therefore, in *Kansas vs. Colorado*, 206 U. S., 46, Colorado was not restrained from using the waters of the Arkansas for irrigation, because it was found that the watershed being toward Kansas, the waters so diverted percolated through the soil, and thus Kansas received as much benefit as if the water was left in the stream. The decision was without prejudice to another suit by Kansas if in the future Kansas found that she was being injured by the diversion of the water.

But in the case of *Wyoming vs. Colorado*, 259 U. S., 419, where it was found that the watershed was away from the complaining State, that State did suffer from the diversion of water and an injunction was permitted. The principle of equitable division of the water is an elastic one and is based on the public needs of each State.

Where a State is divided into several States the public debt of the former State may be apportioned. (*Virginia vs. West Virginia*, 220 U. S., 1.)

Principles of International Practice and the World Court

Said Elihu Root at the laying of the cornerstone of the Pan American Building at Washington, May 11, 1918: "There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably if both parties really desire peaceful settlement, while there are few causes so trivial that they cannot be made the occasion for war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything."

At the present time the idea of an International Court of Justice has taken the form of reality. The elimination of the causes of conflict between nations has gradually evolved through diplomatic adjustment and arbitration to the establishment of an impartial and competent tribunal for the settlement of international disputes, the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague; and in the study of the problems that might confront that court, and in regard to jurisdiction, practice, and procedure, the student of international affairs might well turn to that prototype of an international court, the Supreme Court of the United States, in its peculiar position as a court of justice for the States of the United States, to see what has been the experience of that court in the handling of its quasi-sovereign litigants.

Before any court can entertain a case, it must ask itself whether or not it has jurisdiction over the cause. The question of jurisdiction is not waived either by silence of counsel or their consent; the court must be possessed of jurisdiction either by law or by the instrument which created it.

Sovereign nations cannot be sued in any court unless they have consented to such suit, or may be presumed to have consented to such suit. Thus, by accepting the Constitution, the States of the United States have been presumed to have consented to suit by a sister State, according to the terms of that pact, without further signifying consent. (*Rhode Island vs. Massachusetts*, 12 Pet., 657, 720; *Kansas vs. Colorado*, 206 U. S., 46, 83.) And so, also, the Permanent Court must consider whether the parties, sovereign States, have consented, expressly or tacitly, to its

jurisdiction. And that court held, in its fifth advisory opinion, relating to the Eastern Carilian affair, that, as Russia had never consented to any submission of the dispute, it had no jurisdiction. "The court, being a court of justice, cannot, even in giving advisory opinions, depart from the essential rules guiding their activity as a court." (See *Congressional Digest*, December 17, 1925, pp. 602, 603.)

States alone may be the parties before an international court. Before the Supreme Court, the case must be between the States as such, and not by a State in behalf of its citizens or individuals (*New Hampshire vs. Louisiana*, 108 U. S., 76, 81, 91), although if an individual cedes his interests to the State, then the State may sue in its own name. (*South Dakota vs. North Carolina*, 192 U. S., 286.)

Before the Permanent Court the State must espouse the cause, frame the issues, and conduct the litigation. Judgment is for or against a State; and when for a nation, that nation in its sovereign capacity may dispose of the proceeds of the judgment as it sees fit.

The next question is whether the court has jurisdiction over the subject-matter of the suit. The greatest objection to rendering a judicial decision in a matter in dispute between two nations is that the dispute is political and not judicial, and that a judgment may directly affect the safety of the State. (*Vattel, Law of Nations* (1760), I, 244.)

At first glance, all disputes in which States are parties are more or less political, because they affect the sovereignty of the State; but, as pointed out by Justice Baldwin in *Rhode Island vs. Massachusetts*, 12 Pet., 657, 736-8, such questions are political which a State reserved to itself for settlement through diplomatic channels, and such questions are judicial which a State in its sovereign capacity is willing to submit to a court of justice to be decided by the proper rules of jurisprudence and recognized rules of international law.

The Permanent Court of International Justice, in its establishing protocol, is given jurisdiction over such cases as fail of diplomatic adjustment (Art. 33), with the power to hear causes of a "legal nature" concerning, "(a) The interpretation of a treaty; (b) Any question of in-

ternational law; (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligation; (d) The nature or extent of reparation to be made for a breach of an international obligation; (e) The interpretation of a sentence passed by the court" (Article 34).

Having jurisdiction over the parties, the United States Supreme Court may proceed *ex parte* if the respondent State refuses to appear in a case brought by a sister State, though with exceeding caution, recognizing the character of the parties (*Rhode Island vs. Massachusetts*, *supra*, 755, 761; *New Jersey vs. New York*, 5 Pet., 284; 3 Pet., 461; 6 Pet., 323); and the Permanent Court of International Justice is empowered to do likewise, if it has jurisdiction of the parties, when satisfied "that the claim is supported by substantial evidence and well founded in fact and in law" (Art. 52).

Because of the character of the parties and the nature of the suits, the Supreme Court has held that ordinary principles of private litigation should be so modified that neither State should be embarrassed by technicalities nor be hurried in their part to the suit. (*Massachusetts vs. Rhode Island*, 14 Pet., 210, 257; *Virginia vs. West Virginia*, 220 U. S., 1, 27; 222 U. S., 17, 19; 234 U. S., 117, 121.)

It is often the case that settlement of a dispute will affect not only the parties in question, but also other nations as well. Hence these other nations should be allowed to appear and bring in evidence, and under such appearance be bound by the judgment of the court. This is the practice before the Supreme Court of the United States (*Oklahoma vs. Texas*, 252 U. S., 372; *Florida vs. Georgia*, 17 How., 478, 491) and before the Permanent Court as well (Art. 60, 61; *The Wimbledon case*, involving the Kiel Canal, de-

ecided by the Permanent Court of International Justice (The Hague, 1923.) Where there is no cause for intervention, such has been denied. (*Kansas vs. Colorado*, 206 U. S., 46, 85-92.)

Article 62 of the protocol establishing the Permanent Court provides that "unless otherwise directed by the court, each party shall bear its own costs." In a recent case before the United States Supreme Court (*North Dakota vs. Minnesota* (1924), 263 U. S., 583), it was held that where the settlement was beneficial to both parties, as in the case of a settlement of a disputed boundary, each party should bear an equal share of the costs, while in a case of a purely litigious character, if the suit has failed, the complainant must bear the costs; but if the suit succeeds, the defendant must bear the costs.

It must be realized, also, that the court can only handle the controversy in hand; that it cannot investigate the motives of a State legislature in its acts, nor the chief magistrate of the State in enforcing the laws of a State in his own discretion; and it is against public policy to impute to an authorized official any other than legitimate motives. (*Louisiana vs. Texas*, 176 U. S., 1, 18.)

It cannot be hoped that an international court will render perfect decisions, nor that the parties will always be ready in accepting the decrees of the court; but every decision that is acknowledged to be just and every instance of ready compliance with the decisions of the court will make the way more possible for the establishment of the rule of justice in international affairs. The real value of good courts, said James Brown Scott, "is that they develop the habit of peaceful settlement at the expense of the habit of fighting."



PRACTICAL LABORS FOR PEACE*

By WILLIAM R. CASTLE

Assistant Secretary of State

NO QUESTION is more vitally important to the world than that of peace. For this reason it is always worthy of discussion, but because it is so vital the discussion should be carried on with due regard to historical facts, with a frank recognition of the weakness of human nature, as well as its idealism. In other words, I believe that when the pursuit of peace becomes a fad, the cause of peace is injured. There are many altogether good and otherwise intelligent men and women who believe that when once an ideal has been written into law or into a treaty it becomes an inviolable principle. There are many, for example, who believe that if the United States signed agreements with other nations to outlaw war, or treaties guaranteeing that under no possible circumstances should we go to war, there would inevitably be no war; but this is to ignore realities, to ignore human weakness, to miss the fact that nations are not sublime moral entities, but, rather, groups of fallible and passionate human beings. As Mr. Hoover once admirably expressed the idea, "National character is the sum of the moral fiber of individuals." A nation is morally great exactly in proportion to the moral soundness of its inhabitants, and the most successful worker for peace is he who upbuilds and strengthens the moral fiber of individuals. This is a long process and there are many who believe that somewhere we can find a short cut.

There is another thing to remember. Peace, to be real, must be a state of mind. Mere absence of war does not necessarily mean peace any more than the passing of night means sunshine when the sky is heavy with clouds. There is no real peace when nations are angrily suspicious of each other, glaring at each other across national boundaries. The aspiration of the American Government is for that real peace which comes of international un-

derstanding. But this permanent peace cannot be achieved by waving a magician's wand. It is the result of the growth of character and of understanding, of the gradual elimination of the causes of international misunderstanding, of willingness to let others live their own lives as they see fit, so long as their choice does not interfere with the happiness of the rest of the world; of a consistent and unselfish support of national rights.

A nation which is unwilling to defend its own rights does not help on the cause of peace. During the World War Switzerland and Holland, for example, were kept out of the maelstrom because all the combatants knew they were ready to defend their frontiers. These small nations had no belligerent tendencies, neither did they propose to be trampled on; and because of this the tides of war broke harmlessly against their borders.

Every fair-minded person knows that the United States has not the smallest desire to go to war with anyone. And, beyond this negative statement, every fair-minded person knows also that the United States is determined to maintain an honorable peace with all the world. The Department of State exists largely for the purpose of maintaining this honorable peace, and our efforts along this line cannot be measured by proposals for arbitration treaties or for pacts to prevent war.

It is well known that wars have sometimes begun through trivial, apparently unimportant, causes. It is the business of diplomacy so to handle these matters that the United States may be respected for the just exercise of its power. We must, for example, support an American citizen living abroad when he has obeyed the law; but we cannot, because we are powerful, support him in wrong doing. We must be generous; but we must not permit

*From a recent address.

generosity to bear the badge of weakness. In drawing treaties of commerce, we must not demand from others what we are unwilling to give ourselves; but, on the other hand, we must not hasten to give to others what they are unwilling to give us.

The Department is trying continually to break down unnecessary barriers to commerce, to simplify commercial practice, because all this makes misunderstanding less likely. It was in this same pursuit of peace that John Hay stood for the policy of the open door, and that Mr. Kellogg stands solidly on the principle of general most-favored-nation treatment. We are always willing to extend to every nation the treatment we extend to any one nation, on condition, of course, that it does the same for us. We ask no special favors of anyone and give no special favors. We demand that others shall not discriminate against us so long as we do not discriminate against them.

The Department of State believes firmly in the principle of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes of a judicial character, which cannot be settled by diplomacy in their initial stages. We prefer to handle such disputes in such manner that the necessity of arbitration shall not arise. We believe that others have good will, as we know that we ourselves have good will. We believe that in most cases of misunderstanding two men of different nationalities can sit down quietly and settle almost any dispute that has arisen between their two countries; and, therefore, we think that even in non-justiciable matters recourse should be had to conciliation.

Recently, in the matter of the claims with Great Britain arising out of the late war, we believed that a settlement could be made by frank joint discussion, and that it has been made shows the progress of the last few years. I remember saying to an older and much more experienced man soon after the war, "Why don't we get to work and settle these British claims?" I felt very new and inexperienced in the game of diplomacy when he answered, "Absurd. Don't you know that the claims of the War of 1812 were only settled a few years ago?" It took 100 years for Great Britain and the United

States to settle the claims of 1812, and six months, when we really began to discuss the matter, to settle the claims of the recent war. All that is the kind of thing that makes for peace.

I said that we want to make commercial treaties alike with all nations. Equally, when we make treaties of arbitration or other treaties drawn with the direct purpose of preserving world peace, we want to make them alike with all. Let me give you one example of what I mean. It is an example typical of the attitude of the American Government, and at the same time it shows that the government must act calmly, must not be stampeded into ill-considered action. All the world knew that M. Briand last summer suggested to this government a pact by which France and the United States would agree never to go to war with each other. The French note was received at a time when, as it happened, neither Ambassador, French nor American, was at his post. The Secretary of State said that he would discuss the matter whenever the French were prepared to do so; but, obviously, it was not urgent, as war between the two countries was, in any case, unthinkable. Immediately, however, the agitators became vocal. Professional peacemakers did not want us to think, to consider the matter in all its angles, but to act instantly. It is not very long since one of them telephoned me about it. He was so eagerly in favor of peace that he was positively belligerent. "It is an outrage," he said, "that our government should hang back in a matter of this kind. I am going to make speeches about it and I warn you that I shall attack the Department of State as it deserves. I am absolutely in favor of the Briand Treaty. Will you tell me what is in it?"

Parenthetically I might say that I wish you could realize how much agitation there is for things which are not understood even in the most elementary way. It is agitation, to be sure, based on generous and humanitarian aspirations; but it is too often combined with muddled thinking. Let me assure you that there is far more danger in peace pacts based on muddled thinking than there is in refusing to sign new pacts at all.

In this French matter, the Department of State took the stand that it was in favor of any agreement which, in stating unequivocally a moral principle, would diminish the danger of international conflict, but that to sign an agreement with one nation which we were not ready to sign with others was not a step toward general peace. We felt that an agreement that under no circumstances would we attack France might cause irritation and unrest in other nations. It would almost inevitably have been looked upon by them as something closely approaching a defensive alliance. The Secretary therefore proposed a new treaty of arbitration with France to replace that which expires by limitation in February, and at the same time wrote a note on the Briand proposal which you have all seen in the press. In this note we welcomed the French idea of making a declaration that we should no longer consider resort to war in the settlement of international disputes as a national policy; but we said that this agreement must, in order to be useful in the preservation of peace, be drawn up in the form of a multilateral treaty, to be signed by the principal nations of the world. It remains to be seen whether this idea can be carried out. Such matters, whatever the extremists may think, cannot be formulated without the most careful thought and analysis; but even if nothing comes of this particular discussion, the world will be no worse off. I think it would have been had we followed the advice of the professional peacemakers and hastened to sign a bilateral pact with France.

"If the multilateral pact should be signed," you may ask me, "why will the world be any better off, since you said yourself that human nature was still fallible, and that no treaty will inevitably prevent war?" The answer is that open and public acceptance of an idea makes a nation, as well as an individual, think seriously before publicly repudiating the idea. It is no absolute guarantee of peace; that comes certainly only with the development of the moral worth of the citizens who make up a nation. It is, on the other hand, a strong moral deterrent, and it is fair to say that the longer a nation holds back from war, the greater is the chance of peace.

Arbitration treaties with several nations are expiring shortly. The department plans to renew them all and to make them, if possible, more comprehensive. An arbitration decision is a judicial settlement, which must be followed like any court decision; and it is, therefore, important to define clearly and specifically the questions which are not subject to arbitration, not to leave that decision to the more or less arbitrary decision of one or the other nation. All the remaining questions still open to conciliation must be referred under the Bryan treaties to conciliation; and I believe that the delay thus necessitated will go a long way to prevent war.

You know of the consistent co-operation of the American Government with the League of Nations in the work of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament. You know of the meeting on naval limitation called by the President. Even if this conference reached no conclusion, it pointed the way to later achievement and certainly did not interfere with the good understanding between the participating nations.

You know of the good will and the patience of the American Government in its dealings with Mexico, its steady resistance to the urging of those Americans who wanted to break relations forthwith; and the result of that is that many of the complaints bid fair to be settled; that our relations with Mexico are better than they have been for a long time.

The work of the Department of State is always to bring about better understanding, to appreciate the point of view of other nations, without once losing our own American point of view. It is not dramatic. It means watchfulness and good humor and friendliness. It epitomizes the lives of those of us who are in the work, and it is an inspiring work because, whether or not its results are recognized, they are very real.

All this is logic, the daily grind, if you will, of diplomatic action. It all makes for peace, enduring peace; but I should be telling only half the story if I omitted altogether the matter of sentiment. Sometimes an accident does more to stir up the generous feelings of respect and affection between nations than years of honest endeavor. When Lindbergh

landed in Paris there was an outburst of enthusiasm for the United States that made people forget for a moment the debts and all other matters of dispute. Through Lindbergh the French and later the Mexicans felt the real spirit of America, and the propaganda of the agitators, which like a veil of smoke keeps others from seeing us as we are, was blown away. It was real sentiment, real enthusiasm for an ideal. Exactly the same feelings were aroused in America through the reception that Lindbergh received; and so, for a time, the hearts of both nations beat in unison. Every time this happens we move a step nearer peace. The same generous

sentiments are today, I hope, in the minds of the Cubans and our other Latin American friends, as they welcome the President of the United States in Havana.

It is the duty of the Department of State, then, to clear up misunderstandings, big and little; to recognize and support friendly enthusiasm wherever we see it; to criticize only when we must and to praise whenever we can; to support the rights of America everywhere, and to see to it that rights are never in conflict with the right. It is an inspiring work, and it becomes always more inspiring when we know that we have the American people back of us.

A CONSTRUCTIVE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

By WALTER SCOTT PENFIELD

Mr. Penfield, a lawyer with a wide international practice, has served in our Department of State and represented our country in cases before the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague.—EDITOR.

THE only thing permanent in life is change. It is constantly about us in the material world. As it goes on, our American foreign policy must necessarily vary in some particulars to meet the new international situations that may confront us; and yet there are certain phases of our foreign policy which are a permanent part of us—policies which in the lapse of years since their adoption have proved their worth and afforded us protection in time of stress. It would be ideal if we could adopt formulæ by which our foreign policy in all respects could be permanently defined. But, until human nature changes and the millennium arrives, that would appear to be impracticable.

The Conduct of Our Foreign Relations

Both before and subsequent to our independence, we had our contacts and relations with foreign countries. These necessitated the inception and maintenance of a foreign policy. Under our Constitution and laws the President, acting through his Secretary of State, is charged with the conduct of foreign affairs. The latter acts through his foreign

service officers, to whom he sends instructions and from whom he receives reports, and is assisted by departmental officials, most of whom have served in the country or particular group of countries where there may arise a new question requiring the determination by the Executive as to what our policy should be.

When such a question arises the President reaches his decision only after conferences with his experts and study of his documents. The question may find its way to the Committees of Foreign Affairs of the Senate and House. It may be debated in Congress. It may be published in the newspapers, written about in the magazines, discussed in organizations such as the American Peace Society, argued by men in their daily work, and talked over by women in their homes. From all these sources our American foreign policy is finally formulated.

Is it not, then, rather difficult for us to say whether the policy thus formed is or is not constructive? We may have heard the debates of Congress, read the newspapers and magazines, and been present at discussions of various kinds; but unless we have studied the confidential communications from our diplomatic and consular officers abroad and availed ourselves of the information possessed by our experts in the Department of State, we are not fully qualified to say what our foreign policy

should be with reference to a particular question. For these reasons when questions—sometimes somewhat prolonged—arise between our government and that of a foreign country, we should not hastily criticize the policy of our President and Secretary of State.

Any conclusion as to whether we have a constructive policy is a matter of individual judgment. A passive policy may be constructive. In diplomacy it is often better to know what not to do than to know what to do. To do nothing, to follow a passive policy, may in the long run be a constructive policy.

Our Past Policies Were Constructive

In reaching a conclusion as to what a constructive American foreign policy should be, would it not be well for us to consider our past policies?

In his farewell address Washington cautioned us to observe good faith and justice toward all nations and to cultivate peace and harmony with all. He advised us it would be unwise to implicate ourselves in European politics or the combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. He inquired why "entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice." Thomas Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, counseled us to maintain "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." The doctrine promulgated by President Monroe has been one of the beacons in our foreign policy. His declaration and counsel are as vital today for our national protection as they were at the time of their pronouncement, in 1823.

The United States has been interested in treaties of arbitration. In 1908 it made conventions for the arbitration of questions of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties, provided they did not affect our vital interest, independence, or honor.

In 1911 treaties were signed, but not ratified, to extend the scope of those of 1908, so as to exclude the exceptions and to provide for the peaceful solution of all questions of difference which it shall be found impossible to settle by diplomacy.

They provided for the arbitration of differences that were justiciable in their nature, those that were susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity.

In 1915 treaties were made for the advancement of peace which provided that all disputes be submitted for investigation and report to a permanent international commission. The parties agreed not to resort to any act or force during the investigation, the theory being that it would give them an opportunity to cool off before taking any action.

The United States has had a constructive policy with reference to Central America. It initiated two conferences of those countries, both held in Washington, the first in 1907 and the second in 1923. Among the results were general treaties of peace and amity, conventions providing those governments would not recognize any other government which might come into power in any of the republics as a consequence of a revolution against the recognized government, and conventions for the establishment of a Central American Court of Justice.

The United States has also shown a constructive policy in regard to all of the countries of Latin America by the promotion of the Pan-American conferences. In November, 1881, James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, issued an invitation for the first international American conference "for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America." Since then five conferences have been held. At the sixth, which will convene in Havana next month, twelve projects will be presented pertaining to public international law. It is interesting to note that none of them will deal with the rules and regulations of international war.

The United States showed a constructive policy in its participation in The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907. The objects of these conferences were to secure the benefits of a real and enduring peace. Their programs included limitation of armaments, good offices, mediation, and arbitration.

The United States can well point with pride to the Washington and Geneva disarmament conferences and to the part it

played in providing the membership of the Dawes Commission.

After the war came the Versailles Treaty and the discussion concerning the League of Nations. Some believed that we ought to stay out of the League. Others considered that our failure to join showed a lack of a constructive policy. The League has proven its value to the countries of Europe, and the United States should do nothing to discourage its existence. But the majority of our people believe they voted correctly when they decided the United States should not become a party.

An incident occurring during the last session of the League caused some of us to conclude that our decision to refrain from membership had been wise. It was a mere gesture, but, in case we had been a member, it had possibilities of proving a source of embarrassment. The delegate of Panama raised the question as to whether, under the treaty between Panama and the United States for the construction of the canal, Panama transferred to the United States its right of sovereignty over the Canal Zone or only conceded to the United States the power and authority as though the United States were sovereign. He suggested that if the Government of the United States did not accept the Panaman interpretation there then remained the recourse of submitting this difference to the decision of a court of impartial justice.

If the United States had been a party to the League, it seems probable that the gesture of the representative of Panama would have gone further, and that we might have been required to submit the question of our sovereignty over the canal. Would there be anything in the nature of a constructive foreign policy in joining a European League when conceivably it might lead to the loss of our rights to the Panama Canal?

We have always favored the establishment of an International Court of Justice. The present World Court is a wing of the League of Nations. If we become a party to that court, it should be with proper reservations; otherwise we should continue to decline membership and lend our efforts to the establishment of a new court, totally divorced from the League.

Our Present Policies Are Constructive

Today we have our international problems. Some of them are in the countries to the south of us. While our effort to solve the Tacna-Arica dispute has not yet been successful, it was a constructive attempt to solve a long-pending question between two of the principal governments of South America. We have a problem with Nicaragua, but a reading of the documents discloses that President Coolidge was correct in upholding the sanctity of the Central American Treaty of 1923, providing against the recognition of any government that should come into power through a revolutionary movement; and a study of the constitution and laws of Nicaragua make clear that the recognition of the Government of Diaz was the only policy that the President could properly pursue.

The problem with Mexico involves the Constitution of 1917 and legislation enacted subsequent thereto of a confiscatory and retroactive nature. It has required the greatest amount of patience, but the revelations, if correct, of our newspapers of the last month demonstrate that there is, as has been many times alleged, a connection between Moscow and Mexico City, and that at least *prima facie* evidence has been produced which would tend to involve the Government of Mexico in the promotion of agitation and revolutionary disorder in Nicaragua as well as elsewhere.

The Mexican question is somewhat related to that of Russia. We do not desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. We recognize its right to develop its own institutions. But when it comes to the matter of its recognition, the questions that must be answered must be with reference to its disposition to discharge its international obligations, its assurance of the validity of obligations, and its guaranty that rights shall not be repudiated and property confiscated.

In our relations with China we have developed constructive policies—the open door, the maintenance of its integrity, equality of commercial opportunity, cooperation with other powers in the declaration of common principles, limitation of naval armament and of fortifications and naval bases. The special customs con-

ference and the commission on extraterritoriality were results of a constructive policy. But while the unfortunate conflict exists in China and there is lacking a responsible government with which to deal, our policy must necessarily be held in abeyance. The chief problem in China is that of internal pacification.

Our Future Policy With Reference to World Peace Is Constructive

What should our policy be with reference to international peace? War is an abnormal condition. We should take every possible step to prevent its arising. Can this be accomplished by bringing about an outlawry of war?

Among the most interesting suggestions of this year was Monsieur Briand's proposal of perpetual peace by nations agreeing to outlaw war. This could have a favorable reception if our system of government would permit it. While authority to enter into such a treaty may be a part of the treaty-making power, declaring the President empowered to make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, this power does not abolish other delegated powers.

Under the Constitution the Congress is empowered to declare war. This is to be distinguished from the treaty-making power granted to the President and Senate. While the Constitution gives Congress the right of declaring war, neither it nor any other organ of the government can abolish that right. At any time that it sees fit, Congress may declare war. A present Congress cannot prevent a future Congress from declaring war whenever it may deem it to the national interest to do so.

Notwithstanding, it would appear the Senate has the power to make such an agreement, and that it would be binding on our government. But in case the Congress should subsequently desire to declare war, it would have the inherent right to do so. In such an event, the law of the land would be the declaration of war and not the treaty. It is a fundamental principle of law that when there is a conflict between the terms of a treaty and a law, the one that was made last is the one that would be effective. So if the Congress should declare war, it would thereby re-

peal the treaty so far as domestic law is concerned. But with reference to international law it would be a case of the breaking of a treaty, and we would stand before the world as being guilty of treating our treaty as a scrap of paper, especially if the world should judge that our act of war was without just foundation or cause. Under such circumstances we might move slowly in declaring war, when we knew that by doing so we were violating the terms of a treaty; also we might move slowly in making such a treaty if we thought there would be a possibility of our being forced, for self-protection, to break it.

Undoubtedly there will be a public demand that we enter into such a treaty; but from observations of such matters in Washington, it is not likely that the Senate will consent to its passage.

In 1916 Congress declared as the international policy of the United States the adjusting and settling of "its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided," and stated that it looked "with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armament throughout the world," but realized "that no single nation can disarm, and that without a common agreement upon the subject every considerable power must maintain a relative standing in military strength."

In December, 1926, Senator Borah, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate, introduced a resolution providing that it is the view of the Senate that war between nations should be outlawed, making it a public crime, and that every nation should be encouraged to agree to punish war instigators and war profiteers; that a code of international law of peace based upon the outlawing of war should be created, and that a judicial substitutioa for war should be created in the nature of an international court modeled on our Federal Supreme Court.

At the next session Congressman Burton, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, will present a joint resolution declaring it to be the policy of the United States to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to any country in violation of a treaty, convention, or other agreement to resort

to arbitration or other peaceful means for the settlement of international controversies; and Senator Capper, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate, will introduce a resolution providing for the renunciation of war as an instrument of international policy and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration or conciliation.

These resolutions demonstrate the desire on the part of members of Congress to promote a constructive foreign policy.

The diplomatic center of the world is at Washington. In that city are found more diplomatic representatives of more nations than are accredited to the capitals of any of the other countries of the world. The United States is today the most powerful nation. How are we going to use this world power? Shall it be in the martial sense, in the terms of aggressive war, or in the moral sense, in the terms of ideals? Nations and empires have risen and fallen. If we are to preserve ours, it must rest on principles of law and justice. It must not be by force. Never have we had an opportunity to exercise the power of peace as we have today. Our aims have always tended toward peace, even though on occasions they may have appeared otherwise.

But who and what are to determine our policy of peace? Who can say whether our foreign policy of the future will be constructive or passive? It will not be the President, the Congress, the press, or any class. It will be public opinion. It is a matter of educating from a false to a true standard. If it is possible to educate public opinion in one country, it can be done in others, and eventually we may have a public opinion that shall be international. A law does not make men good and a treaty will not necessarily make nations good. This has been proved by the frequent breaking of laws by individuals and treaties by countries.

Therefore, in order to enforce national or international law, there must be public opinion back of it. Then, and only then, is it a living force. With it all things are possible and without it there is little for which we may hope. Public opinion is a powerful agency. As a former officer of the League has stated, there should "be an international public opinion which will

insist on higher standards of international morality in international dealings."

Whether our foreign policy shall be passive or constructive must necessarily depend on international developments. Until now it has been constructive and is constructive. We can well be proud of the world position which we occupy. The nations look to Washington as a diplomatic center of no little importance. They would not do so if they did not believe we had something of a constructive nature in our foreign policy. Whether one believes our foreign policy to be constructive or passive, must one not agree with President Coolidge, who, in one of his messages to the Congress, has said: "The policy of our foreign relations, casting aside any suggestion of force, rests solely on the foundation of peace, good will, and good works."

INFLUENCE OF OUTPLACED NEAR EAST RELIEF CHILDREN

By MABELL S. C. SMITH

NEAR East Relief's first task was a life-saving job. It was done on a huge scale. The Armenian patriarch has said that a million people are living today in the Caucasus alone who would not be living if it were not for the salvage work of the American organization.

The next task was one of education. That, too, was done on an immense scale. One hundred and thirty-two thousand children have passed through the hands of Near East Relief, receiving, each, a simple schooling and training in trades for self-support.

During the years when the orphan population of the institution at Leninakan in Armenia hovered about 20,000 every child was at some time or other a hospital case.

These instances of mass opportunity suggest the value of mass work. The technique of relief was developed quickly and thoroughly because of the need of giving immediate help. Probably nowhere else in the world has there ever been such a chance for mass education as in the Caucasus. Certainly no oculist has ever elsewhere studied the dreaded eye

disease, trachoma, while giving over 2,400 treatments a day.

And these large numbers are a considerable factor in the influence that the boys and girls who have been in the orphanages and are now outplaced in homes or in industry or are married and taking their place in the social system, have on the communities in which they live. The East is a world for the old. Wisdom, they think, abides only under white hair and behind a long beard over there. The impression made by just one or two children when they told what they had learned about hygiene and sanitation or about new methods of work or ideals of living would, as a general thing, be slight. There are few personalities so strong as that of the young girl "graduate" found by a Near East Relief State director when he visited a village in the Caucasus. Her room was brilliant with sunshine and neat as a pin in strong contrast to those of her neighbors. She was a great believer in the value of education, insisently urging the village fathers to open a school, and until that should happen, herself teaching all the children who came to her. She had learned the usefulness of the visiting nurse, and until the village fathers made arrangements to have a visiting nurse she passed on what she had learned of first aid and preventive medicine, of proper food and skilful baby tending. She was a shining light. There are very few like her.

But the influence of a dozen or twenty boys and girls, American reared, on a small village in Armenia or Syria, on a tobacco farm or in a silk mill in Greece, is something to be depended on. When girls who have belonged to the home-making classes at the orphanages on the island of Syra or at Leninakan go out into service or are adopted into families or set up their own homes somewhere near each other and do things as they have been taught to do them to secure greater efficiency and saner results, the power of numbers is bound to be felt. When lads in Greece and Armenia are taught by American experts to use agricultural

methods that are up-to-date and at the same time adjusted to local needs, there are enough of them to relegate the old nail plow to the discard and to supplant hit-or-miss seed selection by scientific ways of getting good crops.

In Cairo there is a Working Boys' Home which is a sort of spiritual refuge for lads who are "graduates" of Near East Relief and are now earning their living, but who need oversight and friendly guidance such as they would receive from relatives if they had any. Several hundred of these boys have been taken there from Greece and are becoming assimilated in the business world of the Egyptian city. Not one boy has gotten into trouble or has thrown his companions into disrepute by any infraction of the law. They are clean living, industrious, spontaneously religious. They are a product of wise training and they are setting their stamp on their companions because there are enough of them to make what they do noticeable.

That these thousands of boys and girls of the Near East are going to be a force for peace there is little doubt. This crossroads of the world, the meeting point of Europe and Asia, has been called the beginning spot of every large war that has ever afflicted Europe. The root of every disagreement is a lack of understanding, and in this pot that is not a melting pot there has boiled every sort of misunderstanding.

But now there is a new element. Here are scores of thousands of boys and girls, the growing generation, reared together, knowing each other well, unaffected by differences of customs because they have taken on new customs, knowing the good points of companions whose very names were anathema to the small town feudists that were their ancestors. These young people are not going to quarrel with each other or come to blows. And there are 132,000 to enforce the doctrine of peace. There is such a thing as a spiritual impact. Here is an example of it.

MEANS OF NATIONAL DEFENCE IN PEACE

By HARRY VANDERBILT WURDEMANN,

Colonel Medical Reserve, General Staff, United States Army

Since there is general agreement that in our un governed world our country should be protected by "adequate defense," and since "adequate defense" is subject to differing interpretations, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* welcomes articles calculated to clarify the problem.—EDITOR.

THE program of the American Peace Society advocates "patriotic and staunch support of American traditions" and "adequate national defense." It likewise advocates periodic assemblages of enlightened leaders of the various peoples for useful discussions of world problems, upon which concerted action may affect permanent friendships among peoples and nations.

Who in our country is a militarist, who that wears the uniform of our country's national police forces, the army and the navy, ever wanted war? What President, what Cabinet officer, or what Congress ever acceded to war unless forced by popular clamor, which has many times called for aggressive action, but has been refused until the conscience of the common citizen could not stand for any more delay? President McKinley kept us out of the Spanish-American War until the popular cry, "Remember the *Maine*," forced us into it. President Wilson kept us out of war, even though the bomb from the German *Seeboote* carried down the *Lusitania* and until the menace of becoming a subject to the "All Highest" brought us to the realization that we would have to fight to preserve our standing as a nation, as sometimes we have to fight to keep the peace. Has not President Coolidge kept us out of war and aggression on Mexico despite the demands from the capitalists, the Ku Klux Klan, and the religionists?

One department of our government has a misleading title; it should be called the Bureau of National Defense. The War, Navy, and State Departments are not and never have been busy, and never will be, in preparing for war, except for defense.

More than 2,300 years ago Plato advised that every precaution should be taken to avoid the occasions of war. He

showed that the primary cause was increase in population, meaning *land hunger*, which has become very acute in some European and Asiatic nations. The second is *foreign trade*, which causes inevitable disputes—indeed, "competitive trade is a form of war; peace is only a name" (Laws 622). Foreign trade requires a large navy to protect it, and "navalism is as bad as militarism." He warned that "unless the Greeks form a Pan-Hellenic league of nations the virile Greek race would some day fall under the yoke of barbarism"; for with peoples there always has been "a will to war, a will to power, and a will to overpower," as Nietzsche says. The wars of the last 50 years have been economic wars, by virtue of which 283,000,000 white "Christians" rule 920,000,000 "backward" colored people.

There is, too, another cause, the one which overthrew the ancient nations. The fat and sleek herd goes all to beef and udders, breeding progeny without horns, and does not show that bristling wall against the foe. It can only moan and bellow while the wolves of disorder, of Communism, mingle with the flock and hamstring the few protectors from the rear. Are we not passing through the phase of national existence with our periodic private assemblages, our village democratic meetings, which may interfere with the orderly routine of republican government. For more than a century our Constitution, and that of the British for more than two centuries, has established a balance of power, peace, and prosperity which has not yet been radically disturbed, but which may some day find its last affinities in mediocracy by equalization of the classes, the result of Socialism and Communism.

The struggle for human existence is war, in which we individually and collectively daily fight for peace. This is a peaceful people, as all the world knows; but to dream idly of peace or to diminish our national insurance against war by further cutting down of our police forces

is not a guarantee against attack, but is an incitation from without and a sure way to invite a million or more of misfits and morons in this country to envy and to attack us who have homes and families well worth working for and well worth defending. The surest means of preserving an honorable peace is that which is one of the axioms of this association, a "real and adequate system of national defense."

In the fable of Antisthenes the lions said to the hares when, in the council of beasts, the latter began haranging and claiming equality for all: "Where are your claws?"

We are even now engaged in a civilian war with malcontents, who at the instigation of Communists from without have duped by unholy propaganda, which is far more dangerous than shot or shell or poison gas, at the instigation of Communists from without, which is aimed at the undermining of the foundations of our Government. This little handful of Communists has already more than a million dupes, who are fed with more than a thousand publications a year. It has several hundreds of hireling and glib-tongue speakers who have insinuated themselves into respectable organizations, who advocate action which would destroy all we cherish, by leading us into the uncharted seas of internationalism and Communism. This scum at the top and the dregs at the bottom are very well known to those who are watching for the welfare of our institutions, but the War Department in times of peace has to leave their supervision to the civilians. They have made little impression upon such fine organizations of working men as the American Federation of Labor, which has blown away the scum and strained out the settlings.

My profession is a war for the preservation of life and the conservation of human effort. For forty years I have fought disease; during these four decades I have also been a citizen-soldier, trained and ready at any time to protect my family, my home, and my neighbors at the call of my country. During this time I have never found a militarist resulting from the education of our youth by training in

the schools and colleges. I have seen many eminent men developed as the result of this training in obedience and command. I have never in all my experience met a man whose hand was worth shaking who would refuse to take his part in the protection of his country by upholding the fundamental law of the land. Those who will not support our Constitution have no right to our protection and should get out of our country.

There is no question about the outlawry of war; it ever has been beyond all man-made laws. It is fatal to the individual, but it is sometimes good for the race. Our country was born by the War of the American Revolution; it grew by the French and Indian War, that of 1812, and the Mexican War; was preserved by the War of the Rebellion, and now only exists as a sovereign entity, the greatest of all nations, by the fact that we refused to be vassals of a foreign-language power some ten years ago.

My own profession was advanced a lifetime by the lessons gained by medical military service; our span of life has gained five years; our children average an inch taller, and, although we preserve some of the physical defectives, perhaps to our disadvantage—all are largely by the result of medical knowledge gained in military service to our country. Yellow fever, smallpox, typhoid and typhus fevers, malaria and other scourges have been conquered, and venereal disease is greatly lessened by our medical national defense supervised by the National Government. The morals of the military trained man is, on the average, much better than that of one who has not had this education. Aviation is years and years ahead. The young men of the country learned habits of obedience and of command and learned of our institutions from the lessons given them during the war.

The plans for the national defense in peace have been confined to the minimum by reason of the insufficient appropriations of Congress, and therefore less than 50 per cent of our national defense would be available for our protection in case of national emergency. While our resources in men are almost inexhaustible, it would take six months to train them. We need

nearly 300,000 officers, of whom 240,000 would come from civilian life. Officers cannot be even partially trained in a year. However, the 12,000 of the Regular Army and 10,000 of the Guard form a cadre to which may be immediately added the 110,000 business men now holding commissions in the Reserve, although only one-fourth of the latter have had reasonable training for service. Under the Assistant Secretary of War, the resources and manufactures of the country have been and are being thoroughly studied, and the co-operation of the business men for national defense has been secured. For instance, in Seattle some 500 prominent citizens are studying resources of the Northwest each year, prepared to assist in the supply of the civilians and of the 96th Division, which is allocated to Washington, Oregon, and Alaska.

Our influence has uniformly been used for peace. For more than forty years our State Department has been seeking to solve the long-standing dispute between Chile and Peru over the possession of the Province of Tacna-Arica, arising out of the war between those countries in 1879.

The friendly efforts of the United States are being exerted to secure the settlement of such a boundary question in no less than five cases: Between Peru, Colombia, and Brazil; between Haiti and the Dominican Republic; between Panama and Costa Rica; between Nicaragua and Honduras; and between Honduras and Guatemala. Better evidence of our pacific policy could hardly be offered.

Our Government has been asked and has granted its assistance in matters requiring expert advice—matters of sanitation, finance, economic development, or military instruction. Examples of such

cases are General Gorgas' visit to Guayaquil, Ecuador, for yellow-fever prevention; mission of another health specialist to Chile; of a police expert to Panama; of experts on financial administration to Colombia, Peru, and several other countries; military or naval missions of instruction to Brazil and Peru. Our Government schools of agriculture and our Military Academy at West Point are open for instruction to their young men.

All countries have plans for defense, and the authorities know the plans of most of them, not only for their own defense, but those which have been studied out for an attack upon the United States of America. However, there is one great power and its constitutional provinces with whom anything but academic difficulties are almost unthinkable, and that is Great Britain in Europe, America, Africa, and Australia.

Jesus Christ said: "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. But when a stronger than he shall come upon him and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armor wherein he trusteth, and divideth the spoils."

To know one another by intervisiting of educated people, as those of Canada and America, with like laws and customs, is the greatest guarantee against anything but trivial disputes, which are readily settled by arbitration. But, until the millennium arrives, others will not be free of jealousy and covetousness; we will have to keep up our national insurance by a reasonable national defense system, according to the Constitution of the United States, which requires every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45 to be a potential arms bearer, to protect our lives, our liberty, and to insure opportunity for the pursuit of happiness.



INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

EFFORTS TO RENOUNCE WAR

UNITED STATES NOTE OF DECEMBER 28, 1927

On the 28th of December the State Department sent a note to the French Government in reply to the proposal of M. Briand, which is as follows:

"I have the honor to refer to the form of treaty entitled 'Draft of Pact of Perpetual Friendship between France and the United States,' which His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs was good enough to transmit to me informally last June through the instrumentality of the American Ambassador at Paris.

"This draft treaty proposes that the two powers should solemnly declare in the name of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war, renounce it as an instrument of their national policy towards each other, and agree that a settlement of disputes arising between them, of whatsoever nature or origin they may be, shall never be sought by either party except through pacific means. I have given the most careful consideration to this proposal and take this occasion warmly to reciprocate on behalf of the American people the lofty sentiments of friendship which inspired the French people, through His Excellency M. Briand, to suggest the proposed treaty.

"The Government of the United States welcomes every opportunity for joining with the other governments of the world in condemning war and pledging anew its faith in arbitration. It is firmly of the opinion that every international endorsement of arbitration and every treaty repudiating the idea of a resort to arms for the settlement of justiciable disputes materially advances the cause of world peace. My views on this subject find a concrete expression in the form of the arbitration treaty which I have proposed in my note to you of December 28, 1927, to take the place of the arbitration convention of 1908. The proposed treaty extends the scope of that convention and records the unmistakable determination of the

two governments to prevent any breach in the friendly relations which have subsisted between them for so long a period.

"In view of the traditional friendship between France and the United States—a friendship which happily is not dependent upon the existence of any formal engagement—and in view of the common desire of the two nations never to resort to arms in the settlement of such controversies as may possibly arise between them, which is recorded in the draft arbitration treaty just referred to, it has occurred to me that the two governments, instead of contenting themselves with a bilateral declaration of the nature suggested by M. Briand, might make a more signal contribution to world peace by joining in an effort to obtain the adherence of all of the principal powers of the world to a declaration renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. Such a declaration, if executed by the principal world powers, could not but be an impressive example to all the other nations of the world, and might conceivably lead such nations to subscribe in their turn to the same instrument, thus perfecting among all the powers of the world an arrangement heretofore suggested only as between France and the United States.

"The Government of the United States is prepared, therefore, to concert with the Government of France with a view to the conclusion of a treaty among the principal powers of the world, open to signature by all nations, condemning war and renouncing it as an instrument of national policy in favor of the pacific settlement of international disputes. If the Government of France is willing to join with the Government of the United States in this endeavor, and to enter with the United States and the other principal powers of the world into an appropriate multilateral treaty, I shall be happy to engage at once in conversations looking to the preparation of a draft treaty following the lines suggested by M. Briand for submission

by France and the United States jointly to the other nations of the world."

At the same time the Secretary of State transmitted to the French Government a draft of a proposed treaty of arbitration replacing the Arbitration Treaty of February 10, 1908, which expires on February 27, 1928. This proposed treaty of arbitration is, of course, entirely separate from the reply to M. Briand's proposal. Identical arbitration treaties are being submitted to other powers having arbitration treaties with the United States which expire shortly.

NOTE FROM THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, DATED JANUARY 5, 1928

"Mr. Secretary of State:

"By a letter of December 28th last Your Excellency was kind enough to make known the sentiments of the Government of the United States concerning the suggestion of a treaty proposed by the Government of the Republic in the month of June, 1927, with a view to the condemnation of war and the renunciation thereof as an instrument of national policy between France and the United States.

"According to Your Excellency, the two governments, instead of limiting themselves to a bilateral treaty, would contribute more fully to the peace of the world by uniting their efforts to obtain the adhesion of all the principal powers of the world to a declaration renouncing war as an instrument of their national policy.

"Such a declaration, if it were subscribed to by the principal powers, could not fail to be an impressive example to all the nations of the world and might very well lead them to subscribe in their turn to the same pact, thus bringing into effect, as among all the nations of the world, an arrangement which at first was only suggested as between France and the United States.

"The Government of the United States, therefore, would be disposed to join the Government of the Republic with a view to concluding a treaty between the principal powers of the world which, open to the signature of all nations, would condemn war, would contain a declaration to renounce it as an instrument of national policy, and would substitute therefor the pacific settlement of disputes between nations.

"Your Excellency added that if the Government of the Republic agrees thus to join

the Government of the United States and the other principal powers of the world in an appropriate multilateral treaty, Your Excellency would be happy to undertake immediately conversations leading to the elaboration of a draft inspired by the suggestions of M. Briand and destined to be proposed jointly by France and the United States to the other nations of the world.

"The Government of the Republic appreciated sincerely the favorable reception given by the Government of the United States to the proposal of M. Briand. It believes that the procedure suggested by Your Excellency and carried out in a manner agreeable to public opinion and to the popular sentiment of the different nations seems to be of such nature as to satisfy the views of the French Government. It would be advantageous immediately to sanction the general character of this procedure by affixing the signatures of France and the United States.

"I am authorized to inform you that the Government of the Republic is disposed to join with the Government of the United States in proposing, for agreement by all nations, a treaty to be signed at the present time by France and the United States, and under the terms of which the high contracting parties shall renounce all war of aggression and shall declare that for the settlement of differences of whatever nature which may arise between them they will employ all pacific means. The high contracting parties will engage to bring this treaty to the attention of all States and invite them to adhere.

"The Government of the Republic is convinced that the principles thus proclaimed cannot but be received with gratitude by the entire world, and it does not doubt that the efforts of the two governments to insure universal adoption will be crowned with full success.

"Accept, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my high consideration, etc.

"PAUL CLAUDEL"

UNITED STATES' REPLY OF JANUARY 11

On the 11th of January the Secretary of State sent the following note to the French Ambassador:

"Excellency:

"In the reply which your government was good enough to make to my note of December

28, 1927, His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs summarized briefly the proposal presented by the Government of the United States, and stated that it appeared to be of such a nature as to satisfy the views of the French Government. In these circumstances he added that the Government of the Republic was disposed to join with the Government of the United States in proposing for acceptance by all nations a treaty to be signed at the present time by France and the United States, under the terms of which the high contracting parties should renounce all wars of aggression and should declare that they would employ all peaceful means for the settlement of any differences that might arise between them.

"The Government of the United States is deeply gratified that the Government of France has seen its way clear to accept in principle its proposal that, instead of the bilateral pact originally suggested by M. Briand, there be negotiated among the principal powers of the world an equivalent multilateral treaty open to signature by all nations. There can be no doubt that such a multilateral treaty would be a far more effective instrument for the promotion of pacific relations than a mere agreement between France and the United States alone, and if the present efforts of the two governments achieve ultimate success, they will have made a memorable contribution to the cause of world peace.

"While the Government of France and the Government of the United States are now closely in accord so far as the multilateral feature of the proposed treaty is concerned, the language of M. Briand's note of January 5, 1928, is in two respects open to an interpretation not in harmony with the idea which the Government of the United States had in mind when it submitted to you the proposition outlined in my note of December 28, 1927. In the first place, it appears to be the thought of your government that the proposed multilateral treaty be signed in the first instance by France and the United States alone, and then submitted to the other powers for their acceptance. In the opinion of the Government of the United States this procedure is open to the objection that a treaty, even though acceptable to France and the United States, might for some reason be unacceptable to one of the other great powers. In such event the treaty could not come into

force and the present efforts of France and the United States would be rendered abortive. This unhappy result would not necessarily follow a disagreement as to terminology arising prior to the definitive approval by any government of a proposed form of treaty, since it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that the views of the governments concerned could be accommodated through informal preliminary discussions and a text devised which would be acceptable to them all. Both France and the United States are too deeply interested in the success of their endeavors for the advancement of peace to be willing to jeopardize the ultimate accomplishment of their purpose by incurring unnecessary risk of disagreement with the other powers concerned, and I have no doubt that your government will be entirely agreeable to joining with the Government of the United States and the governments of the other powers concerned for the purpose of reaching a preliminary agreement as to the language to be used in the proposed treaty, thus obviating all danger of confronting the other powers with a definitive treaty unacceptable to them. As indicated below, the Government of the United States would be pleased if the Government of France would agree that the draft treaty submitted by M. Briand last June should be made the basis of such preliminary discussions.

"In the second place, and this point is closely related to what goes before, M. Briand's reply of January 5, 1928, in expressing the willingness of the Government of France to join with the Government of the United States in proposing a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war, apparently contemplates that the scope of such treaty should be limited to wars of aggression. The form of treaty which your government submitted to me last June, which was the subject of my note of December 28, 1927, contained no such qualification or limitation. On the contrary, it provided unequivocally for the renunciation by the high contracting parties of all war as an instrument of national policy in the following terms:

"ARTICLE 1

"The high contracting powers solemnly declare, in the name of the French people and the people of the United States of America, that they condemn recourse to war and renounce it respectively as an instrument of their national policy towards each other.

"ARTICLE 2

"The settlement or the solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise between France and the United States of America shall never be sought by either side except by pacific means."

"I am not informed of the reasons which have led your government to suggest this modification of its original proposal, but I earnestly hope that it is of no particular significance, and that it is not to be taken as an indication that the Government of France will find itself unable to join with the Government of the United States in proposing, as suggested above, that the original formula submitted by M. Briand, which envisaged the unqualified renunciation of all war as an instrument of national policy, be made the subject of preliminary discussions with the other great powers for the purpose of reaching a tentative agreement as to the language to be used in the proposed treaty.

"If your government is agreeable to the plan outlined above and is willing that further discussions of the terms of the proposed multilateral treaty be based upon the original proposal submitted to me by M. Briand last June, I have the honor to suggest that the Government of France join with the Government of the United States in a communication to the British, German, Italian, and Japanese governments, transmitting the text of M. Briand's original proposal and copies of the subsequent correspondence between the governments of France and the United States for their consideration and comment, it being understood, of course, that these preliminary discussions would in no way commit any of the participating governments pending the conclusion of a definitive treaty.

"Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"FRANK B. KELLOGG."

M. BRIAND'S NOTE

Following is the text of the latest note sent to Secretary Kellogg by Foreign Minister Briand, according to the *New York Times* of January 22:

Your Excellency was pleased to communicate to me by letter on the 11th instant, observations which were suggested by my

letter of January 5, replying to your communication of December 28, 1927. My government has asked me to express its satisfaction, seeing that, thanks to Your Excellency, our government's views draw more closely together concerning the best method to follow to realize the project based upon essential principles on which they appear in accord.

The original French proposal of June, 1927, envisaging a private act between France and the United States, appeared, in the opinion of the French Government, as desirable and realizable by reason of the historic relation between the two republics.

Agreeing only to place at the head of the Franco-American arbitration treaty in process of renewal, a declaration proposed by the French Government, the Government of the United States for its own motives, of which the French Government is willing to take account, it esteemed that it was advisable to extend this manifestation against war and make it the subject of a separate act, calling in other powers to participate.

The Government of the Republic did not refuse to see its original plan thus amplified, but did not dissimulate, and even decided to emphasize, that the new negotiations proposed would be more complex and of a nature to encounter divers difficulties.

The question of knowing whether the act thus envisaged as being multipartite would gain or not by being first signed by France and the United States or whether it should first be prepared between certain of the principal powers of the world and offered for signatures of all is essentially one of procedure.

The Government of the Republic only formulated its suggestion in the desire of arriving more quickly and surely at the result which it seeks, together with the United States—that is to say, it is disposed to adopt the method, whatever it may be, which may appear most practical.

There exists, however, a situation of fact upon which my government has asked me particularly to draw your attention.

It cannot have been overlooked by the United States that the great majority of world powers are making, for the organization and strengthening of peace, common efforts, which they are following out within the bounds of the League of Nations. They are already bound one to the other by a com-

pact creating for each other reciprocal obligations, both by accords such as those concluded at Locarno in October, 1925, and by international conventions relating to guarantees of neutrality, and all of them are engagements which impose upon them duties they cannot break.

THE PRESIDENT'S HAVANA ADDRESS

Before the Pan American Conference at Havana, Cuba, on the 16th day of January, 1928, in the forenoon, President Coolidge spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE:

No citizen of any of the Americas could come to the queen of the islands of the West Indies without experiencing an emotion of gratitude and reverence. These are the outposts of the new civilization of the Western Hemisphere. It was among them that the three small ships of the heroic Admiral came when, with the assistance and support of Spain, Columbus presented to Europe the first widespread, public, and authoritative knowledge of the New World. Other points may have been previously visited, but for these was reserved the final revelation. The Great Discoverer brought with him the seed of more republics, the promise of greater human freedom, than ever crossed the seas on any other voyage. With him sailed immortal declarations of independence and great charters of self-government. He laid out a course that led from despotism to democracy. Edward Everett Hale, a seer of New England, tells us that this gallant seaman, who rose above the storms to become the forerunner of an age of pioneers,

"Left blood and guilt and tyranny behind,
Sailing still West the hidden shore to find;
For all mankind that unstained scroll unfurled,
Where God might write anew the story of
the World."

In the spirit of Christopher Columbus all of the Americas have an eternal bond of unity, a common heritage bequeathed to us alone. Unless we together redeem the promise which his voyage held for humanity, it must remain forever void. This is the destiny which Pan America has been chosen to fulfill.

As we look back over the accomplishments of the past four centuries, we can see that we are warranted in asserting that the Western Hemisphere has not failed in the service that it seemed destined to render to humanity. Progress does not go forward in a straight line. It is a succession of waves. We cannot always ride on their crest, but among our republics the main tide of human advancement has been steadily rising. The people have taken charge of their own affairs. In spite of some temporary discouragements, they have on the whole been successful. The fertility of a virgin soil, a wealth of mineral deposits, an abundance of water power, a multitude of navigable rivers, all at the command of a resourceful people, have produced a material prosperity greater in amount and more widely distributed than ever before fell to the lot of the human race. The arts and sciences have flourished, the advantages of education are widespread, devotion to religion is marked by its sincerity. The spirit of liberty is universal. An attitude of peace and good will prevails among our nations. A determination to adjust differences among ourselves, not by a resort to force, but by the application of the principles of justice and equity, is one of our strongest characteristics. The sovereignty of small nations is respected. It is for the purpose of giving stronger guaranties to these principles, of increasing the amount and extending the breadth of these blessings, that this conference has been assembled.

The very place where we are meeting is a complete demonstration of the progress we are making. Thirty years ago Cuba ranked as a foreign possession, torn by revolution and devastated by hostile forces. Such government as existed rested on military force. Today Cuba is her own sovereign. Her people are independent, free, prosperous, peaceful, and enjoying the advantages of self-government. The last important area has taken her place among the republics of the New World. Our fair hostess has raised herself to a high and honorable position among the nations of the earth. The intellectual qualities of the Cuban people have won for them a permanent place in science, art, and literature, and their production of staple commodities has made them an important factor in the economic structure of the world. They have reached a position in the stability of their government, in the genuine expression

of their public opinion at the ballot box, and in the recognized soundness of their public credit that has commanded universal respect and admiration. What Cuba has done others have done and are doing.

It is a heavy responsibility which rests upon the people and the governments represented at this conference. Unto them has been given a new land, free from the traditional jealousies and hatreds of the Old World, where the people might come into the fullest state of development. It is among the republics of this hemisphere that the principle of human rights has had its broadest application; where political freedom and equality and economic opportunity have made their greatest advance. Our most sacred trust has been, and is, the establishment and expansion of the spirit of democracy. No doubt we shall make some false starts and experience some disappointing reactions; but we have put our confidence in the ultimate wisdom of the people. We believe we can rely on their intelligence, their honesty, and their character. We are thoroughly committed to the principle that they are better fitted to govern themselves than anyone else is to govern them. We do not claim immediate perfection, but we do expect continual progress. Our history reveals that in such expectation we have not been disappointed. It is better for the people to make their own mistakes than to have some one else make their mistakes for them.

Next to our attachment to the principle of self-government has been our attachment to the policy of peace. When the republics of the Western Hemisphere gained their independence, they were compelled to fight for it. They have always been a brave, resolute, and determined people, willing to make any sacrifices to defend what they believed to be their rights. But, when once their rights have been secured, they have been almost equally solicitous to respect the rights of others. Their chief efforts have been devoted to the arts of peace. They have never come under the delusion of military grandeur. Nowhere among these republics have great military establishments ever been maintained for the purpose of overawing or subjugating other nations. We have all nourished a commendable sentiment of moderate preparation for national defense, believing that for a nation to be unreasonably neglectful of the military art, even if it did not invite and cause such aggression as to result either in war or in

abject humiliation, it must finally lead to a disastrous disintegration of the very moral fiber of the nation. But it is one thing to be prepared to defend our rights as a last extremity and quite another to rely on force where reason ought to prevail. The form of our governments guarantees us against the Old World dynastic wars. It is scarcely too much to say that the conflicts which have been waged by our republics for 150 years have been almost entirely for the purpose of securing independence and extending the domain of human freedom. When these have been accomplished, we have not failed to heed the admonition to beat our swords into plowshares.

We have kept the peace so largely among our republics because democracies are peace-loving. They are founded on the desire to promote the general welfare of the people, which is seldom accomplished by warfare. In addition to this we have adopted a spirit of accommodation, good will, confidence, and mutual helpfulness. We have been slow to anger and plenteous in mercy. When this attitude prevails it is not difficult to find practical means of adjusting differences. The statesmanship of the southern American republics has shown a peculiar skill and aptitude in this field. It began with mutual consultation. The first Pan American Congress assembled at Panama City about 100 years ago. The purpose of that gathering has never been forgotten and it may be said to have marked the beginning of a permanent institution. The republics south of the Rio Grande have produced a most impressive record of a resort to mediation, arbitration, and other peaceful methods of the adjustment and adjudication of their international differences. A study of their treaties will disclose some of the finest examples of mutual covenants for the limitation of armaments and the avoidance of hostile conflict. In the discovery of the true principles of international relations and in the practical ability of putting them into effect, they have demonstrated a moral power and strength of character for which the whole world should be profoundly grateful.

The Pan American Conferences meet for the purpose of maintaining and extending these important principles. It is impossible to conceive of a more inspiring motive which men could entertain in dealing with the affairs of this world. You have convened

to take counsel together for increasing the domestic welfare of the free people of our independent republics and promoting international peace. No other part of the world could provide constituencies which all have such a unity of purpose. The whole atmosphere of the conference is animated with the spirit of democracy and good will. This is the fundamental concept of your organization. All nations here represented stand on an exact footing of equality. The smallest and the weakest speaks here with the same authority as the largest and the most powerful. You come together under the present condition and the future expectation of profound peace. You are continuing to strike a new note in international gatherings by maintaining a forum in which not the selfish interests of a few, but the general welfare of all, will be considered.

If you are to approximate your past successes, it will be because you do not hesitate to meet facts squarely. We must consider not only our strength but our weaknesses. We must give thought not only to our excellence but to our defects. The attitude of the open mind must prevail. Most of all, you must be guided by patience, tolerance, and charity, judging your sister nations not only by their accomplishments, but also by their aspirations. A Divine Providence has made us a neighborhood of republics. It is impossible to suppose that it was for the purpose of making us hostile to each other, but from time to time to reveal to us the methods by which we might secure the advantages and blessings of enduring friendships.

Like the subjects which have occupied the attention of your predecessors, the topics contained in the agenda of the present conference call for co-operative international action. They belong to the class of inquiries that produce closer international relations, promoting the good of all in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. Your predecessors have shown great wisdom in directing their attention to the matters that unite and strengthen us in friendly collaboration—subjects that develop an inter-American unity of sentiment which alone can make our common endeavors fruitful.

The existence of this conference, held for the consideration of measures of purely American concern, involves no antagonism toward any other section of the world or any

other organization. It means that the independent republics of the Western Hemisphere, animated by the same ideals, enjoying the common blessings of freedom and peace, realize that there are many matters of mutual interest and importance which can best be investigated and resolved through the medium of such friendly contact and negotiation as is necessary for co-operative action. We realize that one of the most important services which we can render to humanity, the one for which we are peculiarly responsible, is to maintain the ideals of our Western World. That is our obligation. No one else can discharge it for us. If it is to be met, we must meet it ourselves. We must join together in assuring conditions under which our republics will have the freedom and the responsibility of working out their own destiny in their own way.

The proceedings of the successive Pan American conferences reveal a record of achievement which, without attempting the spectacular, constantly builds on the solid foundation of the immediately attainable. With each succeeding conference the agreements for the orderly settlement of such differences as may arise between the American republics have been extended and strengthened, thus making their relationship more certain and more secure. Each conference has contributed its share toward developing more intimate cultural ties among the nations of this hemisphere and establishing new currents of mutual understanding. Obstacles to closer economic relations have been removed, thus clearing the pathways of commercial intercourse.

Of scarcely less importance have been the many special conferences which from time to time have assembled for the purpose of dealing with the more technical questions in the relations between the republics of America. The meetings of the International Commission of Jurists, the Pan American Highway Conferences, the Child Welfare Conferences, the Sanitary Conferences, the Conference on Consular Procedure, the Scientific Congresses, the Financial Conferences, the Red Cross Conferences, and the highly important and significant Congress of Journalists have all served to strengthen that spirit of Pan American solidarity which, in the last analysis, represents one of the greatest achievements of our American civilization and one

which, in the future, is destined to play so important a part in the fulfillment of the high mission intrusted to the republics of this hemisphere.

It has been most gratifying to witness the increasing interchange of university professors and the constantly growing stream of student migration from one country to another. No other influence can be more potent and effective in promoting mutual comprehension of national aims and ideals. It is sincerely to be hoped that this cultural interchange will with each year assume larger proportions.

It is not desirable that we should attempt to be all alike. Progress is not secured through uniformity and similarity, but rather through multiplicity and diversity. We should all be intent on maintaining our own institutions and customs, preserving the purity of our own language and literature, fostering the ideals of our own culture and society. In a territory reaching from the north temperate zone through the tropics to the south pole, there is room enough for every worthy activity which is profitable and every ideal which is good. Our geographical location, as well as our political ideals, has endowed us with a self-contained unity and independence. Instead of considering our variations as an obstacle, we ought to realize that they are a contribution to harmonious political and economic relations.

In this great work of furthering inter-American understanding, a large responsibility rests upon the press of all countries. In our present stage of civilization, knowledge of foreign people is almost wholly supplied from that source. By misinterpreting facts, or by carelessness in presenting them in their true light, much damage can be done. While great progress has been made toward the publication of fuller information and unbiased views, a better exchange of news service would do much to promote mutual knowledge and understanding. What happens in this hemisphere is of more vital interest to all of us than what happens across any of the oceans.

An increase of information depends largely on an increase in the means of communication. During the entire nineteenth century intercourse between the American republics was exceedingly difficult, and this isolation proved a serious obstacle to closer understanding. The twentieth century, however,

and especially the last ten years, have witnessed astonishing changes in this respect. Transportation by water has become rapid, comfortable, and relatively inexpensive. Shipping facilities from the United States have been largely improved. Our government is greatly interested in increasing their efficiency. Railway lines have been extended, so that it will soon be possible to travel with practically no interruption from the northern border of the United States to the southern border of El Salvador, and in South America from Peru to Patagonia. During very recent years every government of this hemisphere has been giving special attention to the building of highways, partly with a view to establishing feeders to the railway lines, but also to provide great arteries of inter-American communication for motor transport. On the wall of my office hangs a map showing proposed highways connecting the principal points of our two continents.

I am asking the United States Congress to authorize sending engineering advisers, the same as we send military and naval advisers, when requested by other countries, to assist in road building. These gratifying changes are about to be supplemented by the establishment of aviation routes, primarily for the transportation of mails, which will afford to our republics a channel of interchange which will find its ultimate expression in closer cultural and commercial ties and in better mutual comprehension. Our Congress also has under consideration proposals for supporting such air routes. Citizens of the United States are considering installing them.

Private organizations of a civic, cultural, and educational character also have a great opportunity to help in the development of a closer understanding amongst the nations of America. The fine co-operation of the Red Cross Societies of the American continents is an outstanding instance of the field for service open to the civic and philanthropic organizations of this hemisphere.

In the domain of commercial relations, the last few years have witnessed an extraordinary strengthening of the economic ties binding together our republics. In both agricultural and industrial production the countries of America are now complementing one another to an unusual degree, resulting in an increasing exchange of commodities. Furthermore, recent years have witnessed a

most gratifying rise in the standards of living of the wage-earners throughout the Americas. They enjoy a greater productive and earning capacity, with a consequent increase in their purchasing power, which has been reflected in the growing volume of inter-American commerce, destined to become more and more important as it combines a scientific utilization of natural resources with an increasing economic power of the masses of the people. The greater a nation becomes in wealth and production, the more it has for the service of its neighbors, the larger its markets for the goods of others. The operation of natural forces, supplemented by the conscious purpose of the governments and peoples of the Americas, has increased their mutual interest in each other and strengthened the commercial ties among them.

In this work of inter-American co-operation, an important part has been played by the Pan American Union. It stands as the permanent organ of these conferences. This international organization has labored unceasingly to give effect to the treaties and resolutions adopted by the successive conferences. Its scope of usefulness is constantly being enlarged and its ability to serve the American republics is strengthened with each year that passes.

In the area of political relations the results have been no less gratifying and even more significant. It is almost impossible fully to appreciate the remarkable record achieved by the republics of America in the settlement of the differences that have arisen among them. Because of ill-defined boundaries of the sparsely settled political subdivisions of the old Spanish colonial empire the independent States of America carved out of it fell heir to a large number of territorial disputes, which in many cases were of an exceedingly delicate and difficult nature. It is a tribute to the spirit of good will and mutual accommodation which has dominated the relations among the nations of the Western World that most of these disputes have been settled by the orderly process of negotiation, mediation, and arbitration. The adjustment of international differences on the American continents has happily advanced to a stage at which but few questions remain unsolved. This extraordinary record of achievement places heavy responsibility upon the present gener-

ation to advance the great work that has been so auspiciously begun.

It is a high example that we have set for the world in resolving international differences without resort to force. If these conferences mean anything, they mean the bringing of all our people more definitely and more completely under the reign of law. After all, it is in that direction that we must look with the greatest assurance for human progress. We can make no advance in the realm of economics, we can do nothing for education, we can accomplish but little, even in the sphere of religion, until human affairs are brought within the orderly rule of law. The surest refuge of the weak and the oppressed is in the law. It is pre-eminently the shield of small nations. This is necessarily a long, laborious process, which must broaden out from precedent to precedent, from the general acceptance of principle to principle. New activities require new laws. The rules for the governing of aviation are only beginning to be considered. We shall make more progress in the end if we proceed with deliberation. No doubt you will find in your discussions many principles that you are ready to announce as sound and settled rules of action. But there are certain to be other questions concerning which it is not possible at the present time to lay down a specific rule of law. This need not discourage anyone. It is rather the most conclusive evidence that the results which have been secured are not of a temporary and ill-considered nature, but a mature statement of sound and conclusive principles.

The founders of our republic sought no peculiar preferment for themselves. That same disinterested spirit which has animated the conduct of our past conferences has given the American family of nations a high place in the opinion of the world. Our republics seek no special privileges for themselves, nor are they moved by any of those purposes of domination and restraints upon liberty of action which in other times and places have been fatal to peace and progress. In the international system which you represent the rights of each nation carry with them corresponding obligations, defined by laws which we recognize as binding upon all of us. It is through the careful observance of those laws which define our rights and impose our duties that international co-operation is possible. This lays on us all a

continental responsibility which none of us wish to avoid and the fulfillment of which is one of the most important guaranties of international friendship.

While the law is necessary for the proper guidance of human action, and will always remain the source of freedom and liberty and the ultimate guaranty of all our rights, there is another element in our experience which must always be taken into consideration. We read that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Oftentimes in our international relationship we shall have to look to the spirit rather than to the letter of the law. We shall have to realize that the highest law is consideration, co-operation, friendship, and charity. Without the application of these there can be no peace and no progress, no liberty and no republic. These are the attributes that raise human relationships out of the realm of the mechanical, above the realm of animal existence, into the loftier sphere that borders on the Divine. If we are to experience a new era in our affairs, it will be because the world recognizes and lives in accordance with this spirit. Its most complete expression is the Golden Rule.

The light which Columbus followed has not failed. The courage that carried him on still lives. They are the heritage of the people of Bolivar and of Washington. We must lay our voyage of exploration toward complete understanding and friendship. Having taken that course, we must not be turned aside by the fears of the timid, the counsels of the ignorant, or the designs of the malevolent. With law and charity as our guides, with that ancient faith which is only strengthened when it requires sacrifices, we shall anchor at last in the harbor of justice and truth. The same Pilot which stood by the side of the Great Discoverer, and the same Wisdom which instructed the founding fathers of our republics will continue to abide with us.

PRESIDENT MACHADO'S SPEECH

The text of President Machado's speech, made in welcoming President Coolidge and the Pan-American delegates January 16, follows:

Intense is our joy and complete our faith in the future destinies of our hemisphere

when, gazing over this hall, adding brilliancy to this transcendental occasion, we behold the illustrious person of His Excellency Calvin Coolidge, Chief Executive of the greatest of all democracies, head of the great people whom Cuba had the honor of seeing at her side in her bloody struggle for independence, which she enjoys without limitation, as stated in the joint resolution of April 20, 1898, honorably applied and inspired by the same ideals set forth in the ever-famous Declaration of Independence of North America, liberty's greatest monument and the gospel of the rights of men and countries; and the select group of distinguished persons who constitute the delegations of the nations of America, which, throughout a century, have contributed with intense activity to the welfare of the world and to the great progress of its latest historical period.

I offer to all of you the effusive greetings of the people of Cuba, whom I have the honor of representing on this solemn occasion; to your peoples I express fervent wishes for their prosperity and greatness, and to the chiefs of State the prophecy that, as a product of this new gathering of all Americans, we may complete, during their incumbencies, that which constitutes our common aspiration, the rule of peace and justice.

The representatives of the American republics gather once more with the practical purpose of the consolidation of a mutual, beneficial and positive brotherhood, both in spirit and in interest. The International American Conference, initiated at Washington thirty-nine years ago, and continued at Mexico, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Santiago, Chile, again meets to toil for the welfare and glory of this hemisphere, root of a new humanity and crucible of a new civilization.

Voices Pride in Gathering

Cuba is proud of your presence in her capital for the celebration of such an extraordinary event. Regarding myself, I have never before felt as much pleasure as I do in these solemn moments in which I behold my country as the scene of an assembly that, animated by the most serene conciliatory spirit, directs its efforts toward the approximation, development, and strengthening of the spiritual and material bonds between States that have been destined for fraternal love by geography and history.

Pan-Americanism is a constructive work that does not imply antagonisms, but, on the contrary, co-operates for universal peace, for a better understanding among all peoples, toward the spiritual and moral unity of the nations of the world. It is something that, if in any manner it wishes to signify itself, it is in the desire of being placed at the front, bearing in mind that in international life greatness should not be judged by standards inspired by admiration for brute force, but by the efforts of each nation within the scope of its civilization.

Pan-Americanism is not merely the result of civilization, treaties, or noble institutions; it is also, and primarily, public spirit, the will of the people and collective ideals.

This public spirit, this will and these ideals, must be molded upon the progress made in individual fields, with due regard for the fact that a victim deserves respect and an aggressor condemnation; it must be molded upon regard and affection, the country that in constant labor carries its valuable contribution toward collective well-being; and upon admiration, the State that places at the service of the common cause of progress its daily efforts, civil activity, hopes and aspirations. The great principle of co-operation must substitute the idea of separation of interests. Pan-Americanism is the synthesis of all principles of good that rise from the lives of the individuals to that of the State.

Sees Union and Freedom

It is not my purpose to suggest rules of conduct to such an illustrious assembly, but, if I am permitted to express the sentiments of my people, I will say to you that Cuba, one of the last republics to join this family of nations, aspires, with the faith of a novice, to see this hemisphere as the exponent of the most sincere cordiality, of the firmest union; to see the nations here represented, although politically separated, united in the common name of America, some refusing to allow their control by unjustified prejudices that may reveal impotence, and others any demonstration that might result in an involuntary threat.

I will say that we Cubans can feel the magnificent effect of our common traditions and see with clear vision the great enterprise that the future expects from our countries

and our men, while maintaining our love for the countries of our respective births and paying them due homage, for which no sacrifice is excessive, no matter how great it may be.

The constitution of the Pan American Union upon a judicial foundation; the codification of the generally accepted principles of international law; the consideration of the results of the technical conferences held with specific aims; of communications, customs, sanitation, etc., and the promotion of more profitable economic relations, constitute a beautiful program that may meet the aspirations of our peoples.

The work outlined will not be difficult if we direct our thoughts toward good, with the determination of being useful to humanity and to ourselves.

No person nor anything can now oppose the tide that impels the destinies of the Western Hemisphere toward its definite brotherhood under the shelter of the judicial standards that are indispensable for the maintenance of peace. If we reach that end in the Sixth International American Conference, and a similar aim prevails in the minds and souls of all here present, this alone will be sufficient to mark the meeting of your assembly at Havana as a brilliant milestone in the annals of modern international life.

Peace and Justice the Aim

All of you feel the desire to find basic formulas that will harmonize the common interests of all Americans: peace through the absolute preponderance of justice, without which happiness is not possible, neither among individuals nor among nations; justice secured upon adequate resolutions freely accepted by all nations, without discrimination.

But I have not come here to state axioms already accepted by all. It is sufficient for me to affirm that this nation has directed and directs all her energies toward the fruitful labors of peace, order, liberty, and progress, upon which her glory rests; and if success has crowned her efforts, it is due to that spirit of admiration that she had at birth for all lands of America and for those nations that preceded her in the conquest of independence, which constitutes the supreme good of all countries. A free nation, she

today offers you her hospitality and in her name I say to you that in her bosom you will find the warmth of the hearth, the shelter of the ally, and the love of the fellow-citizen.

Delegates, receive my welcome, my prophecy of success, and my encouragement for victory.

News in Brief

THE GRAND COUNCIL OF THE FASCISTI, at Mussolini's behest, have ruled that suffrage shall not be universal in Italy. Only those whom Fascists judge to be active contributors to the welfare of the nation shall vote. Deputies are to be reduced from 560 to 400 in number. The new system is a sort of oligarchy, with the Grand Council holding all the power. Mussolini himself nominates the Grand Council. It is backed by secret police, press censorship, and denial of free speech and assembly.

JAPAN'S 60 MILLION PEOPLE subsist on only a quarter of an acre of crops per person. Intensive agriculture and efficient utilization of land make this remarkable fact possible.

COMMISSIONS FROM URUGUAY AND BOLIVIA have been meeting in Buenos Aires to settle a boundary dispute. Argentina offered her good offices, but did not preside. Later she offered her services as arbitrator.

NEW ZEALAND MAORI are many of them prominent in the political and cultural life of the country. A member of the race has been acting Prime Minister lately. Others are in Parliament and eminent in science and education.

COLOMBIA AND NICARAGUA some weeks ago appointed commissioners to formulate a plan for the settlement of an old dispute over the possession of islands of the St. Andrews archipelago, in the Caribbean.

THE TACNA-ARICA BOUNDARY COMMISSION resumed its deliberations November 29th.

AIRPLANE SERVICE FOR PASSENGERS AND MAIL, to ply between the Canal Zone and Colombian ports, has been inaugurated by a Colombian company.

AIR PASSENGERS BETWEEN KEY WEST AND HAVANA were carried for the first time, on the mail planes, November 15. Regular passenger service opened on January 1.

THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, on the first day of the new session, November 2, voted, by a majority of 43, to liberate from prison during the time Parliament is sitting, four Communist deputies. The four were imprisoned during the summer for anti-militarist propaganda.

THE ABYSSINIAN GOVERNMENT has negotiated a contract with a firm of American engineers for the construction of a dam across the Blue Nile near Lake Tsana. The irrigation of tremendous desert tracts is the purpose of the dam. The expected substantial profits from the sale of water which will accrue to the Abyssinian Government will enable the reigning regent to embark on a scheme of education, health, and sanitation for the betterment of the country.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM met in a congress at The Hague November 9-12. Jurists from various European countries attended the meetings for the discussion of a draft code containing legal measures against Communism. The Burgomaster of The Hague attended the opening session. The press was excluded from the conference.

TWO NATIVE AFRICAN WOMEN, teachers from South Africa, have come to the United States to study educational systems here. They hope to take home new ideas for the advancement in education of African women. They have come to the conclusion that that country cannot go forward while at least half of the population remains ignorant and untrained.

REQUESTS FOR DOUGLAS FIR SEEDS have come from Australia, New Zealand, Germany, France and Czechoslovakia for forest planting. This fir is the principal timber crop of the Pacific coast, and some 3,000 bushels of cones have been secured by the forestry department of the Long-Bell Lumber Co., from which seeds will be extracted and shipped abroad.

LEON TROTZKY LEFT MOSCOW JANUARY 16 to begin a sentence of banishment in Vierny, Russian Turkestan. Other leaders of the opposition Communists have been either ban-

ished or given party posts in remote spots of Russia.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS APPOINTED M. TROYANOVSKY, an expert on foreign trade, ambassador to Japan to succeed M. Dovgalevsky, lately transferred to Paris.

THE THIRD CONFERENCE on the Cause and Cure of War, held in Washington January 15-19, adopted a resolution approving of Secretary Kellogg's proposal for a "multilateral treaty with France, Great Britain, Japan, Germany, and Italy and other like-minded nations for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy."

ESPERANTO IS TO BE THE ONLY LANGUAGE used at the next conference of the "New Education," which will be held in Denmark in 1929. The same arrangement is announced for the Fellowship of Reconciliation Conference, to be held at The Hague next summer.

THE GERMAN REICHSTAG HAS RATIFIED within a month the international convention relative to health insurance of workmen and employees in trade and commerce; also of agricultural workers.

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALKANS, considered in terms of economics, are said, by a correspondent of the *New York Times*, to have completed the most successful year since the war. Unemployment has decreased an average of 20 per cent, and all countries except Rumania have improved in this respect. Commerce is improving, especially in Czechoslovakia, and slightly even in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION passed resolutions in its conference in Washington in January stating, "Genuine and intelligent patriotism, no less than the requirements of honesty and sound scholarship, demand that text-book writers and teachers should strive to present a truthful picture of the past and present, with due regard to the different purposes and possibilities of elementary, secondary, and advanced instruction."

A BOUNDARY DISPUTE OF LONG DURATION has recently been settled between South Ameri-

can republics through the good offices of the United States. The boundary line between Peru and Columbia was in dispute, and, though settled by treaty in 1922, the terms were protested by Brazil. The matter has now been finally and satisfactorily settled.

A NEW PASSENGER LINER SERVICE under the American flag is announced soon to be inaugurated. Four-day steamers are promised, which leave each side of the Atlantic every other day.

THE PROPOSED HIGHWAY FROM CANADA TO CHILE was lauded at the American Road-builders Association in Cleveland in January as one of the most promising steps toward international amity.

CANADA'S SUCCESS IN ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS at Washington has decided the Dominion Government to appoint a minister plenipotentiary to France, it is officially announced. Phillip Roy, the present high commissioner at Paris, will be appointed to the post, while the French Government will make Baron Vitrolles, Consul General for France, the first Minister to Canada.

AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE, to work with the committee of experts on the codification of international law set up two years ago by the League of Nations, met at the Harvard Law School recently.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT last spring ordered all of the 2,879 remaining Russian refugees to evacuate Constantinople, unless they obtain citizenship by February 6, 1928. Only a few technicians have been able to obtain citizenship, and since over five hundred of the Russians there are young or infirm the problem of removing them is difficult. The Turkish Government will extend the time if one-half of the number is transported on the specified date. The High Commission of the League with the Labor Office plan to send one-half the number to be settled in South America; the others to islands in the Mediterranean. At least \$100,000 of the \$230,000 needed for this work is to be raised in America.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN are the first countries to respond to the request of the League of Nations that the nations draft model treaties of conciliation and arbitration.

THE CHINA INSTITUTE IN AMERICA has recently published a bulletin listing 568 theses and dissertations written by Chinese students in the United States since 1902. Of these essays 152 deal with China and her problems. The statistics come from 32 colleges and universities, and, while not complete, the list is an interesting record of much of the work of Chinese youth in this country.

THE PRESENT ARBITRATION TREATY of the United States with France expires in February, 1928; that with Great Britain in June, 1928.

SIX AFGHAN YOUTHS OF GOOD FAMILY, who are later to become officers in the police force which King Amanulla is building up, went to England the latter part of December. After learning English in private families, they are to study the British provincial and metropolitan police service. Others will be sent later. The king hopes by this means to pacify Afghanistan, so that all races may travel there in safety, railroads may safely be built and operated, and his country may enter the family of nations.

IT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED by the President of Yenching University, which is in Peking, China, that an institute of Chinese studies will be established in both Yenching and Harvard universities, where advanced students of Orient and Occident may carry on research after crossing the seas.

A CONFERENCE OF YUGOSLAVIA, Poland, Rumania, perhaps Hungary and Bulgaria, is probable in the near future, to study the best method of maintaining international commerce in the Greek port of Saloniki.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE has announced a renewal of its campaign for funds with which to foster cultural understanding between North and South America. Among its objects is the interchange of specialists and lectures and the dissemination of the best literature in both Spanish and English.

THE POLISH GOVERNMENT is said to have sent a special courier to Lithuania to suggest resumption of negotiations. As topics for the initial discussions, the note suggests the regulation of communication between the two countries along the border and the resumption of postal, telegraphic, and railway communications.

PLANS FOR A BUILDING FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS have been approved by the committee of judges. The building, the plan for which was submitted by a Frenchman, is severely classical in design.

THE COST OF THE WORLD WAR to the United States is estimated by Secretary Mellon to be \$35,119,622,144.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR: A CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY FOR WORLD PEACE. By *Charles Clayton Morrison*. Pp. 319. Willett, Clark & Colby, Chicago, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

Here is a book which is welcome to the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. It speaks a clear, courageous word, and one of hope, to an America of bitter disillusionment. The rank and file in this country accepted our part in the World War only as a necessity, because we had ideals of righteousness—indeed, because we hoped we might advance the peace of justice. Results have not proven satisfying.

The many developments in Europe during and since the peace conference at Paris, the revelations of secret documents and treaties, the violent opposition of interests, the side-stepping by governments of real issues—all contribute to the havoc of soul which is bound to accompany any sudden and profound disillusionment.

Here is a book, however, which in its main propositions is thoroughly constructive. Indeed, its line of argument is buttressed throughout with interpretations of events which are as true as they are frequently misunderstood. It is clear thinking of this

sort which will, if anything can, put war out of commission as a human institution.

Dr. Morrison speaks as an American, believing in his country's institutions; he gives full credit to America's historic achievement in abolishing war between sovereign States; he thinks that America was quite sound in deciding to "have no part in the structural commitments with which the League is bound"; he scouts the idea of "enforcing" peace or of any military sanctions for international treaties. He treats all these themes with logical incisiveness.

Disarmament he places in its place, as a result of and not a prelude to security, as secured by the abolition of war. He aims surely and consistently, as the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has for one hundred years striven to do, at War as an institution.

It is of interest, also, to note that the author sees that the Geneva Protocol of 1924 rested solidly on military force, as do the Locarno Treaties. Therefore he smiles at the "Europeanized" mentality of Professor Shotwell, who names his own draft treaty, which entirely omits the military guarantee, as "An American Locarno." The sentiment of former attachment to a European background, he says, "must express itself somehow, if only in the choice of a nickname."

The "Afterword," by John Dewey, does not, in the reviewer's opinion, strengthen the book. The word internationalism, which he uses pretty freely, is full of dynamite unless defined so that it allows for the survival of nations. The possible idea of a superstate is a shadow which it seems unnecessary to cast upon Dr. Morrison's very sane and pragmatic book.

THE REVOLT OF ASIA. By *Upton Close*. Pp.

325. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1927.

As an explorer, journalist, or secret service man, Josef Washington Hall, whose pen name is Upton Close, spent ten adventurous years in the Orient. He claims to be a reporter rather than a prophet. For this task his thorough inside knowledge of tendencies in China, India, and Japan are invaluable. But after he has translated into western language the recent thought of the East it requires no prophet to convince us that we have come to the end of the white man's dominance in Asia.

"We have come," says Mr. Hall, "to the beginning of the white and colored man's joint

world, when each shall have control in his own house and a proportionate say in the general convocation of humanity."

He quotes Philip Guedalla on China, that ancient race which exasperates England "because the inhabitants of China are Chinese—a singular fact which has so often baffled European statesmanship."

There are interesting outlines of the different ways in which Chinese, Japanese, and Indians react to the western education which has been so largely given to their youth; but all point to the necessary recognition of the differences between East and West. And the West needs certain qualities which are native to the East. Hence co-operation must replace the "white push."

One of the most revealing chapters is that on Russia in the revolt. Of even more importance in understanding the East is the discussion with Ghandi at his spinning wheel.

The book is well printed, unburdened with notes, rapid to read, and should be of use in popular education toward a spirit of tolerance as opposed to force.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. By *Charles E. Martin, Ph. D.* Pp. 426 and index. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1927. Price, \$3.

"Ours is a government of laws, but a government by men," says Professor Martin in the preface to this book. The Constitution—that is to say, is a framework or skeleton giving form and substance to the living organism it supports; but without human personalities the Constitution is lifeless.

Dr. Martin does not close his eyes to the defects in our government, nor in the Constitution which systematizes it. Yet the Constitution is so excellent; it seems to be the best thing so far devised for its purpose, that he wishes to meet recent criticism with a reasoned study of it. Criticism is only helpful if it is informed and constructive. Hence this careful analysis of the growth of the constitutional system of government and of the ideals, national and international, upon which it is based. Then the development of these ideals, especially in the Constitution of the United States.

The work is carried out logically and thoroughly, though in fairly brief manner. Many illustrations are, naturally, merely summarized. Controversial questions, particularly,

are analyzed in an unblinded way. Discussions and decisions as to the proposed Child Labor Amendment, the Prohibition Amendment, and other constitutional questions are outlined as briefly and clearly as possible.

The appendix, however, is of more than passing importance. It contains more valuable documents relative to our constitutional history than are to be found in other books of this kind. The Constitution itself precedes the body of the book. The appendix has, however, besides the usual Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, Mayflower Compact, the Virginia Bill of Rights, the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, and the Virginia Plan for the Constitution; also the New Jersey Plan, Pinckney's and Hamilton's. There are, too, half a dozen selections from the *Federalist* and brief biographical notes on persons prominent in our constitutional and judicial history. Finally, there are lists of acts of Congress which have been declared unconstitutional, and declarations of persons and parties regarding the Constitution and the Supreme Court during the presidential campaign of 1924.

THE SOUTH AFRICANS. By *Sarah Gertrude Millin*. Pp. 287. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

"The past is the present. But the present is the future." Thus Mrs. Millin, the novelist, speaks in her essay on the Kaffir. But it might easily be taken for the motive of this whole book of essays. In order to guess of the future of South Africa, one must read, as one does here, of its past and hear an estimate of its present.

Mrs. Millin does all this for us with thorough understanding and courageous honesty. Whites and blacks, Dutch and English, are impartially delineated. Moreover, the whole manner of telling is delightful. Seeing with imagination, she writes with facile touch, yet with authority. One's attention is often arrested, too, by a whimsical turn of phrase or a flash of Attic wit. Yet she leaves no uncertainty as to the great problem of South Africa, which is the terms of future adjustment between the negroes and the whites. The problem is similar to, but not identical with, our own negro problem in the United States.

The book is as absorbing as a novel and deeply informing. There is no prophecy except as a clear stating of a problem helps in

its solution. And that racial problem must be understood, not only by South Africans, but somewhat by the rest of the world, if it is to be harmoniously solved.

THE CASE OF THE GERMAN SOUTH TYROL AGAINST ITALY. By *C. H. Herford*. Pp. 96. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1927.

The documents here translated and edited were originally published by a committee of citizens of the South Tyrol. The editor is an English professor and reviewer of note, who has published many books of his own, especially on Shakespeare, and also on the great poets of Germany and Italy.

This book shows, by documents and notes, how the population of the South Tyrol protested from the first against consolidation with Italy without a plebiscite. It shows the many restrictions which Fascist Italy has imposed on the German-speaking people of this region. These laws are summarized in chapter xxii. They include laws regulating and changing to Italian the names of places and families which have always heretofore been German. As though to add insult to injury, the translation from German to Italian has often been quite absurd and erroneous. There are laws limiting the rights of property, changing public inscriptions, prohibiting pictures of national heroes, and, worse than all, the suppression of the native-language press, the German language in schools and the prohibition of all private instruction in any language.

Since German-speaking people have inhabited this region for about thirteen hundred years, according to Professor Herford, and are the bulk of the population, these regulations create intolerable hardships. He suggests, as a possible compromise and a bit of far-seeing statesmanship, the creation of a university, perhaps at Bozen, as a mediating center, with chairs of both German and Italian cultures. Methods of cooperation instead of oppression would, he thinks, bridge over this difficult period of adjustment.

OCCUPIED HAITI. Edited by *Emily Greene Balch*. Pp. 180 and index. Writers' Publishing Co., New York, 1927.

This represents the results of a study of Haiti in relation to the American occupation. The committee was organized by the United States section of the Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom. The findings of this committee, given here, conclude in a series of recommendations along the general lines which one would expect from the personnel of the committee. Briefly stated, they advise an ultimate policy of leaving Haiti to her own people, with an interim policy of education, Haitian responsibility, and neutralization.

The chapters, written by the different members of the committee, are interesting and quite temperate. All admit that the time for study was too brief to be adequate and some of the topics too technical for final opinions. The investigators hope, however, for a further and official study to be inaugurated in Haiti. The book is at least informational and thus worth reading.

SILVER CITIES OF YUCATAN. By *Gregory Mason*. Pp. 340. Putnam, New York, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

The splendid early civilization attained by the Maya Indians of the first empire in Mexico has been fairly well guessed from its various ruins. Then came the conquests by that great emperor of the Toltecs, Quetzalcoatl. With an advanced philosophy of life and ideals of statehood, the conqueror was also great as a scientist, an architect, and a priest. He lived in the twelfth century. Before King John of Britain granted the Magna Charta to his barons, this Toltec emperor had established a beneficent system of local self-government among his conquered peoples. The era following him, up to the Spanish conquest, in the early sixteenth century, has not yet been fully read. There are many unexplained mysteries, and so far no Maya Rosetta Stone has been found to aid in deciphering the records. Furthermore, what monuments there are have been largely inaccessible, or even unknown, because of the jealousy of their present guardians, the modern Yucatan Indians.

This book tells of the Mason-Spinden Expedition, which visited Yucatan in 1926. Dr. Spinden is one of the leading authorities on Maya archeology. Perhaps for that reason Mr. Mason, no mean archeologist himself, keeps his account largely to the cruise itself and adventures of the men who went. He describes the discoveries, to be sure, but with a sort of holiday enthusiasm, as if leaving

the placing of things in their setting to another member of the expedition. It was a journey taken in strange conveyances, along a dangerous, practically uncharted coast. But what are charts to an intuitional captain, whose compass is incidentally discovered one day, hidden away in the engine-room?

The story is a gay one, spiced with thrills, a popular book that probably serves its purpose, because he who runs not only may read, but wishes to know more. And that may be the legitimate object of the book.

THE LAND OF MAGELLAN. By *W. S. Barclay, F. R. G. S.* Pp. 236, index, and maps. Brentano, New York, 1927.

The story of the archipelago stretching around Cape Horn has a meaning for several reasons. Not only is the history of navigation in its waters a long and thrilling one, but the region itself has strategic importance for the present day. Setting aside the comparative ease with which the straits could be blockaded, it is the nearest habitable land to that vast subcontinent newly discovered about the South Pole. It is, too, a spot of real importance in meteorological observations, affecting the forecast of crop conditions in South America, and an excellent vantage ground for charting the ocean bottom, ocean and air currents in the extreme south. Further than that, much of the land in the archipelago is entirely habitable, and with improved communications might easily be exploited. The inner Fuegian country, along its tortuous water channels and seas, is a land of rare beauty, which will one day be accessible to tourists. All this and much more one learns from this delightful and carefully documented book.

Beginning with the little squadron of Magellan, which started on its memorable voyage in 1519, the author follows the tale for the succeeding four centuries. Hardship, genius, success, disaster, heroism, and villainy, all have a place in the long story. Finally, the lands as they appear to the modern traveler close the narrative. The story has never been so fully and connectedly told in English before. It should be read as a pleasant preliminary to further understanding of the Antarctic ventures which are already under way.

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At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

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The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

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

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WHY OUR CONFERENCE IN CLEVELAND?

THE celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society in Cleveland, Ohio, May 7-11 next, will be a worthy tribute to a worthy labor carried on for one hundred years in the interests of a worthy cause. It is doubtful, however, if it would warrant the expense of time, money, and energy if the only purpose were to celebrate the record of a society.

There is a deeper reason. The threat of another world war hangs over us. Whether or not that war shall break depends upon the men and women engaged in the work of the world during this generation. An unofficial conference of world leaders, therefore, and that in the United States, ought to be of major importance.

That eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty is also the price of peace. Vigilant or not, men and women everywhere recognize the failures of men. And failures there are.

There is the failure of the Geneva Arms Conference of a few months ago. It appears that peoples everywhere wish to disarm, or at least materially to reduce their arms to mere police necessities; yet they can't find the way. Ten years after the war to end war, the world finds more men under arms than in 1914. Poisonous gases, flying forces, and submarines are being developed increasingly, and that

by the major powers of the world. Fears of a navy race, fears of every kind, are agitating well-nigh every nation, and that more than in the days before Sarajevo.

There is the failure of men successfully to counteract these fears. Argentina, Brazil, and Spain have withdrawn from the League of Nations. There is the will to have and to hold *versus* the will to regain territories. There are the millions of minorities sweating under yokes they dislike, with no apparent means of achieving justice for both sides to the dispute. Great powers have returned to the old methods of military alliances and to their ancient faith in the principle of the balance of power. France, beneficiary of the Treaty of Versailles, of Locarno, and of the League, has military alliances with nine other powers. This group finds itself in more or less hostile opposition to the Entente, composed of Italy, Albania, and Hungary, and possibly Bulgaria. Italy's desire for expansion, her will to revive past glories, her resentfulness of French dominance in the League, certain evidences of her designs on Nice and Savoy because of French dominance in Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, confuse and disturb. Men talk frankly of the possibilities of a war in the Adriatic, which, if it should happen, might easily lead Germany, Hungary, Austria, and Bulgaria to move for the return of their lost territories. Then, indeed, the world would sense its failures.

Enmities there are, also, aplenty:

France against Italy, Italy against Yugoslavia, Hungary against Rumania, Rumania against Russia, Russia against Poland, Poland against Lithuania, France against Germany. Dictatorships present their confusing issues. Poland, existing under a government set up by coup d'état in 1926, is said to have ninety-two political associations and thirty political parties. There were fourteen changes of Poland's cabinet between 1918 and 1926. There are dictatorships elsewhere and of a variety of kinds. The Mediterranean question, befogged by the processes of secret diplomacy which we know not of, creates the fear that Europe is developing into two armed camps, quite as before the war. Italy has intervened in Tangier quite as Germany did in Morocco. There are suspicions that powers employing the old methods of secret diplomacy are now planning to partition North Africa and North Arabia, with the possibility that Spain will exchange Morocco for Tangier, with the view of trading it later for Gibraltar, and that France shall turn Syria over to Italy and assume the control of all Morocco. It is possible that Britain is co-operating with these operations, with the view of holding the oil lands of Mosul and of having her own way in Egypt. If these things are in any sense true, with Germany, Russia, and Turkey outside, the two armed camps may have for their centers of operation, respectively, Morocco and London. Such a division would represent the climax of human failure. Surely the world needs to know more of these things.

Too, the enigmas of our time are unusually baffling. They need examination. What, for example, is the meaning of Russia, and her evident return to capitalist forms? What of China, in her

celestial throes of civil war? How far are chauvinists controlling affairs in Japan and elsewhere? How many of our international diseases are due to the lowered vitality of leaders incident to the drains of the World War? What is the meaning of the Polish corridor and kindred strange products of the Treaty of Versailles? Is it possible to adjust surplus populations to their unhappy environment? What has India, radiant with her sheen of mysticism, to offer? Who is to disentangle the conflicting national ambitions and programs? Again, it would appear, an outstanding need just now is study and conference, not to mention faith and prayer.

We poor peace workers need the best help of the best minds. Those of us with the Jehovah complex, even, can be brought to listen and to learn. Bootleg pacifists, with what is called their "grandiose garrulity," can be brought to realize that their goal of absolutes, if a thing to be striven for, can never be attained. Calm and dispassionate men and women, thoughtfully concerned to do something worthily, want to know more of the meaning of the word "security," which the world seems unable to achieve in terms of force. Is it true that there is to be another European war by 1935, when the Allied armies are due to evacuate the Rhineland? Is it true that the world is only technically at peace, and that at a time when statesmen and peoples everywhere are crying for peace? Is it true, as said, that there would be a general European war now if the nations had the cash?

There is need for counsel, discussion, study, and common conference. These are the advantages offered by the Conference on International Justice to be held in the city of Cleveland, May 7 to 11, 1928.

A SUCCESSFUL CONGRESS

THE Sixth Pan American Conference, held in Havana, Cuba, came to an end February 21. While it was impossible to produce unanimous agreement upon all questions, such as those relating to the tariff and intervention, it was able to produce real achievement, probably more than any of the series heretofore. As a result, for example, the Pan American Union may have upon its governing board men other than the diplomatic representatives accredited to Washington. The Pan American Union is now on a more permanent basis. There has been agreement upon a draft treaty on the rights and duties of neutrals in the event of war, upon a commercial aviation agreement, upon a treaty placing aliens abroad on the same footing as nationals, upon a treaty providing for international cooperation for the suppression and prevention of revolutions on each other's territories, upon the adoption of a Pan American Sanitary Code. Plans for an inter-American automobile highway, to extend from Canada to Patagonia, have been materially advanced.

While the United States could not on constitutional grounds agree to the code of private international law, nor wholly to the convention on maritime neutrality forbidding the arming of merchantmen for defense in time of war, progress in these respects is a fact.

The conference agreed upon the principle of arbitration for the settlement of inter-American disputes, except those pertaining to the sovereignty and independence of nations.

This resolution on compulsory arbitration means the calling of a conference within a year, which conference is to be held in Washington. At this conference minimum and maximum exceptions and

a Pan American convention for arbitration will be drafted. This is good American procedure, quite in line with the achievement of the two Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907.

The aviation convention, guaranteeing the commercial development of aviation in this hemisphere, was undoubtedly promoted by the visit of Col. Charles A. Lindbergh to Havana during the conference.

Another outstanding achievement, somewhat negative in its nature, was the refusal to turn the Pan American Union into a political body. If it were to come about that the Pan American Union should appear as a competitor with legislative and executive departments of the various governments, the Union would undoubtedly disintegrate and cease to be.

Readers of this journal will be particularly gratified at the achievements of the Committee on Public International Law. The treaties proposed stand a much better chance of ratification, because for the first time they represent all of the American republics and, further, because the treaties deal with problems regarding which there is substantial international agreement, both as to content and procedure.

The outstanding achievement of the conference was the endorsement of the doctrine of compulsory arbitration, due largely to the efforts of Raul Fernandez, president of the Brazilian delegation, supported by our own Mr. Hughes. The provisions of this proposal are so important we repeat them here:

"One. That the republics of America adopt obligatory arbitration as the means which they will employ for the pacific solution of their international differences of a juridical nature.

"Two. That the republics of America will meet in Washington within a period of one year, in a conference of conciliation and arbitration, to draw up a convention for the realization of this principle with

the minimum expectations which they consider indispensable to safeguard the independence and the sovereignty of States, as well as its exercise in matters within their domestic jurisdiction, and also excluding matters involving the interests or relating to the action of a State not a party to the convention.

"Three. That the governments of the American republics will send for this purpose plenipotentiaries with instructions regarding the maximum and the minimum which they would accept with regard to obligatory arbitral jurisdiction.

"Four. That the convention or conventions of conciliation and arbitration which they succeed in drawing up should leave open a protocol of progressive arbitration which will permit the development of this beneficent institution to the greatest possible extent.

"Five. That the convention or conventions which may be drawn up, upon signature should be submitted immediately to the respective governments for their ratification in the shortest possible time."

The open protocol will permit nations willing to go further than others in submitting their disputes to arbitration to do so. In this convention the representatives of the American republics have declared that they do not want war; that they do wish to advance the cause of arbitration without interfering with independence and sovereignty, without interfering with purely domestic matters, or with the interests of States not a party to the convention.

Furthermore, and far from least, the Western Hemisphere knows that the United States of America has no imperialistic designs against the sovereignty or the liberty of any other power.

REGRETTABLE

THE resignation of Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon as Argentine Ambassador to Washington and leader of his country's delegation to the Sixth Pan American Conference, announcement of which ap-

peared February 16, four days before the end of the conference, was not only a regrettable incident of the conference, but it is regretted by a wide circle of the ambassador's friends all over the United States. Dr. Pueyrredon ranked high in the diplomatic corps in Washington. He has been one of the most active members of the Pan American Union.

The reason for Dr. Pueyrredon's action was the refusal of the conference to accept an amendment to the preamble of the convention relating to the organization of the Pan American Union. The proposed amendment was as follows:

"Since economic co-operation is an essential factor in carrying out the foregoing purposes, the signatory States shall favor the suppression of unjust obstructions and excessive artificial barriers which may hinder natural commercial intercourse or restrain reasonable commercial liberty among the American nations, without, however, construing this to mean the granting of special privileges or the taking of measures of exclusion."

It is evident that Dr. Pueyrredon has not been satisfied with the operations of the Pan American Union. He has viewed that organization as an agency for the promotion of inter-American commerce, and that as such the interests of Argentina have not always been satisfactorily looked after.

It must be admitted that Dr. Pueyrredon has had some unhappy experience. When our farmers asked our Tariff Commission to increase the tariff rates on corn and flaxseed 50 per cent, and it was proposed that experts of our country should be sent to Argentina for the purpose of investigating the cost of production, Argentina did not receive the proposal with favor. Indeed, the Argentine Embassy gave the Tariff Commission to understand that such experts would not be received in its country. This leaves our Tariff

Commission to get along as best it can in the matter of fixing rates on Argentine corn and flaxseed. Again, our Department of Agriculture placed an embargo on all Argentine chilled meat, on the ground that Argentine cattle were largely infected with foot and mouth disease. Dr. Pueyrredon vigorously fought this embargo, and proved that the indictment of Argentine cattle was without justification. Upon his initiative we are now recognizing certificates of the Argentine Department of Agriculture as to the condition of meats shipped to this country. The embargo no longer exists. Furthermore, upon the theory that alfalfa seed imported from Argentina is unsuitable for sowing in any part of the United States, the Department of Agriculture issued a decree that no alfalfa seed could be imported from Argentina unless 10 per cent of it was first colored red. This meant practically a complete embargo. The argument for this embargo was that alfalfa seed grown in the milder climate of Argentina is unsuitable for sowing in the colder regions of the United States. The injustice of this embargo lay in the fact that the climate of the seed-growing region of Argentina was quite the same as that of the southern half of the United States. The department therefore changed its decree to require that the 10 per cent of the seed be colored orange-yellow, indicating its suitability for certain regions of the United States. Since, however, the necessity of coloring 10 per cent of the seed costs so much, even this new decree is practically an embargo. Another difficulty which the Ambassador has had to meet related to grapes. California grape-growers induced the Department of Agriculture to place an embargo on all shipments of Argentine grapes on the ground that Argentine vineyards were infected with the Mediterranean fly. The Argentine Department of Agriculture declared

the charges to be unjust and demanded that an entomologist make personal investigations on the grounds. In 1927, following an examination by one of its own experts, our Department of Agriculture lifted the embargo, agreeing to accept certificates of origin issued by the Argentine Department of Agriculture. These are some of the irritating experiences endured by Dr. Pueyrredon during his experience as Ambassador.

True, he has handled each of these situations with marked ability. It must be said that he has come out victor in most of the disputes. But it is easy to understand, in the light of his experience, why he is so sensitive about "unjust obstructions," "excessive artificial barriers," and "reasonable commercial liberty" in future relations between his country and ours.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how his resignation will help toward the establishment of that better "economic co-operation" which he craves.

Mr. Hughes' reply to Dr. Pueyrredon, while satisfactory to the other members of the subcommittee, was not satisfactory to the Ambassador. Everybody, including the Ambassador, seems to agree that the Pan American Union exists for the promotion of Pan American co-operation. The economic barriers to which Dr. Pueyrredon objected are, as Mr. Hughes pointed out, provisions established by the legislatures of States. No one can question the right of a nation to protect its people, to determine what goods shall enter a country, what duties shall be imposed, or what export taxes shall be levied. Every country has provisions relating to the import and export of products and raw materials. Mexico decides her own policies with reference to the production of oil and the taxation of exports; Chile does the same for her nitrates, and so on. These are legislative acts and not subject to change

by the Pan American Union. They may be debated and congresses may be petitioned, but all such acts are legislative in character and outside the activities of the Pan American Union. Countries enacting these laws do not consider them artificial or unjust.

Evidently the Pan American Union is not organized to handle such delicate matters. It is probably well that it isn't. In the language of Mr. Hughes:

"To introduce the Pan American Union into these most delicate of all subjects, relating to the exercise by independent and sovereign States of their will with respect to the articles coming in or leaving their boundaries, would be simply to invite the destruction of the Pan American Union by making it the center of controversies which it could not resolve and to put it in opposition to the parliaments and congresses of the various States.

"If any particular country has a question with another country as to particular goods, or duties, or taxes, the way to approach the subject, it would seem to me, would be through negotiations and through the presentation of facts which can reach the proper legislative authority. And such facts may be considered by each country as it determines its action as to its exports and imports.

"I think it was for these reasons—not for any special reasons relating to the United States, but for the reasons which would apply to other countries—that the members of the subcommittee, with the exception of the President of the Argentine delegation, felt that we should not attempt to introduce special economic problems in the preamble relating to the organization of the Pan American Union.

"It was to save the Pan American Union for the good it could do, and not to prevent it from accomplishing purposes which it could hold, that it was thought best not to introduce subjects with which it was incompetent to deal."

Dr. Pueyrredon has agreed that the Pan American Union should not be burdened with political functions. Tariffs are usu-

ally political matters. It is difficult, however, always to draw the line between political and economic questions. It has been the aim of the Pan American Union to facilitate commerce between all of the American republics. But even commercial relations may become political, and then the difficulties connected with them are not always easy to resolve. In the light of these facts, it is easy to understand that irritations over many differences of opinion are sure to arise in the settlement of disputes, even between States of our Western Hemisphere. It is difficult to see, however, how Dr. Pueyrredon's resignation can promote the interests of the Pan American Union or advance the high purposes of the Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana.

MR. BURTON'S RESOLUTION

THEODORE E. BURTON, under date of January 25, introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution, now known as House Joint Resolution 183. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed. Five days later, approved by the Committee, it was referred to the House Calendar. In submitting the resolution, Mr. Burton, speaking for the Committee on Foreign Affairs, said:

"The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution No. 183, on the 26th of January unanimously voted in favor of reporting the same and recommending that it do pass.

"The first section of this resolution, in unequivocal language, declares it to be the policy of the United States to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to any nation which is engaged in war with another.

"The second section provides that whenever the President recognizes the existence

of war between foreign nations by making the usual proclamation of neutrality, it shall be unlawful, except by the consent of the Congress, to export or attempt to export any arms, munitions, or implements of war from any place in the United States or any possession thereof to the territory of either belligerent or to any place from which the ultimate destination is such territory, or for any military or naval force of a belligerent.

"The third section defines in very considerable detail, in 14 subsections, what is meant by 'arms, munitions, or implements of war.' This has been thought necessary in order that in the enforcement of the law there may be no ambiguity as to what is included in the prohibition of exportations; also, in order that it may be made clear that other articles not included in the enumeration can be exported without violation of the law. While Congress undoubtedly would have the right to suspend or repeal the prohibitions enumerated in the resolution, it is thought best to make specific mention of the fact that 'by the consent of the Congress' the inhibition of the resolution may be removed. This would mean that, as to any or all of the belligerents, Congress could remove the prohibition.

"The fourth section specifies the penalty, a fine not exceeding \$10,000 and imprisonment not exceeding two years, and imposes upon the Secretary of the Treasury the duty of reporting violations to the United States district attorney for the district wherein the violation is alleged to have been committed.

"This resolution marks a notably advanced step for the prevention of war and the promotion of universal peace.

"It is certainly a well-known fact that no nation can wage war for any considerable time, or on any large scale, unless implements of warfare can be obtained from neutral nations. In every great contest the demand has been made upon the neutral nations for necessary supplies. It has not been thought best to prohibit the exportation of food or articles used alike by the civilian population as well as in the prosecution of war.

"It must be said that the United States has taken a leading part in detaching our own country from the quarrels of other

nations and seeking to establish principles of neutrality. On this subject Professor Oppenheim says in his work on International Law (vol. 2, p. 357) that in the development of rules of neutrality the most prominent and influential factor was the attitude of the United States of America toward neutrality from 1793 to 1818. He then describes the measures taken by President Washington and by the Congress during and after his administration, and adds that the example of the United States initiated the present practice, according to which it is the duty of neutrals to prevent the sending out and arming on their territory of cruisers for belligerents, to prevent enlistments on their territory for belligerents, and the like.

"Under principles of international law, already established, a neutral nation is forbidden to furnish implements of warfare to a belligerent, though its citizens may at their own risk seek to furnish such supplies. In this latter particular, the resolution seeks to create an important change.

"Again, it is established and is set forth in article 8 of convention 13 of the Second Hague Conference (to which the United States is a party) that a neutral government is bound to employ the means at its disposal to prevent the sending out or arming of any vessel within its jurisdiction which it has reason to believe is intended to cruise or engage in hostile operations against a power with which that government is at peace. Also, there is a prohibition, in the absence of specific provisions, to the effect that belligerent warships are not permitted to remain in the port of a neutral power for more than 24 hours except in the cases covered by that convention. Such warships are forbidden to revictual in neutral ports except to bring up their supplies to the peace standards, and may only ship sufficient fuel to enable them to reach the nearest port in their own country. The resolution seeks to harmonize the policy of this country in the furnishing of military supplies to certain regulations pertaining to naval warfare.

"As the United States has taken a leading part in the establishment of beneficial principles of neutrality and has

adopted regulations tending to promote peace, it is regarded as of the greatest importance that this resolution should pass. It will be a declaration on the part of the United States that we do not desire that our citizens should participate in the profits derived from the furnishing of implements of destruction. It is thought also that this will be a restraining influence when nations are about to embark in war, and it is hoped that other countries may, should this become a law, adopt similar regulations.

"There can be no question of the earnest desire of the great body of the American people to promote peace and prevent the horrors of war. Among all pending measures which look to this result, this may be regarded as one of the most salutary and most helpful.

"The following is a copy of the resolution:"

Joint Resolution to Prohibit the Exportation of Arms, Munitions, or Implements of War to Belligerent Nations.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States of America to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to any nation which is engaged in war with another.

SEC. 2. Whenever the President recognizes the existence of war between foreign nations by making proclamation of the neutrality of the United States, it shall be unlawful, except by the consent of the Congress, to export or attempt to export any arms, munitions, or implements of war from any place in the United States or any possession thereof, to the territory of either belligerent or to any place if the ultimate destination of such arms, munitions, or implements of war is within the territory of either belligerent or any military or naval force of either belligerent.

SEC. 3. As used in this joint resolution, the term "arms, munitions, or implements of war" means—

1. Rifles, muskets, carbines.
2. (a) Machine guns, automatic rifles, and machine pistols of all calibers; (b) mount-

ings for machine guns; (c) interrupter gears.

3. Projectiles and ammunition for the arms enumerated in numbers 1 and 2 above.

4. Gun-sighting apparatus, including aerial gun sights and bomb sights, and fire-control apparatus.

5. (a) Cannon, long or short, and howitzers, of a caliber less than five and nine-tenths inches (fifteen centimeters); (b) cannon, long or short, and howitzers, of a caliber of five and nine-tenths inches (fifteen centimeters) or above; (c) mortars of all kinds; (d) gun carriages, mountings, recuperators, accessories for mountings.

6. Projectiles and ammunition for the arms enumerated in number 5 above.

7. Apparatus for the discharge of bombs, torpedoes, depth charges, and other kinds of projectiles.

8. (a) Grenades; (b) bombs; (c) land mines, submarine mines, fixed or floating, depth charges; (d) torpedoes.

9. Appliances for use with the above arms and apparatus.

10. Bayonets.

11. Tanks and armored cars; aircraft designed for purposes of warfare.

12. Arms and ammunition not specified in the above enumeration prepared for use in warfare.

13. Poisonous gases, acids, or any other articles or inventions prepared for use in warfare.

14. Component parts of the articles enumerated above if capable of being used in the assembly or repair of the said articles or as spare parts.

SEC. 4. Whoever exports or attempts to export any arms, munitions, or implements of war in violation of the provisions of this resolution shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding \$10,000, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to report any such violation of the provisions of this resolution to the United States district attorney for the district wherein the violation is alleged to have been committed.

The effect of this resolution would be greatly enhanced if it were to become the acknowledged policy of all the major arms producing countries.

GERMAN SENSE AND SECURITY

GERMAN practical sense is needed, apparently, in the study of the problem of international peace. Amid all the irrelevant talk about this major problem of the world, seemingly the most irrelevant has to do with the problem of security. But this cannot be rightfully said of Germany. Under date of January 27, the German Government offered some observations to the Arbitration and Security Committee of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations. These views, in the nature of a memorandum, are entitled to more consideration than they seem as yet to have received.

From this memorandum it is apparent that the German Government is little interested in merely theoretical schemes for promoting security or for stopping war when war is on. It believes the important task to be the establishment of practical measures, necessary and attainable in present political situations. A theoretical system, however defensible in logic, cannot be trusted to solve the problem of security. Indeed, such a system might easily prove to be more dangerous than otherwise. The secret of security is to avoid entanglements leading to war. Such entanglements can be avoided by making it possible for all conflicts to be subjected to peaceful methods of settlement, and that with some prospect of public support. This, it may be mentioned, is the position of the American Peace Society. It ought to be possible for nations to achieve their interests without resort to war. The American Peace Society believes that this is possible. Germany believes that it is possible. The "optional clause" of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice offers a satisfactory possibility of settling disputes of a judicial

character. Germany has agreed to abide by this clause. Germany naturally wonders why all members of the League can't also accept it. Furthermore, she calls the attention of the committee to the familiar practices of conciliation and urges a return to them in the interest of a real security.

In one respect the German note is in error. It expresses regret that there is no general system of procedure for dealing with disputes of an exclusively political character. It holds that the submission of every imaginable dispute of an exclusively political character, under a system of compulsory jurisdiction to arbitration, cannot be practical under existing circumstances. This position, it must be said, is not justified by our American history. In the experience of our own States, for example, it has been held by the Supreme Court, and found to be workable in practice, that any dispute between States referred to the court by mutual agreement becomes by that agreement judicial and a matter for the court to decide. This fact applies also to the processes of arbitration. We gather the impression, therefore, that Germany underestimates the possibilities of arbitration. Her attitude toward judicial settlement and conciliation, however, will be quite acceptable in the United States.

The German memorandum repudiates the plans for establishing security by military alliances, such as are provided for in certain sections of the Covenant of the League of Nations, in the Geneva Protocol, and in a variety of proposals offered particularly by France. In this respect Germany will find a responsive chord, not only in the United States, but in Great Britain.

The hard-headed German is peculiarly qualified to speak upon this matter of security. His own country has had no little experience with a military machine of no mean proportions. He now knows the

result. He wants no more of it for himself. He wonders that other peoples, in the light of his experience, should seek security only in military sanctions or penalties. He believes that, in case peaceful means are not adequate, there are certainly enough military possibilities lying around without organizing any more. There are clauses in the Covenant of the League relating to the prevention of war. Why not try them out? It is the task of the Council to prevent disputes from driving interested powers to arms. Why not trust it? He points to Article XI, with its practical proposals, which could be supplemented by voluntary obligations. Why not give them a fair test? This has been done in the Locarno Agreement. Similar agreements can be drawn up between other groups, taking into account the security of special districts, as long as they are voluntary and do not conflict with the interests of non-participating States.

The German believes there can be no security of one State predicated upon another's insecurity. And of course he is right. Alliances within the League of Nations endanger the League, paralyzing all common action in times of crises. Security in its final forms must rest not upon sanctions of the penalty or warlike kind, but upon confidence in the mutually accepted ways of peaceable settlement.

Peace between nations must rest, of course, upon a consciousness of security. In time of war, security may depend upon sufficient military strength to overcome the enemy. Too, in time of peace, a measure of security may for a time depend upon a certain amount of military force. But huge military machinery is a war-time and not a peace-time basis of security. We doubt that disarmed Germany, or disarmed Bulgaria, or disarmed Austria, or disarmed Hungary are worried about their security. France, on the other hand, occupies the Rhineland, basks under the

Treaty of Versailles, knows that her security along the Rhine is guaranteed by the armies and navies of Great Britain and Italy, boasts of her faith in the Covenant of the League of Nations, rides her military alliances with nine other powers, each one of which is better armed than Germany; she is the beneficiary of the Dawes Plan, and supplements all with over a half million soldiers, and yet she worries continually about her security.

The security of Europe depends upon the avoidance of warlike complications, upon a return to and the use of the well-known and established methods for arriving at justice. The German Government is right when it says that for the committee to take as its starting point an outbreak of hostilities and a provision for military sanctions, instead of the peaceful settlement of all sorts of international conflict, would be like starting to build a house from the roof downward. War is not to be averted for long by military alliances for a war against war. This seems now to be the German doctrine. It is American doctrine. It is the belief of the American Peace Society.

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

THE Catholic Association for International Peace has given a recent illustration of wise church procedure in the interests of peace. A report on international ethics, prepared by a committee of nine leading Catholic college and university professors and revised following a meeting of the national organization, was released February 17. In presenting this report of one of its committees on international ethics, the association announces that it is taking its first step toward the development of a peace program and that it is in the nature simply of a preliminary report to the organiza-

tion. Since the coming Conference of the American Peace Society at Cleveland is to have a Study Commission devoted to the international implications of religion, to include Catholics, we hope, this report of our Catholic brethren is of special interest.

The report takes up, in general, the obligation of governments to follow the moral law, their duties under the precept of justice, their duties in charity, the conditions of a just war and the obligations to promote peace, and is prefaced by a brief account of the relation between international law and international ethics and the growth of modern international law from the writings of Spanish Catholic theologians after the discovery of America.

"States, like individuals," the report says, "are subject to the moral precepts of both nature and revelation. Every international action of a State must be justified or condemned in the light of its effect upon the welfare of human beings; and the moral claims of all State groups are of equal intrinsic worth."

Under the heading the precept of justice, the report in considering the sovereignty of a State declares that while the sovereignty of all States or governments is equal, the term sovereignty is not identical with moral authority and does not permit a State to do wrong, and that even a government which does not possess full sovereign authority still possesses its moral rights against the State that is sovereign over it and against all other States.

"The principal rights of States relate to self-preservation and self-development," the report continues. Under these headings it brings up the much-disputed question of intervention. The question is considered again under the obligation of charity to other nations.

"Self-preservation includes," the report reads, "protection of the lives and property of nationals in foreign countries. The circumstances permitting it and the type of intervention permitted are both narrowly circumscribed in the report.

"Conditions in a foreign territory," the committee says, "might be so dis-

turbed, the political authority might be so inadequate and so insecure, that sojourners or investors there would have no moral right to call upon their own governments for protection of either life or property. While citizens have in general a valid claim to protection by their government in foreign lands, it is limited by the right of their country and their fellow-citizens not to be exposed to disproportionately grave inconvenience. Travelers and investors in foreign lands have no right to expect as much protection from their governments as they would have obtained had they remained at home."

The report makes a distinction between intervention and armed intervention. "In any case," it says, "armed intervention on behalf of the former interests is never justified when they can be secured through peaceful means, such as negotiations, arbitration, severing diplomatic relations, and putting an embargo upon trade with the offending State." The report places a similar limitation upon the protection due diplomatic immunity and says in this connection that "national honor" has many times been used as a pretext for wars of aggression.

The report returns to the right of intervention when it considers the duty of charity to other peoples. Governments have the duty, and therefore the right, to intervene in the affairs of other nations, the committee says, when, for example, "there is grave and long-continued oppression of one State by another, the revolt of a people or a nation against intolerable tyranny, the unsuccessful efforts of a State to put down a rebellion which injures national or international welfare, grossly immoral practices, such as cannibalism and human sacrifices under the guise of religion, and continued anarchy in a State that is for the present unable to maintain a tolerably competent government."

These evils, the report says, must, however, be "definite, certain, and extreme. The motive of the nation which intervenes must be free from selfishness. A State has no right whatever to use armed force in the affairs of another, so long as milder methods, even those of moral coercion, are sufficient."

Considering the right of self-development of nations, the committee hedges it about with strict limitations.

"The right to self-development must be exercised with due regard to the rights of other States," the committee declares. "It does not justify conquest nor making the flag follow either migration or trade nor forcible annexation of territory which had once been subject to the State that thus seeks expansion." The report grants the right of colonization, but restricts it "to sparsely developed territory, which lacks an organized government worthy of the name," and declares that the government occupying the territory must "safeguard all the natural rights of the natives, including that of property," and must "provide for their education—physical, mental, and moral—and develop their capacity for some measure of government." Withdrawal from a colony or protectorate is, in turn, a conditional obligation that becomes certain "when independence becomes essential to the welfare of the people."

The report does not give universal validity to the "right of self-determination," but describes a national group that "might occupy a distinct territory, might have an average capacity for self-government, might have formerly enjoyed political independence, and might be in a position to exercise it without violating the rights of the State in which it is now incorporated," which would undoubtedly "possess a moral right to separation and self-rule." The claim is justified "by the end of all governments, namely, human welfare." The report continues: "National minorities have a right to maintain their language, customs, sense of unity, and all their other national characteristics, so long as their possessions are not clearly and gravely detrimental to the welfare of the majority or of the State as a whole." The report warns governments of the delicacy of such a task and adds that in such cases they are prone to underestimate the problems and their obligations.

International intercourse—the "exchange of goods, material, moral and intellectual"—the committee declares, is based on the general need of co-operation and is proven most strikingly, in the

committee's opinion, by the "common right of all persons to use and enjoy the bounty of Nature." Barriers to international intercourse, such as tariffs, export taxes, embargoes, and immigration restriction, are analyzed in relation to the obligations of justice and charity. Excessive export taxes and embargoes are considered generally to inflict upon other nations "much greater injury than to reduce the opportunity of marketing products" by import tariffs. Immigration restriction is considered probably not a violation of justice to other peoples and may not be a violation of charity, but is a violation of charity "when maintained by a rich and powerful State over one that is weak and overpopulated."

Following this, treaty obligations, the conditions of the obligation to fulfill an unjust treaty and the obligations of new governments to meet obligations of their predecessors are discussed as obligations of justice.

Duties of charity—of "love and assistance"—are incumbent upon States, the committee declares, as well as duties of justice. Curbing "nationalism and excessive patriotism" and developing and promoting "a reasonable and moderate internationalism" stand among the chief duties of charity, according to the mind of the committee. "All peoples," the report continues, "are equal in nature and intrinsic worth and are of equal importance in the sight of God. All the nations have claims upon one another, both in justice and in charity. All have certain common interests. All will prosper best if they recognize those claims and interests, both in theory and in practice. Sane internationalism does not involve the destruction nor the diminution of reasonable patriotism any more than good citizenship requires neglect of one's family."

The committee rejects the proposition that "all employment of force among nations is immoral." It proceeds then to lay down two preliminary assumptions and five conditions for a just war:

1. "A sovereign authority—not a private person or group, nor a subordinate political division—possesses this right."

2. "Equally obvious is a right intention; even though engaged in justifiable

warfare, a State should not include wrongful ends among its objectives."

3. "A State may make war only to safeguard its rights, actually violated or in certain or imminent danger; hence a war is not morally justified which aims at extending national territory, enhancing national power and prestige, promoting an international 'balance of power,' or forestalling some hypothetical or merely probable menace. Utterly inadequate are the formulations 'the good of the community,' 'public peace,' 'necessity,' and similar general terms, which can be and have been used as pretexts for unnecessary wars. Moreover, legitimate defense of rights implies that the aggrieved State is not simultaneously violating the rights of the State against which it contemplates war."

4. "The violation of national rights must appear to the aggrieved State as morally certain. No degree of probability, nor even a great preponderance of probability, is sufficient. 'A declaration of war is equivalent to a sentence of death; to pronounce the latter with a doubtful conscience is murder.'"

5. "Neither actual violation of national rights nor moral certainty about it, nor both combined, are sufficient to make war lawfully moral. War, particularly in modern times, inflicts so many, so various, and such enormous injuries upon innocent and guilty alike that it cannot be justified except by very grave reasons, by the gravest known to human society."

6. "Even though all three of the foregoing conditions are fulfilled, a declaration of war is not justified. Recourse to war is not justified until all peaceful methods have been tried and found inadequate. The principal pacific means are direct negotiation, diplomatic pressure of various kinds, such as trade embargoes, boycotts, and rupture of normal international intercourse, and mediation and arbitration." If all these fail, the committee adds, quoting the words of the 1920 Pastoral Letter of the American Hierarchy, "the calm, deliberate judgment of the people rather than the aims of the ambitious few should decide whether war is the only solution."

7. "A government should have solid reasons, proportionate to the evil alternative of defeat, for expecting victory."

The committee states, in addition, that "an honest attempt by the nations to observe all these conditions would make war practically impossible," and it adds that to continue a war, once it is justly declared, longer "than is necessary for the protection or vindication of rights is quite as immoral as to begin it unnecessarily," and that during a war "justice may change sides."

In the making of peace treaties the laws of justice and charity, the committee declares, must be observed. Victory, even when "the cause is just," confers no right to exact more than "adequate reparations and indemnities, while charity may require these obligations to be postponed or reduced or entirely condoned and canceled." Because "no victorious nation can be trusted to treat the conquered nation with either justice or charity, it is desirable that peace treaties should be made under the supervision of some impartial tribunal."

The final section of the committee report treats the obligation of a government to promote peace both as an obligation of justice to its own people and an obligation of charity to other peoples. "These duties rest," the committee affirms, "not only upon governments, but upon peoples, and particularly upon those persons and organizations which can exert influence upon public opinion and upon political rulers."

"Human brotherhood," the committee says regarding education, "must be intensively and extensively preached to all groups and classes. It is not enough to declare that 'every human being is my neighbor.' Men must be reminded that 'every human being' includes Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Englishmen, Japanese, Chinese, and all other divisions of the human family. And this doctrine should be repeated and reiterated. The duties of patriotism must be expounded in a more restrained and balanced way than that which has been followed heretofore. Men must be taught that it is *not* 'sweet and becoming to die for one's country' if one's country is fighting for that which is unjust. Without denying or weakening the sentiment of national patriotism, we can set forth that wider and higher patriotism which takes in all the peoples of the earth. A large part

of our efforts in this field must be specifically, courageously, and persistently directed against the spirit of exclusiveness and narrowness which characterizes that perversion of national sentiment now stigmatized as nationalism. The task of arresting and counteracting it will be long and arduous. Until it is accomplished, however, no fundamental progress can be made in the prevention of war and the safeguarding of peace.

"Instead of laying stress upon the lawfulness of engaging in a war of self-defense, we should clearly and fully and frequently set forth the conditions which are required according to the principles of morality. We should challenge disproof of the conclusion that these conditions have rarely been available to justify the outbreak of war. If it be objected that statesmen have *assumed* the presence of these conditions, and therefore have made war in good faith, the reply is that statesmen have seldom given the question an amount of honest consideration proportionate to the evils entailed by a declaration of war. We should put particular emphasis upon the fourth condition, namely, the exploration of all pacific methods for avoiding a bloody conflict.

"World peace is largely, if not mainly, a matter of human faith. If the majority of people believe that peace can be established and secured, peace will be established and secured. We must persistently show that a reign of peace is feasible, until this idea and this faith become a dominating and effective element in the habitual thinking of an average man and woman.

"As regards indefinite preparedness, two facts should be emphasized: First, this doctrine and policy provokes international distrust, suspicion, and competition in armament building. The second point to be stressed about preparedness refers to more than one country. All that a nation can hope for, all that any nation is warranted in attempting, is to be adequately prepared against reasonably probable contingencies. On the other hand, it is neither necessary nor wise to reduce considerably present military and naval equipment until the most

powerful foreign States agree to do likewise.

"The second great duty is to consider fairly and to support, so far as our abilities and conscience permit, practical proposals and arrangements for preventing war and making peace secure. In general terms, these methods are: That moral right be substituted for the material force of arms in the reciprocal dealings of nations; the nations enter upon a just agreement for the simultaneous and reciprocal reduction of armaments; armed force be replaced by the noble and peaceful institution of arbitration, with the provision that penalties be imposed upon any State which should refuse either to submit a national question to such a tribunal or to accept the arbitral decision.

"World peace seems to be unattainable unless every one of these proposals and devices is somehow made to function. As sincere lovers of peace, it is our duty to consider them sympathetically and adequately, and, in the light of that examination, to support any of them that wins our approval. Unless we strive for peace by specific and practical methods, all our peaceful professions are empty and futile. The obligation to attain an end implies an obligation to use the appropriate means."

A SAMPLE EUROPEAN DIFFICULTY

A SAMPLE European difficulty, not easily appreciated in the United States, is the controversy between Poland and Lithuania over the city of Vilna. The seriousness of this situation lies in the fact that France and her allies favor the claims of Poland, while Germany and her friends, not to mention Russia, are inclined to side with Lithuania. The issue between Lithuania and Poland, therefore, may reasonably become a European problem of major importance. Since the Council of the League is to meet in March, the controversy may become again acute at that time.

The complicated nature of the situa-

tion, apparent enough, is not beyond analysis. An unauthorized Polish force, under General Zeligovski, seized the city of Vilna in October, 1920. Unable to retake the place by force of arms, Lithuania has recognized since that time a state of war with Poland, never giving up her claim to Vilna. Premier Waldemaras told the Council of the League, December last, that he was ready to give every guarantee of his country's peaceful intentions and of his willingness to set up a neutral zone between Lithuania and Poland, but that "Lithuania has a legal title to Vilna which she does not contemplate surrendering." Being in possession of Vilna, Poland's attitude is, "Let's be friends and resume normal relations." Lithuania's position is that to renew normal relations would be to acquiesce in the permanent possession of Vilna by Poland. Lithuania, wishing to regain Vilna, is for action. Poland, naturally, is for keeping things as they are. In spite of the fact that the Council of the League adopted the resolution, December 10 last, declaring the state of war between Poland and Lithuania to be at an end, a virtual state of war persists. The frontiers are closed and diplomatic relations are still suspended. No negotiations between Poland and Lithuania have begun. Poland aims to establish neighborly relations. Lithuania can find no reason for discussing frontier traffic without first agreeing as to where the frontier is. No wonder the Polish-Lithuanian problem continues to disturb the chancelleries of Europe.

OUR Department of State, January 26, last, authorized by telegram the payment to the Secretariat of the League of Nations a total of \$16,748.60 as the American share of the League's secretarial expenses in connection with certain recent

conferences in which the United States has participated. Of this sum \$5,475 are for the four sessions of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference held to date; of the remainder the greater part is for the Economic Conference, while smaller sums are for the Conference on Export and Import Prohibitions and Restrictions and the Conference on Communications and Transit. All of these conferences were held last year in Geneva. The American contribution is the same as the British, which is the largest sum hitherto paid by any country. This government also buys documents from the League to the amount of \$400 annually.

SOVIET dependence on the capitalistic system came to light rather vividly again on February 1. On that day our Department of State objected to financial arrangements involving the flotation of a loan in the United States or the employment of credit for the purpose of making an advance to the Soviet Régime. In accordance with this policy, the department said that it does not view with favor financial arrangements designed to facilitate in any way the sale of Soviet bonds in the United States. When one recalls other bonds repudiated long ago by the Soviets one wonders how circumstances could have arisen calling for such an announcement from our government.

ANOTHER evidence of human unity. At 11:10 a. m., January 19, 1928, our Secretary of State, sitting in Washington, conversed with the Honorable Hugh Gibson, American Ambassador to Belgium, sitting in Brussels, by telephone. The Secretary of State requested Mr. Gibson to present his compliments to the Prime Minister of Belgium, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to compli-

ment the Belgian Minister of Posts and Telegraphs upon the notable accomplishment of inaugurating telephone communication between the United States and Belgium. Afterward the Secretary of State and the Belgian Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Maurice Lippens, carried on a brief conversation. Later in the day our Department of State received a communication from the Belgian Ambassador in Washington, to the effect that during a conversation which he had that morning with Mr. Maurice Lippens the latter requested the Ambassador to convey the following message to the Government of the United States:

"The Government of the King is happy to see inaugurated this new line of communication between Belgium and the United States of America.

"I am his interpreter in addressing in the name of the Belgian people a message of friendship to the American people and I hope that the telephonic relations which are inaugurated will be the beginning of closer economic relations which will contribute to the strengthening of the bonds of amity which history has forged between the great friendly Republic and Belgium."

On February 10 our Acting Secretary of State had a radiotelephone conversation with the German Chancellor at Berlin, the first official opening of the trans-oceanic radiotelephone between Germany and the United States.

JUST how militaristic are our military men? Peace workers are prone to condemn "militarists." These bloody persons are rarely referred to, however, by name. One's first impression is that the reference is to our soldiers. Our acquaintance with the men in our army and navy has not led us to believe that this impression is justified. Our Secretary of War has recently addressed himself to this matter. He has said, and in the main we

think truly, that "military men are the last ones to desire war, and they have nothing whatever to do with declarations of war. Their function is to restore peace when it has been lost. Their whole purpose is to end a war as rapidly, as cheaply, and as effectively as possible. It is a mistake to suppose that military men are more militaristic than their fellow citizens. The reverse I believe to be true. Militarism is a point of view or state of mind. The soldier who knows war and its consequences, and who realizes that he himself must bear wounds and hardships, and perhaps lose his life, is disposed to be concerned in any action that may lead to hostilities. On the other hand, the civilian who is not directly influenced by a knowledge of the realities of war may, through enthusiasm or excess or prejudice or partisanship, be more militaristic than the soldier. There may be individual and national exceptions, but the trend of military thought in time of peace is to place one's own nation in a position beyond the reach of war." It is our opinion that wars today are fought upon the initiative not so much of our military forces as of the people themselves. From what we know of war, we believe that there is more magnanimity and compassion toward enemy soldiers among the men who do the fighting than among the people back home. Everyone who believes at all in an army and a navy wishes that both these should be as efficient as possible. We do not promote the cause of peace between nations by advertising ill-considered views of soldiers and sailors or by blinking the fact that there is little chance of war except with the advice and consent of us who make up the common people.

THE hope of the peace movement thrives on that impregnable persistence of righteousness at the heart of our

human kind. There is no doubt that that righteousness exists. Without it men would still be living in caves, brothers only of the beasts. When Leonard D. and Arthur J. Baldwin, brothers and partners in a New York law firm, recently gave \$1,500,000 for the establishment of a school of liberal arts at Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, it was stipulated that the new school be known as "Brothers College." When it was proposed to call the new liberal arts college "Baldwin," the brothers decided against this because of their desire to perpetuate not their own names, but the idea of the brotherly relationship existing between them. Together from childhood, they were students at the preparatory school

and graduated together from Cornell in the class of 1892. They entered business together, married within three months of each other, and for more than thirty years the two families lived in the same home. Their earnings go into the same purse. They have brought their children up together like brothers and sisters. Having worked their own way through the schools, they have chosen Drew Seminary as the location for the new college of liberal arts, as north Jersey offers unusual opportunity for the many boys who wish to work while getting their education. "Brothers College" indeed! Incidentally, here is a sample of that discriminating spirit of high morality upon which rests the hope of the world.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

SIXTH PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT HAVANA

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

THE Sixth Pan American Conference, held in Havana, Cuba, January 16 to February 20, was attended by representatives of all the twenty-one republics of this hemisphere. Canada was not represented. Although the conference was unable to come to any agreement on all the questions of public international law, seven projects relating to asylum, treaties, maritime neutrality, diplomatic agents, consuls, neutrality in civil strifes, and to the status of foreigners, were adopted. The United States is a party to all except the first. There is also a long list of economic, social, and cultural achievements.

Convention on Aviation Adopted

Among these are the adoption of a convention on commercial aviation, the convention reorganizing the Pan American Union, the passing of resolutions urging

frequent meetings of journalists, a lower tariff of books and educational matter between the Americas, and the exchange of professors and students.

The American delegation, according to their summary, refrained from voting in the committee on private international law, due to the impossibility of guaranteeing adoption by the several States of the United States.

The American delegation also refused to approve the proposal to study immigration, maintaining that immigration is a purely domestic problem.

The summary of the conference follows:

Committee I, Pan American Union, approved a resolution and a project of convention on Pan American Union.

Committee II, Public International Law—One of the most important projects approved by this committee is the resolution condemning war as an instrument of national policy and calling a conference in Washington within a year to

draft treaties for obligatory arbitration and also treaties for conciliation.

A full report on the subject of public international law will be submitted at a later date.

Committee III, Private International Law.—This delegation refrained from voting. This committee adopted resolutions as follows: Recommends adoption of uniform laws on bills of exchange and other credit instruments based on Hague rules of 1912; recommends an inter-American commission for the study of the civil and political equality of women; recommends commercial arbitration as set forth by Fifth Conference; recommends strict legislation to facilitate organization of stock companies; provides for continuation of the commission of jurists of Rio de Janeiro.

Resolution for Congress on Roads Was Adopted

Committee IV, Communications. — This committee adopted a convention on commercial aviation and resolutions as follows: The holding of a congress on roads next July, at Rio de Janeiro; recommends to the States that signed the electrical communication convention of Mexico and the Radio Telegraph Convention at Washington consideration and ratification of them by the respective governments; recommends that the Pan American Union call an expert committee to study the establishment of additional steamship facilities between American States and the elimination of unnecessary port formalities; recommends the study of the rivers of the Americas with a view of their navigability; recommends to the States which have not done so to complete Pan American railway along Andean route and expresses gratitude to the Pan American Railway Commission in Washington; recommends a subcommittee to the Pan American Railway Committee for the study of the facilitation of railway traffic; recommends that inter-American steamship lines have their steamers stop at the ports of the West Indies and Central America; recommends construction of an inter-American highway; expresses warmest sympathy for a civil aviation international conference, to be held in Washington next December; recommends to the

next road conference the study of a longitudinal highway.

Committee V, Intellectual Co-operation, approved projects as follows: Urges periodic conferences of journalists, with certain recommendations and another resolution giving additional recommendations for this agenda by Mexican delegation; recommends lowering of mail and customs tariffs on books and periodicals; urges publication of geodetic, geological, and agricultural maps; charges Pan American Union with calling of a bibliographic congress and completion and publication of Cuervo dictionary by subscription; urges interchange of professors and students, establishment of scholarships, the establishment of special chairs for the study of Spanish, English and Portuguese and the establishment of special departments for the study of commercial legislation in the American republics, all of which is to be under the supervision of an inter-American intellectual institute; urges that technical study be given to the matters on the agenda of future conferences dealing with treaties; urges supervision over production and distribution of moving-picture films; urges instruction in financial and economic subjects in American States; urges laws for the pensioning of journalists.

Two conventions were also adopted by this committee: 1. Modifying the present copyright convention. 2. The establishment of a geographic institute.

Committee VI, Economic Problems, approved projects as follows: Conclusion of the Pan American Commission on consular procedure and recommends a second meeting thereof; recommends that Pan American Commercial Conference shall devote special study to developing relations among commercial organizations of American States (chambers of commerce); abstains from complete study of immigration, in view of approaching conference on this subject, but states certain principles, the American delegation making the reservation "immigration is a matter of purely domestic concern." Resolution on trade-marks provides for a conference at a time and date to be fixed by Pan American Union. Owing to lack of data, uniformity of communication statistics

was referred by resolution to Pan American Union, to be dealt with by an expert committee. Resolution recommends a third standardization conference, with preparatory data to be furnished by Inter-American High Commission. Two resolutions urging the continued study of the decimal metric system, a resolution recommending continental agricultural co-operation and the holding of a conference on this subject, and a resolution recommending the study of a common American money.

Committee VII, *Social Problems*. adopted resolutions as follows:

1. Recommends ratification of the Pan American sanitary code by those countries that have not yet ratified.

2. Continued application of the principles and procedures in public health administration, in view of the benefit already derived from their application.

3. The formation of capable sanitary personnel through (A) training in special schools and (B) the formation of a professional sanitary organization whose officers will be entitled to promotion on merit, fixed tenure of office, and retirement on pension.

4. The Ninth Pan American Sanitary Conference to establish general bases for the training and formation of the sanitary personnel previously mentioned.

5. Requests that governments send technical advisers to future conferences.

6. Requests governments to send reports on progress achieved in public health since previous conferences.

7. When specialized sanitary personnel are created, a corps of graduated and registered public health visiting nurses should be included and unqualified personnel should not be employed.

8. Recommends establishment of interchanges of specialists in public health between countries.

9. Recommends that the Pan American Sanitary Bureau study types and standards used in their preparation of biologic products, so that the Ninth Pan American Sanitary Conference may attempt to obtain uniformity in their preparation.

10. Recommends that the Pan American Sanitary Bureau make known the fact that a Spanish edition of the 10th

revision of the United States Pharmacopœia is now available.

11. Takes note of the conclusions of the first Pan American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture and recommends that the various countries study and apply such portions as they may deem convenient.

12. Requests the Ninth Pan American Sanitary Conference and the Second Pan American Conference in Eugenics and Homoculture to study the best method of combining their functions and authorizes the office of eugenics and homoculture to continue to function in the meantime.

13. Urges those American countries that have no technical representatives for the examination of emigrants in their country to begin to utilize the services of representatives of other countries.

14. Takes note of conclusion of First Pan American Conference of Representatives of Public Health Services.

15. Recommends that future conferences of representatives of health services deal preferentially with interchange of experiences and ideas relative to sanitation on account of the value of such interchanges and of their utility in preparing program for future sanitary conferences.

16. Recommends that an official representative of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau attend future conferences of public health representatives.

17. Calls attention to importance of work performed by the Pan American Red Cross.

18. Expresses pleasure at results obtained from Pan American Red Cross conferences of 1923 and 1926 and recommends that American governments lend their aid to the Third Pan American Red Cross Conference, to be held in Rio de Janeiro.

19. Recommends that the Pan American Union continue to co-operate with the Red Cross in America.

Committee VIII, *Reports and Treaties*.—The reports of action taken by States on matters approved at past conferences have been submitted, but are not published.

Committee IX, *Initiative*.—The site of the next conference is Montevideo.

In addition to the above projects, there

were adopted at plenary sessions resolution as follows: Recommending the improvement of the standard of living of laborers and the inclusion of this subject on the agenda of the next conference; recommending laws for compulsory leave of absence for women forty days before and after childbirth and certain memorial resolutions.

Parley Ends in Harmony

Dr. L. S. Rowe, in a statement after the close of the conference, said:

The Sixth International Conference of American States, which adjourned today, will go down in history as in many respects the most significant, as well as the most fruitful of the series of conferences inaugurated by the first conference, held at Washington in 1889.

None of the preceding conferences has had as varied a program nor have the programs included so many important questions closely affecting the larger interests of all the republics of the American continent. It is a significant fact that in each and every one of the questions included in the program of the present conference important and constructive forward steps have been taken.

As regards the Pan American Unión, the fact that unanimous agreement was reached in the formulation of a convention is in itself an indication of the importance which the American republics attach to the Pan American Union. This convention places the Union on a firmer basis than it has ever before occupied.

Pan-Americanism Strengthened

Furthermore, the discussions in the conference relative to the organization and functions of the Pan-American Union indicated the deep interest of all the republics in the development of the functions of the Union and in the strengthening of its position as the official international organization of the American republics.

The decision of the conference not to entrust political functions to the Union will serve to enlarge the Union's usefulness in the field of commercial, educational and cultural co-operation between the republics of

America, for it will remove any misgivings that may have existed that the Union will interfere with the sovereignty of the constituent States.

In the domain of public and private international law the conference made important steps forward. The acceptance by the delegations of twenty States of the code of private international law prepared by Dr. Antonio S. De Bustamente is a step of deep significance to the future of Pan American relations.

The greatest triumph of the conference in the field of public international law is the resolution, unanimously adopted, providing that disputes of a judicial nature be submitted to arbitration, and that a conference of the American republics be held in Washington within twelve months for the negotiation of a convention to render obligatory arbitration effective.

A further resolution of great importance, also unanimously adopted, outlaws aggressive war and commits the republics of America to the use of peaceable means for the settlement of all disputes that may arise between them.

Law Code and Aviation Compact

The codification of international law for the American republics has begun and the sixth conference has been able to prepare and agree upon conventions dealing with public international law on:

1. The rights of asylum.
2. Duties of neutrals in civil strife.
3. Maritime neutrality.
4. Treaties.
5. Diplomatic agents.
6. Consular agents.
7. Status of foreigners.

The signing of a convention on commercial aviation and the action taken on the Pan-American Railway and on the Pan-American Highway constitute real achievements in the field of communications.

The program of the conference was also carried forward in the field of cultural relations. The establishment of a geographical institute and of a Pan-American Institute of Intellectual Co-operation will mean much to the development of better understanding between the nations of America.

Extension of Sanitation Code

In the field of social problems, the unanimous purpose to give the Pan-American

Sanitary Code full effect in all the republics of the American continents carries with it the possibility of far-reaching results in the field of public sanitation, especially the possibility of Pan-American co-operation in this important matter.

The full significance of the results of the conference will become fully apparent when the conventions and resolutions are made effective, and in this respect a large responsibility will devolve on the Pan-American Union.

Too great praise cannot be given to the Cuban Government and officials entrusted with the organization of the conference. They have spared no effort. The distinguished President, Dr. Bustamante, and the Secretary General, Dr. Carbonell, have placed the entire continent under obligations to them for the admirable manner in which they conducted the work of the conference.

Due praise also goes to every member of the delegation of Cuba, and especially to Dr. Ferrara, for his constant and unflinching co-operation with the delegations from the other countries.

Bustamante Lauds Progress Made

The farewell exercises and speeches of the Sixth Pan-American Conference occupied the final session. Dr. Antonio Bustamante, President of the conference, in the name of the Cuban Government, bade Godspeed to the delegates.

Dr. Bustamante reviewed the work accomplished by the considerable progress in the codification of international, private, and public law, better organization in the Pan-American Union, giving it a strictly contractual form, remarkable progress in plans for aerial, land, and maritime communication, most fruitful efforts for intellectual co-operation and the advancement and the solution of numerous economic, social, and sanitary problems.

We convert international law, which for many years was the law of war, into an instrument of good works, of solidarity, equally preoccupied with individuals and nations, which operates intensely for the happiness of both—to make the latter prosperous and great and the former cultivated and healthy.

The decision to hold the activities by the conference in public, he said, gave the gath-

ering an enormous prestige by allowing the public opinion of America to follow the developments.

He also congratulated the conference for having allowed the women to make their voice heard in favor of equal rights. America, he said, owes a special debt to women, since it was a woman, Isabella of Spain, who enabled Columbus to embark on his voyage of discovery.

Varela Stresses Reconciliation

Upon Jacobo Varela, of Uruguay, as the representative of the country where the next Pan-American Conference will be held, fell the honor of replying to Dr. Bustamante in the name of the governments which had been the guests of Cuba.

The chief function of Pan-Americanism, he said, was "to reconcile the magnificent civilization" which is flourishing under the Stars and Stripes and "the other civilization so characteristic of twenty republics" which perpetuate Hispanic traditions.

"To say that everything joins the United States and Latin America and nothing separates them," said Señor Varela, "would only create deep misunderstandings or dangerous prejudices.

The Americas have much in common, especially in democratic principles and commercial and financial intercourse and traditional policy regarding the rest of the world, which one republic enunciated and many lauded. But important interests and formalities hold back perfect harmony and collaboration.

Tribute to the United States

More than mere stock, different temperaments, a different intellectual outlook, those economic interests which remain apart, and, above all, language, are diverging forces which only come together when the abyss of misunderstanding which still exists in important sections of public opinion in the North and South shall be conquered.

The highest aim of the Pan-American Conference, Señor Varela added, was to "promote a better understanding for a fuller knowledge of the cultural and moral worth of both civilizations and for dispassionate examination and comparison of their interests and aspirations in an effort to reconcile them, in a spirit of harmony, and not intransigence.

"The United States," he continued, "is not only a marvel of industrial organization, an Eldorado which its citizens knew how to conquer, but a prodigious country, which gave to the world a model of free institutions, which later even made objects speak, through the genius of Edison, and sent with wings, which the Wright brothers created, Lindbergh to conquer the heart of France and Europe."

Argentina Declared for Unity

Dr. Laurentino Olascoaga, who succeeded to the leadership of the Argentine delegation during the last few days, after the resignation of Dr. Honario Pueyrredon, gave a short address, in which he said his country came to Havana "to unify itself with the majority of American thought without withholding its convictions, which were declared at all times with the high respect due the opinions of other delegates."

THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY

ON FEBRUARY 20 the newly formed Security Committee of the League of Nations met at Geneva under the presidency of its chairman, Dr. Benesh. Some time prior to the meeting of the committee, Dr. Benesh sent to all interested governments a questionnaire, in which he requested their views on the whole problem. Important replies were received from the British and the German governments, summaries of which are given below, together with French comments on each reply.

British Policy on Arbitration Treaties

In the British memorandum, the principle is laid down that arbitration treaties in general have no sanction but public opinion. The rendering of a decision is not so important as the acceptance and execution of it; and the times hardly seem to be ripe for any general system of sanctions for the enforcement of arbitration treaties. Moreover, in such conventions there is always need for reservations. The imitations may vary in form but their existence indicates consciousness on the part of governments that there is a point beyond which they cannot count on their peoples giving effect to the obligations of the treaty. Article XIII of the Covenant,

indeed, recognizes such limits. By it the members of the League accept in principle, but not definitely, the obligation to arbitrate justiciable disputes.

There are two lines along which progress appears possible to the British Government. Already there is a clause in several British treaties binding the signatories to arbitrate their disputes which may arise in interpreting their clauses. The time is considered ripe for investigating whether this obligation could not be extended further and made to include agreements "of a nontechnical character." The second method would be by widening the scope of agreements dealing with justiciable disputes generally and pledging the parties in advance to submit such disputes to arbitration.

It is also the opinion of the government that the time may have come to re-examine the formula as to "vital interests, honor, independence, and the interests of third States," which, first adopted a quarter of a century ago, has limited the scope of several arbitration treaties. At the same time no State can agree to the submission to an international tribunal of matters falling within the range of its national sovereignty. Instances are also cited of disputes that have arisen where a mere decision on the point of law would not settle the case.

British Attitude Toward the "Optional Clause"

The reasons why the British Government does not see its way to sign the "optional clause" (Article XXXVI) of the statute of the Permanent Court at The Hague are again noted. It is explained that in contracting an international obligation towards another State a country must take into account the nature of its general relations with that State; and obligations which it may be ready to assume with one country may not be possible with another. Therefore the British Government holds that more progress is likely to be achieved through bilateral agreements than through general treaties. The British Government is "profoundly in sympathy" with the system of conciliation commissions. They are especially recommended for the settlement of non-justiciable disputes. During the Locarno

Conference the Powers found that Article XV of the Covenant satisfactorily expressed their views in this respect.

The distinction insisted upon between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes. Disputes which, being non-justiciable, are brought before a Conciliation Commission should not be carried to the Permanent Court at The Hague, even if no agreement were reached before the commission, for the two bodies are qualified to deal with different types of dispute. The doubt is expressed whether many States will be found ready to accept the form of treaty proposed to the Assembly by Dr. Nansen, which would invest a body of arbitrators with power to deliver binding decisions in non-justiciable disputes.

British Interpretation of Locarno Agreement

Turning from arbitration more specifically to security, the terms of the Locarno Agreement are examined and interpreted, and the opinion is expressed that this treaty, with its clear definition of a specific danger and the character of the measures which may be taken to meet it, is "the ideal type of security agreement." It knits together the nations most immediately concerned and whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife. In a region where the particular interests of the British Government are concerned it has given its formal guarantee to support the League's judgment—if necessary by force—in the event of an act of aggression being committed in defiance of the treaty and of the covenant and the British Government looks forward to the growth of this system. For such agreements may undoubtedly be a contribution to security in proportion as they relieve the anxiety of the States which conclude them.

British Interpretation of Articles of the Covenant

The memorandum contains an important passage defining the obligations of Article X of the Covenant as interpreted by the British Government. It is recalled that the Fourth Assembly of the League adopted an interpretive resolution with one adverse vote, and it is remarked that this interpretation is generally regarded as accepted, in spite of the lack of formal un-

nimity; it is, at any rate, "in harmony with the view of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain." The interpretation referred to laid down that, in regard to the preservation of the territorial integrity and political independence of a country against whom an aggression had been committed, the Council should be bound to take account of the "geographical situation and of the special conditions of each State" in recommending the application of military measures; and also that it was of the constitutional authorities of each State to decide "in what degree it was bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces."

Similarly, Article XI is declared to be "a valuable guide" rather than a precise definition of obligations. This view, it may be said, was that which was approved by a committee of the Council and adopted by the Eighth Assembly.

Proceeding to Article XVI of the Covenant, the interpretation is recalled which was placed upon it in the collective note addressed to the German representatives by the other Locarno powers at the time of the signature of the treaty, according to which it was understood that each member was bound to co-operate loyally in support of the covenant and in resistance to aggression "to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account."

In conclusion, the British Government is opposed to the application of hard and fast rules to the interpretation of articles of the Covenant. The strength of the Covenant is held to lie "in the measure of discretion which it allows to the Council and the Assembly in dealing with future contingencies which may have no parallel in history." Similarly, it is resolutely opposed to any attempt to define the aggressor. The objections are made clear by quotation from Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on November 24, 1927, when he said that if "strict rules" were made it would be possible that "by some unhappy turn in your definition" "the aggressed and not the offender" might be declared to be the aggressor. Definition, in fact, might prove to

be "a trap for the innocent and a signpost for the guilty."

It may be noted that the British Government is called throughout the memorandum "His Majesty's Government in Great Britain."

German Memorandum of General Nature

The German memorandum is an exposé of a general nature which avoids concrete proposals for the solution of individual problems. By implication it repudiates the Geneva Protocol, which, as far as Germany is concerned, may be considered dead and buried at last.

The "essence of the problem of security is the avoidance of warlike complications," and what is needed is a solution for "all conflicts which have hitherto been the cause of wars." Every other solution must remain artificial and without real foundation. The memorandum accepts the optional clause of the Permanent Hague Court as offering "a satisfactory possibility" for the settlement of "all disputes" of a judicial nature. It will be the task of the League Security Committee to find means of inducing more States to accept this clause.

Settlement of Non-justiciable Disputes Emphasized By Germany

The settlement of non-justiciable disputes—that is to say, of political disputes—is "of the highest importance," and the German Government "is convinced that in this respect there are possibilities that have not been utilized hitherto." It will be the committee's task to try and discover a procedure that will provide "an easy and peaceful solution to all conceivable disputes without exception." The idea that disputes of a purely political nature can be settled by the obligatory procedure of an arbitration court "is not practicable in present circumstances," but some approach to this idea is possible if methods of procedure are adopted that "as good as secure the settlement of disputes in actual practice" while "taking into account the legitimate requirements of national life and development."

The memorandum urges that the idea of mediation, either by the League Council or by some other authority, be further developed. Such a system could be in-

corporated in treaties between two States as well as in treaties between several States. Bilateral treaties would gain if they could be brought "into organic connection" with the authoritative bodies constituted by the League. The value of such systems does not invariably depend "on special measures guaranteeing the agreement embraced by them." If those bodies constituted to settle disputes "are provided with adequate authority," it can "hardly be assumed that a State would dare to override its decisions."

"Sanctions" Condemned by German Memorandum

In this important passage the German memorandum expresses its skepticism with regard to the universal value of sanctions (penalties). Indeed, the whole memorandum is a criticism of the rigid system of sanctions like the Geneva Protocol. The memorandum states categorically that in case peaceful means are not adequate the League Covenant, with its clauses "relating to the prevention of war and combating breaches of the peace, is available" and it is "the task of the League Council to prevent a dispute from driving the interested powers to an appeal to arms."

The study of Article 11 of the Covenant "leads to the elaboration of the number of practical proposals which could be supplemented by voluntary obligations such as have already been undertaken in the Locarno Agreement." All these measures will, of course, be rendered much more effective by general disarmament, "which in itself contains one of the most essential elements of security."

A general action by all members of the League in case of a breach of the peace is not possible at present because general disarmament is still outstanding. Regional agreements that take into account the security of special districts can act as substitutes, but such agreements must be voluntary, although they must not conflict with the interests of the non-participating States.

The security of one must not be achieved at the cost of another's insecurity. This condition is fulfilled by the Locarno Agreement, whereas "the formation of allied groups within the League of Nations" may easily lead to "a split in the League"

and "paralyze all common action in times of crisis." The memorandum emphasizes the fact that security must proceed from the peaceful treatment of all conflicts and not from sanctions or warlike measures, which would be like "building the roof first and the house afterwards."

French Reaction to British and German Memoranda

The British memorandum was not well received in the French press. The semi-official *Temps* argued, in its comments, that the British attitude is an insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of "any general formula of security that would permit a reduction of armaments."

The *Temps* further maintains that it is sheer illusion to suppose that the advent of a new government in Great Britain, even a Labor Government, would bring any essential change. "Whatever party the men in power in London may belong to, they are all alike absolutely obliged to take account of the particular interests of the British Empire. The experiment of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Cabinet is conclusive in that respect."

M. Jacques Bainville, writing in *Action Française*, considers that as Great Britain is purely a naval power, her contributory value to European security or to the application of League sanctions is nullified by the United States. He says:

If England refuses to tie her hands or sign a blank check, it is not merely because of her tradition of splendid isolation nor because of her sacred egoism. The knot of the crucial problem is to be found in the phrase "freedom of the seas." If the American Senate disavowed President Wilson it was because he had yielded to Mr. Lloyd George on this question. If, after the failure of the Geneva Conference for the limitation of cruisers, President Coolidge announces the construction of an armada it must be understood as meaning simply this—that one of the greatest naval powers in the world intends to declare that in the future Great Britain must, like any other country, renounce the right of blockade or fight if she means to keep it.

Now, if the worst came to the worst, Great Britain might well fight to preserve this arm of blockade for her personal defense. It is unlikely that she would enter

into conflict with the United States in order to use the right of blockade as a sanction on behalf of the League of Nations and for the benefit of other countries.

The German memorandum was better received in Paris than the British. Even the *Temps* stated that the spirit of the memorandum is conciliatory, and that it puts forward certain principles, especially concerning arbitration, that merit the attention of the committee. The paper noted, not without a certain satisfaction, that on the question of arbitration there is great difference between the British and German points of view, and that the German memorandum goes further in this matter than any other.

On the other hand, the French press maintains that the German point of view differs profoundly from the French, especially on the question of security, and is, in fact, as incompatible with the principles of the Geneva Protocol as is the British.

Swedish Suggestion of a General Locarno

The Swedish Government, in a memorandum addressed to the League, has taken the view that the League Assembly, in its instructions on the subject of security, had contemplated an extension of arbitration procedure on the principles already established by special agreements. The Swedish Government expresses the opinion that the simplest way of effecting this purpose would be to draw up a draft collective agreement, based so far as possible on the four Locarno agreements on arbitration and conciliation. The contents of these agreements may be summarized as follows:

Disputes with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights are submitted for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice or an arbitral tribunal. Other disputes must, at the request of either of the parties, be submitted, with a view to amicable settlement, to a permanent conciliation commission, and, if agreement is not reached before that body, to the Council of the League for settlement in accordance with Article XV of the Covenant. If the parties agree thereto, disputes of a legal nature may also be submitted to the

Permanent Conciliation Commission before any resort is made to procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice or to arbitral procedure.

Similar provisions having been adopted for the settlement of international disputes in a large number of special agreements, the Swedish Government is, therefore, convinced that it would be desirable to give this type of agreement a more general form, as contemplated in the instructions received from the Assembly. The Swedish Government accordingly submits a draft convention based upon these principles. In so doing it points out that the advantages to be derived from a more general application of the provisions contained in the Locarno agreements consist, first, in the fact that these provisions afford appropriate methods for the settlement of the various classes of international disputes, seeing that disputes so handled would not, as a rule, be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations until they had been carefully and impartially investigated by a Conciliation Commission. When examining the matter afresh, the Council would thus be in a better position to devise the most appropriate solution and to put forward unanimous proposals for a settlement.

Another argument is also advanced in favor of the extension of arbitral procedure. It is that, when a dispute is investigated by the Council, there is always some risk that that body may fail to reach unanimity, and that the States members of the League may consequently reserve "the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice." The reference of a dispute to a tribunal, on the other hand, secures the final settlement of the legal points at issue.

FRENCH ARMY REFORM

ON JANUARY 19 the French Chamber of Deputies passed the Army Recruiting Bill, which provides for the reduction of conscripted military service to one year. Prior to the passage of the bill a sharp conflict arose between the Army Committee of the Chamber and the Minister of War, M. Painlevé. In the original

bill, as introduced by the government, the question of the date at which the new term of recruitment was to be introduced was left open. The committee demanded the fixing of the date in the bill itself and won its point.

M. Painlevé declared in his statement before the committee that he could not consent to the introduction which the committee had made into Article 102 of the recruiting measure of a definite date for the reduction of the period of service for conscripts to one year, and that it was impossible to foresee at present when the rate of recruitment of regular soldiers and of men for the auxiliary services would allow the one-year period to be put into force. If the committee stipulated that the class which would be called up in May, 1929, should be released in May, 1930, it would force Parliament to commit itself to a possible weakening of national defense. M. Painlevé said that the Government intended to use all its authority in support of the original text of the measure, which fixed no definite date for the reduction of the period of service. He insisted that the committee should reserve its earlier decision and reconsider the matter. This the committee refused to do.

M. Painlevé's argument was strongly opposed by the Socialist and Radical-Socialist members of the committee, who declared that as the debate on the recruiting law had been begun the committee could not withdraw its decision. They said that the fixing of a date was intended to hasten the action of the military authorities in applying the reform, and that it was essential, from the electoral point of view, to inform the country when this change, which was one of the essential promises of the present legislature, would be made.

Later on, however, the committee modified its position slightly and, as a result, the general staff agreed to accept November 1, 1930, as the date, and this was adopted by the government as a new text for the bill. It was accompanied by the reservation that, if by any mischance and against expectation events render this undesirable, the soldiers might be retained with the colors for a further period of six months.

In the new scheme of defense the backbone of a short-service army is to be provided by a professional service of 106,000 men. On them will fall the bulk of the highly specialized functions due to the ever-increasing technical demands of a motorized and mechanized army. These men are being sought chiefly through advertisement by posters setting forth the attractions of the service, and it would appear that they are coming forward in satisfactory numbers, though trustworthy calculations are said to indicate that the maximum will not be reached before 1930. This is why the military authorities sought to extend the period during which the new measure is to be introduced.

FUTURE OF THE GERMAN REICH

A CONFERENCE of the Reich and the Federal States to discuss the possibilities of constitutional and administrative reform was held in Berlin on January 16-18. The conference opened under the presidency of Herr Marx, the Chancellor, in the historic hall of the Chancellor's Palace in the Wilhelmstrasse, which has been known as the "Congress Hall" since Bismarck presided there, over the Congress of Berlin, in 1878. Nearly 100 persons were present, including all the members of the Reich Cabinet who were free to attend; Dr. Saemisch, the Reich Economy Commissioner; Herr Braun, the Prussian Premier, and the members of his government; and the premiers and ministers of the Interior and Finance of the remaining 17 States.

Opening Speech by the Chancellor

In his introductory speech the Chancellor laid emphasis upon the historic importance of the Congress Hall, recalling not only the Congress of Berlin, but the fateful gathering of November, 1918, of the representatives of the young free States to discuss the situation with Fritz Ebert, who was shortly to become the first President of the Federal Republican Reich. In outlining briefly the task of the conference, Herr Marx insisted that any change in the relations between the Reich and the States must be carried out on

the basis of complete mutual loyalty. He intimated that the contribution of the Reich would be, as was expected, suggestions for assisting individual States by taking over certain branches of administration and for the straightening out of interstate frontiers by abolishing with as much dispatch as possible the two hundred odd *enclaves*.

Most of these illogical intrusions of one State upon the natural confines of another owe their existence to dynastic complications of a past era, upon which not even the most sentimental Federalist could reasonably base a claim for their permanence in present circumstances. Perhaps the best illustration of the manner in which they preserve the extravagant administrative difficulties which the conference is engaged in eliminating is provided by a road in the Harz, which in the course of 60 kilometres passes through six different States, each with its own traffic regulations. Another road in Thuringia crosses State frontiers fourteen times in a stretch of about six miles.

Work of the Conference

The sessions of the conference were secret. Its agenda consisted of the following three points:

1. Improvements in the relationship between Reich and States calculated to reduce the overlapping of functions.
2. Measures to insure the most economical conduct possible of public finances.
3. Administrative reform in Reich and States.

The various States brought to it their own schemes, which are the result of long discussions. The Socialists and the Democrats desire a highly centralized, unitary State. The Nationalists have a plan for a return to the Bismarckian structure based on Prussia, with the President of the Reich, strengthened in authority, at the same time State President of Prussia, and the Chancellor of the Reich at the same time Premier of Prussia.

The opposition of the Southern States, particularly Bavaria, to any change involving a decrease of State sovereignty has been expressed in no uncertain terms, especially since Herr Luther founded his "League for the Regeneration of the

Reich," although it should be noted that the Bavarian People's Party, as distinct from the Bavarian Premier and a number of Agrarian leaders, have adopted a not unfriendly attitude towards the League, which, after all, was very cautious in drafting its program.

All these conflicting views were voiced at the conference. At the end of the meeting a long and rather vague *communiqué* was issued. After Herr Held, the Bavarian Premier, had declared categorically that Bavaria would "never" enter a unitary Reich, however organized, and Herr Braun, the Prussian Premier, had chided him with showing himself lacking in the historical sense, it was not surprising that an agreed statement was found difficult of achievement, and that it said little when it had been achieved.

Results of the Conference

Judging by the *communiqué* of the conference, the leading official representatives of the Reich and the Federal States could not reach general agreement on anything more definite than the statement that the regulation of relations between Reich and States by the Weimar Constitution is unsatisfactory and requires fundamental reform. The conference was unable, according to its *communiqué*, to agree whether the reform should strengthen unitarian or Federalistic authority, or whether an amalgamation of both in a new form would be possible. It did, however, agree that a strong Reich authority was necessary.

The conference decided that a partial solution would be inadvisable, and it was opposed to the absorption of weak States by the Reich as "Reich States." The conference resolved that the Reich must not seek to increase its authority by "financial undermining" or similar measures to the detriment of the States. If small States showed a desire to merge themselves in larger neighbors, they should be encouraged. The abolition of *enclaves* by voluntary arrangement would be desirable. The solution of the problem as a whole was to be prepared in the report of the special commission, of which the Chancellor would be the chairman.

Both the Reich and the State governments were agreed on the necessity of

measures to insure the economical conduct of public finances, and for this purpose a special finance committee would be appointed. All the governments agreed to work out schemes of administrative reform, especially with a view to the fusion of overlapping departments and the readjustment of local and provincial (but not State) boundaries in conformity with present-day traffic conditions. In order to insure uniformity of method, the State governments undertook to submit their schemes to the Reich Economy Commissioner, who would make recommendations "if requested."

It is generally assumed in Berlin that the two administrative departments chiefly affected at first by fusion schemes, whether between the Reich and individual States or between State and State, will be those of Finance and Justice.

TROTSKY'S EXILE TO SIBERIA

THE next act in the drama of factional strife in the Russian Communist ranks, after the expulsion from the Communist Party of all those opposed to the present dictator of Russia, Joseph Stalin, has been the exile, to Siberia and other remote portions of the Russian realm, of Trotsky and several other prominent leaders of the Opposition. The Moscow correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, in describing Trotsky's departure from Moscow, says that the deposed Communist leader arrived at the railroad station shortly before the train was due to start, closely guarded by political police. A large crowd, which had gathered to watch his arrival, greeted him with cheers and the singing of the International. There was little opportunity for Trotsky to reply, even if he had wished to do so; it was noticeable, however, that the police made no particular attempt to prevent him from speaking. As the train moved out, the crowd raised cheers for the Communist Party, the Communist International, and the Soviet Republic. Trotsky's bearing as he began his long journey to Viernyi, the remote place on the frontier between Russian Turkestan and China, which has been chosen for his exile, was dignified, but he looked rather

pale. On the previous evening Radek and several other Opposition leaders were sent from Moscow to unknown destinations in the eastern Urals. A large crowd assembled on this occasion also.

Official Soviet Statement

In connection with the exile of the Opposition leaders the official Soviet news agency has issued the following statement:

The Soviet governmental organs have established that a number of persons adhering to the Opposition groups of Trotskyists and Sapronovists, which were expelled from the party by the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Republic immediately after the congress and after the disintegration of the Opposition bloc developed illegal anti-Soviet activities, namely attempts to create a secret organization to prepare a series of anti-Soviet actions and to establish close contact with representatives in Moscow of foreign bourgeoisie, by whom the Trotskyists transmitted malignantly false information to other countries and established connections with their supporters abroad.

In view of these facts, it has been recognized as a necessary measure for the ensuring of the interests of the proletarian State to deport from Moscow 30 active members of these groups, including Trotsky, Ivan Sminov, Serebriakov, Radek, Muralov, Beloborodov, Sapronov, Vladimir Smirnov, Kharetchko, Smilga, Vardin, Safarov, Sonovsky, and others. A number of other persons, including Rakovsky, Boguslavsky and Drobnis, have been enjoined to leave Moscow.

As regards Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others who have left the Opposition bloc, in view of their declaration to submit to all condition and decisions of the Fifteenth Congress they have been sent by the party organizations to take up work in the provinces.

Exiles' Appeal to the Communist International

Just before their banishment, Trotsky, Rakovsky, Radek, Smilga, Smirnov, and several others of the exiled Opposition leaders addressed an appeal to the Communist International, which is about to convene its Sixth Congress. The appeal begins:

We, the undersigned, expelled from the Russian Communist Party in connection with

the decisions of the fifteen conference of our party, held it to be necessary to appeal against this decision to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. But by order of the OGPU (Cheka) we, old Bolshevik Party workers, are being banished to the most distant territories of the Union without any charges being brought against us, with the sole purpose of severing our communications with Moscow and other labor centers, and consequently also with the Sixth Congress.

They, therefore, decided on the eve of their departure to address this appeal to the Comintern Executive, with the request that it be brought to the notice of the central committees of all Communist parties.

The Opposition leaders then enter upon a long defense and explanation of their policy and conduct. The domestic strife which has led to their exclusion from the party is, they say, the result of their trying to express their views. Under Lenin it could not have arisen, because disputes were then threshed out thoroughly in public. The present system, they argue, will prove fatal to the Comintern and to the international proletarian movement, which cannot afford to dispense with experienced revolutionary leaders.

Because they were deprived of their normal right to place their views before the party conference they were driven to make use of a State printing press independently, and at the jubilee demonstration they carried posters calling attention to the dangers of the "Nepmen" (private traders), *Kulaki* (well-to-do peasants), and bureaucrats, and the departure from pure Leninism. If the parties of the Comintern have had no means of judging properly the historical importance of the Opposition in the Russian Communist Party, the bourgeoisie of the world had already delivered its unambiguous judgment. All serious bourgeois organs in all countries regard the Russian Communist Opposition as their deadly foe, and, on the other hand, look upon the policy of the present controlling majority in Soviet Russia as a necessary stage in the transition of the U. S. S. R. to the ways of the "civilized"—that is to say, capitalistic—world. The banishment of themselves, soldiers of the October Revolution and

comrades-in-arms of Lenin, was the clearest expression of the class changes which had occurred in Soviet Russia and of the adoption by the political controller of a policy of opportunism.

In conclusion, the Opposition leaders, who make it clear that they refuse to abandon one iota of their program, appeal to all Communist parties at the Comin-

tern Congress to examine thoroughly the questions at issue in the broad daylight and with the fullest participation of the party masses. In the meantime "we bow to force and leave the scenes of our party and Soviet labore for a senseless and aimless exile. . . . We address to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International a demand for readmission into the party."

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

A Little History

By M. S. CALL

EARLY in the last century a Congregational minister, who had seen service in the war of the Revolution, published an epoch-making essay. He was a man of remarkable mentality, a devout Christian and benign gentleman. The essay, published on Christmas day, 1814, was called "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War." The man was Noah Worcester, then in his middle fifties, a ripe student of ethics and religion, and withal a man of tremendous, though quiet, force.

He recommended in his essay, after dealing logically with the intolerable aspects of war, that a confederacy of nations and a high court of equity be substituted as a method of ironing out international difficulties. Then, in order to create a public sentiment which would demand and support such methods as a substitute for war, he recommended the organization of peace societies, the circulation of peace literature, the giving of peace sermons and addresses.

After forming, with William Ellery Channing, the Massachusetts Peace Society, December, 1815, he issued at intervals a forty-page pamphlet containing arguments for peace instead of war. The series was called "*The Friend of Peace.*" The first number, appearing in 1816, was really a tract, with the title, "Six Letters from Omar to the President." Almost immediately, however, the numbers began to contain several shorter articles, and by the time Number III came out news items were included. Names of the officials of the Massachusetts Peace Society and resolutions passed by that body appeared

in *The Friend of Peace*, as well as notices and reviews of a few other publications.

It had become in reality a magazine. A volume stretched over several years. Volume IV, for instance—the final one—contained fourteen numbers and four appendix issues, extending over the years 1824-1828.

In the third appendix, appearing in the summer of 1828, the fact is recorded that on May 8 the American Peace Society had been formed. Mr. William Ladd, prime mover in organizing this central society, had been mentioned previously in the *Friend of Peace* as having formed five auxiliaries to the Massachusetts Peace Society.

Shortly before this time the venerable Dr. Worcester had desired, because of age and infirmities, to cease publishing his magazine, and so stated at a meeting of the Massachusetts Peace Society; but fear was expressed at that meeting that if this periodical were relinquished the cause would be left without a means of circulating its appeal. At that juncture William Ladd solemnly pledged the Society that if God spared his life and health there should be a peace periodical, whether he could get the assistance of others or not.

In the same issue of the *Friend of Peace* that noted the formation of the American Peace Society, mention is made of the *Harbinger of Peace* edited by William Ladd. It was this "*Harbinger of Peace*" that marked the American Peace Society's first efforts to publish a monthly magazine. The fourth and last appendix to the *Friend of Peace* contains an an-

nouncement of number five of the *Harbinger of Peace*. "This work," says Dr. Worcester, "contains a variety of matter adapted to the objects of the Society and promises to be extensively useful, should it be encouraged according to its merits."

Here ended, in 1828, the *Friend of Peace*, quite truly the parent of the *Harbinger of Peace*.

Beginning with the American Peace Society itself and edited by its first Corresponding Secretary, William Ladd, the first number of the *Harbinger*, May, 1828, makes the following statement:

"Though in our official capacity we shall leave wholly untouched the question whether war strictly defensive be consistent with Christianity, . . . we shall lay no such restraints on our correspondents and will receive with pleasure any well-written essays on the great cause, should the writer take either side of the question for granted."

Thus was inaugurated the broad policy of working only upon the major problem of war as a custom. With few exceptions, the same policy as to the right of individual decision in specific cases has been followed by the twelve editors who have succeeded Mr. Ladd. The whole system of war as a policy of nations has been, itself, the object of attack, and many apparently associated subjects have repeatedly been refused admission to the magazine, in order that the main issue be not confused.

For some time after its beginning, the *Harbinger* was published monthly, its volume beginning in May each year. The duodecimo, twenty-four page numbers had one column to the page and contained one leading article, four to six pages long. Usually there was also each month a short peace address or abridged sermon, followed by anecdotes relating to war, and by comments, letters, and news of branch societies. There was often a poem on the last page, and, once a year, fairly complete reports of the annual meeting.

Since Mr. Ladd, who resided in the little town of Minot, Maine, was continually traveling about New England and New York, preaching peace, his editing and writing were done on the wing, and the magazine was printed, sometimes in

New York, sometimes in Portland or Boston, or wherever he chanced to find the nearest printer. For two years the periodical was issued in this "difficult and vexatious manner." Yet, selling at ten cents a copy, the magazine was circulated for a time without pecuniary loss to Mr. Ladd, though he received no compensation for his services and expenses "except the luxury of doing good."

Then arrangements were made with a New York publisher, and all copy was mailed to that city. It was a matter of some four hundred miles from Minot to New York, with irregular semiweekly mails; so this, too, proved to be an unsatisfactory method. Then, in May, 1830, Rev. L. D. Dewey, living in New York city, volunteered to act as assistant editor, and to take charge of all subscriptions except those from Maine. But even this arrangement left so great a burden upon Mr. Ladd, so much of whose energy was thrown into preaching and organizing, that in May, at the close of the third year, the first number of the new volume was delayed until the directors could reach some decision as to the future.

In June, 1831, therefore, some decided changes were made. An editorial board, headed by Ladd, was appointed. The magazine was enlarged to thirty-two octavo pages and the name changed to "*The Calumet*." It was now to be issued bimonthly.

Mr. Ladd continued to furnish the bulk of the material until May, 1833, when, two days after the annual meeting of the Society, he suffered a slight paralytic shock. The directors then, at Mr. Ladd's earnest request, engaged the part-time services of a theological student in New York as editor, Mr. R. M. Chipman, soon succeeded by Rev. George Bush, who was with difficulty persuaded to attempt the work. However, after two more issues, the Society's slender funds were exhausted and the editing of the magazine fell back again upon Ladd.

Mr. Ladd did not entirely approve of the editorial policies of the less experienced editors, and by anonymous contributions on various topics he tried in the last four numbers of Volume IV to counteract the damage he conceived they had done. In Mr. Ladd's reduced state of

health, however, the continuance of the *Calumet* on the old lines was impossible.

By that time the Connecticut Peace Society, through the enthusiasm and ability of William Watson, of Hartford, had begun, June, 1834, the publication of a quarterly called the "*American Advocate of Peace*," edited by C. S. Henry. The Connecticut Society was not then auxiliary to the American Society, and for a year the two magazines struggled on side by side. Then, feeling that it was "better for one periodical to be well supported than for two to starve," Mr. Ladd, through the exercise of considerable diplomacy, succeeded in arranging for the *Calumet* to be united with the *American Advocate of Peace*, to be published in Hartford for the American Peace Society.

Thus arrived the new title, *American Advocate of Peace*, preserved with minor changes ever since. Beginning in June, 1835, therefore, it became the organ of the national Society, with Francis Fellowes as its editor. It remained a quarterly, containing two or more scholarly essays in each issue, a number of book reviews, and a meager page or two of peace-movement news.

At the same time the executive department of the American Peace Society moved to Hartford, which now became the headquarters not only of the Connecticut Peace Society and the Hartford County Peace Society, but of the national Society as well. Worthy material for the magazine began to pour in richly. William Ladd continued his labors as general agent of the American Peace Society and Mr. Watson assumed entire responsibility for the magazine. With this division of labor, both the Society and the periodical flourished better in Hartford than before. For a year and a half the magazine went out from there to a growing number of subscribers and branch society members. But William Watson, the mainspring of local operations in Hartford, died in November, 1836. His death dealt a heavy blow to the magazine.

The directors decided that, without Mr. Watson, Hartford was not so well adapted to the publication of the pamphlets and the periodical as was Boston, which seemed to them "a sort of moral observatory and lighthouse to the nation."

Therefore the headquarters of the American Peace Society were removed, in May, 1837, to Boston.

At its first meeting there, the executive committee voted to call the magazine simply the "*Advocate of Peace*," and to begin a new series with the June number. Mr. Ladd began again to contribute the bulk of articles and reports, some signed with his own name, some with pen names. He was now president of the Society, while Mr. George Beckwith was corresponding secretary and very active as an agent. Later the sole editor of the magazine, Mr. Beckwith served a valuable apprenticeship under Mr. Ladd in the committee of publications and for some time before Ladd's death as general superintendent of publications.

At the beginning of the second year in Boston, June, 1838, the editor announced a prosperous first year, with an edition of 2,000 copies, distributed for the most part to paying subscribers. The expense, however, had been heavy. An appeal for more subscribers was followed by the announcement that the magazine would be changed from a quarterly to a monthly, the number of pages increased one-third, but that the price would remain unchanged.

From 1839 to 1842 the magazine was issued rather irregularly. This was due partly to lack of adequate funds, partly to the effort to work the volumes around so that they would begin in January instead of June.

Mr. Ladd, through a period of reduced health, had forged on with his arduous and sacrificial labor for the Society. He died in 1841. The American Peace Society and its periodical then found themselves in serious plight. Ladd had often carried the greater part of the expenses personally, besides contributing his entire time and services. New workers, however, rallied to the support of the Society, and its activities went on.

Mr. Beckwith now took full charge of publications. The subject of a congress and court of nations, so ably advocated by Ladd, continued to be presented in the magazine, and Rev. Mr. Coues, who succeeded Mr. Ladd as president, frequently contributed the leading articles.

It is perhaps worthy of note, in connection with M. Briand's proposal in 1927 of a treaty outlawing war between France

and the United States, that the October-November number of the *Advocate of Peace* for 1842 contained the following paragraph, quoted from William Jay:

"Suppose that in our next treaty with France an article were inserted of the following import: 'It is agreed between the contracting parties that if, unhappily, any controversy shall hereafter arise between them in respect to the true meaning and intention of any stipulation in this present treaty, or in respect to any other subject which controversy cannot be adjusted by negotiation, neither party shall resort to hostilities against the other; but the matter in dispute shall, by special convention, be submitted to the arbitrament of one or more friendly powers; and the parties agree to abide by the award which may be given in pursuance of such submission'."

Judge William Jay was the son of John Jay, first Chief Justice of the United States. He was then a vice-president, and later president of the American Peace Society, a position which he held through the last ten years of his life.

In January, 1843, the new volume of the magazine announced a slight change of policy. Shorter articles, more facts and statistics, more anecdotes designed to interest both old and young, were introduced. News of foreign and domestic peace work became more continuous. The number of pages was reduced, and one volume covered two years. An edition of from 5,000 to 8,000 was distributed, much of it gratuitously.

The account of the first international peace congress, in London, June, 1843, occupied several numbers. During these years, too, it was customary to publish frequently lists, not only of the officers of the Society, but also, at times, of life members and all contributors of funds. Such lists have now no little historic value.

The Society always saw clearly the importance of its organ as a means of propaganda for peace, but the production of it was often a serious burden. The executive committee considered this aspect of the case very seriously at its meeting, May 27, 1845. The combined duties of general agent, which meant traveling about, and editor, which meant much desk work, were an onerous burden to successive sec-

retaries. At this May meeting, Mr. Amasa Walker advised the moving of the magazine to Worcester and the editing and publishing of it there by Mr. Elihu Burritt, who had shown great ability and resourcefulness in publicity for the cause. The matter was considered *pro* and *con*, and finally, at the November meeting of the committee, 1845, it was voted, first, "that from January, 1845, we transfer the *Advocate of Peace* into Mr. Burritt's hands, to be published entirely on his own responsibility"; second, "that the Society take 500 copies at fifty cents each per volume and allow Mr Burritt the first cost for all the others which the Society may need." The Society further retained the right of appointing the editor, and for the present appointed Mr. Burritt. It also retained the right to take back into its own hands the conduct of the *Advocate of Peace*, upon proper notice and remuneration to Mr. Burritt. At the same time it decided to keep the headquarters of the Society in Boston, and Mr. Beckwith was to devote his whole time to the administration of its business.

Beginning January, 1846, therefore, the magazine, in better type, with "an ornamental cover" and double its former size, was issued regularly from Worcester, Massachusetts, the city in which Mr. Burritt then had his home. Its full title now became "*The Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*." The "Learned Blacksmith" had for some time been interested in the League for Universal Brotherhood and conceived the two movements as one.

The new series contained much less news about the American Peace Society than before; but it was filled with many short articles, essays and poems on peace, with two or three pages usually devoted to the progress of peace principles in the world. Mrs. Sigourney, the poet, contributed frequently; Longfellow and W. W. Story were among the several other poets appearing in the issues of this year. It is recorded that the number of subscribers increased under the new management.

In October, 1846, Mr. Burritt published in the *Advocate* a pledge put out by the League of Universal Brotherhood in Worcester, Massachusetts, and in Birming-

ham, England, and urged its general adoption by persons in this country. The pledge added to the anti-war-system idea the abolition of all customs and institutions tending to make or keep men unequal. It contained, explicitly, the refusal to serve in any war, and was considered by many to be implicitly anti-capital punishment, anti-slavery, and even in its final interpretation, anti-government.

Meanwhile the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society had restated its policy in May, 1846. It resolved "That the Society, in accordance with its constitution, as it has ever done, will confine itself definitely to the single object of abolishing international war." It reiterated its intention to keep entirely clear of anti-government propaganda, or anti-capital punishment, or any issue other than that of international war as a custom of settling disputes between nations.

Such drastic difference of opinion as to the province of the Society and its organ was bound to precipitate a crisis. Therefore, in December 1846, Mr. Burritt and others of the more radical members of the board of directors and the executive committee resigned from office. This allowed those who believed, for instance, in capital punishment or who believed that occasions might arise when defensive war would be righteous, to work in the Society against the occasions for war.

The magazine, therefore, reverted to the central office for publication, and Mr. Burritt, though friendly to the Society, devoted the most of his time for some years to more radical reform movements. He and all the group, however, retained membership in the Society and became later active again in its work, though on the conservative program.

In January, 1847, the title became once more the "*Advocate of Peace*." It was issued again under Mr. Beckwith's editorship, on alternate months, two years to the volume. It again sought subscribers among all, "without regard to sect or party," who wished to labor for the abolishing of international war. The contents included an increasing number of articles on concrete situations in this

country and abroad. Foreign wars were often used as illustrative material for peace principles.

The Mexican War, never popular in the Northern States, was opposed without taint of treason, in the *Advocate of Peace*. In the belief that a review of that war would point the moral of peace, a prize was offered through the *Advocate* for the best book on the subject. The prize was awarded April, 1849, to Rev. Mr. Livermore, of Keene, New Hampshire; but, since he had to be abroad for some months just at that time, the first to be published was the second choice, the manuscript written by Judge William Jay, then President of the Society. This review of the Mexican War remains today a little classic on the subject. It was advertised extensively in the magazine, and widely circulated.

In the year 1849, nearly the whole of the issue covering July, August, and September was filled with the annual address delivered before the Society by Charles Sumner, then one of the executive committee. This, too, remains one of the classics of peace literature.

The international peace congresses in Europe, coming on the scene from 1843 to 1853, were fully reported in the magazine. Meanwhile the editions increased, both because of an additional number of subscribers and because many gratuitous copies were circulated where they might be supposed to do good.

Mr. Beckwith's health failed in 1856, and J. P. Blanchard volunteered as temporary editor. The brevity and popular form of articles in the magazine mark the transition. Considerable fiction with a peace moral, including some stories by T. S. Arthur, appeared at this time. Mr. Beckwith, however, returned to his editorial duties a few months later, and the character of the articles became again more solid in nature.

In the number for December, 1856, the slavery question forced its way into the *Advocate*. An article on "Peace and Slavery" was reluctantly admitted to its columns, with the following note by the editor: "This article, though somewhat aside from our usual course of discus-

sion, deserves very serious consideration. . . . We should be glad to regard its leading topic a *side issue*, but we fear it will too soon be found to lie directly across the path of our cause."

As in every other war which the Society has weathered, it had tried desperately through its organ to advise other means of settlement of this crisis. Many possible solutions of the conflict of ideas between the North and the South were admitted to the magazine's pages, but in the end its only path lay in the abandonment of all search for the course proper for individuals to pursue in the war which broke out. Each individual must use his own judgment, and the Society published the fact that as a Society it was not concerned with the methods of governments in dealing with insurrection; but that it was still, as always, unalterably opposed to the system of international war.

The dilemma of subscribers to the *Advocate of Peace*, many of whom were abolitionists as well, was also serious. The war was on. The government called for soldiers. The Society and its magazine had to content itself with marking time. Succeeding numbers of the *Advocate* continued to clarify its support of the government, but rigidly adhered to its opposition to the war method between nations. It declared its great work to be "to educate the entire community in the principles of peace— . . . a herculean task, but it can be done."

Organization activities of the Society ceased, perforce, during the war. It maintained its office, however, and the magazine, appearing regularly and unfalteringly, was, through the labors and generosity of a few men, sent gratis to thousands of religious groups and to about a thousand periodicals. An edition of about 40,000 copies was at times distributed in this way.

By the year 1866, however, it was deemed that the time had come to return to a policy of paid subscriptions. This materially reduced the size of the editions printed.

The necessity of clarifying its views, precipitated by the Civil War, was no new thing for the Society. It had before and has since faced specific situations blocking

the path of preconceived, absolute doctrines. Fortunately, Ladd and his coworkers had sanely laid firm foundations. It was only necessary to dig away the irrelevant to come to tenets which could well be accepted and emphasized. The magazine was found, at the close of the war, to have settled upon its two main points, which it stressed: 1. The formation of a code of international law; 2. The establishment of means for arbitration and the judicial settlement of disputes between nations. While arguments on the desirability of peace still appeared, the emphasis was now upon these points dealing with the relations between nations. The thought was to open the way for nations to achieve their interests by means other than war.

In January, 1869, the magazine was given a larger page and better type. Brief articles and poems broke up the solid columns. Oliver Wendell Holmes, John G. Whittier, Julia Ward Howe, and William C. Bryant frequently appeared among the contributors.

This era was marked by the organization of a Western Department, reports of which were frequently printed in the magazine. Then, too, short notes of the doings of foreign governments which might be of general interest appeared quite regularly.

During 1870, notes on the editorial page refer to the illness of Mr. Beckwith, and in March, Rev. Amasa Lord was announced to have come East from the Western Department to take charge of the office and publications. In May, Mr. Beckwith died, after thirty years of arduous labor in behalf of the Society and its magazine. Thanks to his work, the small circulation of the *Advocate* was reported doubled in 1870, though large numbers of copies were still sent gratis to organizations and to some persons.

Indeed, all lines of work were enlarged that year, and the fact that many other papers gave space to peace articles was hailed by Mr. Lord as the "end of the stage of martyrdom and the beginning of the stage of statesmanship."

In August, 1870, the last leaf of the *Advocate* was called "The Child's Advocate of Peace." It carried illustrations and matter intended to interest children. In 1872 it was issued separately for chil-

dren and called "*The Angel of Peace.*" This continued as a separate paper, though under the same editorship as the *Advocate of Peace*, until 1905, when it was discontinued "from lack of support."

In 1871, Mr. Lord, because of ill health, relinquished much of his work, and the new secretary, Rev. James B. Miles, became editor of the *Advocate*.

In the Boston fire, the latter part of that year, the Society lost many of its plates and much of its other material which was at the publishing house, though its offices in the Wesleyan Building were untouched. These losses, combined with the financial depression of the seventies, caused the magazine to suffer heavily, as is evident from its appearance. The election of Charles H. Malcolm as secretary in 1876 gave the *Advocate* a new editor, but the periodical changed its aspect very little. When Mr. Howard C. Dunham became its tenth editor, October, 1879, it was a paper of only eight quarto pages and there were only four or less issues to the volume. New volumes began anywhere from July to January.

A decided change, however, can be noticed with the arrival, in 1884, of Rev. Rowland B. Howard as editor. The last volume of the preceding series had been numbered XV. The new volume, however, was given the number 47, perhaps because the magazine under the general title, *Advocate of Peace*, which it now carried, had been running for forty-seven years, though, as a matter of fact, many volumes had covered more than one year. From now on it was the policy to make the beginning of each volume coincide with the year. The entire appearance was now changed and the title read the "*American Advocate of Peace and Arbitration.*" Each number contained sixteen pages, including the cover, which was white like the pages. The price was announced at fifty cents a year; but this was raised two years thereafter to one dollar—a price which was maintained until after the World War.

Mr. Howard died in Rome, January, 1892, and his place was filled by Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D., who served as secretary and editor for the next twenty-three years. The changes which Dr. Trueblood made in the magazine were not

drastic at first, but gradual improvement kept pace with general magazine development for those years. The title was changed again to "*American Advocate of Peace,*" and later, in June, 1894, to *Advocate of Peace*. Editorials were increasingly able. The short paragraph news dealt with political and economic affairs where they obviously touched upon peace matters. The new series of world peace congresses, which had already begun in 1889, in Paris, were attended usually by the editor and carefully reported in the magazine.

Among the fundamental improvements in the *Advocate* was the appearance of an annual index, at first a very simple one. Less poetry appeared now and no fiction. The themes of arbitration and a world court were continually kept to the fore.

The crisis of the Spanish-American War was met and survived without serious breakdown of the policy of the magazine. By 1900 the editor called attention to the century's growth in the public attitude toward peace. The secular press and general literature then took often the peace point of view for granted, and attention was already concentrated upon methods of securing it.

In February, 1904, three auxiliary societies were reported in the *Advocate*. By 1908 there were ten. This made greater demand for the periodical, so that in that year an edition of 5,500 was distributed. Two years later, 7,000.

In May, 1911, the *Advocate of Peace* announced another removal of its headquarters, this time to Washington, D. C. With the rapid growth of branch societies, it was felt by the directors that a truly national center could better extend its work. The June number for that year, therefore, was published in Washington.

The following year there was a general reorganization of the Society on a federative basis, the *Advocate* reporting twenty-five branch societies.

The present editor of the *Advocate of Peace* was called to the central office as executive director in 1912. He had already helped, in 1906, to organize the new Connecticut Peace Society, of which he became president, and since 1910 he had

been a member of the board of directors of the American Peace Society.

Dr. Trueblood was taken ill the following year, 1913, and, although he recovered sufficiently to resume his editorial duties for a time, his reduced health compelled him to lay down his responsibilities finally in June, 1915. A member of the Society of Friends, Dr. Trueblood had always taken so broad a position on peace questions that men of many minds in other matters could co-operate in the work of the American Peace Society. Shortly after the resignation of Dr. Trueblood, Mr. Call was elected secretary and editor.

This was in the midst of the World War. Like all other wars, but in a greater degree, the World War worked havoc on the membership of the American Peace Society and also with the support of its magazine. Mr. Call carried the work on, however, in the same general lines as those laid down by his predecessors.

When the United States recognized the state of war with Germany, a war situation again confronted the magazine. Once more it was decided that a specific condition arising from the maladjustment of the world must be met and that without violence to the purposes of the Society. So the *Advocate*, in this crisis, supported squarely the government, recognizing that the only way out of the war was through. Meanwhile the war itself was pointing the moral so long preached in the *Advocate of Peace*.

However, the Society suffered heavy losses. Its branches largely melted away because of the strenuous efforts to win the war, and support of the *Advocate* naturally lessened. It was published regularly, nevertheless, and some improvements were inaugurated in type and general make-up during the war.

When the war closed, the whole peace movement was found to be split up into countless fragments and factions. Voices were raised to preach doctrines ranging all the way from anti-government to the enforcement of peace and support of the new League of Nations.

A reorganization, this time away from the federative principle, took place in the Society in 1921, and in 1924 the format of the magazine underwent a complete change. It took the shape of most of the best monthlies of the day, with a smaller page than before, two columns to the page, sixty-four pages to the number, a blue cover, and the title amended to read, "*Advocate of Peace Through Justice*," with the words "For International Understanding" at the top of the front cover. Gratuitous distribution largely stopped with the rising costs of production, and the magazine, on a sounder basis of support, took its place among the better magazines dealing with international affairs.

The policy is still to emphasize international justice, with special stress, at the moment, upon the codification of international law. To this it has added the presentation, by unbiased contributors, of political, economic, and social trends abroad.

It is hoped that by its present policy the magazine may advance better understanding between nations. It gives space to news of any kind pertinent to the growth of a rational peace between peoples. The methods of working for peace are now so varied, carried on by so many men and women of differing ideas, that the magazine finds a widening field upon which it can draw. As an aid for all those seriously interested to advance the cause of the friendly settlement of international disputes, it apparently meets a demand.

As one views the varied peace currents of today, especially the longing for a closer community of effort, it looks as if this magazine, the oldest of its kind in the world, together with its reprints, scattered far and wide for a century, has not been without effect. There is still need for further development of the periodical. Only lack of funds stands in the way. It may be expected, in any case, however, to go on with its insistence upon the sure, if unspectacular, methods of reason and justice.

So there the *Advocate of Peace* stands at the end of its first hundred years of existence.



SHOULD ANY NATIONAL DISPUTE BE RESERVED FROM ARBITRATION?*

By JACKSON H. RALSTON, Esq.

(Mr. Ralston, author of "International Arbitral Law and Procedure," has represented the United States in a number of international cases.)

A MAN presents himself at the portals of Ellis Island. Our laws, the justice or efficacy of which we do not discuss, require us to question him. "Do you believe in organized government?" He answers, "I believe in government, of course, but let it not interfere with me. I accept it so long as it does not affect my personal independence, so long as it leaves me master of whatever concerns mine honor and permits me to avenge myself upon all who infringe upon that honor. I believe in government so long as it allows me, as sovereign over my own destiny, to determine for myself what interests are vital to me and to slay those who, in my opinion, trench upon them." To the man who so replies we say: "Your recognition of government is formal; your appreciation of right as between man and man is undeveloped. If admitted to our country, you would be a danger to our well-being. In very essence you are an anarchist and as such may not enter."

Let us suppose a new state has arisen demanding recognition and admission to the family of nations. Its representatives, when entering into treaty obligations with other nations, are permitted to withdraw from submission to the judgment of any tribunal formed to adjudicate international difficulties all questions which affect its independence, its honor, or its vital interests. Whether in fact a dispute involves any of these elements, the State retains, and is recognized as having a right to retain, the privilege of determining for itself. At most today we ask, not insist, that it shall arbitrate pecuniary claims.

When such a position is taken in international law, is not the wildest anarchy legitimized? Little harm can the sentiments of one man do. His opinions and interests will be corrected and controlled by the opinions and interests of his neighbors. Perforce he must submit to the judgment of his fellows all the questions as to which the man at Ellis Island claimed the right of self-determination. But when a State—which, after all, is but a collection of human units—determines, without restraint, its justification for war over such questions and even settles for itself their very existence, thus claiming the right, governed only by its own sense of justice, to steal from and to murder another million of human units who exercise a similar power, we have chaos unspeakable—chaos sanctified. By international law, paradoxically speaking, thus we have regulated chaos. And yet analysis shows that after all there is presented to us but the simple problem with which we opened—the right of anarchy—a problem confused only by the indefinite multiplication of the participants.

We will not lose sight of the fact that, even as to pecuniary claims, in almost every case a nation may refuse arbitration, upon the pretense that the very advancement of such claims is a reflection upon its honor, perhaps because there is offered a suggestion deemed disgraceful to its administrative or judicial officers, to which suggestion it refuses to submit. Must we not, then, conclude that our international law is but taking its first few feeble steps; that we are just entering upon a long and painful period of education, the end of which will be to assimilate international justice to national justice?

Taking a look into the future, we may recognize that the time must come when

*The demand for this statement, first made in address by Mr. Ralston before the Pennsylvania Peace Congress, May 18, 1908, has exhausted our supply. For that reason it is here reproduced.—EDITOR.

such a thing as international law relating to warfare will be as obsolete as is today common and statute law relating to the status of slaves. I remember as a boy reading a book, then old, laying down the rules of the *Code Duello*. Today such a work prescribing the amenities of private murder would seem as out of place in our civilization as, let us hope, in the future will seem the half of the volumes of international law which are now given over to the examination of the courtesies of public slaughter.

But our course seems clear. We must develop the idea of arbitration, insist that no question is too small, no interest too great, to be subjected to the judgment of disinterested and competent men; for, internationally as well as in our private lives, something on its face immaterial may lead to consequences coloring history. Tracing the causes of wars to their obscure beginnings, how often we find that foolish jealousies, accidental or intentional lack of observance of the smaller courtesies of life, have led on and on to the slaughter of thousands. But if apparently small things can with justice and advantage be settled between man and man and nation and nation by submission to impartial men, with how much more obvious reason should the larger and more dangerous matters take the same course! And, after all, can those who take part in them best determine whether the matters in dispute be large or small, great enough to justify the killing of thousands or insignificant enough to be atoned for by the payment of a few dollars?

How needless does calm investigation show to have been even modern wars conducted by men priding themselves upon their civilization? Can any one living tell beyond a peradventure what was the Schleswig-Holstein question, which involved a bloody conflict? Was there just and sufficient cause for the Franco-Prussian struggle? Does any one attach large importance to the supposed questions leading to the Crimean War, and was the charge of the Light Brigade, immortalized in poetry, sufficient return to the world for thousands of deaths among the subjects of four nations?

When we look back upon all these struggles, standing in the disinterested attitude of strangers to them, living as short a time as from forty to sixty years after, and consider their doubtful or inadequate causes, can we not agree that the arbitration of a group of cool and disinterested men living contemporaneously could, if asked, have afforded a peaceful and honorable solution? And if in any of these cases the causes were so slight or so involved and so difficult of reasonable statement as to preclude reference to arbitration, may we not think such fact to be sufficient to condemn States engaging in such wars as mere brawlers in the family of nations?

Visible advances toward the goal I have indicated have been made, and in the making America has taken an honorable and leading part. Repeatedly have we arbitrated boundary questions, questions of a nature which, in a less civilized age or with less cultivated participants, would have led to frightful wars and have been regarded by the countries in dispute as affecting their honor and vital interests. Very many commissions to which we have been parties have settled claims disputes touching wrongs to individual citizens of a character which, under less happy circumstances, would have spelt war, and for even smaller aggravation than has been involved in them less favored nations have with heartiness entered upon throat-cutting and destruction. Can we not even today take pride in the Alabama Claims Commission, which satisfactorily solved questions which might be classified as of honor and vital interests, although ostensibly determining only pecuniary liability, and which made this settlement at a cost which, compared with that of a few weeks of war, was infinitesimal?

Even in the small matter of claims of individual citizens, no nation can properly be a judge in its own cause. Many a time has this been illustrated, and I will refer but briefly to a recent demonstration with regard to Venezuela. When the ten commissions sat in Caracas, in 1903, to determine the claims of as many nations against Venezuela, there were presented before them demands aggregating

in round numbers \$36,000,000. The commissions and umpires determined that but \$6,500,000 should be paid, or, roughly, 18 per cent of the original amount of the demands. One nation, as a condition precedent to the execution of the protocol of arbitration of her remaining claims, demanded payment in full in advance of certain claims aggregating nearly \$350,000. For precisely similar claims submitted to arbitration she received 28 per cent of her demands, indicating fallibility, as I believe, when she acted as her own judge and demonstrating that the advance payment was largely unjustifiable. The experience of other nations before like tribunals was of the same general nature. And the history of claims arbitrations furnishes many similar instances.

But what is honor, about which nations hesitate to arbitrate? For theft, for murder, we have a definite measure, born of the universal conscience, the same yesterday, today, and forever; but honor, as the term is applied, is a mental concept varying with the mood of the times. He who accuses my honor does not rob me. Honor is only to be lost by my personal act. The impeachment of my honor may call for self-examination to determine whether the accusation be well founded. The death of the offender does not adjudicate the falsehood of the accusation.

If the delivery of an insult be considered to be an impeachment of honor, should the reply come in the shape of war? If a man or a nation is insulted, as we term it, is the insult extinguished by the death of the insulter? Does not the killing convict the slayer of want of discretion and temper? Is not the best answer a well-ordered life and established good reputation? Should not other resort be forbidden than declination of further relations with the offender, who, individual or nation, has merely sinned against good manners?

A reservation of independence as not the subject of arbitration seems, on analysis, meaningless though harmless. Arbitration postulates an agreement between equals. Questioning the independence of one party or the other involves a doubt as to their equality and is foreign to the idea of arbitration.

When we treat of vital interests we touch a subject never properly to be withdrawn from arbitration. What are vital interests? They are today whatever the nation declares to be such and withdraws from arbitration. The so-called vital interests are matters of commerce, trade and politics. As to matters of trade and commerce, we shall submit that their advancement as a basis for vital interests is founded upon a misconception of the purposes of government. As I take it, governments are formed to preserve the true liberty of the individual, to protect him in his rights of person and, as subordinate to his rights of person, his rights of property. They are not formed to extend and develop commerce and trade as such. Properly speaking, no nation has political interests beyond its own borders, and were we to enter upon the reign of arbitration no question of political interest, as we shall attempt to demonstrate, could properly arise.

Politically speaking, vital interests are, when analyzed, found to be based upon either a desire to ultimately possess something now belonging to another or a fear that a strong nation may violently so enlarge itself as to endanger us. With the thorough establishment of unrestricted arbitration we will not be able to indulge our predatory instincts at the expense of our neighbors. With such condition, we will not fear lest another nation so aggrandize itself by violence as to be a source of danger to us. At one and the same time we would restrain our own unjust acquisitiveness and we would lose our fear. The thorough establishment, therefore, of arbitration means the cancellation of the term "vital interests" as applied to politics.

Can we hope for justice from arbitration? We might, in view of the course of our discussion, respond by asking, Has justice been obtained from war? Long ago legislators found that the wager of battle failed to secure justice between man and man. Without lengthening the discussion, we may believe that armed conflict has not on the whole advanced the rule of right. When at one time war has served to check inordinate ambition, at as many others it has furthered its

purposes. We may concede that in private matters justice has often gone forward with halting steps, has even at times seemed to go backward; yet who among us would dispense with the conclusions of judge and jury and revive the wager of battle?

From the beginning, with the advantage of national precedents and experiences, we may expect arbitration to bring us approximate justice. That always exact justice should be rendered may not be expected. The members of our Supreme Court, differing as they frequently do most vitally, will not say that this tribunal has never erred. But, despite the possibility of error, we find that order and the well-being of the community must be maintained even at the chance of individual injustice, a chance which no human skill can eliminate.

Arbitral history leads us to the conclusion that more than an approximation of right may be expected, that a tribunal which is the center of observation by the whole world will seek to give, and will give, a judgment as nearly righteous as may be. In the whole history of arbitra-

tions, but one tribunal has ever been suspected of corruption, and, by joint agreement, its findings were reviewed. Slight criticism may be made of the generality of other like tribunals. Today, doubtless, even the English will agree that the findings of the Alabama Joint High Commission were just.

Of the arbitral sentences given by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, one alone—that in the Venezuelan Preferential Case—has received serious criticism. Even in this case judicial settlement, though perhaps erroneous, was immensely valuable.

Let it not be said that the ideas to which I have sought to give expressions are too advanced, are impractical. It is only by "hitching our wagon to a star" that we may progress. Let us not forget that there is nothing blinder and stupider, nothing less practical, than the so-called practical man; that only among the dreamers of dreams of human advancement are to be found those whom the flow of events demonstrates to have had the clearness of vision of the truly practical man.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*

By Mrs. RUFUS C. DAWES

Retiring Chairman of the Department of International Relations of the General Federation of Women's Clubs

IN CONNECTION with the work of this department for international relations, many interesting letters have come from peace societies on the one hand and defense societies on the other. The time is coming when representatives of these two schools of thought will either have to work together for a common end or cease trying to be the moulders of American opinion. At present they are occupying opposite and increasingly hostile camps. They are using a great deal of time and energy in fighting each other that ought to be used in the service of humanity. Each side declares that its objective is peace, but the activities of both sides are not suggestive of peace so much as of the age-old urge to war.

"The peace societies quote President Washington's sentiments in favor of world peace when he said, 'My first wish is to see this plague of mankind banished from the earth and the sons and daughters of the world employed in more pleasing and innocent pursuits than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind.' The defense societies quote General Washington in favor of defense: 'To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual ways of preserving peace. A free people ought not only to be armed but to be disciplined.'

Urges Study of Washington

"It would pay us all to study how Washington was able to combine these two ideas. He was neither an isolationist, advocating a great standing army,

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nor a preacher of passive resistance. The only alliances he warned against was the entangling kind. He did not at any time express the fear that future Americans would be unable to cultivate friendly relations with the rest of the world. He was too good a business man to believe that America could retain trade relations with the other nations and at the same time avoid political contacts. Washington had plans for a great citizen army, as effective for peace as the citizen army of Switzerland, but free from its compulsory features. If it had not been that the jealousy of the various States prevented the carrying out of his plan as originally intended, America might have proved as effectively as Switzerland has done that a citizen army is really a great power for peace.

"We have in America 82 peace societies, many of native origin, and some which are branches of foreign organizations. Some of these societies are doing effective work for peace. Too many, however, are trying to run the government by driving from the back seat. Patriotic Americans should not use their ballots to send their representatives to Washington and then encourage another group, who have elected themselves, to tell those representatives what to do. It is the right of American citizens to criticize their government, but those critics who have had no experience in politics and who find fault with the government, no matter what it does, are not the people to be trusted with leadership. They are the same type that in private life attribute mean motives to everybody except themselves.

"Peace societies lay themselves open to charges of being unpatriotic when they ask the colleges to urge young men to decide for themselves whether or not they will defend their country in case of war.

"These societies would do better to suggest that young men use their minds to study the causes of war and to help to discover how peaceful settlements of international disputes may be worked out. Patriotism is not a matter of choice, but of duty, and deciding to shirk in time of war is not offering a lasting contribution to the cause of peace.

"On the other hand, what can be said for those near-sighted patriots who quote

Washington as in favor of national defense, but try to brand as enemies of the Republic everybody who quotes him in favor of doing away with war? Such people set themselves up as the sole judges of patriotism and indiscriminately charge those who are laboring for peace with being in league with communists. National defense alone might mean peace if we were an isolated country, but so long as the great prosperity, of which we are so proud, is linked up with our foreign trade, we must have international friendship.

Illogical So-called Patriot

"There is another type of so-called patriot who is not worthy of the title. It is represented by the man who refuses to consider any plans for the doing away with war because he maintains that human nature and common sense are opposed to any such plan. Because men have always fought and always will, he argues that nations will always go to war. He refuses to examine the arguments of the greatest statesmen of the world and he overlooks one of the greatest factors in history in connection with the making of war. I refer to the fact that the modern type of war, carried on by means of high explosives, is less than 500 years old. It had its first try-out in 1453, at the siege of Constantinople, and we are told that in its last try-out it will not only destroy civilization, but may wipe out the whole human race. This is not human; it is diabolical. It is not common sense, but arrant nonsense, to argue that men, having brought civilization to a high level by means of ingenious inventions, should proceed on the theory that the logical outcome of such civilization is suicide.

"People who preach national isolation in the name of patriotism are about as wise and far-seeing as that famous bird with long legs and a small brain that feels safe and satisfied only when its head is buried in the sand.

"Our ignorance is often betrayed by the things we laugh at. In letters and in marked editorials I have noticed the ridicule heaped on those who speak about outlawing war, 'as if,' says one contemptuous critic, 'war could be stopped by the simple process of saying it is outlawed!' If anybody has ever suggested

such a meaning for the term it has been these critics themselves, and the only explanation of their mental attitude is that it is easier to be ignorant than to be informed. To outlaw murder does not do away with murder, but it defines murder as a crime against society and makes legal prosecution of the murderer possible. If a statute were embodied in international law making aggressive war a crime, the nation waging aggressive warfare would be an outlaw among the nations of the world and should be brought to the bar of international justice.

"Contempt for the imagined opinions of the opposing party is characteristic of much of the argument that is obscuring the whole questions of national security and international friendship. The 'See Reds' in one group and the color-blind sentimentalists in the other are not the stuff from which true leaders are made. The great mass of intelligent, patriotic citizens of this country should clear their ranks of fanatics of both extremes and should work together in one united company for patriotism and peace."

OUR ARMY

By ROSS A. COLLINS

Member of Congress from Mississippi

OUR army is generally spoken of as a small affair—a skeleton organization, if you please—one that could easily be built to in the time of national stress. This may have been true at one time, but it is not true now. The skeleton has lots of meat on its bones. In fact, it has become rather corpulent.

The army can be well divided into six parts—the Regular Army, the federalized National Guard, the Organized Reserves, the reserve Officers' Training Corps, the citizens' military training corps, and national rifles matches. The last five named of these are spoken of as civilian organizations. They are, however, promoted, controlled, and instructed by Regular Army officers and enlisted men—about 2,000 officers and about 25,000 enlisted men being directly or indirectly in charge of their military training and instruction. In the main, these so-called civilian organizations are well versed in the art of warfare. They constitute a fine lot of men. The Regular Army officers largely in charge of them know what they are after. They have worked up programs of enlargement ranging from five to fifteen years, and all of these organizations are growing in size, power, and strength like weeds in a farmer's field. Their influence is extensive and their wishes are highly respected by public officials, and with continued growth and enlargement their influence will grow with their increased size.

The beginning of another unit has now the sanction of the law. It is called the munitions unit. Congress authorized it by an amendment to the national defense act, which was approved June 8, 1926. This subcommittee, however, saw fit to prevent its beginning. The purpose of this unit was to take young men after graduation from college and give them three months' training in the Regular Army, then send them to college for nine months and after this to put them in the factories of the country for six months, giving in all eighteen months' specialized training in factory work and management, and in the event of hostilities these men would become officers and would take charge of the factories of our country and operate them under the supervision of the Regular Army. It was proposed to begin with 250 such students and later to bring it up to 400, and thence to a larger figure. The law says that one-half of 1 per cent of the enlisted strength of the Army and 2 per cent of officers can be trained annually, and with our Regular Army establishment at its present size, this would provide approximately 840 students to be trained annually, and with the retirement figure at sixty-four years it would be possible to have about 34,500 such officers. Of course, this figure is the outstanding one and should be reduced by one-half on account of deaths, resignations, and other causes; but even with 17,250 such officers its size and expense would be enormous.

This scheme has never been tried out. No country has it now or has undertaken it. The student trained may or may not follow the work for which he was specially trained. If he did not, his training was wasted. If he did pursue the work for which he was trained, it would be foolish to let him contract with himself in the purchase of supplies for the government or to permit him to adopt work standards, with the War Department backing him in his every whim. Aside from this, it is a dangerous undertaking in a republic to put its factories, including management and men, under the control of the military establishment.

The Regular Army has an enlisted strength of 118,750 men, with 12,000 officers, and to the enlisted strength should be added the Philippine scouts with 6,060 men. There are 1,215 warrant officers. There are also 165 retired officers on active duty. There are also thousands of civilians working for the Regular Army. Their number is becoming legion. Counting all officers, their number is 13,380, and the enlisted strength, including the Philippine scouts, is 124,810. Of course, to the Regular Army goes the lion's share of the appropriation carried in this bill.

The actual enlisted strength of the army is about 5,000 more than it was in 1926 and 1927. The officers are about the same. The actual increased size of the army can easily absorb the 1,248 enlisted men that were added to the Air Corps in 1928 and the 1,248 added to the Air Corps in the bill now before Congress. Personally I take it that the Air Corps increases the efficiency and effectiveness of the army, and enlisted men who have been used in other ways have an increased value when they are transferred from a less effective service to one more modern and more serviceable in a military way. There is no loss, therefore, by the transfer, but a gain.

The federalized National Guard has grown by leaps and bounds since the war. In 1920 it had 1,939 officers and 47,019 enlisted men. On June 30, 1927, there were 12,010 officers and 182 warrant officers and 168,750 enlisted men, a total of 180,920 men. This bill carries an appropriation sufficient to increase this number

to 188,000, of whom 13,630 are officers. Next year, according to General Summerall, 190,000 is the program. Gen. C. C. Hammond, Chief of the Militia Bureau, says that after that their immediate program will seek a total aggregate strength of 210,521 National Guard troops. The national defense act authorized a federalized National Guard strength of 435,000. I dare say that it will not be very long before this will be their goal.

The federalized guard is no small affair. It is a highly efficient organization. This bill now before Congress provides for forty-eight drills a year and fifteen days' intensive training at camps. Officers and men participating in these drills and taking this intensive training are paid for doing it. Quite a number of the members of the guard have yearly status and are paid accordingly. The guard is trained just the same as the Regular Army. It is organized along the same lines. It has an Air Corps, Tank Corps, engineers, field artillery, chemical warfare sections, observation sections, and so forth. Three hundred and ten of its officers and 125 enlisted men go to service schools and are there given special training. Three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars is provided for this schooling. Guard affairs and the instruction of its officers and men are in the charge of Regular Army officers and enlisted men. One thousand and forty-four Regular Army officers and 1,316 enlisted men are specially detailed for this work.

Of these specially detailed enlisted men 727 are sergeant instructors. It has a cavalry branch, and on March 1, 1927, had 10,420 horses. Nine thousand are federally owned and 1,400 are State owned. It has more now. It has nineteen organized air squadrons, with 326 officers and 766 men. They each averaged seventy-five flying hours last year. Pilots in the Regular Army average around 200 hours a year. The guard acquired recently forty-six primary training planes, forty-nine observation planes, and twenty-two special service or advance training planes, and this bill provides for the purchase of fifteen service planes and twenty-five special service or advance training planes. It had

on November 30, 1927, 1,266 artillery units, of which 684 were motor drawn. These units include harbor defense, anti-aircraft artillery; in fact, practically all kinds of modern artillery guns. They have ambulances, automobiles, tanks, tractors, trucks, searchlights, and motorized vehicles up to 12,666 in number as of December 31, 1927. In addition to these, the War Department has on hand 9,998 modern-drawn vehicles of various classes for free issue to the guard, and which will later be transferred to it.

The total cost to the federalized guard during the past four years has been around \$52,000,000 per year. This bill carries \$31,659,101, and with the State contributions and free issues the costs will be over \$51,000,000. This does not mean that appropriation is less—free issues are merely falling off.

The per capita cost of members of the guard to the Federal Government is \$175.53 and to the States \$77.15, or a total of \$252.68. These figures do not include pay of Regular Army officers and enlisted men and many other items that could be properly charged for by the government. Neither do they include free issues running into the millions. The federalized guard has on hand property of estimated value of \$115,000,000, and most of this property is free issues. The real per capita cost of members of the guard is nearer \$500 or more.

I believe I have already said enough to convince the skeptical that the federalized National Guard is a highly efficient organization and growing more so daily. In some respects it is equally efficient with the Regular Army.

The Organized Reserves is largely an officer organization. It is an after-the-war thought. Its growth has also been rapid. On June 30, 1926, it had 68,232 officers and no enlisted men. On June 30, 1926, it had 103,829 officers and 5,775 enlisted men. On June 30, 1927, it had 110,014 officers and 5,735 enlisted men. Its officer strength increased 6,185 in that year, the last one for which available figures are possible.

Certain of these officers, to wit, 16,382, have been or will be given training out of funds appropriated in the 1928 bill, and

of this number 627 will have more than fifteen days' training. The bill now being considered is supposed to provide fifteen days' training for 16,000 men and more than fifteen days' training for 600 men. This committee increased the number to be trained over that recommended by the Budget by 875 officers. This bill also provides for the training of 110 Air Corps officers. They will receive one year's instruction. This number will soon increase, until the number of 330 is annually trained, and shortly afterwards the number will go to 550 annually. Reserve officers are also given correspondence courses. Under this practice up-to-date military instruction is provided to them.

These officers are likewise divided into various units, the same as the Regular Army and the federalized guard. They have Regular Army officers totaling 413 and 524 enlisted men assigned to their instruction and other activities. Of course, members of the Organized Reserves are officers to start with, and it is not necessary to furnish them with intensive training at all times.

This organization is likewise growing. In 1920 the number of officers was 68,000. It remained at this figure for two years. In 1923 it went to 76,000; 1924, 81,000; 1925, 95,000; 1926, 103,000; 1927, 110,000 in round numbers. The increase in 1927 over 1926 was 7,000, and these increases will continue at about the same rate until the goal of 125,000 is reached. This will all be done in spite of the fact that only 65,833 of these officers can possibly be used in the mobilization of three and a half million men. This is not my statement. It is the testimony of War Department officials. They are War Department studies and calculations.

The Reserve Officers' Training Corps are those young men going to college who are trained at college in the science of war under officers of the War Department. They are given four years of military training under officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, and certain of the advanced students go to Regular Army Camps, where they are given fifteen days' intensive training. This bill provides for the summer training of 7,200 such advanced students.

There are now 125,141 young men who are in this Reserve Officers' Training Corps. This is an increase of 9,000 over 1928. These young men are given subsistence allowance at school and are also provided with uniforms. They are also divided into infantry, cavalry, field artillery, coast artillery, air corps, engineers, signal corps, and other corps units just the same as the Regular Army. They are young men well trained in the art of warfare by 685 Regular Army officers, 114 retired Regular Army officers, twenty warrant officers, 502 active non-commissioned officers, twenty-six retired non-commissioned officers, and 388 other enlisted men, all from the Regular Army.

No age limit is placed on these young men. Practically all of them are from 14 to 21 years of age.

This bill increases the uniform allowance to the advance classes. This is done to popularize military work in the schools and to induce the young college man to take the advance course and otherwise increase the number of these officer students and ultimately popularize the military idea.

General Summerall stated that it was his hope by doing this to "stabilize the units and induce the young men to take the last two years . . . we want them to have something that will inculcate pride and make them proud to wear the uniform."

The citizens military training camps are provided for the training of citizens generally. This activity is regarded by the War Department as the least vital from a standpoint of national defense. They are trained at Regular Army camps. Thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-seven were trained in 1927. This bill provides for the training of 35,000, an increase of 5,000 over that recommended by the budget. An intensive campaign has to be carried on to secure the necessary number of trainees. Army offi-

cers and enlisted men are in charge of this training, all of which is paid for by the government out of funds appropriated by Congress. One thousand three hundred and eighty-five Regular Army officers and 11,751 enlisted men have been used in connection with the yearly training of these citizens. They are likewise provided with hostesses to look after their social affairs and activities and as antidotes against homesickness. The citizens' military training corps likewise has an ambitious program. Captain Lord testifying stated that the plan is to ultimately provide for the training of 100,000 such citizens; that he hopes to reach 60,000 by 1930 or 1931.

Rifle matches are not included in this bill, but this activity will go on in 1930 and afterwards every two years under present War Department policies. However, a bill has recently passed the House providing for these matches every year. They will cost in the neighborhood of a million dollars. The number includes thirty-four civilian teams of thirteen men each, or 442 men. All others that attend these matches belong to the Regular Army or some other citizen branch of it, or to the navy. Some belonging to these citizens' rifle clubs range in age between sixty and seventy years. These civilian teams come from rifle clubs all over the country.

It will be seen from the statements that I have made that we train them almost from the cradle to the grave in military science and tactics. The total number in all of the establishments is over 600,000—an army very much larger in size and equipment than the popular notion. It must be conceded, however, that some in these War Department citizens organizations are there purely for propaganda purposes. However, this does not matter. We are face to face with the facts that we have a military establishment of over 600,000 men, and its gain in 1928 will be in excess of 22,000 officers and men.

There is an idea abroad among moral people that they should make their neighbors good. One person I have to make good: myself. But my duty to my neighbor is . . . to make him happy if I may. —*R. L. Stevenson.*

A LETTER FROM "BILL" ADAMS*

"I HAVE recently received copies of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and have also received your literature. I can assure you that no one more utterly detests war than do I. I look back to a morning some thirty-four years ago. I was then a boy. I was in the library of my school. A few larger boys were present. A word was spoken. A sort of shiver ran—a chill, foreboding—through the room. While my father was American, I was educated at an English public school, one of those schools to which the sons of the better class are sent. I there heard all about the history of England, and all the way through school years I heard war glorified. It was war, war, war, from first to last. Roman, Dane, Scot, Pict, Anglo, Jute, Norman, French, Spanish, Holland, and by and by, as the thing called empire grew, Russia, India, Afghanistan, Ashanti, Zululand—to say nothing of course of the American colonies. War, war, war, always glorified. War was a part, the greatest part, of schoolboy life. There was never any of its horror shown; never a hint of its brutality. The sword was glorious; sword, arrow, shield, lance, battle-axe, spear, and, later, culverin and musket, rifle, bayonet, bomb, machine-gun, were all to be desired—stamps of a nation's greatest, of its prowess; stamp of its manhood's worth. So childhood learned!

"We in America, what have we? What do the children of France, of Germany, hear? I see small boys playing at battle on the vacant lots near by. In France, in Germany, in Britain, little children play at battle. Toy battleships float in puddles. Enemies lie dead. All is well. The victory is ours! If ever you are to do away with war, you will have to change the system that lets youth everywhere grow up to the tune of the war bugles.

"That word that was spoken that bright morning in the library of that English public school was '*Germany*.' The echoes of the Crimea had not yet died away. Even the rumble of Napoleon's guns, the thunder of his cuirassiers, might yet be

heard. And all the time little wars went on—Ashanti Land, the Soudan, Chitral, and so forth. And now, low on the horizon, '*Germany*!' And thenceforward that word was heard ever more frequently. We know what has come to the world since.

"What a fine thing it would be might the shame of war be taught to children. What a fine thing if they might be taught that there are other victories, victories more worth while, than those of the battlefield! Battlefield victories, are they ever worth while? How much more worthy of our humanity would have been the victory of their avoidance! Broken bones and bloody grasses, stained waves everywhere! And all, in the minds of the children, fraught with a glory.

"What do *our* children hear of the worth of the Indian whom we have swept from his plain? No son of any flag is ever allowed to know that on that flag there has ever been a stain.

"It seems to me that mankind is come to a cross-roads today. Bloody roads stretch far behind him. Two roads stretch before—one bright, one darker yet than any road has ever been. It seems to me today that this nation, born for a hope to men, holds destiny in its hands. On one side, watching, stands Hope; and on the other Despair.

"How to go forward, how to choose which road to take, I cannot say. That is for wiser minds. I am no politician; I am one of the mass. We of the mass, so many of us, are Oh so weary of shadows on the sun, and there are many of us who, leaving everything to our leaders, just don't *think*.

"Today it seems to me that another day has come similar to that day when first I heard the word '*Germany*' and sensed the shiver that awakened. I pick up a paper here, a periodical there, and I sense another shiver. Men in high places whisper '*England*'—war on the far, far horizon, this time between America and England!

God forbid that I or any man should magnify the mutter of diseased imagination into the awful terror of an actuality; but I cannot forget that other day. Let us look in the face of woe and see if it cannot be turned to a brightness. Some means of escape *must* be found.

*Modesto, California, February 15, 1928.

"The man in the street is grown somewhat cynical of 'Peace Palaces,' of Hagues, and Genevas, and the man in the street is fond of forgetting, of ignoring. There are so many things to *amuse*; so we play while the shadows rise. We are children, all.

"We old generations have made a grand mess of things. We have founded our civilizations upon foundations that rust. Instead of trying to remodel our building by taking things down from the top, we should do well to build us a new temple on a surer foundation—*education*.

"This is too great a matter for a letter, and I am a poor craftsman; but for God's sake, unless mankind is ere long to throw all belief in a God of mercy and graciousness to the discard, do something about it!

"I live on a street where dwell the sons of many nations. We dwell all under one flag—a flag in the birth of which arose a hope for humanity. We are neighbors together, helping one another in our griefs, sharing our joys. Shall never the day come when the nations that gave us birth can live as we, their children, live? Surely humanity is greater than these boundaries we have made? Surely a way may yet be found whereby nations all over the earth may dwell in peace?

"Realizing all too well the intricacies of commerce, the jealousies that, caused by them, rankle, I shiver. Our civilization seems to have grown beyond our control. *The cross-roads stretch before us.*

"Idealism is regarded as a foolish fetish, Utopia as a silly dream; yet unless we seek Utopia we are lost. If ever we are to do away with mankind's greatest villainy, war, we must change the system that lets youth grow up to the tune of the war bugles.

"You know all this as well as I. I tell an old, stale tale. What is to be done about it? This world won't last forever. Shall its children welter to the last in blood?

"A hard matter; for I, too, thrill to the tune of the war bugle. The sound of soldiers marching sets my pulses racing. Being human, I delight in conflict. The old savage throbs within me. As a child, I gloried in my father's tales of Sherman riding to the sea. And yet, deep within

me, lies the consciousness that could it have by any upright means been found, peace would have been the better way. Had I a son I should feel all shame did he not leap to the first call for men, so are we carried away by our patriotisms. And yet, after all, what is patriotism? Is it not, when one has sifted the matter all over, a love for humanity rather than a love for just one nation? Is it not a love for *universal justice*? And, when we have well sifted all this matter over, was ever a war *really* just?

"Looking back on history, can we not see that, had men been a little patient, a little willing for self-sacrifice, war might somehow have been avoided? There is, I think; there was, I think, always justice on *one* side; perhaps not *always*, for there have been many wars from naught but desire for self on both sides. We in America asked but justice when we chose our way; that we know; that the whole earth knows. We chose and took our way. We have grown to the leadership of the nations, to where, at any rate, the leadership, it seems to me, may well be ours.

"One might think for a month, might write for a month his thoughts. One can but pray, pray that the dark blot hovering on our horizon may be dissipated by the glory of a newly rising sun.

"As I have already said, there seems a shiver in the air today. I think that the President of these United States will ere long have a question weightier than any other question faced by any President yet has been. I think that he has it now. I think that our aspirations must ere long come to their greatest trial. One cannot hesitate at cross-roads.

"The *American Peace Society*, through *justice*, may the God of our fathers, a God of graciousness indeed, show you the way!

"One of our greatest infamies these days is propaganda—*black* propaganda! We saw enough of it during the war; or, if we did not suspect it then, we at least see it plainly now. There is also a *white* propaganda. Unlike the black type, there is nothing of cowardice about it. It is indeed the world's bright, best hope. It is yours. May you prosper!"

GENEVA AND AFTER

By THE LONDON TIMES*

(From a Correspondent Lately in America)

HAVING just returned from a prolonged tour in the United States, I should like to confirm the statements made by your Washington correspondent in your issue of January 24 about the effect of the Geneva failure. President Coolidge and his colleagues were, as your correspondent says, "profoundly disturbed and greatly annoyed" by the failure, and they believe that the British Government—or rather that dominant section of it—deliberately decided to "challenge" the United States and broke off the conference accordingly. And that conviction is based largely upon Mr. Winston Churchill's speech rejecting "mathematical parity" and Lord Cecil's speech in the House of Lords.

I have no doubt that to the average Briton the legend of British "Challenge" to the United States in August last sounds like the raving of a lunatic; yet it is solemnly believed in Washington. But the legends of the lunatic asylum are not confined to Washington; they extend equally to London. I have found just as abysmal misconceptions of the American standpoint on this side of the Atlantic as I have of the British standpoint on the other side of the Atlantic. The Geneva Conference not only failed to yield a naval agreement, but succeeded in producing an entirely erroneous impression in the two nations about the attitude of the other, which the war-mongers everywhere are busily trying to exploit.

British Insecurity

It is impossible in a short article to discuss the matter in detail. I will confine myself to stating what seem to me the fundamental misunderstandings. On the American side there is absolutely no comprehension that their basic demand was a demand that the British Commonwealth should accept an interpretation of parity which in fact would give the United States the right to permanent supremacy by sea, and that this was the reason for the rejection of their proposals by Great Britain. Nor, in a position of absolute

security themselves, do they understand the relative insecurity of the far-flung British Commonwealth. Nor do they realize that it was their own insistence on the 10,000-ton ship armed with 8-inch guns, resisted by Great Britain at both the Washington and the Geneva Conferences, which made large tonnage demands by Great Britain at Geneva practically inevitable for reasons of security. I think that the inner group in the United States Navy Board understood the significance of the 10,000-ton 8-inch gun ship perfectly; it was their business to do so, and I don't blame them for it; but I am pretty certain that the statesmen of Washington have not yet grasped that their insistence on the right to put the total cruiser tonnage into a type of cruiser which can annihilate the type of cruiser which we must build because of our geographical needs was, in fact, a demand that the United States should have the right to create an instrument of war which could destroy the interior communications of the British Empire—a demand which naturally had no chance whatever of being accepted by Parliament.

But on the British side there is equally no comprehension that the British Government on its side invited the United States to accept an interpretation of parity which it was equally impossible for Congress to approve. The United States believes she has an absolute moral right to "parity" because it was acceptance by Great Britain of the all-round standard of parity at Washington which alone led the United States to agree to break up twelve super-dreadnaughts of about 43,000 tons each, in various stages of construction, on which she had spent hundreds of millions of dollars, and which she believes would have given her sea supremacy if they had been completed. Their strong feeling about our laying down fourteen 10,000-ton 8-inch gun cruisers against their own two since 1923 is that our program is really a breach, not of the terms, but of the spirit

*January 30, 1928.

of a solemn bargain, and that our insistence on maintaining it made "economy" impossible. There obviously was not the slightest chance of securing approval from Congress for the British interpretation of parity—that is, that the number of 10,000-ton cruisers should be limited to twelve, and that no other cruisers should be larger than 6,000 tons and armed with 6-inch guns, because that implied that the United States, in order to attain parity, would have had to spend vast sums on constructing ships which they were advised by their Navy Board were entirely unsuited to their needs, while at the end of it Great Britain would still have had almost complete supremacy at sea outside the Western Atlantic and the North Pacific.

"Mathematical Parity"

The truth is that at Geneva both sides rejected "mathematical parity," that the problem of determining what "parity" is is still unsolved, but that Lord Cecil is perfectly right in saying that an agreement could have been reached if Great Britain had been less insistent on the United States having no more 10,000-ton cruisers than herself, and if the United States had been less insistent on their all being armed with 8-inch guns.

There is nothing to be done about the misunderstanding at present. The only serious objection to the New American naval program is that it has been formulated in anger—an anger which I believe will be seen to be quite unwarranted when the full complexity of the problem of determining "parity," which was so lightly confided to the Geneva Conference, is really understood. The overwhelming mass of the American people are perfectly friendly to Great Britain and do not dream of the possibility of war; but they do not mean to have a navy second to anybody else's, and I believe your correspondent is right in saying that the present program will be approved in substantially its present form. We ought to say and do nothing to try to influence the United States in any way until they have decided for themselves what addition to their own navy they wish to make.

But, once that decision is taken and the question of parity is thereby out of the

way, a serious, if unostentatious, effort should be made to consider Anglo-American relations in that broad political way which ought to have been undertaken before ever the Geneva Conference assembled. My own view is that, looked at from a more imperial angle on our side and a more international angle on the American side, the interests of the United States and of Great Britain are almost identical, and that when that is understood we shall both have not larger but smaller navies, and shall both see that they ought to be used to support international peace through arbitration and not in competition.

But an essential step in that direction is to find some means for bringing the political leaders of the two countries into some kind of personal contact. The improvement in the European situation in the last few years is largely due to the confidential personal relations which have been established between Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, and Herr Stresemann. There is no such contact between London and Washington today, and it is difficult to see how it can be brought about. Yet if Mr. Baldwin could spend a couple of days with President Coolidge and Sir Austen Chamberlain with Mr. Kellogg, I believe that the present miasma of understanding would rapidly disappear in a cordial recognition of the real, though by no means unsurmountable, difficulty of the problems to be solved, and that the growing war talk of admirals and big-navy propagandists would be recognized as the grotesque absurdity which it really is.

Referring to the above article, the Editor of the *London Times* wrote an editorial as follows:

MISUNDERSTANDINGS

A CORRESPONDENT who has recently traveled through the United States and is a keen and intelligent observer of national tendencies, describes in an adjacent column his impression of the effect of the failure of the Geneva Naval Conference on Anglo-American relations. He takes a serious but by no means a pessimistic view. Like him, we have ourselves urged from the first that, the Geneva Conference having failed, the

only sensible course was to recognize a complete liberty of action for both sides within the still relevant provisions of the Washington Agreement; that is to say, since the attempt to supplement the Washington Agreement by an agreement for limitation of the construction of cruisers and other craft did not prove successful, nothing is to be gained either by recrimination or by any futile harking back. For the present, until some new opportunity naturally arises in the progress of events for a fresh consultation on naval issues, each nation—Great Britain and the United States—must go its own way and determine its own naval policy in accordance with its own conception of the needs of national defense, without any too close consideration of what the other is doing. For many reasons it has been thought advisable by our government to delay the execution of the current cruiser program. That decision is generally approved. In the United States, on the other hand, Congress now has under consideration a bill providing for heavy expenditure on an immediate increase in the strength of the American navy, particularly in large 10,000-ton cruisers. All the prospects are that the bill will be passed by both houses of Congress—in spite of the protests of that minority who think, like Senator Borah, that such action, in the present condition of the world, is “sheer madness”—and this is, of course, entirely the affair of the American people, their representatives in Congress, and their government. Nothing can usefully be said from this side either in approval or in criticism of a determination greatly to increase the strength of the American navy. Naturally, the motive is not quite understood in this country, and that because it is impossible for British people exactly to appreciate all the factors involved—whether political and economic interests, financial capacity, or national feeling. But just as we, with due regard to existing treaties, feel ourselves wholly at liberty to frame and carry out all reasonable technical plans for the defense of the British Empire, so we could not dream of resenting the fact that the United States has exactly the same liberty in determining her own naval requirements.

A frank and mutual recognition of complete freedom in this respect is the first step towards a clearer understanding.

For the present, naval developments must take their course. A good deal of harm has already been done by Lord Cecil's interpretation of the proceedings at the Geneva Conference. The Big Navy group at Washington have found in it just the political weapon which they wanted to influence wavering minds in favor of their schemes. There can be no doubt that this criticism of our government's attitude on that occasion has greatly influenced American opinion in favor of the program for a very substantial sea armament, and has strengthened the anti-British tendencies of its advocates. Sir Herbert Samuel has adopted Lord Cecil's view for the purposes of the Liberal campaign; Labor, on occasion, takes up the cry; an international misunderstanding is again being used and fomented for party reasons. It is really an extraordinary state of affairs. Enthusiasts for disarmament, by their misdirected attacks upon their own government, are actually stimulating a movement for a large increase of naval armaments in another country. As a matter of plain fact, the British delegation at the Geneva Conference did make a sincere and strenuous effort to reach agreement in very difficult circumstances. The conference was not called by Great Britain. She did not lay down the conditions of the debate. The American thesis on which discussion had to center was not revealed until the conference met. Our delegation had to adapt itself to the exigencies of a prescribed program in formulating which it had no share. It appeared in the course of the debate that certain fundamental questions ought to have been threshed out beforehand—more particularly that difficult question of “parity,” to which our correspondent refers today, and which has been the chief cause of misunderstanding. The difference between the “parity” that means an effective equality in British and American naval strength and the “mathematical parity” that would put an American navy in a position to threaten the internal communications of the British Empire, has yet to be fully explained both to the British and

the American public. It ought to be possible to reach a clear understanding on this point, and there is no reason to suppose—in spite of the present setback, in spite of the launching of a big American naval program in a presidential election year, when political excitement runs high—that in time, with care and under more favorable conditions, the narrow controversy over tonnage and guns will not be forgotten in a broader mutual comprehension of vital issues. The world is small and in that world the British Empire and the United States must play too large a part together to quarrel seriously. It may not indeed be altogether a disadvantage that this naval misunderstanding has once more concentrated attention on the very important question of Anglo-American relationships and has made it necessary that they should be reviewed and established afresh on a firmer basis.

The problem, of course, is far easier to state than to solve. Our correspondent sums up his impressions by declaring that many difficulties will be overcome through fuller and franker intercourse between Great Britain and the United States. He is obviously right. As we pointed out at the time, the failure at Geneva might have been avoided if there had been any opportunity for informal and confidential consultation beforehand. But it is just this question of intercourse that presents peculiar difficulties. In a general sense, the intercourse between the British and the American peoples is fuller and more constant than between any other two peoples on the face of the earth. Through frequent visits, through associations in business and finance, through literature,

science, and philanthropy, contact between British and Americans is close and intense. What is seriously lacking is a corresponding facility of political intercourse, and this defect may easily lead to political misunderstandings which would jeopardize all the rest. It is perfectly true, as our correspondent points out, that there is little direct contact between British statesmen and the statesmen of the United States. Europe has found a remedy for many of its ills in frequent meetings between its foreign ministers. The condition of Europe is far better than it was a few years ago, largely because Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, and Herr Stresemann are close personal friends and continually exchange views on a variety of problems. It is not so easy to meet American statesmen. They are far away, and for them, in view of the present state of American opinion, Geneva is forbidden ground. Yet it is of the greatest importance for the immediate future of the world that political contact between the British Empire and the United States should be full, frequent, and easy. It is important not merely for our own country and for the Empire, but for Europe, which is scrutinizing in some perplexity the rapid growth in the United States of a new type of civilization. The methods for promoting political intercourse cannot be invented in a day. The Dominions can help, particularly Canada. The essential thing is that attention should be directed at present, not to the different shipbuilding programs, but to the broader possibilities of promoting an ultimate and deeper understanding.

The Trees That Died in the War

By ANGELA MORGAN

To G. H. G.

So gentle they, yet glorious,
Living their lives unseen;
Treading the soil, victorious,
Brave gods with banners green.

They asked for naught but the pleasure
Of serving the sons of men,
Lavish with leafy treasure
When Spring should come again.

What answered we to their yearning?
What gave we for their cheer?
Hatred and shells and burning,
Death in the Spring of the year.

Gone like a vanished city,
Tragic and far as Greece.
God! Shall they give us pity?
Men! Shall they bring us peace?
—From *London Spectator*.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

AN ARBITRATION TREATY

BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, SIGNED AT
WASHINGTON ON FEBRUARY 6, 1928

The President of the United States of America and the President of the French Republic, determined to prevent, so far as in their power lies, any interruption in the peaceful relations that have happily existed between the two nations for more than a century; desirous of reaffirming their adherence to the policy of submitting to impartial decision all justiciable controversies that may arise between them; eager by their example not only to demonstrate their condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, but also to hasten the time when the perfection of international arrangements for the pacific settlement of international disputes shall have eliminated forever the possibility of war among any of the powers of the world; having in mind the treaty signed at Washington on September 15, 1914, to facilitate the settlement of disputes between the United States of America and France, have decided to conclude a new treaty of arbitration, enlarging the scope of the arbitration convention signed at Washington on February 10, 1908, which expires by limitation on February 27, 1928, and promoting the cause of arbitration, and for that purpose they have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, Mr. Robert E. Olds, Acting Secretary of State, and the President of the French Republic, His Excellency Mr. Paul Claudel, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the United States, who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I

Any disputes arising between the Government of the United States of America and

the Government of the French Republic, of whatever nature they may be, shall, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the high contracting parties do not have recourse to adjudication by a competent tribunal, be submitted for investigation and report, as prescribed in the treaty signed at Washington September 15, 1914, to the Permanent International Commission constituted pursuant thereto.

Article II

All differences relating to international matters in which the high contracting parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other, under treaty or otherwise, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, which have not been adjusted as a result of reference to the above-mentioned Permanent International Commission, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other competent tribunal, as shall be decided in each case by special agreement, which special agreement shall provide for the organization of such tribunal if necessary, define its powers, state the question or questions at issue, and settle the terms of reference.

The special agreement in each case shall be made on the part of the United States of America by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and on the part of France in accordance with the constitutional laws of France.

Article III

The provisions of this treaty shall not be invoked in respect of any dispute the subject-matter of which (a) is within the domestic jurisdiction of either of the high contracting parties; (b) involves the interests of third parties; (c) depends upon or involves the

maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe Doctrine; (d) depends upon or involves the observance of the obligations of France in accordance with the covenant of the League of Nations.

Article IV

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the President of the French Republic in accordance with the constitutional laws of the French Republic.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible, and the treaty shall take effect on the date of the exchange of the ratifications. It shall thereafter remain in force continuously unless and until terminated by one year's written notice given by either high contracting party to the other.

In faith thereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in duplicate in the English and French languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

Done at Washington the sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

ROBERT E. OLDS. [SEAL.]
 CLAUDEL. [SEAL.]

ANGLO-IRAQ TREATY

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the treaty between Great Britain and Iraq, signed in London on December 14. The preamble of the treaty declares that the parties, recognizing that the treaties of alliance of October 10, 1922, and January 13, 1926, are no longer appropriate, in view of the altered circumstances and of the progress made by the Kingdom of Iraq, have agreed to conclude a new treaty "on terms of equality.")

Article 1. His Britannic Majesty recognizes Iraq as an independent sovereign State.

Article 2. There shall be peace and friendship between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of Iraq. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes to observe friendly relations towards the other and to do his best to prevent in his own country any unlawful activities affecting peace or order within the other's territory.

Article 3. His Majesty the King of Iraq

undertakes to secure the execution of all international obligations which His Britannic Majesty has undertaken to see carried out in respect of Iraq.

His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes not to modify the existing provisions of the Iraq organic law in such a manner as adversely to affect the rights and interests of foreigners or as to constitute any difference in rights before the law among Iraqis on the ground of difference of race, religion, or language.

Article 4. There shall be full and frank consultation between the high contracting parties in all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests.

Article 5. His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to place His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner in a position to give information to His Britannic Majesty regarding the progress of events in Iraq and the projects and proposals of the Iraq Government, and the High Commissioner will bring to the notice of his Majesty the King of Iraq any matter which His Britannic Majesty considers might prejudicially affect the well-being of Iraq or the obligations entered into under this treaty.

Article 6. His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes, so soon as local conditions in Iraq permit, to accede to all general international agreements already existing or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations in respect of the following:

The slave trade; the traffic in drugs; the traffic in arms and munitions; the traffic in women and children; commercial equality; freedom of transit and navigation; aerial navigation; postal, telegraphic, or wireless communication, and measures for the protection of literature, art, or industries.

His Majesty the King of Iraq further undertakes to execute the provisions of the following instruments in so far as they apply to Iraq: The Covenant of the League of Nations, the Treaty of Lausanne, the Anglo-French Boundary Convention, the San Remo Oil Agreement.

Article 7. His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to co-operate, in so far as social, religious, and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 8. Provided the present rate of progress in Iraq is maintained and all goes well in the interval, His Britannic Majesty will support the candidature of Iraq for admission to the League of Nations in 1932.

Article 9. There shall be no discrimination in Iraq against the nationals of any State, member of the League of Nations, or of any State to which His Majesty the King of Iraq has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be ensured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League (including companies incorporated under the laws of such State), as compared with those of any other foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce, or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft.

Nor shall there be any discrimination in Iraq against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States.

Article 10. His Britannic Majesty undertakes, at the request of His Majesty the King of Iraq, and on his behalf, to continue the protection of Iraqi nationals in foreign countries in which His Majesty the King of Iraq is not represented.

Article 11. Nothing in this treaty shall affect the validity of the contracts concluded and in existence between the Iraq Government and British officials; in every respect those contracts shall be interpreted as if the British officials' agreement of March 25, 1924, were in existence.

Article 12. A separate agreement shall regulate the financial relations between the high contracting parties. This agreement shall supersede the financial agreement of March 25, 1924, corresponding with the 19th

day of Sha'ban, 1342, Hijrah, which shall thereupon cease to have effect.

Article 13. A, separate agreement shall regulate the military relations between the high contracting parties. This agreement shall supersede the military agreement of March 25, 1924, corresponding with the 19th day of Sha'ban, 1342, Hijrah, which shall thereupon cease to have effect.

Article 14. His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to maintain in force the judicial agreement signed on March 25, 1924, corresponding to the 19th day of Sha'ban, 1342.

Article 15. Any difference that may arise between the high contracting parties as to the interpretation of the provisions of this treaty shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In such case, should there be any discrepancy between the English and the Arabic texts of this treaty, the English shall be taken as the authoritative version.

Article 16. This treaty shall come into force as soon as it has been ratified and ratifications have been exchanged in accordance with the constitutional methods of the two countries, and shall be subject to review with the object of making all modifications required by the circumstances, when Iraq enters the League of Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of this treaty. This treaty shall replace the treaties of alliance signed at Baghdad on October 10, 1922, corresponding with the 19th day of Sa'far, 1341, Hijrah, and on January 13, 1926, corresponding with the 28th day of Jamadi-al-Ukhra, 1344, Hijrah, which shall cease to have effect upon the entry into force of this treaty.

WHEREAS

(This year marking the centennial of the American Peace Society)

By ALICE LAWRY GOULD

We who were blind have glimpsed a wondrous sight,
For though it be but dimly, we have seen
Out of the darkness where despair had been,
Men as trees walking in the blessed light.

And we shall sometime know them as they are:
Not trees, nor beasts that hate and fear and fight,
But seekers of true reason and of right,
All undistorted by the blight of war.

Dear Lord, let not Thy ministrations cease:
Lay yet again Thy hand upon our eyes
That we may see quite clearly which way lies
The road to lasting universal peace.
And let our grateful exultation be
That whereas we were blind, we see, we see!

News in Brief

DR. FRIEDERICH WILHELM VON PRITZWITZ-GAFFRON, the new German Ambassador, presented his credentials to President Coolidge on January 31.

FOUR PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCES were held during the last six months of 1927. The third Pan-American Congress of Architects met in Buenos Aires, July 2-10; the eighth Pan-American Sanitary Conference met in Lima, Peru, October 12-20; the fifth Pan-American Child Congress met in Havana, December 8-13; the first Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture met in Havana, December 21-23.

A PAN-PACIFIC WOMEN'S CONFERENCE will be held in Honolulu, under the auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union, August 2-12, 1928. Invitations have been sent to all governments of countries bordering on the Pacific.

THE COURSE OF THE PROPOSED ADRIATIC RAILWAY has now been definitely fixed by the Yugoslav Government. It will run from Belgrade to Cattaro by the way of Mitrovitza instead of by Vishegrad, as originally intended. Parts of this route are already under construction and the work can be pushed to completion with this decision.

THE BRETROTHAL HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED OF Prince Chichibu, of Japan, and Miss Matsudaira, daughter of the Japanese Ambassador to the United States. President Coolidge sent to the Emperor of Japan, on January 20, his cordial felicitations on the event.

THE FRENCH AVIATORS, Dieudonné Costes and Joseph Lebrix, who made a nonstop flight from Africa to South America, who toured the capitals of Latin America, and met Colonel Lindbergh in Panama, reached Washington on February 8. An enthusiastic crowd assembled on Bolling Field to welcome the "Good-will" fliers, including the Secretaries of Navy, War, and Commerce, together with numerous undersecretaries, leaders of the Senate and House, and Am-

bassador Claudel of France, with his family and secretaries.

A CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS was held in Buffalo, New York, February 16-18. Organizations co-operating in this conference were the Buffalo and Erie County branches of the American Association of University Women, Council of Catholic Women, Council of Churches (Committee on International Good-will), Federation of Women's Clubs, Foreign Policy Association, Interchurch Council of Women, League of Women Voters, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Women's Temple Society of Temple Beth-Zion, and Young Women's Christian Association.

TO PROHIBIT THE EMPLOYMENT OF ARMED FORCES to intervene in domestic affairs of any foreign country, Representative McSwain, of South Carolina, introduced, February 10, the following joint resolution:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That neither the President of the United States nor any officer of the United States shall order, command, or permit the use or employment of any part of the armed forces of the United States for the purpose of intervening in the domestic affairs of any foreign country, save and except only when the need for protecting the lives and persons of citizens of the United States temporarily and lawfully in such foreign country is so urgent as not to admit of assembling the Congress.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMITTEE ON Security and Arbitration met in Geneva on February 20. The Soviet Government sent an observer to the meeting.

AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE NEW ARBITRATION TREATY with France, the United States proposes to suggest similar treaties with other countries as their present treaties expire. Great Britain and Japan will be among the first to be approached. Germany, with which this country has no arbitration treaty at present, will, according to Secretary Kellogg, be asked to negotiate a treaty of similar import.

THE NEW BOLIVIAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES, Dr. Diez de Medina, presented his credentials to the President on February 10. In his remarks on that occasion he spoke feelingly of the need of

Bolivia for a seaport. Since that time the action taken at Havana permitting Bolivia to receive in war time ammunition and arms through neutral territory seems to Bolivian officials a partial solution of the geographical problems.

A TREATY BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, providing for the obligatory arbitration of all disputes, without exception, was signed January 21.

ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL DECREED in January the return to Paraguay of all trophies of war captured in the war which the triple alliance—Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay—fought in 1869 against Paraguay. Brazil has lately remitted the war debt due from Paraguay because of this war, Uruguay having done the same thing forty years ago.

URUGUAY put in force, on February 3, a new law of nationality, under which a foreigner may become naturalized and still retain allegiance to his native land.

THE NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA, Mr. Cleto Gonzalez Viquez, will be inaugurated May 8. The elections took place in February, with no disturbance of the peace, the vote being 41,000 against 28,000.

SPAIN returned to Cuba, through the Cuban minister in Madrid, on February 16, the trophies of war captured in Cuba's war of independence.

JUAN BUERO, FORMER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS of Uruguay, assumed late in January the newly created position of juridical adviser to the League of Nations. He will direct the legal section of the League.

THE NEW BUILDINGS OF THE EGYPTIAN UNIVERSITY, on the eighty-five-acre site southwest of Cairo, have been begun. These will house the faculties of literature, law, and natural sciences. There will also be extensive playing fields.

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY, Mr. Schurman, is collecting funds from Americans to restore and enlarge the University of Heidelberg.

REPRESENTATIVES OF TWENTY CANADIAN AND AMERICAN chambers of commerce on

both sides of the Niagara River met in Buffalo in February for the purpose of co-operating in the development of the Niagara frontier. The delegates are looking forward to the final establishment of an international city in that region.

THE ALGERIAN PROGRAM for the construction of Sahara Desert routes, divided into northern and southern sections, is already under way. These routes will facilitate traveling for tourists across the desert.

REOPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS to join the World Court was requested of the President January 23 by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, which is composed of nine women's organizations. On February 6 Senator Gillett, of Massachusetts, introduced a resolution in the Senate which looks to the same end. His resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

THE DIVISION OF PROTOCOL, a new division in the Department of State, began to function on February 7. This department will be in charge of the reception of ambassadors and ministers and of general diplomatic procedure. The division is in charge of James C. Dunn, master of ceremonies at the White House.

ITALY HAS SIGNIFIED, THROUGH HER AMBASSADOR to the United States, that she desires to negotiate a new treaty to take the place of the Root Treaty, which expired some time ago. The Department of State is authority for the statement that negotiations will be taken up shortly.

A "PALACE OF FRANCE," some thirty-five stories high, a hotel, mainly for French travelers, is to be erected on Fifth Avenue, New York City, at a cost of \$20,000,000.

THE NEW AMERICAN LEGATION AT TIRANA, ALBANIA, will be built, on an actual cost basis, by students of the Albanian Vocational School of that city. This school was founded and is supported by the American Junior Red Cross.

THIRTY-SIX COMMUNITIES now have commissions on international relations, and fifty-seven state and city councils of churches and

other intercommunion bodies have similar committees, it is stated by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

THE TAX ON THE EMBARKATION AND DEBARKATION of passengers at French ports is now in effect at Cherbourg. The proceeds of this tax are to be turned over quarterly to the marine pension fund.

GENERAL JOSÉ MARIA MONCADA and Dr. Antonio Medrano, Judge of the Supreme Court of Nicaragua, were unanimously nominated for president and vice-president, respectively, by the national convention of the Liberal Party of Nicaragua on February 19. General Moncada led the liberal armies supporting Dr. Juan Sacassa against the forces of Adolfo Diaz until the representative of President Coolidge, Henry L. Stimson, negotiated an armistice last May. Under this agreement President Diaz continues in office to the end of his term, in 1928, while a Nicaraguan constabulary, commanded by American officers, together with the U. S. Marines, attempted the pacification of the country. On the recommendation of General Moncada, all the liberal commanders except Sandino laid down their arms pending the elections, which are slated for the first Sunday in October.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By Charles A. Beard and Mary B. Beard. Two volumes. Macmillan, New York, 1927. Price, \$12.50.

Two thick, heavy volumes and a subject broad as our continent itself need not dishearten any ordinary reader interested in his country's growth. These books are attractive from every point of view. They are written with a modern historical sense of balance, in language warm, imaginative, and bold, infused throughout with the intent to be impartial; also with a saving, not to say an acid, sense of humor. As far as one can judge from phraseology, the book was actually written by one only of the two authors.

Professor Beard, long a historian of note, has in this work undertaken to trace the whole course of civilization in the United States. In this he has been fortunate in the co-operation of his wife, whose special experience lies along the lines of the suffrage and labor movements. Beginning with early colonizing and following development through the agricultural era—in fact, all the way down to the present moment—economic principles furnish the basis of classification and outline.

Probably no other American historian has managed to chronicle the Revolutionary War and, for that matter, the Civil War, too, with scarcely a reference to military events. These, apparently, seem to Professor and Mrs. Beard quite subsidiary to the great currents which produced, flowed through, and swept out of those wars. One receives the impression, especially from the narrative of Civil War times, that what really moved things was less political theories and social ideals than economic and geographical causes. This is not to say that political, social, and even artistic movements are omitted from the story. On the contrary, these are carefully traced in each phase of development, but grouped on the economic thread.

The independent status of woman in this pioneer land and her subsequent rise to recognized civic importance is well pictured. In the realms of business, invention, art, literature, even humor and caricature, lavish incident and biographical illustration vivify the story. Nor are the great reform movements of the nineteenth century neglected; labor organization, missions, social work, and other lines of attempt to ameliorate the hardships of humanity are recognized.

It is in the field of the Peace Movement where one finds the least sureness of touch, the most meager of résumés. This fact is perhaps explainable because no complete narrative of the American peace movement has yet been published. Such a history, now in preparation, will probably soon be accessible to students. Yet many historians know that the peace movement did not "spring up" in 1906, with the organization of the (second) New York Peace Society. Historians familiar with biographies of William Ladd, of Maine; of Anson G. Phelps, the Dodges and Frelinghuysens, of New York; of Channing, Emerson, Samuel May, Noah and Joseph Worces-

ter, and others, of Massachusetts; of Elihu Burritt, Ellsworth, and Gallaudet, of Connecticut; of Governor Gilman, of New Hampshire; of Presidents Wayland of Brown, Allen of Bowdoin, Lord of Dartmouth, Hitchcock of Amherst, Walker of Harvard, Nott of Union College, Malcolm of Lewisburg, Allen of Gerard, and other prominent men of those years, must be aware of the fact that a lusty peace movement was well out of its cradle early in the nineteenth century. For all those years the Beards merely mention that the American Peace Society had been organized nearly one hundred years previous to 1912, when it moved from Boston to Washington.

Whether intentional or not, there is a whiff of grim humor lurking in the facts which the Beards chose to tell of the works of the League to Enforce Peace just before the World War. The essential peacefulness of the German Kaiser and all his cohorts, as vouched for by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and others, right up to 1914 has its tragically comic side, viewed from this end of the war. The main thing about the peace movement, as recognized in this work, is that it was really significant in America by 1914.

The inaccuracies, as far as we can discover, are surprisingly few in the volumes, however. We find the books stimulating reading for one who is willing to see both the faults and the greatness of his country's civilization. The work is, too, a revelation in the new manner of lighting history. High-lights fall, not primarily upon generals, politicians, nor altogether upon statesmen. The spotlight centers, rather, upon natural groups, including outstanding representatives of each; it focuses upon the river-like rush, often turbulent, of human events, as determined by the unique conditions in this American continent and blended race.

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE. Lectures delivered at Geneva Institute of International Relations. Pp. 365. Oxford University Press, 1927.

Some seventeen lectures by men who are world authorities in their several fields are here published together. The lectures were delivered in the summer of 1926, at the Geneva Institute of International Relations.

This is the first publication of the Institute and covers a field considerably enlarged since the first summer school at Geneva, which studied only the workings and constitution of the League of Nations. The first three sections of this book take up the structure of the League and the labor organizations, their accomplishments and relation to the world of today. Then follows a section containing three lectures by Dr. James Brown Scott on judicial settlement of international disputes and one on non-official organizations. In both these fields Dr. Scott gives much credit to the American Peace Society and some of its able officers in the early years for work already done toward justice and arbitration.

A lecture by Dr. Garnet, Secretary of the League of Nations Union, discusses the psychology of patriotism and explains the part to be played by the League of Nations Association in moving public opinion through education on the work of the League. The remainder of the book contains appendix notes embodying whatever worth-while points were brought out in the discussions following the lectures.

Such a volume is a fair substitute for attendance upon the lectures themselves.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE TACNA-ARICA DISPUTE. By *William Jefferson Dennis*. Pp. 253 and index. University of Iowa Press, 1927.

Touching the diplomatic prestige of the United States hardly less than the political and commercial welfare of Peru, Chile, and Bolivia, the Tacna-Arica question is of real interest to students of international affairs in this country. It is the Alsace-Lorraine of the new world. If, happily, some peaceful solution of the dispute can by any means be attained, the first requisite is an understanding of the problem.

This brochure, offered in the University of Iowa studies in the Social Science Series, is a thorough and clear documentary history of the dispute up to General Lassiter's report, June, 1926. There are a few excellent, well-explained diagrams and maps and a good index. The brief historical introduction is admirably judicial in tone, informative, and easy to read. The whole is a valuable reference book on the Tacna-Arica question.

THE LEGACY OF WAR: PEACE. By *Boris A. Bakhmeteff*. Pp. 53. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

The war-time ambassador of Russia to the United States delivered this address at Milton Academy in June, 1927. It was given under the permanent foundation, which was established in that school in 1922, in memory of those alumni who gave their lives in the World War. The noble and appropriate purpose of the foundation is to provide lectures and informal conferences dealing with democratic responsibilities and the opportunities for leadership in the new day.

M. Bakhmateff, therefore, traces for his young auditors the contrasting conditions in Europe and the United States since the war. He especially contrasts the unfortunate collective "étatisme" in Russia, with individualistic democracy in the United States. Since real peace is "a peaceful progress of life" internally, rather than mere absence of war, he finds greater political health in this country. We have, he says, attained personality among the nations; we have little to fear from subversive doctrines. It remains for us to follow up the ideas already begun in the way of open diplomacy, patience, good will. In these lines America has already inaugurated, since the war, a democratic doctrine in international behavior which holds the seed of future equity and freedom for the world.

BUILDING INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL. By *various writers*. Pp. 242. Macmillan Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$1.50.

Here is a well printed, but amazingly inadequate, book on its subject. It consists of a series of small articles on large topics. They are written by Jane Addams and Emily Balch jointly, by J. H. Scattergood, Denys P. Myers, and others.

In its historical portions no credit is given to the first workers for peace in this country, except in one sentence in the Addams-Balch article. There William Ladd, mentioned in four words, is called, astonishingly, "of Connecticut." Since he was born in New Hampshire, lived in Maine, and, except for a year and a half, his peace activities were largely centered in either New York or Boston, it seems odd that the year and a half of his long work which did center in Connecticut

should have placed him there in the minds of these ladies. Of the other articles some are strongly pro-League, some non-resistant in tone, absolute in doctrine; many of them quite out of date.

The book is put out by the officers and Executive Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. They claim it to be a "résumé of the various constructive methods" which are now in use making toward universal peace. The book is, we must repeat, lamentably inadequate to its purpose.

BROTHER JOHN: A TALE OF THE FIRST FRANCISCANS. By *Vida D. Scudder*. Pp. 336. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$2.50.

Miss Scudder, Professor of English Literature at Wellesley College, has felt, with many others, that the story of St. Francis and his early disciples has somewhat to teach the modern world. A close student of the thirteenth century, she sees something akin to our modern paradoxes in the "varying attitudes of Lady Poverty's friends to questions of property and war." The emphasis on joy is another point which the Franciscans of those days have in common with many in the modern world, though perhaps today we expect happiness to flow from impossible causes.

The book is not quite a novel, yet it is an imaginative and dramatic narrative of the absorbing struggles which moved the two wings of the Franciscan order immediately after Francis' death.

Brother John is a lovable and loving English youth, who leaves his estates in England and becomes a sincere and humble Brother Minor, finally a "spiritual, or zealot," and dies in prison, singing. Other brothers are vivid and living—Brother Bernard, Brother Elias, Brother Thomas, Brother Giles, and all.

The sunny Umbrian landscape, with its hills, rivers and sky, as also the heavy political atmosphere of Rome, are represented in a way to be remembered. Withal, there is a sane recognition—Was it Brother John or the twentieth-century author?—that poverty, actual avoidance of responsibility, has its dangers. It may burden others unfairly. These are still, as they were then, questions, and the answer is not yet.

ADVOCATE OF

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Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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90

April, 1928

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4

WORLD CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

THE World Conference on International Justice to be held in connection with the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, in Cleveland, Ohio, is arousing interest not only in this country but abroad. It promises to be one of the most important nonpolitical conferences America has entertained.

As announced by the Program Committee, of which James Brown Scott is chairman, the program will consist of two parts: one the general assemblies, to be addressed by outstanding men and women; the other a series of six study commissions, to meet for discussion and final report upon six key problems of international life.

The work of the week has been provisionally distributed as follows:

Sunday, May 6, will be "*Peace Sunday*." Pastors of all churches are invited to address their congregations that day upon some aspect of international peace.

Monday, May 7, will be "*Ohio Day*." The first general assembly will be held in the ballroom of the Cleveland Hotel, at 10 o'clock. This meeting will be addressed by the Governor of the State, the Mayor of Cleveland, the President of the American Peace Society, and others. At the meeting announcements will be made relative to the rules of the conference, registration, the organization and work of the committees, and the like. The various commissions will meet separately for

luncheon at 12:30 o'clock and organize their work for the succeeding four days. A second general assembly is scheduled for 4 o'clock in the Cleveland Auditorium. It is our hope that President Coolidge or some other representative of the Government will speak on that occasion. A third general assembly will be held in the evening at 8 o'clock.

Tuesday, May 8, will be "*American Peace Society Day*," in honor of the fact that the American Peace Society was founded May 8, 1828. On this day the six commissions will meet separately from 10 to 12. At 3 p. m. there will be the fourth general assembly, with an address upon the history of the American Peace Society; upon the work of its founder, William Ladd; and with addresses by representatives of various peace and patriotic organizations. The fifth general assembly will be held in the evening, at 8 o'clock.

Wednesday, May 9, will be "*Neighbors Day*," with particular emphasis upon our country's relations with Canada and Latin America. The Commissions will meet from 10 a. m. to 12 o'clock. At 3 p. m. there will be a sixth general session to be addressed by representatives of Canada and Latin America. A seventh general session will be held in the evening, at 8 o'clock.

Thursday, May 10, will be known as "*World Day*." The commissions will meet from 10 to 12. At 3 p. m. there will be the seventh general assembly, to be addressed by representatives of wom-

en's organizations. At 8 o'clock there will be the sixth general assembly, to be addressed by diplomatic representatives of England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and other governments.

Friday, May 11, will be "*Report Day.*" At 10 o'clock the commissions will hold their final meetings. At 3 p. m. the chairmen of the six commissions will submit their reports at the ninth general assembly for discussion and adoption. At 8 o'clock the tenth and final general session will be held.

The one hundredth annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society will be held at 10 a. m., Saturday, May 12, at the Hotel Cleveland.

The general assemblies and the commissions of the World Conference, as far as seating capacity permits, will be open to every one without charge; but seats will be reserved for all delegates.

The six commissions, each manned by specialists, will be open to all delegates, the official delegates having the right to the floor and to vote. Associate delegates may attend and, with the approval of the commissions, speak from the floor.

The *First Commission*, on the International Implications of Industry—Hon. John M. Parker, former Governor of Louisiana, Chairman; Dr. Harold G. Moulton, Vice-Chairman; Whiting Williams, Secretary—will study and discuss major international activities of banks, trade organizations, chambers of commerce, labor and other groups, in their relations to a better international understanding and behavior.

The *Second Commission*, on the International Implications of Justice—Prof. Philip Marshall Brown, Chairman—will deal with the contributions of international law to the problems of international peace.

The *Third Commission*, on Methods of Organization for the Promotion of International Peace—President Ernest H. Wilkins, of Oberlin College, Chairman—will be open to peace and patriotic groups in the interest of a better understanding between them and a more effective cooperation for their common ends.

The *Fourth Commission*, on the International Implications of Education—John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education, Chairman—will be composed of representatives of schools and colleges.

The *Fifth Commission*, on the International Implications of Religion—Bishop William Fraser McDowell, Chairman, Rev. William W. Van Kirk, Secretary—will be open to the representatives of all creeds.

The *Sixth Commission*, on the International Implications of Social Agencies—Dr. Edward T. Devine, Chairman—opens to the peace movement a new and important phase of world effort.

THE SPIRIT OF IT

TO DESCRIBE with any adequacy the spirit of the one hundredth anniversary celebration of the American Peace Society would require the technical ability of the historian, the trained insight of the philosopher, and the subtle power of the prophet. Furthermore, that spirit could be phrased with greater detachment and accuracy by one outside the Society. And yet we, responsible for the maintenance of the Society's traditions, appointed to carry on its work, are not unmindful of the Society's past, its present, or of the problems relating to its future. We know something of its spirit.

Out of its one hundred years the American Peace Society, anxious to avoid the weakness of complacency and the silliness of egotism, craves the friendly counsel of its fellows.

For the kindly things already said it is very grateful. There is the City of Cleveland, gracious and energetic host of the Conference. There is the Rotary International, writing from its headquarters in Chicago, under date of February 11: "This will inform you that the Board designated President Sapp as its official representative at this Conference, with power to invite such other Rotarians to participate as he sees fit. The Board was of the opinion that numerous Rotarians would be glad to attend this Conference. We will, therefore, give to all Rotary clubs information concerning your Conference and encourage all Rotarians to attend who may find it possible to do so."

Under date of February 4, the regent of the Charter Oak Chapter of the Daughters of American Colonists, Cleveland, Ohio, wrote:

"The ancestors of the Daughters of the American Colonists were among those who during the historic colonial days had some worthy part in laying the foundations of our great Republic.

"We surely must appreciate our heritage and should deem it a great privilege and our patriotic duty to join with the forces of those who are endeavoring to protect those foundations and build upon them a firm structure of national defense and good will, as sent forth in the platform and purpose of the American Peace Society, such as: To advance in every proper way the general use of arbitration; to educate and crystallize public sentiment an effective force, to the end that there may be better relations among nations.

"May we not be blinded by false propaganda, but know the truth that we are a part of the whole; therefore we should interest ourselves in the greater thought of what we as individuals and organized bodies can play to help promote international peace through justice.

"The Board of Governors of Charter Oak Chapter, Daughters of American Colonists, voted unanimously to send twenty-five dollars as a gift to the

American Peace Society, this amount to be applied as an institutional membership as long as they can see their way clear to pay this amount, provided the National Society, D. A. C., grant us the privilege of joining the American Peace Society."

This letter was signed by Mrs. Emma S. Mead, Regent, and Mrs. Sarah L. Blong, Corresponding Secretary.

Under the date of February 6, at a regular meeting of the Municipal Council, United Spanish War Veterans, held in the Old Courthouse, Cleveland, the following resolution was presented by Walter K. Patterson and approved:

"Whereas the American Peace Association will hold its one-hundredth anniversary meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 7 to May 11, 1928, this meeting to be known as a 'World Conference on International Justice;' and

"Whereas the United Spanish War Veterans heartily endorse the purpose and aims of the aforesaid Association; and

"Whereas said Association includes in its membership many leaders in governmental, educational, and business activities of this and foreign countries; be it therefore

"Resolved, that as evidence of our approval and support of the policies and aims of the American Peace Society we, the Municipal Council of the United Spanish War Veterans of Cleveland, Ohio, instruct our secretary to forward to the proper official of said Society a copy of this resolution, and with it the assurance of our co-operation with the members of said Association in their efforts to promote peace and good will among nations."

Another evidence of the good will is the record of institutional members shown upon the books of the Society. This type of membership, with its fee of twenty-five dollars, is growing more rapidly than ever before. They are coming not only from peace and patriotic organizations, but from women's clubs, churches, college clubs, Rotary clubs, the Women's Overseas Service Legion, Councils of Jewish Women, chambers of commerce.

In the presence of all this interest and support, it is difficult for the American Peace Society to express itself. In his "Essay on Old Age," Cicero remarks: "They advance no argument who say that old age is not engaged in active duty; they rather resemble those who would say that the pilot of a ship is unemployed because, while some are climbing the mast, others running up and down the decks, others emptying the bilge water, he, holding the helm, sits at the stern at his ease. He does not do those things that the young men do, but in truth he does much greater and better things."

The peace movement is filled with many men of many minds. Some seem to be climbing the mast, others to be running up and down the deck, others to be emptying the bilge water, some to be jumping overboard. These things have been true of members of the American Peace Society from time to time. Most of such activities are necessary to keep the ship going. Just now, however, mindful of the experience of one hundred years, the American Peace Society is not sitting at the stern at its ease. It may not be holding the helm; it is peculiarly interested, however, to get at that helm. That is its spirit. It dares to believe that the Cleveland Conference will help to reveal the helm and to clarify the course.

In celebrating one's hundredth anniversary it is possible to lose perspective. Emerson wrote in his Journal:

"Sad spectacle that man should live and be fed that he may fill a paragraph every year in the newspapers for his wonderful age, as we record the weight and girth of the big ox or mammoth girl. We do not count a man's years until he has nothing else to count."

But when Emerson wrote that he was only thirty-seven years of age. When he

was forty-four he entered in his Journal the following:

"The world wears well. These autumn afternoons and well-marbled landscapes of green and gold and russet, and steel-blue river, and smoke-blue New Hampshire mountains are and remain as bright and perfect penciling as ever."

Again, when he was fifty-eight he entered these words:

"I reached the other day the end of my fifty-seventh year and am easier in my mind than hitherto. I could never give much reality to evil and pain. But now when my wife says, 'Perhaps this tumor on your shoulder is a cancer,' I say, 'What if it is.'"

Some days later:

"One capital advantage of old age is the absolute insignificance of a success, more or less. I went to town and read a lecture yesterday. Thirty years ago it had really been a matter of importance to me whether it was good and effective. Now it is of none in relation to me. It is long already fixed what I can and what I cannot do."

Somewhere near Christmas, the next year:

"I ought to have added to my list of benefits of age the general views of life we get at sixty, when we penetrate show and look at facts."

And, finally, when sixty-seven, he observed again:

"My new book sells faster, it appears, than either of its foregoers. This is not for its merit, but only shows that old age is a good advertisement. Your name has been seen so often that your book must be worth buying."

Going back to Cicero, who has written with so much wisdom and detachment upon the subject of old age, the American Peace Society may be comforted by these words: "The intellectual powers remain in the old, provided study and application be kept up."

Writers on education have or did have a learned way of saying that "phylogeny repeats ontogeny," by which they mean that during the processes of growth a race or group repeats the processes of development peculiar to the individual. As the American Peace Society views the earnest efforts of some of its fellow-workers in the cause of international peace, it sees them repeating experiences through which the American Peace Society has passed with no little travail. It therefore finds itself thinking at times that much of the tense effort of the day is but a repetition of what the American Peace Society did long ago and found abortive. But for the labors of its co-workers it has nothing but kindest feelings. All the friendly gestures and gentle words cheer us up and hearten the Society as it looks out across another century about to open.

The Cleveland Conference will be a get-together conference. There will be no restrictions placed upon the utterances of the delegates. As great men were able to state principles and forecast qualities which have endured for a century, it is hoped that those principles and policies will come out of the World Conference on International Justice in Cleveland enlarged and improved.

1928 ANNIVERSARIES

AS THE American Peace Society plans the celebration of its one hundredth anniversary, it is fitting to recall that the year 1928 marks other "high tides in the calendar."

Sir William Randal Cremer, founder of the Interparliamentary Union, was born in Fareham, Hampshire, England, March 18, 1828. The passion of his life was to do something toward the ultimate abolition of war. He conceived that the hope for such a thing lies in international arbitration. In 1871 he conceived a plan for

a High Court of Nations which was adopted by the Council of the International Arbitration League, of which he was also the founder. Because of his work in organizing the Interparliamentary Union, he received the Nobel Peace prize.

The French novelist and author of scientific romances, Jules Verne, was born in Nantes, France, February 8, 1828. His imaginary trips in the air, around the world and under the sea are still the delight of old and young.

Franz Joseph Gall, founder of phrenology, a really distinguished scientist, died in 1828, and, a hundred years before, London's first auctioneer, one Samuel Patterson, was born.

P. W. Wilson, writer for the New York Times' magazine, has been looking into this year 1928. He finds that H. G. Wells is not the man who outlined history; that history outlining began in Ireland with Marianum Scolius, author of the "Chronicon Universale," which included everything from Creation to the date of this history. This Benedictine monk was born in 1028.

It is of interest to be reminded that Chaucer, father of English literature, was probably born in 1328; that Bunyan, the author of "Pilgrim's Progress," the most perfect English to be found anywhere outside the Bible, was born in 1628; that Goldsmith, author of the "Deserted Village" and of "She Stoops to Conquer," was born in 1728; that George Meredith was born in 1828, and that Thomas Hardy died in 1828; that both Tolstoi, master interpreter of the human spirit, and Nikolai Tchernyshevsky, founder of Nihilism, were born in 1828, and that Henrik Ibsen, Norwegian dramatic poet and moralist, was born at Skien, March 20, 1828.

We are under obligations to Mr. P. W. Wilson for reminding us, further, that

Elizabeth Charles, whose family displayed the deeper pieties of a Lutheran home, and that Samuel Jackson Randall, author of "Maryland, My Maryland" were born just one hundred years ago. John S. Rarey of Ohio, astonished England with his ability to tame a horse within an hour. He was born in 1828. Luke Hansard, who fooled himself into believing that if the debates in Parliament were reported someone would take the trouble to read them, died in 1828.

The author who has done us the service of lining up the "Class of '28" writes with such charm that we are glad here to repeat some of his own words. He writes:

"So, as Homer would say when enumerating his heroes, we have philosophers like Henri Taine, the Frenchman, and Friedrich Albert Lange, the German; novelists like George W. Thornbury; an expert on Russia like William Ralston Shedden Ralston; the historian, Pierre Lanfrey, who was too republican to praise Napoleon, and Victor Rydberg, the Swede—all born in 1828 and all a worry to anybody who has to write or read these words.

"In the grim realm of theology the class of '28 has borne a strenuous part. Four hundred years ago Patrick Hamilton, protomartyr of Scottish Presbyterianism, was tried before Archbishop Beaton and burned alive. Two hundred years ago Cotton Mather, whose eloquence stimulated the witch hunts of Massachusetts, died a more peaceful death than his victims. One hundred years ago Charles Voysey, the Theist, was born—he whose distaste for eternal punishment caused such heartsearchings in the Church of England that he had to leave it.

"Not that all ecclesiastics are thus storm-tossed. John Parkhurst, born 1728, did no more than produce 'A Hebrew and English Lexicon Without

Points,' for which he was neither incinerated nor excommunicated. Bishop Lightfoot followed a hundred years later, with the German theologian, Abraham Kuenan, whose reconstruction of the Old Testament was in part translated by that early modernist, Bishop Colenso, who gave his name to a town and, incidentally, to a battle in Natal; who wrote about algebra, and was one of the first men to split the Church of England.

"Of the arts the earliest is architecture, and the year 628 graduated that great Anglo-Saxon churchman, Benedict Bishop, who introduced stone edifices and glass into England, whence these comforts were brought in due course to America. Witness the skyline of Broadway, which should be set to his account.

"The architect and sculptor Desiderio da Settignano, who designed the famous tomb of Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce, before which the tourist to Florence pauses for three seconds at least by the guide's stopwatch, was born, greatly to his credit, in 1428. Robert Adam, the architect of Adelphi Terrace, where Bernard Shaw and Joseph Pennell once were neighbors, saw the light of day in 1728. In 1828—or was it 1827?—there died William Thornton, an architect of the Capitol, Washington, D. C., while three successors of his were born that year—Richard Morris Hunt, who designed houses for the Vanderbilts; Henry Hobson Richardson, who achieved a dim religious light in the Romanesque Trinity Church, Boston, and Richard M. Upjohn, who, following the measurements of late Gothic, reproduced it in Trinity Church, Wall Street.

"In the Class of Twenty-eight the artists are an illustrious group. To Albert Dürer, who died in 1528, a man bred in the strict honesties of the goldsmith's trade, painting and engraving were a guild, serving society with serious

and careful pictures. To be 'a pure and skillful man'—that, as he said of his father, was his ideal, and Dürer's art, tender if angular, was consecrated to 'an honorable Christian life.'

"England's successor to Dürer was Thomas Bewick, who, dying in 1828, had been an engraver of painstaking exactitude. He desired no beauty beyond the plumage of birds and the glory of beasts and flowers, which he studied with a Japanese reverence.

"Dürer's death synchronized with the birth of the magnificent genius—magnificent is the exact word for it—of Paul Veronese. To him art was no handmaid of faith. It was rather that faith had become the handmaid of art. He is much less interested in Mary of Nazareth than he is in the marble halls which he depicts as her mansion. In his 'Marriage at Cana of Galilee,' which may be described as a gorgeous anticipation of David Wark Griffith, it is not easy, save by an identifying halo, to discover the central figure. Paul Veronese practiced his art at a moment when art was leaving religion behind and entering fashionable society.

"Of Baroccio, also born in 1528, we are told that when he was decorating the Vatican jealous rivals tried to poison him. At a centenary, however, we must let by-gones be by-gones. Enough that in Baroccio we see the effects of light and shade achieved no longer with painful experiment but with a conscious mastery which had not yet become the fated facility of his successors.

"It was a free, pleasure-loving art—painting, caricature, it mattered not what—that Goya, the warm-blooded Spaniard, dying in 1828, shared with the Bouchers and the Troyons of France; an irresistible virtuosity, unhampered by restraints.

"In 1828 died Gilbert Stuart, fairly to be described as the founder of painting in the United States. Born in Rhode Island, he studied in England and, after

achieving success in London, opened his studio in New York and Philadelphia. What he did was not to create a school of painting, but to import one. Whistler and Sargent returned the compliment. It is perhaps strange that an artist who had painted a portrait of King George III should proceed to record and indeed to syndicate the countenance of Washington. The Class of Twenty-eight should not, however, be judged in this matter too harshly. It includes not Stuart alone but also Margaret Nicholson, the seamstress, who tried to stab King George III. She died, 1828, in Bedlam, and Shelley put out a volume of poems which he described as her posthumous fragments.

"The year 1828 did its duty, indeed, to art. It saw the birth of Johannes Schilling, the sculptor, whose vast materpiece, the Niederwald Monument of Germania, opposite Bingen-on-the-Rhine, marked the triumph over France in 1870.

As to lady members, Twenty Eight is not too strong. Still there are evidences of coeducation. Jeanne d'Albrét, born in 1528 to become the mother of King Henry of Navarre, was a poetess and a Huguenot of distinguished mind. Of less eminence in virtue was Lady Caroline Lamb, wife of the Prime Minister Melbourne, who preferred to be the friend of Byron. She died a hundred years ago, and two hundred years ago died Hester Johnson, Swift's Stella and his good angel. The noblest of the women to be celebrated this year is Josephine Butler, the heroic champion of her sex against the laws of shame. Her cause is today central in the League of Nations.

"The Class of Twenty-eight includes a reasonably adequate orchestra and choir. We may select Niccolo Piccini, rival of Glück, and Johann Adam Hiller, with his operettas, who, born in 1728, deserves a brief recall. But the encore must be reserved wholly for Franz Schubert, who, dying in 1828, when he was little over 30,

had composed 500 songs, ten symphonies, six masses, with sonatas, quartets and other details, yet had lived in penury. Though prolific, Schubert produced melody harmony that revealed a singular charm, as of a man who enjoys the happiness of others which he may not share. Prizes are offered this year for the best ending to his 'Unfinished Symphony,' and there are some who expect a competition for completion of Venus of Milo to follow.

"It must not be supposed that the Class of Twenty-eight studied life wholly on the campus of civilization. In 1728 a boy was born in a cottage who proceeded to employment as a haberdasher. James Cook then went to sea and assumed the serious responsibility of charting the coasts of Australia and New Zealand, which have never been the same since. No man added as much as did he to our knowledge of the Southern Ocean, and if he was slain on Hawaii it was merely because the natives had adopted their own Monroe doctrine. Contemporary with Captain Cook was Hyder-Ali, the advocate of a Monroe doctrine for India, who gave the British a run for their money.

"The Class is not crowded with statesmen. Still, there are a few that amuse. In 1228 died Stephen Langton, the Archbishop who acted as amanuensis for the Barons when, unready with the quill, they made their mark on Magna Charta. The Duke of Buckingham, too, courtier to King Charles I, was stabbed in 1628 by the somewhat too impulsive Felton, who should have waited for Cromwell's axe. A hundred years ago died Lord Liverpool, the permanent Prime Minister of his period.

"In the Class of Twenty-eight we see, finally, the march of science, invading the realms of the unknown. Born in 1628, Marcello Malpighi, as physician to Pope Innocent XII, peered through his primitive microscope at the structure of ani-

mals and flowers. A century later there appeared Joseph Black, a Scottish-Irishman born at Bordeaux, who pondered over the mysteries of latent heat. Contemporary with him was Johann Heinrich Lambert, the mathematician, who measured the intensity of light. Thunberg, the Swedish botanist, whose travels included Java and Japan, died in 1828."

By taking a biographical dictionary doubtless one could dig out other illustrious events or persons whose anniversaries might be celebrated this year. As final examples, John Hunter, noted British surgeon, now buried in Westminster Abbey, was born in 1728. Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States in 1828.

While we celebrate in 1928 the birth of the American Peace Society in 1828, there is a certain pleasure in recalling these other and interesting coincident anniversaries.

THE HAVANA CONFERENCE

WE FIND it difficult to understand the criticisms of the Sixth Pan-American Conference, held at Havana Conference, January 16 to February 20. We cannot believe that the work of that conference is to mean greater embarrassment for our United States.

It is undoubtedly true that the Pan American Union, as a result of that conference, is more definitely and more securely fixed than before the conference. The action which made this a fact was unanimous. All Latin American countries are now in position to choose as their representative upon the governing board men other than diplomatic representatives. It has been decided that the Pan American Union will not exercise functions of a political character. From now on instruments of ratification of the treaties and other diplomatic instruments signed at the international conferences of

American States are to be deposited at the Pan American Union, which will communicate notice of the receipt of such ratification to other States. There are to be closer relations between the Pan American Union and other official Pan American organizations. New duties have been imposed upon the Union, relating to the calling of conferences, to educational and social problems, special investigations.

These are not unimportant matters. From now on the Pan American Union will have intimate relations with the Congress of Journalists, commercial conferences, with labors connected with bibliographies, with pedagogy, plant and animal sanitary control, trade-marks, steamship lines and port formalities, agricultural co-operation, Red Cross work, geography, and history. The conference adopted a resolution relative to the creation of an inter-American institute of intellectual co-operation. The Pan American Union has been organized to formulate the bases of a project for such an institute. The work spreads out over the interchange of students and professors, the publication of commercial statistics, the use of international rivers, the construction of a longitudinal highway, a standard coin for all the American republics, migration between States, and the codification of international law. It seems to have been overlooked by our press that the Pan American Union was requested to co-operate in the preparatory work of the codification of international law and the studies that may be undertaken relative to uniformity and legislation. At the same time, the project formulated by the permanent Committee on International Law, established at Rio de Janeiro, those prepared by the Committee on Private International Law, established at Montevideo, and the studies undertaken by the Com-

mittee on Comparative Legislation and Uniformity of Legislation at Havana, are to be transmitted to the Pan American Union, which in turn shall forward them for the scientific examination of the Executive Committee of the American Institute of International Law.

This is all constructive business, calculated, we believe, to promote acquaintance and a better feeling between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY

THE search for security as a preliminary to any international peace in Europe continues unabated. It is a major issue in the League of Nations Assembly; in the Disarmament Commission now in session; and in the Arbitration and Security Commission, set up by the League's Preparatory Commission on Disarmament upon the request of the last assembly of the League, which committee has been in session in Geneva since February 10. The work of the Security Commission in behalf of a general security pact, has been classified under three headings: Arbitration Agreements, Security Agreements, and Articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations. A considerable body of material has been brought together by these three subcommittees in the nature of memoranda.

The memorandum on arbitration and conciliation calls attention to the facilities offered by the Council of the League, to the possibilities set forth in the various types of arbitration and conciliation treaties, and to conciliation as a method of settlement. It divides the different types of treaties into three kinds: those providing for the arbitration of all disputes, either by the courts at The Hague or by commissions of conciliation; those providing for certain classes of disputes, either by the courts at The Hague or by committees of arbitration; and, finally,

treaties providing for the submission of all disputes to conciliation commissions or at last to the Council of the League.

In other words, from the point of view of the issues involved and the method of settlement, there is a type of security treaty represented by the thirty treaties already registered with the League; there is the type represented by the Locarno pacts, and there is a type represented by the treaties between Switzerland and Scandinavian powers. Under the first, it is provided that all disputes shall be arbitrated, and in the case of non-justiciable disputes, conciliation is usually compulsory. Under the second type provision is also made for the arbitration of justiciable and the conciliation of other disputes; but if conciliation is impossible, there remains the settlement by judicial decree quite in accord with Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The third type includes treaties which provide for reservations relating to vital interests, territorial status, internal problems, or existing situations.

The Committee on Security Questions finds it impossible to contemplate the conclusion of a general security agreement supplementing the obligations assumed under the Covenant. This committee holds that wider guarantees of security must mean separate non-aggression agreements, or compacts of arbitration or mutual assistance, which it assumes to be the highest possible type of security agreement. Such pacts must necessarily include the prohibition of force, pacific procedures for the settlement of all disputes, and a system of mutual assistance in harmony with the Council of the League. This commission calls attention further to the possibilities of demilitarized zones, the definition of an aggressor, the extension of the Locarno Pact, the refusal to aid an aggressor, and to the

necessity of disarming as the organization of security permits, the guarantee by a third State, and other matters.

The committee dealing with the Covenant frowns upon extending any code of procedure for the League in times of emergency. The League exists to prevent war, and can apply repressive measures only in extreme cases. It fears attempts to define such words as "aggression" and "resort to war," as they might mean action by the League at a time when action might be undesirable. It believes that the preparation of the military sanction provided for in Article XVI does not seem likely to promote mutual confidence, except accompanied by the organization of pacific procedure and unless there is also a general agreement on the reduction and limitation of armaments. It agrees that the Council should be able to declare whether or not a breach of the Covenant has taken place, and to point to the party which has broken the Covenant. The committee seems to regard with some favor the possibilities of applying measures of economic pressure, but craves the consultation of economic and financial experts.

Thus again it is clear the problem of attaining security is a difficult matter.

It may be possible to extend the Locarno system, to increase bilateral agreements, to submit more justiciable disputes to the World Court, and to conclude agreements for setting up more conciliation commissions. Great Britain seems to favor these things; but they are all somewhat less hopeful when we recall that Great Britain still refuses to sign the optional clause of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The German position that war cannot be prevented by preparing to wage war against war is more in accord with our American view. The hope of security is to organize a world for protection against the outbreak of war. Nations must be

able to achieve their interests without resort to arms. It is the task of statesmen to show the way.

This is what the Secretary of State of the United States and M. Briand are trying to do. In the treaty signed by Mr. Olds and M. Claudel, February 6, there is no mention of a military alliance, of plans for the coercion of States, of definitions, of guarantees. There is the recognition of diplomatic procedure, of judicial processes, and of investigation and report. That is all. In our opinion, this approach to the problem of security is wiser and more hopeful in overcoming war as an instrument of national policy and as a means of promoting the interests of security between States than all the attempts to achieve such by the threat of bayonets.

TEN YEARS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAKIA celebrates this year its first decennary. During these eventful ten years perhaps the most important achievement, next to the formation of the republic itself, is the manner with which the nearly nine million Czechoslovaks, the more than three million Germans, the little less than a million Magyars, the half million Ruthenians, the nearly one hundred thousand Poles, the nearly two hundred thousand Jews, have been brought together in a working unity.

This population of over fourteen million is spread over Bohemia with approximately 332 persons per square mile, Moravia with 309, Silesia with about 394, Slovakia with 159, and Ruthenia with 124, representing a density of population of over 251 persons per square mile as against our thirty-five in the United States. Over ten millions of the population are Catholic, nearly a million Protestant, the rest representing various faiths or no religion at all.

The difficulties facing the organization of this new and interesting republic readily appear as one studies the schools. There are nearly fourteen thousand elementary schools, 66 per cent of which are Czechoslovaks, 23½ per cent German, 3.4 per cent Ruthenians, 5.8 per cent Magyar, and the rest Polish or miscellaneous schools. These differences, with slight variations, are found in the higher grade schools.

No country is of greater interest to the social scientists than Czechoslovakia. There is Prague, sometime called the "City of the Hundred Spires," sometime the "Rome of the North," with her many signs of new life. There are the new dwellings, the new public buildings, the highway improvements, the development of a new culture and of a new economic life amid the walls of an ancient town. It is a bustling place. While some of her business firms establish connections in the Balkans, others contract for engineering work in China. And so it goes. Nowhere, except possibly in England, do sports play such a conspicuous part among all classes of people.

There is diversity in Czechoslovakia. There are the forests, the spas, and pilsner beer. Industry and agriculture are making for the economic success of the republic; but, above all, there is a democratic tolerance gradually weaving into a homogeneous unit the divers peoples of various interests and backgrounds.

These achievements have been possible because Czechoslovakia is one of the richest stretches of territory in Europe, generously endowed with woods, soft and hard coal, iron, graphite, and salt. She also produces gold, silver, copper, and lead. There are textile, stone, and glass factories. She manufactures furniture, machines, metals, paper, and chemicals. She exports woolen and cotton goods and sugar. But, vastly more important, there

stands the saving grace of intelligence extending on into statesmanship and social achievement, a new tribute to the beneficence of democratic forms.

ALEŠ BROŽ has succeeded Dr. Souček as editor of the *Central European Observer*, published in Prague, capital of Czechoslovakia. We count this publication among the best sources of our information relative to central European affairs. For six years it has been an able weekly exponent of the interests of Czechoslovakia and of the Little Entente, and, too, a dispassionate interpreter of Austria, Hungary, Germany, and Poland. From this distance we have gathered the distinct impression that it has helped very materially not only to maintain peaceful relations between Czechoslovakia and her sister States, but to solve those most difficult problems connected with the minorities throughout Czechoslovakia. We extend to Mr. Brož, scholarly economist, our best wishes in his new and important task.

IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI, who is to speak at the conference in Cleveland, May 10, is more than the most famous pianist of his day. He is that. He is more than a great humanitarian. He is all that. He is an orator and the creator of modern Poland. Speaking upon this point, Preston William Slosson, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Michigan, in his recent book, "Twentieth Century Europe," says:

"Paderewski represented Polish interests so ably in Paris that he won most of what he asked and more than he could reasonably have expected to obtain. A diplomat of ability, an orator of singular force and charm, and a patriotic leader whose personal ascendancy can hardly be matched in our day"—these are the measured views of the historian. His separation from affairs of state has been due

probably to his lack of interest in factional strife and administrative technic. In any event, the delegates to the Cleveland conference will welcome the opportunity to greet this distinguished man, this time not because of his great achievements in art, but because of those abilities which made him the father of the Polish Republic.

THE United States Government is pursuing its persistent course in the interest of peace. March 8 negotiations between the United States and Italy, similar to the treaty recently signed with France, began. Already our government was negotiating the same kind of a treaty with Great Britain and Japan. March 10 we began negotiations with Norway in the interest of such a treaty. March 12 the Secretary of State handed to the German Ambassador, as a basis of negotiation, a proposed draft of a treaty of arbitration between Germany and the United States, a treaty identical with the one signed by the United States and France on February 6. On the same day a similar treaty was handed to the Spanish Ambassador, of special interest because the arbitration treaty between the United States and Spain, signed April 20, 1908, expired by limitation on June 2, 1923. March 15 a proposed draft of a treaty of arbitration between Japan and United States was handed to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington.

THE principles upon which the Inter-parliamentary Union rests, tested throughout a generation, are finding expression in new and interesting ways. There is an Interparliamentary Commercial Union, which meets from time to time. Scandinavian governments have organized an Interparliamentary Group among themselves. There has long been an attempt to maintain a Japanese-

American Interparliamentary Group, a favorite interest of William D. B. Ainey, former member of the United States Congress. And now Hon. Rafael Brache, member of the Santo Domingo Congress and of its Committee on Foreign Relations, proposes an American Interparliamentary Union, similar to the Interparliamentary Union with headquarters in Geneva. Mr. Brache during his recent stay in Washington conferred relative to this matter with members of the United States Congress, among whom he found no little interest. He proposes that such a union, with headquarters in Santo Domingo, holding annual meetings in various American capitals, would co-operate closely with the Pan American Union. Speaking upon this matter, Mr. Brache said:

“May this idea of the American Interparliamentary League be accepted with enthusiasm by the governing board of the Pan American Union, the diplomatic corps, the Government of the United States, and general public opinion of the Americas, for, since it has been impossible to create a League of American Nations, it is necessary, in order to promote co-operation among the peoples of the hemisphere, that there be established some organization along the lines of the Interparliamentary League by which the peoples of America may co-operate through their respective legislatures, and which may serve as a medium of information and co-operation for the Pan American Union.”

In our opinion the distinguished statesman from our sister republic might well have added that such a group would of course co-operate also with the older and parent organization operating so successfully under the leadership of Dr. Christian L. Lange.

DR. HEINRICH KANNER, distinguished scholar and interpreter of international affairs, particularly of facts relating to the World War, is the editor of a new monthly magazine called *Der Krieg*, published by E. Laubsche Verlagsbuchhandlung G. m. b. H., Berlin W. 30, Gleditschstr. 6. The first number began with February, 1928. The March number has also arrived. From these numbers it is already apparent that readers of the German language are to have a regular and worthily scientific interpretation of the accredited peace movement. Dr. Kanner knows his history. That the new magazine is to relate to the actual experience of nations is ably set forth in the first editorial of the first number, under the title *Zweck und Ziel*. Already it appears that here is a magazine of incalculable help for educated persons desiring to inform themselves further of the realities in the movement to promote peace between nations. We are proud to add that its editor has long been a life member of the American Peace Society, and pleased to note that the cover adopted was inspired by the cover of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

THE Russian proposal for complete disarmament has met with decided opposition in Geneva. The proposal included a plan for the complete disbanding of all military units on land or sea and in the air within four years from the entry into force of the proposals. In the first year under the plan one-half of the effectives in service shall be disbanded, and in the following three years the remaining forces would be disbanded in equal parts. It includes fortifications, military industry, all land, sea, and air armaments. Local police, customs, forest, and other guards would be limited for a period of four years to the numbers maintained on January 1, 1928. Protec-

tion at sea would be provided by maritime police service, for which the Russians propose to divide the waters of the world into sixteen zones. Within three months of the coming into force of the proposed agreement a permanent commission of control would be established and committees of control would be set up in each of the contracting States. In our opinion, this plan is of little interest, except as an expression of a certain class of opinion definitely opposed to war. We believe it to be impractical, for nations will not go about their business that way. If adopted, it would not establish peace because it nations wish to fight they will do so, armaments or no armaments.

THE Academy of International Law at The Hague, founded with the support of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is entering upon its sixth year. Its headquarters in the Palace of Peace at The Hague will open for

its courses of instruction this year, July 2 to 28, and its second period from July 30 to August 25. The lecturers this year will come from the Catholic Institute of Paris, from the President of the Supreme Court of Danzig, from professors in the University of Paris, Columbia University, New York, the University of Florence, the University of Liège, the University of Petrograd, the University of Athens, the University of Brussels, the University of Buenos Aires, the University of Geneva, the University of Oxford, the University of Lisbon, the League of Nations, the University of Turin, the University of Zurich, the University of Lwow, and the University of Cambridge. The foregathering of students from various parts of the world listening to lectures and participating in discussions led by men of such standing and diverse experiences creates a happy picture in the mind of all concerned to create a more intelligent international outlook.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting, February 24, 1928

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF THE MINUTES

THE Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union was held in the Committee Room of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., this day, beginning at 10:30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Theodore E. Burton, the President, presiding. Those present who took part in the proceedings were: Hon. Theodore E. Burton, President; Hon. Andrew J. Montague,

Vice-President; Hon. Adolph J. Sabath, Treasurer; Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary; Hon. Sol Bloom, Hon. Fred A. Britten, Hon. Carl R. Chindblom, Hon. Henry Allen Cooper, Hon. Edgar Howard, Hon. Jed Johnson, Hon. James G. McLaughlin, Hon. Melvin J. Maas, Hon. Stephen G. Porter, Hon. Fred S. Purnell, Hon. Elmer Thomas, and Hon. Henry W. Watson.

THE PRESIDENT: The meeting will please come to order. Shall we listen to the reading of the minutes?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY (Mr. Call): Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the minutes of the last meeting were printed in the *Congressional Record* for February 16, 1928. You may wish, therefore, to omit the reading of the minutes.

MR. MONTAGUE: I move that the reading of the minutes be omitted.

(Upon being put to vote, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.)

THE PRESIDENT: Now comes the Executive Secretary's report.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY (Mr. Call): Mr. Chairman, the *Congressional Record* for February 16 contains our by-laws and a fairly complete report for the year. The Paris conference report, however, lacks two things which ought to be a part of the record, and I therefore call your attention to them here.

One is the fact that Mr. Bartholdt, who is a life member of the Interparliamentary Union, delivered an address and presented a draft treaty for general arbitration. The address appears in the *Compte Rendu* of the Conference, and the treaty has been printed in the Bulletin of the Interparliamentary Union.

Mr. William D. B. Ainey, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, also a life member of our group and of the Union, called a meeting in Paris, at which he reviewed the pre-war activities of the American-Japanese Section of the Interparliamentary Union, which were suspended during the war.

On motion of Hon. Roy G. Fitzgerald, Member of Congress, Mr. Ainey was unanimously elected President of this section, and, upon a similar motion, Hon. K. Nakamura, member of the Imperial Parliament of Japan, was unanimously elected Vice-President.

Upon motion, it was unanimously agreed that the president and vice-president be authorized, after conference with their respective groups, to arrange a program for the next meeting of the American-Japanese Section. All the Japanese and American representatives to the Paris Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, either personally or by authority, expressed their adherence to and interest in the organization of the American-Japanese Section.

A list of the representatives, either actually present or represented by such authorizations, revealed that there are eight Japanese and fourteen American members of the group.

We have received twenty copies of the report of the Paris Conference, all but three of which have been distributed. Extra copies have been ordered from Geneva.

I think it ought to be mentioned again that the Interparliamentary Union publishes bimonthly a periodical known as the *Interparliamentary Bulletin*. That is the official organ of the Interparliamentary Union. It contains documents of importance and outlines of what is going on in the Interparliamentary Union from time to time. If any of you wish that Bulletin, it will cost forty cents a year in American money. The Interparliamentary Union publishes other publications.

MR. MONTAGUE: How generally is that Bulletin sent now to members of the Union here?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: I think it is about twenty copies now that are distributed here. That is a copy of it (exhibiting copy).

MR. MONTAGUE: Is that in French?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: No; it is in English. It is issued in English, French, and German.

Now, gentlemen, you will be interested to know that the Council of the Interparliamentary Union is to have a meeting on the 2d day of April, 1928, the place of the meeting being Prague, Czechoslovakia. The final convocation will be shortly sent out. Here is the agenda of that meeting of the Council. I mention it to you because we have two members of the Council, Mr. Burton and Mr. Montague, and whether or not we should be represented at the meeting of the Council is for this body to decide.

There will be on the agenda the approval of the minutes of the previous meeting; communication of the program of the Bureau for 1928; report of the auditors; convocation of the Twenty-fifth Conference; fixation of the agenda of the conference and communication of certain draft resolutions to be submitted to the conference; application of Article X of the statutes fixing the number of votes

allowed to each group at the next conference.

You know we are allowed now under the rule to be represented by twenty-four delegates. It is probable that on this agenda there will be a revision of certain provisions in the statutes and regulations on the basis of proposals made by the organizations committee. It is probable that they will nominate a Treasurer of the Union.

There is nothing very startling on this agenda. It is not expected that the Council will make any vital alteration in the program of the Berlin Conference, which is fixed, as follows:

1. General Debate.
2. The Evolution of the Representative System.
3. Migration Problems.

4. Drafting of "Fundamental Principles for the Collective Life of States."
In connection with the Evolution of the Representative System—

MR. COOPER: What was that last one?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Drafting of "Fundamental Principles for the Collective Life of States."

MR. COOPER: What does that mean?

THE PRESIDENT: A platform in regard to the relations of the respective States to each other. The propositions that have been laid down by the committee are given on page 231 of the Interparliamentary Bulletin for November and December, and if we have time I will read that.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: In connection with the evolution of the representative system, attention is called to the publications which the Bureau has issued, containing the answers of the five specialists in political economy consulted by the political committee on the question of the representative system.

THE PRESIDENT: If I may interrupt there for a minute, I would suggest to the members the reading of those articles. They are exceedingly valuable to any student of parliamentary procedure, the place that the government parliaments should have in the government of nations, the question whether parliamentary bodies are losing prestige, and the reasons therefor. Those are to be published in a book which costs four Swiss francs. I

am frank to say I have not read them all. There is one by Professor Harold J. Laski, professor of political science at the London School of Economics which contains some of the most valuable suggestions in regard to legislative bodies that I have ever met. Then there is Professor Bonn, professor of the Institute of Higher Commercial Studies, at Berlin; Professor Borgeaud, professor of the University of Geneva; Professor Larnaude, dean and emeritus professor of the Faculty of Law of Paris University, and Professor Gaetano Mosca, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy and professor at the University of Rome.

One or two of these men represent a class of representatives in legislative bodies that we would hardly have in this country, men whose main activities are devoted to studies, professors in universities who are members of the senates or of the other house and have thereby a legislative connection. I most cordially recommend the reading of those articles. They are in English, and you will learn a great deal that is valuable.

MR. HOWARD: Where will we find them?

THE PRESIDENT: They are scattered through these issues of the Interparliamentary Bulletin. For instance, the issue for November-December has two. They are entitled "The Crisis in the Parliamentary System." Some one made the suggestion that legislative bodies were losing their hold, and thus that expression, "The Crisis," is used as the title. The November-December issue has the articles by Professor Bonn and Professor Gaetano Mosca.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Is that the beginning of the series?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Those are all, I believe.

MR. COOPER: They are to be in one volume?

THE PRESIDENT: One volume.

A VOICE: How can that be procured?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: If you will give me your name and address, I will send it or see that it is sent to you.

THE PRESIDENT: Those discussions, while in a measure academic, are one of the most valuable activities of the Interparliamentary Union.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: In addition to the Council meeting, which is to be held in Prague, there will be held, March 29 and March 30, meetings of the Juridical and Political and Organization committees, sitting simultaneously. These two committees will have to prepare the final draft of the resolutions on the drafting of "Fundamental Principles for the Collective Life of States" and "The Evolution of the Representative System," to be submitted to the conference in July.

The political and organization committee will also discuss the question of amending certain provisions in the statutes and regulations in order to bring them into conformity with the present practice.

On March 21 the Committee for Social Questions, to prepare a report on immigration problems, will meet with the Executive Committee.

Prague has been chosen as a place of meeting on the invitation of the Czechoslovak group. The group, moreover, intends to arrange for facilities to be extended to the delegates to enable them to visit the country. Czechoslovakia, as you know, is not only interesting for its picturesqueness, but also offers to the student of economic and political questions a valuable study of a country in the process of evolving national unity out of fragments of what used to be the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This, together with the interesting nature of the questions before the various committees, leads the Bureau at Geneva to hope that they will have present representatives from the American group at Prague the latter part of March and the first of April.

THE PRESIDENT: In that connection, I want to state that we are at very considerable disadvantage at these meetings of the Interparliamentary Union, for the reason that the propositions to be brought up before each successive conference are considered at these meetings of the Council. I consider that it would be impracticable for either Governor Montague or myself to attend that meeting at Prague at the ending of March and the beginning of April, and the result, of course, will be that we shall go to a meeting of the conference and find certain resolutions

already drafted. We have always been listened to with the utmost respect, but in order to give the fullest effect to the activities of this group, it is quite desirable that we should be present at those sessions. That could be partly provided for by our framing of resolutions on the respective subjects to be considered and forwarding them before the committees of the Council meet.

MR. HOWARD: Would it not be possible, in view of the fact that our President and Vice-President say that they cannot attend, to secure volunteers?

THE PRESIDENT: If anyone can go and will volunteer, that will be very good, but I take it that, it being a season when the Congress is in session here, and probably at the height of its activity, it would be very difficult to get anyone to go. Again, it would have to be some one who is familiar with the general work of the Union and of the activities of the conference.

MR. HOWARD: My colleagues have no opposition in the primary.

MR. MONTAGUE: Congress is in session.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Mr. President, there is one other thing to report, and that ends my report, and that is that the next meeting of the conference of the Interparliamentary Union will be held in the City of Berlin, upon the invitation of the German group, probably from July 15th on, lasting for about a week.

THE PRESIDENT: It all depends on the time the elections are to be held in Germany. If the election is to be postponed until some time, say, in the summer—June or July—that means one thing. If the elections are held earlier, there would probably be an adjournment, and they wish the conference to meet while the Reichstag is in session. I have very strongly urged in the meeting of Council the latest convenient date. In that I was supported by the English delegates. Their Parliament usually remains in session until the end of July, and I am satisfied they will give all possible attention to the joint requests of the two countries.

I should very much regret if we are not to be represented at that meeting, because we were at Paris, and if we do not attend the conference in Germany it

would evoke some unfriendly feeling. On the other hand, it is a question whether we could get away from here after the adjournment of Congress in time to attend. The promise is that they will cable me when the Council meets, about the first of April, and then I will circulate the notice around as to when it is to occur.

Is there anything further, Mr. Call?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: No, sir.

MR. PORTER: Mr. Secretary, I would like to make an inquiry with regard to procedure about the Union. As you will recall, last summer in Paris all of the American resolutions with regard to the narcotic drug traffic were approved, but before leaving I left another one which reads as follows:

"The Interparliamentary Conference, recognizing that, according to the scientific and medical opinion of the world, drug addiction is a disease which demands public regulation and correction, and believing that the proper treatment of those given to drug addiction, important as it is from a humanitarian standpoint, will also lessen the demand for narcotic drugs, and thus effect a curtailment of the illicit traffic and a reduction in production, recommends for the consideration of the groups of the Union the adoption of measures by the governments concerned with a view to the compulsory treatment of drug addicts.

"The Interparliamentary Bureau is requested to transmit the present resolution of the groups of the Union and to all the governments and parliaments of the world."

I left that resolution with Mr. Lange, assuming that that would become a part of the record, but I have a letter here from him in which he says:

"You handed me, before leaving Paris, draft of a resolution containing recommendation for adoption of measures by the governments as to compulsory treatment of drug addicts. I had no occasion to lay this before the committee."

When would that be considered under the rules of the Parliamentary Union? As I understand it, it must go to the committee first, as the other resolutions did.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. PORTER: And then would be reported out at the plenary session?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: That would naturally come up, I should say, before the Council in Prague.

MR. PORTER: Do you think it would be necessary for me to reintroduce it or send it in again?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: If you will give me a copy of it, I will send it.

THE PRESIDENT: That would rather emphasize it, I think. Suppose we introduce a resolution with regard to that, and if it be the opinion of the group that that should be so, let us send that on to the meeting there in March and April. I can readily realize how that was lost in the shuffle at the end of the session. Those things have to go to the Council and committee before they are considered.

MR. PORTER: Well, I will say to the group that it is in entire harmony with a bill which I have introduced the other day. We have about 6,500 prisoners in the Federal penitentiaries, which can only accommodate about 3,000. Between two thousand and twenty-three hundred of those prisoners are drug addicts. The country, and I guess the medical profession, has now come around to the view that drug addiction is a disease, and not a vice, in an overwhelming majority of cases. So I introduced a bill the other day, in view of the fact that we had to build new penitentiaries, that instead of building new penitentiaries we build a couple of institutions for the care of these addicts, giving the Attorney General the power to remove the addicts, in his discretion, from the penitentiaries to these institutions for proper treatment.

I will not take your time too much with it, but if a man is suffering from drug addiction he will never recover in a prison cell. He needs fresh air, good food, and healthy environment, and the moment they discharge the man with, say, ten or fifteen dollars in his pocket and with his frenzied desire for this drug, he will commit many crimes in order to secure money to buy the drug, and I have discussed this with a great many people, and it seems to meet with the unanimous approval of everyone, especially of members, and I am very anxious to have this resolution considered at the next meeting of the Interparliamentary Union. Of

course, our own local bill will take care of the situation here.

THE PRESIDENT: There are two courses to pursue. It is already there and naturally would be considered by the committee, but we can reinforce that by sending a letter asking them—I could send it myself or the Secretary could—or if the group thinks it best we might pass a resolution giving special consideration to it.

MR. PORTER: That would give it greater force.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. If you will introduce such a resolution that the group approve that proposition, we can discuss and present it, and do I understand that you do introduce it as a motion?

MR. PORTER: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: You have heard the motion.

MR. HOWARD: Just what was the motion?

THE PRESIDENT: That the group approve the resolution presented by Mr. Porter and transmit it to the Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union, a copy of which has been read.

MR. HOWARD: I move that the group approve that resolution.

MR. MONTAGUE: I second that motion.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: Now, I think perhaps it might be well for you, Mr. Porter, to state briefly what occurred in the meetings of the Union at Paris. I regarded the acceptance of the American contentions with regard to the use of narcotics as one of the triumphs of our delegation at that time. The resolution has been pending for some time before the Paris group. You may say that they accepted *in toto* your contentions?

MR. PORTER: Yes. It is rather difficult to boil it down. As you know, the Geneva Opium Conference was held in 1923 and 1924. I was chairman of the American delegation, and we withdrew largely because we could not get the British and French and Portugese and Spanish to fix a definite time for the suppression of the traffic in prepared opium, as provided in Article VI of Chapter 2 of The Hague Opium Convention. In that article the contracting power agreed to suppress progressively the traffic in prepared opium.

Prepared opium is that which is used for smoking or eating. It is eaten in India and smoked in the colonies of these European powers out in the Orient. We contended that, ten years having elapsed and that no effort had been made to suppress this traffic in the colonies of these four countries, we were entitled to have a definite time fixed. We fixed ten years. Later, we increased it to fifteen years, and still later, in the final hope of coming to some sort of an agreement, I offered to make it fifteen years, and it should not take effect until the treaty was ratified, but I found that, largely on account of revenue, it was impossible, and we withdrew. There were other matters, but that was the main one.

You see, they produce opium out there by the hundreds of tons, and the seepage from that opium or from the transportation of that opium enters our country through the smokers and causes a great deal of trouble. Brushing aside, of course, the idea of having one law for the East and one for the West, it is a penitentiary offense to sell a grain of morphine in the United States or England or France or any of those countries, while you can buy it by hundreds of pounds in the Orient, just like you buy groceries.

When the Interparliamentary Union met in Washington, Dr. Brabec, of Czechoslovakia, brought over a resolution urging ratification of the treaty which was made at Geneva. As I recall the language of his resolution it was this: that, while these treaties made only somewhat of a modest advance, the Interparliamentary Union urged their ratification, and also that the defects be cured. I got into conference with Dr. Brabec and finally convinced him that a body representing the members of the highest legislative bodies in the world could hardly afford to say that these treaties were practically valueless and still urge their ratification. Dr. Brabec agreed with me about it, and the resolution was put in this form, that after the treaties had been perfected, as suggested in the resolution, that they should be ratified.

It was not considered in Washington for some reason. It was postponed to Ottawa, so I went up to Ottawa about a

week later, and there they had two items on the agenda—the rights of minorities and opium. The debate on the rights of minorities was to be closed at 3 o'clock, but they discussed it until 6, when Sir Robert Horne got up, and I will never forget it—I have seen steam rollers before—but he said, "I venture to suggest in all humiliation that we have a dinner with the Canadian Parliament at 8 o'clock, and this matter should go over to the Geneva meeting next summer," and the chairman of the meeting announced that there would only be the one subject heard, and there was a vote of 39 to 37 in favor of postponement. So then I went to Geneva the next summer.

THE PRESIDENT: That was not a meeting of the Conference. That was a meeting of the committees.

MR. PORTER: Of the committees, and I not only advocated Dr. Brabec's resolution, but introduced two of my own, one the original American proposition, urging the governments, or those governments which had not done so, to agree to stop the traffic in prepared opium within ten years; also, a resolution urging the governments to prohibit the manufacture of heroin, which we have done in this country two years ago, on the recommendation of the American Medical Association. I may say, in regard to heroin, that it is by all odds the most dangerous of these drugs.

A VOICE: What is heroin made of?

MR. PORTER: Heroin is made out of morphine. It is briefly this: The medical profession has never been able to find a substitute for morphine. Without morphine the practice of medicine would be a most unhappy one, and that is the difficulty in suppressing the traffic in morphine. We must have it for people who are dying with cancer and tuberculosis. But it has the bad effect of nausea and is habit-forming. For hundreds of years we have been trying to find a substitute for it. A German chemist about 1906 found a substitute. It was widely advertised all over the world as the long-sought-for substitute, but it was not applicable. It was taken up by many American physicians, who became addicted to heroin, and we now know that it is the most dangerous of all drugs,

and the American Medical Association in 1923 condemned its use. There is only one instance where it is of any value, and that is in the case of very severe bronchitis; but there is another drug, codeine, which takes its place. But heroin—and I want to impress this upon you—if we can solve the heroin problem we have gone a long ways. The discovery of heroin and its sale throughout the world is responsible for the serious condition of addiction that we have today. The morphine addict, as a rule, does not do any particular harm to society, unless his craze for the drug is such, and he cannot buy it, he will resort to crime to obtain it.

So I presented that resolution, and your President will remember we had quite a contest at Geneva, and the vote on the heroin was unanimous, the vote on the limitation of the production of arsenic was unanimous, but the vote upon fixing a definite time for the suppression of the traffic in opium was nine to seven, Great Britain and Jugoslavia opposing it.

When we got to Paris the resolutions were called up and they were all passed. The only opposition came from the British, and that was for fixing a definite period for the suppression of this traffic in prepared opium.

The difficulty there, I might as well be perfectly candid about it, is twofold: In many of those colonies the revenue derived from the government cocaine shops goes quite a long ways toward paying the expenses of the colonial governments. In the Straits Settlements it is about 47 per cent; in India it is about 7 per cent, and in the Dutch East Indies it is about the same. In Indo-China the French get about 26 per cent. Of course, that was the real opposition, and then there was another element in it. A great many of the Chinese coolies drift into these settlements, where they perform the menial labor. They naturally seek the association of their own countrymen. Many of these are smokers and many of the new men acquire the habit, and once a man acquires the smoking habit he is a slave; he is helpless. It is not like a man getting drunk, and they have to increase the dose as the tolerance of the system increases, until finally they get in a con-

dition of abject slavery, and it insures a steady supply of menial labor throughout the entire season at the rubber and poppy and the other plantations.

There are two elements in it, the revenue and the question of menial labor.

This resolution, while it may sound rather innocent on its face, I think will be quite helpful, because when we press it, it is going to put these countries that have held back on the suppression of drug traffic in rather an awkward position. They cannot recommend to their people the compulsory treatment of drug addicts, while at the same time they are deriving large revenue from the traffic.

I would like to say this: I regard these meetings of the Interparliamentary Union as very valuable; if for nothing else, it gives one valuable contacts. I have been enabled to reach an understanding with two governments through these conferences, and I know it is going to be productive of very helpful results.

MR. WATSON: Where did the chief opposition come from?

MR. PORTER: The British and Jugoslavs.

MR. WATSON: Was it developed that the people over there were stockholders in the companies engaged in this traffic?

MR. PORTER: Oh, no; this is a Government monopoly.

THE PRESIDENT: It is a very old question, reaching back to the war in China in about 1838 or 1840. Jugoslavia also is a producer of opium, and they oppose it. It was a matter of very serious opposition, especially in the meeting of the Council and the Committee at Geneva in 1926, but at Paris in 1927 the resolution was adopted substantially.

MR. WATSON: Where does Jugoslavia produce opium?

THE PRESIDENT: They produce a great share, about a million pounds worth, they say.

MR. WATSON: Of poppy?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, of poppy, and from that opium.

MR. WATSON: Where do they produce it?

THE PRESIDENT: I do not know what part of the country it is.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Their

sales amount to about five million dollars a year.

THE PRESIDENT: Jugoslavia and Turkey produce high class opium.

MR. SABATH: I think it is in the state of Herzegovina, in the southern section of Jugoslavia.

THE PRESIDENT: At any rate that was the country that opposed the proposition at Geneva.

Are there any other reports of delegates to the Twenty-fourth Conference? If there are no further remarks in regard to the meeting at Paris, we will pass to the election of officers. Has anybody any motion with regard to that?

MR. MONTAGUE: Mr. Chairman, I move that Mr. Burton be elected president of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union.

MR. HOWARD: I second the motion.

MR. MONTAGUE: If it is agreeable, can I occupy the chair for a moment and put the question?

THE PRESIDENT: Certainly.

(The question was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: I thank you, gentlemen.

Now, with regard to the other officers, the three vice-presidents, the treasurer, the secretary, the executive secretary and executive committee.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Who are the three vice-presidents now, please?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The three vice-presidents are Representative Andrew J. Montague, Representative Henry W. Temple and Representative William A. Oldfield.

MR. BRITTEN: Mr. President, I move that the three vice-presidents be reelected.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The treasurer is Representative Adolph J. Sabath.

MR. BRITTEN: Has he ever rendered an accounting?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Oh, yes.

MR. BRITTEN: With that information before the committee, I move that he be re-elected.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: The next is the secretary.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Representative John J. McSwain of South Carolina.

THE PRESIDENT: He is not here today, but we all know that he takes quite an interest in these matters.

MR. BRITTEN: I move that he be elected to succeed himself.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: The Executive Secretary is Mr. Call.

MR. HOWARD: I nominate Mr. Call.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: The Executive Committee—will you please read the present names?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The Executive Committee consists of Representative Theodore E. Burton, Chairman, ex-officio; Representative Fred Britten, Representative Tom Connally, Representative Henry Allen Cooper, Representative Clarence F. Lea, Representative James C. McLaughlin, Senator Alben W. Barkly, Senator Charles Curtis, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, and Senator Claude A. Swanson.

MR. CHINDBLOM: I move the re-election of the executive committee.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: It is to be borne in mind that no member is excluded from the work of the Union because it does not belong on that executive committee. Now, the two members of the Council—are they elected here?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes, sir. The two members of the Council are Mr. Burton and Mr. Montague.

MR. HOWARD: Mr. President, I nominate Mr. Burton and Mr. Montague.

MR. BRITTEN: I second the nomination.

(Mr. Howard put the motion and it was unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: That completes the election of officers. The next item is "Unfinished Business." I want to make one suggestion. There has been a great deal of correspondence in regard to the problem of immigration. That has been

up before the Union and before the Conferences for quite a number of years. We have a definite opinion in this country in that regard, I think, that it is exclusively a domestic question. For instance, in this statement of the fundamental principles for the collective life of states—this is a proposition which will be pending at the meeting at Geneva—I find this statement, Section 13:

"The right to admit or expulse"—that word "expulse" was chosen by someone not altogether familiar with English.

—"expulse aliens should be regulated in international conventions containing provisions for the right of appeal."

I think you can readily interpret what that means, that if one country wishes to send its redundant population into another country, its right to do so shall be regulated by treaty between them. It takes it away from the position that we have always maintained in this country, that it is a purely local problem, and makes it international.

After consultation with a considerable number of members of the group I have taken the liberty to send a cablegram in December and later a letter to that effect, that we regard that as strictly and purely a domestic problem. If there is any other notion anybody has on it, I would like to hear it.

MR. COOPER: If I remember correctly, more than one President has announced that that position is not only non-justifiable, but that we could do nothing else than retain exclusive power in such cases to ourselves. President Roosevelt said so, and he simply confirmed what I think Cleveland had said before. This goes, as I understand, as indicated by you in your statement, to the very life of the nation, because if they can force any people into a country they can eventually control the electorate. So it affects the very life of a country, and the country itself, therefore, must be the sole judge in the matter.

MR. MONTAGUE: I had a letter from Mr. Lange upon that topic. He told me he had written you, Mr. Burton. I wrote at once to him and told him that that subject was always considered an internal, domestic one, that it was not a subject for international consideration. My at-

titude upon that subject was not solely an American attitude, I told him; but it was international law. In other words, nations could not pretend to govern the internal affairs of other nations.

THE PRESIDENT: The query is whether or not we ought not to introduce a resolution.

MR. WATSON: In view of the position taken by the two members of the Council in the absence of the group and speaking for the group, I think it would be proper now for this body to go on record as ratifying and confirming the position taken by our President and our Vice-President, with reference to their declaration of this unmistakably American principle.

THE PRESIDENT: Would you accept that in any definite form, Mr. Howard, a resolution that the group approves the statements of the two members of the Council?

MR. HOWARD: Oh, yes.

THE PRESIDENT: That it regards the question of immigration as purely a domestic problem, to be decided by each country, according to its own policies?

MR. HOWARD: I would accept the very words of the President as the motion.

THE PRESIDENT: I do not anticipate that they are going to adopt any such provision as that, but our own policy on that subject is unmistakable.

MR. HOWARD: This would give notice.

MR. COOPER: Who drew that, Mr. President, and who approved it?

THE PRESIDENT: It was this committee on the collective life of states. I have no idea who drew that.

MR. SABATH: Mr. President, though I have been a member of the Committee on Immigration for over twenty years, and known as one who favors a liberal immigration law, I will say right now that I have always insisted that it is a purely domestic proposition, and that we should not be dictated to by any nation, but our policy should be that it is for us to say. I believe in fair and humane legislation, treating all nationals as fairly as we can, without discrimination; but that is as far as I ever did go, and as far as I feel we should go. Therefore, I second the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska.

MR. HOWARD: The substance of the motion is the position assumed by the President in his wire and letter.

MR. MONTAGUE: The two members of the Council.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Should we go a little further, and not only declare our approval of their position, but declare it as the sense of this group?

MR. PORTER: It might not be out of place to refer to the constitutional provision that gives us exclusive control.

THE PRESIDENT: In submitting it over there, I think it would be well to state what the constitutional provision is. I do not know but that maybe we better have a committee to frame this resolution. We all know what is in our minds.

MR. HOWARD: I think that would be better.

THE PRESIDENT: Shall we submit to vote the question of the general opinion of the group, which is perfectly clear, and then have a committee frame the exact language?

MR. MONTAGUE: As they sometimes do in the English Parliament. They approve the object and refer it to a committee for the formal language.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Shall we have a vote on the general proposition?

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: I will ask Mr. Chindblom, Governor Montague, and Mr. Porter to frame the language of the resolution, and it might be well to do that at an early date, because it wants to be over there in plenty of time.

MR. BRITEN: May I suggest also that Mr. Sabath be on that committee?

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Sabath as well, a committee of four. The only objection to a larger committee is that it is sometimes hard for them to get together. Let me impress upon you the desirability of framing that at an early date. I think it should be framed a little more carefully than we can do just offhand.

MR. MAAS: Wouldn't it be well to differentiate this question from others and point out that it is purely domestic and its effect is entirely local, so that later on we may not be confronted with that resolution when Mr. Porter seeks to press his resolutions and the British raise the ques-

tion that it is a matter of internal revenue?

THE PRESIDENT: There is a clear distinction between the two, I think.

MR. MONTAGUE: We have had that principle involved in several cases. The subjects of religion and education have been brought up, and I think the Americans have generally taken the ground that it is our domestic and not an international question.

THE PRESIDENT: I am inclined to think the sending of such a resolution as that will prevent the presentation to the conference of any radical proposition on this subject.

Further, under the head of unfinished business, this resolution of Mr. Britten's should come up. Have you a copy of that?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes, sir. The resolution reads:

[House Resolution 9205, Seventieth Congress, first session]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
January 12, 1928.

MR. BRITTEN introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

A bill to authorize an appropriation for the American group of the Interparliamentary Union.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to assist in meeting the annual expenses of the Interparliamentary Union there is hereby authorized an appropriation of \$10,000.

THE PRESIDENT: That is in general about the expense of the Interparliamentary Union.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The American group.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That does not have any specific mention of the expenses of delegates.

MR. BRITTEN: No, it does not, Mr. Chairman. I felt this way when I introduced that resolution. When I learned that the National Government has never defrayed any part of the annual running expenses of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union, from the purchase of stationery up or down, I intro-

duced this resolution. My thought is, if we are going to continue this body, if it is going to be the representative body of members of the United States Government that it should be, the sum of \$10,000 is little enough to come out of the National Treasury for its annual expense.

MR. HOWARD: Wasn't there an appropriation right along?

MR. BRITTEN: No.

THE PRESIDENT: There have been \$6,000 appropriated annually for the activities at Geneva, and Congress did appropriate \$50,000 toward the expenses of the twenty-third Conference here in 1925. However, that is quite apart from Mr. Britten's resolution.

MR. MAAS: Do any of the other governments, the foreign governments, appropriate regularly for the expenses of their representatives?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes, particularly the northern countries of Europe, such as Sweden and Denmark.

MR. CHINDBLOM: I want to suggest that the resolution as it reads would relate to the expenses of the Interparliamentary Union itself and not of the American group.

MR. BRITTEN: It is intended for the American group alone and solely.

MR. CHINDBLOM: It will have to be amended.

MR. WATSON: Is there anything being paid by the particular groups to the general expenses, by themselves?

MR. BRITTEN: Oh, yes. They have always paid their own expenses. This is for the American group itself. You see the difference between the two?

THE PRESIDENT: I take it your idea is that this amount should be disbursed under the direction of the American group for whatever purpose they may conclude to be proper?

MR. BRITTEN: Yes; all expenses, and that might include traveling expenses. It will include small expenses for clerical expense, stationery, office rent, any form of expense that may contribute directly to the American group and to the American group only, and not to the main body in Europe.

MR. BLOOM: How much money did you spend last year or did you have to raise? You say here \$10,000?

MR. BRITTEN: Yes.

MR. BLOOM: How would that \$10,000 be expended? Would that be too much or not enough? What is the average expense?

THE PRESIDENT: There are certain expenses which might be incurred right here. I think it would be well to get a certain amount of this literature that they are putting out and circulating, so many numbers. That is one thing. My conjecture is, Mr. Britten, you have in mind paying part at least of the expenses of delegates who go abroad. Is that the fact?

MR. BRITTEN: If necessary. I will say this, Mr. President. I have made a number of trips with the American group, and have always paid my own way; but then there are other members of the House who would go, who would like to go, and who should go, who might not be in a position to pay their own traveling expenses, and if that condition presents itself and the American group desire to be represented by certain distinguished gentlemen of the House or Senate, I think that the American group ought to pay their expenses, at least their traveling expenses. It is a small item, and in that way the United States would be assured of proper representation there.

THE PRESIDENT: As regards the paying of expenses of the persons going abroad, there are certain considerations about that. Very reluctantly I am compelled to say that some persons have gone abroad and have received a portion of the expenses advanced by the Carnegie Endowment, who have given very little attention to meetings on the other side. It has just been an opportunity for a trip to Europe, and we should have, if the expenses are paid in whole or in part under this resolution, some assurance that those who receive the amounts are going to give close attention to the work of the Union in these meetings; I mean to be present and not be absorbed in the attractions of Paris or Berlin, so as to travel around and visit parks and museums, but be regular in their attendance. The Congress will want to know, if we bring this up, just what use is to be made of the money, and we will have to explain that.

I do think, however, that we are justified in asking this as a recognition of the activities of this group. It seems to me so.

MR. PORTER: Mr. Chairman, laying aside for the moment the inconvenience of paying your own expenses, and I must confess it has been rather inconvenient for me, although I have received substantial help in the matter, there is another element that appeals to me. By attending these conferences in proper form and in a proper way, we have opportunities to wield a tremendous influence in world affairs. If we go out as American members, without any official recognition from our Government, we have one-tenth of the prestige we would have if we had back of us the official recognition of our Government, and by providing something to pay our expenses would give us a little more official status, too. It is really much more important, to my view, than it is with regard to the matter of expense. I would suggest that a resolution be put in some concrete form that the President of the American Unit should be authorized to designate five or ten members to go, representing the United States Government, and that is to be limited to actual traveling expenses, because you have to eat here just as you do over there, and I think that it should be provided that the actual traveling expenses be paid.

MR. BRITTEN: In a fixed amount?

MR. PORTER: Oh, yes; fix the amount. I would limit it to traveling expenses. I think you would get it through the House much easier that way than if you covered all expenses. But the important thing in my mind is this, I can see wonderful possibilities in this matter if we go over there in at least a semi-official capacity. You go over there more or less as an individual, and you do not have the prestige of this great Government behind you. There are a great many people in the world who want to do things the way America does, because we are among the successful nations, and we carry some weight to these meetings, greater than any of us realize. I am perfectly willing to help out in this matter, and I hope my colleagues on the foreign affairs committee feel likewise about it. But I would limit it to traveling expenses.

THE PRESIDENT: That is, you would limit the whole amount to the payment of traveling expenses, and you would not apply it to any other purpose?

MR. PORTER: Oh, printed matter and documents, clerical work and things of that sort should be included.

MR. PURNELL: What form of certificate do you give to the delegates?

THE PRESIDENT: A certificate signed by the Executive Secretary.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The President and Secretary sign the credentials in the form of a credentials card.

MR. PURNELL: It is not a certificate stating that he is a delegate representing the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: The American group of the Interparliamentary Union.

MR. MONTAGUE: Mr. President, I wish to ask to be excused. I approve of this resolution, but I have a very imperative engagement.

THE PRESIDENT: Very well.

MR. BRITEN: May I say just one word further, please? My sole desire, in presenting this resolution, is the desire that the United States be properly represented abroad, and I think that great care should be used by the President of the American group and the other officers who select these men to represent us abroad. If this resolution does go through the House finally and \$10,000 is appropriated, I hope that you, in your wisdom, will select the men who are especially qualified to represent the United States in debate over there, and not have some of them going over there, as they may have done in the past, on a mere junket at somebody else's expense. I am very earnest about that.

MR. BLOOM: Would that only apply to the people that the President selects to attend these conferences?

MR. BRITEN: Any others, like yourself, for instance, who may desire to go over there and pay their own way, back and forth, may do so. But those who are selected by the President should be especially qualified for that particular duty, and the number is unimportant. Two or three distinguished representatives are vastly superior and of much greater value to our country and to the entire issue than fifty or sixty of them merely going over there for joy rides.

MR. WATSON: Anyone would have the privilege of debate when he is a delegate?

MR. BLOOM: Any Member of Congress is entitled to go over there, as I understand it.

THE PRESIDENT: There are so many considerations to this that I think that we need to give pretty mature consideration to it, and I would suggest something like this, that there be a committee composed of the members of the foreign affairs committee, Mr. Britten and perhaps Governor Montague, to consider this and get this into shape. I think the views presented here are very important. Mr. Porter's suggestion that this gives official recognition to our group and gives it a prestige there that it otherwise would not have, is a good suggestion. And then, Mr. Britten's suggestion—he is really the one who initiated this movement—that the delegates should be chosen with a view to their taking part in the proceedings and attending faithfully on the meetings, is a good suggestion. Of course, there are a great many who would wish to pay their own expenses.

MR. BRITEN: I will say for you, Mr. President, that I think you are entitled to the entire amount, so far as I am concerned, because of the very, very valuable work you have done over there.

THE PRESIDENT: I have paid my expenses in going over there.

MR. CHINDBLOM: I attended the meeting at Copenhagen, which is the only one that I have had the pleasure of attending. My understanding is that we are entitled to 24 votes in the conference?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. CHINDBLOM: We can send as many delegates as we like, but we get 24 votes. I remember at the conference at Copenhagen the Scandinavian countries had hundreds of them from Stockholm, and other Scandinavian countries, but they only had their number of votes.

MR. BLOOM: Do we ever have 24 votes?

MR. CHINDBLOM: We always have 24 votes, but we do not have that many delegates. As a matter of fact, they seldom take any formal vote. Everything is usually done by unanimous consent.

MR. MAAS: I do not think there should be anything in a resolution that we are to make an appropriation for the first two years to send 24 delegates abroad, but we should have assurance that there would be no difference in the designation of the delegates, or as to the number, so that we won't have one set of official delegates and another set of semi-official delegates, but all delegates would have the same rights.

THE PRESIDENT: That would inevitably have to be so. Of course, the idea of Mr. Britten, as he expresses it, is so that we may be assured of having persons go who take a real interest in the proceedings and who will take part in the deliberations.

MR. PORTER: The reason I suggested five or ten was because I feel confident we could get through the House a resolution providing for that; but if we go in there and say that we were going to send twenty-five, we would not get it through. The real idea is the prestige it would give us.

MR. BLOOM: Up to now, the Government has really taken no recognition in sending delegates?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Well, you have to say that with some qualification. The Government did do something. The President of the United States formally presented an invitation to the conference at Berne in 1924 that the Union should come to this country in 1925. He transmitted a letter which was read by our Minister to Switzerland before the conference in 1924. So you can hardly say that the United States Government has given no recognition to this Union.

MR. SABATH: And it has appropriated from time to time?

THE PRESIDENT: The \$6,000 annually for the activities at Geneva.

MR. PURNELL: I think the Chair would like to entertain a motion, perhaps, that a committee consisting of the five members of the Foreign Affairs Committee who are here, Governor Montague, Mr. Britten, and with Mr. Porter as chairman, of course, be appointed to give further consideration to this question, with a view of putting the matter in proper form—if necessary, for the purpose of redrafting the bill.

THE PRESIDENT: Would you go further than that in presenting it for approval?

MR. PURNELL: Well, I assume that that would have to be done by the Foreign Affairs Committee. You mean further presenting it to the American group?

THE PRESIDENT: No. My thought would be to present it to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

MR. CHINDBLOM: With the approval of this group?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, with the approval of this group.

MR. PURNELL: Then I make such a motion.

MR. MAAS: I amend that motion, that the membership be composed by the naming of members, and not as members of any committee of the House.

THE PRESIDENT: That is, you mean those who are to consider this motion and present it?

MR. MAAS: No, by name, and not as members of a committee.

THE PRESIDENT: Leave it to the chair to appoint the committee. Of course, the Foreign Affairs Committee have particular advantage because they are to consider the question of reporting it.

THE PRESIDENT: Those in favor of the motion of Mr. Purnell, as amended, will signify the same by saying "Aye."

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

THE PRESIDENT: I want to say that I appreciate the interest being taken in this meeting. This is altogether the largest attendance we have ever had at any meeting.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Will the Chair appoint that committee now?

THE PRESIDENT: I think I had better meditate a bit.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The argument on the Britten Resolution will be found in the Congressional Record, should you wish to look into the facts. Other groups are supported by their Governments in various ways, and so far as we have been able to get that information, it is here. This is the Congressional Record for February 16th, page 3215.

Practically every group of the Inter-parliamentary Union provides for a grant

included in the State budget for the expense of the Union. Many of the groups are supported by Government appropriations. For example, the Danish group received in 1926 5,400 Danish crowns and a special grant toward the expenses of the northern assembly of delegates. The Estonian group provides from that portion of the State budget entitled International expenditure, official journeys, for the traveling expenses of its delegates. The German group receives a grant of 15,000 reichmarks from the Government, 9,000 of which are turned over to the Geneva office and the balance used for traveling expenses. The Swedish group receives a grant of 15,000 Swedish crowns. The Norwegian group receives 9,000 Norwegian crowns for traveling expenses and 1,200 for administrative expenses. Substantial contributions for the traveling expenses of delegates are received by the Bulgarian groups, the Hungarian, the Italian, Polish Rumanian, Yugoslav, and Czechoslovak groups. A sum of 45,000 French francs is placed at the disposal of the French group. Some of the groups—for example, the Egyptian and the Japanese—are officially constituted by the parliament and the expenses of their delegates automatically paid. The South and Central American groups fall also into this category. It may be now regarded as the exception for the members of the Union not to receive contributions toward their traveling expenses."

Mr. President, may I bring up one other matter of business?

THE PRESIDENT: Certainly.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Gentlemen, the fact is, after our Washington conference we were complimented by many groups for the nature of our entertainment, and we were particularly complimented by the French. They wrote gracious letters to many officials of our group. They sent presents to persons who had helped them here, such as guides, interpreters and other officials. France gave the Legion of Honor to the President of our group and to the Director of the Conference.

Now, France has been our host during the last summer. Though not in the best of financial circumstances, France did

the best she could, and it was well done. In addition to what has already been said, we were taken by special train to Chantilly one Sunday, as some of you will remember. There were many receptions, by the President of the Republic, by the President of the Chamber of Deputies, by the Secretary of War. We were entertained with a magnificent dinner at the end of the conference. So I have been wondering if there is not something that we of the American group might do that would be gracious and acceptable to the people who were responsible for this entertainment in Paris.

I have in my hands here a book called "The Treaty of 1778," and you will notice it is in buff and blue, which were George Washington's colors. It contains the record of the conferences, the plans, the journal of the Congress of September, 1776. It contains the treaties themselves, the treaty of amity and commerce, and the treaty of alliance. The treaty is in English and in French, side by side, and there is the final ratification. I do not know what would have become of this country of ours had it not been for the treaty of 1778. It occurs to me that our group might obtain a few copies of these, that the officials of the group might inscribe their names somewhere, and that copies be presented to the various officials of the French group, expressing our appreciation.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Who publishes that?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: This is published by the French Institute at Washington, and it is printed by Johns Hopkins Press on beautiful paper. It has an introduction by James Brown Scott. It is edited by Monsieur G. Chinard, a distinguished French scholar.

THE PRESIDENT: Is it your idea that we should send a few copies of that to the French group?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Yes.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Have we, as a group, done anything, even to the extent of sending a letter expressing our appreciation?

THE PRESIDENT: I have written myself, personally.

MR. CHINDBLOM: I mean as a group?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

MR. CHINDBLOM: Have we any funds at all?

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: We have \$254.20 in the treasury.

MR. HOWARD: Mr. President, I move that the Executive Secretary secure the signatures of the delegates to this last conference on ten copies and send them.

MR. BLOOM: I would like to make a suggestion. If we are going to do that—this is only a paper cover—why not have copies made and bound in more beautiful covers? We can have the same thing reproduced in leather with a beautiful binding and then present it to them. I think, if we are going to present a book it should not be a book in a paper cover.

MR. HOWARD: I take it for granted that that Secretary of ours so competent in all directions, will attend to those details.

THE PRESIDENT: You know in France there are a great many books—and I have been familiar with them since 1880—that are put forth in paper bindings?

MR. BLOOM: I mean, if we are going to present them with a book, to present them with a book like that in paper bindings might look rather cheap.

THE PRESIDENT: Cannot we leave that to the Secretary?

MR. CHINDBLOM: I move that it be left to the Secretary, and the Chairman and First Vice Chairman, to obtain a sufficient number of copies of this book, and that we agree to underwrite the expense. I do not know whether we have money enough in the treasury or not.

THE PRESIDENT: We have.

MR. BRITTEN: I agree with Mr. Bloom, that this ten or a dozen books should be well bound.

MR. PORTER: I agree as to the binding, but we should not put a limit of ten on this. Whatever is necessary should be left to the Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT: The motion amounts practically to this, leave it to the Secretary, by communication with the President of the French group to obtain from him the names of persons to whom a copy of the book should be sent, to provide for a proper binding and send the copies with the signatures.

MR. BLOOM: With such signatures as

he, in conference with the President and Vice President, shall determine.

MR. HOWARD: I second the motion.

(The motion was put and unanimously carried.)

MR. CHINDBLOM: I move that the group express its appreciation for his services during the past year, the very efficient and valuable services, of the President of the group, the Executive Secretary and the other officers, and that we tender them this appreciation for their services.

MR. PURNELL: And in support of that, Mr. President, I want to say, as one of the very humble delegates last summer who sat and listened and said nothing, that it was a real, genuine pleasure when the distinguished President of this group took the platform and spoke.

MR. CHINDBLOM: It was not my pleasure to be there, but I know of the work of this group, and let me refer to the work of the Executive Secretary. I hope that the work to be done in connection with the Britten resolution will make it possible that we can find ourselves in a position to pay him a compensation for his work which will be commensurate with its value. If you are ready for the question, I will put it.

MR. HOWARD: Mr. President, speaking in my capacity as delegate, I want to endorse all that my colleague from Hoosierdom has had to say. Over in Paris, had it not been for the guiding hand of the President of our group, I would have been lost every day in the maze of intricacies incident to conducting a conference in foreign languages; and in all Paris, had it not been for the guiding influence of our Secretary, I had been hopelessly involved in a labyrinth of my own ignorance. So I am very grateful to both of them for the services rendered to me, and as I believe, to my friends.

MR. JOHNSON: Might I just add this? The distinguished gentleman is indeed very modest. When I saw him in Paris—I happened to be a member of the American group—he was speaking more French than a Frenchman, and, although I had been over there and thought I knew some French, he was my very guide. He told me where to go and what to see, and I

considered him one of the most conspicuous members over there. Seriously, I enjoyed the meeting tremendously. It was a wonderful thing to me to rub elbows with those boys over there, and to see what they see and get their ideas of us.

Might I add just here that I am very much in favor of sending them something to show our appreciation, for, while voting against us on every occasion, they certainly gave us a wonderful time.

THE PRESIDENT: We have not heard from Senator Thomas, who is here today.

SENATOR THOMAS: I am very glad to be here, I am sure.

THE PRESIDENT: I believe that is all the business we have. The meeting stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the meeting adjourned.)

(Signed) ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Executive Secretary.

GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT

THE relations between Great Britain and Egypt have entered upon a new phase of strain with the rejection by the Egyptian Government of the draft treaty between the two countries, negotiated by Prime Minister Sarwat Pasha. Immediately after handing to the British High Commissioner, Lord Lloyd, a communication containing the rejection, the prime minister resigned his office. The results of a long period of difficult and patient negotiations have thus been undone by one stroke of the pen, guided by the extreme elements of the Egyptian nationalist movement.

In connection with the announcement of the decision taken by the Cairo cabinet, the British Government issued the text of all the documents relating to the negotiations. Following is a summary of these documents.

Sir Austen Chamberlain's Memorandum

The first of the documents is a memorandum, dated July 13, 1927, by the Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs, in which he describes the conversations he had had with Sarwat Pasha in London

in regard to Anglo-Egyptian relations. Sir Austen Chamberlain's memorandum states:

I said that I did not propose to enter into the details of the past, but his Excellency would, I thought, recollect that I had last year drawn his attention to the reservations which we had attached to the grant of Egyptian independence and to the obligations no less than the rights which those reservations imposed upon us. The rights were vital to us. No British government could afford to ignore them. My predecessor [Mr. Ramsay McDonald] had asserted them as plainly as I could do. They were, in fact, so essential to the existence of the British Empire that every British government in the future, as in the past, whatever its complexion, would be obliged to insist upon them. I was old enough to remember the circumstances of our intervention in Egypt in the early eighties. My father was a minister at that time. I could recall the sincerity with which the ministers of that day had declared that our occupation was only temporary and that it would be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment. But circumstances had been too strong for us. The movement of withdrawal had never come and the events of the intervening 40 or 50 years had shown that neither of us could escape from the situation in which God had placed us or evade the mutual relations which that situation imposed upon us.

But if this was the position in regard to our rights and interests, the obligations imposed by the declaration to foreign powers with which we had accompanied the announcement of Egyptian independence were not less imperative. We had warned foreign powers that we should treat as an unfriendly act any attack by them on the integrity of Egypt or any intervention on Egyptian soil.

Sir Austen Chamberlain goes on to say that he is more interested in the future than in the past, and the real question is whether the Egyptian Government are going to collaborate heartily with the British Government or not.

The fundamental requirements of British policy were common to all parties in the state, and a change of government made no alteration in them. In reply to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Sarwat Pasha said he entirely shared the secretary of state's view of the

necessary connection between the two countries and of the true interests of Egypt. . . .

The Egyptian Parliament and public now recognized there must be friendly collaboration between us and that the aid of Great Britain was necessary to Egypt. They were well aware of the dangers which would menace them from other quarters if they stood alone.

The question of the army was discussed, and Sir Austen Chamberlain told Sarwat Pasha that so long as the British position was not frankly recognized by the Egyptian Government it was almost unavoidable that any proposal by them to strengthen the army or the reserves or to improve their equipment should be regarded by Great Britain, not as a measure of legitimate defense, but as a preparation for, or at least a threat of, opposition to Great Britain. "If," Sir Austen Chamberlain said, "we had an agreement—or an alliance, if he pleased—the whole situation would be changed. Our position would be recognized by Egypt and the interests of the two countries in the defense of Egypt would be concordant. We could then co-operate whole-heartedly with the Egyptian Government to make the army as efficient as possible."

The British Occupation

The second document is a memorandum to Sir Austen Chamberlain by his private secretary, Mr. Selby, enclosing a draft treaty, communicated by Sarwat Pasha on July 18, 1927. Reference was made in article 6 of the draft treaty to the British occupation, and Sarwat Pasha told Mr. Selby that some such clause was "essential if he was to secure acceptance of the treaty in Egypt." On July 28, 1927, the counter-draft to the Egyptian draft treaty—the third of the documents—was approved by the British Government. Article 6 of the Egyptian draft was as follows:

In order to facilitate and secure to Great Britain the protection of the lines of communication of the empire, the Egyptian Government authorize his Britannic Majesty's Government to maintain a military force upon Egyptian territory. The presence of this force will in no way have the character of an occupation and will in no

way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.

This military force, after a period of — years, from the coming into force of the present treaty, will be quartered in —.

When Sarwat Pasha communicated the draft to Mr. Selby he said the preliminary period he had in view was some three to five years, after which the British forces should be stationed in the region of the canal, and he mentioned Port Tewfik as a possibility.

On this point the British counter-draft—Article 5—said:

In order to facilitate the co-operation of the forces of the high contracting parties and to facilitate and secure to his Britannic Majesty the protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire, his Majesty the King of Egypt authorizes his Britannic Majesty to maintain upon Egyptian territory such armed forces as his Britannic Majesty's Government consider necessary for the above purposes, and will at all times afford the necessary facilities for the maintenance and training of the said forces. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.

After a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties will reconsider the question of the localities in which the said forces are to be stationed in the light of their experience of the operation of the provisions of the treaty and of the military conditions then existing.

Sarwat Pasha communicated his observations on the proposed treaty to Mr. Selby at the British Embassy in Paris on August 31, 1927. In his memorandum—document 4—to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Selby wrote that Sarwat Pasha declared that his observations were not to be regarded as in any way a final statement of his position. Sarwat Pasha, in his observations, referred to the British draft as "vague." In regard to article 13 of that draft—which dealt with the Sudan—he observed:

I was careful in my draft to avoid broaching the general question of the Sudan, in which the two governments do not see eye to eye. My object was to raise as few con-

troversial points as possible, and I confined myself to touching upon certain concrete questions which require an urgent solution. In the British draft, on the contrary, the issue is raised squarely, and a solution is provided which accords with British policy on this matter. I do not see my way to follow the British Government in this. I prefer to leave the question for later negotiations.

Later he declared, in regard to the position of the Egyptian army under the proposed treaty, that "the limitation of the effectives of an army in an offensive-defensive alliance would be without precedent and absolutely without justification."

Document 5 gives the text of a draft note drawn up in consultation with Sir John Maffey, Governor-General of the Sudan, and Mr. MacGregor, of the Sudan Government Office, in regard to irrigation in Egypt and the Sudan, which was designed as a basis of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the subject. This draft note was communicated unofficially to Sarwat Pasha on November 4, 1927.

Dispatch to Lord Lloyd

In a dispatch, dated November 24, 1927—document 6—to Lord Lloyd, British High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, Sir Austen Chamberlain referred to the "long and friendly exchange of views" with Sarwat Pasha, and wrote that, "subject only to the settlement of a suitable text for the expression of the agreement on a minor point which Sarwat Pasha and I had already reached in principle, and to the concurrence of his Majesty's Governments in the Dominions and India (which, as I had already explained to his Excellency, we considered necessary), his Majesty's Government in Great Britain were prepared to accept the treaty as then proposed."

I need not say that the treaty thus definitely approved differs in many and important respects from the draft which I had earlier offered to Sarwat Pasha on behalf of his Majesty's Government. It embodies large concessions to his Excellency's own views and to Egyptian sentiment, which, after hearing Sarwat Pasha's explanations, his Majesty's Government have felt it possible to make in order to reach agreement.

His Excellency was good enough to recognize fully on more than one occasion the friendly and sympathetic spirit in which his Majesty's Government had received and considered his representations, and I gladly acknowledge that his Excellency brought a similar friendly spirit, largeness of outlook, and earnest desire for agreement to our common deliberations.

In its present form the draft treaty must be regarded as expressing on the one side and the other the limit to which each party can advance in his wish to meet the other. It was so understood between us, and it was on this condition only that Sarwat Pasha no less than I could go thus far. It was common ground to us both that no further changes could be made and that the treaty must now be accepted or rejected as it stands. . . .

I have now the pleasure to inform your Lordship that his Majesty's Government in Great Britain, after communication with his Majesty's Governments in the Dominions and India, accept the draft agreed upon between us, of which a copy is attached to this dispatch, and that you are authorized to sign the treaty on behalf of his Majesty as soon as his Excellency is in a position to sign for the Egyptian Government. [The text of this draft treaty appears in the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *Advocate of Peace*.] It is our earnest hope that by this treaty, equally honorable to both peoples, ensuring to Egypt her freedom and independence and her due place among the nations of the world, and to the British Empire protection for her vital interests and international obligations, we may have laid the secure foundation of future amity and concord between Egypt and the British Empire.

I request that you will read this dispatch to Sarwat Pasha and leave a copy of it with his Excellency.

Request for Delay

Document 7 is a copy of a draft note on the subject of the reform of the Capitulations of Egypt, prepared after discussion between Sir Cecil Hurst and Sarwat Pasha. This is followed by a further dispatch, dated February 5, 1928, from Sir Austen Chamberlain to Lord Lloyd, in which the Secretary of State reviews the general course of the negotiations since his dispatch of November 24, 1927.

He states that when it was suggested that the treaty should be signed and published on about December 20, 1927, Sarwat Pasha "showed some surprise that so immediate action on his part should be suggested." Sarwat Pasha then said that his intention was to divulge the contents of the treaty and supplementary notes to his cabinet colleagues and to the President of the Wafd. He later declared, however, that he could not lay the documents before his colleagues until he had discussed with Lord Lloyd "certain important issues which had not been cleared up in London." In view of further delay which Sarwat Pasha urged, Sir Austen Chamberlain sent a message to him in which he wrote:

Your Excellency will recollect that in the memorandum commenting on the first British counter-draft of the treaty, handed to Mr. Selby in Paris in August last, strong emphasis was laid on the importance of Great Britain relying less upon a cut-and-dried scheme of safeguards than upon the sentiment of mutual confidence which the alliance would generate. This argument carried considerable weight with me, and, as your Excellency will admit, is reflected in the final text of the treaty. But now to suggest that his Majesty's Government should define in advance what would be their interpretation, in hypothetical circumstances, of particular provisions of the treaty, seems to me to be in conflict with the principle which your Excellency yourself invoked. If Great Britain should trust Egypt, Egypt should equally trust Great Britain.

This was followed by a personal message from Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sarwat Pasha, in which he urged him "to place the treaty before your colleagues without delay, and to proceed, at the earliest possible moment, to its signature."

British Misgivings

In a further dispatch, dated March 1, 1928, to Lord Lloyd, Sir Austen Chamberlain summarized the course of the negotiations up to that time. Then, in a second dispatch of the same date—document 10 of the papers—Sir Austen Chamberlain wrote to Lord Lloyd:

In view of the fact that Sarwat Pasha

had already communicated the text of the treaty to Nahas Pasha before accompanying his Majesty King Fuad on his recent visit to Upper Egypt, I thought it essential that Nahas Pasha should be left under no illusion as to the serious nature of the decision which Egypt was called upon to make and which he, as leader of the numerically strongest group in the present Egyptian Parliament, would largely influence.

2. I accordingly authorized your Lordship to inform his Excellency that in the event of a rejection of the treaty his Majesty's government would have to consider how the enactment of certain projected legislation in the Egyptian Parliament would accord with their responsibilities under the Declaration of the 28th February, 1922, and to add that the wording of recent manifestos by students and the reported association with them of undesirable characters raised the question of the obligation imposed on his Majesty's government by that instrument for the protection of foreigners.

3. Your Lordship reported on the 27th February that in the course of your interview on the preceding day with Nahas Pasha, the latter had stated that he felt it useless to discuss what advantages might or might not be afforded to Egypt in various clauses of the treaty, inasmuch as the treaty clearly failed to provide for the complete evacuation of Egyptian territory by the British army. You added that on the question of the British army in Egypt he was entirely uncompromising and repeated himself on this point again and again.

4. Nahas Pasha, in fact, is as little ready as was Zaghul Pasha in his conversations with my predecessor in 1924 to recognize the realities of the situation which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald defined in his dispatch to Lord Allenby:

No British Government in the light of that experience (the European War) can divest itself wholly, even in favour of an ally, of its interest in guarding such a vital link in British communications (the Suez Canal). Such a security must be a feature of any agreement come to between our two governments, and I see no reason why accommodation is impossible, given good will.

The effective co-operation of Great Britain and Egypt in protecting those communications might in my view have been

ensured by the conclusion of a treaty of close alliance. The presence of a British force in Egypt provided for by such a treaty freely entered into by both parties on an equal footing would in no way be incompatible with Egyptian independence, whilst it would be an indication of the specially close and intimate relations between the two countries and their determination to co-operate in a matter of vital concern to both. It is not the wish of his Majesty's government that this force should in any way interfere with the functions of the Egyptian Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty, and I emphatically said so.

It was Sarwat Pasha's recognition of these realities which made it possible to negotiate the treaty with him; it is Nahas Pasha's refusal to recognize them which, if adopted by the Egyptian Government, will once again have made a settlement impossible. The fact that grossly inaccurate and misleading versions of the treaty are appearing in the Egyptian press makes it imperative that publication of the full text should not be further delayed. I shall, therefore, present the text of the treaty and the covering correspondence to Parliament in the immediate future, probably during the course of next week, and I request that your Lordship will inform Sarwat Pasha of this step.

5. Unless, therefore, the final decision of the Egyptian Government, which your Lordship reported that Sarwat Pasha did not expect to be able to give before March 1, differs widely from the attitude adopted by the leader of the Wafd, the situation contemplated in the second paragraph of this dispatch will have arisen. In this event your Lordship should address an official note to the Egyptian Government in the following terms:

His Majesty's government have for some time past viewed with misgiving certain legislative proposals introduced in the Egyptian Parliament which, if they were to become law, would be likely seriously to weaken the hands of the administrative authorities responsible for the maintenance of order and for the protection of life and property in Egypt.

So long as there was any prospect of the early conclusion of a treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Egypt, which would define anew the responsibili-

ties and rights of the two parties, his Majesty's government were content to refrain from all comment in the expectation that they might rely with confidence on the Egyptian Government to avoid legislation which might make it impossible for the Egyptian administration to discharge successfully the increased responsibilities inherent in the treaty régime.

But now that conversations with the Egyptian Government have failed to achieve their object, his Majesty's government cannot permit the discharge of any of their responsibilities under the declaration of February 28, 1922, to be endangered whether by Egyptian legislation of the nature indicated above, or by administrative action, and they reserve the right to take such steps as in their view the situation may demand.

Cairo Cabinet's Decision

On March 1 Lord Lloyd telegraphed to Sir Austen Chamberlain:

Prime Minister [Sarwat Pasha] called on me this evening to inform me that his government were unable to sign the treaty and that news to this effect would be published in the papers tomorrow. The decision of the government was imposed upon it by the Wafd, which had unanimously rejected the treaty. He will let me have the text of the decision tomorrow.

In reply Sir Austen Chamberlain telegraphed on March 2:

Your telegram of yesterday.

My second dispatch of March 1 now on its way to you was summarized in my telegram of the same date and foresaw and made provision for the situation which has arisen. You should read declaration quoted in my above-mentioned telegram and dispatch to Sarwat Pasha and hand him a copy when he gives you the Egyptian reply.

On March 4 Lord Lloyd telegraphed to Sir Austen Chamberlain:

Sarwat Pasha came to see me this evening to hand me reply of his cabinet, and to inform me that he had this afternoon tendered his resignation to the King.

I handed him a copy of declaration contained in your telegram and dispatch of March 1. I am seeing King tomorrow morn-

ing and will hand him a copy for the information of Sarwat's successor.

My immediately following telegram contains text of Egyptian cabinet's reply.

The following is the telegram containing the text of the Egyptian cabinet's reply:

Excellency—I have the honour to inform you that in accordance with the wish expressed by his Excellency Sir Austen Chamberlain in the message which he was so good as to address to me through you, I have submitted to my colleagues draft treaty of alliance which resulted from our conversations last summer, at the same time acquainting them with different phases of these conversations as well as with the notes exchanged and discussions carried on subsequently.

My colleagues have reached the conclusion that draft, by reason both of its basic principles and of its actual provisions, is incompatible with the independence and sovereignty of Egypt and, moreover, that it legalizes occupation of the country by British forces.

My colleagues have accordingly charged me to inform his Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that they cannot accept this draft.

I shall be grateful if your Excellency will be so good as to communicate the above to his Excellency Sir Austen Chamberlain and will at the same time repeat to him my most sincere thanks for the friendly spirit in which his Excellency began and carried on our conversations.

I take this opportunity of thanking your Excellency also for the cordiality which you have shown in the course of our discussions regarding draft treaty and to renew, &c.

FINANCIAL SITUATION IN INDIA

ON FEBRUARY 29, the Indian Legislative Assembly, sitting at Delhi, received from Sir Basil Blackett, the finance member, the budget estimates for the coming year. In the course of his speech, introducing the new budget, Sir Basil Blackett reviewed the financial year 1927-28. He called attention to the fact that the visible balance of trade in the first ten months was in India's favor by

1,019 lakhs more than last year. Both imports and exports of merchandise had increased in value by 8 per cent, while net imports of treasure had diminished by $6\frac{1}{2}$ crores.¹ Except for raw cotton, all the principal articles had contributed to the increase. Prices were stable and trade figures reflected the advantages of stabilization of the rupee. The remarkable improvement in railway earnings enabled important reductions to be made in railway charges and would give new stimulus towards business and agricultural prosperity. There were also indications that Indian commerce had made steady advance, and the effects of the post-War trade depression were being dissipated. With regard to the budget, he pointed out that the military expenditures remained unchanged, the savings due to troops being sent to China having been used for urgent expenditure on modernization. The net result was that the total expenditure stood at 12,774 lakhs, and the total revenue at the same figure, including the transfer of 169 lakhs from the revenue reserve fund instead of the 172 lakhs originally estimated.

Capital Expenditures and Debts

Sir Basil next dealt with the capital expenditures of the government and with its borrowing and general debt position. In 1927-28 the Indian Government had to meet a railway capital outlay of 30 crores, other capital outlay of 2 crores, and debt payments of $33\frac{1}{2}$ crores. For this they had raised rupee and sterling loans, and obtained means from other sources.

In 1928-29 the railway capital outlay would be 28 crores, including 4 crores for the purchase of the Burma railways. There would be other outlay of $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores, provincial demands would amount to 7 crores, and the net discharge of debt 19 crores. Cash balances could not be reduced by more than 2 crores, and taking other receipts into account a loan of 32 crores would be necessary, including 13 crores of new money.

Referring to borrowing operations in the current year, Sir Basil Blackett said:

¹ The currency of India is as follows: One rupee is about 35 cents; 100,000 rupees constitute one lakh; 100 lakhs are equal to one crore.

The reintroduction of treasury bills in India was in full accordance with our plans, as we deliberately desired to improve the financial facilities of the Indian money market and check seasonal fluctuations in the market for government securities by this means. We found it necessary in addition to resort to external borrowing, first by raising sterling bills to the extent of 5,000,000 sterling in England in July last, which have since been repaid, and later by the issue of a sterling loan of 7,500,000 sterling about a month ago. Even so the net cash receipts from the rupee and sterling loans aggregated only 27½ crores, which was only about 2 crores more than the net amount of debt discharged, and as much as 13 crores less than the amount required for railways and other capital outlay, including that of provincial governments. The total local remittances would be 30,750,000 sterling for the current year, including 28,500,000 sterling through the market, and 36,000,000 sterling next year.

The finance member then quoted the debt statistics, which showed that the increase in the external indebtedness of the government in 1927-28 was considerably less than the amount of the sterling loan, and that in the five years since March 31, 1923, the productive debt had increased by 189 crores and the unproductive debt diminished by 76 crores. By the end of next year the debt due to the five years of revenue deficits, from 1918-19 to 1922-23, would be just about liquidated, and at the recent rate of progress the unproductive debt would vanish in 12 years.

Next Year's Budget

Turning to next year, the finance member said he expected a net customs revenue of 5,018 lakhs, after allowing for a further fall of 40 lakhs on machinery. Taxes on income would yield 17 crores and salt 7 crores. The opium policy would involve a net loss of 25 lakhs, and the railway contribution would be 548 lakhs only.

Military expenditure was 5,510 lakhs, including 10 lakhs for expanding the territorial force. The government, after careful consideration, had concluded that the figure could not be reduced if India was to make reasonable provision for defense in modern conditions.

After allowing for 81 lakhs for the premium on bonds maturing next year, and 25 lakhs additional provision for the bonus on cash certificates, the debt services still showed a saving of 67 lakhs. This was the result of the general debt and debt redemption policy. In the five years ending 1928-29 the saving in interest on the deadweight debt was more than three and a half times the increase in the provision for debt redemption, and over a crore more than the actual provision on this account next year.

Civil administration showed a rise of 41 lakhs, and included a number of items relating to beneficial services. The expenditure of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department included over 14 lakhs for further improvement of the conditions of service of the lower paid staff. The department showed a surplus of less than a quarter of a lakh, which justified no reduction in postal and telegraph charges.

Revenue and Expenditure for 1928-29

The total revenue for next year was 13,223 lakhs, the expenditure 12,960 lakhs, and the surplus 263 lakhs, allowing for the recovery of the unextinguished balance of provincial contributions. But the liability for the bonus on cash certificates was accumulating, and was estimated at 3¾ crores on October 1, 1927. As soon as finances permitted provision from revenue, over and above that for actual payments, would be necessary to form a separate fund to enable the increasing liability to be met, but the surplus now disclosed could be treated as recurrent, seeing that the budget included a special item of 81 lakhs for the premium on bonds, and that there should be further savings in interest and more revenue from taxes on income. Even customs should improve, though it would be in the interests of India's trade and industry to reduce the general revenue tariff when finances permitted.

On the whole, government proposed that, having regard to past commitments, 258 lakhs of surplus should be utilized for the complete and final extinction of provincial contributions, leaving a small balance of 5 lakhs in the budget.

Sir Basil Blackett concluded as follows:

It is not a spectacular budget. After the budget of 1927-28, and the railway budget for 1928-29, with its large reductions in passenger fares and in freights, it might almost be called an anti-climax. It imposes no new taxation, and though it allows for reductions in the customs tariff to the tune of nearly a crore, these reductions were announced six months ago. What this budget does is to provide a surplus, in spite of the reduction in the customs tariff, sufficient finally to extinguish the provincial contributions.

ITALY AND AUSTRIA

THE question of the treatment by Italy of the Austrian minority in the Tyrol has again been brought to the attention of the world by its discussion in both countries concerned. The Austrians, especially in the Austrian Tyrol, are greatly agitated by what they regard as the oppression of their countrymen on the other side of the Italian frontier. Speeches on the subject have been made in the Tyrolese Diet, in the Parliament at Vienna, and in the Chamber of Deputies at Rome.

Austrian Resentment Against Italy

The debate in the Tyrolese Diet took place on February 9, and was of so violent a character that Signor Mussolini requested the Vienna Foreign Office for a verbatim report of the speeches. The debate followed the receipt of news from South (Italian) Tyrol of further alleged provocation of the people by the authorities, and the Diet adopted a resolution appealing to the Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, to consider ways and means of drawing the attention of Europe or, as an alternative, of the League of Nations to the condition of the German subjects of Italy. Naturally, the speeches made at a session which framed such an appeal were not of the calmest character. As a matter of fact, in the same session a resolution was moved to strike a souvenir war medal to form a lasting link between Northern and Southern Tyrol and "be a perpetual reminder of Italy's acts of injustice towards Germans."

The question came up before the Vienna Parliament two weeks later and occasioned a lively debate, in the course of which Dr. Kolb, representing the Tyrolese, declared that the treatment of Austro-Germans who had become minorities in several countries is worst in Italy. Dr. Kolb remarked that, though Austria is aware she has no jurisdiction beyond her frontiers, there is such a thing as natural human rights, and these compel a man to go to the aid of a brother whom he sees tortured, even if the torture is taking place in a neighboring field. The Germans in South Tyrol are, he said, law-abiding, but their loyalty cannot be expected to come from the heart. The speech was warmly cheered by the whole House, and the President spoke of the scene as an impressive and solemn demonstration in the face of the whole world.

In his reply Dr. Seipel pointed out that Austria can go to no forum to have her wrongs redressed. He said no such problem has arisen for Austria on her other frontiers. It is a problem regarding which Austria cannot remain silent, as it goes too near Austrian hearts. He asked Italy to take this into consideration; he is not interfering in internal Italian affairs, but he would appeal to an international sense of morality.

Mussolini's Reply and Warning

In reply to these discussions in Austria, Premier Mussolini devoted a long speech, on March 3, to a discussion of the Tyrol question. The Italian Chamber received his speech with great enthusiasm, and his closing words, in which he declared that "we make known to the Tyrolese, to the Austrians, and to the whole world, that on the Brenner there stands, with her living sons and with her dead, united Italy," were drowned in a prolonged storm of applause.

Signor Mussolini began his speech by declaring that there was no Hannibal at the gate, nor even Mgr. Seipel (the Austrian Chancellor). He had at first hesitated whether to reply at all to the speeches in the Austrian Parliament, but had been compelled to do so by the intervention in the debate of the Austrian Chancellor, in many respects an eminent

man. However, he hastened to add, "This is the last occasion upon which I shall speak on this subject. The next time acts will take the place of words." Signor Mussolini then went on to the main theme of his speech, which was designed to prove that the Austrian complaints were not only not justified, but were also provocative. If he now cited examples of generosity towards Austria he did so in order that the world at large might once for all know the true facts.

Italy's Friendly Acts to Austria

As a first example he quoted the action of Italy in retaining her troops in the Klagenfurt area in 1920 at a moment when the Austrians feared lest the arrival of Yugoslav troops near the frontier might influence the coming plebiscite, and he read out the thanks of Dr. Renner, the then Austrian Chancellor. A year later came the Burgenland dispute with Hungary, and after the agreement reached at Venice, Herr Schober, at that time Austrian Chancellor, expressed thanks to Italy. This friendly attitude had been consistently maintained by the Fascist Government, and only a fortnight ago the Austrian Minister in Rome had presented, on behalf of Mgr. Seipel, an expression of gratitude for the extremely favorable attitude of Italy in the question of military control and the new reconstruction loan. "It is possible that in the interval of time necessary for the completion of the new Austrian loan Italy may temporarily withhold her indispensable definite adhesion."

Signor Mussolini proceeded to deny the existence of any international aspects of the Upper Adige question, which was not referred to in the Peace Treaty or diplomatic instruments. The Austrians claimed that certain promises and assurances had been given by pre-Fascist governments. That might be. "But it is possible that those who made these statements have repented later in view of the arrogant interpretation of certain promises." In any case, the Fascist Government would not necessarily feel bound to observe all these vague and verbal assurances given by men representing systems and governments which the Fascist Revolution had superseded.

Fascist Tyranny Denied

Signor Mussolini rejected in strong terms the charges of Fascist tyranny, and declared that Italy was not the pupil of an Austria "which for a century had filled the territories of half Europe with executioners, filled the prisons with martyrs, and set up gallows without any interruption." The absurdity of such charges was proved by the existence of 15 newspapers printed in German, but Signor Mussolini gave definite warning that they would be suppressed unless the campaign of calumny ceased. Further, there were still 1,040 non-Italian speaking officials in the Province of Bolzano [the Upper Adige]. As this was not appreciated, these men would be made to choose between either a transfer to another part of Italy or else dismissal from the service.

Signor Mussolini went on to argue that much of the agitation was purely artificial and that the general population was happy to live under Italy and the Fascist régime. The government had spent vast sums of money in various enterprises undertaken for the purpose of improving the moral and material welfare of the people. The shrieks from the Germans must be regarded as a proof that they realized that the game had been lost.

An appeal to Geneva, he said, is out of the question, since if once the problem of minorities were raised the League of Nations would never come to the end of it and the plaintiff of today would become the defendant of tomorrow. It is time to declare that insolent speeches, odious insinuations, and vulgar insults have only one result—namely, to make the Fascists put on the screw still more firmly and to drive a wedge between neighboring peoples. Italy wishes to remain on good terms with the German people on condition that her security is in no way threatened.

Reactions in Austria and Germany

In commenting upon Signor Mussolini's speech, the Austrian press points out that the Germans in South Tyrol would be happy if they enjoyed the treatment of which the Italian subjects of Austria-Hungary could boast when the situation

was reversed for Italy. All the threats of Signor Mussolini that he will on the next occasion reply to Austrian complaints by acts, not words, and will delay the realization of Austria's efforts for a new international loan, are declared to be arguments of strength, though not strong arguments for the purpose of silencing the complaints of those who are anxious about the spiritual and cultural fate of their kin beyond the Austrian frontier. It is hoped that Signor Mussolini may deceive nobody by his claim that the Upper Adige enjoys the same privileges and bears the same burdens as the rest of the 91 provinces, because the prime minister in the same breath expresses confidence that none but confessed Italian subjects will be there in a few years' time.

The speech has produced a very unpleasant impression in Germany. The German press points out the tactlessness of the speech from the international point of view. It is suggested that the repudiation of the promises made by the predecessors of the Fascist Government cannot fail to weaken international belief in Italian good faith. Hitherto, remarks the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, it has been customary in civilized countries to attach importance to the fulfillment in all circumstances of solemn obligations such as those undertaken in this case by former Italian governments, and by the king himself in the name of the Italian people, with respect to the German-speaking population of South Tyrol. "The manner in which Mussolini now declares all such assurances invalid must further weaken confidence in Italy's word and promises throughout the world." The same newspaper suggests that Signor Mussolini's threat to make the South Tyrolese themselves pay for any further demonstrations beyond the Brenner frontier is evidence of the fact that, in spite of his big words, he is not indifferent to the truth about the conditions in South Tyrol becoming known to the rest of the world.

In most of the comments it is pointed out ironically that Signor Mussolini considers himself justified in crushing the population of an area gained, not by Italian arms, but through the military successes of other countries. Particular attention is paid to his statement that Italy wishes to remain in friendly rela-

tions with the German-speaking countries as long as the Brenner frontier is left alone. No other frontier established by the Peace of 1919, it is argued, has been accepted by the German-speaking countries with more resignation.

FRANCO-SPANISH AGREEMENT ON TANGIER

ON March 3 a new Franco-Spanish agreement regarding the administration of the Tangier zone was signed in Paris. The negotiations which have resulted in the new agreement have been in progress for over eighteen months. In November, 1926, it was agreed between the governments of Paris, Madrid, London, and Rome that the question of changes in the existing administrative system in the Tangier zone should be left, in its initial stages, to France and Spain. After agreement had been reached between these two powers, London and Rome were to be promptly notified.

The following is an official summary of the agreement reached by France and Spain:

The agreement respects the sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco and does not break through the framework of the Statute of 1923. It does not interfere with the rights of the legislative and administrative authorities established by that statute.

The agreement applies for the duration of the existing statute, but its provisions will be subject to revision if any unexpected difficulties should arise.

The agreement provides for a modification of the various articles of the statute and of the penal code, designed more effectively to suppress contraband in arms and action against public order in Morocco.

A Spanish officer is to be nominated as Inspector-General of Police, and a French assistant will be appointed to his staff. The duties of the Inspector-General will not enable him to intervene in the administration of Tangier, but will qualify him to advise the authorities on questions connected with the neutrality and security of the neutral zone, and with the dis-

solution of the existing police organization and the establishment of the police forces provided for in the statute. The police forces will be temporarily strengthened.

The text of the agreement has been communicated to the British and Italian governments, which have been invited to send representatives to take part in the subsequent negotiations. A meeting will be held shortly in Paris to examine the Franco-Spanish proposals and the part which Italy would be willing to take in the Tangier administration. When an agreement has been reached between the British, French, Spanish, and Italian governments it will be submitted to the other powers for their approval. The present agreement is merely the prelude to the larger negotiations on the Tangier administration as a whole.

A reminder that the United States is a party to the Act of Algeciras and insists upon the open door in Morocco was transmitted to the governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain, on March 16, by the American ambassadors in the capitals of those countries.

An announcement made by the Department of State on March 16 follows in full text:

The American ambassadors in Paris, London, Madrid, and Rome have been instructed to present the following memorandum to the respective foreign offices today:

"The Government of the United States has been interested to learn that representatives of the French, Spanish, British, and Italian governments will shortly meet in Paris to discuss Moroccan affairs with a view to reaching an agreement as to the future administration of Tangier.

"It will be recalled that prior to a similar conference held in the autumn of 1923 by the French, Spanish, and British governments, this government took occasion to remind the conferring powers of its position as a party to the Act of Algeciras, and that it stated that while it had no political interest in Morocco, it had a fundamental interest in the maintenance of the open door and in the protection of the life, liberty, and property of its citizens in Morocco. It further indicated that it presumed that nothing would be done by the conferring powers to

interfere with the principle of the open door or with the rights and interests of the United States.

"The views of the United States regarding Tangier which were further set forth in its correspondence with the French, Spanish, and British governments regarding the possibility of its adherence to the Statute of Tangier, remain unaltered. The Government of the United States would accordingly advise the powers now about to confer that it makes full reservation of its position on any decisions taken by the conference which may in any way affect or touch upon its rights and interests in Morocco and in Tangier."

NEW CABINET IN YUGOSLAVIA

DURING the month of February, the Yugoslav Government passed through another of its periodic crises. The trouble began on February 8, when the second Vukitchevitch Cabinet resigned, and lasted until February 23, when Premier Vukitchevitch succeeded in forming his third Cabinet. The new government represents both the Radical and the Democratic parties, which were forced into a coalition as a result of a violent agitation conducted by Stephan Raditch, the Croatian Peasant Party leader, in favor of a government headed by a non-party General. As a reply to this demand for a military premiership, the two principal factions of the Democratic Party united with the Radicals to form a parliamentary government.

The new Cabinet is made up as follows:

M. Velya Vukitchevitch (Radical), Prime Minister; Dr. Marinkovitch (Democrat), Foreign Affairs; Father Anton Koroshetz (Slovene Clerical), Interior; M. Vlada Andritch (Radical), Agrarian Reform; M. Milorai Vuitchitch (Radical), Justice; Dr. Milan Groll (Democrat), Education; M. Vlayko Kostich (Radical), Posts and Telegraphs; M. Chedo Radovitch (Radical), Social Reform; M. Bogdan Markovitch (Radical), Finance; Dr. Mehmed Spaho (Bosniak), Commerce; M. Velimir Popovitch (Radical), Public Health; M. Svetozar Stankovitch (Radical), Agriculture; M. Milan Simonovitch (Radical), Public Worship; M. Petar Markovitch (Democrat), Public Works; M. Atza Miyevitch (Democrat),

Mines and Forests; M. Ilia Shumenkovitch (Democrat), Unification of Laws; General Milosavlyevitch (no party), Communications; General Hadjitch (no party), War.

The Skupshchina (Parliament) met on February 29, and on March 3 M. Pribitchevitch, the leader of the Dissident Democrats, who are in opposition to the present government, read the official statement of the Croat Peasant and the Dissident Democrat groups, in which there was included a threat to leave the Skupshchina and refuse to accept the budget in Croat districts unless a change were made in the present state of affairs.

M. Raditch, the Croat Peasant leader, who has been temporarily suspended from the Skupshchina, explained later to the press that the Croat Peasants intended to try to force the formation of a cabinet with a non-political general as Prime Minister at the earliest opportunity. From these utterances, and the whole character of M. Raditch's activities, it seems certain that he has assured himself of the support of those interests outside Parliament which also aim at the formation of a cabinet under military leadership. His immediate object is to make normal parliamentary work impossible under the present cabinet and thus provoke a fresh crisis, which might open the way for the accession of a general to office. He is supported in these intentions by the Centralist section of the Radical Party, led by Dr. Sershkitch and M. Bozha Maximovitch, who have not been in office since M. Vukitchevitch succeeded M. Ouzounovitch as Prime Minister in April, 1927, and are closely allied with the military group.

The general feeling in Yugoslavia is that the new cabinet is not likely to last long. It is threatened both by the opposition and by internal friction among the groups composing it.

ELECTIONS IN JAPAN

ON February 20 Japan held her first parliamentary elections under full manhood suffrage. The government of Baron Tanaka, which held office at the

time of the dissolution of the Diet in January, has not succeeded in bettering its situation. It came into power in April, 1927, following the overthrow of the Minseito government during the banking crisis. Representing the Seiyukai Party, it did not command a majority in the Diet and escaped earlier defeat by not convening the Diet. Its very first encounter with the Diet on January 21, 1928, showed the untenability of its position and led Baron Tanaka, the Prime Minister, to request for the dissolution of the Parliament.

Election Returns

The elections resulted in giving the Seiyukai (government) and the Minseito (opposition) party an almost equal number of seats. The position of the parties in the new Diet is as follows:

Seiyukai	.....	216	Labor	.....	8
Minseito	.....	215	Kakushin (for-		
Independents	...	14	mer Shinsei)	..	4
			Business Men	.....	4

The opposition relies on the support of Labor, the Kakushin, and six Independents, giving it a total of 233. Its gains are already five more than its organizers expected, and it may still outnumber the Government.

Labor's eight members but poorly represent the total votes cast for its candidates. In several constituencies Labor candidates were opposed to each other; in others Labor polled heavily, though unsuccessfully. Six of the eight Labor members belong to the Right Wing, and five are graduates of the Imperial University.

A New Electorate

The most interesting feature of the elections has been the fact that the parties have had to face what is practically a new electorate. For over a generation there had been a movement in Japan to secure universal manhood suffrage. This movement developed slowly, until the Manhood Suffrage Bill was passed in May, 1925. At a stroke it added 8,000,000 voters to the electorate and enabled Labor to organize politically for the first time. It is true that subsequent legisla-

tion has put an effective brake on the activities of ardent Labor men, but at the same time the movement towards democratic representation effected by the passing of the bill has been significant and unmistakable. In the election of 1924

only 3,000,000 males out of a total population of 60,000,000 persons were entitled to vote.

To be entitled to a vote, a Japanese must be a male citizen, 25 years of age, and self-supporting.

THE WAR PREVENTION POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES*

By HONORABLE FRANK B. KELLOGG
Secretary of State of the United States

IT HAS been my privilege during the past few months to conduct on behalf of the Government of the United States negotiations having for their object the promotion of the great ideal of world peace. Popular and governmental interest in the realization of this ideal has never been greater than at the present time. Ever since the World War, which spelled death to so many millions of men, spread desolation over so much of the Continent of Europe, and shocked and imperiled neutral as well as belligerent nations, the minds of statesmen and of their peoples have been more and more concerned with plans for preventing the recurrence of such a calamity. Not only has the League of Nations been preoccupied with studies of security and world peace, but members of the League of Nations have concluded additional special treaties like those signed at Locarno in 1925, and recently at Habana, the United States and twenty other American States, including seventeen members of the League of Nations, expressed by formal declaration their unqualified condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy, and agreed to call a conference to draft appropriate treaties of compulsory arbitration.

Our New Arbitration Treaty

The Government of the United States will never be a laggard in any effective movement for the advancement of world peace, and the negotiations which I have recently been carrying on have grown out of this government's earnest desire to promote that ideal. They have had a dual

character, having been concerned in part with the framing of new arbitration treaties to replace the so-called Root treaties, several of which expire by limitation this year, and in part with the anti-war treaty which M. Briand proposed to me last summer.

In the first place, it should be clearly understood that the treaty of arbitration which was signed last month with France has no relation whatsoever to the proposal submitted by M. Briand for a treaty declaring against war and renouncing it as an instrument of national policy. It is true that the preamble to the arbitration treaty recites that France and the United States are "eager by their example not only to demonstrate their condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, but also to hasten the time when the perfection of international arrangements for the pacific settlement of international disputes shall have eliminated forever the possibility of war among any of the powers of the world;" but a preamble is not a binding part of a treaty. If war is to be abolished, it must be through the conclusion of a specific treaty solemnly binding the parties not to resort to war with one another. It cannot be abolished by a mere declaration in the preamble of a treaty. Even though without legal effect, however, a formal expression of the peaceful aspirations of the governments and their common desire to perfect a mechanism for the pacific settlement of justiciable disputes, such as that found in the preamble of the

*From an address before the Council on Foreign Relations, at New York City, March 15, 1928.

arbitration treaty, is, I believe, very helpful, since it publicly defines the positions of the two governments in a matter the importance of which is hard to exaggerate.

The arbitration treaty itself I regard as a distinct advance over any of its predecessors, and I hope it can serve as a model for use in negotiations with other governments with which we have no present arbitration treaty or where the existing Root treaties shortly expire. I have already instituted negotiations with the British and Japanese governments on the basis of the draft treaty which I submitted to France last December, and I have indicated to all inquiring governments that I shall be pleased to conclude with them new treaties similar to that recently signed with France. If a comprehensive series of such bilateral treaties can be put into effect between the United States and the other nations of the world, I feel that very effective mechanism for the pacific settlement of justiciable disputes will have been established. I attach such importance to the treaty just concluded with France that I shall discuss its provisions briefly before proceeding to a discussion of the correspondence which has been exchanged with France on the subject of the so-called Briand proposal.

Article 1 of the new arbitration treaty contains the language of the first paragraph of the first article of the Bryan Treaty of 1914, providing for investigation and report by a permanent international commission of all disputes not settled by diplomacy or submitted to arbitration. My purpose in including this reference to the Bryan Treaty was to recognize anew the efficacy of the procedure established under the Bryan treaties and to unite by reference in one document the related processes of conciliation and arbitration. The force and effect of the Bryan Treaty with France has in no sense been impaired by the new treaty, nor was it intended that it should be. This is the understanding of both governments, and notes to that effect have been exchanged. So far as the legal effect of the new treaty is concerned, Article 1 could be left out entirely and mention of the Bryan Treaty made only in Article 2, where there is reference to the conciliation procedure under that treaty.

Article 2 provides that—

All differences relating to international matters in which the high contracting parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, which have not been adjusted as a result of reference to the above-mentioned Permanent International Commission, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other competent tribunal, as shall be decided in each case by special agreement, which special agreement shall provide for the organization of such tribunal if necessary, define its powers, state the question or questions at issue, and settle the terms of reference.

It also contains a clause providing that the special agreement must in each case be ratified with the advice and consent of the Senate. This is the usual practice in the United States, and I do not know of a single case where the Senate has refused to consent to any special agreement of arbitration.

Article 3 excludes from arbitration under the treaty disputes the subject-matter of which is within the domestic jurisdiction of either of the parties, involves the interests of third parties, depends upon or involves the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and depends upon or involves the observance of the obligations of France under the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is difficult for me to see by what claim of right any government could properly request arbitration of disputes covered by these exceptions, since few, if any, would present questions justiciable in their nature. As a practical matter, therefore, I do not feel that the general applicability of the new treaty is materially restricted by the four clauses of exclusion. The Root Treaty, which it supersedes, contained a clause excluding from its scope questions affecting "the vital interests, the independence, or the honor" of the contracting States. This clause was borrowed from an Anglo-French arbitration treaty of 1903 and represented the reservations generally re-

garded as necessary twenty-five years ago. Arbitration has repeatedly proved its worth since then, and inasmuch as such vague and all-inclusive exceptions can be construed to cover almost any substantial international dispute and might well operate to defeat the very purpose of an arbitration treaty, I decided to eliminate them and to specify with particularity the questions excluded from arbitration. In this respect the new treaty is a much more satisfactory and practical instrument for the adjustment of justiciable international controversies, and it is only justiciable questions that are susceptible to arbitration.

Universal Arbitration

I do not agree with the pronouncement of many organizations and publicists engaged in the discussion of international arbitration, to the effect that every question between nations should be arbitrated. This is a very simple and all-inclusive formula, but it will not stand the test of careful examination, and never has and never can be universally adopted. Let us consider for a moment what questions are susceptible of arbitration and can be submitted by nations to the decision of an international court. They are exactly the same kind of questions as can be arbitrated between citizens of the United States or submitted to the decision of a local court under our form of government—that is to say, they are questions arising under contract or under the law of the land. Applying this analogy in international relations, we find that the questions which are susceptible of arbitration or impartial decision are those involving rights claimed under a treaty or under international law. A political question cannot be arbitrated because there are no principles of law by which it can be decided, and unless there are relevant treaty provisions requiring construction, no nation can agree to arbitrate purely domestic questions like tariff, taxation, immigration, and, it may be said, all political questions involving the exercise of sovereignty within the nation's territorial limits. There are no positive rules of international law applicable to such questions to guide arbitrators in reaching a decision.

I am confident that the enthusiastic supporters of the theory that all questions between nations should be submitted to arbitration have not realized the vital difference between justiciable and political questions. Take, for example, the question of immigration, which at times arouses bitter feelings between nations. On what principle could a government arbitrate this question, and what rules could be applied to guarantee justice to the disputants? It seems to me we must realize that so long as the world is composed of separate, sovereign nations, only those questions can properly be submitted to arbitration which, being justiciable in their nature, are susceptible of determination by the application of recognized rules of law or equity. Non-justiciable or political questions must, if they threaten to bring on hostilities, be adjusted through other means, such as conciliation, where a disinterested effort is made to reconcile conflicting points of view without finding necessarily that either party was in the wrong.

Conciliation

It is when arbitration cannot or will not be invoked by the parties that conciliation treaties have their greatest value for adjusting international irritations tending to inflame public opinion and imperil the peace of the world. One of the first of our treaties establishing a procedure for conciliation was the so-called Knox Treaty of 1911. That treaty, which was also a treaty of arbitration, was never proclaimed by the President because of certain reservations attached by the Senate in advising and consenting thereto. These reservations, however, did not affect the conciliation provisions of the treaty and need not be discussed in this connection. Our next conciliation treaties were the Bryan treaties, to which I have already referred. The first of these was signed in 1913, and there are eighteen of them now in force. In 1923 we became parties to two other conciliation treaties, namely, that signed at Washington on February 7, 1923, between the United States and the five central American republics, and that signed at Santiago on May 3, 1923, between the United States and fifteen Latin-American countries. Both of these treaties have

been ratified by the United States. They are similar to the Bryan treaties, the principal point of difference being as to the manner of constituting the commissions of inquiry.

The Bryan treaties provide, you will recall, that any dispute shall, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the parties do not have recourse to arbitration, be submitted for investigation and report to a Permanent International Commission composed of five members, two of whom, a national and a non-national, being designated by each of the two governments and the fifth member by agreement. The commission is bound to report within a year from the date on which it takes jurisdiction of the case, and the parties agree not to resort to any act of force prior to the commission's report, reserving, however, full liberty of action with respect to the report itself.

The United States has been a party to conciliation treaties for fifteen years, and while there has never yet been an occasion for invoking them, I know of no reason why this country should object to an inquiry by a commission of conciliation if war is threatened. It is claimed in some quarters that purely domestic questions might be inquired into by these commissions of conciliation. While I cannot conceive that any government would feel justified in demanding an inquiry by the commission into a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of another government, I do not feel that the point is material. The object which is sought to be attained by conciliation treaties is the prevention of war, and in my opinion any government can well afford to submit to inquiry any question which may threaten to involve it in the horrors of war, particularly when, as in the Bryan and other treaties I have just mentioned, the findings of the commission have no binding force and to be effective must be voluntarily accepted.

The world is more and more alive to the necessity of preventing war, and I think it is significant that the Sixth International Conference of the American States, which recently concluded its labors at Habana, adopted two anti-war resolutions, one of which contains the unqualified statement that "the American republics desire to express that they condemn

war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations," which, it is interesting to note, is the language of M. Briand's original proposal to me. The other resolution contains the statement that "war of aggression constitutes an international crime against the human species," and the declaration that "all aggression is considered illicit and as such is declared prohibited." It is the former resolution that I regard as of the greatest interest at this time because, of the twenty-one States represented at the Habana Conference, seventeen, while members of the League of Nations, were not prevented by such membership from joining in an unqualified declaration against war. This general resolution is also important because it endorses the principle of compulsory arbitration for justiciable disputes and provides for the calling of a conference in Washington within a year to draft appropriate treaties of arbitration and conciliation.

Treaty Against War

I have discussed at some length the provisions of the new arbitration treaty with France. I have also outlined the scope and purpose of the many conciliation treaties which the United States has concluded with other governments. I know of but one other form of treaty which can be concluded for the purpose of preventing war, and that is a treaty in which the parties specifically bind themselves not to resort to war. It is this kind of treaty which people have in mind when they discuss treaties for outlawing war, and it is a novel idea in modern international relations.

As you are all aware, in a communication dated June 20, 1927, M. Briand proposed to the United States the conclusion of a bilateral treaty, under the terms of which France and the United States would agree to renounce war as an instrument of their national policy toward each other. This treaty provided, first, that—

The high contracting powers solemnly declare, in the name of the French people and the people of the United States of America, that they condemn recourse to war and renounce it respectively as an instrument of their national policy toward each other.

and, secondly, that—

The settlement or the solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise between France and the United States of America, shall never be sought by either side except by pacific means.

This important and inspiring proposal was carefully and sympathetically studied by the Government of the United States. While we might well have hesitated to take the initiative in proposing such a treaty to Europe, the invitation from France afforded us an opportunity to examine anew the whole question of world peace and to determine in what practical manner we could best co-operate. We made that examination, and in my note of December 28, 1927, after expressing the sincere appreciation of the United States for the offer which France had so impressively submitted, I warmly seconded M. Briand's proposition that war be formally renounced as an instrument of national policy, but suggested that instead of giving effect thereto in a bilateral treaty between France and the United States, an equivalent multilateral treaty be concluded among the principal powers of the world, open to adherence by any and all nations, thus extending throughout the world the benefits of a covenant originally suggested as between France and the United States alone. The powers which I suggested be invited in the first instance to join with France and the United States in such a treaty were Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan.

France, I am happy to say, promptly agreed in principle to the idea of a multilateral treaty. France suggested, however, that the treaty provide only for the renunciation of wars of aggression, explaining that while France could conclude a bilateral treaty with the United States providing for the unqualified renunciation of war, the conclusion of a similar multilateral treaty presented certain difficulties in view of the obligations of France under the Covenant of the League of Nations, treaties such as those signed at Locarno in October, 1925, and other international conventions relating to guaranties of neutrality. The French Government also pointed out that in September, 1927, the

members of the League of Nations adopted a resolution condemning aggressive war as an international crime. In these circumstances France expressed the opinion that the common object of the two governments could best be attained by framing the proposed anti-war treaty so as to cover wars of aggression only. I have not been able to agree to that reservation.

My objection to limiting the scope of an anti-war treaty to mere wars of aggression is based partly upon a very real disinclination to see the ideal of world peace qualified in any way, and partly upon the absence of any satisfactory definition of the word "aggressor" or the phrase "wars of aggression." It is difficult for me to see how a definition could be agreed upon which would not be open to abuse. The danger inherent in any definition is recognized by the British Government, which in a memorandum recently submitted to the Subcommittee on Security of the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament of the League of Nations, discussed attempted definitions of this character and quoted from a speech by the British Foreign Secretary in which Sir Austen said:

I therefore remain opposed to this attempt to define the aggressor because I believe that it will be a trap for the innocent and a signpost for the guilty.

I agree with Sir Austen on this point.

It seems to me that any attempt to define the word "aggressor," and by exceptions and qualifications to stipulate when nations are justified in going to war with one another, would greatly weaken the effect of any treaty such as that under consideration and virtually destroy its positive value as a guaranty of peace. And in my last note to the French Government I stated expressly that I could not avoid feeling that if governments should publicly acknowledge that they could only deal with this ideal of world peace in a technical spirit and must insist upon the adoption of reservations impairing if not utterly destroying the true significance of their common endeavors, they would be in effect only recording their impotence, to the keen disappointment of mankind in general.

In my note of February 27, 1928, I also discussed at some length the question

raised by the Government of France, whether, as a member of the League of Nations and as a party to the treaties of Locarno and other treaties guaranteeing neutrality, France could agree with the United States and the other principal world powers not to resort to war in their mutual relations without *ipso facto* violating their present obligations under those treaties. I pointed out that if those obligations could be interpreted so as to permit France to conclude with the United States alone a treaty such as that proposed by M. Briand, it was not unreasonable to suppose that they could be interpreted with equal justice so as to permit France to join with the United States in offering to conclude an equivalent multilateral treaty with the other principal powers of the world. I stated that it seemed to me that the difference between the bilateral and multilateral form of treaty having for its object the unqualified renunciation of war was one of degree and not of substance, and that a government able to conclude such a bilateral treaty should be no less able to become a party to an identical multilateral treaty, since it could hardly be presumed that members of the League of Nations were in a position to do separately something that they could not do together.

In these circumstances I expressed the earnest hope that France, which admittedly perceives no bar to the conclusion of an unqualified anti-war treaty with the United States alone, would be able to satisfy itself that an equivalent treaty among the principal world powers would be equally consistent with membership in the League of Nations, adding that if members of the League of Nations could not, without violating the terms of the covenant, agree among themselves and with the United States to renounce war as an instrument of their national policy, it seemed idle to discuss either bilateral or multilateral treaties unreservedly renouncing war. In that connection I called attention to the fact that the twenty-one American States represented at the recent Habana Conference adopted a resolution unqualifiedly condemning war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, and to the fact

that seventeen of the twenty-one States represented at that conference are members of the League of Nations.

I concluded my note with the unequivocal statement that the Government of the United States desires to see the institution of war abolished and stands ready to conclude with the French, British, Italian, German, and Japanese governments a single multilateral treaty, open to subsequent adherence by any and all other governments, binding the parties thereto not to resort to war with one another. This is the position of the Government of the United States and this is the object which we are seeking to attain.

I cannot believe that such a treaty would violate the terms of the League Covenant or conflict necessarily with the obligations of the members of the League. Even Article 10 of the covenant has been construed to mean that League members are not inescapably bound thereby to employ their military forces. According to a recent statement by the British Government, many members of the League accept as the proper interpretation of Article 10 a resolution submitted to the Fourth Assembly, but not formally adopted owing to one adverse vote. That resolution stated explicitly:

It is for the constitutional authorities of each member to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members, in what degree the member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces.

I earnestly hope, therefore, that the present negotiations looking to the conclusion of an unqualified multilateral anti-war treaty may ultimately achieve success, and I have no doubt that if the principal powers of the world are united in a sincere desire to consummate such a treaty, a formula can be devised which will be acceptable to them all. Since, however, the purpose of the United States is so far as possible to eliminate war as a factor in international relations, I cannot state too emphatically that it will not become a party to any agreement which directly or indirectly, expressly or by implication, is a military alliance. The United States cannot obligate itself in advance to use its armed forces against

any other nation of the world. It does not believe that the peace of the world or of Europe depends upon or can be assured by treaties of military alliance, the futility of which as guarantors of peace is repeatedly demonstrated in the pages of history.

Conclusion

I must not claim that treaties of arbitration and conciliation, or even treaties explicitly renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, afford a certain guaranty against those conflicts between nations which have periodically broken out since the dawn of world history. In addition to treaties, there must be an aroused public conscience against the utter horror and frightfulness of war. The peoples of the world must enjoy a

peaceful mind, as it has been said, and treaties such as those I have discussed, and the efforts of statesmen to advance the cause of world peace, can only be regarded as a portion of the problem.

I am not so blind as to believe that the millennium has arrived, but I do believe that the world is making great strides toward the pacific adjustment of international disputes, and that the common people are of one mind in their desire to see the abolition of war as an institution. Certainly the United States should not be backward in promoting this new movement for world peace, and both personally and officially as Secretary of State I shall always support and advocate the conclusion of appropriate treaties for arbitration, for conciliation, and for the renunciation of war.

AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND GOOD WILL

By BAYARD DODGE*

President of the American University at Beirut, Syria

ONE reason why nations misunderstand each other is because they have different notions of training their youth. People in America often think that British institutions lack a note of the practical as well as the element of democracy. At the same time they feel that French schools are not enough concerned with morality and rugged manhood and are too much interested in the esthetic and purely intellectual. In the same way people in Europe misinterpret our American universities as being too materialistic and using schoolboy methods of discipline. When American schools are planted in foreign lands, it is possible to compare different systems of education, so as to appreciate their several virtues and weaknesses.

At Beirut, for instance, our academic standards and diplomas are authorized by the Board of Regents of the State of New York. As we are in a French mandatory

state, we are building up a French lyc ee course side by side with our American high school and junior college work. Our medical course involves five years instead of four, and our fifth-year men can substitute work at Lyon or Montpellier for the last year at Beirut. With the co-operation of the French authorities, we are building up a midwifery course which will supplement our distinctly American work for the trained nurse's certificate.

Our athletics were organized by an Englishman along English lines. As many boys come from British colonial schools, we accept the British secondary system as preparation for college entrance. Students who hold French baccalaureate diplomas and know English or students who pass the Oxford-Cambridge entrance examinations may pass on directly to our higher classes. British educational officials are helping us to institute "honors" courses for our upper classmen and suggesting how we can adapt our teachers' training courses so as to provide instructors for British Government schools.

*President Dodge is a direct lineal descendant of David Low Dodge, in whose home the American Peace Society was born.

It is humbling to an American to realize how often foreign methods are better than our own. The French, for instance, teach penmanship in their elementary schools much better than we do. Their conception of secondary education is less bound down by college entrance boards and their insistence to have teachers properly prepared is worthy of note. The British thoroughness is a constant inspiration, as well as the English system of relationship between teacher and student.

At the same time our American methods are a help to some of the foreign States. Just lately wealthy Greeks have pledged \$500,000 to entice Americans to institute a college at Athens. Simultaneously the Bulgarian Government has given \$50,000 to help found an American school at Sofia. Both the Greeks and Bulgarians have been so much impressed with the honest manhood of Robert College graduates that they wish to establish model schools in their national capitals to exemplify American methods of character-building to the teachers of their government schools.

I suppose that my house at Beirut is typical of the homes of principals of American schools in foreign lands.

During the past year we have entertained the heads of the educational systems of three British territories, as well as educational authorities of French Syria. French Jesuit and lay professors, French and British doctors, and military officers, consuls of many continental powers, and miscellaneous Europeans of different types have been our guests. Such points of contact are of great importance, as they create good will between Europe and America.

Interpretation of the East to People of the West

For generations the Christians of the West have been subject to prejudices concerning Oriental sects of Christianity and Islam. I remember a tourist who sat down in our staff room in Beirut and said with a strident voice: "How can I see one of these barbarous Druzes?" I answered the question by introducing him to a charming and cultured gentleman at his left, who was a Druze professor on our faculty.

Americans come in contact with immigrant peddlers in the United States. If they travel, they see hotel servants and shopkeepers. They read of massacres and the attacks of persons biased against non-Christian sects. Surely it is a duty for our educational institutions to help America to see the good in the ancient races of the East.

The Confidence of the West Must Be Won by the East

Oriental cannot rival Occidentals in efficiency for modern life until they have adequate training. To give the Oriental a chance, we should help him to gain a proper training, so that he can prove his worth. If he is trained, he should be given a real share of responsibility, so that he can further prove himself.

Many Eastern teachers and administrators in our American schools have been given fair play of this kind. We know how it has led to their shouldering responsibility in China and India. We have had similar experiences in the Near East.

Last year the teaching and administrative force of the American University of Beirut was composed in the following way: 86 Syrians, 69 Americans, 14 Armenians, 8 French, 8 Russians, 6 English, 5 Greek, 4 Palestinian, 3 Canadian, 2 Swiss, 1 Austrian, 1 Persian, 1 from Poland, and 1 from New Zealand.

All of these individuals of so many different nationalities are paid on the same basis; they have the same right to sit on committees, to hear about matters of confidence, and to take part in the administration of the university. The director of the School of Pharmacy is a Greek and the principal of the big preparatory school is a Syrian, with many French, American, and Syrian teachers under him.

Such an organization gives the people of Asia a chance to show their ability side by side with people of the West so as to gain their respect.

Foreign States Must Learn to Trust Each Other

My experience is too limited to be able to speak of chances for American schools to foster friendship between the provinces

and principalities of India, or between neighboring peoples of the Far East, like China and Japan.

In the Near East there has always been hatred between local States. It has been the cause of war from the time of Ramesses to our own day, and I venture to say that it will cause new wars unless our cosmopolitan colleges can teach young men and women of hostile countries to be friends.

Last year the statistics for student registration at Robert College and the American University of Beirut were as follows:

Robert College

Turkish	366	German	3
Greek	117	Egyptian	2
Armenian	92	Tartar	2
Bulgarian	69	Azerbaijani	1
Israelite	38	Caucasian	1
Russian	26	Croatian	1
Albanian	17	Czecho-Slovak	1
Persian	8	French	1
Syrian	6	Hungarian	1
American	5	Irakian	1
English	5	Karaim	1
Arab	3	Rumanian	1

American University of Beirut

Syrians	445	Irakian	172
Armenians	140	Persians	48
Egyptians	98	Other Euro-	
Greeks	30	peans	25
Other Asiatics ..	10	North and South	
Abyssinians	6	Americans ..	18
Palestinians	206		

Of this number, 605 were non-Christians and 593 were Christians.

When students of so many races play on the same teams, eat in the same refectories, sit alphabetically in class-rooms, organize student societies, and live in harmony together, the significance of our college work can be appreciated.

Just after the Greek-Turkish War I saw a young Greek presiding over several hundred fellow-students in the big study room at Robert College. No teacher was in sight, but there was perfect order. The student government had elected the Greek as leader, and Turks, Albanians, Bulgarians, and Armenians were willing to obey him. Let this be a good omen for peace in the Balkans.

Constructive Interpretation of Western Life

The old idea that "East is East and West is West" is rapidly breaking down, as modern inventions are drawing different parts of the world together and as modern culture is taking the place of the old traditions and prejudices which separated people. During this period of exchange of thought and custom between various parts of the world, it is most important that our American schools and colleges should give a constructive interpretation of Western ideas to the peoples of the East.

In the wake of the war there has come a flood of foreign influences pouring into the countries of Asia. In the forefront of this new "Western civilization" are British Tommies, French poilus, and foreign business agents. Closely following them are liquor saloons, gambling clubs, dance halls, licensed prostitution, cheap movies, translations of "best sellers," yellow journals, poorly written articles on science, and radical propaganda.

Half hidden across the sea are the true bulwarks of Western progress, such as British home life, French culture, and our occidental respect for labor. One of the greatest tasks of American education is to step into the front line of this advance of modernism so as to interpret the good things of civilization in a constructive way before the people of the East are demoralized by the evil influences of Western life.

We can aid the Orientals to realize that democratic forms of government represent a responsibility rather than freedom for individual ambition and selfish success. The introduction of popular elections, legislative forms of government, responsible cabinets, and the doing away with crowned heads has brought to the front all of the temptations which we know of in our own political life. We must help the people of the East to realize these dangers and to try to meet them by efforts of a constructive nature.

We can also help Orientals to understand the West by giving them a wholesome attitude toward emancipated womanhood and a proper relationship between the sexes. Furthermore, we can help them to face modern science, so as to realize that it may be a cause of faith and tolerance rather than a basis for atheism.

In many of our American colleges in Asia there is coeducation. Student societies, athletic teams, and forms of self-government teach the young men and women how to administer their college affairs in a democratic way, so that they will feel the responsibilities involved. Their contacts with professors of scientific departments show them that scientifically trained men can be intensely religious, and their training in practical matters helps them to gain respect for the importance of work. Thus our American institutions can exercise a very great influence in helping the growing generation of Asia to gain a constructive interpretation of Western life.

Realms in Which Men Unite

There are at least four great spheres of thought and activity in which these students can find common grounds for unity, as they live together, play together, and work side by side.

First of all, there is science, which is absolutely international in its scope. A short time ago a young French doctor came to Beirut to teach and to conduct some research experiments in connection with Oriental fevers. He took over the laboratory of a Canadian, who was constantly near to him. His technician was a Russian. His laboratory associate was a Syrian Maronite. The professor of bacteriology took part in some of his work and was an American. An Armenian boy, a Jewess, and a Sudanese girl helped with the technical work. There was also an Egyptian Mohammedan intern who gave some time to the research. All of these different races were drawn together in a united effort to cure disease. Galileo, Lister, Darwin, Pasteur, and a host of others were international, transcending differences of birth, because they served humanity. As our American universities in foreign lands follow the magnificent example of the Rockefeller Foundation and seek a science that is international in its scope, they will find that the cause of science is a veritable gospel of peace.

Another field of endeavor which is international is that of commerce. In a number of our American colleges abroad

the importance of commercial and economic work is emphasized. As young men dream about developing the trade and industry of their lands, they soon find that international co-operation must replace the sort of selfish nationalism about which agitators talk. If our schools can give a few leaders the belief that national prosperity can only be based upon industry and trade, it will steady their judgment and lead them to work for co-operation rather than war.

Although religion has separated people in the past, I feel sure that it is a third sphere in which our students can find a common basis for understanding. At Beirut the Moslems, Jews, and Christians of many sects conduct a religious organization which is voluntary. The name is The Brotherhood and the motto is: "The realm in which we agree is vastly larger than the realm in which we differ." Officers are chosen from the different sects on an equal footing. There is a special collection of writings from famous religious scriptures to make it possible to read passages that are not distinctly sectarian. Many committees arrange for social service work, for activities on the campus, for delegations to schools and villages of the interior, and for the giving of aid to refugees. Members of different sects are drawn together for devotion, discussion, and practical service in a way which unites them in a brotherhood of common idealism.

As our American schools give the advantages of education without thought of propaganda, they can prove that nations may love and aid each other without ulterior motive. Once this fact is well understood, it will do much toward creating a better understanding between peoples of different lands. At Beirut, for instance, we do not try to Americanize our students or to carry on any propaganda. We do not fly the American flag from our college tower. English is taught to the students as a language of science, but we encourage them to learn their native languages even more perfectly and to take pride in their own forms of culture. We are trying to train teachers who can adapt their courses to the East, rather than to teach the kind of things that are suitable in the United States.

The students are permitted to observe

their own holidays; they are not obliged to attend Christian services, and every effort is made to respect their native customs. A kosher restaurant is conducted for the Jews and special arrangements are made to enable Moslem students to keep the Fast of Ramadan. The whole purpose of the campus life is to stimulate an interest in the things of the East, so that the students will know that the university is being supported to give reconstruction to Eastern lands rather than to bring gain either to the United States or to any one sect.

The Mission Church has a definiteness that the school may lack. On the other hand, the school aims to create character rather than to increase any one particular denomination. As such, the school is bound to break down prejudice and create brotherhood.

Just after the Greek attack on Smyrna a religious organization of Turkish girls in the Constantinople Woman's College raised money to aid the poor. As the Greek refugee families along the Bosphorus were in especial need, the students gave their help to Greeks rather than to their fellow Turks. Religion for these Turkish girls did not mean a holy war, but love and forgiveness.

The other sphere which unites our students may be called the realm of culture, for lack of a better name. Two years ago an international congress met at Beirut to encourage archeology. Many of the delegates visited our campus, and it was an inspiration to our students to see how a cultural interest of that sort could obliterate national prejudices. I need not enlarge upon this matter, as we all know how international art, literature, archeology, the drama, and other cultural interests can become, but in closing I want to give an example of how music may bind men together.

Last spring a German consul came to Beirut to open a new office. He came reluctantly, as he expected to find a hostile reception in a territory administered by a French mandate.

A week after his arrival he accepted an invitation to attend a concert at the American University, to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of his compatriot, Beethoven. An orchestra composed of Russians, French, Armenians, and Americans played the music. The French

High Commissioner, the French Admiral, and a galaxy of French and Syrian officials were present, with a picturesque display of bright uniforms. The consuls of seven or eight of the Entente powers were much in evidence. The seven hundred seats in the auditorium were filled by members of the French, British, and American communities, as well as by students and people of Beirut. There had not been such an assembly before that winter. The enthusiasm was deep, as all realized the greatness of the German composer.

After the concert the German consul took his leave. He was too much touched to say very much, but he did grasp me firmly by the hand, as he told me that he was going back to his office to send a communication to Berlin. He wished his countrymen to know how much our university could accomplish to bring about international understanding and good will.

When storm clouds are still hanging black around us and men and women everywhere are praying for peace, it is a stirring thing to know that American education can change prejudice into understanding and raise up leaders of the future who may guide their peoples out of hate to loftier realms of tolerance and trust.

THE ROYCE PLAN OF INSURANCE

For the Discouragement of War and the Relief of Its Victims

By S. J. MacFARRAN

THE adoption of this crowning work* of its distinguished author would involve no change in the centuries-old principles or practice of our established insurance, but merely the extension of their use to new fields, enlarging their scale from individual to community needs, as in the familiar group insurance which our government applied to the case of World War veterans. The Royce Plan is just as practicable as are scores of current transactions in this familiar business. It consists in the issuance of policies to nations against disasters and calamities, from pestilence to earthquakes, and including war, on parallel lines to our present fire,

*"War and Insurance," an address by Josiah Royce, Aug. 27, 1914, and published in book form by Macmillan Company the same year.

life, and marine insurance, by a foundation equipped for the work, managed by a board of trustees composed of business men and excluding politics in any form. While not operated for profit, it would be self-supporting and perpetuating.

Under present conditions, the enormous capital necessary might be furnished by a score or two of Morgans, Fords, and Rockefellers in each of the great nations, if the nations, upon which Professor Royce depended, were slow in adopting it as a substitute for war and navy costs.

Had the European countries held policies under the Royce Plan in 1914, Germany's premiums would have been a total loss when she entered Belgium or fired the first shot, while, on the other hand, the Allies would have had, in the form of insurance, the means for defense or their price.

So Mexico, insured under the plan, would have had her defense fund in hand before our guns were cool at Vera Cruz, while we would have paid for nothing if insured.

Neither courts nor diplomats could have interposed between the victims and the trustees, nor delayed relief while the aggressor's foothold was secured. So with China, Japan, Russia, Poland, Turkey, Italy, etc.—the aggressor would lose and the attacked gain by the prompt business action of a board of trustees composed of the Youngs, Daweses, and Roots of all the world, trustees, supreme by the terms of the policies in each case, just as recognized arbitrators are supreme now in some—

perhaps soon to be many—of our States.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the Royce Plan would lie in reversing the balance of world finance from war to peace, making war unprofitable and disreputable, while creating, by tested business methods, free from politics, the international mind which must precede permanent peace.

How it would do these things will appear to the student of the plan itself, as outlined in the lecture (at the Beverly Institute); but our Mr. Gilbert's recent criticism of Germany and its effect may furnish an apt, if partial, illustration of what business methods may effect when backed by world opinion.

And the plan would brand with disrepute some current methods of war financing by making peace financing dominant "on change." By means familiar to bankers, such as withdrawal of widespread deposits or loans, it could have rebuked the brag and bluster of imperial Germany, in the interest of her people and the world, long before 1914, making war preparations unprofitable, instead of tempting to speculation.

In view of our holdings and commitments in Panama and Nicaragua, it would pay the United States as well as the canal can to finance Royce Plan insurance for the wrangling Central American States, if not others, and it would do more the first year of operation to cement the foundations of real peace in our southern horizon than the labors of all the statesmen since Bolivar.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

DRAFT TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the draft treaty between Great Britain and Egypt rejected by the Egyptian Government:)

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty the King of Egypt, being anxious to con-

solidate the friendship and to maintain and perpetuate the relations of good understanding between their respective countries. And considering that in order to secure this object it is desirable to give precision to the relationship between the two countries by resolving and defining the outstanding questions at issue which formed the subject of the reservations which His Britannic Majesty's Government considered it necessary to make on the occasion of the declara-

tion of February 28, 1922, being anxious to eliminate the possibility of interference in the internal administration of Egypt, and considering that these objects will best be achieved by the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and alliance, which in their common interest will provide for effective cooperation in the joint task of ensuring the defense and independence of Egypt, have agreed to conclude a treaty for this purpose, and have appointed as plenipotentiaries His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India; for Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Right Honorable the Lord Lloyd, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., D. S. O., member of his Most Honorable Privy Council; His Majesty the King of Egypt; His Excellency Abdel Khalek Sarwat Pasha, President of the Council of Ministers, who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

An alliance is established between the high contracting parties in consecration of their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations.

Article 2

His Majesty the King of Egypt undertakes not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude incompatible with the alliance or liable to create difficulties for His Britannic Majesty; not to oppose in foreign countries the policy followed by His Britannic Majesty and not to conclude with a foreign Power any agreement which might be prejudicial to British interests.

Article 3

If, by reason of any attack or act of aggression whatsoever, His Majesty the King of Egypt should be involved in war for the defense of his territory or for the protection of the interests of his country, His Britannic Majesty will, subject always to the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, come immediately to his aid in the capacity of belligerent.

Article 4

Should circumstances arise likely to imperil the good relations between His Majesty the King of Egypt and a foreign Power or threaten the lives or property of foreigners in Egypt, His Majesty will at once consult with His Britannic Majesty with a view to

the adoption of the measures best calculated to solve the difficulty.

Article 5

In view of the cooperation between the two armies as contemplated in article 3, the Egyptian Government pledge themselves to carry out the instruction and training of the Egyptian army in accordance with the methods of the British army; should the Egyptian Government deem it necessary to have recourse to the services of foreign officers or instructors, they will choose them from among British subjects.

Article 6

In the event of His Britannic Majesty being menaced with or engaged in war, even though such war should in no way affect the rights and interests of Egypt, His Majesty the King of Egypt undertakes to furnish to His Britannic Majesty in Egyptian territory all the facilities and assistance in his power, including the use of his ports, aërodromes and all means of communication.

Article 7

In order to facilitate and secure to His Britannic Majesty the protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire, and pending the conclusion at some future date of an agreement by which His Britannic Majesty entrusts His Majesty the King of Egypt with the task of ensuring this protection, His Majesty the King of Egypt authorizes His Britannic Majesty to maintain upon Egyptian territory such armed forces as His Britannic Majesty's Government consider necessary for this purpose. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.

After a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty, the high contracting parties will reconsider, in the light of their experience of the operation of the provisions of the present treaty, the question of the localities in which the said forces are to be stationed. Should no agreement be reached on this point, the question may be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. Should the decision of the League of Nations be adverse to the claims of the Egyptian Government, the question can, at their request and under the same conditions, be reinvestigated at inter-

vals of five years from the date of the League's decision.

Article 8

In view of the friendship between the two countries and of the alliance established by this treaty, the Egyptian Government when engaging the services of foreign officials will as a rule give preference to British subjects.

Nationals of other Powers will only be engaged if no British subjects possessing the necessary qualifications and fulfilling the requisite conditions are available.

Article 9

His Britannic Majesty undertakes to use all his influence with the Powers possessing capitulatory rights in Egypt to obtain the modification of the capitulatory *régime* now existing in Egypt so as to make it conform more closely with the spirit of the times and with the present state of Egypt.

Article 10

His Britannic Majesty will use his good offices for the admission of Egypt to the League of Nations, and will support the request which Egypt will present to this effect. Egypt for her part declares herself ready to accept the conditions prescribed for admission to the League.

Article 11

In view of the special relations created between the high contracting parties by the alliance, His Britannic Majesty will be represented at the Court of His Majesty the King of Egypt by an Ambassador, duly accredited, to whom His Majesty the King of Egypt will grant precedence over all other foreign representatives.

Article 12

Nothing in the present treaty is intended to or shall in any way prejudice the rights and obligations which devolve or may devolve upon either of the high contracting parties under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 13

The arrangements for carrying certain provisions of the present treaty into effect form the annex hereto, which shall have the same validity and duration as the treaty.

Article 14

The high contracting parties, although convinced that by reason of the precise defini-

tions laid down above as to the nature of the relations between the two countries no misunderstanding is to be anticipated between them, agree, nevertheless, in their anxiety to maintain their good relations, that any disagreement on the subject of the application or of the interpretation of these provisions which they are unable to settle by direct negotiation shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged at as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the undersigned have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Cairo, in duplicate, the day of

The annex referred to in Article 13 is as follows:

ANNEX

I.

(a) In default of previous agreement between the high contracting parties to the contrary, British *personnel* on the existing scale shall be maintained in the Egyptian army with their present functions and on the conditions of the existing contracts during the period of ten years provided for in article 7 of the treaty.

(b) The Egyptian Government will not cause the *personnel* of the Egyptian army to be trained abroad elsewhere than in Great Britain. The Government of His Britannic Majesty for their part undertake to receive any mission which the Egyptian Government may send to Great Britain for this purpose.

(c) The armament employed by the Egyptian army shall not differ in type from that of the British Army. His Britannic Majesty's Government undertake to use their good offices, whenever so desired by the Egyptian Government, to facilitate its supply from Great Britain.

(d) The privileges and immunities at present enjoyed by the British forces in Egypt shall continue. The Egyptian Government will continue to place at the disposal of the said forces, free of charge, the land and buildings at present occupied by them until such time as an alteration is made, in accordance with the second paragraph of article 7 of the treaty in the localities in which the said forces are stationed.

When any such alteration is made, the land and buildings vacated shall revert to the Egyptian Government, who will provide, free of charge, in the localities to which the forces are transferred, equivalent accommodation to that provided by the land and buildings vacated.

(e) Unless the high contracting parties shall previously have agreed to the contrary, the Egyptian Government will prohibit the passage of aircraft over the territory situated on either side of the Suez Canal, and within 20 kilom. of it. This prohibition will not, however, apply to the forces of the high contracting parties or to services already established under existing agreements.

. II.

(a) The Egyptian Government, in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government, will appoint a financial adviser. When it shall be so desired, the powers at present exercised by the Commissioners of the Debt shall be conferred upon him. He will be kept informed of all legislative proposals of such a nature that, to be applicable to foreigners, they would require in present circumstances the consent of the capitulatory Powers. He shall be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for all other matters in regard to which they may wish to consult him.

(b) Having regard to future changes in the judicial organization as envisaged in article 9 of the treaty, the Egyptian Government will name, in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government, a judicial adviser. He shall be kept informed of all matters concerning the administration of justice in which foreigners are concerned, and will be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for all other matters in regard to which they may wish to consult him.

(c) Until the coming into force, as the result of agreements between Egypt and the Powers concerned, of the reform of the capitulatory system contemplated in article 9 of the treaty, the Egyptian Government will not modify, except in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government, the number, status and functions of the British officials engaged at the moment in the public security and police services.

News in Brief

AN ARBITRATION TREATY WITH FRANCE was ratified by the United States Senate, in executive session, on March 6.

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST CENSUS taken by the police there are now residing in the city and suburbs of Peking, 1,297,718 Chinese and 2,289 foreigners.

AIR MAIL SERVICE FROM FRANCE to South America was inaugurated February 28. Mail goes from Paris and the north by airplane to Marseilles, thence by air to St. Louis, Senegal, fast boat to Brazil, and by plane again to Buenos Aires. By this means mail passes between Paris and Buenos Aires in twelve to fifteen days.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, meeting early in March, definitely approved the plans for a building on the shores of Lake Geneva. This automatically decides the question as to whether the Secretariat shall remain in Geneva or move to some other city.

THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD UNITY, summer school of the *World Unity Magazine*, will hold its second annual session, at Green Acre, Eliot, Maine, from July 30 to August 24.

THE BRITISH BOARD OF FILM CENSORS has declined to issue a license for "Dawn" the British-made film depicting the life and death of Nurse Edith Cavell. The film is believed to be unhistorical, and therefore "inexpedient to exhibit."

SPAIN AND BRAZIL WERE INVITED to reenter the League of Nations by the Council of the League, meeting on March 8.

PEACE AND GOOD WILL could be inculcated through the circulation of books containing accurate information about the different countries, is the opinion of the Bibliographical Society of America. Plans were made at the annual meeting of the society, in At-

lantic City in March, to draw up good lists of books for such uses.

COPIES OF DRAFT TREATIES of arbitration were handed by the Secretary of State to the ambassadors of Germany and of Spain, on March 12, thus beginning negotiations for treaties with those countries, similar to the treaty with France, just signed.

NORWAY HONORED THE CENTENARY of the birth of Henrik Ibsen on March 15 with the opening of an Ibsen exposition at the University of Oslo library.

THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION for the Disarmament Conference held its fifth meeting at Geneva, beginning March 15. Twenty-four nations were present. The American delegation was as follows: Hugh S. Gibson, American Ambassador to Belgium, in charge; Hugh R. Wilson, Minister to Switzerland; Rear Admiral Andrew T. Long, U. S. N.; Major George V. Strong, U. S. A. Technical assistants were Commander H. C. Train, U. S. N.; Major J. N. Greely, U. S. A.; and Mr. S. Pinkney Tuck, American Consul at Geneva, was secretary to the American representation.

THE MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, SEPTEMBER 16, is to be made the date upon which the "friendship school bags" sent from children in the United States to Mexican children will be distributed. Like the plan for "friendship dolls" recently sent to Japan, this scheme is sponsored by the Committee on World Friendship Among Children.

DR. EMANUEL MALBRAN has been appointed Argentine Ambassador to the United States, succeeding Honorio Pueyrredon, recently resigned.

A SOUTH AMERICAN TOURIST CONFERENCE has been organized to aid international communications and foster travel. Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela are represented in the organization.

THE SEVENTH LATIN PRESS CONGRESS convened in Havana March 7 with representatives from France, Italy, Rumania, Spain, and various American nations. Stormy sessions immediately began, in which Cuban delegates carried their point for co-operation

against what has been generally characterized as dictatorial policies of a group of French propagandists. Later sessions resulted in various changes in general policy, tending toward fuller co-operation.

SOME SEVENTY-FIVE PERSONS, many of them men who have formerly held important positions in Chilean government, were arrested in Santiago, on March 13, charged with plotting against the government of Dictator Ibanez. Most of these, including twenty-six very prominent men, were sent to the exile colony at Mas-Afuera; the son of ex-President Alessandri and some six other important persons were sent to Easter Island, 2,000 miles west of the coast of Chile.

MR. ALEXANDER P. MOORE, former Ambassador to Spain, has been appointed United States ambassador to Peru.

THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN PANAMA and Costa Rica, which has been in dispute since 1921, is now the subject of direct negotiations between the two governments, and will probably be settled amicably very shortly.

THE AMBASSADOR OF CUBA, HON. ORESTES FERRARA, has accepted the chairmanship of the permanent committee of the governing board of the Pan American Union, on the erection of a lighthouse on the coast of the Dominican Republic, to honor the memory of Christopher Columbus. The Minister of Honduras and the Minister of the Dominican Republic are the other members of the committee.

THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER of the Philippines, Iasuro Gahaldon, will resign from Congress on July 16. He intends to return to the Philippines to participate in a campaign for independence for the Islands.

A WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS is to be held in Eerde, Holland, August 17-26 to study the causes of war and to focus the forces of youth on its elimination.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY of the University of Porto Rico was celebrated the week of March 12, with representatives of more than a hundred American universities in attendance. A series of graduate schools is in process of development; among them there is the probability of a graduate school,

fathered by Cornell University, for the study of tropical agriculture. Such a school would be the first of its kind in the American tropics.

THE WOODROW WILSON AWARD for distinguished service in furthering good will between nations was conferred, March 19, upon Colonel Lindbergh. The first award made by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation was to Viscount Cecil in 1924; the second to Elihu Root in 1926. No award was made in 1927, and this to Lindbergh is the third.

NATIONAL ORATORICAL CONTESTS ON OUTLAW WAR TREATIES will be held this spring for school children. There are various stages in the contest. Bronze medal contests are to be held before April 15; silver medal contests, state gold medals and national cash prizes to be contested for later. It is hoped by those sponsoring the contest to bring the matter thus before pupils, teachers and parents all over the land.

A STATUE TO KOSSUTH, the Hungarian champion of freedom was unveiled in New York City, March 16, the gift of Hungarians in the United States to this country. Five hundred of Kossuth's countrymen came to America for the ceremonies. Among them, Dr. Roland de Hegedus, former Hungarian Minister of Finance, stated, at a luncheon in his honor on the 17th, that the safety and happiness of the world depends upon American leadership for the next 2,000 years. He declared that Europe needs, not American money but American principles.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, a center of world thought since before the days when Abelard taught there, has set aside a tract of seventy acres of wooded park, where it has offered a free site to more than a score of nations for the building of dormitories for their own students. More than \$250,000 of the \$400,000 required for the American building is reported now to be in hand. The dormitory will house 260 persons.

A CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES and Mexico was signed on March 16, 1928, safeguarding the livestock interests of the two countries. It is intended to prevent the introduction of infectious and contagious diseases across the border.

THE SECOND PART OF THE OFFICIAL GERMAN WAR FILM, which has been recently released, was not well received by German audiences. There seems, according to Berlin reporters, to be an unmistakable trace of the desire to glorify battle in the film, which was regarded by the majority of audiences as tactless and harmful.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HANDBOOK OF THE CHURCHES: A SURVEY OF THE CHURCHES IN ACTION. Edited by *Benjamin S. Winchester*. Pp. 408 and index. J. E. Stohlmann, Baltimore, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

This is the ninth book in its series. The name year-book, previously used has been changed to Hand-book, since it is not published annually. This book comes out under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. It is purely a reference text. The first section is a resumé of significant events and movements; the next four sections are directories of religious bodies, agencies and persons. Section six is composed of religious statistics, section seven is a bibliography. The hand-book is included in the suggestive list of one hundred reference books, issued by the American Library Association.

RECENT REVELATIONS OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY. By *G. P. Gooch*. Pp. 214 and index. Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

For the student of causes and results of the world war, this summary of available literature on the subject is of real importance. Dr. Gooch makes no attempt to review purely military writings, nor, indeed, the economic and social history of the struggle. These latter are voluminous covered in the publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, still in course of production. His field is particularly the political and diplomatic revelations, which

have been published since 1914; the period covered is that from the accession of William II to the treaty of Versailles.

One of the many results of the late war is the opening of the archives. Another is the effort, made by many leading actors in the drama, to prove to the public their innocence of responsibility for the holocaust, or their efforts to bring it to a close. A literature of tremendous importance therefore, is now available. It is this bibliography which Dr. Gooch runs through. He gives condensed resumé of significant books and documents, nation by nation, adding often, interesting personal comments.

His style is delightful, accurate but not pedantic, his outlook human. The concluding chapter is striking. The conduct, he says, of each country, party to the conflict, was what might have been expected—quite natural. There was no arch-sinner. The war was a tragedy of the sort defined by Hegel, a conflict, "not of right with wrong, but of right with right." The root of the evil, says Gooch, "lay in the division of Europe into two armed camps * * * and in the doctrine of the Balance of Power, which is as old as the sixteenth century." The war was largely the offspring of fear.

Blind and deaf, the governments may have been who stumbled and staggered into the war. But their condemnation lies in the fact that they managed to do little or nothing to abate the international anarchy, which they had inherited.

Thorough and careful studies, such as this, leading to such conclusions point an undoubted lesson for those who are now determined to forestall and prevent war. International organization and general recognition of laws to govern international conduct seem the logical corollary of Professor Gooch's proposition.

Novels of War

RIGHT OFF THE MAP. By *C. E. Montague*. Pp. 325. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, 1927. Price, \$2.

THE PALLID GIANT. By *Pierrepont B. Noyes*. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$2.

The two novels present theories as to war, differently treated. The former is a satire, fantastic, but interesting in development. The characters lose somewhat in reality be-

cause of the ironic atmosphere of the tale. Artistically, too, the conclusion is a bit too tragic to harmonize with the burlesque flavor of the whole thing. Nevertheless, it is an interesting book, absurd, but suggestive.

The second book has the impetus of suspense and adventure. It is two stories in one, however, the longer being actually subsidiary to the other. The finding of an ancient, mysterious manuscript and the method of its deciphering are both thrilling. But most impressive is the idea flowing out of this old manuscript. We are told that science, under the control of fear, quite obliterated an advanced prehistoric civilization. This sinister event is tied to the modern portion of the story by the announced discovery of the "death ray" just after the world war. The implications are obvious.

Novels of Other Countries

MOTHER AND SON. By *Romain Rolland*. Translated from the French by *Van Wyck Brooks*. Pp. 415. Henry Holt Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$2.50.

While this is the third volume of "The Soul Enchanted," it is a unity in itself, covering the period of the World War. The author of *Jean Christophe* should be known to one who wishes to follow the currents of present French thought. He depicts, in this book, war psychology with penetrating, if disdainful, power. Rolland is trying in all his work to think as a European, when in fact Europe has no unity. Yet one agrees with Guérard that he is a courageous fore-runner of those who will follow in a more genial and constructive effort to break down international conflict.

THE MOTHER. By *Grazia Deledda*. Translated from the Italian by *Mary G. Steegman*. Pp. 239. Macmillan Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$2.

The 1927 Nobel prize for literature was awarded to the author of this book. She had her early home in Sardinia, which is the scene of all her stories and sketches, though now she lives in Rome. "The Mother," published in Italy in 1920, only recently translated into English, is generally conceded to be her best book thus far.

The story is staged in a little half-civilized hill village in Sardinia. The tragedy of the old peasant mother watching a secret love affair of her son, who is the village priest, is inevitable and simple as a Greek

drama. The problem is not church doctrine, but, rather, the effect upon primitive human nature of the man-made laws it cannot understand.

A WREATH OF CLOUD. Third part of the tale of Genji. By *Lady Murasaki*. Translated from the Japanese by *Arthur Waley*. Pp. 312. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

The third part of this long Japanese novel surviving from the early eleventh century is quite equal to parts one and two. Lady Murasaki, we learn from the extracts from her diary in the introduction, found court life both sordid and stupid. Therefore, she constructed, in her imagination, a court as she would have it. Since she was a born story teller, her episodes have real unity and the development of character and incident is surprisingly psychological.

The main interest, as before, is the living picture of old Japanese culture. The book sheds light not only on modern Japan, but on China, which must always have been similar in background.

WITCH WOOD. By *John Buchan*. Pp. 352. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$2.50.

Here is a story of Scotland in 1644, a place and time when superstition was still powerful. It is staged in a village planted in a pass between the ancient forests—the wood of Merlin—and the prosy midlands of the South. The young dominie hero finds himself engaged in a hopeless struggle with sinister powers of darkness manifested in the souls of his flock. But bigotry, backed by hidden deviltry in high places, defeats him. He disappears with a loyal follower who was an old soldier. They seek the continent and its wars, where a man may fight with visible foes. The little town of Woodilee is still debating as to whether the minister was carried away by the Devil, or whether he was rescued by the fairies.

JALNA. By *Mazo de la Roche*. Pp. 347. Little, Brown Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$2.

This novel of Canadian family life was last year awarded the *Atlantic Monthly* prize. Its author is a literary painter in genre, delineating her characters with fine

finish. They are at the same time so striking and alive that the possibility of further books, featuring one or another, reminds one of Galsworthy's "Forsyte Saga."

The robust feudal family is observed through the eyes of a New England professor's daughter, who marries one of the sons and comes to live at Jalna. This gives a sense of detachment which greatly heightens the effect. There is little plot in the several love stories, the interest focussing entirely on characters. Of the characters, perhaps the greatest interest centers upon the two at the extremes of the family, not involved in any of the romances. These are the precocious boy of twelve and the domineering, hundred-year-old "Granny," who has as hearty an appetite for food as for praise or power. They are both portrayed with strength and delicacy, making us look forward with real anticipation to Miss de la Roche's further work.

JUNO AND THE PAYCOCK AND THE SHADOW OF A GUNMAN. Two plays. By *Sean O'Casey*. Pp. 199. Macmillan Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

Sean O'Casey, from a sombre past of poverty and grim labor, has only within a few years risen to his present high rank among modern dramatists. It was Juno and the Paycock, with the winning of the Hawthornden Prize, in 1925, which introduced him to the public. The play was then produced in the Abbey theater in Dublin, and later in London. During the past winter the Irish Players have been in this country—the first time for sixteen years and have given O'Casey's plays here.

He writes vigorously of the tragedies that come to the poor in the tenements of Dublin, and well he knows these trials. The characters are homely folk. They quarrel and drink and are cheated; they are tender and rough, hot-headed and warm-hearted. Their sorrows are epic, however, because universal. The iron which enters their souls is of the same temper as that which pierces all down-trodden people everywhere.

But over and through all the rest, O'Casey weaves his spell of irresistible and unconscious Irish humor, the lilting cadence of the Irish tongue, the turn of a phrase, the grouping of pungent characters, which, all together give these plays individuality, and a sure place in dramatic literature.

ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



STILL GOING STRONG



By Clifford Berryman

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
After One-Hundred Years With Mars

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor
LEO PASVOLSKY, Associate Editor

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

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

THE Centennial History of the American Peace Society, by Edson L. Whitney, is now in the hands of the printer. It will make a volume of nearly four hundred pages. Copies at \$3.00 each will be available in time for the Cleveland Conference. The work sets forth in detail the facts in the history of the American Peace Society for the first hundred years. Peace workers will turn to it for many years to come, for it is a definite record of the organized peace movement in America from its beginnings. Those unable to attend the Cleveland sessions may order the book directly of the American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

"A Breath of Wind in the Sails"

CLEVELAND'S support of the coming World Conference on International Justice is an expression of man's deepest desire. War, as a means of settling international disputes, is today more universally condemned than ever before in history. Men and women everywhere, governments included, are demanding a better way for the settlement of international controversies. When the people of Cleveland invited the American Peace Society to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary within their gates,

they had in mind, of course, their affection for Theodore E. Burton, President of the Society and their most distinguished fellow-citizen. But they were not unmindful of the possibilities in such a conference for the furtherance of a better international understanding. In the language of Woodrow Wilson, they had caught "the voices of humanity that are in the air."

The organized peace movement began in 1815. Just now the historians are discovering that movement. It is an interesting chapter in history. Its first pages had been written by the author of the Book of Genesis, by the writer of the second chapter of Isaiah, and by the prophet who penned the fourth chapter of Micah. Pierre Dubois, in the early fourteenth century, and the poet Dante, of the same period, argued for organization in the interest of peace. Down through the intervening centuries Erasmus, Crucé, Grotius, Penn, Rousseau, Bentham, and Kant did the same thing.

But, of special interest to the people of Ohio, the second Peace Society in the history of the world, following the foundation of the New York Peace Society by only a few days, was organized in Warren County of their State.

From our records we are able to report that on the second of December, 1815, a "Society for the Promoting of Peace" was established in Warren County, State of Ohio. It appears that certain persons of that State had read Noah Wor-

chester's "Solemn Review of the Custom of War." In consequence they had become "impressed by the horrors, the devastations, the greed, misery, and woe attendant on a state of war, and, animated with the view of the comfort, tranquillity, and benefits attendant on a state of peace, a number of citizens of Warren County, of different denominations as to religion, formed themselves into a society at the time above mentioned, without having any knowledge at that time that any similar society existed on earth." It is recorded that this society soon divided itself into four branches, consisting of upwards of one hundred members, "amongst whom are some respectable clergymen and statesmen." They had at that time published 3,000 copies of certain numbers of Worcester's "The Friend of Peace." On the 11th of March, 1817, a fifth branch was established at Leesburg, Ohio, at the first meeting of which nearly fifty persons entered their names as members.

From the fourth annual report of the Ohio Society for the Promotion of Peace, in 1819, we learn that—

"The number of peace societies in the State of Ohio has been increased since our last report. A female peace society has been organized on Mill Creek, near Cincinnati. . . . A society at Athens has been some time since organized, composed of about twenty members, the president of which is the Rev. Mr. Lindley, professor of the college, and Professor Dana their corresponding secretary. There are also several officers of the college who are officers of this newly organized peace society. This society is composed of some of the principal characters in Athens County. The whole number of peace societies in Ohio known to us is eight."

The conference in Cleveland will achieve something immeasurably worth while if it does nothing more than to unearth further the history of the peace movement in Ohio.

Following the beginnings of the peace movement in New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts in 1815, the notion that men should be able to evolve substitutes for war grew with no little rapidity. Great international peace congresses began in 1843, and by 1851 the peace movement was strong and lusty, especially in the United States and Great Britain. Then came wars—the Crimean War, our Civil War, the Franco-German War, and at last the World War.

At the outbreak of the World War over seventy peace organizations were affiliated with the American Peace Society. Most of them disappeared because of the war, but the American Peace Society lived on through that tragic experience, as it has lived through many another war.

The things for which the Society stand are quite simple. It believes that the rights and duties of nations are dependent upon each other and mutually related; that the processes of peace between nations are the processes of justice. It believes that these processes of justice can be attained by due processes of law. It believes that nations can achieve their interests by means other than war. As a corporation, it is devoted to the study of international relations and to those processes of education upon which international co-operation must rest.

The American Peace Society, however, does not profess to have a monopoly of the truth in this field. The coming conference, therefore, will be something more than a glorification of the past and a series of panegyrics upon the great men and women who have built the Society. It will be an opportunity for the members of the Society freely to express their views about the policies of their Society—past, present, and future—and to advise as to the new labors of the new day. The American Peace Society expects to profit greatly by the Cleveland Conference.

But the conference will be more—far more—than a benefit to the American Peace Society. It will be a voice speaking to men and women across the world. It will be an encouragement to those who believe in the mutuality of interests common to all peoples. It will help clear the way for those concerned to promote co-operative effort, to enlarge the achievements of collective national and international groups. There are men and women in every country of the world, growing in numbers, who firmly believe that these progressive achievements will naturally both produce and follow finer and finer forms of acceptable and generally accepted laws, out of which flows that justice which is the mother of any durable peace between States. The Cleveland Conference will hearten all such persons. As M. Briand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, remarked to us in his office last summer, the conference will be “a breath of wind in the sails.”

THE PROGRAM

THE program of the World Conference on International Justice, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 7 to 11, 1928, and throughout the State of Maine, May 13, 14, and 15, has passed through the usual vicissitudes of programs. There is no doubt, however, of the interest nor of the importance of the coming conferences.

In Cleveland there will be nine general assemblies: three May 7, two May 8, two May 9, one May 10, and one the evening of Friday, May 11.

Monday, May 7, is to be known as “Ohio Day.” The first public general assembly will be held in the Cleveland Public Auditorium, seating over 13,000, at 10 o'clock a. m. Ten thousand representatives of the schools will be present. There will be addresses by the Governor of Ohio; the Mayor of Cleveland; Hon. Theodore E.

Burton, President of the American Peace Society; Hon. John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education; Henry Turner Bailey, friend of every lover of art. At 12:30 there will be a luncheon for the heads of the commissions. At 3 p. m., again in the Public Auditorium, there will be a second general assembly, consisting of: the presentation to the City of Cleveland of a new portrait of President Coolidge by Edith Stevenson Wright; and of the Ohio State Peace Oratorical Contest. For the meeting at 8 o'clock in the evening, at the Public Auditorium, the program will include: Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, of Norway; Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador to the United States; Herr Friederich Wilhelm von Prittwitz, German Ambassador to the United States; and M. Paul Claudel, Ambassador from France, and Newton Baker.

Tuesday, May 8, will be American Peace Society Day. The commissions will meet at 10 o'clock a. m. At 12:30 there will be a luncheon, to be addressed by representatives of national organizations on their relations to world friendship. Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, National Chaplain of the American Legion; Mr. Arch Klumph, formerly head of Rotary International; Henry C. Heinz, President Kiwanis International, Miss Cornelia Adair, President of the National Education Association, and representatives of the Red Cross and other organizations will speak.

The fourth general assembly will be held at 3 p. m., in the Masonic Auditorium. The meeting will be addressed by Prof. Merle E. Curti, of Smith College; Dr. James Brown Scott, Walter A. Morgan, D. D., a Director of the American Peace Society, Linley Gordon and others, and representatives of other peace and patriotic organizations.

The fifth general assembly will be held at 8 o'clock, in the Masonic Auditorium,

with addresses by Governor Ralph Brewster, of Maine; Dr. Paul Milyukoff, most distinguished living Russian, Don J. Rafael Oreamuno, Costa Rican Minister to the United States, Judge Florence Allen, and Justice Antonio Sanchez Bustamente, of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Wednesday, May 9, is to be known as "Neighbors Day." The commissions will meet at 10 o'clock a. m. At 12:30 there will be a good-will luncheon, under the auspices of civic and commercial organizations of Cleveland and the State of Ohio, to be addressed by Senator Charles P. Beaubien, of Canada; Mr. Herman Bernstein, author and journalist of the United States; Dr. Paul Milyukoff, and representatives of Latin America. At 3 p. m., at the Masonic Auditorium, there will be the sixth general assembly, with addresses by Prof. Jesse Herman Holmes, of Swarthmore College, Prof. Elizabeth Wallace, of the University of Chicago, writer and traveler, and His Excellency Señor Don Orestes Ferrara, the Cuban Ambassador to the United States. The program in the evening at the Masonic Auditorium, for the seventh general assembly, will include addresses by the Honorable Vincent Massey, Canadian Minister to the United States; Cosme de la Torriente, formerly Cuban Ambassador to the United States and to Spain; Señor Dr. Don Ricardo J. Alfaro, Minister of Panama to the United States; and Senator Raoul Dandurand, of Canada.

Thursday, May 10, is to be known as "World Day." The commissions will meet at 10 o'clock a. m. At 12:30 there will be a world friendship luncheon, under the auspices of women's social and patriotic organizations of Cleveland and of the State of Ohio. His Excellency M. Tsuneo Matsudaira, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, and representatives of Finland, Lithuania and other lands

will speak. At 3:30 p. m. there will be an automobile ride, ending with a tea at the Cleveland Art Museum, where representatives of various countries will appear in their native costumes. The eighth general assembly will be held at 8 o'clock in the evening, in the Masonic Hall, including addresses by His Excellency Señor Don Orestes Ferrara, Cuban Ambassador to the United States; Señor Dr. Don Alejandro César, Minister of Nicaragua to the United States; Señor Don Alejandro Padilla, the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, M. Martino, the Italian Ambassador, and Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University.

Friday, May 11, will be known as "Report Day." At 10 o'clock a. m., in the ballroom of the Hotel Cleveland, Commissions 1, 2, and 3 will submit their reports to a general meeting of the delegates. At 3 o'clock p. m. the rest of the commissions will submit their reports at the final meeting of the delegates. All commission reports will be discussed and acted upon at these two sessions. The ninth and final general assembly will be held in the Public Auditorium at 8:15. One of the principal speakers at this meeting will be M. Nicolai Sansanelli, President of "Fidac," the International Federation of Former War Combatants. A summary of the report of the commissions and the work of the commissions will be presented at this assembly. There will be an address by Fred B. Smith, David Yui, and, it is hoped, our Secretary of State, Hon. Frank S. Kellogg.

The sessions of the commissions will be far from the least important contributions of the Conference. Commission No. 1, on the International Implications of Industry, will hold its sessions in the Cleveland Hotel, May 8, 9, and 10, at 10 o'clock a. m. These sessions and all other sessions of the commissions will be open to the delegates. Prof. Philip Marshall

Brown, of Princeton University, has drafted a preliminary statement as a basis for discussion of his Commission No. 2, which statement is printed elsewhere in these columns.

The United States Commissioner of Education, John J. Tigert, has a program covering the following three aspects of education: First, "The knowledge and activities designed for the promotion of international good will that the State can and may properly include in the curricula of elementary, secondary, and normal schools." This subject will be discussed at the Tuesday session of the Commission, May 8, 10 to 12 o'clock. The Hon. John L. Clifton, Director of Education of Ohio, and Miss Cornelia Adair, President of the National Education Association, will address this meeting. The discussion will be led by Superintendent R. C. Jones, of the Cleveland Public Schools. Second, on Wednesday, May 9, from 10 to 12, the subject will be "Constructive programs for the promotion of good will among nations, to be carried on by institutions of university rank." D. M. Solandt, Associate General Manager of the United Church of Canada; President George F. Zook, of Akron University, Ohio, and President George W. Rightmire, of Ohio State University, will speak. The discussions will be led by Dean William F. Russell, Teachers' College, New York City. Third, Thursday, May 10, from 10 to 12 o'clock, the subject will be "the field of activity for agencies allied to the school systems." Among the speakers will be Dr. H. B. Wilson, Director of the American Junior Red Cross; Hon. Augustus O. Thomas, President of the World Federation of Education Associations, and Mrs. John D. Sherman, President of the American Federation of Women's Clubs. The discussion will be led by Mrs. S. M. N. Marrs, President of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

The Commission on the International Implications of Religion, headed by Bishop William Fraser McDowell, chairman, and Rev. Walter W. Van Kirk, of the Federal Council of Churches, secretary, is making a wide appeal to the churches of our country. The preliminary report, which is to serve as a basis for discussion at the sessions of this Commission, is already well in hand.

The Commission on the International Implications of Social Work—Dr. Edward T. Devine, chairman, and Howard R. Knight, secretary—will hold its preliminary sessions, beginning May 2 and lasting until May 9, in the city of Memphis, Tennessee, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. This was found advisable, in view of the fact that so many of the social workers of America will have to be in Memphis at that time. This Commission, however, will meet in Cleveland, Ohio, Thursday, May 10, at 10 o'clock, and Friday, May 11, at the same hour. Dr. Devine announces as members of his commission a notable list of men and women most of whom have been officials, a number of them presidents of the American Association of Social Workers.

Another most important feature of the program is the "Commission on the Co-ordination of Efforts for Peace," under the chairmanship of President Ernest H. Wilkins, of Oberlin College. When we remember that there are probably over one hundred organizations, of a more or less national scope, for the promotion of international peace, the necessity for such a commission readily appears. These organizations are undoubtedly duplicating efforts and in a number of instances working at cross-purposes. It is clear, therefore, that a careful attempt should be made to effect as high a degree of co-ordination of these several efforts as may be possible. The Commission will hold two

open meetings, May 10 and 11, in Cleveland, in connection with the Centennial Celebration. Various organizations have been invited to be represented at these meetings, and to make such suggestions to the Commission as they may think appropriate. It is not the idea that the hearings shall be in the nature of discussions. The Commission will undoubtedly arrange to give individual hearings at other periods throughout the week. The Commission will carry on, for a period of perhaps a year, a study of the several peace organizations as they actually are, and of the possibility of unifying their efforts in some considerable measure. At the close of its work the Commission will make such report and recommendations as may seem appropriate. Much of the later work of the Commission will be carried on, naturally, by correspondence.

OUR GOVERNMENT'S PEACE PROPOSAL

THE United States has embarked upon its greatest of all efforts to abolish war, appropriately spoken of in England as "potentially the biggest event in modern diplomatic history." It is certainly an outstanding fact of our time. The little bands of peace workers who one hundred years ago organized themselves into the American Peace Society for the purpose of substituting for the methods of war the modes of pacific settlement evidently began a movement greater in its possibilities than perhaps they dared to believe. At that time only here and there had a statesman even suggested the practical possibilities of doing away with war. Now the Secretary of State of the United States, backed by President Coolidge, by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, and, we have no doubt, by public opinion generally, is offering to the nations of the world a

draft of a very simple treaty, the purpose of which, however, is to do away with war. Our government announces that no effort will be spared to find a solution for any technical difficulty which may arise in the course of the negotiations.

The initial step in this high enterprise was taken by Mr. Aristide Briand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 6, 1927, in a statement to representatives of the press, in which he suggested the abolition of war as between France and the United States. Interest in this proposal led to the exchange of six notes between M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg, beginning December 28, 1927. From these notes it appears that Secretary Kellogg desired to enlarge M. Briand's proposal to include a general multilateral treaty, not only between France and the United States, but between all the powers. Mr. Kellogg wished to ban all war, whereas M. Briand would limit the ban to wars of aggression.

April 13, Secretary Kellogg invited the British, the German, the Italian, and Japanese governments to join France and the United States in an agreement to sign a treaty the spirit and substance of which is as follows:

"Deeply sensible that their high office imposes upon them a solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

"Inspired by a common desire not only to perpetuate the peaceful and friendly relations now happily subsisting between their peoples, but also to prevent war among any of the nations of the world;

"Desirous by formal act to bear unmistakable witness that they condemn war as an instrument of national policy and renounce it in favor of the pacific settlement of international disputes;

"Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of

the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

"Have decided to conclude a treaty and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries,

"(Here follows the names of the executives and rulers and blank spaces for the names of the plenipotentiaries) who, having communicated to one another their full powers found in good and due form have agreed upon the following articles:

"Article I

"The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"Article II

"The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Article III

"The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at (world capitals).

"This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a power shall be deposited at . . . and the treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the power thus adhering and the other powers parties hereto.

"It shall be the duty of the government of . . . to furnish each government named in the preamble and every government subsequently adhering to this treaty with a certified copy of the treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adher-

ence. It shall also be the duty of the government of . . . telegraphically to notify such governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence."

It is clear that the whole question has emerged from dialectical vagaries into the realm of practical politics.

Of course, there are difficulties which might be raised should one wish to hunt only for difficulties. It is easy to pile up difficulties in the way of any achievement.

France was willing, we hope, to join with the United States in submitting such a proposal for the consideration of the other powers. True, France has mentioned reservations which are not mentioned in the Kellogg statement. France believes that she should not give up her rights of legitimate defense within the framework of existing treaties. She proposes to do no violence to her obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Locarno Agreement, or to her alliances with some nine other powers. We do not understand that the United States Government proposes to do away with the "rights of legitimate defense." M. Briand feels that a multilateral pact such as proposed by Mr. Kellogg is practically possible only with reservations. He grants that the proposal will become most effective when all the governments are invited to participate. He believes that any treaty which does not depend upon the security of all the States concerned would expose its signatories to certain real dangers; that, as suggested by Senator Borah, if a multilateral pact is not to become an instrument of oppression, the failure of any one signatory to observe its engagement should automatically release the other signatories from their engagements toward the defaulter. It is with these qualifications that the French statesman agreed with the United States to the submission of the draft treaty for the con-

sideration of the German, British, Italian, and Japanese governments. These French reservations are not referred to in the Kellogg Treaty or letter of transmission.

Thus there are wide differences between the American and the French positions. Mr. Kellogg rejects the French reservations. The French oppose Mr. Kellogg's plan without reservations. Mr. Kellogg proposes to renounce war as an instrument of national policy without conditions. The French reserve for themselves the right to make war under the war clauses of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the treaties of Locarno, and their treaties of alliance. Mr. Kellogg is offering a substitute for alliances. The French propose to adhere to their alliances. Mr. Kellogg proposes two things—the renunciation by the powers of war as an instrument of national policy, and the peaceful settlement of all disputes. The French would add a variety of amendments. The Kellogg proposal is that the great powers shall scrap their military alliances, the military sections of the Covenant of the League, and other commitments, for a simple, unconditional treaty to renounce war. To the logically minded French, this seems a bit too airy. The Government of France is not in any way committed to the approval of the draft treaty. And yet France has approved the transmission to the four governments of the original Briand proposal of last June and of the six notes subsequently exchanged between France and the United States. Thus six major governments of the world, with the consent of France, are in a position fully to explore the entire situation.

Speaking upon this point, Mr. Kellogg said:

"The Government of the United States attaches the very greatest importance to the negotiations which have thus been

initiated among the six powers, and it is my earnest hope that after the problem has been studied by all six powers in the light of their common desire to agree upon a practicable method for the promotion of world peace, our joint efforts may be crowned with success.

"Certainly, so far as the Government of the United States is concerned, no effort will be spared to find a solution for any technical difficulties which may arise in the course of the negotiations, and I am confident that the other governments concerned will be no less ready to do everything within their power to facilitate agreement upon the terms of an effective treaty for the renunciation of war."

Our own view is that the next important step toward the realization of this simple proposal is an international conference. The job is too big for settlement by correspondence. The business requires the carefullest study. Every government should have a special commission to carry on that study. Upon the completion of the studies, a matter we should say of at least two years, they should be referred to an international conference, where the modified Kellogg proposal could be whipped into the nature of a convention for ratification by the various governments. When ratified, the proposal would become the law for the nations that ratify it.

DISARMAMENT—ANOTHER FAILURE?

THE Geneva sessions of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament produced little more than a Laodicean interest in realities. The conference ended March 24, after some six weeks of futile fumbling with the problem. The Russian Plan for pulling disarmament out of a hat ended in revealing a red herring which, drawn across the path of events, produced only the usual results. Even Litvinoff's secondary pro-

posal of a 50 per cent reduction in the armaments of the big Powers ended in nothing but annoyance. Throughout the sessions there appeared neither hope nor dignity. The German representatives struggled to the end for a second reading of the Draft Convention, but without avail. The Commission's labors have been indefinitely postponed, an outcome apparent from the beginning. As a gesture of friendship for Germany, it was agreed that the next session be convoked, if possible, before the fifth of September, when the next sessions of the Assembly of the League will begin. Whether or not such a meeting shall be called is left with the President of the Commission, M. Loudon, the Dutch Minister to Paris.

Lord Cushendun, of the British delegation, repeated his country's proposals for further capital ship retrenchments, made at Geneva last summer. Indeed, he addressed a note to the representatives of the United States, France, Japan, and Italy, signatory Powers of the Washington Treaty, proposing on behalf of his government: First, that any battleship to be built shall be reduced in size from the present limit of 35,000 tons displacement to something under 30,000 tons; second, to reduce the size of guns from the present limit of sixteen inches to 13.5 inches; third, to extend the accepted life of existing capital ships from twenty to twenty-six years, this involving a waiver by the Powers of their full rights under the replacement basis agreed upon in Washington. These proposals did not meet with favor in the United States. It seems to be feared in our country that such changes would reopen the agreements of the Washington Conference, which, under the treaty, should not be done prior to 1931, or at least without first planning for a complete new treaty. The British proposal, if adopted, would interfere with this country's purpose to

achieve parity with Great Britain, even in capital ships, with its insistence upon its rights under the Washington Treaty. The British proposal, therefore, proved to be no more effective than the Russian.

The reason for the failure of the conference is quite simple. Among the great Powers there is little, if any, interest in the reduction of armaments. Italy does not propose to reduce her armaments in any manner whatsoever. Japan is far away and skeptical. The French are still too fearful to look with any complacency upon a further reduction of their military defenses. Indeed, the fears and jealousies among the newly created Central European Powers are not calculated to develop any genuine interest in an appreciable reduction of arms. The Powers of Europe are still relying for their security on the beneficence of guns and gas.

And yet that such a conference should be called is in itself the expression of the fact that the world-wide opposition to war persists. Faith in a new, informed, and creative public will still lives. The call to remove frictions is world-wide and clearly audible. Capital ships are especially absurd and costly toys. The question of parity, agreed to at the Washington Conference, is no sane reason for friction. Since England insists upon her rights to seize and search neutral vessels, since she is opposed to the freedom of the seas as set forth in number two of President Wilson's "fourteen points," it would appear to be the course of common sense for Great Britain and the United States, at least, to go about the business of mutually establishing a more definite system of laws for the seas. England feels that she must protect her commerce in war time. Other nations, including our own, hold similar views for themselves. The Covenant of the League of Nations provides, under certain circumstances, for the blockade of ports. It is doubtful that our own doctrine of the freedom of the

seas can be made to conform at all points with our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. But these difficulties are only evidences of the supreme importance of revising our laws of the seas. Mutual interests and agreements are the substantive elements in the case. The will to make use of these elements, intelligently, constructively, need not wait upon popular approval. That popular approval is already the outstanding fact of our otherwise bewildered world.

CRUELTY

CRUELTY, discussed interestingly elsewhere in these columns, is evidently an almost exclusively human thing. The cat playing with the mouse is no more cruel than when playing with a spool. Brutes are not cruel. Cruelty requires a degree of imagination forbidden to the animals below man. Only man chases to the death other animals for the pleasure alone. In spite of Montaigne's view that "the extremist of all vices is cruelty," and of Schopenhauer's that "every other offense we can pardon, but not cruelty," it is only us human animals who take pleasure in cruelty.

It would be interesting to know why. Cruelty usually seems to be associated with anger, which expresses itself in the fight. Revenge, said to be practiced by some animals, such as the elephant, is, however, almost exclusively a human form of pleasure ending in cruelty. Cruelty seems to mean a lack of sympathy, for sympathetic people can imagine the feelings of others and recoil at cruelty, except possibly when in rage. Where imagination and sympathy are sufficiently lacking, we have the fearless, the pitiless, the shameless types of cruelty, ending in the more serious forms of crime.

Mr. Henry W. Mevison has recently written an article for the *Baltimore Sun*,

in which he protests against "the modern British habit of taking pleasure in cruelty." He resents animal baiting simply for the pleasure of witnessing the agony of the animal, and concludes: "I cannot doubt that deer hunting and fox hunting with hounds will in a short time be regarded by princes and leaders of fashion as equally degrading."

Our interest in the problem is due to our suspicion that cruelty has a relation to the problems of war and peace. Wendell Phillips, in his oration on "Toussaint l'Ouverture," delivered back in 1861, charged that "aristocracy is always cruel." Cruelty is a manifestation of power, and power is an attribute of success. Nations desire success in their undertakings, and create power with which to achieve their ends. If threatened by other powers, national groups may easily become cruel. The lower orders of animals follow their instincts and meet their problems without resort to cruelty. For us human beings, success is the goal of life. We are dominated by our desires for it and by our fears of failure. Hence we glorify power and influence, necessary attributes of success. Thus an aristocracy or a dictatorship in any form may display itself in cruelty.

We human beings seem to be free to choose good or evil. When we have achieved power, it is easy to give way to our ambition, to develop disdain, to stoop to various forms of cruelty. Only man depends upon success as the measure of his happiness. Hence cruelty, in its stricter forms, is almost exclusively human.

Here, surely, is a field for the social psychologists. The hope in the situation is that human beings can analyze their forms of psychoses and ameliorate them. When Lord Bacon remarked that "the nobler a man is, the more compassion he hath," he himself was an illustration of the hopeful thing in man.

THE DISTRESS IN CHINA

THE inevitable cry for help for the stricken people of China is at last very audible. Three years of drought, prolonged civil war, and anarchy in government has made necessary a "China International Famine Relief Commission," with headquarters in Peking. A National China Famine Relief Committee is being organized in our country, with the view of developing a nation-wide ten-week campaign to obtain the necessary relief for the suffering.

Under date of April 9 we received the following announcements:

A cable message from the Famine Relief Commission of Peking, just received by the Federal Council of Churches, New York, states that, according to reports from missionaries in the northwestern part of the Province of Shantung, appalling famine conditions prevail. The situation, which has been growing worse for many months, is now so bad that nine-tenths of the population are reported to be eating unwholesome food substitutes. A half million people are actually starving and 4,000,000 more face similar conditions in the next two months. Deaths are increasing. Men have abandoned their homes and gone to Manchuria in search of work. Children are being offered for sale, boys of six selling, in some instances, for twelve silver dollars, the equivalent of \$5 in American currency.

Some hundreds of thousands of dollars, which have been available during the winter for carrying on relief work, are now completely exhausted; so that relief agencies find themselves without funds to carry on even the meager relief work which had been conducted by various missionaries at their own stations and by other agencies. The International Famine Relief Commission has surveyed a number of projects for road construction and river conservation in order to give employment to famine sufferers, but finds itself entirely without resources necessary to carry on this work.

Reports of famine conditions in China received by mission boards in America

indicate that in some sections famine conditions are even worse than in the great famine of 1920-21, when America raised many millions of dollars in a great relief effort. The area affected most severely is, in general, about the same as that of 1921, namely, the western part of Shantung Province and the southern part of the Province of Chili. The famine also extends into the adjoining provinces. Serious conditions are reported from Honan Province to the west and from the northern part of Kiangsu Province, which joins Shantung on the south. This last-named province is within the area controlled by the Nationalistic Government, which has recently made a grant for famine relief in northern Kiangsu to the amount of \$800,000. Few, if any, missionaries remain in the Province of Honan, according to reports at hand. Letters from Chinese Christians to church authorities here indicate that conditions in that province are "appalling in the extreme." At least two or three American mission boards having work in western Shantung have already started appeals for funds from their constituents for famine relief, to be administered by their missionaries in those territories. Cabled reports from Peking, which originate from missionary sources in northwestern Shantung, indicate that conditions there are entirely quiet, so that relief measures are altogether practical, if resources were in hand.

Germane to this situation is a letter which we have just received from Rev. H. C. G. Hallock, of Shanghai, China, dated March 15. While we are unable to reproduce here the striking cartoon of "Wu-ti," the letter will be read with no little interest.

DEAR FRIEND: Wars in China suggest sending you "Wu-ti," the Chinese god of war. He is seated. Behind is his armor-bearer. The general idea about Wu-ti is that he delights in war. That is not the Chinese idea of him. Once, a man nine feet high, he did great exploits in war, yet he is best known for his loyalty to his friends and for protecting the weak. Officials and scholars worship him as the ideal of loyalty, soldiers do it to make them brave and protect them in battle,

and the people worship him to protect them from war's horrors. He's called "Peace Bringer, Protector, Great God of Loyalty." But he makes not peace, nor protects nor makes loyal; so is a failure. He's also called "Warrior Prince." As to that name, he's a great success! There are lots of wars—South fighting North, East fighting West, and all between fighting each other—not fighting for patriotism nor from hatred of us, nor for freedom, but for money—to squeeze money from rich and poor alike. The most fighting is where the loot is richest. Reports make this war mess a real Chinese puzzle; but, keep it in mind, it's just a big scramble for money and power; then there's no puzzle about it except the puzzle as to how men can be so cruel as to bring such havoc and pain for money. But they know not Christ. We must stay and preach—not run.

Recently I have received letters from America suggesting that since "China has altogether gone to the bad and the Chinese are absolutely impossible," and since our "work among them has gone for nothing," then I should "quit and come home." I hope you don't think thus. The masses of Chinese, though reminding one of "dumb driven cattle," are still friendly as ever. The war lords, the Nationalists, the Reds, the bandits, wars and evil propaganda are disturbing elements; but they are *not* China nor the Chinese. Terrible they are; but they do not represent the Chinese and their attitude toward us. Most of our Christians have kept loyal and have stood by us in time of real danger. This is true not only of Christians, but of many heathen, too, who have helped and protected us at much risk to themselves.

The troubles in China have come from a fiercely aggressive and "noisy minority," who make the great mass of Chinese suffer untold hardships. The Chinese are not "impossible," and what Christianity has done for China during all these years has not "gone for nothing," but is planted deep in myriads of hearts of men, women, and children. What if a church is looted or burned by "Red" propagandists or by an army that has come from a thousand miles away? Does that mean that the Gospel and its love and teaching have been eradicated from the hearts of the flock

that learned of Jesus in that shattered church building? A thousand times, *no*. Shall we desert the Chinese because a comparatively few are wicked? The Chinese—the great mass of the people—hate all this war, and turmoil, and anti-Christian propaganda, and revolutions, as all good Americans hate lawbreakers. The *minority* is "brutal."

The mass are with us and long for law and order, for peace and quiet, and want the missionaries to come back and help them. The mass know that all the Red propaganda is a lie; that foreigners are not vile fiends; that the missionaries are not the "running dogs of imperialists," but are China's very best friends. Let's not judge China by its criminals and trouble-makers.

The Chinese need us and need us *badly*. Four hundred millions of down-trodden ones are calling us by their need, by their ignorance, by their ills, by their inability to assert themselves, by the cry of the lost in the dark. Let's help them. We have a precious message. We have a wonderful Savior. We have a mighty God and we have a Leader that has never lost a battle. Stay on Christ's side and we shall enter the Golden City saved by His blood, with millions of glad "prisoners" of our Lord Jesus Christ. But we must first carry the cross before we can wear the victor's crown. With best wishes,

Yours in Christ's glad service,

AS TO THE UNIVERSAL DRAFT

SINCE the establishment of adequate national defense for our country is a matter too technical for the technicians, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, in no sense qualified to settle the dispute, begs leave to subscribe a bit hesitatingly to the principle of the universal draft in case of war. During the World War practically all of us agreed to the universal draft and supported it. In case of another war, we would probably do the same thing. War requires the utmost concentration of effort and the application of every resource.

We doubt the necessity for any special legislation in time of peace providing for universal conscription in time of war. Public opinion will take care of that when the dangers of war come beating at our doors.

And yet there is a bill before the Senate and the House, known as the Capper-Johnson Bill, backed by the American Legion and designed to conscript capital and take the profit out of war. It probably states about just what will happen in case this country goes to war, whether or not the bill be passed in its present form in time of peace.

It provides that in the event of the declaration of war by Congress the President be authorized to draft into the services of the United States such member of the unorganized militia as he may deem necessary; further, that in case of war, or when the President shall judge the same to be imminent, the President shall assume full charge of the material resources and of industrial organizations; that he shall stabilize prices of services and of all commodities, whether or not such services or commodities are required by the government or by the civilian population. Such a law, if passed, would make the President the supreme dictator of our country. As a war proposition, it is coolly but perfectly logical.

France has already adopted substantially such a program. In case of an attack on France, men and material resources are immediately mobilized. The French purpose is to distribute equitably the burdens of war, place the whole male population at the government command, and to prevent profiteering. The government has complete power to requisition, in time of war, personal services of its citizens, their inventions, their property. The French evidently are convinced of the desirability of placing the entire resources of the nation in the hands of the authori-

ties in time of war. They believe that this will tend to militate against war, because every citizen will have a personal interest in the preservation of peace.

If we were to be held responsible for the conduct of a war by our country, we should favor a universal conscription of all our national resources and a law Mussolini-izing us to the limit. With the perfection of killing technique familiar now to all nations, there is no other thinkable course. War can be carried on only by despots.

COSME DE LA TORRIENTE, one of the speakers for "Neighbors' Day," Wednesday, May 9, of the Cleveland Conference, has had an unusual experience. Born in the Province of Matanzas, Cuba, June 27, 1872, he is a graduate of the University of Havana. While studying for his doctor's degree in law, he joined the revolutionary forces, leaving the service, after the defeat of Spain, with the rank of colonel. It is told of Dr. de la Torriente that when he was a young recruit in the revolutionary army a group of his companions were discussing what they would like to be, once their island was free. One wanted to be the mayor of his home town, another the governor of his native province, another a member of Congress, another a judge. Finally they turned to young Torriente, who said: "I would like to be the plenipotentiary who shall sign the first treaty between Cuba and Spain." On October 26, 1905, the young colonel signed in Madrid, as Cuba's Minister to Spain, the first treaty between the two nations. Dr. de la Torriente was the founder and is now the honorary president of the Conservative Party of Cuba. He has been Commissioner of Civil Service and Secretary of State. As member of the Cuban Senate, he served as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He was president of the commission to redraft the Cuban

Constitution and president of the National Commission on Banking Legislation. He was the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Cuba to the United States. In the Third Assembly of the League of Nations he was chairman of the Third Committee, having to do with the reduction of armaments, and Vice-President of the Assembly. He was President of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations. He is a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. He possesses the following orders:

Gold medal of the Veterans of Cuban Independence; grand medal of the Order of Honor and Merit of the Cuban Red Cross; grand cross of the Order of Isabelle the Catholic, of Spain; grand cross of the Order of Christ, of Portugal; grand cross of honor of the Red Cross of Portugal; medal of the first class of the Order of Merit, of Chile; Order of the Crown, of Belgium; Order of the Crown, of Italy; Order of George I, of Greece; Grand Officer of the Order of the Polar Star, of Sweden; Commander of the Legion of Honor of France, and Order of the Liberator, of Venezuela.

THE Sixth International Conference of American States will be remembered primarily because there, for the first time in any international conference, obligatory arbitration of juridical disputes was advocated and adopted without reservations. It was agreed that a conference on arbitration and conciliation shall be held in Washington within a year to give conventional form to this principle. A joint resolution is now before the Congress, requesting the President to extend to the republics of America an invitation to attend such a conference, to be held in Washington during 1928 or 1929, for the purpose of drawing up a convention for the realization of the

principle of arbitration for the pacific settlement of their international differences of a juridical nature, and appropriating \$60,000 for the expenses of such a conference.

THE Doll Messengers of Friendship, exchanged between this country and Japan, aroused so much interest that the Committee on World Friendship among the Children for the Federal Council of Churches is now carrying on a similar enterprise in the interest of good will with Mexico. Friendship School Bags have been chosen for the expression of friendliness, because of the renewed interest in popular education throughout Mexico. We were privileged recently to see one of these bags. They are durable, embossed, and in three colors. Many of them are being filled with serviceable and appropriate gifts. They are being sent to the Department of Education of Mexico for distribution among primary school children on Mexico's Independence Day, which falls on the 16th of September. In each bag there is a letter of introduction, pictures of two of Mexico's heroes, of our Washington and Lincoln, and also of Colonel Lindbergh. Letters telling of school life and the like are to be exchanged, linking in no small way the children of the two nations in friendship.

THE Gillett resolution calls attention to the fact that the United States on January 27, 1926, by a vote of 76 to 17, gave its advice and consent to the adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, upon certain conditions and certain reservations; and to the further fact that the powers in transmitting their replies referred to "such further exchange of views as the Government of the United States may think useful." The resolution reads:

"Resolved, That the Senate of the United States respectfully suggests to the President the advisability of a further exchange of views with the signatory States in order to establish whether the differences between the United States and the signatory States can be satisfactorily adjusted."

Congressman Tinkham, of Massachusetts, according to the press, is of the opinion that the original action of the Senate favoring adherence to the court was under false pretenses, and that it should therefore be withdrawn. The recent discussion in the Senate over the Gillett resolution comes so nearly representing what we conceive to be public opinion upon the matter that we are running the discussion in full elsewhere in these columns.

THE American Arbitration Association is conducting experiments in the establishment of American Foundations for International Peace of special interest to the American Peace Society. One of these is the practice of arbitration in commercial relations. The association aims to ascertain whether or not it is possible to organize a peace system about a given commodity by attaching at every point of its transfer a guarantee against the dispute becoming the basis of litigation or excuse for war. The association aims to keep disputes out of our foreign offices by a system of self-regulation by business. A second experiment is the establishment throughout the United States of a system of commercial peace offices. These men are appointed from a national panel of arbitrators. They stand ready at any time to arbitrate a dispute within their community, with the view of preventing it from extending and infecting larger areas of good will and co-operation. These arbitrators serve without compensation on an honorary basis as a public service. There are already more

than two thousand bankers, lawyers, accountants, manufacturers, merchants, men in every calling, serving on this national panel in several hundred industrial centers of the country. These men operate under a central system, with standard rules and practices, thereby giving stability and cohesion to the plan. These two interesting experiments in very practical fields will be followed with the greatest of interest, especially by the Commission on the International Implications of Industry at the World Conference in Cleveland.

IT IS hoped that our troubles with Mexico over the matter of oil, lasting through a decade, are at last ended. When in 1917 the Mexican people turned to the conservation of their resources in oil they provided for the naturalization of such resources. It was feared by the investors that this might mean the naturalization of their interests; that, if so, the new legislation was retroactive and confiscatory. Indeed, Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, as interpreted in laws and regulations, required that every foreign oil operator should surrender his title in favor of a government concession running for fifty years. The Mexican position was that land which had not been operated, even though the title had been acquired prior to 1917, should revert to the Government of Mexico. This looked like a form of *ex post facto* legislation and was accordingly seriously objected to by the United States. Last November the Supreme Court of Mexico handed down a decision invalidating the fifty-year time limit, and in January of this year the Mexican Congress struck out the time limit altogether. On March 27 the Mexican President signed regulations by which title holders are secure for unlimited period of time. The United States agrees that titles may be confirmed by concessions, and that these concessions can ap-

ply only to lands upon which developments have begun. The United States accepts the Mexican view in regard to the local laws under which American rights were originally acquired. It is evident

that the United States is concerned to cooperate not only with Mexico, but with all Latin American States in their attempts to protect themselves against the inroads of foreign injustice.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

DISARMAMENT WORK AT GENEVA

THE Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, created in 1925 by the League of Nations Assembly, held its fifth session at Geneva on March 15-24. It was a stormy session, unproductive of any positive results. Yet the discussion which took place during its eleven public meetings brought out many important points and indicated some of the difficulties, mostly of the Commission's own making, which handicap it in its work. Twenty-four nations were represented at the session, twenty-one League members and three nonmembers. Of the latter, the United States has been represented on the Commission from the very start, the Soviet Union only since the fourth session, held last autumn, and Turkey for the first time. Just before the session, from February 20 to March 7, the Committee on Arbitration and Security held its second session, and the results of its work were presented to the Preparatory Commission as the first item of its agenda, the other two items being the discussion of the Soviet proposal for immediate and complete disarmament and the second reading of the Commission's own draft convention for the reduction of armaments.

Security and Disarmament

The Preparatory Commission's report to the 1927 League Assembly brought out the important point that it is impossible to discuss the reduction of material armaments in the absence of a greater degree of political disarmament than there exists at the present time. After prolonged

discussion in the Third (Disarmament) Commission of the Assembly, the latter, by its Resolutions IV and V, passed September 26, 1927, instructed the Preparatory Commission to turn its attention to the question of arbitration, conciliation, and security, and empowered it to set up for this purpose a special Committee on Arbitration and Security.

This committee was created by the Preparatory Commission on November 30, 1927, and took for its task an examination of the whole question of security, including the articles of the League Covenant relating to this question. On the basis of the special reports prepared by its rapporteurs, the committee's drafting committee drew up the following documents:

- (1) A model general convention for the pacific settlement of all international disputes;
- (2) A model general convention relating to judicial settlement, arbitration, and conciliation;
- (3) A model general conciliation convention;
- (4) A model treaty of mutual assistance;
- (5) A model collective treaty relating to nonaggression;
- (6) A model bilateral treaty of the same type.

These documents were discussed at the second (February-March) session of the committee and were referred for their second reading to the third session, which the committee's chairman, Dr. Benesh, was authorized to call not later than the end of June, 1928. They were also submitted to the Preparatory Commission as part of the committee's report, together with the explanation that the committee

had decided to proceed on the principle that security and disarmament are parallel processes, and that reduction of armaments is possible only by stages corresponding to those of the perfection of the machinery of security.

Conventions for Security and Pacific Settlement of International Disputes

Following are the salient features of the committee's three draft conventions on arbitration and conciliation:

Convention A.—The structure of Convention A is as follows:

1. Disputes of a legal nature are submitted compulsorily to a judicial or arbitral settlement and optionally to a preliminary procedure of conciliation.

If the parties do not decide to resort to a special tribunal, or, having decided to resort thereto, fail to agree on the terms of the special agreement (*compromis*), the dispute is brought, by means of an application, before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

2. Disputes of a nonlegal nature are submitted compulsorily to a procedure of conciliation.

In the event of the failure of conciliation, the dispute must be brought before an arbitral tribunal composed of five members.

If the parties fail to agree regarding the selection of the members of the tribunal to be appointed jointly, or if they fail to choose the members whom they must appoint severally, the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations will make the necessary appointments.

Convention B.—Convention B is conceived on the same lines as the arbitration and conciliation conventions concluded at Locarno.

1. Disputes of a legal nature are brought before the Permanent Court of International Justice unless the parties agree to have recourse to an arbitral tribunal. The rules are the same as in Convention A.

2. Disputes of a nonlegal nature are submitted simply to a procedure of conciliation. If this fails they may be brought before the Council of the League of Nations under Article 15 of the Covenant.

Convention C.—The committee has considered that there are very few States which, finding it impossible to accept the general or restricted obligations to submit to arbi-

tration and judicial settlement contained in Conventions A and B, would refuse to accept Convention C, which simply provides for conciliation procedure.

The composition, mode of operation, and duties of the Conciliation Commission laid down by the convention are in general reproduced from the provisions in the Locarno treaties of arbitration and conciliation. The only change is that greater latitude has been granted to the parties; in particular, it is stipulated that the Conciliation Commission may be permanent or specially constituted. These provisions are the same in all three conventions.

The treaty on mutual assistance is drawn up along the lines of the Rhine Pact of Locarno, but differs from the latter in the following two respects: (a) it contains no clause guaranteeing the maintenance of the territorial *status quo*, and (b) it provides for no guarantee by third States. The treaties of nonaggression are designed for "States anxious to obtain better guarantees of security, but unwilling, for some reason or another, to bind themselves by a treaty of mutual assistance."

First Soviet Proposal

The second item on the agenda of the Preparatory Commission's session was the discussion of the Soviet proposal for immediate and complete disarmament. This proposal, which was first placed before the Commission at its fourth session (November-December, 1927) merely in the form of a declaration, appeared before the fifth session clothed in the dignity of a draft convention, copies of which were distributed to the members of the Commission a month before the opening of the fifth session.

The debate on the Soviet draft convention took several days and aroused a great deal of passion. Almost every delegate took part in it, and when the flow of oratory ceased it was clear that the Turkish delegation was the only one that was prepared to support the Soviet proposal. All the other delegations were opposed to it, with the German delegation occupying a somewhat neutral position. The debate was characterized by several interesting incidents. M. Politis, for example, carried his legalistic logic to so high a pitch that he lost control of it and

proved conclusively that the very idea of total disarmament was contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations. Lord Cushendun, the head of the British delegation, in the course of his, on the whole, able and eloquent criticism of the Soviet plan, imprudently ventured into the dangerous field of "ulterior motives," thereby bringing on his head a mercilessly scathing attack, delivered by M. Litvinov, the head of the Soviet delegation.

The burden of the criticism against the Soviet proposal was that it did not really provide for total disarmament, since its provisions for armed police forces, numerically proportionate to population, length of means of transportation, etc., still left all the nations capable of engaging in warfare. Moreover, it failed to set up any effective provisions for the maintenance of peace. And, thirdly—this was the most business-like criticism—it went entirely outside the Commission's terms of reference.

The Soviet draft was rejected by an overwhelming majority,

Second Soviet Proposal

Having failed with his draft convention for "general, complex, and immediate" disarmament, M. Litvinov proposed an alternate convention, this time dealing with the subject of reduction of armament. This second Soviet proposal, while conforming to the Commission's terms of reference, was brought in literally at the "eleventh hour." It was introduced while the Commission already had before it a resolution for adjournment, and its consideration, after an exchange of pleasantries, was postponed until the next session of the Commission.

The principal provisions of the second Soviet proposal are as follows:

All countries are placed in four categories. Category A includes States with land forces in excess of 200,000 men, and these States are required to reduce their forces by one-half. Category B includes States with armies of over 40,000 men, which are to be reduced by one-third. Category C includes States with armies inferior to 40,000 men each, and these are to be reduced by one-quarter. The figures in Category D (countries disarmed after the war) are to be fixed by the Disarma-

ment Conference. The convention requires the retention of the patterns of land armaments existing on January 1, 1928, except tanks and heavy artillery of long range. It also requires the destruction of all implements of war likely to be directed primarily against civil population.

In regard to naval armaments the Soviet proposes a reduction by one-half of all navies whose aggregate tonnage exceeds 200,000. Smaller navies are required to reduce their tonnage by one-quarter. An age limit for replacement purposes of 25 years is suggested for capital ships and cruisers of over 10,000 tons; 20 years for smaller cruisers, destroyers, and torpedo-boats, and 15 years for submarines. No warship shall carry guns of greater caliber than 12 inches, or be fitted with appliances for the carrying of aircraft. No cruiser in excess of 10,000 tons may carry a gun of greater caliber than 8 inches. The quantity of shells and torpedoes is limited. Air armaments have to be reduced in the first year also in accordance with the size of existing air forces. A State having more than 200 military aeroplanes must reduce its number by one-half; a State having over 100 by one-third, or fewer than 100 by one-quarter.

For the control of the scheme the Soviet delegation proposes a permanent international commission, consisting of an equal number of representatives of the legislative bodies and of the trade unions or other workmen's organizations. Former regular soldiers and large shareholders in banks interested in armaments may not be on this commission.

Second Reading of the Commission's Draft Convention

The third item on the agenda was the second reading of the Commission's draft convention. This convention was drawn up during the third (March-April, 1927) session of the Commission. Its text is based on the draft conventions proposed at that session by Lord Robert Cecil and M. Paul-Boncour and the proposals made by other delegates in the course of the discussion.

The text of the draft convention, as it emerged from the discussion that occupied the Commission during the thirty-nine

meetings of its third session, is a truly remarkable document. The Commission could not agree on anything even approaching a single text. Of the preamble and 46 articles of the convention, only 15 articles were agreed upon. The preamble and six of the remaining articles contain two or three parallel texts, while 10 of the articles, each sponsored by some one delegation, were definitely objected to by two or more other delegations. In addition to this, the text of the draft convention bears 52 formal reservations.

A year ago this amazing text was submitted to the various governments concerned, in the hope that through consultation among themselves they might be able to reconcile the differences of views embodied in the reservation, objections, and parallel texts. At the fifth session it became perfectly apparent, from private exchange of views among the delegates, that no such reconciliation had taken place during the twelve months. Opinion was, therefore, freely expressed to the effect that the second reading at this time would be an idle procedure, and the question was raised as to the advisability of postponing this second reading again. The German and the Soviet delegations alone opposed the postponement, and the Commission speedily decided in favor of it.

Intergovernmental Consultations

In the course of the discussion on the question of the second reading, Count Clauzel, head of the French delegation, stated that some intergovernmental consultations with regard to the draft convention are in progress at the present time. He said:

I am glad to inform you that while this political discussion has been going on our technical experts have had some leisure which they have turned to very good account. They have had some very useful conversations with one another, which have enabled them to make progress with regard to some very delicate questions which were only partly settled at the previous meetings and which it was desirable to settle in a final manner. The one condition of success is that these conversations should be carried on, not only between technical experts, but between governments as well, and I am glad to say

we are very far advanced in this path, and we do not anticipate there will be any very great delay before we are able to present you with some most satisfactory results.

Lord Cushendun, on behalf of the British delegation, confirmed Count Clauzel's statement.

On the other hand, General de Marinis, head of the Italian delegation, poured a considerable amount of cold water on the hopes of a speedy agreement on the subject held out by Count Clauzel's and Lord Cushendun's statements. He said that, as far as he was aware, the Italian Government knows nothing of any such consultations, and since Italy had made a large number of reservations (10 formal and a great many informal ones), as far as she is concerned the governments are as far from agreement as they ever were.

While it has not been definitely stated, it is understood that the negotiations referred to by the French and the British delegates are between their respective governments on the subject of their difference of opinion as to whether tonnage or number should constitute the basis for measuring naval forces. This was the question on which the United States and Great Britain disagreed during the last naval conference at Geneva.

Date of the Commission's Next Session

The question of how near or how far the governments are from agreement on the draft convention played an important rôle in the discussion as to when the next session of the Commission should take place. There were two points of view. One, sponsored particularly by Mr. Gibson, head of our delegation, Lord Cushendun, and General de Marinis, was that the Commission should adjourn without naming any definite date for its next session, authorizing its President to fix this date whenever in his opinion there will be sufficient reason to believe that the second reading can be undertaken successfully—in other words, when, according to his information, the governments will have reached some agreement. The other, urged by Count Clauzel and several other delegates, was that the fixing of the date should be left to the President, but with the proviso that it shall not be later than the next League Assembly.

The resolution on the subject was drafted along the lines of the second view. Its adoption, however, was prevented by an energetic and somewhat angry intervention on the part of Mr. Gibson; whereupon the proviso was amended to read, "and, if possible, before the next session of the Assembly."

The Commission thus adjourned indefinitely.

Count Bernstorff's Proposal

The most vehement opposition to an indefinite adjournment came from Count Bernstorff, head of the German delegation. In several speeches he deprecated the slow progress made by the Commission and urged that the governments be speeded up in their consultations by the fixing of a definite date for the second reading and by means of strong representations on the subject made by the respective delegations. Failing in obtaining action along these lines, he proposed the following resolution:

The Preparatory Disarmament Commission, convinced that the general interests of peace demand that an initial step on the path of disarmament should be taken as soon as is possible, having regard to the present conditions of regional and general security; considering that the preparatory technical work for a first step on the road to disarmament is sufficiently advanced for it now to be possible to summon a general disarmament conference capable before all else of settling those predominantly political questions which, in the present situation, must precede any initial step towards the realization of the idea of disarmament; recalling that the assemblies of 1926 and 1927 urged that such a conference should be held as soon as possible, requests the Council at its next session to fix for the first general disarmament conference a date as early as possible after the ninth session of the Assembly, and at the same time to invite the various governments to participate in the conference.

The Preparatory Disarmament Commission will be ready to place at the disposal of the conference all the documentation which it has so far prepared, together with any further material which may be received in sufficient time.

After a short discussion, Count Bernstorff's resolution was rejected by the Commission.

Weak Spot of the Commission's Work

While Count Bernstorff's resolution was rejected by the Commission, there seems little doubt that in it he laid his finger on the really weak spot of the Commission's work. The instructions to the Commission were to "prepare" the disarmament conference. This meant that it was to draw up a program for the conference, collect the necessary technical materials, and suggest the date for which the conference should be convoked. In interpreting these instructions, the Commission, under the inspiration of Lord Robert Cecil, decided to include a draft convention for the reduction of armaments in the materials presented to the conference. The difficulties now confronting the Commission proceed directly from this action.

A convention of the kind that Lord Robert Cecil contemplated and the Commission has been trying in vain to draft has to be negotiated. And the Commission was not set up for the purpose of any such negotiations. That is the task of the conference itself. The length of time which the Commission will take up in "preparing" the conference will now depend on how soon it decides to abandon its present ambitious undertaking—its desire to confront the conference with an already negotiated convention—and will resume the more modest task for which it was originally created.

POLISH-LITHUANIAN NEGOTIATIONS

ON MARCH 30 a Polish-Lithuanian conference opened in the east Prussian city of Königsberg, under the chairmanship of the Lithuanian Prime Minister, M. Valdemaras. The conference was the outcome of the discussion of the differences between Poland and Lithuania, which took place in Geneva last autumn. That discussion ended in a declaration to the effect that the state of war, which had existed between the two countries ever

since the Polish occupation of the Vilna district several years ago, was ended. The Koenigsberg conference was an attempt to regularize the relations between the two Baltic countries.

Exchange of Written Proposals

Most of the important work of the conference was done in private sessions. At the first of these sessions, held on the opening day of the conference, it was agreed that written proposals were to be exchanged between the two delegations. Accordingly, the Polish delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Zaleski, transmitted three draft conventions, one for establishing postal and telegraph services between the two countries, another for opening railway communications, and a third providing for local traffic by road. The word "frontier" had been omitted from all with the express purpose of sparing Lithuanian susceptibilities. The local traffic convention mentions only a "ligne douanière" and the railway and postal conventions specify only railway stations and towns between which the respective services might operate.

The Lithuanians made no proposals themselves, but forwarded a written demand for an indemnity of \$10,000,000 on account of damages suffered through the Polish occupation of Vilna. They did not state what the damages were or how they arrived at their estimate. The Poles sent a written reply, stating that they would give the Lithuanian demand due consideration, but reserved for themselves the right to lodge a counterclaim for damages resulting from a Lithuanian breach of neutrality during the Polish Bolshevik war and from other Lithuanian acts of violence. They implied that if the question was entered into at all, it would stand on the same footing as the three draft conventions and must consequently be submitted like other items on the agenda to examination by a committee of experts.

Two days later the Lithuanians sent three notes to the Polish delegation. In the first the Poles were asked to submit a draft convention to govern the floating of timber on the River Niemen; in the second they were told that the Lithuanians' demand for an indemnity must be kept rigidly separate from "questionable"

counterclaims; in the third they were accused of conspiring through Lithuanian political refugees, a handful of whom are concentrated at Lida, near Vilna, to encompass the violent overthrow of M. Valdemaras's Government, and were asked to demilitarize the frontier zone.

Lithuanian Accusations Against Poland

At a public session, held on April 2, with which the conference closed, M. Valdemaras delivered a long speech, in which he surveyed the whole of the Vilna litigation. He remarked, in passing, that the League of Nations, unlike the medieval Popes, had no right to grant absolute exemption from promises or recognizing the annexation of Vilna.

The Polish delegation, he said, had excluded the expressions "frontier" and "demarcation line" from its draft conventions for railway, postal, and local road traffic. With the intention of minimizing difficulties, it had used the expression "ligne douanière," but that did not offer a solution. "Ligne douanière," in international usage, coincides with territorial frontiers. If he agreed to such a line, he would acknowledge that there was Polish customs territory on the other side—in other words, that Vilna was Polish. The projected Polish-Lithuanian customs line is identical with the frontier claimed by the Poles. He had the impression that the Poles were trying to induce him to consent to a final settlement disguised beneath their draft conventions.

M. Valdemaras went on to explain that his objections were bound up with the question of Lithuanian security. He was in possession of evidence that irregular bands of Lithuanian refugees were plotting against the government on Polish territory. He had received a telegram that morning reporting that one such band, estimated to comprise 40 persons, had opened machine-gun fire across the demarcation line last night at a place in the neighborhood of Troki. The Polish Government might reply that it was not responsible for these bands, but if the frontier were opened to traffic they would be able to come to Kovno and prosecute there their criminal conspiracies against him. Refugees had been housed in barracks at Lida, near Vilna, and clothed in

military uniforms which were nearly, though not quite, Lithuanian.

He could not proceed further with projects of opening communications until this matter of security had been settled. Great Britain had broken off relations with the Soviet Union only on account of hostile propaganda. Every project which left the problem of security untouched was regarded by Lithuanians as a means of enabling the Poles to absorb them. He required more than verbal assurances, although the proposal of a non-aggression treaty, which he understood might be made to him, would receive his careful attention.

M. Zaleski's reply to this philippic was rather conciliatory, and the conference proceeded to its order of the day, which was concerned primarily with the setting up of mixed commissions which are to study specific questions and with the fixing of the dates on which these commissions should meet.

Three Commissions Set Up

Three mixed commissions were set up by the conference to deal, the first with economic subjects and communications, the second with security and indemnities, and the third with local traffic by road and legal questions connected with the issue of identity cards and travelers' permits to reside.

M. Zaleski proposed that the places and dates for the first meeting of the commissions be fixed before the adjournment of the conference. M. Valdemaras demurred to this proposal, but in the end he agreed that the six principal delegates should meet in Berlin on April 20. It was also agreed that one commission might sit eventually in Kovno, a second in Warsaw, and a third probably in Berlin, where M. Sidzikauskas, who was appointed to one of them, is the Lithuanian Minister.

The substantial result of the conference is that the two governments remain in contact, and the search for the formulas of a voluntary agreement can consequently proceed.

END OF THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

ON MARCH 17 the French Chamber of Deputies was formally declared adjourned until June 1. This adjournment virtually coincided with the expiration of the four-year period for which the present Chamber was elected in May, 1924, and the Chamber which will reassemble on June 1 will be composed of the deputies chosen at the election held on April 22.

The Chamber's Record

The Chamber which has just come to an end began its existence under the domination of the Left parties, but ended its term under the control of the National Union. Although it has to its credit a rather remarkable record of legislative results, it really began its successes only after a series of failures that at one time threatened the very foundations of parliamentary government in France. It began well with M. Herriot's success in the settlement of the reparation problem by the adoption of the London Agreement embodying the Dawes Plan, and it saw the gradual liquidation of the Ruhr affair. But parallel with this it witnessed a series of political gestures which reacted on public confidence in such a manner that the sick finances of France went from bad to worse, and from worse to the verge of catastrophe. The real work of the legislature began when, after a succession of cabinets which did little more than create ex-ministers in large numbers, the National Union was formed to save France from impending ruin. The bulk of the legislation achieved, therefore, dates from July, 1926.

The principal work of the Chamber during this period had been the reform of the finances, including the balancing of the budget, the consolidation of debt, the virtual stabilization of the franc exchange, and the restoration of the gold reserve, the way being thereby paved for legal stabilization in the near future. But the Chamber also ratified a series of commercial treaties destined to change the face of European political relations, it ratified the Locarno Agreements, and it ratified other instruments of arbitration

and conciliation which represent France's share of the organization of peace. It shaped the reorganization of the army and remodeled the navy, and it passed a series of measures to foster, by subsidies and otherwise, a large mercantile marine. It disposed of the law for social insurance and a further housing law. It created new State monopolies in oil, the cinema and wireless, and it took a firm stand against the encroachments of communism.

It left to the next Chamber important unfinished tasks with regard to taxation reform, agriculture, and the colonies, as well as many tangles which will undoubtedly arise out of the mass of very hastily passed legislation during the last few weeks of its life.

Provisions for Army Reorganization

One of the important measures passed by the Chamber shortly before the end of its term was the legislation dealing with army reorganization. Under the provisions of this law, the French soldier is to be taught only those things which will be required of him in time of war. The period of service is reduced to one year, which makes the standing army much smaller than heretofore. Therefore, all guard duties are to be performed by the long-service gendarmerie, which is to be increased for this purpose by 15,000 men. All fatigues, clerking, laborers' jobs, and auxiliary duties in barracks are to be performed by civilians, of whom there will be attached to the army in all some 46,000. The professional army of re-engaged N.C.O.s and other ranks is to number 106,000, and they are to form the *cadres* upon which the reserves would be formed in time of war.

The yield of a year's class on the present basis of the population at 21 years is 240,000 to 250,000. Taken at the lower figure, the two together represent a peacetime army of 346,000, to which must be added an oversea army of 184,000, bringing the total up to 530,000 men. Provision has been made for the retention of a class for six months longer in certain circumstances, which might conceivably bring the standing army up to 770,000. But the yearly class will be diminishing in

numbers for some years to come. The war-time decline in the birth rate will begin to tell. The classes of the war years which will be called up between 1935 and 1937 will number about 105,000, and these will affect not only the standing army in those years, but also the mobilized strength for some years afterwards. The military strength of France will then be weaker, though every available man be summoned to the colors.

General Organization in Time of War

As part of the reorganization of the army, a law has also been passed for the general organization of the whole country in time of war. It is something like the Hindenburg scheme of 1917, which never came properly into force, and goes much farther in the conscription of the whole nation than did any British national service scheme. Roughly, it provides for the mobilization of all the men and all the material resources of the country in the event of war or the threat of aggression, whether in the direct interests of France or in co-operation with the League of Nations. The original scheme proposed the inclusion of women, but this was dropped at the instigation of the Senate. The individual is to have no voice as to how he is employed and he may be used for national defense or for requisitioned work.

The government is given wide powers of requisitioning as to personal service, inventions, material, manufactures, and property, on all of which a census is to be taken in peace time. No profit as between the individual and the State in time of war is to be allowed. A national defense council is to co-ordinate the economic side of war-making, supported by a central committee of employers and labor, working through district committees. The whole is to be subordinated to the chief command of the army (similar measures have been arranged for the navy), which is responsible to the government for carrying out the objects to be attained in the war.

DISSOLUTION OF THE REICHSTAG

ON MARCH 31 the German Parliament was dissolved by presidential decree, six months before the expiration of the four-year term for which it had been elected in 1924. Thus the third Reichstag of the German Republic came to its premature end.

The events of the past few weeks had made it really useless as an instrument of parliamentary government, since the sharpening of factional differences had made it impossible to form a majority to support any cabinet that might have been formed. When this became apparent the parties began to toy with the idea of dissolution and of new elections, but acceded to the request of President Hindenburg that the Reichstag remain in session at least until after the passage of the budget and of several other pieces of pressing legislation. With the adoption of the budget on March 30, the Reichstag had disposed of this legislation and on the following day the dissolution ceremony took place.

A Parliament of Compromises

The third Reichstag was truly a parliament of compromises, often of mere make-shifts. It undoubtedly left undone much that it might have done, but on the whole its work was by no means sterile. It contributed its due share to the development of the Republic. The third Reichstag, elected on December 7, 1924, was the first to have a real chance to effect the consolidation of the new State by solid legislation. Its birth almost coincided with the beginning of Field Marshal von Hindenburg's term of office as President, and under his guidance the intervening 3½ years have brought unmistakable progress towards the consolidation not only of a bourgeois Republic, but of Germany's international position.

In the third Reichstag, for the first time, the Socialists, who had done so much to make the Republic, were not represented in a single cabinet, although they were able to play a constructive part in the legislation of two minority governments which were partly dependent on their good will. During the 3½ years there have been four cabinets under two

chancellors. During the life of the first Republican Reichstag there were five chancellors. After 1924 German political life settled down to a sort of routine involving a cabinet crisis every winter.

GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT

WITH the appointment on March 17 of a new Egyptian Cabinet to take the place of the one which went out of office because of the resignation of Prime Minister Sarwat Pasha, the correspondence between the British and the Egyptian governments was again resumed. The reader will recall, from the account of the Anglo-Egyptian crisis given in last month's issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, that Sarwat Pasha's resignation came as a result of the rejection by the Egyptian Parliament of the treaty which he had negotiated with Sir Austin Chamberlain. In an *aide-memoire*, addressed to the High Commissioner on March 4, the outgoing Prime Minister informed the British Government of the Parliament's decision. Three days later the British Government addressed a reply to the Egyptian Government, but to this communication no formal reply was given until after the new cabinet had taken office.

New Egyptian Cabinet and Its Policy

The new cabinet was formed by Mustapha Pasha Nahas, the leader of the Wafd (Nationalist) Party, which constitutes the majority of the Chamber of Deputies. It is composed as follows:

Mustapha Pasha Nahas, Prime Minister and Interior; Wassif Pasha Ghaly, Foreign Affairs; *Mohammed Pasha Mahmud, Finance; *Gaafar Pasha Waly, War; *Ali Pasha El Shamsy, Education; Ahmed Pasha Khashaba, Justice; *Neguib Pasha Gharably, Wakfs; Mohammed Pasha Safwat, Agriculture; William Makram Bey Ebeid, Communications; Ibrahim Bey Fahmy, Public Works.

Wassif Pasha Ghaly, who had the same portfolio in Zaghul Pasha's cabinets in 1924, is the son of Boutros Pasha Ghaly, the Coptic Prime Minister, who was mur-

*Held the same office in Sarwat Pasha's late cabinet.

dered in 1910. Safwat Pasha was formerly Director General of the Municipality of Alexandria. Makram Bey Ebeid is son-in-law of Morcos Pasha Hanna, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs in Sarwat Pasha's Cabinet. He is secretary of the Wafd and well known as an extremist who accompanied Zaghlul Pasha during his exile to the Seychelles. Ahmed Pasha Khashaba was Minister of Communications in the last cabinet.

On taking over his new duties as Prime Minister, Mustapha Pasha Nahas, in an interview with a correspondent of the London *Times*, defined his policy as follows:

It is to the interest of the two countries that there should be an entente, but the important point is its basis. The safeguarding of the interests of foreigners in general and of Great Britain in particular is not incompatible with the independence of Egypt, provided that we remain within the limit of that safeguard. Egypt has never been part of the British Empire, and the fact that she finds herself on the route to India does not mean that she is thereby deprived of her independent position. The rôles must not be inverted, and it must not be said that it is Great Britain who is the master who gives. Our independence is a natural right which belongs to us; we desire to treat with Great Britain on the same footing of equality and as friend to friend. The best safeguard for Great Britain's interests is a confident friendship and an independent and strong Egypt. Our sincere friendship is the best guarantee which Great Britain could seek.

Egyptian Reply to the British Aide-Mémoire

The new cabinet's first action was to address to the High Commissioner the following reply to the British *aide-mémoire* of March 7:

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to inform you that I have taken cognizance of the *aide-mémoire* which your Excellency delivered to my predecessor in regard to certain legislative proposals made to Parliament which you considered as probably calculated to weaken in a serious manner the power of the administrative authorities responsible for the maintenance of order and the protection of persons and property in

Egypt. After having expressed the apprehension felt by His Majesty's Government on this head, Your Excellency concluded that since the conversations between their Excellencies Sir Austen Chamberlain and Sarwat Pasha have not succeeded in attaining their object, "His Majesty's Government cannot permit the discharge of any of their responsibilities under the declaration of February 28, 1922, to be endangered whether by Egyptian legislation of the nature indicated above or by administrative action, and that they reserve the right to take such steps as in their view the situation may demand."

In reply the Egyptian Government desires first of all to express its deep regret that it has been confronted with the *aide-mémoire* of March 4, which does not correspond with its frank willingness to develop and fortify the bonds of friendship which should govern the relations between Great Britain and Egypt.

Considered from the point of view of international law, the *aide-mémoire* is an evident departure from the rules admitted in matters of diplomatic intervention which cannot, without a complete change of character, give to the intervening State a right of control over acts of the other State.

In fact, the Egyptian Government has always endeavored to convey to British subjects, as to foreigners in general, the clear impression that it watches over their security and tranquillity, and that the protection of their interests is the object of its particular solicitude. In this connection the well-defined inclinations of Parliament would make this protection an imperative duty of the Egyptian Government, if it were not itself deeply and traditionally inspired by them. The Egyptian Government, both by its declarations and its acts, has constantly given proof that foreigners can count in Egypt not only on treatment in no way inferior to that which they could find in other countries, but also on a courteous hospitality, which is one of the distinctive features of the Egyptian people.

But, independently of the foregoing, the *aide-mémoire* in question constitutes a perpetual interference with the internal conduct of Egyptian affairs, paralyzing the exercise by Parliament of its right to legislate and to control administration and rendering impossible the existence of a government

worthy of the name.

Such cannot clearly be the intention of the British Government.

For these reasons the Egyptian Government cannot admit the principle of an intervention which would be tantamount to its veritable abdication. As the government of a sovereign and independent State, it is fully conscious of the duties which devolve upon it. It intends to fulfill them strictly, and, with the help of God, to the satisfaction of all.

Restatement of British Position

The Egyptian Prime Minister's note brought from Lord Lloyd, the High Commissioner, the following reply, which is interesting alike for the firmness of its tone and the clarity with which the British position is stated:

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I duly referred to my government the note which Your Excellency addressed to me on March 30, and I am now instructed to state that His Majesty's Government cannot accept Your Excellency's note as a correct exposition of the relations existing between Great Britain and Egypt or of their respective obligations.

By the declaration of February 28, 1922, His Majesty's Government declared the independence of Egypt subject to the four reservations set out therein. His Majesty's Government accompanied the announcement of their decision to foreign powers by the statement that the welfare and integrity of Egypt are necessary to the peace and safety of the British Empire, which will therefore always maintain as an essential British interest the special relations between itself and Egypt long recognized by other governments. In calling attention to these special relations as defined in the declaration, His Majesty's Government stated that they would not admit them to be questioned or discussed by any other power; that they would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another power; and that they would consider any aggression against the territory of Egypt as an act to be repelled with all the means at their command.

In view of the responsibility thus incurred towards other powers and of the vital importance to the British Empire of British interests in Egypt, His Majesty's Govern-

ment reserved by the aforesaid declaration to their absolute discretion:

(a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt;

(b) The defense of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect;

(c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt, and the protection of minorities;

(d) The Sudan;

until such time as these matters should have been settled by agreements between the British and Egyptian governments. His Majesty's Government sought, and they believed they had found, such a settlement by the treaty which was negotiated with the late Prime Minister of Egypt.

The Egyptian Government having refused that treaty the *status quo ante* continues. The position today is therefore the same as when the Ramsay MacDonald-Zaghlul negotiations broke down, except in so far as it has been modified by the notes exchanged in November, 1924. The reserved points remain reserved to the absolute discretion of His Majesty's Government, the Egyptian Government exercising its independent authority subject to satisfying His Majesty's Government on these matters.

INTERNATIONAL ARTISTS LEAGUE

THE most important movement ever made by the artists of the world will be initiated at an international congress to be held in Brussels, June 30-July 3, at the Palais Mondiale. The various existent artists' groups will federate to form the International Artists' League and to frame an international constitution, thereby establishing them in their due place as a powerful force in the social order and enabling them to demonstrate their economic and social value to the entire world. The following charter has been drawn up:

The economic situation having made it necessary for men to unite in socially conscious groups, the Artists' League has been formed to co-operate with other international organizations for the advancement of constructive efforts towards peace and for the protection of creative labor.

Art has been greatest when it has best

served human needs. We desire to extend the usefulness of the artist, and, by combining with scientific, educational, and labor forces, both extend old fields of activity and initiate research into new possibilities.

We shall thus have the power to conserve national art and maintain its high standard, which can only be done when the artist, necessarily an individualist, is not at the mercy of economic forces.

Art has always been a strong bond for the unity of mankind. To make it an effective ally of other unifying forces, there must be a center where they are already working for this end; where all nations, in spite of political and racial differences, can unite through art, which is their common language.

Some of the specific steps to be taken by the International Congress are:

(1) Legal protection for the artist and his work.

(2) The creation of an international center of art and a place for continuous exhibitions.

(3) Research and plans for the increased use of the artist.

The movement is due primarily to the efforts of Mrs. Dorothy Hunt, President of the American Artists' League. Mrs. Hunt has borne the brunt of the initial organization work and has succeeded in enlisting the interest and the aid of the foremost artists of the world.

THE WORLD COURT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE

ON APRIL 9, Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, brought up the Gillett resolution, which calls upon the President to initiate further discussions of the question whether or not the United States might not find its way into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Senator called attention to the fact that he has received many letters urging support of the resolution, most of them from people whose letters show that they do not understand the nature of the resolution. The Senator went on to say:

The truth is, Mr. President, that up to the present time the adherence to the protocol of the World Court as voted by the Senate has been acquiesced in by only five

nations, and they are Albania, Cuba, Greece, Liberia, and Luxemburg; while all the rest of the world remains in dissent.

Twenty-three nations have replied to the letter of the State Department setting forth the terms under which we will join the court, and each of the 23 find fault with reservation No. 5 in our resolution of adherence. Reservation No. 5, the Senate will remember, was—

That the court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the court and to all interested States and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any State concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

Twenty-three nations have declined to accept that reservation. Either seven or eight nations—I think seven—have merely acknowledged receipt of the message from this country, saying that we would enter according to the reservations outlined by the Senate. Although it was sent to them nearly two years ago, we have had no communication from those seven nations save the bare acknowledgment of receipt of the message. Several nations, with even less courtesy, have not even acknowledged receipt.

There is the picture that confronts the administration and the Senate with regard to the World Court today.

The President has no power to vary to the extent of one comma the reservations as outlined by the Senate. The President could not negotiate with other countries in any way which was in conflict with the policy outlined by the Senate; and yet we know that, with the exception of Albania, Cuba, Greece, Liberia, and Luxemburg, the reservations of the Senate will not be acquiesced in.

It was very well said by the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Castle, in a speech he made last January, that when the pursuit of peace becomes a fad the cause of peace is injured. It can be nothing more than a fad, and a vain and futile and pernicious fad, to urge the President to conduct or to urge the citizens of the United States to think that the President could conduct negotiations that will resolve the impasse in which the World Court stands today.

Any such gesture as that is a futile gesture and contributes nothing to the cause of world peace.

We are making great progress at this time toward the completion of treaties of arbitration with the great nations of the world. That represents a substantial movement in the cause of peace which will bring practical results, adding to the happiness and tranquillity of the world. This, however, is an empty gesture; and I sometimes resent the patronizing assumption that because the Senate does not instantly acquiesce in every such suggestion as this it is because the Senate and the members of the Senate are desirous of war. Some of us know more by personal experience about the horrors of war than do the propagandists who write these letters; and it is fair to say that we detest and abhor war as much as they do, and with at least as good reasons, and that we are just as anxious as they to avoid a repetition of those horrors that we saw ten years ago. To imply, however, that our un-readiness to vote for a gesture, which can only be an empty gesture, which can have no other effect than to create ill feeling instead of allaying it, evidences any lack of devotion to the cause of peace, is unfair to the Senate and untrue in fact.

I am glad to answer the Senator's questions, if he has any.

MR. KING: Mr. President, does not the Senator think that either the Executive Department, through diplomatic channels, or the Senate itself, should explore the avenue which will lead to a proper interpretation or understanding of the words of reservation 5, quoted by the Senator, in which the World Court is interdicted from giving an advisory opinion in regard to any matter in which the United States has an interest or claims to have an interest?

It seems to me that that language is susceptible of misunderstanding. My recollection of the debates in the Senate is that there was no unanimity of opinion with respect to the proper interpretation to be placed upon those words. There was no clarifying declaration, so far as I now recall, that would enable Senators or the people of the world—the nations who have adhered to the protocol—to understand just what we meant when we said that we would not adhere to the World Court if any opinions were given as to matters in which we had an interest or claimed an interest.

I repeat, there was nothing stated that would indicate clearly what interpretation we placed upon those words. If we mean a real interest in the juridical sense, as lawyers use the word, then that is a very proper reservation. If it is a fantastic claim which we might assert to having an interest in some matter entirely foreign to the interests of the United States, and we joined the World Court upon the hypothesis that we could prevent the court from giving an opinion in regard to such a matter, then I am sure that those who are members of the court might well hesitate for a long time before they accepted our position and assented to the reservation which we made.

It does seem to me that the able Senator from Pennsylvania, great lawyer as he is, knowing the misinterpretation which the laity, if not real lawyers, would place upon the word "interest," claimed or otherwise, must appreciate the fact that the other signatories to the protocol might hesitate to accept our reservation with a lack of understanding as to the exact meaning to be placed upon those words. It does seem to me that the Senate ought to initiate some steps that will lead to a clarification of the meaning of those words. Let us declare that we mean a real interest as understood in a juridical sense. I am persuaded that if we would do that—if we would interpret the reservation which we have made in the proper way—the nations who are signatories to the protocol would welcome us into the World Court promptly.

MR. REED of Pennsylvania: Mr. President, it seems to me that the Senator's suggestion amounts to no more than that the United States should express to the other nations a statement that it will not claim a fantastic or imaginary interest, but will act only in good faith in any claims that it may set forth as to an interest in the moot questions. It seems to me that almost we would stultify ourselves if we were to couple our reservation with an assurance that we made it in good faith. I hope our sister nations are ready to grant that our reservations are made in good faith, and that we will carry through in good faith and will not claim imaginary or fantastic interests in bad faith.

I should not want to contract with a nation from whom I had to accept assurances that in the future they would exercise good faith. The very fact that we do

contract with them is an expression of our belief in their good faith. Surely the United States does not need to do that.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD: Mr. President, the piece of propaganda that the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Reed) has just called to the attention of the Senate is only a part of the vast flood of propaganda that is going through the mails to all the people in the United States.

I want to call the attention of the Senate again to the fact that it was very plainly brought out during the debate upon the resolution asking the United States to adhere to the protocol of signature to the instrument creating what was called the World Court of International Justice that questions leading to war are political in nature, and therefore will never be submitted to that court. That was admitted by some of the most able advocates of the proposition at the time.

Mr. FESS: Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*: Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. SHIPSTEAD: I do.

Mr. FESS: In consonance with what the Senator says about the propaganda, at first it appeared to be confined to the churches. Later on it was extended to teachers, to colleges. This morning I have three letters from various chambers of commerce. This is the first definite evidence I have had that the propaganda now is extending to business organizations. Most of it is just in general form, and I doubt whether the people who adopt these expressions read them.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD: I doubt it. I thank the Senator for calling that to my attention.

Mr. President, I have nothing but the kindest feelings for people anywhere in the world who earnestly and sincerely try to do away with war. I am one of them; but I resent very much the idea of people capitalizing the desire of humanity for peace and using it to carry on a swindle upon the American people.

These propagandists would have us believe that all of Europe is anxious and ready for peace, but cannot have it because the United States does not adhere to the World Court. These people tell things that are not true; as, for instance, that adherence to the court is necessary to the outlawry of war.

The propaganda that the so-called World Court of International Justice is an instrument for peace, it seems to me, is nothing but a swindle, because, as a matter of fact, it has nothing to do with the question of peace. The question of outlawing war has been brought very clearly to our attention within the last few months, when in answer to the request of the Government of the United States to join with us in asking the larger powers of the world to sign a multilateral treaty to outlaw war, France replied that she could not ask other nations to join in signing such a treaty, because of her obligations under the League of Nations and other treaties to go to war.

If these people who spend so much on propaganda will tell the American people the truth, they shall find no objection from me to their propaganda. The desire for peace is too sacred to be wasted on a lie.

In view of what has been said here this morning, Mr. President, I ask that an editorial in the *Washington Post* of Monday, April 2, covering this subject, may be read at the desk at this time.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*: Without objection, the editorial will be read.

The chief clerk read as follows:

[From the *Washington Post* of Monday, April 2, 1928]

The Refusal to Renounce War

Foreign Minister Briand's latest note in regard to Secretary Kellogg's proposal looking to the renunciation of war by the leading powers is a delightful example of old-style diplomacy, in which "no" is disguised under flattering language that seems to mean "yes."

American pacifists and amateur adjusters of world problems, who invariably think evil of their own government and eagerly absorb foreign propaganda, are already hailing M. Briand's note as substantially accepting Mr. Kellogg's proposal. They think they see a treaty already in the making, by which all the great powers mutually agree to renounce war as between and among themselves. Therefore they resent the suggestion heretofore made, that European powers are tied up in military alliances that forbid them from renouncing war. They do not perceive that M. Briand is caught in a net of his own weaving and is desperately trying to squirm away from his own proposal, made last spring for political purposes, and never intended to be made the basis for a genuine effort to abolish war.

M. Briand's note needs only a little analysis to be revealed as a defense of the existing military alliance system of Europe, under which France and other nations are unable

to renounce war. They have bound themselves to utilize war as an instrument of policy. Mr. Kellogg's proposal strikes at the very heart of their military alliances. They cannot accept his proposal. They do not wish to be exposed as hypocrites who profess to be anxious to disarm and to renounce war while actually increasing their armaments and making combines for waging war. Hence the elaborate embroidery of M. Briand's note. Strip it of its superfluous verbiage and its true intent is exposed.

Reduced to plain language, M. Briand's note states that France cannot enter into an unconditional renunciation of war. If Mr. Kellogg insists upon such an agreement, "the French Government would hesitate to discuss longer the question." But if Mr. Kellogg will agree that the new treaty shall not supersede or interfere with the military alliance embodied in the League of Nations, or with special military alliances, or with treaties guaranteeing the neutrality of certain States, then France is willing to discuss the wording of the new treaty. M. Briand also endeavors to draw Mr. Kellogg into an assurance that the proposed renunciation of war would not deprive the powers of their right of "legitimate defense." In other words, M. Briand reserves the right, in agreeing to renounce war, to reject all disarmament plans. Finally, he insists that a treaty to renounce war would not be effective unless it embraced all nations. Unless Russia were included, for example, it would be impossible for France to renounce war, as France is bound to defend Poland.

Thus it is evident that the cause of universal peace is not advanced by M. Briand's reply. The great powers will not agree with the United States to renounce war. They have already entered into a combination called the covenant of the League of Nations, which binds them to boycott, isolate, and make war on any nation that forces the issue by refusing to accept their dictation. In order to renounce war, they would have to scrap the covenant. They do not dare to throw away their military alliances, open and secret, renounce war, and prove their good faith by disarming themselves.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts: Mr. President, I would like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations the status of the Gillett resolution.

Mr. BORAH: Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Gillett] introduced his resolution some time ago, and the matter has been before the committee and has had consideration at length by the committee. While the committee has not made any report, I am of the opinion that it is the judgment of the committee that the resolution is not relevant to the court discussion at this time and its passage would not aid in bringing the matter to a conclusion.

Let me say that the Senate, as is well known, attached five reservations to the court protocol. Those reservations were not unacceptable to the foreign powers, with the exception of reservation 5. After the Senate had passed upon the protocol and attached the reservations they were sent to the President, of course, and it became the duty of the President to transmit the protocol with the reservations to the foreign powers, and he did so. The language of article 5 is clear and not easily susceptible of being misunderstood. I do not think the delay is due to failure to understand the reservation, but it is due to a distinct unwillingness to accept the reservation without it is materially changed.

The result of the correspondence thus far is as follows: Those governments which have accepted the reservations are Albania, Cuba, Greece, Liberia, and Luxembourg. Some ten nations have simply replied acknowledging receipt of the communication from the Government of the United States, but have made no comment. Twenty-three nations have replied, stating their objections to reservation 5. Those objections are objections based upon substantial differences of view. They clearly urge a modification of reservation 5.

The President has no power to modify the reservations. He has no power even to construe the reservations. He can only transmit to those governments the result of the Senate's deliberation. That he has done.

The Gillett resolution proposes nothing more than to encourage the President to take up further discussion and further communication, with the view, possibly, of arriving at an understanding with these Powers as to the meaning of reservation 5. But the President has no power to place any construction upon the reservation. I take it the President is to be the judge of the propriety and the nature of his communication. At any rate, it is an executive matter. The Senate has acted and advised the President; the presentation of the protocol with the reservations is peculiarly a function of the Executive. It is known that he is interested in the subject, and I must assume that he will in good faith do all that he is empowered to do.

If those who desire to make progress and wish to have a finality, will bring the protocol and the reservations back to the

Senate and the Senate will make these modifications to reservation 5, we can accomplish something. But the President can make no changes and no modifications and, in my opinion, the only thing to do, if Senators are of the opinion that reservation 5 ought to be modified, is to assume the responsibility as a Senate and consider and discuss and pass upon that question.

My own judgment is there is no one on the committee who believes in the modification of reservation 5. My further judgment is that there are, perhaps, none in the Senate who believe in the modification of reservation 5.

We have arrived at the point where the foreign governments must either accept reservation 5 or the Senate of the United States must recede from its position—an altogether improbable thing.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts: Mr. President, is there any such resolution pending?

Mr. BORAH: No; no such resolution is pending.

Mr. FLETCHER and Mr. REED of Pennsylvania addressed the chair.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*: Does the Senator from Idaho yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BORAH: I yield to the Senator from Florida first.

Mr. FLETCHER: The only question in my mind was this: The signatory States, in submitting their replies, referred to "such further exchange of views as the Government of the United States may deem useful." Of course, if there is a fundamental difference, and the replies exclude any other view than that we were to recede from reservation 5, I can see that this was a mere formal objection; but if there were calls for some explanation or some clarification of the language used in reservation 5, it might open the door. These replies may make offers of a further exchange of views.

Mr. BORAH: Of course, diplomacy always indulges in language of that kind; but the fact is that a reading of the replies of these 23 nations discloses that they understand perfectly what reservation 5 means, that they are not at all in doubt as to its meaning, and that they are unable to accept it as it is.

Mr. REED of Pennsylvania: Mr. President, it was suggested not long ago that their real objection to reservation 5 was an apprehension that the United States would claim an

interest in questions on which an advisory opinion was contemplated, that the action of the United States would not be in good faith, and that the interest claimed would be a fantastic interest. Was any such thought as that indicated by any of the 23 nations?

Mr. BORAH: No; no such thought as that was indicated in the correspondence that I can now recall. Let me say, further, these 23 nations which replied in the way of objection to reservation 5 have the right to object to an advisory opinion without assigning any reason. They have the power to object for no reason or for any reason which they may assign.

The United States has not claimed that right. Reservation 5 does not place the United States upon an equality with those Powers. The United States claims the right when it has an interest or when it claims an interest. Certainly the foreign Powers cannot object on the ground that the United States might claim an interest when they did not have any, when those Powers may object without assigning as a basis for the objection even a claim of interest.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts: Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BORAH: I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts: As I understand the Senator's position, if action is really desired, the President should ask the Senate to modify its position on reservation 5, or the Senate itself should notify the President that it has changed its position.

Mr. BORAH: Yes; that is the only way action can be had, unless the foreign governments accept reservation 5. So far as I am individually concerned, expressing my view and not the view of the committee, I would support a resolution, if anybody wanted to introduce one to bring the protocol and reservation 5 back to the senate to ascertain the views of the Senate as to modification. I should not hesitate a moment to have that matter reopened before the Senate, and I should not hesitate to have it reopened before the country. Some people seem to think that the United States by reservation 5 has claimed an advantage which the foreign powers have not. As a matter of fact, reservation 5 is a modest contention compared with the Power which the foreign governments have with reference to this court and with reference to advisory opinions.

Mr. KING: Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*: Does the

Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. BORAH: I yield.

Mr. KING: I think the Senator from Idaho was not in the chamber a moment ago when I propounded a question to the Senator from Pennsylvania. I suggested to him, inferentially, if not directly, that my understanding was that a number of the signatories to the protocol were somewhat apprehensive as to the interpretation which would be placed by the United States on the words "has or claims to have an interest." I recollect seeing some newspaper comments upon this matter, and they did express the view that some of the signatories to the protocol were not sure that we would claim, as lawyers would express it, a juridical interest; that if we had a real interest, such as lawyers understand an interest to be, there was no objection whatever to the reservation.

I suggested then that I thought that the Senate could initiate such proceedings as would enable us to clarify that reservation, so that any valid misapprehension might be removed from the minds of any of the signatories to the protocol.

I agree with the Senator that, interpreting the resolution as I do, it means only that we must have a valid, a real interest; such an interest as would justify a litigant in bringing action in court, and that without such an interest the United States would have no right to interpose to prevent the court from giving opinions.

Mr. WATSON: Mr. President, has any one of these 23 nations asked to have reservation 5 clarified?

Mr. BORAH: Mr. President, as I construe their letter, they have not, but I am perfectly aware that there is language in their communication which, taken alone and lifted out of its context, could very easily be construed in that light. In my opinion, these governments have plainly stated that reservation 5 must be substantially modified before it can be accepted.

Mr. BLAINE: Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*: Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. BORAH: I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BLAINE: Only for the purpose of seeking information, I desire to ask the Senator his opinion with respect to this question: Within what time may the 23 nations which

have rejected the fifth reservation change their position and accept it?

Mr. BORAH: There is no limit as to time. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Blease] has introduced a resolution, which is before my committee, that might put a limit on the time, but there was no limit on the reservation.

Mr. BLAINE: If the United States desires to withdraw entirely from consideration of the World Court question, is a joint resolution necessary to withdraw the adherence of the United States to the World Court with reservations?

Mr. BORAH: Yes. As the matter now stands, if the foreign nations are willing to accept the reservations, the matter would be closed. The only way we could avoid that would be, in my judgment, by specific action. I know of no effective way to do it except to recall the protocol from the President, and I do not know how we would view the request. Then we could, even if it were accepted, abrogate the treaty.

Mr. President, before I recur further to my own views about the matter, I want to read a paragraph from an article by the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. Walsh]. That Senator, as we all know, was one of the most earnest and able advocates of our adherence to the protocol of the court, but in discussing reservation 5, over which the controversy arises, he lately said in an article:

That reservation represents simply an attempt to put this nation on a footing of substantial equality with every other having permanent representation on the council, any one of which may, at will, veto such a request, a right which arises from the requirement of unanimity on any question before it save matters of mere procedure. If Great Britain or France or Italy finds that it will be in any wise embarrassed by any decision that may be made pursuant to a request from the council, it may forestall an opinion by voting in that body against submitting the question. It would scarcely comport with the dignity of the United States to join in upholding the court except upon a basis of equality with every other leading power. It is easy to conceive of questions which the United States would not care to have submitted to the court for determination, just as it is not difficult to frame inquiries which some other great nations would not care to have answered. Any of the other great powers may say nay—assuming unanimity to be required, never questioned until after the Senate acted—why should not the United States?

Mr. SWANSON: Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER: Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. BORAH: I yield.

Mr. SWANSON: Reservation 5 goes further than simply trying to obtain equality as members of the Council of the League of Nations. The whole basis of the court is that no nation may be haled before it without its consent, either for an advisory opinion or a judgment. The court decided that in the East Carelian case. Forty-eight nations that have joined the League in an article which they signed, I think article 14, agreed that the Council and the Assembly shall be their agents to give assent or dissent for them as to whether an advisory opinion should be asked or not asked. That article was included in the covenant when they joined the League, and the members selected this agency to act for them when they joined. The members of the League have done that. Consequently their assent is given by the Council or the Assembly.

The question was presented to us, How can we be on an equality before that court? We could not select the Assembly or the Council of the League to be our agents and to represent us. We have to act independently. All that reservation 5 does is to give the United States the same right to assent or dissent that the other nations have through their representatives, the Council or the Assembly. They have chosen either of those to act as agents for them. This is the only formula by which the United States could be put on an equality and have its consent or its dissent expressed for an advisory opinion.

The 48 nations give their assent how? By and through the agents they selected when they joined the League. They consented to that arrangement. We simply ask the right as principals to have the same right that their agent possesses in connection with advisory opinions.

Mr. BORAH: It ought to be remembered, too, that that agency can be withdrawn at any time.

Mr. SWANSON: Which agency.

Mr. BORAH: The plan of making the Council their agent can be withdrawn at any time.

Mr. SWANSON: Yes, at any time, and if the members of the League desire to have each individual member give assent or dissent, to act for itself, that could be accomplished by

amending the Covenant of the League if they saw proper to do so. If they consent to have their agent express their assent or dissent for them and we cannot select that agency unless we are members of the League, the only way we could be on an equality would be to have the same right that their agent possesses for them. The East Carelian case, decided when Russia was not a party and challenged the right of the court to act, as she had not given her consent for the expression of an advisory opinion, was decided by a majority of the court holding that no nation could have an advisory opinion or judgment rendered against it without its consent.

That is all that reservation 5 does for us. It requires the consent of the United States. When this opinion went back to the League, instead of acquiescing in the opinion they appointed a committee of the Council of the League to pass upon the judgment of the court rendered in the East Carelian case. That committee reported back that the court must render its opinion whenever asked by the Council or the Assembly, whether any other nation consented or not. When it came up for determination in the Council it was postponed, as I understand it, and never has been passed on by the Council. When that occurred, those of us who felt that the United States ought to be on terms of equality in the court with every other nation, thought seriously from day to day for a long time about how to accomplish this, and reservation 5 was formulated and is intended to carry into effect and make effective, so far as the United States is concerned, the decision reached by the court in the East Carelian case.

As the Senator from Idaho has well said, we are not on an equality. We have to say and we are in honor bound to state that we have an interest in a case.

Mr. BORAH: Or claim an interest.

Mr. SWANSON: Yes; or claim an interest. We are in honor and in good conscience and fair dealing bound to say that we have an interest and claim such interest; consequently we are in honor bound, where we have a substantial interest, to so state it, and then the court has not jurisdiction without our consent. If we should leave it to the court to determine our interest, we would not be on terms of equality with nations who are members of the League.

The court does not determine whether a member of the Council of other nations ob-

jects finally to an opinion. That is determined by them for themselves. They veto it in Council, where it is required to be unanimous; consequently the only way we could be on terms of equality and assert the claim effectively would be to put in that language which was included and agreed on by the various friends of the court when they met, and also by the administration, as being proper to make effective the decision in the East Carelian case.

If it is determined that the Council require unanimous consent before it can ask an advisory opinion, then the other nations have no objection to reservation 5, but whether they decide that it takes a majority vote or unanimous vote, I insist that we still could only give our consent by this method to be on terms of equality with other nations, because their agent, whether it acts by majority vote or unanimous vote, cannot be accepted by us as our agent, and that is a question for us to determine as principals for ourselves. It is not for the members of the League to determine for us. All we ask is to be put on an equality, to give our assent or dissent precisely with the same authority that as the agent the Council possesses for the members of the League under the covenant. Reservation 5 was drawn with that object in view. I have been unable to find any other way to establish an equality. The United States should not enter except under terms of equality. If the members of the League desire for each nation constituting the League to have this power, they can accomplish this by amending the Covenant of the League and let each nation give assent individually and not through an agency of the Council. We certainly could not offer properly amendments to the Covenant of the League of which we were not a member.

Th only place where I think the Gillett resolution would be effective is this: I do not think the Senate would consent to change the reservation, but it will be noted in the reply of the other nations that they invite further correspondence. It was not final.

Mr. BORAH: It was not final in the language. There is no question—

Mr. SWANSON: It seems to me that the administration should have taken some further steps in the matter. I do not believe in finally concluding the matter without sending a reply when a reply was requested. I understand the object of the Gillett resolu-

tion is not to change the reservation. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Gillett] says so himself, and says that it is merely intended to ask the administration to take the matter up, accept the invitation, and see if we cannot induce the other nations to accept the reservation contained in our resolution of adherence to the protocol of the World Court.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts: Could that be done without a resolution?

Mr. SWANSON: It could be done without a resolution. The administration has not been as active and as energetic and as enthusiastic as it ought to have been in this matter, and the resolution indicates it is desirous of making it move faster and more earnestly. I understand this as the object sought to be accomplished by the Gillett resolution.

Mr. BORAH: The peculiar thing to me is, if it is simply desired to stir up the President, why they do not write to the President direct.

Mr. SWANSON: A resolution could be adopted by the Senate to that effect. We could do it in that way.

Mr. BORAH: Of course. The Senate has nothing in the world to do with the correspondence of the President of the United States with foreign powers.

Mr. SWANSON: But the Senator has introduced a resolution suggesting to the President action about the recognition of Russia. Why is that more important than our getting into the World Court? The Senator makes a suggestion to the President. Is it treason for the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Gillett] and a patriotic duty for the Senator from Idaho to pursue the same course and make similar suggestions to the President?

Mr. BORAH: If I should have succeeded in having my resolution passed providing for the recognition of Russia, I should not have followed it up by telling the President what kind of a letter to write. I should have assumed that the President of the United States would be competent to write the kind of a communication which should go from one government to another and in proper form and style. The difference between the instance which the Senator cites and this is that the Senate in this instance has acted, the Senate has advised, and the sole duty left is that of communicating with foreign governments; that is peculiarly the duty of the President.

Mr. SWANSON: The Gillett resolution does not suggest anything with reference to style, as the Senator states. It simply suggests to the President that he shall respond to the request of the other nations for further communication.

Mr. BORAH: It assumes that the President is unable to construe in the proper light the letters which he has received.

Mr. SWANSON: No; they suggest to him, not as the Senator suggested to him, to see what he can do about the matter. I do not see any difference in now making a suggestion to the President that the Senate would be pleased if he took certain action. If the President could induce these people to accept the reservations, then we could enter the World Court. The Senator would be pleased if the President, by his diplomacy, could arrange for the recognition of Russia.

Mr. BORAH: Mr. President, in my opinion this way of approaching the question is not very dignified upon the part of the Senate. If the Senator from Virginia or anyone else wants to introduce a resolution asking the sense of the Senate as to whether it will modify reservation 5, we can reach the question then as to whether the position of the United States is open to construction. Unless it is, the mere formality of passing the reservation in the protocol from the President to the other powers is something, it seems to be, we can leave to the discretion of the President.

Mr. SWANSON: The Senate is in no condition to negotiate any communication with foreign powers.

Mr. BORAH: I am not asking for any negotiation.

Mr. SWANSON: If the President is to change these reservations and in his conscience and good judgment thinks we ought to do it, it is his duty to send them to the Senate for approval.

Mr. BORAH: If the Senator from Virginia wants to change them, he should seek to have them returned to the only body which can change them.

Mr. SWANSON: If I wanted to change them, I would adopt such a course as that; and if they were returned and they did not agree with the President's conception, then we could not get anywhere. The question whether we will adhere to the protocol, even as agreed to by the Senate, is finally left to the President. He can refuse to consent even

if the Senate should reach a favorable decision. The matter is left finally and absolutely to him under our Constitution.

Mr. BORAH: But he has delivered it to all of them.

Mr. SWANSON: He has delivered it to all of them, but they have not accepted it; it has been in his hands up to the present time. I do not see why it is treason to make the suggestions to the President in the one case and to waive them in the other.

Mr. BLEASE: Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Fess in the chair): Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. BORAH: I yield.

Mr. BLEASE: Does not the Senator think if the Republican Party does not renominate Mr. Coolidge that we shall have a chance to have another President consider this subject about as quickly as we could get the resolution relating to it adopted by the Senate?

Mr. BORAH: Mr. President, it is too early in the week to get into the question of the presidential nomination; but, in all seriousness, anyone who will read the letter of the 23 nations, in answer to the President's communication, will immediately conclude that those powers understand perfectly the meaning of reservation 5 and their suggestions imply substantial changes in reservation 5. The President has no power to make such changes; we alone have that power. I will join with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Swanson] or with any other Senator in bringing the question back to the Senate for the purpose of getting its views upon it. Indeed, I should like to bring this matter to a conclusion. I have read these replies of the foreign governments and I have no doubt as to what they mean. They understand reservation 5, understand it perfectly, and they urge a modification. Now, are we willing to modify it? If not, I see nothing that we can do with propriety or effect.

WANTED

Advocate of Peace for September to December, 1871, inclusive. Other back numbers are desired.

American Peace Society.

AN AMERICAN PROGRAM FOR INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

PROVISIONAL STATEMENTS AND INQUIRIES FOR DISCUSSION

By the Commission on the International Implications of Justice, Cleveland, Ohio, May 7-11, 1928

Prepared by Professor Philip Marshall Brown of Princeton University, Chairman of the Commission, and Dean Charles Pergler, National University, Secretary.

BELIEVING that American political and social institutions have achieved results of universal significance;

Feeling that certain American principles of government and justice might profitably be applied to the relations of nations;

The Commission on International Justice reminds the American Peace Society, on this its one-hundredth birthday, of the following principles for the achievement of international justice and peace:

I

All nations which have been formally recognized as members of the family of nations are entitled to equal rights and are subject to equal duties under international law.

II

International law finds its authority in the common consent of nations, as evidenced by usage, treaties, decisions of international commissions and tribunals, declarations of national executives, legislatures, and courts.

III

The interests of nations are defined, respected, and protected by mutual understandings and forbearance, and conflicting interests reconciled by processes of conciliation. They are not necessarily dependent upon coercion.

IV

Disputes among nations are to be adjusted by peaceful methods, which respect the equal rights and duties of States under international law.

V

When ordinary methods of diplomacy prove ineffective, recourse to commissions

of inquiry, conciliation, and arbitration is recommended as the method most consonant with the orderly conduct of international relations. The purpose of commissions of inquiry is the dispassionate investigation of the facts giving rise to a dispute and a recommendation of the procedure deemed most suitable for the eventual settlement of the controversy. Pending such investigation and report, provision should be made for a *modus vivendi* to insure that the respective rights and interests of the parties to the dispute should suffer no serious injury.

VI

Disputes generally recognized as non-justiciable should be settled by recourse to good offices, mediation, commissions of inquiry, or to friendly composition. They may be referred, in case the parties agree, to special arbitral tribunals.

VII

Disputes of a juridical nature should be submitted to special tribunals, to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or to mixed commissions already established or created *ad hoc*.

Such tribunals, courts, and commissions should be empowered under special circumstances and conditions to decide upon the preliminary question whether or not a dispute is of a juridical nature. Such a decision should be rendered by a majority of at least three-fourths of the judges constituting the court before it may assume jurisdiction over the case.

The Permanent Court of International Justice may not properly be called upon to express an advisory opinion on questions of a political, nonjusticiable nature. The fifth reservation of the United States Senate to the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice is approved as a means of safeguarding the purely judicial functions of the court.

The dignity and independence of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be protected by (a) the election of its judges in such a manner as to insure its continuous existence, and (b) by rendering its financial maintenance independent of special periodical appropriations by the League of Nations.

VIII

The establishment of commissions of inquiry, conciliation, and agreements for the peaceful settlement of disputes may best be brought about through regional understandings among nations having intimate relations and particular problems. This is specially to be recommended among the nations of the New World. The re-establishment of the Central American Court of Justice is greatly to be favored.

IX

An international court of claims, accessible to individuals as well as to States, should be established to pass on claims for damages in specified categories of torts and violations of contracts by responsible governments and political agencies of States duly recognized as members of the family of nations.

X

The settlement of questions of universal concern affecting the interests, rights, and duties of nations, which may not be achieved through diplomatic methods, should preferably be brought about by the method of international conference based upon the principle of voluntary participation and previous agreement concerning the agenda and the scope of the conference.

XI

International conferences of a continuing character should be instituted for the

purpose of the progressive codification of international law. Particular consideration should be given to the following subjects: (a) The international responsibility of States for injuries to aliens; (b) the rights and obligations of neutrality; and (c) the regulation of international intercourse in commerce, industry, finance, and immigration.

XII

In case of collective action by the League of Nations or groups of nations against a State which the United States may hold to have been guilty of a flagrant international crime, American citizens shall be forbidden from affording aid in any form to the offending nation.

Questionnaire

I. Should the Program of International Justice include statements on the following subjects?

- a. Intervention.
- b. Definitions of "war" and "peace."
- c. "Renunciation of war."
- d. Disarmament.

II. What may the United States reasonably do towards the furtherance of the reign of law among nations?

III. What may peace societies do to further the processes of international justice?

IV. What specific suggestions have you to offer concerning the essential elements of an American program for international justice?

TRIBUTE

(To William Ladd and Woodrow Wilson)

BY ALICE LAWREY GOULD

Men work together through the centuries;
Unfolding thought leaves cumulative gain;
The gifted seer never speaks in vain
Although his world does not see what he sees.

A newer world will follow by degrees
The path intrepid leaders rendered plain,
And grateful comers-after will attain
The promised land foretold by such as these.

Ours, to promote the peace they labored for;
To sanctify the tribute we would pay
By bringing somewhat nearer every day
The age of reason and the end of war;
Until in application we progress
To that Christianity which we profess.

From *Christian Science Monitor*, February 3, 1928.

THREE FACTS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY*

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

TRUE sanity in international matters may mean to be in tune with the Infinite; it certainly means to be in tune with the finite. As perhaps never before, international morality is simply intelligence applied to the common good. The World War had at least one beneficent effect—it concentrated the thoughts of men upon the mysteries of foreign policy. It is evident now to us all that the well-being of every man is very closely related to the aspirations and activities of nations, that the foreign policy of States is the concern of every one of us. In untangling the skein of international relationships we may well begin at home, for there are three facts in American foreign policy of "limpid simplicity," to use John Hay's happy phrase, which are of no little concern to the weal of the world.

America a Protest Against War

America is itself a protest against the war system. American citizenship is made up in no small measure of persons who have come to this country, or whose ancestors came to this country, for the purpose of getting rid of the recurring devastations peculiar to European wars. Life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, health, justice, education—these are more distinctly American than all our wealth and sky-scrapers. America knows that these things thrive best where peace thrives. Men of other nations have known this, but with America the belief has often been a passion. America's participation in the World War was a rebuke to the war system. We insist that the Old World methods of war shall not interfere with these prime American aims. Our America knows that wars may be won and justice

defeated, that brute force may have its way and at the same time do violence to right. That is the great iniquity of war. It is the basis of our America's objection to that precarious method of settling disputes.

True, the opposition to war did not begin in America. The will to end war has had a long, slow growth. Something of that development should be familiar, more familiar than it now is.

When, as set forth in the 14th chapter of Genesis, four kings waged war with five others in the Vale of Siddim, there were evidently in operation two leagues to enforce peace. In the very first book of his Aeneid, Virgil reveals Jupiter unrolling the fates, when wars shall cease and the gates of Janus be closed "with fast iron bars." The words in the second chapter of Isaiah, referring to the time when "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks"; when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," are repeated in the fourth chapter of Micah. They voice the age-long hope of men.

Throughout history, leaders among men have struggled to show the way to overthrow war. Not always actuated by the highest motives in particular instances, enthusiasts, favoring primarily the countries to which they happened to belong, often concerned to preserve situations developed out of the blood of arms, have, nevertheless, revealed a one common purpose to establish a more permanent peace.

For example, Pierre Dubois, in his *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, written in 1305-7, elaborates a plan for occupying and retaining the Holy Land through the means of a league to enforce peace. Again, in 1311, the poet Dante Alighieri wrote his *De Monarchia*, a work in which he defends the principle of monarchy, but

*Revised from an article of the same title first appearing in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* of April, 1921.

upon the basis that "the human race is ordered for the best when it is most free," and that "universal peace is the best of those things which are ordained for our beatitude." And there was George von Podébrad, who, in his *Traité d'Alliance et Confédération*, etc., written 1460-63, insisted that "peace cannot exist apart from justice," and "justice cannot exist apart from peace." Von Podébrad submitted a plan for a league to enforce peace, especially for the purpose of bringing about "a true, pure, and lasting peace, union, and love among Christians, and to defend the religion of Christ against the unspeakably monstrous Turk." Then, about the year 1515, Erasmus wrote his treatise on war, which has been placed "among the most famous writings of the most illustrious writers of his age." It is a treatise "against war." It begins with these words: "It is both an elegant proverb, and among all others, by the writings of many excellent authors, full often and solemnly used, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, that is to say, War is sweet to them that know it not." Colet, founder of St. Paul's School, Thomas More and others of a similar mind, were friends of Erasmus at that time and joined with him for the most part in his opposition to war. But Erasmus surpassed them all in his persistent and unequivocal condemnation of "war, pestilence, and the theologians," the three great enemies with which he says he had to contend throughout his life.

But America's opposition to war is backed not only by treatises of the long ago; there have been the various plans and projects for the practical realization of the peace goal of the philosophers.

In the seventeenth century there were four outstanding projects for a league to enforce peace.

Addressing himself to the monarchs and sovereign princes of that time, Emeric Crucé wrote in 1623 what he called the "New Cyneas," which was a "discourse of the occasions and means to establish a general peace and the liberty of commerce throughout the whole world." Crucé grants that to assure perpetuity to universal peace "is very difficult." He says: "It seems that calm weather cannot

last long in the ocean of our affairs, where the impetuous winds of ambition excite so many storms. Suppose, for instance, that peace is signed today; that it is published to the whole world; how do we know that posterity will ratify the articles? Opinions are changeable, and the actions of the men of the present time do not bind their successors." And yet he urges the necessity of choosing a city "where all sovereigns should have perpetually their ambassadors, in order that the differences that might arise should be settled by the judgment of the whole assembly." With his congress of ambassadors backed by a collective force, he proposes the establishment of a universal peace. He says: "We have raised enough storms. It is time to give calm and serenity to this great ocean by throwing upon it the oil of perfect reconciliation."

Hugo Grotius wrote his treatise "On the Law of War and Peace" in 1625. In this work Grotius urges conference and arbitration for the settlement of disputes between nations, and, drawing upon the experience of the Druids, points out the necessity that measures "be taken to compel the disputants to accept peaceful settlement on equitable terms."

In 1638 appeared "The Great Design" of Henry IV. This influential project, taken from the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, who was probably its author, is a plan to maintain by force a status created by force, a political scheme for the government of all Europe.

The influence of this ambitious "Design" was marked. Because of it William Penn was inspired in 1693 to write his "Present and Future Peace of Europe." Even the gentle Penn's "Dyett," founded upon the principle that justice "is a better procurer of peace than war"—indeed, that "peace is maintained by justice, which is a fruit of government, as government is from society, and society from consent"—provided for the compulsion of recalcitrant States.

In the eighteenth century there were some five other plans for ending war, with, however, a gradually diminishing emphasis upon force as an agency for peace.

Either in 1712 or 1713 appeared

Charles Ireanaus Castel de Saint-Pierre's "Project for the Establishment of a Permanent Peace in Europe." This, too, was an outgrowth of the great "Design." Here, too, is a plan for the maintenance by force of a status created for the most part by force. But the first article of the project shows the author's purpose to be the establishment of a "security against the great misfortunes of foreign wars.

In 1736 Cardinal Jules Alberoni of Italy set forth a plan for establishing a perpetual diet at Ratisbon for the purpose of subjugating the Turk and overcoming the "tyranny and bondage of the infidels."

In 1756 Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote his "Epitome of Abbé de Saint Pierre's Project for Perpetual Peace," published in 1761, in which he expressed his sympathy with an irrevocable European alliance backed by force. With no little eloquence he pictures a state of peace resulting from the proposed confederacy, and also of the "state of war which results from the present impolitic state of Europe." The same year that Rousseau wrote his "Epitome" he wrote also his "Judgment of Perpetual Peace," published in 1782, in which, granting that "perpetual peace is at present a very absurd project," he nevertheless concludes that "if a Henry IV and a Sully are given to us, perpetual peace will become again a reasonable project."

Between 1786 and 1789 Jeremy Bentham wrote "A Plan for a Universal and Perpetual Peace." In it he proposes "a common court of judicature for the decision of differences between the several nations." As he says, saving the credit and honor of contending parties, being in every way conformable to their interests, and being inconsonant with no practice, such an arrangement could not "be justly styled visionary." Bentham believed that force would be of little account in the success of his project.

In his philosophical essay entitled "Eternal Peace," written in 1795, Immanuel Kant proposed a representative league for the realization of public law backed only by the sanction of public opinion. Founding his plan upon the proposition that the "civil constitution in every state shall be republican," and expressing the opinion that the law of

nations should "be founded on the federation of free states . . . the guaranty of eternal peace is furnished by no lesser power than the great artist Nature herself, *Natura dædala rerum.*"

The work of these men of many centuries was not wasted. America's opposition to war is seen to have a great background; it has developed directly from such a history.

And this opposition has not been confined to "brittle-minded" persons. Benjamin Franklin frequently expressed his opposition to war. George Washington wrote in 1785: "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth." The Federal Convention of 1787 was called primarily for the purpose of maintaining peace between thirteen not altogether friendly States. The Monroe Doctrine, enunciated in 1823, was promulgated in the interests of "peace and safety."

The Peace Movement, technically so called, began with the establishment of peace societies in 1815, and that in America. These societies multiplied, and in 1828, upon the initiative of William Ladd, they were amalgamated in the American Peace Society. In 1840 the same William Ladd wrote "An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms." In this "Essay" Mr. Ladd proposed two things: a congress of nations and a court of nations. This essay by Mr. Ladd contained the foundations of practically all that had been accomplished in the direction of international organization prior to the World War, including the achievements in arbitration and the record of The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. Whether or not the British Empire and continental Europe can be organized for peace after the American pattern, no man can say. Whether or not the continental States of Europe can be brought together, even in a loose federation for peace, is also a problem. But of this the world may be assured: William Ladd's plan needs to be known of men; for, to quote a leading authority in this field, William Ladd "certainly gives the only rational plan that has ever been presented, of advancing the cause of peace by means of international conferences in which a court of justice should be estab-

lished, and the law, little by little, recommended to the States which the court is to apply." No man has demonstrated more fully than William Ladd the protest against war that is America.

If these plans and projects to which we have referred were for the most part theoretical, there have been practical achievements as well, and often on a large scale. Pan-Americanism, with all its setbacks, is a real achievement in the direction of practical international peace. The Universal Postal Union is an international achievement of great consequence to the common weal. Prior to the war, there were in the neighborhood of 1,000 international organizations concerned with concrete interests. The practical confederations, such as arose under the articles of the Swiss Confederation, in 1291, and under the Union of Utrecht, in 1579, were a part of the movement which led to the Articles of Confederation of the United States of America, in 1777; and thence to the Constitution of the United States, in 1787. The years 1776 and 1787 reveal America as the flower of this age-long aspiration of the race, the will to end war.

Founded on Experience

America is an international fact, representing within herself centuries of concrete international experiences. From 1492 to 1787 was a period of 275 years. From 1787 to 1928 represents a period of only 141 years—approximately eight generations before our Federal Convention as against approximately four generations since that time. During those first eight generations men of this hemisphere were schooled increasingly in matters relating to international affairs. Boundaries, public debts, dishonesties, inefficiencies, countless irritations and ambitions produced their interstate disputes, contests, and settlements. The varying tariffs brought troubles of an international character in their wake. Connecticut, taxing imports from Massachusetts higher than imports from Great Britain, produced an international problem of no little seriousness. Some States drew separate treaties with the Indians, and that contrary to agreement; and there were various other violations of contract, some ending in war.

Shortly prior to 1787 the people of this country received from abroad little but disdain. Economic difficulties became so acute that during upwards of a hundred years various plans of union were proposed and some tried, revealing the international mindedness of those earlier Americans. The step-by-step development was significantly international. Looking back across it all, one is impressed with the remark of C. Ellis Stevens in his "Sources of the Constitution of the United States," in which he says: "Yet it is a characteristic of the race both in England and in America that it has never really broken with the past. Whatever of novelty may appear from time to time, there is ever under all the great and steady force of historic continuity."

The year 1787 may properly be said to be an epoch in the evolution of international achievement. That convention, called to meet on the second Monday of May, found itself faced with the problem of setting up a more perfect union of thirteen free, sovereign, and independent States, preserving the separate powers of the Union and of the States, and maintaining at the same time the independence of each. That was a very real international situation. That all-American conference was an international conference; for the States were free, sovereign, and independent—sometimes arrogantly so. Some of them were small, some large. Some of the questions arising between them were in nature justiciable, some were non-justiciable. Whether or not they should set up a government with power to coerce the State by force of arms was at the outset discussed and decided in the negative. Faced with such international questions, that international conference of 1787 met them and solved them. Such was the method of the solution, such the wisdom of the action, we can truthfully say that the United States of America is today the oldest international organization, as it is the oldest government in the world, for since 1787 the English constitution has been radically changed; France has had at least six constitutions, Spain three, and so on down the list. America is not only an international fact representing an outgrowth of international concrete experiences, it is the product of the one successful interna-

tional conference which has proved adequate to its purpose. As James Brown Scott has phrased it, referring to the services of James Madison: "The Constitution of the more perfect union has succeeded, and if different States and kingdoms should be inclined to substitute the regulated interdependence of States for their unregulated independence, they need only turn for light and leading to the little man of Montpelier, who has preserved for all time an exact account of what took place in the conference of the States in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787."

If in 1787 delegates from twelve free, sovereign, and independent States could meet and successfully solve the questions of representation as between large and small States, establishing a system under which every State is equal in law if not in influence, it ought to be possible for other and similarly free, sovereign, and independent States to do as much. If instructed delegates from those twelve free, sovereign, independent States, voting as States, could adjust all questions of procedure within the conference, fix upon a mutually satisfactory method of ratification, by the provisions of which the States were bound only by their own consent, it would seem reasonable that a similar thing may be done again. If, now, as a result of that international conference, forty-eight free, sovereign, independent States can live peacefully with each other under a more perfect union, providing for a division of legislative, judicial, and executive powers, and subordinating the military arm to civil control, that fact should be of interest for all States belonging to the society of nations. If under this system of union it be a fact that there is no first among equals, no State with privileges or functions not common to all, it must be granted that such a beneficent arrangement is possible.

But of still greater meaning for the nations of the world is the fact that America has demonstrated the desirability and the feasibility of eliminating any plan for the coercion of States by force of arms. Coercion there is; but it is confined to the coercion of individuals only. All attempts to organize States, giving to some central power the authority to coerce member States, have usually led to war;

they have invariably failed. As already said, a plan for the coercion of States was presented, debated, and discarded in the Federal Convention of 1787. Madison, Hamilton, and Ellsworth condemned unequivocally any proposal looking toward a union of States with power to coerce the States by arms. There is a coercion of the States in America, but it is coercion by the only conceivable force calculated to avoid war—a force greater than the force of arms, because it is the force which makes and directs arms—that is, the force of public opinion, what Washington called "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

America is an outstanding union of States organized for peace. That peace was the motive of the "founding Fathers" is apparent from many provisions of the Constitution. The States delegated and relinquished their rights to lay taxes or duties on "articles exported from any State"; they agreed that "No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another"; in Article I, section 10, they eschewed "alliances"; they set up an organization under which no State, without the consent of Congress, shall "keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will admit of no delay." America has realized disarmament, therefore, because the States of the Union have conferred upon the agent of their creation, the Government of the Union, their former right to raise troops; and they have given to their agent the task of preserving a republican form of government, and of protecting each State against invasion. Thus we have here an "Article X" rationally drawn for the preservation of peace.

The importance of this is that, while the United States of America has organized the States for peace, Europe seems to have missed the lesson. Europe is organized for war, and that to the continuous danger of the rest of the world. Europe must organize for peace if she is to escape war. Leading men in Europe are beginning to see this, and more clearly as they study the experience in America.

A Belgian publicist has recently agreed that it would have been possible in Paris to form a loose confederation of the continental States of Europe upon the basis of our Union. A distinguished Austrian, now in this country, has granted the same thing. Switzerland, with a citizenship of French, Germans, and Italians, preserved her neutrality during the World War and showed what can be done under a régime of justice. A Europe organized for war may become a Europe organized for peace. Our own Benjamin Franklin saw this truth as a result of his experiences in the Federal Convention, for in October, 1787, he wrote to a friend in Europe:

"I send you enclos'd the propos'd new Federal Constitution for these States. I was engag'd 4 Months of the last summer in the Convention that form'd it. It is now sent by Congress to the several States for their Confirmation. If it succeeds, I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the Project of Good Henry the 4th into Execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republick of all its different States & Kingdoms; by means of a like Convention; for we had many interests to reconcile."

Thus America is an international fact, representing an outgrowth of international concrete experiences—a fact of consequence to all men concerned with the peace of the world. We, like Patrick Henry, can know no way of judging the future but by the past. Alliances, "holy" and otherwise, have proved ephemeral. The American Union is an example of permanence. Thus America is of the essence of the forward look. Evidently this was the thought in the mind of a recent President, who in his inaugural address said: "When the governments of earth shall have established a freedom like our own and shall have sanctioned the pursuit of peace as we have practiced it, I believe the last sorrow and the final sacrifice of international warfare will have been written."

The Result of Three Equilibriums

We have seen that one of the facts of America's foreign policy is that America is itself a protest against the war system. We have just said that another fact of American foreign policy is its own successful international experiences. There

is a third fact at the basis of American foreign policy, and that is that America is a result of at least three vital equilibriums.

In the first place, America is an equilibrium between anarchy and tyranny. These two contending forces have come down to us out of a long past, Sophists and Cynics against Aristotle and the other defenders of constitutionalism. As has been frequently pointed out, Greece believed strongly in the freedom of the nation's parts. But through the centuries there arose too much freedom of the parts, and the result was that Greece fell because of anarchy. On the other hand, there was Rome, made up of people strongly inclined toward a highly centralized form of government. Then through the centuries the Roman State became too strong, and she, too, fell finally, because of tyranny. These two tendencies met in the Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution—indeed, in the Federal Convention of 1787. The Federalists were the Romans, the Anti-Federalists the Greeks, in that convention. One came forth the progenitor of the Republican, and the other of the Democratic Party. Because the United States has mapped her course thus far successfully between these two opposing forces, veering now toward tyranny and then toward anarchy, yet avoiding each, the United States has, because of a preserved equilibrium, survived.

America is also an equilibrium between large and small States. Because both large and small States are equally represented in the Senate, most vitally concerned with foreign relations, the small States have been satisfied. Because representation has been based on population in the House of Representatives, where bills of appropriation arise, the large States have been satisfied. And because all States, large and small, are equal before the law, large and small States have no irreconcilable divergencies of interests. This equilibrium was found to be necessary before the more perfect union could come into being. It has made it possible for that more perfect union to survive.

Finally, America represents an equilibrium between rights and duties. In faith and practice America adopts the principle that every State has the right

to exist; and that, therefore, it is the duty of every State to commit no unlawful act calculated to jeopardize the existence of another. America accepts the principle that every State has a right to its independence; and that, therefore, it is the duty of every State never to interfere with that right in another. America believes that every State has a right to equality with other States before the law; and that, therefore, it is the duty of every State to respect this right in other States. America believes that every State has a right not only to its territory, but to jurisdiction over it; and that, therefore, it is the duty of every State to violate neither of these rights in another State. America believes that every State has the right to expect protection in its rights from other States; and that, therefore, it is the duty of every State to respect and protect other States. America believes that every State has the right to a hearing under the law; and that, therefore, it is the duty of every State to uphold the right of every other State before law. These are not matters of theory only; they have been adopted by the American Institute of International Law, by the American Peace Society; they have been upheld by the decisions of the highest courts; they are accepted facts in American political and legal practice. Rights and duties are reciprocal, quite dependent upon each other. Thus America is an equilibrium between the rights and duties of States.

All this is but another way of saying that America believes in government only as it is a government of laws and not of men. Therefore America cannot arouse any interest in an international organization that does not include all civilized States. America cannot believe in alliances organized for the purpose of doing violence to the existence, independence, or equality of other States. America can conceive of no international organization as an agency for peace if it be set up to infringe upon the rights of other States, and especially if it be organized on the principle of maintaining international order by the coercion of arms. The American Revolution was fought for the purpose of overthrowing an imposed control. America sees the peace of the world to lie in the direction not of executive action, but of law and conciliation. Force, brute

force, is not a guarantor of world peace. Any association of States with adequate force at its disposal is a superstate, impossible of realization within any appreciable time.

America has refused, America will always refuse, to promise in advance to pool her armed forces in contingencies now impossible of definition, contingencies which when they arise may prove to be different from anything now experienced or foreseen. At least America ought so to refuse. America stands for inclusive international organization, not for a limited alliance of the powerful. America does not believe in the subordination of the judiciary to the will of the executive. America believes in conference, law, friendly composition, arbitration, judicial settlement, the only methods known to be capable of maintaining the equilibriums essential to the permanence of States. And all this is but another way of saying that, for Americans, government, national or international, can rest successfully only on the free consent of the governed. That, after all, is the fundamental fact of 1787, of America's participation in The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907. It is the reason for the outcome of the elections of November, 1920 and 1924. Peace between States can rest on justice only. Any other peace is not peace at all—simply an armistice.

Conclusion

Thus American foreign policy rests upon three outstanding facts: America is herself a protest against the war system; she is herself an international entity developed out of concrete international experiences; she survives because she is balanced—thus far safely—between those opposing forces which have destroyed all international organizations hitherto. Therefore, if human beings are to demand, legislate and achieve a greater health, a finer happiness, a more creative service for all in a series of advancing world democracies; if they are to attain unto those wider interpretations of what it means to live; if they are to build up a world-life that shall be more humane, more just, more free; then, indeed, they must apply their wills unto this answer to the cry of the ages, this contribution peculiarly successful, enduring and hopeful, this living illustration of a workable

foreign policy capable of application everywhere—the United States of America. The world knows no more vivid expression of opposition to the war system

than America. The most successful machinery for the maintenance of peace between States is America. America's libation on the altar of the world is America.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND THE MID-CENTURY REVOLUTIONS*

By PROFESSOR MERLE EUGENE CURTI

WHEN the revolutions of 1848 broke out, pacifists had been organized and engaged in active but uphill work for thirty-three years. Though but little headway had been made on the continent, in England and in America national peace organizations had elaborated a body of anti-war arguments—religious, political, social and economic—beyond which pacifist thought of today scarcely takes us. William Ladd's plan for a Congress and Court of Nations, for example, strikingly resembles that of The Hague Tribunal. The fact that disarmament, compulsory arbitration, and even a world workingman's strike against war, had been advocated suggests how far pacifist thought had advanced. From the first, British and American peace men had joined hands to promote the cause on the continent and to work out an international organization. The most substantial accomplishments in that direction were, first, the London Peace Conference of 1843, which had appealed to the civilized governments of the world to lay down their arms, and had at least compelled them to listen. The second outstanding accomplishment in effecting an international organization was the formation of the League of Universal Brotherhood in 1846. This picturesque organization boasted 40,000 members, British and American, pledged never to participate in any war, and to work for a true brotherhood of all men. Its founder, Elihu Burritt, was an American, but he made England the headquarters of the League.

Besides elaborating arguments for peace and beginning an international organization, British and American pacifists stood shoulder to shoulder in the Oregon

crisis and in the Mexican War. The American Peace Society and the London Peace Society spared no pains to prevent war in the one case and to end it in the other. A critical evaluation of their claims points to the fact that they failed materially to turn the scales. Research in the Trist Papers, for instance, shows that it was the Mexican Peace Commissioners, and not the stream of memorials and petitions to the Federal Government, which accounts for the fact that a lame and halting provision for the arbitration of future disputes was written into the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Such was the organized peace movement when the revolutions of 1848 offered new problems and presented new opportunities.

At first, peace men in both England and America approved the revolutions as protests against military autocracy and as proof of the power of public opinion, on which force pacifists relied for the ultimate victory of their own cause. In the eyes of George C. Beckwith, editor of the American Peace Society's periodical, the revolutions began "a new and wonderful era full of promise for the millions trodden in the dust under the iron heel of war." How worthless mere troops, remarked the British *Herald of Peace*, when opposed to the weightier forces of ideas and convictions! In like vein Richard Cobden wrote to Charles Sumner that the defeat of the autocracy could not fail to warn rulers that henceforth the acquisition of territory by force could end only in embarrassment and civil war.

As the revolutions became more violent, however, pacifists derived cooler comfort from their lessons. Clearly, some pacifists were confronted by a tantalizing conflict of loyalties. Being idealists, they were usually lovers of liberty as well as

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the revolutionists were to succeed, they could do so through force alone. We could assign pacifists to any one of three groups, according to the way in which they reacted to this problem. One group frankly expressed a belief that war is sometimes necessary to gain great ends, and justified the use of force by the revolutionists. In this group were such American "pacifists" as Horace Mann, Samuel Gridley Howe, and Horace Greely, who felt at this time that peace must remain a dream until autocracy gave way to democracy and until the map of Europe squared somewhat with nationalistic aspirations. Another group, including George C. Beckwith, tended to sidestep this issue. This spokesman of the American Peace Society admitted that its constitution declared against all war between nations, but explained that it said nothing about internal conflicts, including revolutions. When the revolutionists met defeat, however, Beckwith concluded that force, after all, was an inadequate means of securing the rights of mankind. The third group remained true to the conviction, as expressed by Charles Sumner, that there can be in our age no peace that is not honorable, no war that is not dishonorable. This group was represented by Elihu Burritt and by the leading official of the London Peace Society. The latter did not hesitate to condemn outright the resort to violence during "the mournful spectacle of the June days."

Apparently, most pacifists belonged to this third group. The loyalty of peace men to their ideal at this time cannot be explained as due to the sheer reasoned strength of their conviction. It can better be understood, first, as a reaction against certain bloody excesses of the revolutionists; second, as related to the fact that the revolutions were on foreign soil, and objectively it was hence more possible; and, third, by the fact that in America the ideal of self-determination was just then being championed by a particularly chauvinistic and materialistic group, the "Young Americans," a minor political coterie in the Democratic Party.

Not only these more thoroughgoing pacifists, but also many in the moderate

press opinions about the revolutionists, for one, felt that peace men, far from lying low at this period, ought now to preach even more vigorously the ideals of peace. Perhaps the oppressed peoples of Europe, aroused against their respective governments, but sympathetic with each other, might at this very time be inclined to listen to pleas for internationalism. Besides, pacifists were not alone in fearing a general war as a consequence of the struggle between revolution and reaction.

Now was the time for pacifism to protest, and Burritt determined to inaugurate at this very time a series of annual peace congresses, and to hold the first one in Paris, the center of the revolutionary agitation.

Burritt was the more encouraged to undertake such a project by reason of the successful outcome of a related plan. To lessen the tense relations between England and France, the League was sponsoring a Friendly Address movement between the chief cities of the two countries. Burritt himself had written the Friendly Address from London to Paris, adopted at Commerce Hall, an address depreciating British militarism and insisting that the people felt only the most kindly feelings towards France. Lamartine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Revolutionary Government, promised to insert this address in all the French Government papers, and to preserve it in the archives "as a bond of fraternity between the two peoples." French cities had replied in kind to these addresses, and the League of Universal Brotherhood liked to think that this "people's diplomacy" had contributed to softening the ill-feelings between the two countries.

It was owing largely to this previous work that, when Burritt went to Paris in August, 1848, to organize a peace congress, he carried with him the sympathies of members of the League both in England and in America. What a shame, he thought, as he hurried past the liberty trees and the recently barricaded boulevards, if obstacles should prevent the holding of a great demonstration! How unfortunate if fear of cannon should keep his British fellows from undertaking the

...evidence of the antagonism between the revolutions and pacifism. Communists, whom he naturally thought of as allies, refused to help him unless he would promise that the congress should come out for the national workshops and other communist schemes. The Paris mob, he was told, would misinterpret any such peace congress. To them it would be only a British effort to strengthen the French Government in its unpopular decision to withhold aid from revolutionary Italy. That is why friends of the cause, like the economists, Michel Chevalier and Horace Say, had turned their backs to his entreaties. Others, like Georges Sandes, had refused to lift a finger when it appeared that fighting alone could free the oppressed peoples. Was it such a consideration, perhaps, that explained his failure to hear from the German pacifist, Arnold Ruge, whom he had invited to participate in the congress? He had especially counted on Ruge because of his bold championship of a congress of nations on the floor of the Frankfort Parliament.

Even the Americans in Paris whose aid Burritt solicited were far more sympathetic with the ideal of national self-determination, for which the revolutionists in part stood. Indeed, some of the most outstanding leaders of Young America, a group championing the cause of the revolutionists, were also in Paris at this very time to further their cause. What a striking coincidence that brought together the pacifist leader and one of these young Americans, Colonel A. Dudley Mann, attaché at the American legation. Mann, whom Burritt actually asked to preside over the peace congress, was in fact about to start on an official mission to Hungary to determine whether the United States ought to recognize that revolutionary government. Here we have a striking pattern in which two national ideals conflict—America's duty to deal with the world in peace, and, on the other hand, America's duty to promote, even if it involved war, the self-determination of peoples. Neither Burritt nor Mann, as they discussed these antagonistic interpretations of their country's duty in this flare of revolutions, could anticipate that these same conflicting ideals would one

entrance into a great World War.

Unable to win support from any save a few Protestant pastors, Burritt waited day after day for leave from the Minister of the Interior to hold the peace congress. The interminable delay took him to Brussels, where the government was, on the contrary, so sympathetic and helpful that the American missionary of peace noted in his journal that the Lord had at last opened "the hearts of all men to his work."

If time allowed, a description of the Brussels Peace Congress, attended by three hundred delegates, would reveal a remarkable personnel—scholars, philanthropists, jurists, public men. The resolutions condemned war as opposed to the interest of the people and in utter violation of religion, justice, and reason. They recommended compulsory arbitration treaties, a court and congress of nations, and general and simultaneous disarmament throughout the civilized world, together with a widespread campaign for enlightening the people on the evils of war.

To give publicity to the Congress, Burritt and his friends held huge meetings in London, Manchester, and Birmingham, and a delegation presented its resolutions to Britain's prime minister, Lord John Russell. In soft words that official deplored the costly military establishments and admitted that such congresses as that of Brussels would doubtless tend to induce a spirit of moderation and concession.

As for the press, it naturally divided on the Brussels congress. The note of alarm struck by such conservative journals as the London *Times* suggests that the peace congress enjoyed support of a rather widespread character, and this is borne out by the favorable notices in several influential newspapers in both England and on the continent. A more tangible result was the fact that, among others, Richard Cobden was brought more actively into the peace movement and, after a notable campaign, introduced into Parliament a resolution committing the government to compulsory arbitration treaties. Though this resolution failed, it enlisted unexpected support. Likewise

Francisque Bouvet, one of the delegates at Brussels, introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies a resolution for scaling down armaments. Though this resolution met defeat, it attracted wide attention in France and elsewhere.

The fact that such a congress could be held in Europe in 1848 is probably connected with the rule excluding from the agenda all discussion of contemporary politics. In the succeeding annual congresses of this mid-century series the same rule held and kept them all "above the battle." These congresses, held in Paris in 1849, in Frankfort in 1850, and in London in 1851, were very much like the Brussels Congress, but better prepared for and attended, more widely advertised by meetings and in the press, and more successful in attracting prominent men into the movement. There had been little time for securing American delegates at the Brussels meeting; but at all of the other congresses there was adequate American representation, including official delegates appointed by the American Peace Society, as well as volunteer delegates gained through meetings, speeches, and correspondence. To stimulate this American interest and participation, Burritt and such pacifists as Amasa Walker worked indefatigably. Prior to the Frankfort Congress, Burritt himself returned to the United States, spoke, wrote, and organized, held public meetings, canvassed legislatures, and arranged for fifteen State peace conventions; so that in the Frankfort Congress the United States was especially well represented by forty delegates. But naturally, in all the congresses on Old World soil, European pacifists, especially British, were in the majority.

The last three congresses passed essentially the same resolutions as the first, taking a vigorous stand against war in any form and declaring against autocratic intervention to suppress revolutions. They declared, too, against war loans, and they favored disarmament and arbitration. This, in the midst of revolution and reaction, showed consistent courage. In the congresses at Paris and Frankfort pacifist leaders had to work against tremendous obstacles. That at Paris, presided over by Victor Hugo, was held in 1849,

while the city was still in a state of siege. That at Frankfort, the following year, encountered much opposition, as German nationalists, since the fiasco of the Frankfort Parliament, distrusted idealism and relied rather on military methods.

The Frankfort Congress was, perhaps, the most significant of the series. It aroused widespread interest and greatly stimulated pacifist activity in Germany. Moreover, it was the first pacifist assembly to which politicians appealed for aid. On the last day of the sittings an appeal came to the congress to appoint a committee for inquiry into the Schleswig-Holstein controversy with a view to arbitration. A voluntary committee, including Elihu Burritt, worked for months on the matter. Little practical influence as the committee probably had, the fact that politicians requested its help is significant.

The London Congress of 1851 was the largest yet held. But already pacifist enthusiasm for such meetings was dwindling. English peace men were occupied with their work against the British militia bill, while Burritt and his American friends were becoming increasingly concerned with the pre-civil-war problems at home. Besides, this series of great international meetings had accomplished the chief purpose for which it had been inaugurated. It had served vigorously to register pacifist protest against the militarism of mid-century Europe, had strengthened the peace movement in the eyes of the world, and had clarified, elaborated, and given publicity to the chief pacifist arguments and plans. More than this probably but few had hoped for.

While American advocates of peace were co-operating with those of Europe to minify the danger of general war in the Old World, new problems growing out of the revolutions of 1848 had to be met by pacifists. These revolutions crushed, their leaders aided and abetted by the volatile young American, George N. Sanders, American Consul in London, plotted new uprisings. Both British and American pacifists were again tempted by Kossuth's eloquent appeals to sacrifice their peace principles to their zeal for freedom. They stood their ground. In

America, interventionist feeling, mobilized by Young America, led many pacifists to preach Washington's doctrine of isolation. Internationalists that they were, they turned their backs to the kind of militaristic nationalism which Young America claimed was necessary to achieve the national ideal of promoting the freedom of all oppressed peoples.

While Sanders desperately tried to gather funds for expeditions to free Hungary, Burritt hurried home from his European labors to oppose such efforts. He sought out the hero of Young America, Stephen A. Douglas. He dined with President Pierce and warned him against Young American chauvinism. Young America was, after all, only a remote menace to peace; but organized pacifism took fright at its noise, and thus showed its intention of fighting rumors of war at home as well as dangers of war abroad.

If some pacifists hedged on the question of whether to put pacifism or nation rights first, and if some honestly chose the latter, it seems clear that, by and large, friends of the cause met the test consistently and courageously. This was true, especially in England and America. Vigorously as pacifists worked during this period, it does not appear that they accomplished any striking, tangible results in influencing governments. Though there was, perhaps, little real danger of the general war they feared, it is significant that, fearing it, they tried their wings. They inaugurated a kind of peoples' diplomacy between the cities of England and France; they held great meetings; they assembled together intellectuals and public men from several countries; they elaborated arguments and plans for peace; they waited on statesmen; they petitioned legislative assemblies; they tried to solve peaceably the thorny Schleswig-Holstein problem; they tried, in short, to seize a dramatic period of revolutions to strengthen their cause.

The probable failure of the peace movement to influence governments at this time is in line with the general failure of this reform movement to achieve concrete practical results. It would take us too far afield to try to account here for this failure; but certain general reasons may tentatively be suggested. In the first

place, such a movement meets the tremendous inertia of human nature—the persistence of social and political habits of long standing, in the face even of the most logical arguments against them. In the second place, the peace movement has been fraught with dissensions over the fundamental problems of how far the principles of pacifism were to be carried. These quandaries have dissipated the strength of the movement by leading to secessions as well as quarrels.

In the third place, pacifism has not in the past appealed to any special economic interests. While pacifists, even in 1848, were beginning to dwell on economic arguments against war, they have in general relied rather on idealistic propaganda and emotional appeal; and no very influential groups of men have become so convinced that, where their pocketbooks were concerned, they have joined the peace movement.

In the fourth place, the peace movement often suffered because its ideal came into conflict with other liberal ideals that at times proved stronger. Particularly was this true during the period of the mid-century revolutions, when nationalistic ideals were dominant. The peace movement has, perhaps, prospered less than other reform movements launched at the same time, such as antislavery and temperance, because it has been in more direct conflict with the prevailing political temper of the century. We would hardly expect a doctrine of internationalism to gain great headway during the very decades when the ideals of nationalism were so firing the imagination not only of the masses but of their intellectual leaders. The wonder is that peace men themselves stood by their colors as well as they did. In later conflicts of loyalties peace did not fare so well among pacifists. In the Civil War nearly all American friends of peace forfeited their peace principles and fought for the emancipation of the slave or national unity. In the World War the conflict between peace and national self-determination again arose.

This paper has suggested, in connection with the revolutions of 1848, some reasons for the practical ineffectiveness of the peace movement, particularly of its

conflict with the ideal of national self-determination; but only with a detailed historical study of the beginnings and development of the peace movement will

it be possible adequately to state the factors making for its success or failure, or properly to estimate its significance in intellectual history.

A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

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ON JULY 23, 1924, in the hallowed Hall of King Stephen at Westminster, at a joint meeting of the English, American, and Canadian bars, the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain said that he thought "the Declaration of Independence, . . . the great event of 1776, a fortunate event in the end: . . . it has done more to fashion and strengthen the ties between the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain and Canada than anything else in the world's history."

As, sitting beside him, I heard Lord Haldane express this sentiment, I thought me of the terrible perils these ties had experienced since 1776; and when George Washington was spoken of in another place as a "great English gentleman," I thought of the decisive influence he had had in keeping these ties intact.

The treaty concluded, September 3, 1783, the "Definitive Treaty of Peace" between the mother country and the revolting colonies, was intended to "promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony," and "to establish . . . a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries" (preamble of treaty).

But in the early days there never was real peace, real harmony, and by 1793 the relation between the countries was in a critical condition. In the United States one of the political parties, the Democratic, or, as it was sometimes called, the Republican-Democratic Party, was full of rancorous hatred toward Britain; the other, that of the Federalists, was anxious for "peace and harmony." Washington was, if of any, of the latter party: Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, Rufus King, George Cabot, Caleb Strong, and

the Executive, on the urgent request of Federalist leaders, backed up by the powerful influence of Robert Morris, the "Angel" of the Revolution, to send a special envoy to England with the view of reconciling the acute differences between the two countries. It was at first intended to send Hamilton; but he was the pet aversion of the Democrats and his ratification by the Senate was more than doubtful. Moreover, it was recognized that any treaty or agreement made by him would meet strenuous, not to say rancorous, opposition; and another envoy was sought. Had history repeated itself and Woodrow Wilson been as wise as George Washington, he would have appreciated the obvious fact that any treaty or agreement made by him might meet the like opposition from his political foes, who could not let him or his party make political capital out of a success in Europe. Perhaps the course of history would have been different but for his "single-track mind."

John Jay was then determined upon. He was a very able lawyer, who had been a member of the Continental Congress from 1774; and when Washington, in 1789, came to make his federal appointments, he asked Jay to take his choice. Jay chose the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court. He was appointed, and continued to fill that position with dignity and success, although, like a later Chief Justice, Salmon P. Chase, he did not abandon his ambition to become President of the United States; but he did not, like Chief Justice Chase, make that ambition manifest. It was thought that, having been out of active politics for some years, his appointment would not receive factious opposition.

him to accept the appointment, not, however, without much reluctance on his part. Had he foreseen the result of his acceptance, it probably would not have been given, as he was deprived of what seemed a reasonable certainty of succeeding Washington in the Presidency; and so it was left to Mr. Taft, in our own day, to be the first to fill both offices, the Presidency and the Chief Justiceship.

The nomination went to the Senate and was in three days confirmed by a vote of 18 to 8—not a single vote to spare. It is not at all likely that any nomination would have been received with any greater favor; but what was considered Jay's leaning toward England was urged against him, and the most outrageous charges were insinuated and even openly made.

We find Washington writing under date of May 6, 1794, from Philadelphia to his friend, Tobias Lear: "To effect these (*i. e.*, reparations for injuries), if possible, by temperate means, by fair and firm negotiation, an envoy extraordinary is appointed, and will, I expect, sail in a few days. Mr. Jay is chosen for this mission."
 . . . (*Letters and Recollections of George Washington*, New York, 1906, p. 71.)

Jay landed at Falmouth, June 12, 1794, and met Grenville, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. After considerable negotiation, they concluded a "Treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation" November 19, 1794, commonly known as Jay's Treaty, which is a milestone in the history of civilization and the beginning of modern international arbitration.

All kinds of reasons have been assigned by American authors for the success of Jay in obtaining a treaty at all, for this was for some time by no means certain. I shall quote from the last I have seen.

Dr. Milo M. Quaife, in his valuable work, *The Capture of Old Vincennes*, Indianapolis, 1927, p. xvi, says: "The determination of the American Government, best evidenced by the grim bayonet charge of Anthony Wayne's legion at Fallen Timbers, combined with the menace of a hostile combination on the Continent to induce the British ministry at length to

upon the Jay Treaty of 1795." Dr. Samuel Flagg Bemis, in his *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy*, Knights of Columbus Historical Series, New York, 1923, p. 178, tells of Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, August 24, 1794, but also of his check within range of the British guns at Fort Miamis, immediately thereafter, by the gallant and fearless Colonel Campbell, "at the very time when John Jay and Lord Grenville, in London, were arriving at a comprehensive settlement of the whole frontier situation." (By the way, Dr. Bemis calls Simcoe "the truculent governor of Upper Canada.")

It tends to excite a smile to read a suggestion that Grenville was affected by American bayonet charges. But Dr. Bemis' account is unfair to Jay. Although Dr. Gaillard Hunt, in the preface to Dr. Bemis' book, says explicitly that "England would not grant better terms to such a weak country as the United States then was" (p. xiii), Dr. Bemis speaks of Jay's "perfunctory attempt to place the onus of first infraction (of the Treaty of 1783) on Great Britain" (p. 236). "Grenville . . . knew every one of the cards. . . . Jay . . . had grown nervous and timid. . . . Convinced that he could get no better terms; that, on the whole, what he had were satisfactory, the American plenipotentiary affixed his signature November 14, 1794, to the treaty" (p. 251). But "Jay should have upheld the honor of the judicial court over which he presided at home" (p. 259). "He could have stressed the increased powers of the new Federal Government; . . . he had a valuable equivalent to set over against the British debt. . . . A proper use of this might have brought about a recognition," etc. "Jay consented to the discreditable principle," etc. "Jay's explanations of the use he made of these negro claims is not impressive. . . . It is difficult to explain . . . such unnecessarily humiliating expressions," etc. (pp. 260, 261). He "might have more ably defended," etc. "If these proposals had been pushed enough, they might have succeeded. . . . Jay did not make the most of the ad-

bettered by an abler negotiator" (pp. 267, 269). Throughout, it would seem to be this author's opinion that Britain made the treaty because Jay gave up everything worth having except peace, believed by the Federalists indispensable to the perpetuation of American nationality.

Other writers have discussed Britain's motives. I have found none who has shown full appreciation of two facts: First, Britain's contempt for the United States as a military factor; and, second, her sincere desire to help her separated children in any way not inconsistent with her own interests. As to the former, writers, knowing of the enormous power of the Republic today, carry back a similar conception to its early years. Even the War of 1812 was to Britain but an annoying episode, not a serious matter—a troublesome but minor thing, in the midst of the more serious difficulties of the French wars. As to the latter, the rancor and hatred of many Americans toward the mother country, which brought about, or at least contributed to bring about, the War of 1812, were considered to be shared by the English people and the government at Westminster. This baseless idea still flourishes in Chicago and elsewhere in the Union.

Washington was very dissatisfied with the treaty; he had hoped for and expected much better terms; but he knew that some treaty was necessary and, becoming convinced that this was the best that could be obtained, he, after retaining it for eight months, sent it to the Senate June 8, 1795; and, with the exception of one article, it barely passed by a vote of 20 to 10, June 24. Had a single Senator in favor of the treaty been absent, the treaty would have failed, and it may be taken as certain that it would have failed but for the fact "that Washington wished it to be accepted. With him still dwelt the voice of power. However lukewarm or even hostile the feeling towards him had become in some quarters, no one could truthfully accuse him of foreign partialities or of desertion of the American experiment in government" (Dr. Gaillard Hunt, *op cit.*, xii).

One's mind naturally turns to the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations; and I may be pardoned for

expressing the firm conviction that, if Woodrow Wilson had had the confidence of those of the opposite party which Washington had, the fate of the later treaty would have been different and the opposition of Lodge either wanting or futile. Wilson's efforts were considered intended to advance the interests of his own party. Washington was credited with pure patriotism.

So far, the terms of the treaty had been kept secret, and the Senate directed its members not to make them public; but Senator Mason, of Virginia, gave out a copy for publication a few days later. This was not the celebrated George Mason, of Virginia, the friend of Washington, but his eldest son, Col. Stevens Thomson Mason, born in 1760 and Senator from 1794 till his death, in 1803. He was, it is said, "distinguished for wit and eloquence," not, it would seem, for obedience. His grandson, of the same name, became the first Governor of Michigan.

Jay had not expected that his treaty would be popular, but he was not prepared for the outburst of popular execration. He had been denounced as a traitor and guillotined in effigy, even when he was in England negotiating, but before his return a few days he had been elected Governor of New York. Now the Democrats were enraged; Jay was burned in effigy; Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting in New York when defending the treaty, and Washington himself did not escape public abuse of the most virulent character. But the treaty was law; ratification was exchanged at London, October 28, 1795, and February 2, 1796, Washington proclaimed it, sending a copy to both Senate and House on March 1st. The reason for sending a copy to the House of Representatives was that money was needed to carry the treaty into effect, and money bills must originate in the House, not the Senate.

In the House a very active debate was had, lasting from March 7 to March 24, upon a resolution moved by Edward Livingston, of New York, who was always against Washington's administration, requesting the President to lay before the House a copy of Jay's instructions, and the correspondence and other documents connected with the treaty. This was in

effect asserting the right of the House at least to determine the advisability of carrying into effect the treaty, already approved, if not, indeed, to question its constitutional validity.

Some of those in favor of the motion rather concealed their opposition to the treaty, but in most cases it was plainly manifest. The chief supporters of the motion were Livingston and Havens, of New York; Lyman and Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, a strong Virginia contingent—Madison, Brent, Giles, and Nicholas—with Baldwin, of Georgia, and Gallatin, of Pennsylvania. Of these, Madison, at least, showed the anglophobe animus which less than a score of years later had much to do with the incidence of "Madison's War" of 1812.

It may be confidently asserted that all the Representatives really in favor of the treaty opposed Livingston's motion; such were Buck, of Vermont; Tracy and Griswold, of Connecticut; Williams, Gilbert and Cooper, of New York; Isaac Smith, of New Jersey; W. Smith and Harper, of South Carolina, and others.

A verbatim report of the debate is to be found in a rare volume: *Debates in the House of Representatives of the United States during the first session of the Fourth Congress. Part I: Upon the Constitutional powers of the House with respect to treaties. Philadelphia. Printed for Benj. Franklin Bache by Bioreu and Madan, sold at No. 112 Market Street, 1796.*

The debate was, as a rule, on a high plane. There was, indeed, an occasional exaggeration. Buck, of Vermont, for example, gave a sample in combatting the contention that the President's position in treaty-making was analogous to that of the king:

"in short, there is no attribute belonging to Deity which Blackstone does not ascribe to the king, and no right or power whatever which God Almighty can possess but by the British constitution is given to the king. Nay, though he may possess the heart of a vulture, the rage of a lion, and the venom of an asp, he is, nevertheless, born their king and their constitutional god."

And again:

"Their king stands as the constitutional god, and passive obedience and non-resistance

are due from the people to his sovereign will."

Of course, a prince regent was still in the future, but the Vermonter must, at least, have heard of the second Edward, Richard, and James and the first Charles. The literalism which must needs be applied in the case of a written constitution was already manifest in the new nation; already was to be seen and heard the new and American, non-British meaning of the word "constitutional."

An occasional bit of "hifalutin'" fustian was indulged in. Rutherford gave pages to "a virtuous, great, and rising people," and others were equally laudatory. A very considerable anti-British feeling also showed itself; this was not unnatural; the Revolution was not yet history. But, on the whole the speeches were logical, luminous, and to the point; necessarily many of them covered the same ground, for the point was a narrow one: Does a treaty, when approved by the Senate, become the law when duly proclaimed, so that the House is bound by it and must do all that is necessary to carry it into effect? Or is it the right, and consequently the duty, of the House to determine whether it should be carried into effect? Very interesting, and in some cases ingenious, analogies were drawn between the King and the President (as yet the power of the President was considered very inferior to that of the King—*ils ont changé tout cela*); between the House of Lords and the Senate (the Senate did not as yet overshadow the House); between the House of Commons and the House of Representatives (the House of Representatives was yet the dominating partner); the people of Britain, who had nothing to do with the laws except to obey them, and from whom were due passive obedience and nonresistance to the King's sovereign will, and the people of the United States, who are sovereigns themselves, who make the laws and to whose sovereign will are due from the President passive obedience and nonresistance. At length, on March 24, after about three weeks of debate, the matter came to a vote. The yeas and nays being called for, the vote stood 62 to 37, 5 being absent, and Dayton, of New Jersey,

the Speaker, not voting (he had in committee of the whole voted against the resolution). The committee appointed to present the resolution to the President (Livingston and Gallatin) reported, March 25, that he answered "that he would take the resolution into consideration."

It may be said with practical certainty that had Washington acceded to the request of the House, the treaty would not have been carried into effect, the friction between the English-speaking peoples would have continued and increased, with war a decade or more before it came, and that international arbitration would have received a setback which it would require generations to overcome.

Washington's message of reply, received by the House March 30, and dated "United States, March 30," is a model of statesmanship, dignity, and strength. He could not "lose sight of the principle some had avowed in its discussion or . . . avoid extending his views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle." He pointed out that every House of Representatives had theretofore acquiesced in the construction of the Constitution, which declared of treaties "that when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, they became obligatory"; that "till now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect"; and that it was perfectly clear to his mind "that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty." Consequently, he concluded, "a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of the case, forbid a compliance with your request."

On March 31 Blount, of North Carolina, moved the submission of the message to a committee of the whole on the state of the Union. This led to an animated debate, some members treating the proposition with levity, even with ridicule, only to be chided by others, like Giles, of Virginia, or reasoned with, more in sorrow than in anger, by Gallatin, of Pennsylvania. The amending motion of Giles

On April 6, by a vote of 57 to 36, the House went into committee of the whole on the President's message. Madison, of Virginia, was the protagonist against the President, and in the result two resolutions were carried, April 7, by a vote of 57 to 35, asserting, *inter alia*, that while the House did not claim any part in the making of treaties, yet that "when a treaty stipulates regulations on any of the subjects submitted by the Constitution to the power of Congress, . . . it is the power and duty of the House of Representatives in all such cases to deliberate on the expediency or in expediency of carrying such treaty into effect, and to determine and act thereon as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good." In other words, the President can make and the Senate validly approve a treaty, but it may be nullified by the other branch of Congress.

On April 13, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the Union. The debates are reported *verbatim* in Part II of the publication already mentioned, issued at Philadelphia in 1796.

After considerable jangling and some bad temper over the order in which the three treaties (with Spain, with Algiers, and with Britain) should be taken up, those with Spain and Algiers were favorably disposed of, and the resolution for carrying into effect that with Britain (*i. e.*, Jay's Treaty) was read on April 14. Maclay, of Pennsylvania, moved the resolution: "That, under the circumstances . . . and with such information as the House possess, it is not expedient at this time to concur in passing the laws necessary for carrying the said treaty into effect," and the stage was set for a battle royal.

To understand what follows, it is necessary to give consideration to the matters of dispute. In the first place, in the definitive treaty of 1783, the King, by Article VII, agreed to withdraw his troops without "carrying away any negroes or other property" of the Americans. Many negro slaves had come into the British lines, being invited to do so by a proclamation which promised them their free-

later, was so effective that many—probably as many as 4,000—negro slaves came under the Union Jack. Some had been sent to loyal British territory and some remained with the British army. The delivery of these emancipated negroes was demanded. Sir Guy Carleton, commanding at New York, absolutely refused to give up a single one, saying that they were free men from the time they entered the British lines and so were no longer “property.”

When one sees a historian contend that this was a breach of faith on the part of Britain, one is tempted to ask, Who could possibly have thought that Britain would break faith with the oppressed slave? What would be thought of her if she did? What would be thought of Lincoln if for any reason he gave back to slavery those whom he had emancipated, even without previous promise?

The negroes were demanded more than once in after years, always with a peremptory refusal. By 1793, the demand had been reduced to a demand for compensation, and Jay was instructed to ask for compensation for not restoring the negroes. Grenville refused even to consider it and Jay dropped the claim. The failure to obtain compensation for these emancipated negroes was advanced by many Representatives as a good reason for rejecting the treaty, and certain historians—*e. g.*, Dr. Bemis, *op. cit.*, p. 260—make it a matter of reproach to Jay that he “so readily threw this weapon out of his armor.” Precisely why he should have persisted in a perfectly futile demand is not made to appear.

Among the Representatives advancing this reason for rejecting the treaty are Maclay, of Pennsylvania; Madison, of Virginia, who complained of the “very extraordinary abandonment of the compensation due for the negroes”; Nicholas, of Virginia, who thought “all must blush” at the abandonment of the “claims for negroes carried off,” etc.; Findley, of Pennsylvania, who “believed the claim for recompense for negroes was as strong as that for the recovery of British debts and as equitable.” Then Preston said that “Congress and even Camillus [Hamilton]

declared by all descriptions of people, from the schoolboy to the Senator”; and Moore, of Virginia, thought that on any other construction the article was at least nugatory. Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, pointed out that whatever view should be drawn from Vattel’s discussion of the right of Postliminium, “Congress had recognized that [American] construction by adopting the resolution which . . . was introduced upon the motion of Mr. Alexander Hamilton; and it had not been denied that the British ministry, during Mr. Adams’s embassy, had also agreed to it.”

Swift, of Connecticut, on the other hand, “was surprised that any person could ever have entertained the opinion that they were entitled to compensation, . . . that point was so clear as not to admit of any doubt.” . . . Hillhouse, also of Connecticut, agreed that the negroes “were no longer the property of the American inhabitants.” Coit, of Connecticut, while acknowledging that it seemed very extraordinary to him that the American interpretation had so universally prevailed if it was not the true one, still believed that “the true construction of the article was that it was designed only to prevent plunder by the British troops.” He knew that this was what “had been called the *British* construction and *Camillus’s* [*i. e.*, Hamilton’s; he wrote under that name] construction, but if Jay “was convinced that the American construction of this article was unfounded, he thought it for his honor and the honor of his country that he had abandoned it.” Tracy, of Connecticut, quoting Vattel, considered that these negroes were *men*, and “no law, human or divine, could or ought to coerce a return to their former slavery, and no such construction could, with a shadow of propriety, be given to the words of the treaty.”

Some members did not want any discussion at all. “Every gentleman had made up his mind on the subject, and if they debated for three weeks no change of opinion would take place,” said Buck, of Vermont. Jeremiah Smith, of Maryland, was “against a discussion upon the British treaty being gone into.” Bourne, of Rhode Island, wanted no further delay:

member." Murray thought that "the country requires of us, at this crisis, acts and not speeches."

Others, like Giles, of Virginia, thought "it would not be treating the public mind with a sufficient degree of respect to take a hasty vote on the subject." Nicholas, of New York, wanted "a discussion of the merits of the treaty, . . . a fair investigation, . . . as the most likely means of producing . . . calm in the public mind."

Some light is thrown on the opposition to the treaty by Kittera, of Pennsylvania. "Two causes have contributed much to prejudice the American mind against the treaty: First, an enthusiasm for France, struggling in the cause of liberty against the combined monarchs of Europe, in which combination the very power with whom the treaty was made formed a prominent part; secondly, strong resentment against Britain for injuries received during a tedious and cruel war, and these injuries renewed by a detention of our western posts." . . . More than once the prejudice against Britain (wholly natural as it was) was spoken of, and many of those who were in favor of the treaty thought it necessary to protest their continued friendship to France.

In the Definitive Treaty of 1783, the territory to the right of the Great Lakes and connecting rivers was awarded to the new Republic, to be given up "with all convenient speed"; but it was also agreed that there should be no legal obstacle to the collection of debts in full. Hardly had the treaty been ratified before some of the States passed legislation to harass the collection of British debts. There was as yet no Supreme Court to declare these laws invalid, and the United States could do nothing about it. It must be remembered that until after 1787 the "United States" was a plural term and connoted rather a somewhat loose aggregation of separate States than one nation. The pronoun to be used was "they," not "it," much less "she."

Britain kept possession of the border posts—Michillimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, etc.; it was not "convenient" to give them up, the British debts remaining unpaid and uncollectible. American writers, almost to a man, consider this not a real

reason but a pretext, *ex post facto* at that; but the more candid admit that if it was only an excuse, it was a strong one. Some of the Representatives in 1796, by an amusing inversion of fact, make the obnoxious legislation the effect of and in retaliation for the retention of the border posts by Britain and therefore Britain the original and only transgressor and treaty-breaker. Nicholas, of Virginia, indeed, asserted that "before the treaty (of 1783) became binding Great Britain, by carrying away the negroes, put it out of her power to execute the contract she had made," . . . while Smith, of Maryland, said that "the ground on which . . . the States placed legal impediments to the recovery of British debts" was "that Lord Dorchester (then, of course, Sir Guy Carleton) had refused to deliver up or pay for the negroes, which by the treaty ought to have been restored, . . . which slaves by their labor would have assisted their masters to pay those debts . . . and . . . the *British* . . . were . . . the first aggressors." With him in the latter view was Preston.

By Jay's Treaty the United States undertook to pay the British debts and Britain to give up the posts by June 1, 1796. Dr. Bemis finds fault with Jay (*op. cit.*, pp. 259, 260, 268) for not insisting on the power of the federal courts, under the Constitution of 1787, to declare the obnoxious legislation invalid and considers his "unsuccess as to the debts . . . one of the glaring deficiencies of the negotiation." This failure to insist on the dignity of his court does not seem to have called for censure in the House.

Some Representatives, as Maclay, of Pennsylvania, complained that the posts were not to be delivered up in the condition they should have been delivered up under the Treaty of 1783. In Jay's instructions there were two, and only two, positive and binding directions: not to enter into any treaty which would involve breaking agreements with France, and not to agree to any trade treaty that did not give American vessels the right to trade with the British West Indies. He was recommended to press for compensation for seizures under orders in council, claimed to be against international law;

for an admission of the favorite American doctrine (as it must be a favorite of every noncombatant), that neutral ships make neutral goods.

It was contended in the House by Maclay, of Pennsylvania, that the principle, free ships make free goods, was one of the "dearest rights of neutral nations"; but even yet it is not acknowledged. Madison, of Virginia, did not go so far, but only said that it was "a great and favorite object with the United States." Coit, of Connecticut, quoting from Jefferson's correspondence with Genet, showed that Jefferson had "very clearly and ably evinced the doctrine that free ships do not make free goods to be the law of laws, . . . the law of nations."

As to the contention that "free ships make free goods," Goodhue, of Massachusetts, pointed out that "it could not be expected that Great Britain, the most powerful nation on the ocean, would ever accede to such a principle." Tracy, of Connecticut, said that he believed "there was not a treaty existing, to which Great Britain was a party, in which that principle was recognized," and he considered the attempt to advance the idea that the omission to have it included in Jay's Treaty was due to neglect on Jay's part was "unfair in the extreme."

Gilbert twits Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, with contending that the principle was "so indispensably important . . . that the negotiator ought never, *never* to have abandoned that demand, while that enlightened gentleman [Gallatin] . . . admits that Great Britain *could not* and *would not* have consented to it." It is, of course, well known that Britain does not admit the doctrine to this day.

Some, like Moore, of Virginia, denied that the Executive, by treaty, could "supersede all legislative powers vested in Congress," which was the construction placed by Washington on the Constitution; and, thinking that by voting to carry the treaty into effect they would be recognizing this construction, felt bound to vote against any motion of the kind. Heath, of Virginia, thought that, having given the *quid*, they had not received the *quo*; and, anyway, the treaty was "an illegitimate and not the truly begotten offspring of the United States." The

"able American negotiator . . . winged his flight over the Atlantic to the British throne to beg for mercy. . . . Humility is a godlike virtue, but it seldom succeeds when addressed to a hardened Pharaoh."

Madison's speech against the treaty is by far the strongest. He attacks it on every ground: national honor and prestige, financial advantage, future prosperity and security, future expansion to the west. Giles, of the same State [Virginia], was a good second. Gallatin's speech, of which much was expected, was a great disappointment; he took practically every ground against the treaty, but finished by advising a postponement of the vote—a course which he thought would not lead to war. He aroused the wrath of Tracy, of Connecticut, who "could not feel thankful to . . . him for coming all the way from Geneva to give Americans a character of pusillanimity." Called to order by General Heister, of Pennsylvania, who said "it was intolerable"; by Heath, of Virginia, and Christie, of Maryland, but being ruled in order, Tracy proceeded: "That gentleman [Mr. Gallatin] said yesterday, the negotiation with Great Britain was begun in *fear*, carried on through *fear*, and the treaty made by the same motive. When it arrived in this country the Senate sanctioned it and the President placed his signature to it from *fear*, and now there was an attempt to obtain the sanction of the House of Representatives from *fear*. All these expressions, in an unqualified manner, the gentleman had applied to this country. . . . He [Tracy] wished to look in the face of that gentleman, or Mr. Heister, or any other who dared say the American character was one of cowardice."

Those who supported the treaty used various arguments. Swift, of Connecticut, thought not to vote the necessary appropriation involved "a manifest absurdity and contradiction." Kitchell pointed out the "only three alternatives: Either to give aid to the treaty, continue to bear the insults of Great Britain, or else to determine resolutely on the *dernier resort*, war. . . . They were yet in infancy and a war would increase their debts, reduce their strength, destroy their commerce, to say nothing of the horrors attendant." Tracy "would say again and

we could defeat this treaty and avoid going to war."

The hope of making better terms by further negotiations, as suggested by Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, and others, was ridiculed by several. *E. g.*, Griswold, of Connecticut, said: "I could hardly imagine that any gentleman would seriously support the opinion that had been delivered on that floor, 'that in case the present treaty was rejected a new envoy might be sent to Great Britain and a new treaty immediately concluded.' . . .

Were the House . . . to send an envoy on this errand, . . . it can hardly be expected that the reasons which have been delivered in this House will convince the President of any error. . . . No gentleman could be found in the committee seriously to imagine anything of this nature could take place." . . . Nor would it do to delay. The British were to deliver up the border post on June 1, and it was idle to suppose that they would implement their agreement if the United States was not going to carry out the equivalent. Britain was not too anxious in any case, and it would not do to give her another excuse.

The material inducements were great; but it is practically certain that but for the confidence felt by the people in Washington—a confidence that was by this time substantially reinstated—coupled with a regard for national honor, the treaty would have failed. Confidence in Washington was rather indicated than expressed in the House; distrust rather deprecated than disclaimed. There were, indeed, a few who ventured on a field which was avoided by most others.

Lyman, of Massachusetts, said that his constituents were "pretty well satisfied with the treaty, . . . not from a . . . knowledge of the constituent parts, . . . but from a full confidence in the integrity and discernment of the Supreme Executive." He also pointed out that those who were interested in commerce were almost universally satisfied, and, referring to the extraordinary charges made out of doors, indignantly asks, "Has the President of the United States, after twenty years of patriotism, become a traitor?"

Eedgewick, of Massachusetts, indignantly repudiates any intention to charge

verenate . . . the guarantee . . . fills with so much dignity the chair of state." Rutherford said: "We all regard the President as a common parent," and he adjures the "eastern patriots . . . not to be duped by an opinion that malignity and party spirit actuates members to bitterness against the President . . . for sinister purposes."

The acceptance of the treaty was urged on the high ground of national honor by Kittera, of Pennsylvania. "My country's faith is pledged, a solemn contract is made; it would therefore be unwise and impolite, as it concerns the interest, and dishonorable, as it concerns the character of this nation, . . . to violate so solemn a contract." Henderson, of New Jersey, considered it a matter "in which public faith with a foreign nation is not only implicated but pledged and in danger of being prostrated." Failure to implement it would mean "our national faith and honor prostrated." Ames, of Massachusetts, devoted most of a long and eloquent speech to the same theme. "*Shall we break the treaty?*" he cries. "Admit that it is bad; is it so very fatal as to oblige the nation to break its faith?" For "a treaty is the promise of a nation. If by executing the treaty, there is no possibility of dishonor, and if by rejecting there is some foundation for doubt and for reproach, it is not for me to measure, it is for your own feelings to estimate, the vast distance that divides the one alternative from the other. Is half our honor put at risk, and is that half too cheap to be redeemed?" By "this hair-splitting subdivision of good faith, . . . shall we add a new chapter to that law (international law) or insert this doctrine as a supplement to, or more properly a repeal of, the Ten Commandments? To expatiate on the value of public faith may pass with some men for declamation; to such men I have nothing to say. To others I will urge, can any circumstance mark upon a people more turpitude and debasement? Can anything tend more to . . . degrade to a lower point their estimation of virtue and their standard of action? . . . Good faith . . . is the philosophy of politics, the religion of governments. . . . America should not furnish the occasion of this opprobrium"

Well might Dayton, of New Jersey, the Speaker, say in committee that the objections to the treaty "had been answered by a gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Ames) in a strain of eloquence never excelled in that House, which affected every one who heard and . . . had convinced most of those who listened to him."

In the event the House divided 48 to 48 for declaring the treaty *highly* objectionable, and the Speaker decided in the negative: 49 to 49 for declaring the treaty objectionable, and again the Speaker decided in the negative: 51 to 48 for carrying the treaty into effect, some because it was a good one, others because it was best to execute it under existing circumstances. The honor of the United States was saved and it was not till more than a century later that any first-class power avowed the doctrine that a treaty is a "scrap of paper."

The ratification of Jay's Treaty was a triumph for the Federal Party and a blow to the Democrats and Francophiles. The resulting peace enabled Hamilton to show

nas its beneficial effects to this day. How the Federal Party used its power is an oft-told tale, which I do not repeat.

What we now consider the most significant part of the treaty—that is, leaving to joint survey or arbitration the determination of boundary lines—is passed over *sub silentio*. I find the Articles IV and V mentioned by Giles, of Virginia, "passed over . . . without comment." His seems to be the only mention. Article IV leaves to a joint survey the determination of the boundary to the west, and Article V leaves the determination of the true River St. Croix (between Maine and New Brunswick) to a joint commission, one commissioner to be appointed by each government and the third selected by lot.

This, a model to be followed in all future time, was saved to the world by George Washington, who thus deserves to have added to his title, "Father of his Country," one equally great or even greater, "Father of the Solidarity of the English-speaking Peoples"—a solidarity which Madison did his best to destroy, but failed in 1812 as in 1796.

CRUELTY AS PLEASURE MAN'S MONOPOLY*

BY Dr. A. SHADWELL

IN *The Times* of January 12 was a telegram from Shanghai, which quotes a Swatow correspondent on the Communist reign of terror in the Haifung and Lufung districts. He says:

"It is not merely massacre, but massacre with fiendish delight in cruelty and in gloating over the agonies of the victims. . . . Those are regarded as fortunate who are summarily shot or beheaded, but many poor wretches have undergone the agony of dismemberment or the historic slicing process, with new refinements of cruelty, before they were allowed to die."

I quote this intelligence, which was confirmed on January 18, partly because

* From *London Times*, January 28, 1928.

it is recent, but still more because it accurately describes the kind of cruelty to which I wish to draw attention.

The word cruelty is loosely applied in everyday use to a great many conditions which involve, or are believed to involve, suffering, whether of body or mind. People do not think about the nature of cruelty, but they nevertheless discriminate roughly between different grades; and it will be found, I think, on examination, that they are influenced by two considerations. One is the extent of suffering caused, the other is the motive. The former forms no valid criterion, because suffering varies indefinitely among human beings with race, custom, upbringing, expectation, and other conditions, which change from age to age; and we have no accurate knowledge of what the other ani-

mals suffer, though we can to some extent judge from the demeanor of domestic animals. In extreme cases, such as that of a cat soaked in petrol and then set fire to, there is no doubt that it suffered all the pain of which it was capable; but, on the other hand, a dog run over and wounded to death gave no sign of suffering on being taken in and tended till it died. I do not mean that to run over a dog is not cruel, but only that the suffering caused is too indeterminate a factor to permit one to base grades of cruelty upon it. We are driven to the motive, and judged by this I would distinguish three grades of cruelty: (1) that committed with an ulterior motive, which may be good or bad or doubtful; (2) that committed in thoughtlessness, which entails no conscious motive; (3) that committed of set purpose for its own sake. In all these it should be understood that judgment is also influenced by the amount of suffering inflicted.

Food and Sport

(1) By far the greatest number of cases belongs to the first class. It includes war, the chase, trapping, vivisection, slaughter for food, the marketing of live produce, menageries and creatures in captivity, set contests such as bull-fights, the baiting of sundry animals, punishment for offenses. Generally speaking, there is a growing tendency in Western nations to regret and minimize cruelty in these cases. In war the most frightful cruelties are inevitable, which is one reason for its abolition; but the ulterior object is still held to justify them, though that feeling is perceptibly weakening. In the chase a distinction should be drawn between marauding animals, dangerous to mankind and to domestic creatures, and those pursued for sport or professional reasons. In the first case the object of self-preservation overrides the element of cruelty altogether. No one, I imagine, is interested in the amount of cruelty inflicted on a pack of marauding wolves or on a man-eating tiger, though there may be pride in the record of a clean kill. In the chase for sport or as a profession, by big-game hunters and trappers, the case is different. The overriding factor of self-preservation is not present and the object is doubtful. Here the amount of suffering comes in.

Many people, while allowing the chase, think it cruel to pursue a red deer in the sea or to dig out a fox, and would insist on humane traps. It is a large field and full of doubts. With vivisection the ulterior object is the advancement of knowledge, which is held to be good, though in this country the law insists on minimizing the cruelty by generally prescribing anaesthetics. There is a vast amount of unnecessary cruelty inflicted in slaughter-houses and in marketing and generally in the treatment of domestic animals—more, probably, than in all the other fields put together, for it is universal and continuous.

Here the law steps in to decide whether particular acts are cruel or not, and how far they may be extenuated by the ulterior object. It shows how opinion changes that before 1822 there was no law prohibiting cruelty to animals, and that the first act on the subject was passed only after long agitation; before that the owner of an animal or anyone licensed by him could do anything he pleased to it. In many of the cases brought up now under the acts the cruelty belongs to the third grade: it is deliberate.

Captive Animals

Protection is to a certain extent applied also to wild creatures in this country by the act of 1900, which illustrates my point by making exception of acts done for food or sport; these are ulterior objects. Set contests, as well as baiting, were prohibited in 1849. The object here is nothing but amusement, which is plainly held inadequate. Bull-fighting, in which there is much cruelty for the sake of amusement, is only tolerated, I believe, by Spaniards. With regard to menageries and captive wild things, they serve for instruction as well as amusement; but whether they are justified is a moot point. For creatures which take kindly to captivity it may well be; but all are not like that. I shall never forget the ceaseless rhythmical efforts to escape of a polecat in the Zoological Gardens of Petersburg and of an otter at Copenhagen. Confinement seemed to have driven them mad, as it does dogs, which change their nature and become sullen and morose when too strictly confined. I cannot think such

cases justified by the ulterior object. And the same is true of several kinds of caged birds, whose capture also entails much cruelty. Speaking generally, one may say that mere pleasure is insufficient to justify even a small amount of cruelty. Let us remember the lesson which Wordsworth divided with the shepherd at Hart Leap well:

Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels.

The treatment of prisoners under legal sentence presents peculiar difficulties, because it raises the question of the object of punishment and also because the valuation of cruelty varies widely with individuals. It may be laid down, however, that the law has nothing to do with actual cruelty according to the current standard, and if this occurs it is due to some defect in the apparatus or to some wrong-doing on the part of an administrator, who misses the opportunity, not to promote the real ulterior object, but to gratify his own feelings. In short, it belongs to the third grade. This appears to have been the case with Dr. Lipinski's treatment at Tiflis, for he was ordered to the hospital by the new commandant. His experience goes to show that in Russia political prisoners are frequently treated with extreme barbarity, which means either that the administrators of prisons are under no control, but do as they please, or that the whole thing is a part of the present system of administration.

Charles Reade has shown in his novel, "It Is Never Too Late To Mend," how completely a humane code may be misused by a bad governor; and we must remember that before John Howard started his investigations in the latter part of the 18th century no one knew what went on in gaols, because no one thought of inquiring. He disclosed a shocking state of things, which led immediately to reforms.

(2) Thoughtless cruelty is a difficult subject, because there are so many borderline cases. It is generally ascribed to children or other irresponsible persons, who are supposed not to know what they are doing. But unless they are very young indeed or quite mad, they know they are doing something wrong. They reveal it

the moment they are challenged and asked, "Why do you do that?" Can it ever be said that a child does not know that it is inflicting pain? The children who went about in an agricultural show striking animals in the face with sticks certainly knew. So did the boys who cut a number of calves about with knives. On the other hand, neglect from forgetfulness is different. It is a poor excuse, but there is no positive cruelty. The man who forgot a calf and left it out at night to perish in a snowstorm could not have wanted to lose it. There is such a thing as real forgetfulness which leads to cruelty inflicted without conscious purpose and discriminates anyone guilty of it from the third class.

Man and Beast

(3) This may be called absolute cruelty. In Johnson's dictionary the first definition of the word "cruel" is "pleased with hurting others." That correctly describes this motive. The second definition is "inhuman," and we do talk of such conduct as inhuman. Yet it is essentially and peculiarly human. The other animals are innocent of cruelty in the sense of inflicting pain for its own sake. They prey upon each other without remorse and inflict a vast amount of pain; but not for the sake of inflicting it. And they do not prey upon their own kind, as Juvenal remarks:

Sed jam serpentum major concordia; parcit
Cognatis maculis similis fera. Quando leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? Quo nemore unquam

Exspiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam; saevis inter se convenit ursis.

Lactantius, following the same line of argument, observes that nature makes animals spare their own kind:

In omnibus cuius videmus animalibus conciliatricem sui esse naturam. Nocent igitur alitis, ut sibi prosint; nesciunt enim, quia malum est, nocere.

In the winter of 1916 wolves attacked both Russian and German troops on the fighting line, but they did not attack each other; they left that to the man. But man preys upon his own kind as well as

on all the others, and inflicts pain deliberately for no other purpose than itself, well knowing what it is. That is the difference between a cat playing with a mouse, which it intends to devour, and human torture. It is doubtful if the hunted creatures, which live continually in a normal state of fear of many enemies, are capable of feeling their fate acutely when caught; and a mouse in the paws of a cat has at least the hope of escape, which is sometimes realized. But, however this may be, the cat is perfectly innocent; it does not rejoice in the pain caused, of which it knows nothing. It plays with the mouse as a thing that runs, and is equally ready to play with a leaf or a ball or anything else that will run. The position of a man who deliberately inflicts pain is totally different; he knows what he is doing, and that is why he does it. He is pleased to hurt others. This is the reason for the torture of captives by savages; but there is no need to go to savages for it. Some natures do it whenever a creature is suf-

ficiently in their power. It accounts for the treatment of slaves, for instance; and not of them only. The records of the police reveal extreme cruelty of this kind exercised upon helpless animals and children, and that by persons of education and refinement. There is undoubtedly less than there used to be, but there is still enough to occupy the societies.

What I should like to know is where the character that takes pleasure in inflicting suffering comes from, if we are descended—or ascended—from the other animals who have it not. There is a line about letting the ape and tiger die. I see it quoted pretty often, generally against war; but I do not know why, for the ape and the tiger do not make war. In like manner conduct of which brutes and beasts are perfectly innocent is commonly called brutal and bestial. We have heard a good deal about the divine spark, in which animals do not share, in man; what about the infernal spark, in which also they do not share?

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

FULL TEXT OF THE KELLOGG NOTES TO BERLIN, TOKYO, AND ROME, APRIL 13, 1928

As Your Excellency is aware, there has recently been exchanged between the governments of France and the United States a series of notes dealing with the question of a possible international renunciation of war. The views of the two governments have been clearly set forth in the correspondence between them.

The Government of the United States, as stated in its note of February 27, 1928, desires to see the institution of war abolished and stands ready to conclude with the French, British, German, Italian, and Japanese governments a single multilateral treaty open to subsequent adherence by any and all other governments binding the parties thereto not to resort to war with one another.

The Government of the French Republic, while no less eager to promote the cause of

world peace and to co-operate with other nations in any practical movement towards that end, has pointed out certain considerations which in its opinion must be borne in mind by those powers which are members of the League of Nations, parties to the Treaties of Locarno or parties to other treaties guaranteeing neutrality.

French Position Questioned

My government has not conceded that such considerations necessitate any modification of its proposal for a multilateral treaty, and is of the opinion that every nation in the world can, with a proper regard for its own interests, as well as for the interests of the entire family of nations, join such a treaty. It believes, moreover, that the execution by France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States of a treaty solemnly renouncing war in favor of the pacific settlement of international controversies would have tremendous moral effect

and ultimately lead to the adherence of all the other governments of the world.

The discussions which have taken place between France and the United States have thus reached a point where it seems essential, if ultimate success is to be attained, that the British, German, Italian and Japanese governments should each have an opportunity formally to decide to what extent, if any, its existing commitments constitute a bar to its participation with the United States in an unqualified renunciation of war.

In these circumstances the Government of the United States, having reached complete agreement with the Government of the French Republic as to this procedure, has instructed me formally to transmit herewith, for the consideration of your government, the text of M. Briand's original proposal of last June, together with copies of the notes subsequently exchanged between France and the United States on the subject of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war.

I have also been instructed by my government to transmit herewith for consideration a preliminary draft of a treaty representing in a general way the form of treaty which the Government of the United States is prepared to sign with the French, British, German, Italian, and Japanese governments and any other governments similarly disposed. It will be observed that the language of Articles I and II of this draft treaty is practically identical with that of the corresponding articles in the treaty which M. Briand proposed to the United States.

The Government of the United States would be pleased to be informed, as promptly as may be convenient, whether Your Excellency's Government is in a position to give favorable consideration to the conclusion of a treaty such as that transmitted herewith, and if not, what specific modifications in the text thereof would make it acceptable.

Proposed Treaty

Text of suggested draft treaty accompanying note:

The President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the President of the German Empire, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, deeply sensible that their high office imposes upon them a solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; inspired

by a common desire not only to perpetuate the peaceful and friendly relations now happily subsisting between their peoples, but also to prevent war among any of the nations of the world; desirous by formal act to bear unmistakable witness that they condemn war as an instrument of national policy and renounce it in favor of the pacific settlement of international disputes; hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy, have decided to conclude a treaty and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries, who, having communicated to one another their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article II. The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, or whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Article III. The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at —.

This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a power shall be deposited at —, and the treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the power thus adhering and the other powers parties hereto.

It shall be the duty of the government of — to furnish each government named in the preamble and every government subsequently adhering to this treaty with a certified copy of the treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the government of — telegraphically to notify such governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in the French and English languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

M. BRIAND'S PROPOSED TREATY

The French reply to Secretary Kellogg's proposal to renounce war as an instrument of international policy was given out by our Department of State April 21. The full text of M. Briand's proposed treaty follows:

Draft of Proposed Treaty Submitted by the French Government to the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan, April 21, 1928.

The President of the German Empire, the President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of England, Ireland and the British Dominions, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, equally desirous, not only of perpetuating the happy relations of peace and friendship now existing among their peoples, but also to avoid the danger of war between all other nations in the world; having agreed to consecrate in a solemn act their most formal and most definite resolution to condemn war as an instrument of national policy and to renounce it in favor of a peaceful settlement of international conflicts; expressing, finally, the hope that all the other nations of the world will be willing to join in this humane effort to bring about the association of the civilized peoples in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, have decided to conclude a treaty and to that end have designated as their respective plenipotentiaries the President of the German Empire, the President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, who, after exchanging their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

Article I

The high contracting parties, without any intention to infringe upon the exercise of their rights of legitimate safe-defense within the framework of existing treaties, particularly when the violation of certain of the provisions of such treaties constitutes a hostile act, solemnly declare that they condemn recourse to war and renounce it as an instrument of national policy; that is to say, as an instrument of individual spontaneous and independent political action taken on their own initiative and not action in respect of which they might become involved

through the obligation of a treaty such as the Covenant of the League of Nations or any other treaty registered with the League of Nations. They undertake on these conditions not to attack or invade one another.

Article II

The settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or origin, which might arise among the high contracting parties or between any two of them shall never be sought on either side except by pacific methods.

Article III

In case one of the high contracting parties should contravene this treaty, the other contracting parties would *ipso facto* be released with respect to that party from their obligations under this treaty.

Article IV

The provisions of this treaty in nowise affect the rights and obligations of the contracting parties resulting from prior international agreements to which they are parties.

Article V

The present treaty will be offered for the accession of all powers and will have no binding force until it has been generally accepted, unless the signatory powers in accord with those that may accede hereto shall agree to decide that it shall come into effect regardless of certain abstentions.

Article VI

The present treaty shall be ratified. The ratifications shall be deposited at —. Within three months from the date of the deposit of the ratifications it shall be communicated by the government of — to all the powers with an invitation to accede. The government of — will transmit to each of the signatory powers and the powers that have acceded a duly certified copy of the instruments of accession as they are received.

One year after the expiration of the three months' period provided in Article V, the government of — will send out a statement of the signatories and accessions to all the powers that have signed or acceded.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and sealed it with their seals.

Done at —, in — copies, drawn up in French and English and all having equal force.

—, 1928.

The air is common to men; the earth also, where every man, in the ample enjoyment of his possessions, must refrain from doing violence or injury to those of another.—*Hugo Grotius.*

News in Brief

AN INTERNATIONAL AVIATION EXHIBITION was held at Göteborg, Sweden, this year, from May 17 to 20, under the auspices of the Swedish Aviation Club. It was open to foreign manufacturers of airplanes or seaplanes. Foreign aviation clubs were also invited to participate.

A TRAVEL GROUP FOR INTERSECTIONAL UNDERSTANDING in the United States is planned for the coming summer, to tour this country under educational guidance. The trip will be open to university students and secondary school graduates. This is but one of a number of plans under the "All-America Movement," directed by John G. Neihardt and endorsed by a number of college presidents and other educators.

MORE THAN 100 EDUCATORS FROM MEXICO plan to visit California this spring to study schools and colleges of that State. They will be the guests of American educators.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNOUNCES that an extension to the present building is to be built on land immediately adjacent to the Library, but fronting on East Capitol Street. This building is to be erected by Mr. Henry C. Folger, of New York, to house his collection of Shakesperiana, described as one of the finest in existence.

RADIO WILL BE USED HEREAFTER as an aid to Baltic Sea ferries between Germany and Denmark. Depth measurement apparatus has lately been installed on each boat and will be of great service in the fogs which often shroud the Baltic Sea.

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND RUMANIA signed late in March a treaty of non-aggression and arbitration, the treaty to be valid for ten years. Both ministers expressed to their governments their belief in the happy augury of the new pact as an application of principles leading to permanent peace.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS DEFINITELY TERMINATING the anomalous condition of dual

nationality of persons born in the United States of foreign parentage are favored by Secretary Kellogg. Such treaties should protect citizens born of foreign parents in America from foreign military service.

STEFAN RADITCH, LEADER OF THE CROATIAN PEASANT PARTY in Jugoslavia, is reported to have stated at the meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Council in Prague lately, that a customs union or economic understanding among Danube States is the basis of their independence. The only alternative for Jugoslavia, he said, was a customs union with Germany.

SETTLEMENT OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN OIL LAW controversy has been made final and complete through publication in Mexico on March 28 of the regulations making practical application of the amendments approved by Congress last December.

Briefly, the regulations sustain the point of view taken by the United States Government in support of Americans' oil rights, but they also affect other foreign oil companies, chiefly British and Dutch, who have extensive holdings.

THE NEW SUBWAY RECENTLY OPENED IN TOKYO, JAPAN, is said to combine the best features of those in New York, London, and Paris with a few innovations of its own. It is the first underground transportation system in Asia.

THE HONDURAN-Guatemalan BOUNDARY MIXED COMMISSION, created to define a provisional boundary between those two States, was organized on April 12. The United States used its good offices to promote a settlement of this dispute, as announced by the State Department on March 20, and Secretary Kellogg appointed Roy T. Davis, American minister to Costa Rica, to head the mixed commission. A message of gratitude to the United States was sent by the Honduran and Guatemalan presidents of their commissions on April 12.

A CHAIR OF SPANISH-AMERICAN LITERATURE has recently been organized in Yale University. This act is looked upon as an important step in Spanish-American understanding, since it gives the literature of

South and Central America a prominent place in the Spanish Department.

THE ARBITRATION OF THE QUESTION as to the sovereignty over the island of Las Palmas, submitted to arbitration by the United States and the Netherlands in 1925, was decided in favor of Holland on April 2, 1928. Prof. Max Huber, a Swiss statesman, acted as arbitrator. The island is a small one lying between the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION will meet this summer in Berlin, opening its sessions on Thursday, August 23. The Council met at Prague, in the House of Representatives, on April 2, 1928.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH PEACE CONGRESS, organized by the *Bureau International de la Paix*, with headquarters at Geneva, will meet this year in Warsaw, June 25-29.

FOREIGN MINORITIES AND THE TREATMENT of its citizens by another State are no part of the business of the State Department of the United States, said an official of that department orally on April 7. This was in answer to the request by Representative Cellar, of New York, that the department withhold its approval of a loan to Rumania, as a protest against that country's treatment of religious minorities.

ALBRECHT DUERER WAS HONORED by the city of Nuremberg, the Bavarian State and the German Republic on April 6. Flags, flowers, and simple memorial services honored the memory of this great German painter, etcher, and engraver, on the anniversary of his death, which took place in 1528.

IT IS ANNOUNCED THAT SINCE THE EXPULSION from the Communist Party in Russia of Trotsky and one hundred other members, last December, the Central Committee has expelled 916 other "incorrigible Trotskyists."

THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ROAD CONGRESSES will be invited by President Coolidge to meet in Washington in 1930. Thus, for the first time, the leading highway engineers, economists, and administrators of the world will meet in the Western Hemisphere. Road building has for

centuries been a science in Europe, but it is believed that the utility of highway transportation can best be observed in the United States.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., HAS GIVEN the sum of \$2,000,000 for an international research library at Geneva. The Library Planning Committee, under the presidency of M. Scialoja of Italy, has decided to erect a building separate from the new Palace of Nations, already under way, to make the library as accessible to the public as possible. Two-fifths of the money donated will be used in construction and the remaining three-fifths will be retained as an endowment.

SEVEN PAN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS — the United States, Panama, Argentina, Colombia, Haiti, Salvador, and Venezuela—were designated by the governing board of the Pan-American Union, on April 4, for representation on the International Commission of Women. It will be the business of this commission to study the civil and political status of women, and to recommend to the next Pan-American congress measures looking to their equality with men before the law.

GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY APPROVED, early in April, the agreement previously made between France and Spain regarding the Tangier Zone. This agreement gave Spain control over the police of Tangier and of the international zone surrounding the city. Some weeks were spent in considering various demands of Italy, most of which are now satisfactorily met.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE APPOINTED John K. Caldwell, the Department's narcotic expert, and Pinckney Tuck, American consul at Geneva, to attend, as unofficial observers, the League of Nations' Advisory Committee on Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, meeting on April 12 at Geneva. Mr. Kellogg has already made arrangements with various foreign governments for exchange of information about the illicit international traffic in narcotics.

A GERMAN FILM ON MARTIN LUTHER, having passed a censorship committee made up of Lutheran and Roman Catholic church representatives, has, after receiving a few

cuts, been released for exhibition throughout Germany.

THE NATIONALISTS OF CHINA have reached an agreement with the United States covering all points in dispute regarding the Nanking outrages over a year ago.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR ARBITRATION TREATIES were announced by the Department of State with Austria and Hungary on March 23; with Czechoslovakia on March 27, the Netherlands on March 30, and with Switzerland on April 2. The last named is the fifteenth arbitration treaty of its kind between the United States and a foreign country.

BOOK REVIEWS

YEAR-BOOK ON COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION IN THE UNITED STATES. American Arbitration Association. Pp. 1142 and index. Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1927. Price, \$7.50.

Arbitration in the settlement of commercial disputes has much to teach those who seek for arbitration between nations. The former has already risen from dream to reality, and it is now true that the American business public is overwhelmingly in favor of such methods of settlement for commercial disputes.

This year-book is the first of its kind in the United States. It tells how arbitration can be secured in various trades, what it will be likely to cost, and explains the rules laid down to govern the decision. The chapters on the International Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and the local chambers of commerce reveal the long steps already taken toward the reign of justice in economic relationships.

WE AND THE WORLD. By *William C. Redfield*. Pp. 194 and index. Silver Burdett and Co.

Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, 1915-1919, has here written a small supplementary reader in geography for the use of

schools. It is attractively printed and profusely illustrated with half-tones of photographs. The book presents, in an interesting way, many surprising details of our commercial and industrial relations with other parts of the world. The chapters treat of the sources of all sorts of domestic articles known to children, from the family shoes and buttons, to shellac, camphor and foodstuffs.

Such a book ought, as the author hopes it will, help children to appreciate other countries and our mutual dependence, thus contributing somewhat to the ultimate peace of the world.

LORD BYRON'S HELMET. By *Maud Howe Elliott*. Pp. 110. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$1.50.

This is an odd little book. It contains a bit about the connection of Lord Byron with the Greek War of Independence of 1821-30, especially of his death, in 1824. More about Surgeon Samuel Gridley Howe and his later enthusiastic labors for Greek liberty. The greater portion of the book, however, is a narrative of the expedition to Greece, in 1926, of Dr. Howe's daughter, Maud Howe Elliott, and her presentation to that country of the helmet which Byron had had made for himself and which Dr. Howe later bought. The helmet had, for a generation and more, been kept in the Howe's home in America, a memento of the cause to which both Byron and Dr. Howe had consecrated their efforts many years ago.

The intimate little diary and descriptions of persons and places in Greece, which Mrs. Elliott kept during her trip, lends particular interest to the book. The story of the helmet itself makes an unusual story thread, linking together the Greece of the 1820's and of the 1920's. That country becomes very real before the reader lays down the volume.

INTERNATIONAL CIVICS. By *Pitman B. Potter* and *Roscoe L. West*. Pp. 307 and index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1927.

This attractive, illustrated text-book is excellent in plan and scope. There is an evident desire to keep its statements unpartisan, in spite of the fact that the authors are strong backers of the League of Nations, to which they allot a large amount of space. There is no treatment at all of the many

and important regional agreements outside the League. They have, too, the European idea that international peace will have to be "enforced" by some sanction other than public opinion. There is too much bias for a text-book. And yet it makes a strong appeal to students to read and study international questions in order that our citizenry may be ready to speak when necessary.

Much in the book is instructive and in every way excellent. This is particularly true of the analysis of the methods of our own Department of State; of the functions of conferences and the importance of international law. The Pan American Union and the Interparliamentary Union are not mentioned. There should be texts upon international civics. We find this good in many ways, but better might be written by men who grasp the significance of peculiarly American gifts to international relations.

WHITHER DEMOCRACY? By *N. J. Lennes*. Pp. 364 and index. Harper & Bro., New York, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

This speculative study, made by Professor Lennes, of the University of Montana, is in the scientific spirit, but its conclusions are astounding. The author traces the effects upon our society of some of the industrial and social forces now working upon it. He carefully avoids "leanings," eschews all passionate pleadings, and carefully examines the evidence. After proving that intelligence is inherited, after following the industrial evidence and other related questions, he concludes that equalizing opportunity tends to create hereditary occupational classes.

This being so, many questions arise. Some of these he states in his final chapter as matter for further investigation. Do superior strains die out? What would a destructive revolution do to our stratified society? Others relate to the field of genetics. What about the gradual elimination of intelligent women because of the attraction of careers other than marriage? Will children continue to be born to intelligent parents or will the strain perceptibly become degraded?

The field is full of grave possibilities if one accepts the arguments of Professor Lennes. In any case, his book is worth reading.

COVERING WASHINGTON. By *J. Frederick Essary*. Pp. 266 and index. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

The people who make news in Washington and the men who write it are all of interest to the country at large. Naturally, however a great many intimate facts do not find their way into the news columns, and no correspondent writes all the news which he may gather about the men in his own craft.

Mr. Essary, author of several books and Washington correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun*, has had opportunities to learn much interesting recent history in Washington journalism and in government life. He gives us here a readable book, delightful to Washingtonians and hardly less so to the rest of the country.

First comes "Our Town," with a delightful characterization of many of its customs and foibles. The greater number of chapters are taken up with chatty anecdotes about the correspondents and the great or the near-great with whom they have had encounters.

The Supreme Court has a chapter, detailing its customs and traditions. Presidents, at home and abroad; diplomats and their daily doings, Congress on its personal side, hobbies and exploits of the Gridiron Club—all are treated and rich with anecdote.

Altogether it is a delightful book, full of hitherto unwritten history and good for holiday or work-day reading.

BOOKS RECEIVED

DAS GENFER PROTOKOLL. Von *Dr. Hans Wehberg*. Pp. 189. Georg Stiltke, Berlin, 1927. Price, RM 5.—

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. By *Pitman B. Potter*. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. 580 and index. Century Co., New York, 1928.

INFLUENCE OF THE WEEKLY REST DAY ON HUMAN WELFARE. New York Sabbath Committees, 1927. Price, \$1.00.

PROSPECTS FOR WORLD UNITY. By *William Stuart Howe*. Pp. 256. Four Seas Co., Boston, 1926.

ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC LAW AND ORGANIZATION. By *Amos S. Hershey*. Revised edition. Pp. 742 and index. Macmillan, New York 1927.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonprofit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness will be fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, and throughout the State of Maine, during the early days of May, 1928. The Century Celebration will be the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

MEMBERSHIPS

The classes of membership and dues are: Annual Membership, \$5; Sustaining Membership, \$10; Contributing Membership, \$25; Institutional Membership, \$25; Life Membership \$100.

All memberships include a full subscription to the monthly magazine of the Society, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS

Adopted by the American Peace Society, November 30, 1925

The American Peace Society reaffirms, at this its ninety-seventh annual meeting, its abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders. These founders, together with the men of later times who have shared in the labors of this Society, are favorably known because of their services to the building and preservation of the Republic. Their work for peace between nations must not be forgotten.

Largely because of their labors, the purposes of the American Peace Society have become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the war system of settling international disputes have reason for a larger hope and a newer courage.

At such a time as this, with its rapidly developing international achievements, it is fitting that the American Peace Society should restate its precepts of a century in the light of the ever-approaching tomorrow.

Peace between nations, demanded by every legitimate interest, can rest securely and permanently only on the principles of justice as interpreted in terms of mutually accepted international law; but justice between nations and its expression in the law are possible only as the collective intelligence and the common faith of peoples approve and demand.

The American Peace Society is not unmindful of the work of the schools, of the churches, of the many organizations throughout the world aiming to advance interest and wisdom in the matters of a desirable and attainable peace; but this desirable, attainable, and hopeful peace between nations must rest upon the commonly accepted achievements in the settlement of international disputes.

These achievements, approved in every instance by the American Peace Society, and in which some of its most distinguished members have participated, have heretofore been—

By direct negotiations between free, sovereign, and independent States, working through official representatives, diplomatic or consular agents—a work now widely extended by the League of Nations at Geneva;

By the good offices of one or more friendly

nations, upon the request of the contending parties or of other and disinterested parties—a policy consistently and persistently urged by the United States;

By the mediation of one or more nations upon their own or other initiative—likewise a favorite policy of the United States;

By commissions of inquiry, duly provided for by international convention and many existing treaties, to which the Government of the United States is pre-eminently a contracting party;

By councils of conciliation—a method of adjustment fortunately meeting with the approval of leading nations, including the United States;

By friendly composition, in which nations in controversy accept, in lieu of their own, the opinion of an upright and disinterested third party—a method tried and not found wanting by the Government of the United States;

By arbitration, in which controversies are adjusted upon the basis of respect for law—a method brought into modern and general practice by the English-speaking peoples.

All of these processes will be continued, emphasized, and improved. While justice and the rules of law—principles, customs, practices recognized as applicable to nations in their relations with one another—frequently apply to each of these methods just enumerated, there remain two outstanding, continuous, and pressing demands:

(1) Recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instruction, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized States—a proposal repeatedly made by enlightened leaders of thought in the United States.

(2) Adherence of all States to a Permanent Court of International Justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations, involving legal rights—an institution due to the initiative of the United States and based upon the experience and practice of the American Supreme Court.

ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 4, 1928.

My dear Mr. Burton:

As I have already explained to you, I regret that I am not able to attend the Centennial Celebration of the American Peace Society. The influence which this society has exerted, now for one hundred years, in behalf of international peace, has been of great importance to humanity. Fortunately, during that period our own country has been involved in but three foreign wars, two of which did not impose upon us very serious consequences. It must be recognized that this has been in part due to the conditions which surround us, but it must also be admitted that it would not have been possible but for the peaceful attitude of our government and our people. I feel certain that the conference which the society is now holding, by bringing together representatives of the people of our own country and of foreign nations, will be helpful in promoting a better understanding and a more cordial relationship which will be of great value to humanity.

I wish especially to commend the constant and effective efforts which you have never failed to put forth in the promotion of the peace of the world. I wish you would extend to the conference my congratulations and my best wishes.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Honorable Theodore E. Burton,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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6

THE WORLD CONFERENCE AT CLEVELAND

DIFFERENT persons attending the World Conference on International Justice, held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 7 to 11, were of course impressed differently. All seemed to agree, however, that it was a marked contribution to better international relations. A score of representatives from as many different nations could not have spoken from a common platform, all aiming to promote friendship, without contributing materially to just that result. When over 13,000 people arose and applauded the French and German Ambassadors as they shook hands cordially, in the great public auditorium, at the first meeting of the Conference, Monday morning, May 7, the note of the Conference had been struck. It was a friendly note. It was the note throughout the nine general assemblies. It was the note peculiarly appropriate for the men and women gathered from near and far, concerned to show their appreciation of the American Peace Society upon its one hundredth anniversary.

There was an interesting absence throughout the speeches by foreign representatives of cant or insincerity. There was no buncombe or showy struggling for effects. The addresses were invariably informing, distinct contributions to a better international understanding. Reading these addresses, as the editor has had to do in preparing the material for the volume

of proceedings, confirms this very distinct impression.

Throughout the week the delegates—indeed, the people of Cleveland—realized that there was something going on of importance. The Mayor, the City Manager, distinguished members of the reception committee, mounted and bicycle police, met all the distinguished visitors at the city gates and escorted them with fitting ceremony to the headquarters of the Conference. The people of Cleveland know how to make of their city a gracious host. The city's thoughtful courtesy throughout the Conference is already a treasured thing of memory.

Since the Conference was projected, over a year ago, echoes of unfriendly criticism and of warnings that it could not be a success reached the officials from time to time. Some accused the promoters of the Conference of carrying on an anti-League of Nations propaganda, and this, strangely, in face of the fact that leading friends of the League—indeed, the head officials of the League—were invited to be present and to speak from the platform. It was said that differences among the peace societies made it impossible for them to get together. And yet, on Tuesday, May 8, its one-hundredth birthday, the American Peace Society was privileged to receive most gratifying discourses from the Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Church Peace Union, the World Peace Foundation—indeed, from the Society for

International Unity and Peace of far-away Netherlands. Many kindly greetings were received by mail and telegraph from many other peace groups of this country and abroad. One has but to read the reports of the five commissions, and of the Commission on the Co-ordination of Peace Efforts, to realize that men and women of good will, faced with the problem of ascertaining the facts, can work with unity and effect. Because of the Cleveland Conference, there is a finer comradeship between the accredited peace workers of America and, we believe, of the world.

The Cleveland Conference has brought to light new and important phases of the peace movement. There are members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and of the American Legion earnestly concerned to promote a better international understanding. The World Federation of Education Associations deserves the support of peace agencies. The same thing is true of the National Education Association and the American Red Cross, and there is the international work of the Kiwanis International, the Rotary International, of the International Federation of War Veterans, of international industry, of international justice, of international religion, of international education, and of international social agencies. These are all matters affecting international relations; indeed, they are themselves international relations of a very definite sort. The Cleveland Conference brought them all together and revealed them in their mutual relations with each other.

As a result of the Cleveland Conference, it is clearer that what the world seems now, perhaps, most to need is a wider agreement upon the facts. All want peace; but peace, like happiness, is but the by-product of something else. To pursue happiness means usually to miss

it. Happiness is a happening. The same thing seems to be true of peace. To strive exclusively for peace will probably end in losing peace. Peace is a product of right, of just human relations. If we pursue with proper foresight and wisdom, justice between nations, then international peace will tend to follow as night the day. But, in order to advance just relations between nations, it is necessary first to agree upon the facts in those relations. Exact information, therefore, is a primary requisite. The distinct impression that men and women of all peoples must come more surely to a common meeting ground of facts, agree among themselves as to conditions as they actually are, was, perhaps, the most important outcome of the Cleveland Conference.

THINGS THAT PLEASE

THE American Peace Society regrets its inability to thank each and every person who contributed to the success of the World Conference at Cleveland, or the many who have written or telegraphed their congratulations and kindly wishes. Here and now, however, it extends that thanks publicly.

It is regretted, also, that space makes it impossible to print all these greetings. The following, however, will indicate somewhat not only the kindness but the universality of the expressions.

President Coolidge's greetings are reprinted on the front cover of this magazine.

In his address of Thursday, May 10, Mr. Timothy Smiddy, Ireland's Minister to the United States, read a telegram from the President of the Irish Free State as follows:

"Learn with pleasure you are participating Conference International Justice, occasion centenary American Peace Society. Society and its long career has played important part molding American opinion on international affairs, helping create

that love of peace and justice between nations which is guiding factor in policy American people. Peace is boon to great powers, but for small States, it is necessity. Whatever influence Saorstat may have in international affairs now or future will be addressed to promotion of international peace."

Under date of April 25, Sir Austen Chamberlin, Great Britain's Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to President Burton:

"DEAR MR. BURTON: Your letter of March 29th renews my regret that the constant pressure of work, which is the lot of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, makes it impossible for me to attend your Centennial Celebration.

"I can conceive of no more useful work than to strive in the interests of peace, and I am happy to think that the peoples of the United States and Great Britain are at one in the pursuit of this ideal. It is my earnest hope that as time passes there will develop between our two nations ever more fruitful co-operation in the cause which they both have so much at heart.

"I hold with the great mass of my countrymen that a good understanding between the United States of America and the British Empire must always be a prime object of the friends of peace, and that the better we know one another the deeper we shall find our agreement to be. We each have our own interests to guard, our own duties to fulfill. Our contributions to civilization are different, but they are not discordant. In the great issues of international morality we stand for the same principles and in spite of all difficulties we shall know how to accord our policies.

"Yours sincerely,

"(Signed) AUSTEN CHAMBERLIN."

In his address at the Third General Assembly, May 7, His Excellency Paul Claudel, French Ambassador to the United States, began as follows:

"Allow me first to read to you the following message, just received from the Foreign Minister of France:

"Will you express to the Hon. Theodore E. Burton, President of the American

Peace Society, and to its members my most sincere sympathy and admiration for the work accomplished by them and my heartfelt wishes for the success of their enterprise. France follows with great attention all the manifestations towards the establishment of permanent peace which are taking place in the world, and she is proud to work in close co-operation with the United States today, as she did one hundred fifty years ago, for an achievement of peace, liberty and good will among nations.

"ARISTIDE BRIAND."

In his address, also of May 7, His Excellency Herr Von Prittwitz, Germany's Ambassador to the United States, said:

"Dr. Stresemann, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, regretted exceedingly to be unable to attend this meeting personally, but he has asked me to read to you a message as a sign of his interest in the proceedings of the meetings and his gratitude for having been invited thereto.

"I extend to the American Peace Society, celebrating its Centennial Anniversary, my heartiest congratulations. The great idea of meeting the calamity of war by application of justice and law has long moved the best minds of the German people. Ever since the times of Immanuel Kant, whose famous treatise on 'Eternal Peace' opened new ways on this field of thought, our leaders in philosophy, political economy, and politics have not ceased to demand that in the relations between the people arbitrary force should be replaced by the rule of law. As opposed to such endeavor the bloodshed of the last European war would seem to have proven definitely that humanity did not want peace. In truth, however, that great catastrophe has, more than any other happening, roused in the hearts of millions the yearning for justice. Death, misery, famine, and devastation have spoken in unambiguous terms; slowly, but irresistibly the doctrine of justice forged its way. To fight for this lofty power and to pave way for its victory through practical work, to which the American Peace Society has consecrated its activities, is the high aim. The American Peace Society may be assured that the German people welcome its

work with deep sympathy and with the cordial will of co-operation."

President Baron Adelwsard and Secretary Dr. Christian L. Lange cabled from Geneva, Switzerland, in behalf of the Interparliamentary Union:

"Cordial greetings centenary pioneer peace society; best wishes future development and service common cause."

Under date of May 7, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. CALL:

"His Excellency the Ambassador of Cuba is to present to the American Peace Society a resolution extending the congratulations of the Pan American Union. The administrative officials of the Pan American Union also desire to present their felicitations. The Assistant Director and the entire staff join with me in sending most sincere congratulations to the officers and members of the American Peace Society for the great service which they have rendered to the cause of international peace."

The resolution referred to by Dr. Rowe was presented by Cuba's Ambassador to the United States at the Sixth General Assembly of the Conference, Wednesday, May 9. The resolution was as follows:

"WHEREAS the American Peace Society has completed one hundred years of useful existence; and

"WHEREAS during that period the Society has contributed so much toward the development of international good will; be it

"Resolved by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to extend to the officers and members of the American Peace Society their most sincere congratulations and to express the hope that the years to come will bring to the Society an ever-widening field of usefulness."

Dr. Gilbert Murray, distinguished English man of letters and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, London, wrote under date of March 29, 1928:

"On behalf of a very young Society working for peace in England, I send respectful homage and warm congratulations to the oldest Peace Society in America. You have existed since 1828 and have many of America's most illustrious names on your roll. We have only existed since 1917, but we are following in your footsteps vigorously, with three-quarters of a million members and a list of officers which may be fairly compared with your own.

"Your example is a guide to us in many ways and not least in that wise principle that 'the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming politics.'

"With all good wishes to your centenary and the conviction that if civilized human society is to continue war must forever cease, I remain,

"Yours cordially,

"(Signed) GILBERT MURRAY."

Hon. J. Rafael Oreamuno, Costa Rica's Minister to the United States, telegraphed:

"Heartiest wishes for the success of your important gathering."

A similar telegram was received from Hon. Enrique Olaya, Colombia's Minister to the United States.

Branco Adjemovitch, Chargé at Washington of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, telegraphed May 7 to the Centennial Celebration Committee of the American Peace Society:

"In sending my cordial congratulations to the Centennial Celebration of the American Peace Society, I wish to convey to you my firm belief that the day is not far distant when the idea of peace for which your organization is so nobly striving will be realized. Time has already shaken the foundations of the anachronistic institution of war, and inheritance of past ages. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes aspires above all to peace, and all its efforts are directed toward that aim."

May 7 President Burton received the following self-explanatory telegram:

"I greatly regret my inability to join in the Centenary Celebration of the American Peace Society at Cleveland. My obligation, as President of International Chamber of Commerce to attend the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, assembling on the same dates in Washington, alone prevents me from being present in Cleveland at this time. It would have been an especial privilege for me to have had an opportunity to describe the collaboration of business men in the International Chamber, which is devoted not only to developing an international spirit of cooperation, but at the same time, by eliminating the sources of friction, gradually to eliminate the economic causes of war. The business world wants peace.

"ALBERTO PIRELLI."

His Excellency Giacomo de Martino, Italy's Ambassador to the United States, wrote under date of May 3 to President Burton as follows:

"I very deeply regret not to be able to attend the meetings of your society, but I wish to send to the American Peace Society and to you my greetings and my most cordial wishes.

"Just a few days ago I have had the honor to sign, together with Secretary Kellogg, a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Italy, enlarging the scope and the obligations of the old treaty of arbitration concluded between the two countries several years ago. The new treaty contains a declaration of principle which, if on one side refers technically to the relations between Italy and the United States, on the other side concerns directly the more general question of the maintenance of peace. I have signed this treaty and the declaration of principle which is contained in it with the deepest conviction and with the keenest satisfaction. I wish to add that the Italian Government has not hesitated one moment in giving me instructions to sign. The negotiations between the United States and Italy for the conclusion of the treaty have been of the simplest. The two governments were united in the determination to reaffirm their adherence to the policy of submitting to impartial decision all judiciable controversies and to demon-

strate their condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy; therefore they had no difficulty in agreeing as to the text of the document.

"Secretary Kellogg has in his admirable and clarifying speeches exposed what are the bases of the American policy of arbitration. I wish to tell you that this policy is fully understood by the Italian Government, which is framing its relations with foreign countries on the same basis. Italy is today at the lead in asserting among European countries the arbitration policy, and, in saying this, I refer not only to the number of arbitration treaties negotiated and concluded, but more specifically to their contents.

"I am proud to state that we have given Europe, by the Italo-Swiss Treaty of 1924, the example of an arbitration treaty between a great power and a small contiguous nation, a treaty of such a far-reaching scope and of such a general character as never existed before. It is well known that we have steadfastly kept our way in the same direction.

"Since it is with facts that governments prove their actual will to work for peace, I can rightly say that my country has repeatedly, in these stormy times, proved to be animated by this purpose.

"Will you, dear and honorable friend, present to the American Peace Society the expression of my sentiments. I am as sorry not to be among you, as I am happy to be able on this occasion to realize how clear and strong is the affinity existing between your work and the policy adopted by the Italian Government."

His Excellency Alejandro Padilla, Spain's Ambassador to the United States, under date of May 5, wrote to Mr. Burton:

"MY DEAR AND HONORABLE FRIEND:

"I was deeply sorry to have to write to Mr. Arthur Deerin Call that I had not been able to make arrangements for leaving Washington on any of the dates he proposed to me to attend and address the American Peace Society on the occasion of its Centennial, to which so kindly you asked me, but I want to express to you, in the name of my Government, the great

sympathy for your great institution, which for so long has been and it is a great pioneer of peace.

"My country appreciates your work in all its value, inasmuch as the diplomatic activity of the Royal Spanish Government, which symbolizes the Spanish pacific aspirations, has been always perseverant having signed since 1923, without any reserve, eight arbitration treaties, and, besides this, the Spanish politic is identified in its pacific aspirations with those of the League of Nations and of the Government of the United States."

Rotary International telegraphed May 9:

"Greetings from Rotary clubs forty-four countries, seeking to do their bit for universal concord by developing friendship and understanding among business and professional men."

Miss Esther Everett Lape, writing for the American Foundation, maintaining the American Peace Award, wrote under date of April 27:

"At the direction of our committee I am conveying to you with pleasure the committee's congratulations on the hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society.

"We hope and believe that your conference will have a wide effect in making clear the lines upon which progress toward international co-operation and the lessening of the danger of war may most wisely proceed."

Dr. Albert W. Staub, American Director of the Near East College Association, wrote under date of May 4 as follows:

"MY DEAR DR. CALL:

"I am exceedingly interested in the program which you have arranged in Cleveland during the present week. I hope that the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society will come up to your expectations. I realize how difficult it is to plan these things and wish I could have been more helpful to you.

"One of our field representatives, Dr. Andrew M. Brodie, will be in Cleveland

next Sunday. I told him to get in touch with you. I am sorry that our organization was not officially represented at the conference. It would have been fine if President Bayard Dodge could have attended. He is in the Far West, but will be in Cleveland on the 16th of May.

"With kind personal regards."

The Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Episcopal Church wrote to President Burton under date of May 8:

"DEAR SIR: The Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Episcopal Church, called to meet in Kansas City, Missouri, May 7, 1928, desires to express its congratulations to the American Peace Society upon its accomplishments during the century of its existence, especially upon the comprehensive program which is at present being carried out in Cleveland.

"More and more we are coming, as Christians, to declare that war—the most colossal calamity and scourge of modern life—is not inevitable, and that its continuance will prove suicidal to civilization.

"It is our desire to co-operate with your Society in every possible way in the attempt to lead the mind of our nation into the path that leads towards universal world peace.

"We take pleasure in transmitting this message of good wishes to you through the Chairman of our Commission, Bishop William F. McDowell, of Washington, D. C."

The following self-explanatory communication was received in Cleveland during the Conference:

"The National Committee on the Churches and World Peace, through its Executive Committee sends good-will greetings to the American Peace Society on the occasion of its Centennial Celebration. The National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, which convened in Washington, D. C., December 1-3, 1925, was representative of some thirty communions. The message adopted at that time has been distributed among thousands of church members throughout the country. That declaration, regarded by many as constituting the peace platform of the churches, affirms that 'war is

the most colossal calamity and scourge of modern life.' . . . 'We are determined to outlaw the whole war system . . . the war spirit and war feelings must be banished and war preparations abandoned.' . . . It was further stated that 'the Church should teach patriotic support of the state, but should never become the agent of the government in any activity alien to the spirit of Christ.'

"The program of peace education as launched at this conference has gone steadily forward. The churches are persuaded that 'the achievement of permanent world peace is dependent upon the development in children and youth, through education, of convictions concerning the fatherhood of God, the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, the unity of the human family, and the principles of justice, and upon the establishment of attitudes of mutual respect and reliance upon reason rather than force.'

"The American Peace Society during the past 100 years has played a conspicuous part in promoting the ideals of world justice and peace, ideals to which the churches are irrevocably committed and for the practical establishment of which their peace education program is directed.

"We rejoice with the American Peace Society in its past and express the hope that its future may be characterized by that prophetic devotion to the peace ideals that so completely possessed the far-seeing men who laid the foundation of the Society just 100 years ago."

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America wrote under date of April 30:

"The Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America extends its congratulatory felicitations to the American Peace Society on the occasion of its Centennial Celebration. The American Peace Society, in holding up before its members and friends the ideals of 'a governed world' based on law and order, has made a significant contribution to the movement for international understanding and good-will.

"We are particularly glad to note that a subconference on religion and peace is to be held in connection with the Cen-

tennial Conference which convenes in Cleveland May 7-11. The churches are convinced that mental and spiritual disarmament must precede a substantial cutting down of armies and navies. Many of the church bodies of our own and other countries are now committed to a policy of peace education, believing that in this way the peace of the world will be promoted. We are living in an hour when the thought of a warless world is gripping the imagination of the peoples of the earth. It is most opportune that this Centennial Celebration occurs just at the time when proposals are being considered by the great powers for the renunciation of war as an instrument of policy. The Administrative Committee, cognizant of this ever-deepening interest among all classes of people in the problem of peace, expresses the hope that the American Peace Society may during the next one hundred years of its history witness the achievement of the purposes for which it was created."

MR. NELSON'S ADDRESS

REPRESENTATIVE NELSON, of Maine, obtained the floor in the House of Representatives Thursday, May 10. The *Congressional Record* of that date reported his address as follows:

"Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, the thoughts of lovers of peace the world over are turned this morning to the city of Cleveland, Ohio, where there is now in session a World Conference on International Justice, attended by some of the outstanding world statesmen of the present day, and promising much for the promotion of a better understanding among nations. This conference has been arranged as a part of the centennial anniversary celebration of the American Peace Society, founded on May 8, 1828, by William Ladd, of Minot, Maine. This Peace Society, the first of its kind in the United States—patriotic in the truest sense, standing always for adequate national defense, yet seeking always world peace through reason and justice—has been now for 100 years one of the world's

greatest forces for right thinking along international lines, and to this Society humanity owes a very generous debt of gratitude.

"The President of this Society today is our distinguished colleague, the Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, whose eloquent utterances on the floor of this House in behalf of world tolerance, world understanding, world sympathy, and world justice have repeatedly won our love, challenged our admiration, and compelled our respect. (Applause.) May God spare this man of magnanimity and vision for many years of useful service. (Applause.) We need such men as he in this House; for long ago it was written, 'Where there is no vision the people perish.'

"This day commemorates not only the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the American Peace Society, but it commemorates also the birth, 150 years ago today, of William Ladd, the founder of that Society. And because this man spent the greater part of his useful life on one of the thousand beautiful hill-sides of my native State, in the little village of Minot; because he also was a man of vision, and there dreamed the golden dream of world peace, and there wrought the labors that won for him the title which still graces his name, 'The apostle of peace'; because the people of my State honor his memory, as it is honored by the World in Cleveland today, and because the problem that he sought to solve is the greatest problem that challenges the effort of the Christian world today, I crave your brief indulgences this morning, that I may say just a word as to the life and labors of this man.

"William Ladd was a simple toiler on a Maine farm, but he was a great man. He was great because he contributed largely to the ideals of mankind and because he gave to the service of those ideals all that he had. I may not review here the story of his earlier life. Suffice to say that he was 41 years of age when he received from the Rev. Jesse Appleton, president of Bowdoin College, then on his deathbed, the inspiration and urge to world-peace work. The remainder of his life, some 33 years, were devoted unceasingly to this cause. In it he spared neither his health nor his fortune. Then years

later he gathered together the various peace societies of the United States into one great organization, the American Peace Society, the hundredth anniversary of which is now being celebrated.

"In thought William Ladd was far in advance of his time. As early as 1831 he conceived the idea of an international congress and a high court of nations. In his writings and in his speeches he simply sought to extend the principles of the American Constitution and our Supreme Court so that they might apply to nations as well as to States. His entire physical strength was spent in advancing these ideas in the press and from the lecture platform and the pulpit. In the last years of his life, health failing him, unable to stand, he often addressed large audiences from his knees. On his return home from one of these speaking trips, exhausted, he died, and on his tomb are inscribed these words:

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

It was one hundred years ago that this man lived and worked and gave his life in the service of a great ideal, inspired by the vision of a better world, in which reason and justice should be substituted for violence in the affairs of nations. His was a voice crying in the wilderness. To the then world at large Ladd was simply a dreamer of pious dreams, a visionary, an idealist seeking Utopia. William Ladd may have been a dreamer, but he was more than a dreamer. His was a vision that pierced the future, a faith founded on the teachings of the Man of Galilee, and his a courage and a determination that enabled him to play a man's part in making his vision a thing of reality and substance.

He who has a vision

Sees more than you and I;

He who dreams the golden dream

Lives fourfold thereby;

Time may laugh, worlds may scoff,

And hosts assail his thought,

But the visionary came ere the builder wrought.

Ere the tower bestrode the dome,

Ere the dome the arch,

He, the dreamer of the dream,

Saw the vision march.

"The vision that William Ladd saw a century ago is slowly but surely coming to fulfillment. The idea which he gave to the world still lives, and grows greater and more sublime, as men of the present day seek peace under his benign and simple doctrine. Outlawry of war may no longer be classed as the pathetic fancy of the impractical idealist. War is being outlawed today, and the area of its banishment is continually widening. Year by year the specter of war is passing more and more into the background, and the day draws near when the great conflicts of the world shall be, not those of nation against nation, but those of all the peoples of the earth combined against ignorance, poverty, disease, and crime—the four great enemies of mankind. The task to which William Ladd set his hand a century ago is ours today, and no longer impossible of accomplishment.

"Thomas Nelson Page, who has the power at times to clothe truth in the garments of imagination, once said:

God, with His mighty wind, has shaken his hand over the river, and men are beginning to go dry-shod on the places where once there was no passage.

"Nineteen centuries failed to give us an international Christianity, an international desire and effort for world peace. We would not listen to the still, small voice of conscience; so God spoke to us out of the whirlwind of war. Out of that war, refined by its fires, has come a new world conscience, a world desire for peace, a world consecration to the obligations of our present-day civilization. God has, indeed, shaken His hand over the river, and we may, if we will, if we have the faith and the vision and the courage, walk dry-shod on the places where once there was no passage. (Prolonged applause.)

Congressman Nelson of Maine uttered in these words the sentiments of his State. That State will celebrate the memory of William Ladd and in that spirit in the month of July, a time when the glories of Maine are at their height.

"THE SECOND ONE HUNDRED YEARS"

NOTHING pleases us more than to find others saying about us the things a kind of modesty restrains us from saying ourselves. The Society's hundredth anniversary has been noted with great kindness throughout a wide section of the American press. It pleases us just now to reprint from the *Christian Science Monitor* of May 15 an editorial which says:

"The American Peace Society is just now celebrating its one hundred years of history. It is most opportune that the convening of this Society's World Conference on International Justice in Cleveland should have come just when Secretary Kellogg's proposal for the multilateral outlawry of war pact is receiving the serious consideration of the responsible heads of the great powers. It is hardly likely that William Ladd and David Low Dodge, co-founders of the American Peace Society, despite their heroic optimism in the ultimate achievement of world justice and peace, believed that within 100 years Secretaries of State and Foreign Ministers would be declaring 'in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.'

"Yet it is under just such auspicious circumstances that this Society has met in Cleveland to celebrate the past and to lay its plans for the future.

"War has fallen under the universal condemnation of mankind. The records of the American Peace Society clearly show that the major objective set before that organization in its earlier years was the task of putting war on the defensive. That task has been accomplished. Those who still proudly defend the war system are few in number. Everywhere it is recognized that, if civilization is to endure, honor and mutual respect must be enshrined in men's hearts and law must take the place of force in the settlement of international disputes.

"Clearly, the task that immediately lies before the peace organizations in the United States and elsewhere is intelligently and effectively to mobilize this anti-war sentiment into policies of public procedure. One of the American Peace Society's commissions, meeting in conjunction with the Cleveland Centennial Conference, is discussing the possibility of co-ordinating all efforts for peace. There is a vital need for such co-ordination. The time has come when the peace movement in every nation and around the world can be moved forward in a most promising manner provided the leadership is available.

"The American Peace Society, as it stands on the threshold of its second 100 years, may well dedicate itself to the responsibility of translating the peace ideal of humanity into the practices of nations."

AMERICAN CAPITAL ABROAD

AMERICAN investors are lending annually abroad approximately one billion dollars. This fact is arousing a degree of nervousness in certain quarters. Some people are asking whether this is going to mean peace or war.

Our own view is that the answer to this inquiry depends upon two things, namely, fairness and honesty. A good business transaction must benefit both parties. That is true of a deal involving a cent, a dollar, or twelve billion dollars, the amount of our present investments in foreign fields.

There is no doubt that our tremendous loans abroad may at any time bear heavily upon our government's resources, for it is our government's duty to protect the rights of its citizens abroad.

It appears that approximately 50 per cent of all American capital loaned abroad is for business stabilization. Americans have bought bonds and stocks in foreign banks, loaned them money, strengthened their export credit, and helped agricultural mortgage banks. Our capital is going

into investment companies abroad and into a variety of private institutions. It appears that our American investors have neither voting nor managerial rights—a fact which is not true of English investments abroad. When it is recalled that American capital has gone into the financial institutions of at least twenty different foreign countries, this situation is of more than passing interest.

Our belief is that foreigners are no less appreciative than we. They welcome our loans to their financial institutions. They know that American capital has helped toward the stabilization of their currencies, American banks having granted large stabilization credits in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, Germany, Italy, Poland, Peru, Switzerland. Informed men in all these countries know that American capital has greatly aided them in re-establishing their post-war financial structure. In the ordinary processes of business, these facts should promote friendship and good will.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

THE Interparliamentary Union, the twenty-fifth conference of which is called to meet in the Reichstag, Berlin, Germany, August 23 to 28 next, has the approval of the United States Government. The American group of that organization deserves the support of the Congress.

The United States Government supports the Interparliamentary Union, with headquarters in Geneva, with an appropriation of \$6,000 annually. Since its organization, in 1889, members of the Congress of the United States have attended nearly every conference. In 1904 the Congress appropriated \$50,000 for the entertainment of the conference of the Union in the city of St. Louis, and again

\$50,000 for the twenty-third conference of the Union in the city of Washington, at which conference forty-one parliaments were represented.

Practically every group of the Interparliamentary Union is provided for by a grant included in the State budget for the expenses of the Union, and many of the groups are supported directly by government appropriations. This is true of the Scandinavian group, including Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The Esthonian group provides for the traveling expenses of its delegates. The same thing is true of the German group. Special contributions toward the traveling expenses of the delegates are received by the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Rumanian, Yugoslav, and Czechoslovak groups. France appropriates a generous sum for the support of the French group. Indeed, some of the groups are officially constituted by their parliaments and the expenses of their delegates automatically paid, as in the case of Egypt, Japan, and a number of South and Central American groups. It may now be regarded as the exception for members of the Union not to receive contributions toward their traveling expenses.

The United States Congress will not wish the American group to occupy a lower place than that given by other parliaments to their respective groups. It should be no longer necessary for a body like the American group of the Interparliamentary Union to depend for its sustenance upon charity. The group has passed the experimental stage, having been in existence for twenty-four years. The Congress should add to it the dignity and influence which would naturally go with government support. There are leading men both in the House and the Senate, some of whom are unable to pay their expenses as delegates to a conference in

Europe, who ought not for that reason to be debarred from representing abroad the best in our parliamentary life. The American group of the Interparliamentary Union should be abreast of all other groups in that important body.

There is a tendency to multiply interparliamentary organizations, but the Interparliamentary Union, oldest in its field, need not be embarrassed by this tendency. We do not refer to those regional interparliamentary union bodies such as the union made up of parliamentarians of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden—an organization which has existed for more than twenty years. This Scandinavian group has been one of the strongest supporters of the Interparliamentary Union, of which it is a constituent part. A similar group is in process of formation in central and southwestern Europe.

But there are international parliamentary organizations independent of the Interparliamentary Union. In 1913 the "International Parliamentary Commercial Conference" was founded, with a central office in Brussels. We understand that this organization has a number of nonparliamentary members. It appears that it is holding annual conferences and addressing itself to questions outside the commercial field, such as emigration and immigration, at its session last year, in Rio de Janeiro. It has been suggested that there should be an agricultural interparliamentary union. In our judgment these efforts should be co-ordinated in the Interparliamentary Union and not permitted to divide the attention and support of parliamentary bodies. Division of labor must not ignore the importance of a common inspiration and the co-ordination of efforts. Parliamentary bodies need to beware lest they find themselves overlapping, competing, and wasting their labors.

The Interparliamentary Union is sufficiently elastic to provide for unlimited areas of effort within its jurisdiction. We have no fears that parliamentary bodies will ignore this simple fact. The time is at hand when we may expect the Interparliamentary Union to be divided into sections, each to deal with a special question as the need may arise. The feasibility of this is apparent when one recalls the six commissions already operating within the Interparliamentary Union.

THE General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America announces that the Council is endeavoring to seek information as to the amount of church co-operation that is being conducted through interdenominational ministers' organizations. This is a worthy undertaking.

"Every minister who reads this paragraph, who is a member of an interdenominational ministers' organization, is requested to send to Secretary John Milton Moore, 105 East 22d Street, New York City, the names and addresses of the president and secretary of the organization, with a brief statement of the interchurch activities in which it engages."

THAT leading Rumanian and Polish statesmen have recently been in Rome to interview Signor Mussolini has given rise to a suspicion that all is not well with the Little Entente. It does not seem that the suspicion can be warranted. M. Titulescu, Rumania's Foreign Minister, and M. Duca, a former Foreign Minister and a present Minister of the Interior, have both reasonably pointed out the unreasonableness of expecting them to throw away the guarantees of existing treaties. M. Zaleski, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs, has said openly that his visit to Rome contemplated no change in Poland's political relations with the Little Entente.

THE American Peace Society on its hundredth anniversary would pay its respects to Jean Henri Dunant, founder of the Red Cross, born May 8, 1828, the same day that marked the birth of the American Peace Society. Dunant was born in Geneva. At the age of thirty-one, traveling as a tourist in Lombardi, he saw in 1859 the horrors of the battlefield of Solferino, of which he wrote: "It was there that I was moved to compassion, to horror, to pity, and that I was able to be the 'Samaritan of Solferino,' as they wished to call me. It was at Castiglione that I endeavored to make myself useful, even as I tell it in my book, *Un Souvenir de Solferino*. I have seen the horrible sights after a battle and I have reproduced faithfully that which I have seen."

This marked the beginning of his labors in behalf of a treaty for the improvement of the state of the military wounded in arms in a campaign, a treaty which was signed by twelve nations, August 22, 1864. Due to the initiative of this man, the Red Cross has come to mean, in the minds of men and women everywhere, the spirit of succor to those in distress.

PLEASURES incident to our hundredth anniversary are not wholly unlike Nadaud's regrets at having failed to see Carcassonne, when he said: "Bliss unalloyed there is for none." A cynical young gentleman recently out of college writes:

"I am glad the net results of the Conference seem to be a gain. I think nations will go on having wars forever; but if they can be made to happen at more distant intervals, perhaps it's a good thing. The peace people fight among themselves. No one can agree as to how to stop wars. Since there can be no common understanding, I don't see how wars are ever going to stop. . . . No one knows the whole truth. Until the whole truth is

known, there cannot be perfection. Therefore, I think that perfection will never be reached, and there will always be fighting and disputes and hard feelings. . . . I don't like the kind of paper in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* any better than I did be-

fore. It reminds me of a very aristocratic and well-bred person who is in straightened circumstances and trying to keep up appearances, but the poverty is plainly to be seen. I like the other kind of paper much better."

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

KELLOGG PEACE PROPOSAL

THE negotiations between our State Department and the Government of France concerning the conclusion of a pact for the outlawry of war entered upon a new phase when on April 13 the American Ambassador in London handed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a note regarding these negotiations, to which was appended the text of a draft for a proposed multilateral treaty. Identical notes were sent to the governments of Germany, Italy, and Japan, while a copy of the note was sent to the government of France. Through this move the Franco-American negotiations for a bilateral pact were carried into a much wider sphere, involving a multilateral pact. Nine days after the delivery of the American notes, the French Government sent to the same powers its own draft for a multilateral pact, which differs somewhat from the American draft. The reader will find the text of the two drafts in the *International Documents Section* of the last issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Principal Features of the American Proposal

The American note begins by referring to the series of notes exchanged between the United States and France on the proposal, and recalls that the French Government pointed out "certain considerations" which, in a multilateral treaty, must be borne in mind by the Powers which are members of the League of Nations, parties to the treaties of Locarno, and parties to other treaties guaranteeing neutrality. The United States, the note says, "has not conceded that such considerations necessi-

tate any modifications of its proposal for a multilateral treaty, and is of the opinion that every nation in the world can, with a proper regard for its own interests, as well as for the interests of the entire family of nations, join in such a treaty." The Government of the United States believes, moreover, that the "execution by France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States of a treaty solemnly renouncing war in favor of the pacific settlement of international controversies would have tremendous moral effect and ultimately lead to the adherence of all the other countries of the world."

In the view of the United States Government the discussions have reached a point where it seems essential, if ultimate success is to be attained, that the British, German, Italian, and Japanese governments should have an opportunity to decide to what extent, if any, its existing commitments constitute a bar to its participation "in an unqualified renunciation of war." The note states that complete agreement has been reached with the French Government in regard to the procedure to be followed.

The draft for the suggested treaty consists of a preamble and three articles. In Article I the high contracting parties condemn "recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." In Article II they agree that "the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

Character of the French Proposal

The French proposal, embodied in an alternate draft for the proposed treaty, sent to Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan on April 22, differs from the American in that it incorporates the four reservations which figured so prominently in the Briand notes to Mr. Kellogg. In connection with this proposal, the French press tried to dispel the impression which seemed quite definite immediately after the presentation of the American proposal, that the French Government was annoyed at what it seemed to regard as the "precipitancy" with which Mr. Kellogg appeared to act or at his apparent disregard of the French reservations. The semi-official *Temps* said in a leading article:

It would be a mistake to regard the awaited French statement and draft treaty as in any way a direct or indirect reaction against the American initiative. . . . The United States, in communicating the correspondence which had passed between it and the French Government to the other Powers concerned, accompanied it with a note and a draft which form a supplementary document explaining the American point of view. France will in her turn add to the *dossier* a further note and draft putting forward her point of view. It would be a great mistake to see in the communication of these two drafts a conflict over the fundamental issue, or over the principles upon which the pact should be based.

There has been nothing to show, the *Temps* continued, that the French and American conceptions cannot be reconciled "once the values of the terms employed have been sincerely examined."

Mr. Kellogg's proposed treaty is not, the *Temps* considers, a formula *ne varietur*, but merely a basis for discussion; he does not dismiss the four French reservations, but merely omits them as unnecessary according to his own view that the American proposal is not incompatible with obligations under the League of Nations Covenant. The final text, the newspaper said, must depend upon a consideration of the views of all the Powers as to their international obligations: this may be a long business, but, given the necessary spirit of conciliation, not impossible of achievement.

Reactions in Germany

Germany was the first of the Powers to which the American note was addressed to make an official reply to it. On April 30 the German Minister of Foreign Affairs sent to the American Ambassador in Berlin a note on the subject, the text of which the reader will find in the *International Documents Section* of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

In its reply, the German Government welcomes the opening of negotiations for a peace pact, the basic ideas of which, it declares, are in accordance with the principles of German policy. So far as Germany is concerned, the League Covenant and the Locarno Treaty, or Rhine Pact, have a bearing on the proposed pact, but in the opinion of the German Government these contain no obligations that conflict with the obligations implied in the proposed peace pact, which would, in fact, strengthen the basic ideas of the Covenant and Locarno.

After noting that in its view the sovereign right of self-defense is not affected by the proposed treaty, and that there is no need to express in the text of the treaty the self-evident truth that violation of the pact by any of its signatories automatically frees the other signatories from their obligations to the peace-breaking State, the German Government declares its readiness to conclude such a pact as is proposed by the United States and to engage in the necessary negotiations with the Powers. It anticipates from the conclusion of the treaty a stimulus to the work for general disarmament and the elaboration of peaceful means for settling international disputes.

The comments in the German press have clearly expressed the fundamental hostility of the Germans to the French draft, emphasizing the view that the treaties which France specially desires to safeguard are those directed against Germany.

The English attitude is set forth in the British note which appears in this number as an international document.

THE BRITISH BUDGET

ON APRIL 24, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced in the House of Commons his fourth annual budget. The budget speech had been awaited with a great deal of interest, since it was known that Mr. Churchill intended to go far beyond the mere presentation of the statistics of revenues and expenditures, and launch into the field of far-reaching financial reforms. Three such reforms were announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one in the field of monetary policy, one in that of the management of the national debt, and one in that of "rating," or local taxation.

Main Provisions of the Budget

Mr. Churchill's estimate showed a fully balanced budget for the financial year from April 1, 1928, to March 31, 1929. His final account stood as follows:

Revenue	£761,083,000
Expenditure	746,581,000

Surplus £14,502,000

The closed accounts for the preceding financial year showed a surplus of £4,239,000 and the estimate for the current year is based on the actual results of the preceding one.

Following are the main provisions of the new budget:

Debt Charge.—To establish a fixed debt charge for interest for all the services of the debt and for the sinking fund, at £355,000,000 a year, which will extinguish the entire debt, internal and external, in 50 years.

Note Issues.—Amalgamation of the currency notes with the Bank of England note issue in the present financial year.

Relief to Industry.—Three-quarters of the rates on productive industry to be remitted, beginning with the rate payment of October, 1929. Farm lands and buildings, after the rate payment of April to June, 1929, to be completely and permanently relieved of all rates; the farmer continuing to pay on his residence. Rating relief to the railways amounting to not less than £4,000,000 a year, to be concentrated on heavy traffic, the estimated reduction being about 8 per cent thereon.

Imported Oils.—A duty of 4d. per gallon from today on imported hydro-carbon oils. A rebate in respect of heavy oils. Tax in effect payable only on light oils such as petrol, benzol, kerosene, white spirit, and turpentine.

Motor Vehicles.—Reduction of license duties on hackney and commercial motor vehicles of certain capacities and weights; a rebate of 20 per cent for the larger vehicles in both classes fitted entirely with pneumatic tires.

Other New Duties.—A duty of 6d. each on imported mechanical lighters. A duty on imported buttons at the rate of 33½ per cent ad valorem, with a preferential rebate of one-third for Empire goods. Excise duty on British wine raised from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per gallon.

Cheaper Sugar.—Reduction in the duties on imported raw sugar, representing a drop of one farthing per pound in the retail price of sugar.

Tax Relief for Children.—To increase the relief in respect of children from the tax on £36 for the first child and £27 for each subsequent child, to the tax on £60 for the first child and £50 for each subsequent child.

A "Producers' " Budget and its Reception

The budget is definitely directed toward the relief of industry, and has been generally called a "producers' " budget. It had, on the whole, a good reception both in Parliament and in the country generally, although there was one feature in it which caused almost unanimous condemnation and was quickly amended by the Chancellor himself. This was the tax on kerosene. As a result of the imposition of a new duty of 4d. a gallon on the lighter oils, the price of gasoline and kerosene immediately went up 4½d. There was a good deal of dissatisfaction with the increased cost of gasoline, but it was the rise in the price of kerosene, which is a household article of very wide consumption, that aroused a veritable storm of protest. The duty on kerosene was nicknamed "a tax without a friend," and the Chancellor himself turned his back on it by removing it. The only other important change made during the discussion of the budget in Parliament was the reduction by one-half of the fixed duty on mechanical lighters.

The introduction of the new taxes was for the purpose of providing the Treasury with an operating fund for the reform of local taxation which was announced in the budget. This reform, together with the lowering of duty on raw sugar and the increase of duty on imported liquid fuel without a corresponding excise duty on domestically produced fuel, are designed as measures of assistance to British industry.

Reform of Local Taxation

The system of local taxation or "rating" which now exists in Great Britain dates back to the sixteenth century, and it has long been realized that its effects on modern industry have been disastrous. In his budget speech Mr. Churchill showed how heavy industry was particularly affected by the "rates." He pointed to the coal industry, as an example, in which most of the enterprises are now losing money, yet paying millions in rates. The more undertakings that succumbed, the harder the pressure on the survivors. The rates expelled industries from districts otherwise best adapted to their needs, leaving behind a sediment of misery and bankruptcy.

Mr. Churchill's scheme involves a more or less thorough reorganization of the whole rating system, through the introduction of larger administrative areas and other changes. Moreover, he proposes to remit three-quarters of the rates on productive industry, to relieve farm lands and buildings of all rates, and to lighten the burden on the railways.

These remissions of rates will result, of course, in a diminution of income for local authorities. Mr. Churchill proposes to remedy this by increasing the contributions to local expenditures from the general budget. This is the reason for the imposition of new taxes and duties, the yield from which, Mr. Churchill believes, will give the government sufficient revenue to make up the loss of income suffered by local authorities, at the same time affording relief to industry.

The measures proposed are not, however, to come into force immediately. Their application is delayed until October, 1929.

Debt Charge and Monetary Policy

Mr. Churchill's proposal with regard to the management of the national debt consists of a plan to set aside every year a fixed sum for interest and sinking fund. The figure he announced is 355 million pounds, which he maintains will extinguish the whole national debt in fifty years.

This was the system of handling the national debt before the war, though since the war a different method was followed. Under the law of 1923, a definite sum was set aside every year as a sinking fund for the repayment of the debt, and this sum was fixed, from 1925 on, at 50 million pounds a year. In addition, all budgetary surpluses have been applied to the repayment of the debt. Thus the expenditure for the debt varied from year to year.

Mr. Churchill's proposal for the return to the pre-war system of a fixed annual charge has been criticized not so much on the ground of its being poor finance, as on that of the probable inadequacy of the figure announced. For the last two years, the government's expenditures on account of the debt (interest and sinking fund) have been about 378 million pounds. If Mr. Churchill's fixed charge is to yield at least as much money for the repayment of the debt as was obtained during the last two years, it will be necessary to reduce very considerably the interest payments on the debt.

In the domain of monetary policy, Mr. Churchill announced the long-expected amalgamation of the Treasury and the Bank of England note issues, and the restoration to the Bank of its pre-war rôle as the sole source of paper currency. During the war, the Treasury issued paper money, as well as the Bank. Now the Treasury gives up its privilege in this respect. At the same time the Bank, through changes in its charter, acquires facilities for a more elastic credit system than before the war, which has long been demanded by British industry and trade.

BRITISH ULTIMATUM TO EGYPT

ANOTHER controversy between the British and the Egyptian governments has just come to a head and been settled, at least for the time being. It involved the dispatching by the British High Commissioner in Egypt of a stern three-day ultimatum. The controversy was concerned with a bill, regulating public assemblies, a question of four years' standing.

Discussion of the Question of Public Assemblies

The question of public assemblies is basically regulated in Egypt by Article 20 of the Egyptian Constitution, which reads as follows:

Egyptians have the right to meet peaceably and without arms. The police may not be present at their meetings and need not be informed of them. These dispositions do not apply to public meetings which are subject to the prescriptions of the law and cannot prevent or hinder the employment of any measure for the maintenance of public order.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, there was already in existence in Egypt a law regulating public assemblies, Law No. 14 of 1923. As a matter of fact the constitutional provisions were framed on the basis of the measures embodied in this law. The Egyptian Parliament, however, early in 1924 made a move in the direction of serious modifications in the 1923 law. This move was strongly opposed by Zaghlul Pasha, and his restraining influence was sufficiently powerful to keep the matter in abeyance. After his death, however, which occurred last autumn, the extreme nationalists returned to the question, and the bill which was shelved in 1924 because of Zaghlul Pasha's influence again came to the fore.

The bill is intended to take out of the hands of the police practically all preventive powers against undesirable demonstrations. The following comparisons demonstrate clearly the difference between the existing law and the proposed bill:

The Law of 1923.—Article 7 gives the police

the right to be present and "choose their place" at public meetings, and to dissolve them in the following cases:

(a) If the committee is not constituted or fails to carry out its duties of control; (b) if the meeting organized for one purpose is actually held for another; (c) if seditious or illegal speeches, etc., or other illegalities take place; and (d) in case of serious disorder.

Under Article 9 the dispositions of the law are applicable to all meetings, processions, or other public demonstrations of a political character. The authorities are entitled to fix the place of meeting and the route followed by such processions and demonstrations.

The following is the text of Article 10: "No disposition of the present law limits the right of the police both to disperse crowds or gatherings which may endanger public peace, and to assure free movement in streets and public places.

The Bill.—Article 5. A delegate of the administration or officer of police may be present at a meeting on condition that he does not sit on the platform. He may not dissolve the meeting save—

(1) On the written request of the committee provided for by Article 2, or in its default by the signatories of the notification of the meeting.

(2) In case of serious disorders. If order is restored the meeting may be continued or resumed. Without special police authorization no meeting shall be prolonged past midnight.

Article 7, paragraph 2. "The police have the right to disperse political demonstrations of which notice has been given in case of a breach of public order. They may disperse political demonstrations notice of which has not been given after summoning the demonstrators to disperse."

There is a similar striking difference between the penalties provided in the law and in the bill, as may be seen from the following comparison:

The Law of 1923.—Article 11 inflicts the following penalties:

(1) For promoters and organizers of unauthorized or prohibited meetings and demonstrations—a maximum of six months' imprisonment with or without a fine not exceeding £E.100.

(2) For participants in such unauthorized meetings who refuse to disperse, a maximum

of a month's imprisonment with or without fine not exceeding £E.10.

(3) For other breaches of the law seven days' imprisonment with or without a fine of £E.1.

The Bill.—Article 8.—Breaches of Articles 5 and 7 incur a maximum penalty of one week's imprisonment with or without fine not exceeding £E.1.

Article 9.—Any functionary who uses his authority to disperse any meeting save in the cases provided for in Article 5 is liable to a maximum penalty of one month's imprisonment or to a fine of from £E.2 to £E.30.

British Ultimatum

On April 29, acting under instructions from London, the British High Commissioner in Egypt delivered to the Egyptian Prime Minister the following ultimatum:

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to inform you that since the presentation to Your Excellency of my note of April 4, His Britannic Majesty's Government in Great Britain have watched with increasing concern the growing evidence of the intention of the Egyptian Government to proceed with certain legislation affecting public security. This legislation, as Your Excellency must be fully aware, not merely from the verbal communication which I had the honor to make to you on the 19th instant, but from previous similar communications made both to Your Excellency's predecessor and to yourself before and after the date of the *aide-mémoire* which I had the honor to present to His Excellency Sarwat Pasha on March 4, last, is covered by the reservation reaffirmed in my note of April 4.

2. I am now instructed by His Britannic Majesty's Government to request Your Excellency as head of the Egyptian Government immediately to take the necessary steps to prevent the bill regulating public meetings and demonstrations from becoming law.

3. I am instructed to request Your Excellency to give me a categorical assurance in writing that the above-mentioned measure will not be proceeded with. Should this assurance not reach me before 7 P. M. on May 2, His Britannic Majesty's Government will consider themselves free to take such action as the situation may seem to them to require.

Statement of the Egyptian Case

Shortly before the expiration of the three-day period set in the British ultimatum, the following note was delivered to the High Commissioner by the Egyptian Prime Minister:

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the letter of April 29 by which Your Excellency informs me that the draft law governing public meetings and demonstrations is covered by the reservation reaffirmed in the British note of April 4, to which reference had been made in the memorandum of March 4; that your Excellency has been instructed by his Britannic Majesty's Government to request me in my capacity as head of Egyptian Government immediately to take the necessary steps to prevent this bill from becoming law and to give you in writing a categorical assurance that in view of the memorandum above mentioned the draft bill will not be continued, adding that if this assurance did not reach Your Excellency before 7 P. M. on Wednesday, May 2, his Britannic Majesty's Government would consider themselves free to have recourse to such action as the situation in their opinion might render necessary.

In reply I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that in their reply of March 30 to the British memorandum of March 4, 1928, Egyptian Government set forth their point of view, which they feel to be such as should reconcile safeguarding of country's rights with maintenance of friendly relations between Great Britain and Egypt, a point of view which they reaffirmed in the declaration made to Parliament on April 5 in reply to British note of April 4.

Faced with the duty that is incumbent upon them of upholding the rights of the country and of respecting its constitution the Egyptian Government cannot recognize Great Britain's right implied in the note of April 29 and based upon the declaration of February 28, 1922, to intervene in Egyptian legislation.

This declaration was and still is a unilateral declaration, and his Britannic Majesty's Government intended, indeed, to give it this character. By its very nature it could neither bind nor compel the other party. This fact was, indeed, recognized in 1924 by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then Prime Minister. In a letter addressed in 1924 by Lord Allenby to the later Saad Zaghlul Pasha, then President

of the Council of Ministers, his Lordship expressed himself in the following terms: "He (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) clearly stated on May 15 to the Egyptian Minister in London that the very fact of one party or the other's explaining the position which it took up in no way obliged to the other party to recognize that position." The Egyptian Government on many occasions set forth frankly and sincerely their point of view to his Britannic Majesty's Government and to Your Excellency and have spared no effort to emphasize the good intentions by which they are animated.

Also I have often had the honor to show Your Excellency in connection with the bill as to public meetings and demonstrations that no constitutional government had power to violate the constitutional principle of division of powers by withdrawing a bill approved by both Chambers and by the government, and of which the Senate has now only to examine one paragraph omitted by oversight in regard to a simple formality.

I then pointed out to Your Excellency that by its provisions themselves as by declarations concerning it made by the government to Parliament, and the discussions to which it has given rise in the two Chambers, both being recorded in *procès verbaux* of their respective sessions, the bill in question in no way exposes the safety of foreigners to risk, and that its sole object is to regulate the exercise of constitutional liberties whilst fully assuring public security. I have also often had the opportunity of declaring that if experience revealed any defect in the law the Egyptian Government would at once call upon Parliament to modify it in accordance with the exigencies of public order.

Before these evident marks of their good will and good intentions the Egyptian Government can only express their deep regret that his Britannic Majesty's Government should not have taken into account their very earnest desire to consolidate the good relations of the two countries and the sincerity of the efforts which they have always exerted to this end. They consider that they cannot subscribe to the contents of the note of April 29 without seriously compromising the eternal rights of Egypt. Nor can they believe that his Britannic Majesty's Government, whose liberal spirit is well known, design to humiliate an unarmed nation whose strength lies only in its rights and the sincerity of its intentions.

Accordingly, in conformity with their ardent desire to reach an understanding and the conciliatory sentiments which have never ceased to animate them, the Egyptian Government, within the limits of their constitutional right, yesterday requested the Senate, who agreed, to postpone the examination of the bill in question until next session. They hope that this step will be appreciated by his Majesty's Government, and that in the light of mutual confidence governing the relations of the two countries present difficulties will shortly be dispelled to give place to an era of understanding, justice, and friendship.

I avail myself, etc.

British Reply and Warning

In the following reply note, communicated to the Egyptian Government by the High Commissioner, the British Government accepted the situation for the time being, but served notice that it would again intervene if the postponed bill or any similar measure is revived in the future:

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I duly conveyed to my Government by telegraph the contents of your Excellency's note of May 1, and I am now instructed to state in reply that His Majesty's Government have learned with satisfaction, that in compliance with the request of His Majesty's Government and in pursuance of the advice tendered by Your Excellency and the Egyptian Government the Senate decided not to proceed with the Assemblies bill during the present session. His Majesty's Government take note of your assurance that this decision has been taken in conformity with the ardent desire of the Egyptian Government to reach an understanding and their conciliatory sentiments. They are therefore entitled to assume that the Egyptian Government will be careful to avoid any revival of the controversy which has led to the present crisis.

2. His Majesty's Government observe, however, that the intentions of the Egyptian Government respecting the future of this bill are not explicitly stated in Your Excellency's note. In these circumstances, they think it well to make it clear, in terms which do not admit of misinterpretation, that they regard certain provisions of the bill as calculated seriously to weaken the hands of the administrative authorities responsible for the maintenance of order and for the protection of

foreign lives and property. If, therefore, the measure in question were to be revived, or if other measures were introduced which in their view presented similarly dangerous features, His Majesty's Government would again be obliged to intervene, as in the present instance, to prevent their enactment.

3. His Majesty's Government can enter into no discussion respecting the declaration of February, 1922. One of the consequences of that instrument was to entail upon His Majesty's Government the responsibility for the protection of foreign interests in Egypt. It will be clear from the preceding paragraph that His Majesty's Government are resolved at all times to insist upon a precise discharge of its terms. This declaration embodies the conditions subject to which independence was accorded to Egypt; and His Majesty's Government will not permit it to be either modified or disregarded.

COMMUNISM IN JAPAN

ON APRIL 10 the Japanese Government ordered the dissolution of three Communist organizations, the Ronoto (Labor-Farmer Party), the Japan Labor Council, and the League of Proletarian Youth. A large number of persons were arrested, although most of them were later released, while the remainder were held under the Peace Preservation Act. Thus the Japanese police began a systematic campaign against the Communists, whose activities they had been watching very closely since the last election, when 40 Left candidates conducted an extensive electoral campaign with funds which, according to the police, came from Moscow.

Prime Minister Tanaka's Statement

In a statement to the Japanese people, issued in connection with the arrests, Prime Minister Tanaka said that the Communists tried to subvert Japan's national system and to set up a dictatorship of workmen and peasants. He laid much stress on disloyal references to the Emperor found in Communist literature. The Prime Minister said he knows that changing conditions must bring about new ideas, and sympathizes with Labor's aspirations, but when the Imperial House is attacked, he will leave no doubt of the government's determination and power to suppress the disloyal movements. Religious, educational, and political leaders

were invited to combat dangerous ideas, and capitalists and workers exhorted to work harmoniously for better social conditions.

Mr. Oyama, leader of the Ronoto, was mobbed at Tokyo Station on his return from a speech-making tour. The secretary of the Ronoto visited the Home Office and asked the officials to state in what respect the party's program or conduct during the election campaign was illegal. According to newspaper reports, the Minister replied that the Ronoto was suppressed because it had come under Communist control.

Later, in addressing the Diet, the Prime Minister stated that evidence in the hands of the police revealed a plot for the subversion of the Constitution by a program which aimed at violent revolution.

The educational authorities are concerned over the evidence of students being attracted by Communism, and they are considering means to remedy the evil.

Five Years of Communist Effort in Japan

The Communist movement in Japan had been making persistent efforts to establish itself during the past five years. A small Communist Party was formed in 1923, but it was dissolved by the police. The party was secretly reorganized in December, 1926. When the original Labor Party broke up soon afterward, the Communists permeated its Left wing, known as the Ronoto.

The Communist Party worked so energetically that its membership, which at the beginning was only 125, increased to 400 in March, 1927, and a campaign was in progress to enroll 10,000 before the end of the year. Communists have been placed on the governing bodies of the Tokyo and Yokohama trades council, the Farmer Labor Party, and the League of Youth of all Japan.

The Communist platform included the abolition of the monarchy, the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Republic, the replacement of the bourgeois Parliament by a peasant-labor dictatorship, the confiscation of the property of the Imperial House, and of capitalists and land-owners, and support for Soviet Russia and the Chinese Nationalists.

POINCARÉ'S ELECTORAL VICTORY

THE parliamentary elections held in France on April 22 and 29 resulted in a clear and unmistakable triumph for Premier Poincaré and the policies which his National Union Government have pursued for two years. This was the first election held under the electoral law of July 21, 1927, which provided for two voting days, a week apart. In accordance with this law, only those candidates who receive an absolute majority are declared elected after the first vote is counted. The districts in which this takes place do not vote the second time. In all the other districts re-elections are held, and a plurality is then sufficient.

Results of the Elections

Altogether 612 deputies were to be elected. Of these only 184 received absolute majorities on April 22. They were declared elected, while the remaining 428 deputies were not finally selected until April 29. The composition of the new Chamber is as follows, the numbers in parentheses relating to the former Chamber:

Republican Democratic Union (122)	158 seats
Républicains de Gauche (83).....	93 "
Radical Republicans (49).....	61 "
Socialist-Radicals (136).....	117 "
Socialist-Republicans (44).....	44 "
Socialists (105).....	101 "
Communists (25).....	14 "
Communist Socialist (3).....	2 "
Conservatives (Royalists) (20)....	18 "
Alsatians (0).....	3 "

It will be seen that the parties which M. Poincaré can claim as his definite supporters, the Republican Democratic Union, the Républicains de Gauche, and the Radical-Republicans, number together 312 of the 612 members of the Chamber. To this must certainly be added a large part of the Socialist-Radicals, so that M. Poincaré's support cannot be considered as less than 340.

The election shows a very moderate movement of public opinion away from extremes, and also from the Left Center

to the Right Center. The balance is slightly readjusted toward the Right as the result of the losses suffered by the Socialist-Radicals. These apparently occurred chiefly on the Left wing of the party, and reflected the failure of the attempt to revive the Cartel. The effort to establish a community of interests between Socialists and Socialist-Radicals proved the worst possible tactics for its promoters. The Opposition came back considerably weaker than before.

Tasks of the New Chamber

All of the Cabinet Ministers, with the exception of M. André Fallières, the Minister of Labor, were re-elected, and Premier Poincaré decided to dispense with the customary procedure of tendering a formal resignation. Instead of that, he announced that the present government will continue to function and will meet the Chamber and the Senate on June 1, when they assemble for the first time since the election.

In the meantime, M. Poincaré began delivering a series of post-election speeches, in which he dealt with the tasks confronting the new Chamber. In one of these addresses, delivered before the Council-General of the Meuse, he said that never had prudence been more necessary for France than it is today. A fiscal régime which had been hurriedly reorganized cannot be absolutely stable, and the slightest lapse into irresponsibility or improvidence would destroy all that had been accomplished. The position is still capable of improvement, but this cannot be accomplished by a blind decrease in taxation and increase in expenditure, and one false step would cause the country to slip back into the abyss, from which nobody could pull it out.

A compact and permanent majority, prepared to sacrifice everything in the cause of monetary reform, must, he said, be formed in the new Chamber. The country still has a long period of convalescence to face. With the conclusion of the electoral period, party questions would, he hoped, once more take second place to considerations of public well-being, and, except for an infamous and powerless minority, nobody in the Chamber would, he felt confident, hinder the

work begun two years ago. Economic recovery must, he continued, accompany financial reform, and the Chamber would have to make every effort to encourage the industrial and economic activities of France. Questions of social reform would not, of course, be lost sight of, and the organization of labor, insurance, hygiene, etc., would all receive the attention they demand.

The country had shown by its vote, M. Poincaré continued, that it desires evolution rather than revolution, and that it has no sympathy with Bolshevism. The Administration is not, he admitted, always above reproval, and public servants sometimes abuse their positions to criticize the régime and spread dangerous doctrines among the young. That state of affairs would be looked into and remedied. No country, M. Poincaré concluded, has a greater need of peace to recover her position than France, and she would work for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

Germany and the French Elections

Germany, which is now in the throes of her own electoral campaign, watched very closely the progress of the French elections. Considerable surprise was caused by the failure of the French elec-

torate to turn to the Left, as had been confidently prophesied. The German parties of the Right welcomed with evident glee the nonfulfillment of this prophecy, which had found repeated expression in the German Left newspapers. The argument that, in the interests of the policy of understanding, Germany must elect a Reichstag corresponding in outlook to the expected "Left" Chamber of Deputies now, they declared, falls through, and the obvious duty of every German voter is to strengthen the German bourgeois parties of the Middle and Right in response to the Right-Center movement in France. The German Left, on the other hand, hastened to label the result of the French second ballots as a victory of the Middle parties, which, if it still leaves the Right wing of M. Poincaré's majority stronger than before, renders any departure from M. Briand's foreign policy out of the question.

Apart from such differences in interpretation, it was generally agreed that the French elections were fought mainly on the domestic issue of financial stabilization, and that it would have been strange if France had not sent M. Poincaré back with a clear mandate to complete the task.

THE ONE-HUNDREDTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

Held at the Hotel Cleveland, Room H, Cleveland, Ohio,
May 12, 1928

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

The Executive Committee

To the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society:

PURSUANT to the provision of Article 7 of the Constitution of the American Peace Society, which requires that the President shall make an annual report of the work of the Society to the Board of Directors, your President submits respectfully the following as his report for the fiscal year 1927-1928, this being the last year of the Society's first century of life.

Your Executive Committee has held eight regular meetings and one special meeting during the year. Minutes of each of these meetings have been sent regularly to all members of the Executive Committee. Dr. Arthur Deerin Call has continued as Secretary of the American Peace Society and as Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Mr. Leo Pasvolsky has continued as Associate Editor of the magazine. Miss Louise Anderson has served as Assistant Secretary and Assist-

ant Treasurer. Mr. Lacey C. Zapf has served as Business Manager, Mrs. Mabel W. S. Call has continued as Librarian, and Mr. W. I. Smalley as Assistant Business Manager. The names of our Directors, with their States, are as follows:

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

State	State representative	General
Alabama.....	Oscar Wells.....	Jackson H. Ralston.
Arizona.....	Dwight B. Heard.....	
Arkansas.....		A. D. Call, Thomas E. Green, David Jayne Hill, George Maurice Morris, George W. White.
California.....		
Colorado.....	Tyson S. Dines.....	Walter A. Morgan, H. C. Morris.
Connecticut.....		
Delaware.....		Harry A. Garfield.
Dist. of Columbia.....		
Florida.....		Jay T. Stocking.
Georgia.....		
Idaho.....		Philip Marshall Brown.
Illinois.....	Silas H. Strawn.....	
Indiana.....	Felix M. McWhirter.....	Theodore Stanfield. Arthur Ramsay.
Iowa.....	E. T. Meredith.....	
Kansas.....	William Allen White.....	Theodore E. Burton, Robert E. Vinson. P. P. Claxton.
Kentucky.....	Edwin P. Morrow.....	
Louisiana.....	John M. Parker.....	Henry W. Temple, Wm. Mather Lewis.
Maine.....	Hiram W. Ricker.....	
Maryland.....		Rev. Dr. Wm. Way.....
Massachusetts.....		
Michigan.....		Charles L. Hyde.....
Minnesota.....		
Mississippi.....		Reginald H. Parsons.....
Missouri.....	Clarence H. Howard.....	
Montana.....		John M. Crawford.....
Nebraska.....		
Nevada.....		John J. Esch.....
New Hampshire.....		
New Jersey.....		Frank W. Mondell.....
New Mexico.....		
New York.....		
North Carolina.....		
North Dakota.....	Col. Frank White.....	
Ohio.....		
Oregon.....		
Pennsylvania.....		
Rhode Island.....		
South Carolina.....		
South Dakota.....		
Tennessee.....		
Texas.....		
Utah.....		
Vermont.....		
Virginia.....		
Washington.....		
West Virginia.....		
Wisconsin.....		
Wyoming.....		

The Finances of the Society

During the fiscal year 1927-1928 the following persons made contributions of \$25 or more to the work of the Society:

Philip Marshall Brown, Theodore E. Burton, Arthur D. Call, John M. Crawford, Tyson S. Dines, John J. Esch, Thomas E. Green, David Jayne Hill, Clarence H. Howard, Charles L. Hyde, Felix McWhirter, George M. Morris, Henry C. Morris, Reginald H. Parsons, Jackson H. Ralston, Hiram W. Ricker, Theodore Stanfield, Jay T. Stocking, Silas H. Strawn, Henry W. Temple, William Way, George W. White, Frederick A. Henry, Adelbert Moot, Adolph S. Ochs, Florence E. Allen, F. E. Barrows, Dimner Beeber, James Byrne, William Nelson Cromwell, Mrs. Harold C. Ernst, Wilbur F. Gordy, Mrs. T. William Kimber, Mrs. Walter H. Merriam, Mrs. I. Harris Metcalf, Walter Scott Penfield, Miss J. F. Prescott, Miss Fanny T. Sturgis, L. L. Tyson, Mrs. A. D. Warner, Mrs. W. O. Winston, Miss M. DeC. Ward, Arthur Capper, Richard D. Currier, Miss Mary W. Lippincott, William H. Tut-hill, American Fork and Hoe Company, American Multigraph Company, Mrs. George G. Barker, Bruce Barton, A. T. Bell, Harold H. Burton, Chamberlin, Marty and Fuller, Mrs. William P. Champney, Cleveland Press, Cowell & Hubbard Company, B. G. Dawes, Franklin W. Fort, William T. Grant, Frederick J. Griffiths, C. E. Hart, Raphael Herman, Napoleon B. Kelly, C. F. Kettering, Theodor Kundtz, J. G. Lamson, Adolph Lewisohn, Mrs. Mary B. Longyear, John J. McSwain, Ohio Bell Telephone Company, John Omwake, Mrs. Charles H. Prescott, Charles A. Schieren, Walter E. Seeley, C. W. Selberling, Miss Belle Sherwin, George M. Verity, Marc Wolpaw, Rudolph H. Wur-litzer, Lacey C. Zapf, L. Roy Zapf, Asahel Edward Adams, A. E. Anderson, R. Bruner, F. B. Caswell, George D. Crabbs, George De Camp, Frank L. Fay, A. Lincoln Filene, Hugh A. Galt, Alba B. Johnson, W. W. Knight, Andrew H. Noah, William Cooper Proctor, Henry D. Sharpe, Mrs. Florence Canfield Whitney, Harry P. Wolfe, Youngs-town Sheet & Tube Company, Charter Oak Chapter, D. A. C., Foster Copeland, Mrs. Laura S. Price, Western Reserve Chapter, D. A. R., William P. Gest, W. H. Hoover, Charles H. Jones, George H. Judd, James Brown Scott, Miss C. Louise Smith, E. R. Fancher, Miss Agnes D. Hardee, Gordon Mather, E. L. McClain, C. L. Proctor.

Our Budget

The budget of our Society is divided into three parts: First, the Department of Home Office; second, the Department of Field Work; third, the Department of Publications. The budget for the Department of Home Office for the year end-

ing April 30, 1928, provided for an expenditure of \$24,000. The amount actually spent was \$23,973.03.

The budget for the Department of Field Work provided for an expenditure of \$3,000. The amount actually spent was \$4,028.27, a large part of which was in connection with the preparatory work of the Centennial Celebration and for which provision had not been made in the budget.

The budget provided for an expenditure of \$9,000 in the Department of Publications. The amount spent was \$7,762.61.

The budget provided for a total expenditure of \$36,000 for the year. The total amount actually spent was \$35,-763.91.

The Permanent Peace Fund

In its early years the leaders of the American Peace Society experienced great financial difficulties. The Secretaries of the Society at times not only served practically without pay, but made themselves personally responsible for current expenses in order to keep the peace movement alive.

To secure the steady, perpetual attention of the public mind to the movement, the Executive Committee, at the suggestion of Beckwith, October 1, 1856, and the Society at its annual meeting in 1857, voted to raise a permanent fund of \$30,000, the income to be used to support a Secretary, who should devote his whole time to the cause of peace, the publication of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and the maintenance of an office, such secretaryship, periodical, and office to be perpetual. Beckwith pledged five thousand dollars of this amount, one-half of what he was then understood to be worth, provided the remainder were raised within five years from January 1, 1857, no subscription to be binding unless at least twenty thousand dollars should be subscribed within that time. Furthermore, Beckwith undertook to raise the whole amount.

To start the fund, the Society voted to apply to it all legacies and income from investments and funds received that were not needed for immediate use. In 1857 it was announced that five thousand dollars had been pledged by one person, two thou-

sand dollars by another, one thousand dollars each from two persons, and five hundred dollars each from several more. In 1858 it was announced that towards fifteen thousand dollars had been subscribed or promised toward the fund. But the times were unpropitious, and here the matter rested for three years.

The financial troubles following the panic of 1857 and the increasing discussion of the slavery question rendered it difficult to obtain many pledges. December 30, 1861, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, it was reported that \$20,650 had been pledged, thus securing the success of the fund. The subscribers and the amounts of their subscriptions were as follows:

George C. Beckwith, Boston, \$5,000; Anthony Boynton, New York City, \$2,000; William F. Mott, New York City, \$300; Joseph E. Worcester, Cambridge, Mass., \$1,000; Howard Malcolm, Philadelphia, \$1,000; Thomas C. Upham, Kennebunkport, Maine, \$500; Timothy Higgins, Southington, Conn., \$500; Alvan Underwood, Woodstock, Conn., \$100; Ephraim Spaulding, Townsend, Mass., \$50; Simeon N. Perry, Walpole, N. H., \$200; and George W. Thompson, Stratham, N. H., \$10,000.

At a meeting of the committee February 10, 1862, at the request of several subscribers to the fund, it was voted to add to the fund all the existing investments of the Society, amounting to \$4,700, and to increase the amount to \$30,000 as soon as possible; that the fund should be held by a board of trustees consisting of five persons, to be called the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund, with power to fill vacancies in their number; that the first board of trustees should be elected by the subscribers to the fund with the consent of the Executive Committee; that no one should act as trustee unless in good standing in some Christian church; that one trustee should be a Baptist and one a Congregationalist, since nine-tenths of the fund had been subscribed by members of these two denominations; that the trustees should appropriate from their income to the American Peace Society on condition that it have in its service a secretary or "equivalent actuary, who shall devote his whole time to the cause of peace," publish a periodical of at least twenty-four octavo pages quarterly, and maintain an of-

fice as the center of operations, all three—secretary, periodical and office—to be perpetual; that if the trustees of the fund should at any time think that the Society had failed to observe these conditions for more than two years or had forfeited their confidence, they might spend the income in other ways, as they deemed best, for the cause of peace or appropriate it to some foreign or home missionary society, or to the American Bible Society, as seemed best; that no action of the trustees should be valid if taken without the concurrence of a majority of their number; that vacancies in the board should be filled before the transaction of any business; that the trustees should serve without pay and should keep a fair account of all funds and investments, with the income therefrom; and that they should meet semiannually for the transaction of business and make an annual report to the American Peace Society. Beckwith was authorized to collect the subscriptions in money or in promissory notes, as seemed best. . . .

At a somewhat later date, July 6, 1865, the amount received from the Ladd bequest was added to the fund. . . . Ladd had left the bulk of his property to trustees, to pay the income to his widow for life and then the principal to the American Peace Society. . . . In all, the Society realized less than \$10,000 from Ladd's bequest. At the request of the contributors to the Permanent Peace Fund, the trustees became incorporated in Massachusetts in 1862.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee January 23, 1866, it was reported that the fund had reached the nominal amount of \$30,254. Beckwith felt that it would all be eventually received, though much of it was not to be paid until the death of the donors. . . .

By the will of Beckwith his property was to go to the fund on the death of his widow, which occurred April 5, 1881. . . . By 1884 the value of the Beckwith gift was considered to be \$50,000. . . . In 1888 the total value of the fund was estimated to be \$67,000. . . . (In 1891 the fund was valued at \$80,000.) It has since slowly grown. Some of the property has been sold and the money invested in better-paying securities, while other property has increased in value, and additional gifts now and then have helped to swell the total. . . .

Our Centennial

In previous years your President has paid his respects to the very able and conscientious work of his fellows among the officers of the American Peace Society. He now repeats his praises and congratulations. But your President could not close this brief report without mentioning the very great task performed so successfully by them in behalf of the Centennial Celebration of our Society. Thanks to them, to the good people of Cleveland, and to the kindness of others, many of them from far away, this celebration already ranks among the historic episodes among the world's efforts to lessen the ills of war. He counts it an honor to have been associated with it and thanks all who have contributed to this worthy achievement. He thanks Edson L. Whitney for his devotion and industry in compiling the centennial history of the American Peace Society. Your President repeats here what he was pleased to write in the nature of a foreword to that book:

The American Peace Society is one hundred years old. It is of importance that its history should be told. It pleases me to find that this is done and with such fulness. Through years yet to come, others concerned to know of the development of the historic peace movement will turn to these pages with interest and profit, for the work of the American Peace Society has been a very worthy contribution to right thinking in a field where informed judgments are peculiarly a fundamental need of the world.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

THEODORE E. BURTON,

President of the American Peace Society.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

Your Secretary is pleased here to record the well-nigh continuous insistence by the Society from its beginning upon the importance of recurring conferences for the advancement of the principles of international law, without which the ways of justice between States are precarious indeed. He would call attention especially to the efforts of the Society fol-

lowing the World War, that there should be another conference at The Hague for the purpose of restating the established rules of international law. The Society has been severely criticized for this stand. It is a pleasure, therefore, to note that the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations, following a discussion of the Council, adopted a resolution providing for the calling of such a conference, to be convened in 1929. Since practically all the nations of the world have agreed to this procedure, the American Peace Society may congratulate itself for once at being associated with the large majority. The world at last seems favorable to a universal congress at The Hague in the interest of a "firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments."

Official Attempts to Renounce War

The year has been marked by attempts in government circles to restrict—indeed, to renounce—war as an instrument of national policy.

Representative Theodore E. Burton introduced a joint resolution in the Congress, under date of January 25, 1928, proposing to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to belligerent nations. Under date of December 6, 1927, Senator Arthur Capper introduced a resolution in the Senate providing for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy and for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration or conciliation. December 12 Senator Borah introduced a resolution setting forth that it is the view of the Senate of the United States that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversy "by making it a public crime under the law of nations," for the codification of international law of peace, and for an international court modeled on the American Supreme Court. In the meantime Representative Tinkham, of Massachusetts, had reintroduced his resolution calling for a Third Hague Conference in the interest of the further codification of international law.

In addition to these expressions of the will to peace, our Department of State has taken a remarkable initiative. The climax of the efforts of Secretary Kellogg to minimize the possibilities of war were set forth April 13, 1928, in a note addressed to our respective Ambassadors to Paris, London, Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo, accompanied by a draft treaty to be concluded by the six powers in question. The treaty provided for the condemnation by their respective peoples of a recourse to war for the solution of international conflicts, and for its renunciation as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. It provided, further, for the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts by pacific means. This proposal by our Secretary of State has met with approval in London and Berlin. France finds difficulties in the way, such as the right to legitimate self-defense, obligations under certain existing treaties, duties to the League of Nations, and the release of a contracting power in case of the violation of the treaty by another. While these differences between the United States and France blocked the progress of the proposal at the end of our year, the earnest effort on the part of the world's most powerful governments to renounce war constitute a fact of prime importance in the history of the world's peace movement.

In addition to this interest in an unqualified multilateral anti-war treaty, Secretary Kellogg has placed another plank in his platform for the prevention of war. It is set forth in his treaty of arbitration, signed by France and the United States February 6, 1928. Similar treaties have been negotiated with a number of other governments, viz., Great Britain, Japan, Spain, Norway, Italy, Finland, and Esthonia. This new series of treaties replaces those of 1908. They provide for arbitration, as did the Root treaties, and for conciliation, as set forth in the Bryan treaties of 1913 and 1914. It is Mr. Kellogg's view that the ideas of arbitration and conciliation should be related, and they are so related in the new treaties. These new treaties provide that all differences relating to international matters not adjusted by diplomacy or by

reference to the Permanent International Commission, and which are susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague or some other competent tribunal, to be settled upon in each case by special agreement. This special agreement must in each case be ratified by the United States Senate. While the Root treaties provided that all disputes of a legal nature should be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague excepting those disputes affecting the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting parties and the interests of third parties, Article III of the new treaty excludes from arbitration disputes the subject-matter of which is within the domestic jurisdiction of either of the parties, the interests of third parties, the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and the obligations of France under the Covenant of the League of Nations. These exceptions, it must be granted, are more definite than those of the older treaties.

Thus the anti-war policy of our government is taking the direction of arbitration and conciliation treaties, together with a treaty under the terms of which the contracting parties definitely bind themselves not to resort to war. Of these two methods, the first is being rapidly vitalized in the form of living treaties; the other is being worked out by accredited statesmen in the open forum of the world.

Sixth Pan American Conference

The Sixth Pan American Conference was held in the city of Havana, Cuba, January 16 to February 20. President Coolidge attended the conference and delivered an address. As a result of the conference the work of the Pan American Union has been broadened and deepened. The Pan American Union was requested to co-operate in the preparatory work of the codification of international law, and of the studies that may be undertaken relative to uniformity of legislation. Perhaps the outstanding fact of the conference is that for the first time in an international official gathering there was advocated, and adopted without reservation,

the principle of the obligatory arbitration of juridical disputes. It was agreed that a conference on arbitration and conciliation shall be held in Washington within a year for the purpose of putting the plan into the form of a treaty. There is no doubt such a conference will be held within the next few months.

The Interparliamentary Union

Your President and Secretary were in attendance at the XXIVth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, held in the rooms of the French Senate, Paris, August 25 to 30, 1927, Mr. Burton as President of the group and your Secretary as its Executive Secretary. Honorable Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia, Vice-President of the group and a former president of the American Peace Society, was also present. Thirty-three parliaments were represented at the conference, a report of which has appeared in the columns of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. The twenty-fifth conference will be held in the Reichstag Building, Berlin, from Thursday, August 23, to Tuesday, August 28, 1928.

The League of Nations

Both your President and Secretary were in attendance at the eighth assembly of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, September, 1927. It has been the privilege of your Secretary to attend each of the sessions of this Assembly excepting that of 1923 and that of 1925, when the Interparliamentary Union met in the United States.

The importance of the work of the League has been shown during the year by the sessions of the International Economic Conference from May 4 to 23, 1927, attended by one hundred and ninety delegates, five of whom were from the United States; by the work of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security; by the adjustment of disputes over German minorities in Upper Silesia, over differences between Hungary and Rumania, and between Poland and Lithuania; by its labors affecting health, women and children, refugees, communications and transit, mandates, the press, and the progressive codification of inter-

national law. The co-operation of the United States with many of these phases of the League activities has continued to be a sign of international health.

The Society's Centennial Celebration

A résumé of the program of the World Conference on International Justice, held in honor of the American Peace Society's Centennial, Cleveland, Ohio, May 7 to 11, 1928, will indicate where much of the major work of your Secretary through the year has been especially concentrated. The program follows:

May 6—Peace Sunday

EXERCISES THROUGHOUT THE CHURCHES

THE GENERAL SESSIONS

Monday, May 7—Ohio Day

Ten o'clock a. m.

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Public Auditorium.

Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, including the Ambassadors from France and Germany, were on the platform. Music—East High School Band.

Call to Order—President Theodore E. Burton.

Invocation—Rev. J. W. Giffin, D. D., President of the Cleveland Federated Churches, pastor of United Presbyterian Church.

Addresses:

HON. WILLIAM G. PICKREL, Lieutenant Governor of Ohio.

HON. JOHN MARSHALL, Mayor of Cleveland.

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, President of the American Peace Society.

HON. JOHN J. TIGERT, U. S. Commissioner of Education.

DR. HENRY TURNER BAILEY, Director of the Cleveland School of Art and Director of the John Huntington Polytechnique Institute.

Announcements—Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, Director of the Conference.

Benediction—Right Reverend Joseph Schrembs, Bishop of Diocese of Cleveland.

Twelve-thirty o'clock p. m.

Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries of Commissions convened at Hotel Cleveland.

Monday, May 7—Ohio Day

Three o'clock p. m.

SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Public Auditorium.

Music—West Technical High School Band.

Invocation—Rev. Francis S. White, Dean of Trinity Cathedral.

Presentation to the city of Cleveland, on behalf of "Cleveland Topics" donor, of the Edith Stevenson Wright portrait of President Coolidge.

Presentation by Hon. Theodore E. Burton.

Acceptance by City Manager William R. Hopkins.

An Appreciation, by Dr. Henry Turner Bailey.

Music.

Rev. Dilworth Lupton, Minister Unitarian Church, presided over finals in Ohio Intercollegiate Peace Oratorical Contest.

Ohio Wesleyan University—Mr. Lewis D. Syester.

Oration—"The Soul of America."

College of Wooster—Mr. Allan Bowe.

Oration—"Peace Through Organization."

Wittenberg College—Mr. Earl Morris.

Oration—"Educating the People for Peace."

Case School of Applied Science—Mr. John L. Willett.

Western Reserve University—Mr. Alan Green.

Oration—"The Hundred-year Campaign."

Heidelberg College—Mr. Paul R. Sheats.

Music.

Eight o'clock p. m.

THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Public Auditorium.

Invocation—Rev. W. F. Dickens-Lewis, D. D., Pastor of Cleveland Heights Presbyterian Church.

Song, written by Adelaide S. Davis, sung by Lela Robeson.

Addresses:

The Right Honorable Sir Esme Howard, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., C. V. O., Great Britain's Ambassador to the United States.

His Excellency Paul Claudel, France's Ambassador to the United States.

His Excellency Herr Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, Germany's Ambassador to the United States.

His Excellency Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, formerly Norway's Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Tuesday, May 8—Centennial Day

Ten o'clock a. m.

First Commission—The International Implications of Industry—met in Hotel Cleveland, Parlor "C," Mezzanine.

Second Commission—International Implications of Justice—met in Hotel Cleveland, Parlor "G," Mezzanine.

Third Commission—International Implications of Education—met in Hotel Cleveland, Assembly "E," Mezzanine.

Fourth Commission—International Implications of Religion—met in Hotel Cleveland, Assembly "H" of Conference Suite.

Fifth Commission—International Implications of Social Agencies—met in Memphis, Tennessee, in connection with National Conference of Social Workers.

Special Commission—Co-ordination of the Efforts for Peace—began its hearing in Hotel Cleveland, Parlor "D."

Twelve-thirty o'clock p. m.

Luncheon—"National Organizations and a Better International Understanding," Ball Room, Hotel Cleveland.

Theodore E. Burton, presiding.

National Education Association—Cornelia Adair, President.

American Red Cross—H. B. Wilson, Director Junior Red Cross.

Daughters of the American Revolution—Mrs. Harry A. Beckett, Regent, Western Reserve Chapter.

Kiwanis International—Edmund F. Arras, Past President Kiwanis International.

Tuesday, May 8—Centennial Day

Three o'clock p. m.

FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Masonic Hall.

Invocation—Rev. Robert W. Mark, D. D., pastor of Old Stone Church.

Addresses:

Professor Merle E. Curti, of Smith College.

Dr. James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Paper read by Secretary Call).

Prof. Adrian J. Barnouw, of Columbia University, spoke for the Society for International Unity and Peace, The Hague, Holland.

Linley Gordon, Executive Secretary of Church Peace Union.

Raymond Rich, Secretary of the World Peace Foundation.

Rev. Walter A. Morgan, D. D., Pastor New First Congregational Church, Chicago, and a Director of the American Peace Society.

Eight o'clock p. m.

FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Masonic Hall.

Invocation—Rev. W. S. Cook, D. D., pastor of Lakewood Christian Church.

Addresses:

Hon. Stanislaw Lepowski, counselor of the Polish Legation and representing the Polish Minister to the United States.

Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, President World Federation of Education Associations.

Judge Florence Allen, Ohio Supreme Court.

Hon. Paul Milyukof, former member of the Russian Duma, Minister of Foreign Affairs under the first Russian Revolution, "most distinguished living Russian."

Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, D. D., National Chaplain, American Legion.

Wednesday, May 9—Neighbors' Day

Ten o'clock, a. m.

All Commissions met as on Tuesday.

Twelve-thirty o'clock p. m.

Ball Room, Hotel Cleveland.

"Good Will Luncheon," under the auspices of civic and commercial organizations.

Among the speakers:

Robert E. Lewis, presiding.

Herman Bernstein of New York, author, traveler and journalist.

Hon. William E. Sweet, ex-Governor of Colorado.

Dr. Paul Milyukof, Paris, France.

Three o'clock p. m.

SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Masonic Hall.

Invocation—Rev. C. H. Myers, pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church.

Addresses:

Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Professor of Philosophy, Swarthmore College.

Dr. Elizabeth Wallace, Professor of Languages, Chicago University.

His Excellency Señor Don Orestes Ferrara, Cuba's Ambassador to the United States.

Eight o'clock p. m.

SEVENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Masonic Hall.

Invocation—Rev. Dan F. Bradley, D. D., pastor of Pilgrim Congregational Church.

Addresses:

Arch C. Klumph, former President Rotary International.

Señor Dr. Don Alejandro Cesar, Nicaragua's Minister to the United States.

Hon. Vincent Massey, Canada's Minister to the United States.

Cosme de la Torriente, former Ambassador from Cuba to Spain and to the United States. (Paper read by Secretary Call.)

Thursday, May 10—World Day

Ten o'clock a. m.

All Commissions met the same as on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Twelve o'clock m.

Luncheon—Ball Room, Hotel Cleveland.

"World Friendship Luncheon" under auspices of women's patriotic and social organizations.

Miss Emma N. Perkins, introducing the presiding officer.

Judge Florence Allen presiding.

His Excellency Mr. Tsuneo Matsudaira, Japan's Ambassador to the United States.

Hon. L. Astrom, Finland's Minister to the United States.

Mr. Justice Alexis de Boer, speaking for Hungary.

Dr. Mikas Bagdonas, Lithuania's Representative to the United States.

Two forty-five o'clock p. m.

Automobile ride for visiting delegates, starting from Hotel Cleveland.

Four to five o'clock p. m.

Reception and Tea, National Groups in

native costumes, at Cleveland Art Museum.

Eight o'clock p. m.

EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY — Masonic Hall.

Dr. Charles F. Thwing, presiding.

Invocation—Rev. William I. Griffin, pastor of Sixth United Presbyterian Church.

Addresses:

Dr. David Yui, representative of the people of China to the Washington Arms Conference, President of the National Christian Council of China, National General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in China.

Mr. Timothy A. Smiddy, Ireland's Minister to the United States.

Mr. George Cretziano, Rumania's Minister to the United States.

Hon. Jaroslav Lipa, counselor of Czechoslovakia in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University.

Friday, May 11—Report Day

Ten o'clock a. m.

Meeting of Delegates—Ball Room, Hotel Cleveland.

Arthur D. Call, presiding.

Report of Commission No. 1, George Maurice Morris, Esq., Chairman.

Report of Commission No. 2, Prof. Philip Marshall Brown, Chairman.

Report of Commission No. 3, Hon. John J. Tigert, Chairman.

Three o'clock p. m.

Meeting of Delegates—Ball Room, Hotel Cleveland.

Arthur D. Call, presiding.

Report of Commission No. 4, Bishop Wm. F. McDowell, Chairman.

Report of Commission No. 5, Dr. Edward T. Devine, Chairman.

Report of Special Commission, President Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Chairman.

Report of Committee on Reports and Resolutions, Harold E. Burton, Esq., Chairman.

Eight fifteen o'clock p. m.

NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—Public Auditorium.

Invocation—Rev. W. Harry Freda, D. D., pastor of Baptist Church of the Master.

Addresses:

Bishop William F. McDowell, Washington, D. C.

Hon. Nicola Sansanelli, President "Fidac"—International Federation of War Veterans.

Dr. Don Ricardo Alfaro, Panama's Minister to the United States.

Summary of the Conference—Hon. Theodore E. Burton.

Benediction—Rev. Dan Bradley, D. D.

The Commissions

Convinced that the accredited peace movement needs a wider foundation of facts upon which to rest its labors, the American Peace Society was pleased to announce the following study commissions. It was the purpose of these commissions to clarify certain facts within their respective fields and to report upon their labors Friday, May 11. The officers of the commissions invited the co-operation of delegates interested in their respective efforts.

Five commissions devoted three days to intensive studies in the fields of Commerce and Industry, Justice, Education, Religion, and the Social Agencies, with a view to ascertaining in what way they may contribute to better world relations. There is a special commission for the study of the better co-ordination of peace efforts.

These commission sessions were open to official delegates and to holders of registration cards. Associate delegates who attended were, with the approval of the official delegates, able to speak from the floor, but not to vote.

The hour and place of meeting for each commission was 10:00 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; all meetings at Hotel Cleveland.

Commission Organization

Commission No. 1—The International Implications of Industry.

Chairman—George Maurice Morris, Esq., Washington, D. C.

Vice-Chairman—Dr. Harold G. Moulton, Director Institute of Economics, Washington, D. C.

Secretary—Mr. Whiting Williams, Cleveland, Ohio.

Other members of the Commission: Dr. Leifur Magnusson, Director of the International Labor Office, Washington, D. C.;

Prof. Paul H. Douglas, School of Commerce and Administration, University of Chicago; Sumner H. Shlicter, Professor of Economics of Industry, Cornell University; Lucius R. Eastman, President American Arbitration Association; Charles L. Hyde, Pierre, South Dakota; J. A. MacMillan, Dayton, Ohio; Hon. John M. Parker, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Commission No. 2—International Implications of Justice.

Chairman — Prof. Philip Marshall Brown, Professor of International Law, Princeton University.

Vice-Chairman—Walter Scott Penfield, formerly of the Department of State.

Secretary—Dean Charles Pergler, National University.

Other members of the Commission are: Dr. Charles Cheney Hyde, Professor of International Law, Columbia University; Dr. Jesse Reeves, Professor of International Law, University of Michigan; Dr. H. W. Temple, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania; Hon. Stephen Porter, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives; Senator George Moses, of New Hampshire; Admiral W. Rogers; Dr. Edwin M. Borchard, Professor of International Law at Yale University; Hon. A. G. Burr, Bismarck, North Dakota; Karl F. Geiser, Oberlin College, Ohio; Hon. Franklin F. Korell, Henry C. MacKall, E. Polyzoides, Albert Putney, Paul V. McNutt, Salmon O. Levinson, Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, and Dr. James Brown Scott.

Commission No. 3—International Implications of Education.

Chairman—Hon. John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education.

Vice-Chairman—Hon. Augustus O. Thomas, Commissioner of Education for the State of Maine and President of the World Federation of Education Associations.

Secretary—Mr. J. F. Abel, of the United States Bureau of Education.

Other members of this Commission are: Hon. John L. Clifton, Director of Education of Ohio; Miss Cornelia Adair, President National Education Association; Dean William F. Russell, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York;

Dr. Harry B. Wilson, Director of the Junior Red Cross; President George F. Zook, Akron University, Akron, Ohio; Mrs. S. M. N. Marrs, President Parents-Teachers Association; Superintendent Robinson G. Jones, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dr. Tigert, assisted by James F. Abel, Associate Specialist in Foreign Education led the following

Program

General Topic: "A practical program of education for the promotion of International good will."

TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1928—10 A. M. TO 12 M.

John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education, presiding.

Topic: "The knowledge and activities designed for the promotion of international good will that the State can and may properly include in the curricula of the elementary, secondary, and normal schools."

"A brief survey of the activities carried on by public and private schools and the agencies related to the schools."—Dr. John J. Tigert.

"The programs in a State school system."—Hon. John L. Clifton, Director of Education of Ohio.

"The public schools and international friendship."—Miss Cornelia Adair, President of the National Education Association.

Discussion: Dr. R. G. Jones, Superintendent of City Schools, Cleveland, Ohio.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9, 1928—10 A. M. TO 12 M.

Hon. Augustus O. Thomas, President of the World Federation of Education, presiding.

Topic: "Constructive programs for the promotion of good will among nations, to be carried on by institutions of university rank."

Opening statement by the chairman.

"The peculiar function of the university in promoting world peace."—Dr. Herbert A. Miller, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University.

"The cultural leadership of the university."—Dr. D. M. Solandt, Associate General Manager of the United Church of Canada Publishing House.

"A practical program of education for the promotion of international good will."—Dr. George F. Zook, President of the University of Akron, Ohio.

"The problem of the promotion of international good will in the large State universities."—Lawrence D. Egbert, University of Illinois.

Discussion: Dean William F. Russell, Lawrence D. Egbert, and Charlotte Reeve Conover.

THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1928—10 A. M. TO 12 M.

John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education, presiding.

Topic: "The field of activity for educational agencies allied to the school system."

"The field of activity of the Junior Red Cross in aiding the establishment in the school systems of the nations of a practical program of education for the promotion of international good will."—Dr. H. B. Wilson, National Director of the American Junior Red Cross.

"The activities of the World Federation of Education Associations."—Hon. Augustus O. Thomas, President of the World Federation of Education Associations.

Discussion: Mrs. S. M. N. Marrs, President of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Commission No. 4—International Implications of Religion.

Chairman—Bishop Wm. F. McDowell, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Chairman—Rev. Walter A. Morgan, D. D., pastor New First Congregational Church, Chicago, Ill.

Secretary—Rev. Walter W. Van Kirk, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches.

Other members of this Commission include: Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio; James F. McDonald, of the Foreign Policy Association; Fred B. Smith, of the World Alliance; Rev. Frederick Lynch, of the Church Peace Union.

Commission No. 5—International Implications of Social Agencies.

Chairman—Dr. Edward T. Devine, Dean of the Graduate School of American University.

Secretary—Howard R. Knight.

This Commission held a number of meetings in connection with the American Association of Social Workers at its annual meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, May 2 to 9. The Commission held its final meeting at the Hotel Cleveland, Par-

lor "F," Mezzanine, Thursday, May 10, and reported to the meeting of delegates, Ball Room, Hotel Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio, Friday afternoon, May 11, at 3:00 o'clock.

Members of the Commission are given in Dr. Devine's Report, which will be printed in full in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Special Commission—The Co-ordination of the Efforts for Peace—began in Cleveland a series of hearings with the view of ascertaining the facts as to the various organizations now devoted exclusively to the promotion of international peace. Persons and organizations particularly interested in this aspect of the peace movement were heard by the Commission.

Chairman—Dr. Ernest H. Wilkins, President Oberlin College.

Secretary—Mr. Parker Wright Meade.

The following persons accepted membership in this Commission: President Aydelotte, of Swarthmore College; Mr. R. J. Caldwell, of New York; Prof. John Dewey, of Columbia University; President Farrand, of Cornell University; Mr. I. F. Freiberger, of Cleveland; Professor Garner, of the University of Illinois; Rev. C. W. Gilkey, of Chicago; Mrs. E. J. Goodspeed, of Chicago; Dr. Sidney Gulick, of New York; Rev. Joel B. Hayden, of Cleveland; President Arthur H. Morgan, of Antioch College; Mr. Henry Morgenthau, of New York; Rev. C. C. Morrison, of Chicago; Mr. Henry J. Smith, of the *Chicago Daily News*; ex-Governor Sweet, of Colorado; Prof. Quincy Wright, of the University of Chicago; Hon. Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Institute of Education; L. J. Taber, The Master, National Grange; Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Haverford College.

Conclusion

At the close of the last of its one hundred years, therefore, with the thoughts of men turning again to those processes of law and justice which the world had come to associate with the land of Hugo Grotius; with the Western Hemisphere working out its international destiny, as at Havana, Cuba; with the Interparliamentary Union promoting a finer fraternity between legislative bodies around the world; with the League of Nations ex-

tending its influence in many beneficent ways; with the Permanent Court of International Justice clearly and tangibly illustrating the practical possibilities in the Society's program of a century; with governments officially striving to renounce war altogether; the American Peace Society may believe that the Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, May 7 to 11, was a worthy and fitting event, and that its labors of the years have not been wholly in vain.

Respectfully submitted,
 ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS MANAGER

A summary over a period of the past twenty years brings us, at the conclusion of our present fiscal year, to the high-water mark of the Society in many directions.

In 1909 the total income from memberships was a little less than \$2,000; today it is almost \$9,000. Contributions over the past twenty years range from \$21.25 in 1919 to \$13,000 in 1909. The contributions for the present year total almost \$19,000.

The total income for the present fiscal year was \$36,444.71; the disbursements totaled \$35,763.91, the income exceeding the outgo by \$680.80. The Treasurer's report reveals total resources, including the cash on hand and the market value of investments, to be \$10,371.94.

The first four or five months of the operation of the Business Department were devoted almost entirely to the task of securing new Directors, of establishing contacts with persons who might ultimately be induced to contribute to the finances of the Society, and in contacting with key persons in various commercial and trade organizations, patriotic and other bodies, in order to make clear to them the aims and purposes of this old Society. Some indication of the success of these activities is the fact that we now have thirty-six Directors, that our contributions increased from \$834.00 in 1927 to almost \$19,000 in 1928, and the further fact that when the Business Department was established the Society did not

have a single Institutional Member, but now has 45 Institutional Members.

In May of 1927 the Business Manager directed his attention to the work of preparing for the Centennial Celebration. The months of June and July were spent in Cleveland. The months of August and September were devoted to work in Pennsylvania, Maine, Indiana, and the District of Columbia. Since October 1 the Business Manager has made his headquarters in Cleveland.

The Cleveland Finance Committee underwrote a budget of approximately \$50,000 for the Centennial expenses. The total actually raised was less than \$40,000.

As a sponsoring group for the Centennial the Cleveland Centennial Celebration Committee was created. It was made up of more than 300 of the most prominent men and women of the city. Through the hearty co-operation of the commercial and trade organizations and the various civic groups, it was possible to organize the men of the city into one working unit. There are more than 350 women's organizations in the city of Cleveland, of which more than 150 co-operated very actively in the preparations for the conference.

In order to arouse interest throughout the State of Ohio, an Ohio Centennial Celebration Committee was appointed. It was made up of about 250 of the outstanding men and women of the State. The plan of organization for the State was developed through federated churches in different cities, through the state-wide organizations of chambers of commerce, trade bodies, patriotic groups, and organized bodies of women.

In connection with the preparations for the Centennial, your Business Manager gave some attention to membership work in the State. He felt that he should not do any active membership work in the city of Cleveland, because the citizens had already underwritten the expense fund. With such limited facilities as he had, he undertook to put on a membership campaign in Ohio in cities outside of Cleveland. This work was done very largely by mail.

A total of \$5,643 from new memberships and contributions can be traced to

the work of the Cleveland office during this period of preparation.

It is believed this total might easily have been many times greater if an intensive membership drive had been put on. This contention is substantiated by the fact that two men, one employed since the 19th of March last and the other since the 16th of last month, have brought in a total of \$2,038 in memberships and contributions. The cost of employing these two men, in salaries and traveling expenses, has been \$1,397.50. Thus the profit to the Society has been \$440.50. It is fair to assume that a considerable number of these new members will renew over a period of years. In justice to the efforts of these two field workers, it should be pointed out that both were entirely new to peace work and some time was consumed in familiarizing themselves with the history of the Society and its plans for the conference.

During the past year the membership of the Society has been increased by 374 paying \$5.00 each, 53 at the \$10.00 rate, 78 paying \$25.00 a year, and eight at \$100.00 a year. In addition, we have received 45 Institutional Members at \$25.00 each.

The total income from new memberships was \$6,300. The income from memberships renewed was \$2,391.

From a membership point of view, the Society is now on a crest. It is the view of your Business Manager that its major activity for the present year should be in this field. The new members secured as a result of interest in the World Conference on International Justice indicate that one of the best ways to recruit new members is through something akin to meetings such as we have just had in Cleveland. It is recognized that such large meetings cannot be had frequently. As a substitute, your Business Manager urgently recommends a policy of creating branch societies throughout the country. These branch societies will act as constant feeders for the national organization.

There is now a group of prominent men and women in Cleveland who are desirous of sponsoring a branch organization for Cleveland and the State of Ohio. Ex-Governor Sweet, of Colorado, made a statement to the effect that he desires to

return to his home and to bring into existence a branch of this old Society. Many other persons at the conference indicated that they would be pleased to help to organize groups in their respective localities.

As a further recommendation to supplement the creation of branch organizations, your Business Manager urges the continuation of field work through tested field secretaries. He feels that this field work should be pressed in the State of Ohio, in order to take advantage of the impetus given by the conference which has just closed.

Your Business Manager further recommends that the pages of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, the Society's magazine, be opened to advertising, and that constant effort be made to increase its circulation. Your Business Manager suggests that a special committee be appointed to study the problem of circulation and to develop a plan for putting the magazine on a going commercial basis.

The Business Manager desires to express appreciation for the very hearty and sincere assistance which he has had throughout these months from Mr. Smalley. The burden of the Washington office of the Business Department has been upon his shoulders very largely for the past six or eight months. The record of renewals in memberships attests his constant effort to keep our old members in tune to the extent of annual renewals.

In concluding this brief report, your Business Manager desires to express his appreciation of the co-operation which he has had from many members of the Board, and he wishes especially to acknowledge the courteous and efficient support which he has had from President Burton and Secretary Call.

Respectfully submitted,

LACEY C. ZAPP.

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN, MAY, 1928

The library continues to expand, partly through purchases, but especially through gifts from individuals and publishers. We have now, however, practically reached the limit of space for expansion. The shelves for all classes are now crammed to capacity. More cases should be pro-

vided soon, but there is no more available room for library shelves.

There has been a marked increase the past year in the number of students applying to us for information. Much literature has been sent to pupils in secondary schools and colleges. The history of the peace movement is a subject of study, too, for students doing thorough research work. A number of these, professors and students, have come to Washington, in Christmas and spring vacation-time, especially, to use our records, old magazines, and early documents. We are glad to welcome all such, but we should be able to give them better accommodations. They need tables a little removed from the bustle and telephones of busy offices. At present, it is sometimes difficult to clear a table anywhere for study.

The librarian has been for the past two years collecting early annual addresses and reports, separately printed, intending to bind them together in volumes. We have now sixteen such pamphlets dated before 1865.

Indexing of the early volumes of the Society's periodical has begun, and cross-references to important persons and organizations in the peace movement are also inserted in the library card catalog for the convenience of historians. This work, not yet carried very far, has been well begun. It is the intention to publish an index in one alphabet of the whole hundred years of the Society's magazine.

We are adding to the library, also, as fast as possible, biographical notes on past presidents and secretaries of the Society. The past year has seen the addition to our shelves of further notes on William Ladd, an article on David Low Dodge, a manuscript biography of Secretary R. B. Howard, and a number of notebooks kept by Samuel Coues.

There has also been a steady growth in the departments dealing with current international legal, social, and economic problems, as well as those dealing specifically with organization for peace.

We had on hand, May 1, 1927
(including foreign books)...3,187 volumes
Acquisitions, May, 1927, to
May, 1928..... 149 volumes

Total May, 1928.....3,336 volumes

This count does not include reference books, such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, atlas, desk-books, or the like.

Detailed Report, May 1, 1928, of Books in the Library.

Catalogued books, all classes.....2,776

Uncatalogued—Bound Periodicals:

	Vols
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	31
American Journal International Law	54
American Peace Society pamphlets	4
Angel of Peace.....	4
Arbitrator	4
Association for International Conciliation	17
Concord	10
Constitutional Review	3
Current History	26
Friend of Peace.....	2
Herald of Peace.....	43
Messenger of Peace.....	4
Messiah's Kingdom	2
Peace and Goodwill.....	6
Peace Movement	5
Peacemaker	11
War or Brotherhood.....	7
War or Peace.....	1
Christian Mirror	1

Total235

Books and pamphlets in French....183

Books and pamphlets in German...110

Books and pamphlets, miscellaneous languages

Total325

Total uncatalogued 560

Total books in library May 1, 19283,336

Early Documents:

Acquired May, 1927, to May, 1928.

Friend of Peace, vol. 2, 1921.

National dangers and means of escape (written between 1812 and 1862).

Seventh Annual Report Society for Promotion of Peace, London, 1823.

Letters on political and military persecution and Buccaneer's protest, 1823.

Scientific tracts (containing history of peace societies, by Wm. Ladd).

Address at twenty-fifth annual meeting of American Peace Society, 1853.

Burrill, Elhu: Thoughts and things at home and abroad, 1854.
 Observations on the subject of war by Pacificator. England, 1816.
 Folly and criminality of war, by Irenæus. Birmingham, England, 1810.
 Christianity a system of peace (preface signed T. P.) 1813.
 Letters addressed to Caleb Strong. London, England, 1818.
 Friend of Peace. Nos. 1-12, 16, 25-28, 30-53. (These are in original blue covers, most of them addressed to Hon. Timothy Pickering, former Secretary of War, in the hand of Noah Worcester.)
 Sigourney, Mrs. L. H.: Stories founded on fact. Hartford, 1836.
 Jay, William: Address at annual meeting of American Peace Society, 1845.
 Stone, Rev. A. L.: Address at twenty-second annual meeting American Peace Society, 1850.

Clark, Rufus W.: Address at twenty-third annual meeting American Peace Society, 1851.
 Sumner, Charles: War system of the commonwealth of nations. Address at annual meeting American Peace Society, 1863.
 Principles of the Non-resistance Society. Boston, 1839.
 First anniversary of the Universal Peace Society, Philadelphia, May, 1867.
 Bond of Brotherhood, edited by Elihu Burrill. Numbers for March, April, May, June, 1854.
 Twelve notebooks kept by Samuel Coues (on peace lectures).
 Manuscript biographical sketch of Rowland Bailey Howard, Secretary of American Peace Society.

Respectfully submitted,

M. W. S. CALL.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Exhibit "A"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Cash Account for the Year Ended April 30, 1928

Balance of cash on hand and on deposit May 1, 1927.....	\$691.14
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RECEIPTS

Membership, including subscriptions to <i>ADVOCATE OF PEACE</i>	\$8,691.00	
Special subscription to <i>ADVOCATE OF PEACE</i>	599.00	
Sales of pamphlets and books.....	122.32	
Contributions.....	18,650.74	
Subscription from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	1,272.90	
Permanent Peace Fund Trustee.....	6,778.05	
Interest on bank deposits.....	21.63	
Income from Reserve Fund investments.....	309.07	
Investments sold:		
R. N. Taylor, 6 per cent real estate note.....	3,000.00	
Cleveland Finance Committee.....	594.10	
	<hr/>	40,038.85
Total.....		\$40,729.91

DISBURSEMENTS

Department of Home Office:

Salaries—Secretary, Office Secretary, Editor, and Assistant Editor.....	\$17,600.00	
Salaries—Clerks.....	1,068.40	
Office rent.....	1,683.00	
Postage, express, telegrams, etc.....	346.71	
Office supplies.....	663.75	
Telephone.....	116.16	
Library.....	203.30	
Newspapers and periodicals.....	80.00	
Letter service, mimeographing, etc.....	1,627.99	
Entertainment.....	320.00	
District of Columbia personal tax.....	19.10	
Freight, express and storage.....	74.77	
Miscellaneous.....	169.85	
	<hr/>	23,973.03

Department of Field Work:

Salaries.....	870.00		
Traveling expense.....	2,490.27		
Hotel and miscellaneous expense.....	668.00		
		4,028.27	

Forward.....

\$28,001.30 \$40,729.95

Department of Publications:

Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	6,758.54		
Printing and distribution of pamphlets.....	199.41		
Miscellaneous printing, envelopes, cards, etc.....	804.66	7,762.61	35,763.91

Balance cash on hand and on deposit April 30, 1928..... \$4,966.04

Represented by—

National Metropolitan Bank, checking account.....	\$4,728.72
National Metropolitan Bank, savings account.....	215.67
Petty cash on hand in office.....	21.65

\$4,966.04

Schedule "1"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Reserve Fund Investments as at April 30, 1928

	Par value	Price	Market value
First mortgage 6½ per cent note of Poretzky, Silver and Rosen due November 1, 1929, secured by property 1262 Holbrook Terrace Northeast.....	\$1,500.00	\$1,500.00	\$1,500.00
First mortgage 6½ per cent note of Poretzky, Silver and Rosen, due November 1, 1929, secured by property 1270 Holbrook Terrace Northeast.....	4,500.00	4,500.00	4,500.00
	<u>\$6,000.00</u>		<u>\$6,000.00</u>

MAY 9, 1928.

MR. GEORGE W. WHITE,

*Treasurer, the American Peace Society,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: We have examined the accounts of the American Peace Society for the year ended April 30, 1928, and submit herewith the following:

Exhibit "A," cash account for the year ended April 30, 1928.

Schedule "1," reserve fund investments as at April 30, 1928.

The first 6½ per cent mortgages shown in Schedule "1" were confirmed by letter from the bank as being held there for collection.

The income for the year was tested and

the expenditures were checked to supporting vouchers. Cash on deposit was verified by direct correspondence with the bank and cash on hand by actual count.

We hereby certify that, in our opinion, the accompanying cash account, together with the statement of Reserve Fund investments, accurately accounts for the cash receipts and disbursements as shown by the books of the Society for the year ended April 30, 1928, and correctly sets forth the Reserve Fund investments as at that date.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. RANKIN & Co.,

Members American Institute of Accountants.

WORLD CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

The Reports of the Commissions

COMMISSION I

George Maurice Morris, Esq., Chairman

THE Commission on the Implications of Industry believes the following principles to be generally accepted, namely:

The economic unity of the world today is increasing steadily. Local and national

problems of industry and trade are becoming more and more international in scope and character. The producers of one nation are today dependent upon the consumers of other countries, and the continued well-being of both producers and consumers in one part of the world cannot be attained except through the continued well-being of producers and

consumers in all parts of the world. This economic interdependence of peoples is concededly a powerful factor for peace.

Notwithstanding this growing economic unity, there are at least four tendencies which threaten the peace of the world. One is the failure to recognize the extent to which the world is an economic unit. The second is the nationalistic bias which expresses itself in the attempt to direct economic policy for purposes of national aggrandizement. The third is the competition for profitable markets, which has been intensified in recent years by the maladjustment between producing and consuming power. The fourth is the struggle for control of basic raw materials. This conflict of tendencies may be discussed concretely under six main headings, as follows: (1) International Trade, (2) International Investments, (3) Banking and Credit Inter-relations, (4) International Trade Combinations, (5) International Utilization of Raw Materials, and (6) International Differences in Labor Standards.

International Trade.—The trade ramifications of the modern world make the disruptive effects of war exceedingly serious. War, however, affects the various industries and trades differently: some it stimulates enormously; others it paralyzes. In consequence, some trades might be interested in a particular war, while others would find it to their disadvantage. Hence, a factual inquiry as to the effects of war on the several industries and trades is an important investigation.

International Investments.—Investments in foreign countries are created through financial and trading operations. Exploitative investments in industrially undeveloped areas are often a source of international friction. On the other hand, the existence of a large volume of international indebtedness in commercially developed nations, as, for example, British investments in the United States before the war, exerts an influence in the direction of peace. From the point of view of those who are interested in the promotion of peace, the task is to discover ways of preventing conflict arising from investments in undeveloped regions. As a preliminary, it is obvious that we must know the facts.

Banking and Credit Inter-relations.—Banking and credit is even more international in character than trade and industry. It is now generally recognized that war produces profound currency disturbances which demoralize the economic life of the world. However, there may still be those who believe that a war which enables the victor to secure possession of the currency of other countries is economically advantageous. Again, a study of facts is necessary in order to enable us to evaluate the true effects of war on banking and credit, and through banking and credit upon the whole economic organization.

International Utilization of Raw Materials.—The uneven distribution of raw materials has long been a source of international friction. The facts concerning such friction and the expressed attitudes of the various interested governments should be studied for the purpose of elucidating those principles which can be accepted by all nations as a fair and equitable basis for the distribution and utilization of raw materials.

International Differences in Standards of Living.—As a result of the unequal distribution of natural resources, of economic power, financial means and technical development, there are great differences in the standards of living of the masses of the population in the different countries of the world. The laboring people of the less-favored countries try to raise their standards either by migrating to countries of higher standards or by obtaining a greater share of the world's work through lower wages. Out of this arise two characteristic phenomena of economic life today: mass migration and international labor competition, which bring in their trail other phenomena, such as restrictive immigration laws, international labor combinations, etc. All these phenomena exercise a powerful influence on relations between nations, and their investigation is an essential part of a program of research which has for its object the discovery of the economic foundations of permanent peace.

Believing that the clarification of the facts in each of the fields referred to constitutes a task that will furnish not only the American Peace Society a wider foundation upon which to rest its labors, but also data that may prove of value

to all persons interested in the international implications of industry, this commission recommends to the directors of the American Peace Society:

1. That they determine whether existing agencies may not now be engaged upon programs which will furnish much of the factual material sought.

2. That in the event the directors find that there now exists, or may soon be brought into available form, the compiled data in these fields, they consider the question whether the Society may not well undertake the consolidation and publication or distribution of such material as pertains to the peace movement.

3. That in the absence of adequate existing agencies for the purpose described, the directors of the Society consider the creation of some group, or commission, to undertake an investigation of the facts in industry having pertinent relation to the maintenance of peace and to report thereon to the Society.

Inasmuch as there have been discussions in this commission with regard to, first, the effect on international peace of the operations of news-gathering, publishing, and propagandizing agencies; and, second, the cost of war to tax-paying peoples, and as we have concluded that a study of these subjects does not come within the scope of this commission's charter, it is suggested to the directors of this Society that the creation of fact-finding groups in these fields might well engage the attention of the Society.

Further, if the attention of the Society is so engaged, it is suggested that the inquiry be developed along the lines of the three preceding alternative recommendations.

COMMISSION II

Philip Marshall Brown, Chairman

An American Program for International Justice

Believing that American political and social institutions have achieved results of universal significance;

Feeling that certain American principles of government and justice might profitably be applied to the relations of nations;

The Commission on International Justice reminds the American Peace Society, on this its one-hundredth birthday, of the following principles for the achievement of international justice and peace:

I

All nations which have been formally recognized as members of the Family of Nations are entitled to equal rights and are subject to equal duties under international law.

II

International law finds its authority in the common consent of nations as evidenced by usage, treaties, awards, of international commissions and tribunals, declarations of national executives, acts of legislatures, and decisions of courts.

III

The interests of nations are defined, respected, and protected by mutual understandings and forbearance. Conflicting interests are to be reconciled by processes of conciliation.

IV*

War should be renounced as an instrument of national policy and the settlement of international disputes should be sought by pacific means.

The inherent right of nations to arm adequately for self-defense, or for the defense of the common interests of international society, should be recognized.

V

In case of collective action by the League of Nations, or by a group of nations, against a State which the United States may hold to be guilty of a flagrant international crime, American citizens should be forbidden from affording aid to the offending nation.

VI

When ordinary methods of diplomacy prove ineffective for the purpose of settling disputes between nations, recourse to commissions of inquiry and conciliation, and to arbitral and judicial tribunals, is recommended as being most consonant with the orderly conduct of international relations.

Commissions of inquiry should make recommendations for the procedure deemed most suitable for settlements of

* Upon motion of William E. Sweet the Delegates voted, May 11, to recommend the substitution of the following for Section IV: "While we recognize the inherent right of nations to arm adequately for self-defense, yet we believe war should be renounced as an instrument of national policy and the settlement of international disputes should be sought only by pacific means."

controversies. Pending such settlements, provisions should be made for a *modus vivendi* to protect or preserve the respective rights of the parties.

VII

Disputes generally recognized as non-justiciable should be settled by recourse to good offices, mediation, commissions of inquiry and conciliation, or to friendly composition. They may be referred, in case the parties agree, to special arbitral tribunals or to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

VIII

Disputes of a justiciable nature should be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, to the Permanent Court of International Justice, to special tribunals, or to mixed commissions which may already have been established or which may be created *ad hoc*. Such tribunals, courts, and commissions should be empowered under special circumstances and conditions to decide upon the preliminary question whether or not a dispute is of justiciable nature.

IX

The establishment of commissions of inquiry, conciliation and other agencies for the peaceful settlement of international disputes may best be brought about through regional understandings between nations having intimate relations and common problems. This is specially to be recommended among the nations of the New World. The re-establishment of the Central American Court of Justice, and agreements for the arbitration of disputes among the American nations are greatly to be favored.

X

An international court of claims, accessible to persons as well as to States, should be established to pass on claims in tort or contract against governments, or their political subdivisions, of States recognized as members of the Family of Nations.

In the case of legal controversies between citizens of the United States and citizens of a foreign country, arbitration by means of a private arbitrator or a standing board of arbitration specially provided by treaty agreements is recommended.

XI

The settlement of questions of universal concern affecting the interests, rights and duties of nations, which may not be achieved through diplomatic methods, should preferably be brought about by the method of international conferences, based upon previous agreements concerning the agenda and the scope of the conference, and upon the principle of voluntary participation.

XII

International conferences of a periodic nature should be instituted for the progressive codification of international law. Particular consideration should be given to the following subjects:

(a) The international responsibility of States for injuries to aliens.

(b) The rights and obligations of neutrality.

(c) The regulation of international intercourse in commerce, industry, finance, and immigration.

(d) The protection of the rights of individuals.

COMMISSION III

Honorable John J. Tigert, Chairman

(This report was submitted by Superintendent Jones)

Your Commission on the International Implications of Education submits the following report:

The Commission consists of men and women representative of State and city education systems, institutions of higher education, the National Education Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the World Federation of Education Associations, the Junior Red Cross, and the United States Bureau of Education. All members of the Commission were present at one or more of its sessions. Unity of thought and purpose characterized the meetings. There was no discord.

The Commission had for its objective the consideration of a practical program of education for the promotion of international good will to be carried on (a) by the elementary, secondary, and normal schools; (b) the institutions of university rank, and (c) the education agencies allied to the school systems.

The various members of the Commission presented to it a fairly comprehen-

sive account of the amount and quality of the efforts to promote international good will that are now being made as a part of the formal instruction given in educational institutions of the United States and in a variety of ways by agencies allied with the schools. The Commission hopes that its proceedings may be printed and given wide distribution.

The twenty-five million children in the United States that are being taught by one million teachers will be in control of this nation a few years hence, just as the children of other nations will then direct the affairs of their countries. The Commission has faith that through education these future leaders of the world may bring the many people to a plane of understanding that will enable them to live harmoniously in the modern conception of society.

Believing that the main cause of troubles among nations is ignorance of the varying conditions of life and thought in the different national entities, the session on elementary, secondary, and normal schools gave its chief attention to the opportunities offered through the teaching of geography, history, civics, literature, modern languages, music and art, to develop in the students in each country an adequate understanding and appreciation of life in other countries. Many specific instances were presented of mutual interest in and good will toward children of other countries roused by well-directed and vitalized teaching of these subjects.

Reports of research in the status of the social sciences in secondary and teacher-training schools to determine the natural social attitudes of children and the actual effect upon them of social science instruction were made to the session.

The session suggests that in teacher-training institutions instruction be given to prospective teachers and teachers in service that they may have a clear concept of the need for common understanding among all peoples, and be prepared to bring their pupils to an appreciation of that need and of the ways and means to attain that understanding.

At the session of institutions of university rank, the peculiar function of the university in the discovery and statement of fact and its advantages in the way of

bringing together cosmopolitan groups of young people and providing wholesome social contacts for them, and in the exchange of lecturers, research workers and students, were presented to and illustrated for the Commission.

The universities have done much toward the promotion of international good will through the work of their departments of history, government, economics, and sociology in searching out and setting forth the causes of international conflicts and their effects on society.

A suggested program for the future includes (1) giving to every student, in whatever course of study he may pursue, an opportunity to familiarize himself with the fields of history, economics, and sociology; (2) offering such courses not only to the college student, but through extension work to the entire adult population that the people may have opportunities to keep constantly abreast of international affairs and to familiarize themselves with the trend of international events; (3) providing for vastly more interchange of lecturers and students, and affording teachers and professors of international relations ample opportunity to participate in the international conferences now frequently held; (4) permitting and encouraging extra curricular student activities, such as cosmopolitan clubs and international student organizations; and (5) making the most of the contributions to university life that may come from the different national groups among the students.

At the session for agencies allied with the schools, the director of the Junior Red Cross recounted its activities in giving needed help to foreign children, sending Christmas gifts, exchanging school work and magazines and the like.

The President of the World Federation of Education Associations reported that the Federation is a society for the advancement of learning and culture throughout the world and for bringing the educators of the world together for the consideration of educational movements in the different countries. It does not seek to promote movements that are already being fostered by others, but to correlate them in a definite program for international good will, friendship, and justice. The Federation is a clearing

house for making universally known the most beneficial results of any kind of education. It is now giving attention to special committees and commissions on the teaching of certain materials and their effects upon the life of the child. The results of the studies will be available as soon as the work is completed, probably about the time of the Geneva Convention, 1929.

The contribution of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers toward promoting good will among nations includes (1) interpreting the good-will programs of the schools to the general public; (2) co-operating with the schools in carrying out their programs; (3) developing right social attitudes in the pre-school child; (4) making the home a laboratory for working out good-will projects instituted by the schools, the churches, and other agencies; (5) developing among the parents of all nations a united interest in the welfare of all children, and promoting a world-wide program of peace and good will through the International Federation of Home and School.

The President of the National Education Association reports that at its annual convention in 1927 the Association reaffirmed its oft-repeated pronouncement in favor of every legitimate means for promoting world peace and understanding. Through the local, state, and national groups affiliated or allied with it, every teacher in the nation may be reached in a very short time with a constructive program for international good will.

The Commission received from the World Federation of Education Associations an invitation to co-operate with it in the promotion of the Commission's program.

The Commission recommends that it be continued as a permanent organization, or that some similar organization be formed to carry on a continuing survey of the educational activities looking toward better international relationships.

The Commission expresses its gratitude to the American Peace Society for including the International Implications of Education in the deliberation of its centenary celebration.

COMMISSION IV

Bishop William F. McDowell, Chairman

(This report was submitted by Rev. Walter A. Morgan, D. D., Vice-Chairman of the Commission)

We believe that religion is the dynamic of the world peace movement.

Ethical religion today is grounded in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. It proclaims the value and sacredness of human life. Its great vision and goal is the universal Kingdom of God to be established on earth in which all human relationships are determined by righteousness, truth, and love.

We believe that war is the repudiation of all these sacred ideals. War denies the Fatherhood of God. War scorns the Brotherhood of Man. Indiscriminate human slaughter is the very essence of war.

We believe that there is but one moral law, binding alike upon States as upon individuals. It is the function of organized religion to bring home to the conscience of peoples the bearing of this moral law, on particular conditions and problems and to make it an effective instrument of a just international order.

We believe that the abolition of war is an imperative duty of organized religion today. Organized religion should devote its best energies, with adequate resources, to the instruction of its members, and particularly of its youth in the real nature and disaster of war, in the essential contradiction between war and religion, in the conditions of assured peace, and in the steps to its achievement. Religion should organize its fellowships for strategic action at decisive moments in supporting practical measures for securing international co-operation and justice.

1. We believe that war should be outlawed. It should be branded as a crime under the law of nations. We hail with joy the efforts now being made by our government to induce the great peoples of the earth to join in a covenant which will forever outlaw war, and which will bind them to a peaceful adjustment of all controversies.

2. We believe and urge that our government should resume negotiations look-

ing toward our membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

We believe that our government should enter into more effective co-operation with the rest of the world. We, therefore, express our gratification with the increasing number of the committees and commissions of the League of Nations on which the United States has full, active membership.

We believe that increasing national armaments lead inevitably to international competition in armament. While we recognize that nations must provide for defense under present conditions, we strongly urge such international agreements as will reduce the armaments of all nations to a minimum. The outlawry of war and the establishment of agencies that will guarantee justice and security to nations will prove the strongest inducements to such disarmament.

We are opposed to any tendencies toward military training in education. In particular we oppose compulsory military training in public schools, colleges and universities, except in institutions established for the specific purpose of military education.

We recognize that the economic exploitation of politically backward peoples has proved one of the most prolific sources of war. We believe that it is not the moral responsibility of government to protect the foreign investments of its nationals in countries notoriously unsettled and disturbed.

Finally in this solemn undertaking for ending war for all time we invite the co-operation of all races and all religions and invoke the blessings of Him who is the Father of all nations and all men.

COMMISSION V

Edward T. Devine, Chairman

International Implications of Social Work

Modern social work has its taproot in Jewish-Christian religious traditions. Ancient Egypt and Babylon in some measure, Ancient Palestine, Greece, and Rome in full measure; medieval Christianity and the Reformation; modern nations, especially England, but also in perceptible degrees other Teutonic, Latin

and Slav peoples, have given us the idea on which our current social programs are based. Either woefully ignorant and provincial, or basely ungrateful, or intellectually insolvent, must be any social worker who does not acknowledge his interallied debts. *Mercy, justice, charity, love, consolation, consideration for the poor, restraint of the oppressors, parental responsibility, family solidarity, filial reverence, giving sight to the blind, making the lame to walk, freeing the captive, even beating the sword into a plowshare and the spear to a pruning hook*, and heroically deciding *not to learn war any more*—which of all our most cherished and most unrealized ideals were not familiar to earlier nations, or are unfamiliar to our contemporaries? More than religion itself, or education, or industry, or law, we may claim that the fundamentals of social work, as we conceive and try to apply them, are international in origin and in present day acceptance.

Social work is essentially international because it deals with problems which in greater or less degree occur everywhere and because, steadfastly refusing to rely upon nostrums, panaceas, wholesale, indiscriminately applied remedies, it seeks persistently for tried, rational, scientific, effective and humane measures wherever they may be found.

Being human, social work has no doubt its racial, national, and class limitations, its temporal and even geographical characteristics; but no social worker is proud of them; we recognize their incongruity, and more quickly and more easily than theologians, politicians, educators, or industrialists, we even venture to claim, more easily than the international pacifists, we respond to the international chord; or, shall we say rather, there is less excuse for us if we fail to do so.

Social work in this country became easily interdenominational, interconfessional, for the same reason that we have claimed for it an international aspect not because its special domain is one of such slight importance that religious bodies antagonistic at other points could be indifferent to it, but for the opposite reason, that it lies far down below their differences, on the bedrock of human need and human sympathy.

Logically, social work cannot be other than international. To use the surplus wealth of a prosperous nation to relieve the distress of another which has suffered from earthquake, famine, or the ravages of war; to search the religious, philosophical and sociological literature of other peoples for ideas and principles; to compare experiments and methods; to cultivate across the oceans or other boundaries personal relations through world conferences, by correspondence, and otherwise, this comes natural to social workers. Ten of the members of this Commission—just less than one-half—attended an international conference of Charities and Corrections in Chicago thirty-five years ago, and at least one of them is participating in a similar conference in Paris this year.

If it is natural and desirable that social work should be increasingly international, free from provincialism, from national conceit, and the limitations incident to isolation, it is no less desirable that the peace movement, internationalism, should become increasingly social. If social workers have something valuable to learn from internationalists, as they have, may it not be equally true that advocates of peace, those who would prevent war, adjusting international differences by judicial process or other appropriate means, have something to learn from the history and technique of social work?

Social work now means everywhere adjustment rather than standardization, harmony rather than unison, the discovery of the soul of goodness in things evil, a generous and tolerant understanding rather than an impatient short cut to impose one rule and one type.

When we speak of assimilation we mean increasingly an adjustment which preserves diversities rather than creating an everlasting sameness. The most general and imperative problem in the philosophy of social work has been precisely to reconcile the idea of a standard of living with freedom from standardization in the sense of a monotonous conformity to type or an arbitrary domination either by force or by influence.

The history of philanthropy and of organized social movements abounds in efforts based upon unsocial attitudes. We

also have tried force and have initiated movements which implied complacent superiority on the part of the giver or patron. We, too, have resorted to legislatures and courts prematurely for purposes which would have been better served by persuasion, education, or example. There is no magic in the mere use of the word "social" to create an understanding heart or a right spirit. Nevertheless, in social work at its best—in associations for child welfare and family welfare, in medical social service, in the Red Cross, in legal aid and travelers' aid, in social settlements and community centers, in the prevention of tuberculosis and in public health nursing, in institutions for children, for the disabled, and for the aged—there are prophetic forecasts of a world without war, without coercion, without exploitation, with no denial of the inherent and equal right of all to respect for his individuality. It is such typical, even if as yet rare, instances of a genuinely social attitude, that this Commission brings to you from the experience of the social agencies as its contribution to the cause of international peace and good will.

To make this discussion more concrete and fruitful, we venture to recite briefly some of the facts in regard to the origins, activities, and principles of certain of the organized social movements in this country, which have in one respect or another an international character.

(Here follow the facts about the American Red Cross, International Co-operation in the Tuberculosis Field, Child Hygiene, International Legal Aid, Rockefeller Foundation, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, National Federation of Settlements, International Migration Service, Probation and Related Fields, Temperance, Social Hygiene, Social Case Work.)

Probably 200 social workers from the United States will attend as delegates to the International Conferences in Paris next month.

In Paris, in The Hague, and in Geneva, wherever men are seeking means to end war, they will find apt analogies between the world movement for international peace and the movements with which they are familiar. This adjustment of human

beings by each other and by their environment results in such a way as to promote the good life.

SPECIAL COMMISSION ON THE CO-ORDINATION OF EFFORTS FOR WORLD PEACE

Report of Progress

President Earnest H. Wilkins, Chairman

(Presented at the meeting of delegates of the World Conference on International Justice, Cleveland, Ohio, by Dr. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, President of Oberlin College and Commission chairman).

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I hold in my hand a list of about one hundred national organizations which have the promotion of the cause of international peace as a definite objective.

In some cases the promotion of this cause is the major objective sought by the organization as a whole; in some cases it is a special objective sought through a special department or committee of the organization.

The list includes, for instance, taking only those organizations whose names begin with A:

American Association favoring Reconsideration of the War Debts.

American Association of University Women.

American Committee on the Outlawry of War.

American Federation of Labor.

American Foundation.

American Friends Service Committee.

American Good Will Association.

American Institute of International Law.

American Legion: Commission on World Peace and Foreign Relations.

American Legion: Commission on the Legion Program for World Peace.

American School Citizenship League.

American Society of International Law.

Arbitration Crusade.

Association to Abolish War.

Association for Peace Education.

This state of things is both encouraging and discouraging.

It is encouraging because it shows that tens of thousands of people in this country are actively concerned for the promotion of peace, and that perhaps two million people have some significant relation to organized support of that cause.

It is discouraging because it indicates that the supporters of that cause are divided and are wasting energies through duplication of effort, through working at cross-purposes, through over-insistence on specific doctrines, and through reluctance to admit the significance of other doctrines.

The national situation thus sketched is repeated locally in the several States of the Union and in many cities. The local situation is indeed, if anything, more complicated than the national, for there are present in each local field not only miscellaneous local peace groups, but branches of some of the national societies referred to above.

The Commission on the Co-ordination of Efforts for World Peace was brought into existence by the American Peace Society in order to study the situation thus presented, in the hope that there might result from such study some suggestions tending toward the co-ordination of the efforts of these many organizations.

It was recognized that such a task could not be accomplished in a week, and it was therefore agreed when the Commission was appointed that it should function for a year or more. The sessions held by the commission this week, while valuable particularly because of the personal contacts established, have really been incidental to the starting of the work of the commission.

It was further recognized that a commission having this function should not be a commission of a single peace society, but should be entirely impartial. While, therefore, this commission was brought into existence by the American Peace Society, to which it owes in consequence a debt of filial gratitude, it is not committed to the policies of that body, and will function as an independent organization.

Our plan is to ascertain regarding each of the national societies and committees, and perhaps regarding certain local societies and committees, the essential facts as to its purposes, constitution, scheme of

organization, publications, and methods of work.

We have made a beginning this week through formal conferences with representatives of the American Legion, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the Church Peace Union, the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Grange, the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches; and through informal conferences with representatives of still other organizations. The great mass of material, however, will be collected through correspondence.

We shall pay particular attention to such efforts toward co-operation as have hitherto been made, notably those of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and the World Federation of Education Associations.

All the material thus gathered will be studied at leisure in the spirit of research.

We do not guarantee that a single constructive suggestion will emerge from that study, but we have enough faith in the prospect to be willing to undertake the work; and we hope that it may yield specific and practical suggestions which will tend to the greater efficiency, and thus to the more immediate triumph of the ultimately irrepressible cause of international peace.

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the Final Session of the World Conference on International Justice, Cleveland, Ohio, Friday, May 11, 1928

Resolution No. 1

This day concludes this strikingly successful World Conference on International Justice, at which the American Peace Society celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of its creation. Since the present success of this meeting and such results as its delegates may subsequently achieve could not have been possible without the interest, support, and courteous co-operation of the people of Ohio and the city of

Cleveland, and of the agencies through which they have functioned; and since the Conference has been surrounded by individuals and co-operating associations and groups in a splendid unselfish service; be it

Resolved, That a grateful indebtedness is particularly due to William R. Hopkins, City Manager of Cleveland; John D. Marshall, Mayor of Cleveland; Allard Smith, President of Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and their associates on the Reception Committee, which was cordial indeed; to Messrs. Charles F. Thwing, Chairman; Newton D. Baker, Vice-Chairman; W. G. Wilson, Vice-Chairman; J. Arthur House, Treasurer; George A. Coulton, Harris Creech, I. F. Freiberger, Richard F. Grant, Edward B. Greene, Homer H. Johnson, Nathan Loeser, Samuel Mather, A. N. Rodway, C. E. Sullivan, Henry A. Taylor, who constitute the Cleveland Centennial Finance and Executive Committee, marshaling the contributions in time and effort of some three hundred men and women of Greater Cleveland; to Mr. Herbert Buckman and the automobile manufacturers and dealers of Cleveland for their ever willing and gratuitous transportation; to the Ohio Centennial Committee, constituting over two hundred men and women, under the leadership of Frank B. McMillan and George B. Chandler, who also gave of their time and funds to promote the success of this gathering; to the Cleveland Women's Promotional Group, under the inspiration of Mrs. Dan. F. Bradley; to Mrs. Chas. H. Prescott, of the Women's Entertainment Group; Mrs. Clarence J. Neal, of the Women's Luncheon Group; the Cleveland Advisory Publicity Committee, under the chairmanship of Wilbur H. Hyde, President of the Cleveland Advertising Club, for the advance interest in these meetings which they created; to Carl W. Brand and his other active associates on the Program Committee; to Edwin D. Barry, Director of Public Safety of the City of Cleveland, who supplied his astonishingly courteous and efficient staff of the Traffic Department and of the Police Department to minister to our many inquiries for direction and to the safety of our distinguished guests; to the Boards of Education within Cuyahoga County and Mr.

R. G. Jones, Superintendent of Schools, for the interest in this meeting which they stimulated among the school children of Greater Cleveland and the opportunities they have afforded for the presentation of the program and purposes of this meeting; to the churches of Cleveland, particularly for the observance of Peace Sunday in their pulpit and their thought; to the daily and periodical press of the city of Cleveland and of Ohio for their generous announcement of the meeting and their reports and editorial comments on its proceedings; to the national and international press organizations, which have made available through the reading world the daily proceedings of this convention; to Miss Lila Robeson and to the bands of East High School and West Technical High School for the musical entertainment furnished; to the management of the Public Auditorium, the Masonic Hall and the Cleveland Museum of Arts for the generous use of their splendid buildings; to the management and staff of the Hotel Cleveland for their friendly and courteous treatment of the strangers here assembled, and, finally, to those loyal, hard-working clerical and stenographic staffs of the Cleveland committees and the American Peace Society, under the skillful and patient direction respectively of Lacey C. Zapy and of Myron J. Jones.

In view of these premises, which are but an inadequate expression of feeling of all of us, be it

Resolved, That this conference, in convention assembled, extend to the agencies and persons named, and to all who have assisted in the reception accorded us, *our sincere appreciation*.

Resolution No. 2

B*E it resolved by the delegates assembled in the Centennial Convention of the American Peace Society*, That it finds great and unusual value in the reports submitted to this Convention by the five commissions appointed to consider the respective implications of *industry, justice, education, religion, and social agencies*, and by the Special Commission on the Co-ordination of the Efforts for Peace.

Be it further resolved, That it be, and it is hereby, recommended to the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society

that it continue the plan of the preliminary study of problems by special commissions before submission to conventions of members, and that it particularly consider the possibilities of securing the service of standing commissions, the duties of which would include meeting from time to time and studying throughout each year certain subjects of importance to be assigned to them, with a view to their making recommendations thereon to the Board of Directors and to the annual meetings of the members of the Society.

Resolution No. 3

Be it resolved, That this World Conference on International Justice hereby thanks and indicates its appreciation to those governments who have made it possible for their representatives to appear, to speak, to participate in our deliberations; to such representatives themselves; to the many other speakers who have entertained and instructed us; to those who have participated in the work of the commissions and in the contributions of the delegates and associate delegates; to the operating staffs of our hosts, and to the American Peace Society.

Resolution No. 4

In the absence of that individual who has contributed far more than any one man to the success of this meeting, and particularly in view of our understanding that that absence has been necessitated by the wearing effects of his exertions on behalf of the great cause in the interest of which we are assembled here, we express to Theodore E. Burton, President of the American Peace Society, our affection and our admiration for his leadership and his service, and earnestly pray that his return to his normal vigor will be early and complete.

Resolution No. 5

Resolved, That this Convention express to the many-officed Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, Director of this Conference, Secretary of the American Peace Society, Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, etc., etc., our appreciation for his unfailing good nature, his genial patience, his humor, the gloved hand of his presiding genius, and our hope that his cumulatively successful

labors in the field of peace may long continue with unabated zeal.

Resolution No. 6

Be it resolved, That the delegates to the World Conference on International Justice, being informed that the people of the State of Maine, under the leadership of Ralph O. Brewster, Governor of that State, have seen fit to determine upon a state-wide celebration in honor of William Ladd, the founder of the American Peace Society, on the occasion of this centennial year of the founding of the Society and the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the birth of this distinguished citizen of Maine, felicitate the people of Maine upon such an undertaking and wish for their proceedings the broad interest and participation which such an undertaking so richly deserves.

Resolution No. 7

Be it resolved by the delegates assembled in the Centennial Convention of the American Peace Society, That we heartily commend the Honorable Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, and the Honorable Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, for furthering the proposal that a multilateral treaty be negotiated among the nations, condemning recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renouncing war as an instrument of international policy in their relations with one another; and be it further *Resolved by delegates in con-*

vention assembled, That we call upon the President and the State Department to pursue with all possible persistence negotiations towards the end of securing a treaty embodying the principles expressed in such proposal; and, be it further *Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Coolidge, Secretary Kellogg, Vice-President Dawes, and to every member of the Congress of the United States.

Resolutoin No. 8

Be it resolved, that in transmitting to the Board of Directors the reports of the Several Commissions which have submitted reports to this meeting, it is respectfully pointed out that owing to unavoidable lack of time and opportunity for joint sessions for coordination of reports, these Commissions each met separately and held separate hearings and therefore these reports are necessarily submitted from the points of view of the particular phase of the problem assigned to the particular Commission. It is, however, recognized that all these reports have been submitted with a view to and hope of unanimity and consistency and the Board of Directors in reaching its conclusions is respectfully asked to read them in that spirit.

Signed

HAROLD H. BURTON, *Chairman.*

FLORENCE E. ALLEN.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS.

CHARLES FRANCIS THWING.

WALTER A. MORGAN.

MARK TWAINS "WAR PRAYER"*

"O Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle—be Thou near them! With them—in spirit—we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe.

"O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended through wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sport of the sun-flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it—for our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask of one who is the Spirit of love and who is the ever-faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset, and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, O Lord, and Thine shall be the praise and honor and glory now and ever, Amen."

*From "Mark Twain: a Biography," by Albert Bigelow Paine. Vol. 3, p. 1233.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

By Edson L. Whitney

Dr. Whitney, who has dug up so much of the American Peace Society, has brought together also the following facts as to the physical history of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.—THE EDITOR.

Volume	Date of beginning	Date of ending	Frequency of publication	Issues in a volume	Number of pages in volume	Remarks
	June, 1837.....	March, 1838.....	Quarterly....	4	192	Each number 48 pages.
II.....	June, 1838.....	May, 1839.....	Monthly....	12	288	Each number 24 pages.
III.....	June, 1839.....	April, 1841.....	Bimonthly... }	12	288	Each number 24 pages.
IV.....	June, 1841.....	April, 1842.....	Bimonthly... }	12	288	Each number 24 pages; Oct.-Nov., 1842, double number.
	June, 1842.....	December, 1842.....	Monthly....	22	288	Each number 12 pages except Oct., Nov., 1843; June-July, 1844, double number, 24 pages.
V.....	January, 1843....	December, 1844....	Monthly....			
VI.....	January, 1845....	December, 1845..	Monthly....	9	144	July-Aug., Sept.-Oct., Nov.-Dec., double numbers. Single 12 pages; double, 24 pages.
	January, 1846....	December, 1846..	Monthly....	12	284	Each number 24 pages except December, 20 pages.
VII.....	Jan.-Feb., 1847...	July-Aug., 1848..	Bimonthly... }	13	312	Each number 24 pages. Double numbers except Sept. and Dec., 1848.
VIII.....	Jan.-Feb., 1849...	Nov.-Dec., 1850..	Bimonthly... }	11	316	Quadruple number for July-Aug.-Sept.-Oct., 1849, 60 pages; other numbers, 24 pages except last two, which have 32 pages.
IX.....	Jan.-Feb., 1851...	December, 1851..	Bimonthly... }	6	188	Double numbers for 8 months; then triple and single. Pages number 32, 24, 32, 36, 48, 16.
X.....	January, 1852....	December, 1853..	Monthly....	22	400	June-July double numbers each year. Single numbers, 16 pages; double number, 1853, 48 pages; 1854, 32 pages.
XI.....	January, 1854....	December, 1855..	Monthly....	21	384	Feb.-Mar. and July-Aug., 1854, Aug.-Sept., 1855, double; 1854, single numbers, 16 pages; double, 32 pages; 1855, single, 16 pages except June, 32 pages; double, 16 pages.
XII.....	January, 1856....	December, 1857..	Bimonthly... }	15	384	Jan. to June, Dec., 1856, monthly; Aug.-Sept. and Oct.-Nov., 1856, and all of 1857 are bimonthly. No number for July, 1856. Jan. to May, 1856, 16 pages; other numbers 32 pages except Oct.-Nov., 1856, 34 pages, and May-June, 1857, 30 pages.
XIII.....	Jan.-Feb., 1858...	Nov.-Dec., 1859..	Bimonthly... }	12	384	Each number 32 pages.
XIV.....	Jan.-Feb., 1860...	Nov.-Dec., 1861..	Bimonthly... }	12	388	Each number 32 pages except the first, 36 pages. The paging in July-Aug., 186-, is the same as in May-June.
XV.....	Jan.-Feb., 1862...	Nov.-Dec., 1863..	Bimonthly... }	12	388	Each number 32 pages except the first, which has 36 pages.
XVI.....	Jan.-Feb., 1864...	Nov.-Dec., 1865..	Bimonthly... }	12	388	Each number 32 pages except the first, which has 36 pages. The pagination of last 16 pages of March-April, 1864, is repeated in May-June.
XVII.....	Jan.-Feb., 1866...	Nov.-Dec., 1867..	Bimonthly... }	12	180	No numbers for Mar., Apr., May, June. In their place are numbers for March and April, with double pagination and marked "Extra." Each number has 32 pages except first, 36 pages, and March, 1867, 16 pages. July-Aug., 1866, is erroneously paged 293-324 instead of 101-132.
XVIII.....	January, 1868....	December, 1868..	Bimonthly... }	6	174	Jan., 34 pages; others, 28 pages.
New series.	January, 1869....	December, 1870..	Monthly....	24	324	May, June, Nov.-Dec., 1869, and all 1870, 12 pages; July, 1869, 20 pages; others, 16 pages.
N. S., III...	January, 1871....	December, 1872..	Monthly....	24	232	Oct., Nov., 1871, 34 pages; Dec. 1871 to Nov., 1872, 8 pages; Dec., 1872, 4 pages; other numbers, 12 pages.
N. S., IV...	January, 1873....	December, 1873..	Monthly....	12	96	Each number 8 pages.
N. S., V....	January, 1874....	December, 1874..	Monthly....	12	96	Each number 8 pages.
N. S., VI....	January, 1875....	December, 1875..	Monthly....	10	80	Each number 8 pages; Jan.-Feb. and Aug.-Sept., double numbers.

Volume	Date of beginning	Date of ending	Frequency of publication	Issues in a volume	Number of pages in volume	Remarks
N. S., VII..	January, 1876....	December, 1876..	Monthly....	9	72	Each number 8 pages. Mar.-Apr., July-Aug., and Oct.-Nov., double.
N. S., VIII.	Jan.-Feb., 1877...	Nov.-Dec., 1877..	Bimonthly...	6	48	Each number 8 pages.
N. S., IX...	Jan.-Feb., 1878...	May-Dec., 1879..	Bimonthly...	6	36	Jan.-Feb., Mar.-Apr., May-June, July, Aug., Sept.-Oct., Nov.-Dec., 1878; May, 1879. First three numbers, 8 pages; last three, 4 pages. First three numbers paged continuously, last three separate.
N. S., X....	July, 1879.....	Jan.-Feb., 1880...	Irregular....	4	32	July, Aug.-Sept., Oct.-Nov., 1879; Jan.-Feb., 1880. Each number 8 pages.
N. S., XI...	May, 1880.....	October, 1880....	Half yearly..	2	16	Each number 8 pages.
N. S., XII..	February, 1881...	October, 1881....	Irregular....	3	24	Each number 8 pages.
N. S., XIII.	February, 1882...	October, 1882....	Quarterly....	4	36	Feb., 12 pages; Apr., July, Oct., 8 pages.
N. S., XIV.	January, 1883....	November, 1883..	Quarterly....	4	32	Jan., Apr., Aug., Nov., 8 pages.
N. S., XV..	Jan.-Feb., 1884...	June, 1884.....	Irregular....	3	24	Jan.-Feb., Apr.-May, June, 8 pages.
47.....	Aug.-Sept., 1884..	Nov.-Dec., 1885..	Bimonthly...	8	148	Aug.-Sept., 18 pages; Oct.-Nov., 1884, 14 pages; 1885, Jan., Mar., Apr.-May, 16 pages; June-July, Sept.-Oct., 24 pages; Nov.-Dec., 20 pages.
48.....	Jan.-Feb., 1886...	Nov.-Dec., 1886..	Bimonthly...	6	156	Jan.-Feb., Mar.-Apr., Sept.-Oct., 26 pages; May-June, 30 pages; July-Aug., Nov.-Dec., 24 pages.
49.....	Jan.-Feb., 1887...	December, 1887..	Bimonthly...	7	210	Jan.-Feb., 24 pages; Mar.-Apr., 26 pages; May-June, 30 pages; July-Aug., 28 pages; Sept.-Oct., 30 pages; Nov., 24 pages; Dec., 48 pages.
50.....	Jan.-Feb., 1888...	December, 1888..	Bimonthly...	6	120	Jan.-Feb., 30 pages; Mar.-Apr., 28 pages; June-July, 26 pages; Aug.-Sept., 24 pages; Oct.-Nov., 22 pages; Dec., 30 pages.
51.....	Feb.-Mar., 1889..	Nov.-Dec., 1889..	Bimonthly...	6	156	Feb.-Mar., 32 pages; Apr.-May, 26 pages; June, 34 pages; others, 32 pages.
52.....	Jan.-Feb., 1890...	Oct.-Nov., 1890..	Bimonthly...	6	168	Jan.-Feb., 36 pages; Mar.-Apr., 32 pages; May, 26 pages; June-July, 24 pages; Aug.-Sept., 32 pages; Oct.-Nov., 18 pages.
53.....	January, 1891....	Oct.-Nov., 1891..	Bimonthly...	7	204	Jan., 34 pages; Feb.-Mar., 30 pages; April, 24 pages; May, 24 pages; June-July, 26 pages; Aug.-Sept., 34 pages; Oct.-Nov., 32 pages.
54.....	January, 1892....	December, 1892..	Bimonthly...	9	224	Jan., 32 pages; Mar.-Apr., 24 pages; June, 26 pages; July, 24 pages; Aug., 22 pages; Sept., 26 pages; Oct., 24 pages; Nov., 24 pages; Dec., 22 pages.
55.....	January, 1893....	December, 1893..	Monthly....	12	288	Each number 24 pages.
56.....	January, 1894....	December, 1894..	Monthly....	12	288	Each number 24 pages.
57.....	January, 1895....	December, 1895..	Monthly....	12	288	Each number 24 pages.
58.....	January, 1896....	December, 1896..	Monthly....	11	288	Aug.-Sept., double number; May, 32 pages; June, 36 pages; Aug.-Sept., 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
59.....	January, 1897....	December, 1897..	Monthly....	11	272	Aug.-Sept., double number, 32 pages; other numbers, 24 pages.
60.....	January, 1898....	December, 1897..	Monthly....	11	264	Aug.-Sept., double number; each number 22 pages.
61.....	January, 1899....	December, 1899..	Monthly....	11	272	July-Aug., double, which with Oct. have 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
62.....	January, 1900....	December, 1900..	Monthly....	11	248	July-Aug., double, which with Oct. have 16 pages; others, 24 pages.
63.....	January, 1901....	December, 1901..	Monthly....	12	248	Jan., Feb., Mar., June, Sept., 24 pages; May, July, Oct., Dec., 20 pages; others, 16 pages.
64.....	January, 1902....	December, 1902..	Monthly....	12	232	Feb., Apr., May, 24 pages; Mar., Sept., Oct., Nov., 16 pages; others, 20 pages.
65.....	January, 1903....	December, 1903..	Monthly....	12	232	Feb., July, Oct., 16 pages; June, Nov., 24 pages; Aug., 12 pages; others, 20 pages.

Volume	Date of beginning	Date of ending	Frequency of publication	Issues in a volume	Number of pages in volume	Remarks
66.....	January, 1904....	December, 1904..	Monthly....	12	248	Jan., Sept., Nov., Dec., 24 pages; Feb., Mar., 16 pages; others, 20 pages.
67.....	January, 1905....	December, 1905..	Monthly....	11	260	Aug.-Sept., double number; Mar., 20 pages; others, 24 pages.
68.....	January, 1906....	December, 1906..	Monthly....	11	256	Oct.-Nov., double number; Mar.-Aug., 20 pages; others, 24 pages.
69.....	January, 1907....	December, 1907..	Monthly....	11	268	Aug.-Sept., double number; May, June, Nov., Dec., 29 pages; others, 24 pages.
70.....	January, 1908....	December, 1908..	Monthly....	11	276	Aug.-Sept., double number, 28 pages; June, 32 pages; others, 24 pages.
71.....	January, 1909....	December, 1909..	Monthly....	11	268	Aug.-Sept., double number; June, 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
72.....	January, 1910....	December, 1910..	Monthly....	11	276	July-Aug., double number, 28 pages; June, 32 pages; others, 24 pages.
73.....	January, 1911....	December, 1911..	Monthly....	12	292	Nov., 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
74.....	January, 1912....	December, 1912..	Monthly....	11	276	Sept.-Oct., double number; Jan., Mar., June, 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
75.....	January, 1913....	December, 1913..	Monthly....	11	268	Aug.-Sept., double number, 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
76.....	January, 1914....	December, 1914..	Monthly....	11	272	Aug.-Sept., double number; June, Nov., 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
77.....	January, 1915....	December, 1915..	Monthly....	11	280	July omitted, Mar., Apr., June, Aug., 28 pages; others, 24 pages.
78.....	January, 1916....	December, 1916..	Monthly....	11	348	Sept. omitted, Feb., 28 pages; others, 32 pages.
79.....	January, 1917....	December, 1917..	Monthly....	11	352	Sept. omitted. Each number 32 pages.
80.....	January, 1918....	December, 1918..	Monthly....	11	352	Sept. omitted. Each number 32 pages.
81.....	January, 1919....	December, 1919..	Monthly....	11	376	Sept.-Oct., double number; Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr., 32 pages; others, 36 pages.
82.....	January, 1920....	December, 1920..	Monthly....	11	400	Sept.-Oct., double number, 40 pages; others, 36 pages.
83.....	January, 1921....	December, 1921..	Monthly....	11	440	Each number 40 pages. Sept. omitted.
84.....	January, 1922....	December, 1922..	Monthly....	11	444	Sept. omitted. Oct., 44 pages; others, 40 pages.
85.....	January, 1923....	December, 1923..	Monthly....	11	440	Sept.-Oct., double number; each number 40 pages.
86.....	January, 1924....	December, 1924..	Monthly....	11	704	Sept.-Oct., double number; each number 64 pages.
87.....	January, 1925....	December, 1925..	Monthly....	11	696	Oct.-Nov., double number; Feb., 56 pages; others, 64 pages.
88.....	January, 1926....	December, 1926..	Monthly....	11	704	Sept.-Oct., double number; each number 64 pages.
89.....	January, 1927....	December, 1927..	Monthly....	11	704	Sept.-Oct., double number; each number 64 pages.

**CENTENNIAL HISTORY
OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY**

By **EDSON L. WHITNEY**

315 Pages, 6 Appendixes, and an Index

Price, \$3.00

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Artists and War*

By HENRY TURNER BAILEY

ON THE walls of the Egyptian temples, written with a pen of iron, in the rock forever, are the records of the triumphs of the Pharaohs.

The earliest art from Babylonia presents symbolically the imperialistic power of the city State with its talons in the backs of conquered provinces, or with its hands holding nets filled with severed heads of its enemies.

The Parthenon itself, built after the Greek victory over the Persians, is decorated with reliefs celebrating the victories of men over centaurs and with a pedimental group in memory of the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the lordship of Attica. The Victories of Olympia and Samothrace, and Cheronia, the mighty sculptures of the great altar at Pergamon, were all made to glorify military victories.

The triumphal arches of Rome, the towering column of Trajan, with its hundreds of fighting men, to say nothing of the statues and busts of world-conquering Cæsars, are all monuments to glorify the warriors of antiquity.

Mohammedan conquerors built mosques and modestly affirmed therein "There is no conqueror but God." The princes of Christendom, in thanksgiving for military victories, built churches and cathedrals and dedicated them to the Warrior Saints.

The great masters of the Renaissance painted the Triumphs of Alexander, the Victories of Francis I, the Battle for the Standard, the Surrender of Breda, Victorious Knights in armor, and Coronations of Princes who had desolated whole provinces with fire and sword.

In fact, almost until the dawn of the twentieth century, the artists of the world glorified war. They were employed, by the powers who exercised lordship, to do just that thing—to show the honor of

bravery, the picturesque elements in conflict, the splendors of the triumph.

European palaces and art galleries were filled with works glorifying war by such men as Meissonier, Detaille, De Neuville, Menzel, Piloty, and scores of others. Before the eyes of the people men kept constantly the vision of enthusiastic volunteers, marching men, charging battalions, proud conquerors, glorious victors. War appeared as patriotism incarnate, the apotheosis of the human spirit in action, the supreme spectacle of civilization.

And then came Vassili Vereshchagin, the Russian. "Beware," said Emerson, "when God lets loose a thinker on this planet," and beware again when that thinker is also a painter of compelling power. Vereshchagin, trained in the art academies of St. Petersburg and Paris, who had traveled extensively in his own country, in Turkey, India and China, joined the Russian army during the war with Turkey, was severely wounded, and came out of his personal experience with a passionate hatred for war in all its aspects, and a complete consecration of all his powers to hitting that thing hard. He produced three great cycles of paintings dealing with the horrors of war in India, in Turkestan, and in southern Europe. No one who has seen such pictures as "Blowing From the Guns" in India, "Snow Trenches on the Shipka," or "After the Assault in Plevna" can ever forget them, or ever think of war again as anything but horror incarnate.

Of course, he offended the Czar.

"Are you the man who painted me, surrounded by my advisers, conducting a campaign from a hilltop at a safe distance?" asked the Czar, at a court reception.

*Address at Cleveland Conference, May 7, 1928.

"Yes, Your Majesty," humbly replied the artist.

"Why did you do that?" angrily asked the Czar, and slapped the face of Vereshchagin.

"Because, Your Majesty," replied the dauntless man, "I always paint the truth."

Vereshchagin was the rock flung into the stream of modern painting which changed its direction. He did not block the stream; he divided it. There is still a dribble of art for the war lords, but the main stream flows in another direction. Weirtz of Belgium added force to the new current, as no one can ever forget who has visited his museum in Brussels.

During the World War the outstanding leader in revealing the horrors of modern warfare was another Belgian, Raemakers. His telling cartoons had a world-wide circulation, and made so deep and universal an appeal to the hearts of mankind that no one of that generation will ever forget them or look upon war as anything but an evil.

The poets of the world have taken sides with the artists in condemning war. "The Wine Press," by Alfred Noyes, may be cited as an outstanding example of their attitude. Modern warfare, as they see it, is a matter of the manipulation of automatic machinery, and other engines of death, in such a way that personal initiative and resourcefulness, personal skill and valor in self-defense, are reduced to the minimum. Under the vivid presentation of the poet, war becomes a terrifying nightmare, an orgy of insufferable agony and hideous death hitherto unequalled in the annals of omnivorous and insatiable lust.

Nevenson's illustrations of the World War making use of all the ugliness and violence of cubism, to portray with startling force the inhuman tortures of body and spirit inseparable from modern military efficiency, are additional proof of the twentieth century attitude of artists toward the age-long reign of the war god.

Consider also that splendid and terrible painting by Pierre Fritel, entitled "The Conquerors," or that brilliant and horrible masterpiece by George Bellows, entitled "Edith Cavell," where heroic saintliness walks calmly to its doom at the hands of inhuman brutality. The list might be extended indefinitely to include "The Big Parade," "What Price Glory," and that thrilling and heartbreaking story called "Wings," to show that the artists of the world are no longer on the side of the Juggernaut that for countless weary centuries has crushed the common people beneath its merciless wheels.

In a recent number of the *Cleveland News*, carrying an article by the ex-Kaiser, in which he attempts to stir up the old passions by brandishing again the "Yellow Peril" before the eyes of the white race, appeared a cartoon by Winsor McCay, entitled "Brutality and Its Conquerors." A great tree fills the foreground, from the limbs of which are suspended the bodies of countless men, hung by the neck until dead; beneath them in the distance one sees the orderly ranks of a vast standing army at attention. Left and right cavalrymen proudly sit their horses. Beneath the feet of the dead, and looking up at them strut the war lords, arrogantly satisfied with their handiwork. But above the thick foliage of the tree, white against the blackened sky, appear the calm, invincible faces of Gutenberg and Galileo, Descartes and Newton, Kepler and Copernicus and Rousseau. It is a significant sign of the times.

Out of Armageddon there has not come, so far as I know, a single great painting from the hands of any French or English or American artist glorifying war.

The artists, too, are tired of kings.

Their sympathies are with the common people. For the first time in history, free from imperialistic masters, the full weight of their vast influence is being thrown against war and in favor of peace. They are educating the entire world to regard war as hell.

AN ADDRESS

By His Excellency DR. ORESTES FERRARA

Cuban Ambassador to the United States, Before the American Peace Society on the Occasion of the Centenary of Its Establishment

THE Board of Directors of the Pan American Union has conferred upon me the honor of tendering a vote of congratulation to the American Peace Society for its work during a century of useful existence, and to express their wishes that its field of endeavor be wider and more fruitful in the future. This vote comes from the representatives of the twenty-one republics on this hemisphere; from the great continent that extends from the Pacific to the Atlantic—republics which sprung up bearing the ideals of peace, those ideals which they have tried to uphold in their countries and in other lands.

Allow me, gentlemen, to convey this message of felicitation and best wishes from the Board of Directors of the Pan American Union, whose sincere words and clear concepts are the synthesis of the high esteem in which the American people hold this Association, its sound purposes and its successful accomplishments.

Resolution of Congratulation Extended by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to the American Peace Society on the Occasion of the Centenary of the Establishment of the Society.

WHEREAS the American peace Society has completed one hundred years of useful existence, and

WHEREAS during that period the Society has contributed so much toward the development of international good will; be it

Resolved by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to extend to the officers and members of the American Peace Society their most sincere congratulations and to express the hope that the years to come will bring to the Society an ever-widening field of usefulness.

Panamericanism is linked to the idea of universal peace. And its organization serves these purposes.

The Pan American Union represents a group of nations which do not share in any selfish views. This union does not constitute an alliance to oppose any other alliance.

While Panamericanism has existed, and this existence is a long one now, six international conferences have been held, and the words and results of these conferences prove to the world that this union of nations in this hemisphere serves only the universal welfare. Each advance in Panamericanism has been one step toward human solidarity, one step toward a better organization of international life and not for serving individual interests.

The great fears aroused in certain spheres from the economic arrangement of things, demanded by Panamericanism in its incipency, have vanished because they were unjustified. The rules of juridical order which the American International Conferences have approved could serve as an example to others, as they contain nothing whatever that other States could not honorably sign.

The union of the different American nations has had for its foundation cooperation and not antagonism. In the American conception, to struggle is an occasional fact, an unforeseen exception; therefore, a matter only to be avoided. All Panamericanism activity responds to this lofty conception. The opinion of a former Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, was heard in 1889 as follows, on opening the First Pan American Conference: "The delegates I am addressing can do much to establish permanent relations of confi-

dence, respect, and friendship between the nations which they represent. They can show to the world an honorable, peaceful conference of eighteen independent American Powers, in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality. . . . A conference which will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both continents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance—a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing that is not, in a general sense of all the delegates, timely and wise and peaceful.”

The word of Mr. James G. Blaine found echo in other delegations. At no time in the statements of any delegation there was any phase, purpose, or agreement which could have been construed as detrimental to the interests of any country in the world. With such a beginning, the constant tendency of universal harmony in the work of Panamericanism is not strange; it is not strange that the Government of Mexico when inviting the governments of the American Republics to the Second Conference, on August 15, 1900, could say that “the Assembly of the American plenipotentiaries will gather without the pretention of forming a world apart, not forgetting that civilization came to us from Europe, and that the great interests of mankind are only one,” and the Mexican delegation which we quote, among many others, since the conference was held in the capital of that republic, upon contemplating the practical results of the conference, said: “The resolutions that this Assembly will adopt shall aid the immense task of human progress and universal peace.”

And at the Third Conference, as to refute the mistaken criticism and prejudice on Panamericanism of the press and the more reflexive writers of the other side of the Atlantic, the Baron de Rio Branco, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, at the opening of the conference expressed himself thus: “It is necessary to affirm that formally or implicitly, all interests

will be respected by us; that in the discussion of political and commercial subjects submitted for consideration to the conference, it is not our intention to work against anybody, and that one sole aim is to bring about a closer union among American nations, to provide for their well being and rapid progress; and the accomplishment of these subjects can only be of advantage to Europe and to the rest of the world.”

At this same conference the Secretary of State of the United States, Elihu Root, who visited Brazil during the gathering of the plenipotentiaries, in his answer to the speech of the President of the Assembly, Ambassador Nabuco, said: “We wish for no victories, but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves.” And after his arrival in Montevideo, in another stage of his journey he declared: “I do not come as a messenger of war; I am an advocate of friendship and of universal peace.”

In the fourth and fifth conferences, able statesmen had expression of solidarity, respect and gratitude for all Europe and the rest of the world. At the opening session of the Conference at Buenos Aires, July 12, 1910, the president of the American delegation, Mr. Henry White, in his reply to the opening address of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, Dr. Victoriano de la Plaza, said: “It cannot be too frequently affirmed that there is nothing in American solidarity and constantly increasing friendship to imperil the interests of the old countries of the world. . . . We hope and feel that whenever friendship between nations is based, as that of the American Republic is, upon a desire to promote the welfare of mankind and the advancement of order and justice, such a friendship cannot fail to be instrumental in the furtherance of higher ideals and a potent factor in the diffusion of the blessings of peace not only in this American continent of ours, but in the lands beyond the seas onto the uttermost parts of the world.” Dr. Antonio Vermejo, president of the conference, in the same session in which he was elected, on thanking the assembly for his appointment said: “The faithful acknowledgment of the civilizing action of

Europe has replaced the mistrust of those times." Dr. Carlos Rodriguez Larreta, in his closing speech on August 30, 1910, said: "I solemnly pray that the nations of America seek the most appropriate solutions to the problem of upholding peace, and that united they maintain them as a contribution to human happiness in the first conference that may assemble at The Hague."

The first words of the President of Chile, Don Arturo Alessandri, on inaugurating the Fifth Conference on March 25, 1923, were: "The invincible sentiment of continental co-operation and solidarity brings together the countries of America for the fifth time in this conference, united in the sincere desire of struggling for the progress and the welfare of humanity," and he added, further, "that the union of American republics under the symbolic expression 'Panamerican Union' constitute a powerful ethnic congregation that will protect the future of humanity." On concluding his speech he affirmed that "to day, new and powerful forces appear which change the young countries of yesterday, and already on their feet, in full vigor, with open arms and sincere heart they accompany sorrowing and exhausted Europe with their affection; they feel with her the immense pain of deep wounds, and they encourage her in her noble titanic efforts to reconquer her glorious past of grandeur."

These quotations that I have taken from the addresses and documents pertaining to the International American Conferences show the atmosphere of universal concord which predominated in all of them, yet it will be necessary to add that, during the six conferences which have taken place, in spite of publicity and complete freedom of speech, there has not been a single voice to deal with the subject of war, not the least mention about it, not a motion of discrimination among the States.

The idea of establishing a web of economical, juridical, scientific, educational and moral relations among the nations of America undoubtedly prevails in the minds of those attending these assemblies. This ought to create and strengthen an organization which might serve as a beneficial basis for human interests. The accomplishments of these assemblies never

denied or contradicted the words of their leaders. No convention has been signed in America which could not be accepted by a nation of another continent. No convention has had a selfish purpose in establishing principles that in favoring one might harm another. Every one of the six conferences has had more or less a characteristic of its own, although all of them developed through the influence of these fundamental principles; and in each of them one can observe the constructive efforts and creative work, and upon a closer examination one can see how an international body is developing, how the spirit which will animate it is being instilled. As happens in all young organizations moving in a new field, progress has been slow and practical results yet not quite evident. Many resolutions approved have not been duly applied. Many conventions have not been subsequently ratified by the governments, and though we believe it would have been more useful to complete the efforts of the plenipotentiaries and to carry out the resolutions adopted, we do not consider this labor fruitless because it has strengthened Panamericanism, creating that spirit of amity, of good will, and of reciprocal respect and esteem, and proved that the world, above all, wishes to be ruled by law principles. The world, unable to be ruled by force, which is already discredited by its own continued failures, and by the condemnation of the human conscience, must not remain in an anarchical state. A mere glance upon the resolutions adopted and the conventions signed in the various conferences inspire real and vivid admiration. All that could have been of interest has been dealt with, and it might be said without exaggeration, that the matters submitted to these international assemblies are no more limited than those which constitutionally can be the object of decision by the Federal State of this country. In some instances these conferences have gone beyond that which is under the jurisdiction of the Federal power of the United States, and I especially refer to the Code of Private International Law.

The economic field was embraced in all its extension. The conferences studied and discussed the standardization of currency in the two Americas; the metric

system of weight and measures; American international banking system; ways and means for the protection of industries, agriculture and commerce; subsidies and other support to steamship companies; the development of inland communications; intercontinental railroad; the coffee industry; the fluctuation in the rate of exchange; and commercial statistics. If we should add to these subjects others of an administrative nature, as, for instance, those concerning ports, consular procedures, trade-marks and patents and inspection of goods, commercial arbitration, the standardization of the bill of exchange, etc., then we would be able to see that really nothing has been omitted that could be of collective interest.

In the juridical field, on different occasions, the following subjects have been discussed: arbitration, conciliation, international court of claims, the drawing of a code of private and public international law, laws for aliens, laws on the practice of liberal professions, the standardization of the legislation of copyrights, pecuniary claims, juridical settlement of differences, status of the sons of aliens, maritime sanitary code, etc., and in every other field of endeavor Panamericanism has labored with the same keen interest. In archeology, as in sanitary questions; in aviation, as in radio and telegraphic communications; in the interchange of professors and students, as in bibliography. When every subject was exhausted, a new horizon opened to us, that of civil and

political rights of women. No parliament has recorded discussions of greater interest than those which have been just enumerated. Panamericanism as an organized body has served peace, because its co-operation, regulations-relations of rights and duties, and its system for settling and solving conflicts constitute peace. War is not possible when through so many accords and interdependencies such a spirit of high, noble and sincere cordiality has been created. Panamericanism is likewise an example which proves that international relationship must not consider as basic the difference that exists between strength and weakness, but should always contemplate the principles of justice and injustice, of right and wrong.

Because of the existing relations between the ideal work of this Association and the actual facts of Panamericanism, I believe that the vote of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union will please every one of you.

Let us all work in our respective countries for the complete acceptance of the principles of human justice. Let us say to the weak to aspire to be strong solely in the field of good usefulness, for they are the eternal elements of human nature; and let us say to the powerful that injustice corrodes and destroys power, and that there has never existed in the history of the world a mighty state that did not fall when it was at the pinnacle of its greatness, being sure in its immunity to commit wrongs.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

PEACE PACT NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Kellogg's note of April 13, the American draft for a suggested treaty, and the French draft of a substitute treaty were printed in the last number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. There follow the German note and the British note relating to the Kellogg proposal.

THE GERMAN NOTE

YOUR EXCELLENCY: In your note of April 15 and its annexes you informed me of the

negotiations between the Government of the United States of America and the French Government for the conclusion of an international pact for the outlawry of war. At the same time you put me the question whether the German Government were disposed to conclude such a pact in accordance with the draft drawn up by the United States Government, or whether it considered certain alterations in this draft necessary.

The German Government has examined your request with the care demanded by the extraordinary importance of the occasion. In

the course of this examination it was able to take into account the draft treaty that in the meantime had been drawn up by the French Government and transmitted to the interested Powers. As the result of the examination I beg to make to you the following communication in the name of the German Government.

The German Government most warmly welcomes the opening of negotiations for the conclusion of an international pact for the outlawry of war. The two great ideas that lie at the basis of the initiative of the French Foreign Minister and the proposal of the United States Government to which it gave rise entirely correspond to the principles of German policy. Germany has no higher interest than the possibility of seeing military conflicts eliminated and such a development ensured in the life of the peoples as guarantees a peaceful settlement of all disputes between States. The conclusion of a pact of the kind that the United States Government now has in view would certainly bring the peoples considerably nearer to the attainment of this aim.

As the need of the peoples to secure peace has since the end of the World War already led to other international agreements, the necessity arises for the States that have taken part in them to elucidate in what relation the pact now proposed would stand to these international agreements that are already in force.

You have called attention in your note, Mr. Ambassador, to the considerations expressed by the French Government in its exchange of views with the Government of the United States. So far as Germany is concerned, it is the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Rhine Pact of Locarno that come into consideration as international agreements which have a bearing on the new pact; Germany has undertaken no other international commitments of this kind. Respect for the obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Rhine Pact must, in the view of the German Government, stand immutable. The German Government is, however, convinced that these obligations contain nothing that could in any way conflict with the obligations implied in the draft treaty of the United States. On the contrary, it believes that the binding obligation not to use war as an instrument of national policy would only be calculated to strengthen the basic idea of the League Covenant and the Rhine Pact.

The German Government takes it for granted that a pact of the kind proposed by the United States would not place in doubt the sovereign right of each State to defend itself.

It goes without saying that if any State breaks the pact the other contracting parties recover their freedom of action in regard to that State. The State affected by the infringement of the pact is therefore not prevented from taking arms on its part against the peace-breakers. It does not appear to the German Government necessary, in a pact of this kind, expressly to provide for the case of its infringement.

In agreement with the United States Government and with the French Government, the German Government is also of the opinion that the ultimate aim must be the universality of the new pact. If the States primarily held in view as signatory powers conclude the pact it may be expected that the other States will very soon take advantage of the right to adhere that is accorded to them without restriction or condition.

The German Government can accordingly declare that it is ready to conclude a pact as proposed by the United States, and to engage with the interested governments in the negotiations necessary for this purpose. The German Government associates with this declaration the definite expectation that the conclusion of a pact of such scope will not fail to exert an influence very speedily on the shaping of international relations. Thus this new guarantee for the maintenance of peace must give an effective impulse to the endeavors to bring about general disarmament. Furthermore, the abandonment of war must contribute to the development, as a necessary counterpart, of means for settling in a peaceful manner conflicts of national interests that now exist or may arise in the future.

THE BRITISH NOTE

Text of note, dated May 19, 1928, from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, Sir Austen Chamberlain, to the American Ambassador in London, Alanson B. Houghton.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Your note of April 13, containing the text of a draft treaty for renunciation of war, together with copies of correspondence be-

tween the United States and the French Governments on the subject of this treaty, has been receiving sympathetic consideration at the hands of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. A note has also been received from the French Government, containing certain suggestions for discussion in connection with the proposed treaty; and the German Government were good enough to send me a copy of a reply which had been made by them to the proposals of the United States Government.

2. The suggestion for the conclusion of a treaty for renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy has evoked widespread interest in this country and His Majesty's Government will support the movement to the utmost of their power.

3. After making a careful study of the text contained in Your Excellency's note and of the amended text suggested in the French note, His Majesty's Government feel convinced that there is no serious divergence between the effect of these two drafts. This impression is confirmed by a study of the text of the speech by the Secretary of State of the United States, to which Your Excellency drew my attention and which he delivered before the American Society of International Law on April 28.

American Aim Endorsed

The aim of the United States Government, as I understand it, is to embody in a treaty a broad statement of principle to proclaim without restriction or qualification that war shall not be used as an instrument of policy. With this aim His Majesty's Government are wholly in accord.

The French proposals, equally imbued with the same purpose, have merely added an indication of certain exceptional circumstances in which the violation of that principle by one party may oblige the others to take action seeming at first sight to be inconsistent with the terms of the proposed pact.

His Majesty's Government appreciate the scruples which have prompted these suggestions by the French Government. The exact fulfillment of treaty engagements is a matter which affects national honor; precision as to the scope of such engagements is therefore of importance. Each of the suggestions made by the French Government has been carefully considered from this point of view.

4. After studying the wording of Article 1 of the United States draft, His Majesty's Government do not think its terms exclude action which a State may be forced to take in self-defense. Mr. Kellogg has made it clear, in the speech to which I have referred above, that he regards the right of self-defense as inalienable and His Majesty's Government are disposed to think that on this question no addition to the text is necessary.

5. As regards the text of Article 2 no appreciable difference is found between the American and French proposals. His Majesty's Government are, therefore, content to accept the former if, as they understand to be the case, a dispute "among the high contracting parties," is a phrase wide enough to cover a dispute between any two of them.

Concerning a French Suggestion

6. The French note suggests the addition of any article, providing that violation of the treaty by one of the parties should release the remainder from their obligations, under the treaty towards that party. His Majesty's government are not satisfied that if the treaty stood alone, the addition of some such provision would not be necessary. Mr. Kellogg's speech, however, shows that he put forward for acceptance the text of the proposed treaty upon the understanding that violation of the undertaking by one party would free the remaining parties from the obligation of observing its terms in respect to the treaty breaking state.

7. If it is agreed that this is the principle which will apply in the case of this particular treaty, His Majesty's government are satisfied and will not ask for the insertion of an amendment. Means can no doubt be found without difficulty of placing this understanding on record in some appropriate manner so that it may have equal value with the terms of the treaty itself.

8. The point is one of importance because of its bearing on the treaty engagements by which His Majesty's Government are already bound. The preservation of peace has been the chief concern of His Majesty's Government and the prime object of all their endeavors. It is the reason why they have given ungrudging support to the League of Nations, and why they have undertaken the burden of guarantee embodied in the Locarno Treaty. The sole object of all these engagements is the elimination of war as an in-

strument of national policy just as it is the purpose of the peace pact now proposed. It is because the object of both is the same that there is no real antagonism between the treaty engagements which His Majesty's Government have already accepted and the pact which is now proposed.

The machinery of the covenant and of the Treaty of Locarno, however, go somewhat further than a renunciation of war as a policy in that they provide certain sanctions for a breach of their obligations, a clash might thus conceivably arise between existing treaties and the proposed act, unless it is understood the obligations of the new engagement will cease to operate in respect of a party which breaks its pledges and adopts hostile measures against one of its cocontractants.

Britain Must Keep Commitments

9. For the Government of this country, respect for the obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations and out of the Locarno treaties is fundamental. Our position in this regard is identical with that of the German Government as indicated in their note of the 27th April.

His Majesty's Government could not agree to any new treaty which would weaken or undermine these engagements on which the peace of Europe rests. Indeed, public interest in this country in scrupulous fulfillment of these engagements is so great that His Majesty's Government would for their part prefer to see some such provision as Article 4 of the French draft embodied in the text of the treaty. To this we understand there will be no objection.

Mr. Kellogg has made it clear, in the speech to which I have drawn attention, that he had no intention, by the terms of the new treaty, of preventing parties of the Covenant of the League or to the Locarno Treaty from fulfilling their obligations.

10. The language of Article 1, as to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, renders it desirable that I should remind Your Excellency that there are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety.

His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defense.

It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect. The Government of the United States has comparable interests, any disregard of which by a foreign power they have declared that they would regard as an unfriendly act. His Majesty's Government believe, therefore, that in defining their position they are expressing the intention and meaning of the United States Government.

Favors Putting in Force Quickly

11. As regards the measure of participation in the new treaty before it would come into force, His Majesty's Government agree that it is not necessary to wait until all the nations of the world have signified their willingness to become parties. On the other hand, it would be embarrassing if certain States in Europe with whom the proposed participants are already in close treaty relations were not included among the parties.

His Majesty's Government sees no reason, however, to doubt that these States will gladly accept its terms. Universality would in any case be difficult of attainment and might even be inconvenient, for there are some States whose governments have not yet been universally recognized and some which are scarcely in a position to insure the maintenance of good order and security within their territories.

The conditions for the inclusion of such States among the parties to the new treaty is a question to which further attention may perhaps be devoted with advantage. It is, however, a minor question as compared with the attainment of the more important purpose in view.

12. After this examination of the terms of the proposed treaty and of the points to which it gives rise, Your Excellency will realize that His Majesty's Government find nothing in their existing commitments which prevents their hearty co-operation in this new movement for strengthening the foundations of peace. They will gladly co-operate in the conclusion of such a pact as is proposed and are ready to engage with the interested governments in the negotiations which are necessary for the purpose.

Dominions Also Approve

13. Your Excellency will observe that the detailed arguments in the foregoing para-

graphs are expressed on behalf of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. It will, however, be appreciated that the proposed treaty, from its very nature, is not one which concerns His Majesty's Government in Great Britain alone, but is one in which they could not undertake to participate otherwise than jointly and simultaneously with His Majesty's Government in the Dominions and the Government of India. They have, therefore, been in communication with those governments and I am happy to be able to inform Your Excellency that, as a result of the communications which have passed, it has been ascertained that they are all in cordial agreement with the general principles of the proposed treaty.

I feel confident, therefore, that on the receipt of the invitation to participate in the conclusion of such a treaty, they, no less than His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, will be prepared to accept the invitation.

News in Brief

AUSTRALIA'S WAR MEMORIAL will take the form of a war museum at the capital, Canberra. The outstanding thing about the proposed museum is that all glorification of war will be avoided.

A WAR MEMORIAL LATELY ERECTED at Kilmarnock, Scotland, represents "The Victor," a seated figure crowned with laurel, but bowed down with sorrow. The attitude of despair is evidently intended to teach the futility of war, even to the victor.

THE PROTOCOL PROHIBITING the use of poison gases in warfare has been, thus far, ratified by France, Venezuela, Liberia, Italy, and Russia.

THE APPOINTMENT OF FIFTEEN MEMBERS of the Bryan Conciliation Commissions provided for in the 1914 treaties was announced on May 14, thus bringing the United States membership practically up to date.

ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES signed an arbitration treaty on April 19.

CHILE AND SPAIN HAVE SIGNED a ten-years' arbitration treaty.

SIX GREAT BEACON LIGHTS in the tower of Cleveland's new Union Terminal Building are said to be visible from Canada and for sixty miles around the city. They are fifty-eight stories above the street and are guides, not only to navigators on Lake Erie, but also to aviators.

THE ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE, opening its annual session in Geneva, May 30, expected a large attendance from its fifty-five member countries. Secretary Davis of the United States Department of Labor, has designated a personal observer to attend and report the sessions.

A POLICY OF NONINTERVENTION and nonresponsibility on the part of the Federal Government in regard to financial arrangements made between Americans and foreign governments is provided in a resolution introduced in the House of Representatives on May 16 by Representative Rathbone, of Illinois.

THE MAILS IN CHINA, in spite of war, flood, and other disasters, continue to go through, says *Pacific Data* for May 1, in a way amazing for regularity and efficiency.

WELSH CHILDREN, on May 18, again radioed their message of good will to all the children of the world and asked prayers for God's blessing on all the peace efforts of the race.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE will hold a peace conference at Pocono Manor, Pennsylvania, June 16-20.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE, American judge on the Permanent Court of International Justice, has tendered his resignation to the Secretary General of the League of Nations. The vacancy thus created will be filled by the Council and Assembly of the League from a list of persons nominated by the nations which adhere to the Court.

THAT LAWS OF PEACE, and not laws of war and neutrality, should be given primary emphasis in courses of international law was the contention of Professor Bradley, of Amherst, and Professor Burdick, of Cornell, in a conference of teachers of international law held at Carnegie Institution, April 26.

THE UNITED STATES has sent an official observer to the Comité Juridique Internationale de l'Aviation, meeting in Madrid, Spain, on May 29.

A "WEEK OF KINDNESS" was observed throughout France in May. It was signalized by great meetings at the Sorbonne, special fêtes at the Comedie Française and elsewhere, and by lessons on kindness in the schools.

MR. HIPOLITE YRIGOYEN was declared elected President of Argentina on April 20. He was formerly president from 1916 to 1922.

LABOR DAY, WHICH IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES occurs on May first, was celebrated this year with more than usual enthusiasm, but in perfect order, in practically all of Spanish America.

BOOK REVIEWS

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IF YOU GO TO SOUTH AMERICA. By *Harry L. Foster*. Illustrated. Maps, bibliography, and index. pp. 443. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

As the season for travel comes on, books about other parts of the world take the center of interest. This chatty guidebook is prepared by a man who knows his South America. After showing why one would find travel there interesting, he gives some very sensible advice as to equipment and general attitude, by way of preparation for a tour. The route he suggests takes the tourist down through Panama and the west coast of the southern continent as far as the Straits of Magellan; then up the east coast to Rio; thence an extra trip up to the Amazon, and thence home, stopping at Trinidad and Barbados.

The book is well headlined for ready reference, illustrated with interesting photographs, and the descriptions are, while pleasing, quite matter-of-fact, with no straining after effect. It aims to be purely informa-

tional as a guidebook, yet one gets whiffs of the charms which merely await the arrival of the beauty-loving or history-loving traveler.

CHINA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY. Compiled by *Julia E. Johnson*. Pp. 362. H. W. Wilson Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.40.

This book of selected articles on China is the third of series two in the Handbook Series. As in the other volumes, there is an extensive bibliography (some fifty-five pages here) and either selections or whole articles from periodicals. A folded outline map is inserted before the title page. The main divisions of the book are as follows: China, the background; China today; and International Relations, the latter with articles on both sides of various controversial subjects. With all its excellencies, we regret to note the absence of an index.

THE MAKING OF A STATE. By *Thomas Garrigue Masaryk*. Pp. 509 and index. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$6.00.

Mr. Masaryk, first and, thus far, only President of the Czechoslovak Republic, was in 1914 a professor in the University of Prague. A man then sixty-four years of age, he was a ripe student of philosophy and history. He had been the teacher of many men who came later to wield important influence in central and eastern Europe, especially in the "Succession States." Long restive under the dominion of Austria, he found himself at the outbreak of the war mentally ready for the idea of autonomous Slavic peoples.

This book, subtitled "Memories and observations, 1914-1918," proves to be another vital book on the World War. Much more than this, however, it narrates the diplomatic and political progress of Czech aspirations, as Masaryk and others moved about Europe and America, conducting their propaganda in the capitals of the Allies. An astonishingly efficient underground communication with Prague was kept up, the while, and a no less remarkable harmony was maintained between the leaders, notably between Masaryk and Benes.

The narrative is given in the first person and contains some invaluable chapters of comment on the countries Mr. Masaryk

visited and their forms of government. The United States of Woodrow Wilson is particularly interesting; so, also, the Russia of Lenin, which is shrewdly characterized.

The Republic of Czechoslovakia was proclaimed November 14, 1918, and Masaryk, then in the United States, elected first President. He immediately sailed for home. The remainder of the book is largely philosophical comment on the causes of the war and the chances of maintaining independence for the new small States of Europe. The author concludes that nothing but a broad policy, world-wide in scope, can preserve these States. Furthermore, this policy must be built upon the ideal of social welfare; for, says Masaryk, "Democracy is the political form of the humane ideal." It is with this ideal in mind that Masaryk, as President, and Mr. Benes, as Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia, have taken their places among the real leaders of post-war Europe.

CHILE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. By *Henry Clay Evans, Jr.* Pp. 234 and index. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1927. Price, \$2.50.

Dr. Evans, who is professor of history in the University of Florida, has taken Chile for the subject of this study largely because, as he says, "No better field could be chosen to illustrate the difficulties that beset the path of American diplomats when they attempt to assert leadership for their own country in its relations with the sensitive and proud people of smaller nations." And many of the obstacles to Pan-American accord, he thinks, have their origin in events similar to those which he traces in this book.

In following out this excellent plan, however, the author has apparently failed to verify many of his statements. Errors crop up continually. Newspaper reports seem to have been his sources instead of personal knowledge or the existing official documents. This is regrettable because it renders his book an unreliable text.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. By *Louis Martin Sears.* Pp. 625 and index. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$3.50.

The thread of American foreign relations is relatively a simple one, but it is necessary

to follow it with a broad knowledge of history as a basis. These relations, too, are becoming more and more important to the voter. Our democracy has always been committed to the notion that the people are to dictate, if not the details of policies, at least the general plan and the ends to be gained. The World War jolted our electorate awake to the fact that international relations must be a matter of concern to the whole body of voters.

This book by Professor Sears, of Purdue University, is one of the best on this subject which has lately come from the press. It is constructed on excellent lines. The table of contents is analytical. There is a map, a thorough bibliography for each chapter, a chronological table and a full index. The running narrative is conversational in style and the history stands forth, not only clear, but very much alive. Footnotes give references for those who wish to pursue any topics more thoroughly. In addition to its excellencies of plan and manner, the book is written in a temper of broad-mindedness which gives unpartisan recognition to the principles voiced on both sides of recent political conflicts touching international foreign relations.

COPPER SUN. By *Countee Cullen.* Pp. 89. Harper & Brother, New York, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

The work of this negro poet is becoming now well known. His poems have appeared in *Harper's*, *The Nation*, and other magazines. Naturally, too, in "Opportunity," that particularly good paper under negro editorship. The poems in this collection are varied in form, though there is little unrhymed verse. Yet the sense of freedom, even in the sonnets, is vivid. Some are very thoughtful, notably "Uncle Jim." "The Litany of the Dark People" is profound. So, too, is "Love's Way," beginning—

Love is not love demanding all, itself
Withholding aught; Love's is the nobler way
Of courtesy, that will not feast, aware
That the beloved hungers. . . .

Mr. Cullen is an adept in the art of compression and of the adequate word. While some poems are light and tropical in tone, others are bitter and a few quietly philosophical. The atmosphere of the collection as a whole, however, is tragically sad.

ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



JULY, 1928

Price 35¢

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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July, 1928

No. 7

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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THE STARS IN THEIR COURSES

THE course of events leads inevitably to a conference of delegates from all the nations for the purpose of perfecting the various plans for the renunciation of war as a national policy. Never before has there been such a widespread desire to prevent war. This is shown by the fact that practically all the governments of the world—certainly all the peoples—welcome with marked enthusiasm the Kellogg-Briand effort to renounce war in favor of the pacific settlement of international disputes. It may be that the Kellogg Treaty will be brought to ratification by the exchange of diplomatic notes. We hope that this will prove to be the case. But the ratification of the Kellogg Treaty will not establish international peace. The treaty as proposed is not enough.

This does not mean that we agree with the French objections to this treaty. If adopted, the treaty would neither restrict nor impair any nation's right to act in its defense. We agree with Mr. Kellogg that the right of self-defense is inherent in every sovereign State, that it is implicit in every treaty. There is no vital inconsistency between the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaty, at least we hope not. If the Covenant of the League of Nations imposes any affirmative obligations to go to war, it should be changed. We believe the consensus of opinion in the League is that it is for member States to decide how far they are bound to use their military forces under

the terms of any article in the Covenant. Faced with actual situations, a number of States have so decided heretofore. While it is a highly technical matter and, like all technical situations, liable to a variety of interpretations, France is wrong in suspecting that the treaty is in any sense in conflict with the letter or spirit of the treaties of Locarno. It is easy to see that the enforcement clauses of the Locarno treaties would not be appealed to until after one of the parties has attempted aggression in violation of its pledge. Furthermore, Mr. Kellogg is of the opinion, and we agree, that if all parties to the Locarno agreement should become also parties of the Kellogg plan there would be a double assurance that no nation would adopt war as a national policy, for all States would then be normally bound by both the Locarno and the multi-lateral treaties.

If, as the French say, the Kellogg Treaty violates certain unspecified treaties guaranteeing neutrality, then those treaties, too, should be changed forthwith. In any event, where all States are parties to the treaty, no State could attack a neutralized State without violating the treaty. If such attack were made, therefore, France would be released from her obligations under the treaty. Mr. Kellogg is quite justified in the view that if a neutralized State were attacked by a State not a party to the treaty France would then also be left with a free hand in the premises. Let us repeat, we are for the Kellogg Treaty in its simple, unvarnished form. We hope that it can be brought to

ratification by all the parties through correspondence.

But there are a number of reasons why an international conference will have to be called before the treaty can become adequately operative. In the first place, to be effective it must be universal, including all States, be they as large as the Soviet Union or as small as Panama. International law is international, applicable to all, great and small. Under the principle of equality before the law, any State may prove to be a menace. We do not agree with Mr. Kellogg that the coming into force among six great powers of his treaty "would be a practical guarantee against a second World War." We resent the theory that might establishes right. One important necessity of the situation is that such a treaty can be truly hopeful only when it has been accepted freely by all.

Furthermore, there are matters of detail which can be settled only through study, conference, and agreement. What is meant, for instance, by the word "war"? When may it be said that a nation has passed from a condition of peace to a condition of war? A large bloc of public opinion in Germany would refuse even now to agree with the joint resolution of the United States Congress of April 2, 1917, that a state of war had been thrust upon the United States. When did the Russo-Japanese War begin—with the start of the fleet from St. Petersburg or the arrival off Port Arthur? Does the word as used in the Kellogg Treaty include an economic war? If so, when would an economic situation become an economic war? Would it apply to military action by the United States against a European power bent upon extending its institutions in America? Would it apply to our present behavior in Nicaragua? What is meant by "war"? Manifestly, this word needs to be studied and defined.

Then what is meant by the word "renounce"? What is meant by the phrase "renounce as a national policy"? If a nation fares forth in self-defense to shoot up its neighbors, at some moment the operation becomes war. Could a nation carry on war in any form without conducting it as a national policy? When does a matter become a policy? When a national policy? Since war is the renunciation of treaties, how far is a treaty not to renounce treaties effective or legally valid? There is a proposal that all disputes between the parties shall be settled only by pacific means. What is meant by "disputes"? What by "pacific means"? By what agencies shall they be "settled"? And how?

These may seem trivial matters. They are not. They are technical difficulties; and technical difficulties are the very essence of international relations, often provocative of war.

Thus an international conference for the sake of definition and clarity, if nothing else, is inevitable. It may be possible to rest too confidently upon a "due process of law;" but the Kellogg-Briand proposal is launched upon that course, as it should be, and the end lies through a conference of all the nations.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY RECEIVES GOLD MEDAL FROM DUTCH SOCIETY

THE American Peace Society, which has just celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary with a World Conference on International Justice, received June 6 from the *Vereeniging Voor Volkenbond en Vrede*, with headquarters at The Hague, a gold medal known as the "*Grotius-Medaille*."

When, in 1925, the world was commemorating the three-hundredth anniversary of Hugo Grotius' masterpiece, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, the distinguished Dutch Society instituted a Grotius Medal,

in gold and silver, to be presented each year, on the 18th of May, to some corporation or person "proving to possess, in the sphere of Grotius' work, exceptional capacity." In 1925 such a gold medal was presented to the French and Swedish Foreign Ministers, representing two countries with which the memory of Grotius is closely connected. The same year the Society awarded eight bronze medals to distinguished foreigners, among whom was Vice-President Charles G. Dawes. In 1926 gold medals were presented to the Spanish Academy for the Study of Law in honor of Francisco Suarez, and to the ancient University of Salamanca in honor of Francisco de Vitoria, distinguished forerunners of Grotius. In 1927 a medal was presented to Dr. H. A. van Karnebeek, Dutch ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to Dr. J. Loudon, the Netherlands Minister in Paris and Chairman of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. In the letter of transmission to the American Peace Society, dated May 22, the officers of the Dutch Society say:

"The General Executive Officers of our Society in assembly this year have unanimously decided to present in 1928 only one gold medal, and to award this to the *American Peace Society* in honor of its one-hundredth anniversary. Our General Executive has been led to do this by the consideration that not only may the American Peace Society be termed the oldest existing national peace society in the world, but also that it has in the past, as in the present, shown splendid service in the cause of peace in general; that it has shown interest in the development of international law, and that it has constantly enlightened American opinion in a thorough manner, both with regard to peace and to the association of nations. . . . We should highly appreciate hearing from the Executive of your Society that the presentation of the medal to the American Peace Society, in the country that has always, and in such great measure, interested itself in Grotius'

work, is agreeable, and that it may also be regarded as a proof of the friendly feeling with which we in Holland are always inspired towards America."

OBLIGATORY ARBITRATION ON THE WAY

THE announcement June 20 that all the republics of the Western Hemisphere had been invited to take part in a Pan American Conference on conciliation and arbitration, to meet in Washington December 10, 1928, was an important announcement. The invitation was telegraphed by the Department of State, June 19, through the American diplomatic posts in those countries.

The subject of conciliation and arbitration came before the Sixth International Conference of American States at Havana last February too late for the conference to prepare a suitable convention. After a brief discussion, however, all the questions presented were referred to a subcommittee. This subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Raul Fernandez, of Brazil, proposed a resolution which was unanimously approved and adopted by the Conference. The resolution is given in full in Secretary Kellogg's invitation.

The invitation follows in full text:

"I have the honor to invite Your Excellency's attention to a resolution passed at the Sixth International Conference of American States at Havana, Cuba, on February 18, which reads as follows:

"*Resolution.*—The Sixth International Conference of American States resolves:

"Whereas the American republics desire to express that they condemn war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations; and

"Whereas the American republics have the most fervent desire to contribute in every possible manner to the development of international means for the pacific settlement of conflicts between States:

"1. That the American republics adopt obligatory arbitration as the means

which they will employ for the pacific solution of their international differences of a juridical character.

"2. That the American republics will meet in Washington within the period of one year in a conference of conciliation and arbitration to give conventional form to the realization of this principle, with the minimum exceptions which they may consider indispensable to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the States, as well as matters of a domestic concern, and to the exclusion also of matters involving the interest or referring to the action of a State not a party to the convention.

"3. That the governments of the American republics will send for this end plenipotentiary juriconsults with instructions regarding the maximum and the minimum which they would accept in the extension of obligatory arbitral jurisdiction.

"4. That the convention or conventions of conciliation and arbitration which may be concluded should leave open a protocol for progressive arbitration which would permit the development of this beneficent institution up to its maximum.

"5. That the convention or conventions which may be agreed upon, after signature, should be submitted immediately to the respective governments for their ratification in the shortest possible time.'

"As under the terms of this resolution the conference must be held within one year, it gives me great pleasure, in accordance therewith, to extend a cordial invitation to Your Excellency's Government to participate in a conference on conciliation and arbitration to be held in Washington commencing December 10, 1928.

"While not desiring in any way to limit the discretion of the various countries as to their representation, I venture to suggest that each government appoint two plenipotentiary juriconsults, with such advisers and experts as they may desire, to represent it at this conference. In this connection I am pleased to inform Your Excellency that the United States will be represented at the said conference by the

Secretary of State and the Honorable Charles Evans Hughes.

(Signed) FRANK B. KELLOGG."

The Conference also adopted, on the proposal of Mexico, the following resolution, which seemed to have received little publicity in the United States:

"Considering:

"That the American nations should always be inspired in solid co-operation for justice and the general good;

"That nothing is so opposed to this co-operation as the use of violence;

"That there is no international controversy, however serious it may be, which cannot be peacefully arranged if the parties desire in reality to arrive at a pacific settlement;

"That war of aggression constitutes an international crime against the human species:

"Resolves:

"1. All aggression is considered illicit and as such is declared prohibited;

"2. The American States will employ all pacific means to settle conflicts which may arise between them."

The Conference next December may not pave the way for compulsory arbitration in all cases. It is probable that the nations will reserve their independence and sovereignty, matters of domestic concern, and matters involving the interests or referring to the action of a State not a party to the convention. Nations will not sign away their right to prevent intrusion and pressure in matters not justiciable; but within the field of juridical questions it is fair to presume that the nations of the Western Hemisphere are soon to adopt as for themselves the principle and practice of obligatory arbitration. They have agreed upon it in principle. It is reasonable to expect that they will adopt it in practice. This will be a great step in advance over the failure of the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty of 1897, which failed because of its compulsory arbitration clause. It will register a step

in advance over the failure for the same reason of the Hay treaties of 1904. We believe that the United States Senate will approve a multilateral treaty providing for genuine obligatory arbitration of justiciable questions. We agree with Charles Evans Hughes that "we could make no more hopeful endeavor to cement our friendship with Latin American countries or to justify the leadership we desire to take in the cause of peace."

AGAIN THE MINORITIES

THE problem of the minorities who, following the war, found themselves involuntary residents of a new State, toward which they felt little allegiance, remains a thorny thing. Italy is quite aware of this, as she contemplates the situation in Istria, Trieste, and the Tyrol. Something of the nature of the case appears in Mr. Gordon Gordon-Smith's article elsewhere in these columns. The picture in that article is probably not overdrawn. A pathetic aspect of the situation lies in the fact that the peacemakers in Paris did not think it necessary to provide in the treaties any assurance of a decent treatment of foreign minorities by the Great Powers on the assumption that the Great Powers were incapable of ill-treating a foreign minority.

Our advices from Croatia and Slovenia lead us to believe that the bitterness in those countries against Italy is growing more and more serious. The prevailing opinion in those sections of Yugoslavia is that the Italian dictator will not continue to screw down the safety valve indefinitely. One correspondent writes: "Some day the boiler will burst, and I can assure you that it will make some bang." He finds the only hope to be in an aroused public opinion against the ruthless oppression of the minorities, especially in Tyrol and Istria.

We doubt if American public opinion, however, can be greatly aroused in the premises. It will probably be passed off with a remark that the world is confronted with a condition and not a theory, that it may have been a mistake to hand over to Italy, for military and strategic reasons, a quarter of a million Tyrolese and over one-half million Yugoslavs, both races living in compact masses; but that of such are the children of war.

A BALKAN FEDERATION

THERE is too little evidence of progress toward a federation of the Balkan States. This is a misfortune. It is probably due to the fact that France and Great Britain are too busy at home and in more distant parts of the world to interest themselves effectively in this important business. Undoubtedly there is a widespread sentiment throughout the Balkans themselves in favor of a closer mutual co-operation, of some form of a customs union, a Balkan Locarno, somewhat along the lines adopted by the Scandinavian countries.

The idea is not a new one. It was advanced in Greece as far back as 1891, as a means of eliminating Turkey from Europe. The plan failed because of the opposition of Stambuloff of Bulgaria. It was revived in 1909 by Milovanovich of Serbia, during the Young Turkish Revolution under Enver Bey. It was supported later by Gueshoff of Bulgaria, and still later by Venizelos of Greece, as a means of eliminating the Turk from Europe. The World War turned the thoughts of Balkan statesmen to other channels for a time.

The plan for a Balkan Federation, however, is appearing again in a new form. Turkey has ceased to be a factor in the problem. We now have a greater Rumania, a new Yugoslavia, an enlarged

Greece, a thriving Bulgaria, and an active Albania, where not so long ago ruled the Ottoman Empire. Russian influence has dwindled. There is no German or Austro-Hungarian drive for a road to Saloniki or a railway to Bagdad. The prospects for uniting the Balkan States, therefore, ought to be brighter. The new fly in the ointment, however, seems to be Italian opposition. Italy is looking for markets and places for her surplus population. She is opposed to the Balkan consolidation.

The interest of America lies in the fact that we have investments in the Balkans. It is of some importance to us, therefore, that the agricultural, mineral, and shipping resources of the Balkans should prosper. Americans view with hope the efforts to establish constitutional government within the Balkan States and the growth of democratic policies. There are nearly fifty millions of those our Near Eastern neighbors. What they need is a series of customs and economic adjustments. The Little Entente has favored some sort of Balkan Federation. It is unreasonable to expect that Italy will find it profitable to continue her opposition, for a healthy Balkan commercial life is an essential condition for the best interests of Italy.

EUROPEAN BUSINESS

AS REGARDS labor, natural resources, and capital, European business is well on to the pre-war level. In the Succession States industries are for the most part better equipped today than before the war. Technical efficiency has improved throughout most of the countries of Europe. New industries have appeared with surprising rapidity. Budgets are balanced, currencies are stable, and trade between European States, particularly the Succession States, is lively. Both production and consumption are on the increase.

Germany has met all her payments under the Dawes Plan.

The growth of cartels threatens a "trust problem" of world proportions. In banking, manufacture, transportation, and mining there have been great international mergers linking up leading industries in all parts of the world. The plan is to curtail production, to fix prices, to sell jointly, and to allocate markets. This development is due to a variety of influences, such as mass production, the over-expansion of factory facilities, competition, new changes in the control of raw material. It represents an attempt on the part of business men to do what governments have failed to accomplish. The copper cartel controls about 90 per cent of the world's output. More than four-fifths of the rayon production is under the control of a cartel. The Swedish match cartel is a world monopoly, as is the aluminum cartel. There is a Franco-German potash syndicate, a German chemical trust, a British chemical trust. These movements are in the main favored by the social Democratic and Labor parties, on the ground that they represent an evolution toward State control and ownership. The American attitude toward these combinations seems to be the same as that held toward domestic combinations in restraint of trade. The whole problem was discussed at the World Economic Conference in Geneva, in May, 1927. The Conference concluded with regard to these combinations that publicity constitutes one of the most important means of preventing abuses.

The relatively low wages prevailing throughout Europe lowers the consumption and aggravates the difficulties due to overproduction. Co-operation between the business interests of the various States is handicapped by developing protectionist policies. The burden of taxation is very high, weighing heavily both on

the consumer and the producer. This is due in part to the public and private indebtedness. The impoverishing effects of war in places have not entirely been overcome. Average earnings have not yet reached the pre-war level, whereas prices are from 20 per cent to 50 per cent higher. European consumption has not kept pace with production, due in part to the industrial developments overseas. The problem of increasing real wages, the heart of the difficulty, has not been solved. Unless Europe discovers new means of subsistence for its surplus population, more intense and efficient work, it is reasonable to expect that the standards of living must deteriorate still further.

For these reasons the arguments for a customs union, at least of the Central European States, are finding a better press. The difficulty seems to be a fear that a customs union would inevitably lead to a complete political union and to the disappearance of independence and sovereignty. The more practical business interests, therefore, prefer to turn to preferential duties similar to those in Scandinavia, between the Balkan States, between Spain and Portugal, and within the British Empire. We are indebted to Mr. Vladimir Nosek, distinguished economist of Czechoslovakia, for reminding us of the suggestion in the peace treaties, that of St. Germain and Trianon, that there should be a preferential agreement between Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary. Dr. Nosek writes:

“In practice there are two ways in which this régime could be carried out: either through a multilateral, collective agreement of all the six States, or through separate agreements between always only two of them. The first way appears at first sight simpler, but in practice it would be probably more difficult to achieve an agreement in this manner. In a collective agreement each of the States would grant the others reductions of say

10–30 per cent off its minimal tariff. The other alternative would be somewhat more lengthy and complicated, but it would be more elastic, more thorough, and more satisfactory, as it would leave ample scope for detailed examination of the mutual interests involved and of the sacrifices which each of them would be prepared to make. This second method would have to be based on an internal Central European most-favored-nation treatment, so that all the remaining four States would, at least theoretically, benefit from preferential reductions negotiated by the two States concluding such an agreement. We assume, of course, that all of them would in advance express in principle their readiness to enter this preferential union. In practice it would suffice if treaties were concluded by Austria with Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, and by Czechoslovakia with Poland and Hungary; that means altogether five, but in any case not more than fifteen treaties.”

Such a preferential union would carry all the advantages peculiar to large economic areas. It would promote trade relations and raise the standard of living. It would facilitate financial, transport, and other industrial operations. It would promote specialization both in industry and agriculture. Indeed, the advantages would far outweigh the disadvantages.

THE LIGHT OF CHINA

THE darkness that is China cannot be permanent. Darkness there is, a plenty. Our Western World in 1926 witnessed something of the revolutionary struggle spreading from Canton, in the far south, through Chang-Sha, as far north as Hankow and Kiukiang, on the River Yangtze. The campaign reopened in the spring of 1927 and advanced to Nanking, nearer the mouth of the Yangtze, and to Shanghai, on the coast. Before the end of 1927 it had reached as far north as Hunan and the borders of

the Province of Shantung. During 1928 the Nationalist forces have swept through Shantung; also along the line of the Hankow-Peking Railway to Peking, and to Tientsin, which was captured June 12. But for the Western World these major operations have been obscured in an impenetrable darkness.

The Nationalist occupation of Peking, however, seems to mark the completion of the military campaign to bring China under the control of the Nationalist forces, the campaign that had started from Canton in 1926. As a result, the prospects of a united China seem to be brighter.

There are complications with Japan. The withdrawal of the ex-bandit and northern war-lord, Chang Tso-Lin, from Peking on June 1 did not solve the Chinese problem. Japan had issued on May 18 an ultimatum that the Chinese Civil War must not spread to Manchuria. The forces at Nanking did not interpret this as a friendly act. Indeed, they replied on May 29 that they themselves would take proper steps to protect foreigners in Manchuria. Furthermore, Japan had dispatched troops to the capital of Shantung for the purpose of protecting the life and property of Japanese residents there. This was viewed in some quarters of China as intervention.

Japan has, however, notified the League of Nations that her action implied nothing of the sort, adding that the Japanese troops will be withdrawn from Shantung as soon as the necessity for their presence there ceases to exist. This, it may be added, was the policy expressed by the Japanese Ambassador to the United States at the Centennial Celebration of the American Peace Society, during May, in Cleveland. Japan holds that the situation in China is such that foreign residents cannot depend upon the Chinese authorities alone for the protection of their

lives and property. The Japanese have pointed out that, in spite of the dispatch of troops to Shantung, the Tsinan incident occurred, in which fourteen Japanese residents were killed, fifteen were wounded, and one hundred and thirty-one Japanese houses were looted by Chinese soldiers. The text of the Japanese statement to the League of Nations is printed elsewhere in these columns as an international document. It is a convincing statement.

The darkness of China has not entirely disappeared. There are no adequate means of communication, either by rail or other vehicles, from one part of that vast domain to another. It is necessary to take a map to sense the importance of this fact. Were the United States to have no larger proportion of highways and railroads than has China, it would be quite impossible to carry on the government. The result in China is that 90 per cent of the population is in constant danger of famine. Another, and perhaps the most serious, source of darkness in China is the prevailing illiteracy. Government, particularly republican government, and illiteracy cannot thrive together. What has thrived in China, particularly since the foundation of the Republic, February 12, 1912, has been personal quarrels among military chieftains, themselves selfish and illiterate, struggles between various military alliances and party machines.

We have little sympathy with the view that China's difficulties have been due to interference from outsiders; but the situation is not improved by the presence of the hundreds of foreign battleships in Chinese waters. The trouble with Republican China is the lack of unity in her leadership, the want of an informed public opinion, and the absence of any effective parliament.

Within the last few weeks, however, events have lent encouragement to the

belief that the Chinese people are themselves more clearly aware of their problem and of its solution. When Dr. C. C. Wu, representing the newly established Nationalist Government at Nanking, asked our State Department for an immediate revision of the Chinese treaty, allowing China to manage her own finances and her own post-office system, and for the abolition of extraterritoriality, it was an evidence of the new health in China. We hope that, with the establishment of the capital of China in Nanking, a government will be established that will lead not only to the recognition by all other governments, but to the adjustment of the wrongs peculiar to the treaties now in force. Dr. Wu says that China has no inclination to adjust any one portion of the old treaties, but that his country hopes that the United States will see fit to scrap the entire lot and start new relations with the new government on a perfectly clean international slate. Dr. Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister to the United States, represents officially the Nationalist Government in this country and displays the Nationalist flag over the Legation in Washington. It would seem that the unsavory military régime in China is nearing its end. The United States will make no mistake in recognizing the new Chinese Government.

The light of China comes to us from that greater unity, that reliance upon education in the interest of a wider confidence and responsibility, evidence of which has reached us increasingly within the last month. The light of China is that China has determined to solve her own problems in her own way. To encourage her in that resolution is the supreme strategy of every other power, particularly of Japan, Great Britain, and the United States. There is no more reason for our country to mix in the political quarrels of China than in those of Europe.

If there is any defense of the right to self-determination anywhere in the world, that place just now is China.

AS TO MANCHURIA

AS THE tide of civil war in China has swept toward the north, interest in the future of Manchuria has increased. Japan has extensive interests in that portion of China and has taken the position that she cannot allow that territory to be made the prey of civil war. The attitude of Japan has been definitely stated. She has declared that if disturbances spread to Manchuria, menacing Japan's special position and rights and interests in that region, they would be defended at all costs, and that proper steps would be taken to preserve those regions, but as far as possible, of course, in accordance with the wishes of the people of Manchuria. It has been pointed out in Japan that when Heligoland was ceded by Great Britain to Germany, Gladstone, as leader of the opposition, suggested that the inhabitants should be consulted, and that any who desired to remain British subjects should be permitted to do so. It is generally believed in Japan that a plebiscite in Manchuria would demand intervention as a means of saving the Manchurian peoples from the evils of civil war. Of course, the fact is that a plebiscite in Manchuria is impossible. The attitude of Japan, therefore, is that she must decide her own course quite as the United States has done in areas adjacent to the Caribbean. The Japanese attitude of mind is that when a fire is raging people will do everything in their power to save their property, without overmuch regard for the law of trespass. Japan wishes to respect the independence of her neighbor, but she regards her own safety as more fundamental. In the case of conflict between the two, Japan will act upon the principle of self-preservation.

It is an interesting aspect of the situation that Japan feels justified in intervening in Manchuria to prevent the devastation of the territory where she possesses legitimate interest, and that she is acting within her rights under the principles of international law. In this she is probably correct. Authorities in international law have held that a State is justified in showing an interest in the affairs of other States. If this were not so, there could be no family of nations. If a State takes an interest in international affairs and expresses approval or disapproval of its neighbors, with no intention of interference, it might easily end in foolishness. Neither selfish isolation nor undignified remonstrance is a proper attitude for an honorable and self-respecting State. In his principles of international law, Lawrence has said that States "should intervene very sparingly, and only on the clearest grounds of justice and necessity; but when they do intervene they should make it clear to all concerned that their voice must be attended to and their wishes carried out." The attitude of Japan in Manchuria seems to be based upon this principle. Indeed, the Japanese go further and believe that by intervention in Manchuria they are saving the people of that country from suffering and poverty. Japan finds no difficulty in the situation except that of avoiding the appearance of helping one faction or the other in China. The fact seems to be, however, that the Japanese are favorable at last to the Nationalist movement in China, that, indeed, they would do their share toward bringing Manchuria under the Nationalist control. But since the Nationalists of China are evidently to form the Chinese Government, and since Manchuria is a part of China, it is to be hoped that the necessity for Japanese intervention in Manchuria will altogether disappear.

The world can rely upon the statesman-

ship of Japan. At the Washington Conference in 1922 she succeeded in wiping out the suspicions created in 1915 by the twenty-one demands, by the Ishii-Lansing agreement of 1915, and by the Shantung controversy at the Paris Peace Conference. When, in 1922, Japan retired from Shantung she undertook to make the nine-power treaty the basis of her policy. She has since that time aimed to unite the powers in the interests of China. It is true that Japan has adopted something of a Monroe Doctrine of her own in the Far East. But she disavows any claim to an exclusive "sphere of influence" in Manchuria any more than does the United States in Nicaragua. Baron Tanaka has said more than once that it is Japan's policy to maintain the open door and to keep Manchuria free to the trade and enterprise of all nations. Japan grants that the maintenance of peace and order in Manchuria is the function of the Chinese Government, and she hopes that China will prove capable of achieving it.

PEKING, the historic Manchu capital of China, is being changed in two particulars: First, its name is to be Peiping, which, being interpreted, means "northern peace"; second, while it is proposed to preserve the historic buildings at Peking and to continue the place as a center of art and culture, it is no longer to be the capital. These are the two decisions reached by the Nationalist Government Political Council, which proposes to develop Nanking as the capital of China.

EVIDENCE of the improved economic condition in Central Europe becomes clearer as the statistics for 1927 become available. From the annual report of the National Bank of Czechoslo-

vakia we find a summary of the economic developments in that country as follows:

"The conditions of the money market were easy, the creation of capital increased and the rates were lower. The financial situation of the State was, and continues to be, favorable; no new government loans were issued, and old debts were being repaid. Industry reported good employment, the volume of foreign trade rose, and the crops were better than in 1926. The conditions for further development are favorable. The monetary ease continues notwithstanding the increased business activity; building shows signs of further expansion, and the incidence of direct taxation is lower. In view of this we need not anticipate in the near future any change provided that the favorable international development continues."

MR. STEPHEN G. PORTER, Chairman of our United States Foreign Service Buildings Commission, announced, on June 7, that the government has approved the purchase of the northwesterly corner fronting on the Place de la Concorde, in Paris, comprising approximately an acre of ground, to be used as a site for an American Government office building, for \$1,220,000. Although the plans for the structure have not been prepared for consideration by the Foreign Service Buildings Commission, composed of Secretaries Kellogg, Mellon, and Hoover, Senator Borah, Senator Swanson, Congressman J. Charles Linthicum, of Baltimore, and Mr. Porter, the government expects to carry out the original plan for a building on this site prepared by the great French architect, Ange-Jacques Gabriel, who in the reign of Louis XV was responsible for the monumental symmetry of the construction of the Place de la Concorde as we see it today. Such a building as the government now has in mind would correspond with the architecture of the Hotel Florentine, the present

residence of Edward Rothschild, located at the corner of the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue Florentine, and will balance the two larger structures of the Ministry of Marine and the Hotel Crillon, in accordance with the original Gabriel designs.

THE State Department is well advised in extending its invitation to all of the Locarno nations to participate in the treaty for the renunciation of war, Great Britain, her five Dominions and India, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, bringing the total to fifteen participants. Incidentally this will include approximately two-thirds of the members of the Council of the League of Nations. In our judgment, however, this is not enough. A multi-lateral treaty for the renunciation of war should be accepted by all nations.

ALL manuscripts and books, many of which are now unknown, are soon to be catalogued on the lines adopted by American libraries. The importance of this lies in the fact that it will then be a relatively simple matter to know where to locate any important work. Prof. J. C. Hanson, Professor of Library Science at the University of Chicago, arrived in New York, June 19, from Rome, where he had been cataloguing the Vatican Library, bringing with him this important announcement. Professor Hanson said that, in cataloguing the Library of the Vatican, many valuable manuscripts, some of them referring to early American history, had been discovered. Scholars the world over, familiar with the chaotic condition of many of the world's most important manuscripts, will be encouraged and the cause of a better international understanding inevitably advanced.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Convocation of the XXVth Conference

BY DECISION of the Interparliamentary Council, the XXVth Conference of the Union will be held in Berlin from Thursday, August 23, to Tuesday, August 28, 1928.

The invitation of the German group, which was presented with the full support of the Government of the Reich, was unanimously accepted by the Council on August 31, 1927, in Paris.

The sittings will be held in the Reichstag.

The Conference will be opened on Thursday, August 23, at 10 a. m., punctually.

Agenda of the Conference

1. Election of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Conference.

2. General debate on the report of the Secretary General.

Mr. M. W. F. Treub, former Minister of Finance (Holland), president of the Committee for Economic and Financial Questions, and Mr. P. Munch, former Minister of Defense (Denmark), member of the Folketing, president of the Committee for the Reduction of Armaments, will open the debate.

3. The evolution of the parliamentary system in our times.

Rapporteur: Dr. Wirth, ex-Chancellor of the German Reich.

4. Migration problems.

Rapporteur: Dr. Secherov (Yugoslavia), member of the Skupshtina.

5. Declaration of the rights and duties of States.

Rapporteur: M. Henri La Fontaine, Vice-President of the Belgian Senate, President of the Belgian group.

6. Revision of Articles 3, 4, 14, § 14 and 16, of the statutes of the Union.

Rapporteur: Mr. Stanislas Posner, vice-marshal of the Polish Diet, Senator.

7. Communication of the names of the delegates of the groups to the Interparliamentary Council from the XXVth to the XXVIth Conference.

According to Article 12 of the statutes of the Union, each group must nominate its two delegates to the Council at least a month before the opening of the Conference. Nominations are to be transmitted to the Interparliamentary Bureau and by the latter to the Conference.

8. Election of a member of the Executive Committee to take the place of Dr. J. Brabec (Czechoslovakia), the retiring member.

According to Article 16 of the statutes, the retiring member is not eligible for re-election, and his place must be taken by a member belonging to another group.

All the rapporteurs have been asked to prepare a summary of their reports, which, together with the texts of the resolutions to be submitted to the Conference, will be printed in the "Preliminary Documents" of the Conference and sent in good time to all its members.

Time Table of the Conference

The sittings will be held each day from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. and from 3 p. m. onward.

Thursday, August 23, morning: Opening sitting. General debate on the report of the Secretary General.

Afternoon: Continuation of the general debate.

Friday, August 24, morning: Continuation and conclusion of the general debate.

Afternoon: Debate on "The evolution of the parliamentary system."

Saturday, August 25, morning: Continuation of the debate on "The evolution of the parliamentary system."

Afternoon: Debate on the revision of articles 3, 4, 14, §14, 15, and 16, of the statutes.

Sunday August 26: Free.

Monday, August 27, morning and afternoon: Debate on migration problems.

Tuesday, August 28, morning: Debate on the "Declaration of the rights and duties of States."

Afternoon: Conclusion of the debate on the "Declaration of the rights and duties of States." Elections. Close of the Conference.

American Delegation

The American delegation to the Berlin Conference is made up at this writing as follows: Senators Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky; Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas; Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma; Walter Edge, of New Jersey, and Pat Harrison, of Mississippi; Representatives Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, President of the American group; Fred Britten, of Illinois; Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania; F. H. La Guardia, of New York; Roy G. Fitzgerald, of Ohio; J. C. Linthicum, of Maryland; Fred Purnell, of Indiana; Stephen G. Porter, of Pennsylvania; Edgar Howard, of Nebraska; Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia; Sol Bloom, of New York; Cyrenus Cole, of Iowa; Richard Bartholdt, ex-Member of Congress from Missouri; and Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the American group, Washington, D. C.

PREMIER POINCARÉ'S DECLARATION OF POLICY

ON JUNE 7 the French Chamber of Deputies met to receive from Premier Poincaré a declaration of his government's policy. Coming after the election, in which his administration was fully upheld, M. Poincaré's speech was awaited with a great deal of interest, especially as to the measures he was expected to announce with regard to the future of the French monetary situation. On this particular score M. Poincaré failed to gratify the general interest, but some of his more general statements were of considerable interest and important.

Political Problems at Home and Abroad

The following are the principal points from M. Poincaré's declaration as regards political problems at home and abroad:

The election results indicate that the country approves of the government's work in the past.

There is no desire to experiment with new forms of government, as the republic and the parliamentary system have proved the most favorable to liberty and progress.

The government appeals for the continuation of the support accorded it by Parliament, in the interests of the necessary legislation.

The principle of the right to form professional associations is admitted, but in the case of State employees the State must reserve the right to decide. A law must be passed as soon as possible deciding the duties and rights of State employees.

The government intends to safeguard the laws regulating the neutrality of the schools by which all discussion of religious, political, or philosophical convictions likely to provoke discord is excluded from public educational institutions.

The government intends to preserve intact to Alsace and Lorraine the special rights with regard to religion and education which they have always enjoyed.

In a Europe still troubled, even the most peaceful nations must meet the cost of their own security. Since the 1870 frontier has been restored to France by virtue of international treaties, France has a duty not to leave it exposed, and this is bound to be a source of inevitable expenditure.

The peaceful intentions of France cannot be questioned. Peace at home is conditional upon peace abroad.

Backed by foreign money, Communism has been at work, both in France and the colonies, to destroy the authority of the state. Repression is not enough to suppress it, and it must be met by measures of reform, but meanwhile law and order must be rigorously enforced.

It is for the victors of the war to hold out a hand to the vanquished. France has on every occasion shown her preference for regulating disputes by arbitration rather than war, and is ready for rapprochements that do not envisage the revision of treaties. France asks nothing of any but that they should keep engagements entered into with her. France is prepared to examine problems and accept a settlement in the spirit of conciliation so long as neither security nor reparations are prejudiced. So far from desiring to iso-

late France, the government desires to identify her more and more closely with European and world affairs. It is convinced that no nation has the right either to retire within itself or to dominate others, and that upon the prosperity of each one depends the prosperity of the world in general.

Problems of Economics and Finance

Turning to questions of public finance, M. Poincaré expressed his satisfaction that under the shelter of republican institutions the government had been able to undertake the budgetary and monetary reform to relieve the treasury, to consolidate the most dangerous of the short-term debts and begin to redeem the debt, and to bring about the actual stabilization of the franc at a rate much higher than that when it took office.

Should deficits be produced as the result of extravagance, not only would any measure of monetary reform prove illusory, but a few weeks would see the loss of what has been gained so far.

Then he said:

If we wish to restore our currency within a short time to a permanently healthy condition, if we wish to give it official stability, in a word, if we wish to prepare, without too much disturbance, for the cessation of an arbitrary rate of exchange and the convertibility of the note into gold, we must get together and maintain after, as well as before, taking the necessary legal steps, a number of elements whose permanent cohesion is indispensable to the success and the durability of every monetary operation. Nothing will have been accomplished, or, rather, everything will have been undone, if after legal steps have been taken by Parliament, the balance of the budget is disturbed, if a policy of administrative economy and retrenchment is not resolutely followed, if the balance of payment becomes unfavorable, if any blunder shakes the confidence of the State's creditors, if in the inevitable adaptation of prices, currency and expenditure, in the necessary readjustment of credits and the progressive determination of the coefficient, there is not at every moment for long months, and even for several years vigilant attention, which leaves nothing to chance

and which keeps careful watch over the reforms desired.

The government's policy will be dominated by gradual reforms with regard to taxation, production, and social legislation. War pensions must be revised on a graduated scale. The complex taxes bearing heavily on food, labor, and the growth of capital must be simplified, and in the next and subsequent budgets taxation must be adjusted in accordance with the ability of the taxed to pay it.

A National Economic Council would be set up for the purpose of making an inquiry into industry, commerce, and agriculture, with commissions of experts to study production, quality, prices, industrial relations, conditions of living and labor, and the interests of the consumer.

The future of the currency depends upon the maintenance of trade, and the government will do everything possible to promote it. Improved housing, social insurance, and the care of public health also form part of the government's program.

The 1929 budget, in spite of the excess of revenue over the estimates, can be balanced only if no demands are made on the State beyond those it can safely meet.

It is generally expected in France that the necessary measures for the legal stabilization of the franc will be taken before the end of the present session of the Chamber—*i. e.*, about the beginning of July.

ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY

ON JUNE 5 Premier Mussolini delivered before the Italian Senate a long speech on his foreign policy. This was the first comprehensive public statement on foreign policy made by the head of the Fascist Government in two years and it was awaited with a great deal of interest.

Italy's Relations with Overseas Countries

Justifying himself by the plea that Italy was a world power, with interests not restricted to any given sector or continent, Signor Mussolini began by reviewing Italian relations with Asia, Africa, and America before he came finally to "our old glorious and still disturbed Europe." These opening sections of the

speech, while interesting as a reminder of Italy's political activities and interests, contained no very arresting statements.

He referred with satisfaction to the supplies of war material and motor-cars and to the forthcoming mission of technical experts which Italy was furnishing to the progressive King of Afghanistan. He laid stress upon the cordial relations existing between Italy and the various Latin countries of South America. He paused to call special attention to the United States, which have become the financial center of the world. The relations between Italy and the United States have been marked during recent years by three principal events: First, the war debt settlement, so skillfully negotiated by Count Volpi; secondly, the refusal of Italy to participate in the abortive Naval Armament Conference; and, thirdly, the signature in April last of a treaty of conciliation and of arbitration. After a brief reference to the Kellogg proposals, Signor Mussolini went on to say that the legislation of the United States on immigration and the maintenance of the quota—subjects which sometimes aroused controversy—"leaves us practically indifferent." For the past two years the Fascist Government has been following a policy of voluntary restriction and control on emigration.

Italy and European Problems

Coming at last to Europe, Signor Mussolini began by paying a very warm tribute to the friendship between Italy and Great Britain. To refer to such friendship was no mere commonplace, he said, but to express a real fact, as that friendship was not merely official, but extended to the masses of the two nations. At the same time, Signor Mussolini insisted that, great as was his regard for Sir Austen Chamberlain, the direction of Italian foreign policy was under no "authorization" or tutelage on the part of the British Foreign Office. After incidentally mentioning that during the recent visit of M. Zaleski, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Rome there had been no talk of political treaties, and again after declaring that relations with Germany "could be infinitely better" if certain irresponsible persons would abandon their absurd claims

to interfere in the internal politics of Italy, Signor Mussolini came to the situation as regards France.

The Duce declared that in that respect the situation today has greatly improved. To realize that one had only to go back to the days when the Franco-Yugoslav pact and the Italo-Albanian treaties of defensive alliance were signed. After the arrival of the new French Ambassador official conversations had begun on March 19. They were developed in two main directions. On the one hand it is proposed to conclude a political pact of friendship, "very wise," according to the phrase of M. Briand. On the other hand, a series of protocols are in view which should liquidate the outstanding points of controversy. Of these, the most important are the position of Italy in Tangier, the status of Italians in Tunisia, and the rectification of the western boundaries of Tripolitania. He would like to add that the development of the conversations gives ground for believing that a happy conclusion would be reached.

Signor Mussolini went on, at considerable length, into the results of the recent conference on Tangier, and explained, in some detail, the exact significance of each successful claim put forward by Italy. He then reverted to the importance of a general accord with France, to emphasize which would, he said, be superfluous.

Relations with Balkan Countries

After a friendly reference to the reviving conditions of trade, Signor Mussolini came to the relations with Yugoslavia. Choosing his words with evident care, he declared that the relations between States having a common frontier must be those either of friendship or of enmity. He rejected the latter alternative and insisted that the treaty of friendship of 1924 was one proof of the pacific policy which Italy had followed loyally. Referring to the Nettuno Conventions of 1925, which were intended to systematize the relations between the two countries to their mutual satisfaction. Signor Mussolini declared that, while Italy has no wish to interfere in the intricate parliamentary vicissitudes of her neighbor, she has been waiting three years for the ratification by Yugoslavia of these conventions, and cannot

subordinate her foreign policy to such vicissitudes. He was constrained to admit that the treaty of 1924 had failed to create a true spirit of friendship. It is useless and dangerous to hide the real facts, which were that in many, and even responsible, circles hostility to Italy is preached on a vast scale. This atmosphere of ignorance of the true Italy, combined with self-intoxication and megalomania, was responsible for the recent outbursts in Spalato, Sebenico, and Zagreb.

The Duce then paid a high tribute to the good will displayed by Dr. Marinkovich, the Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, and said that with the receipt of the Yugoslav reply to his demands the incident was closed from the diplomatic point of view. Nevertheless, he could not close this portion of his speech without addressing a frank word to Yugoslavia. He urged her to realize the true facts, to believe that Italy does not hate her and try to interfere with her pacific advancement, and bade her remember that the Fascist Italy of today is a nation whose friendship was worth cultivating.

Signor Mussolini concluded his review by a few friendly references to Hungary, Greece, Turkey, and Albania. With regard to Greece, he admitted that the intention had been that she should sign a pact with Italy similar to the Italo-Turkish pact, and, though the Greek political crisis and still unsettled differences with Turkey have prevented Greece from so doing, it is not impossible that such relations might in the near future be defined in a diplomatic protocol between Italy and Greece.

General Problems

After this general review Signor Mussolini went on to speak of various general problems, and repeated his convictions that the peace treaties are not necessarily either inviolable or immutable. On the contrary, he thought that there are various clauses in the peace treaties which could be discussed, revised, and improved, with the object of prolonging the duration of the treaties themselves, and at the same time ensuring a longer period of peace.

Finally, the Duce combatted the notion that Fascist Italy was in any way hostile to the League of Nations, though he ad-

mitted that he does not at this stage share the views of certain idealists. The League is useful in many ways. Italy, he concluded, desires peace, but cannot neglect the necessary armed protection for her unity, independence, and security.

Reactions in France

In France two points in Premier Mussolini's speech aroused particular interest: the renewal of his declaration regarding the transience of treaties and his optimism as to the future of Italo-French relations.

The *Journal des Débats*, in an article while careful not to interpret Signor Mussolini's words too literally, points out the extreme danger involved in any campaign for the revision of the treaties imposed by the government of a victorious State. Nobody ever imagined, the newspaper says, that the treaties were eternal, but the maintenance of peace depends upon the observation of accepted obligations. How, it asks, can Signor Mussolini's declared desire for peace be reconciled with his statement that the peace treaties must be revised, and that Italy must be militarily prepared to overcome the resistance which a policy of revision would arouse? Further, how does Signor Mussolini reconcile his attitude towards the German protests against Italian annexation of the upper Adige and the nationalist sentiments of the Slovenes with his own support of treaty revision? How can he express regret that the Treaty of Trianon has wounded the Hungarian people too severely and be surprised at the regrets of other countries, slices of whose territory have been given to Italy by the same treaty. Finally, by encouraging Bulgarian pretensions, Signor Mussolini has raised the whole Balkan problem and has thereby acted in a manner which is contrary to the maintenance of peace. It is important, the newspaper concludes, "that the countries whose independence is threatened should be reassured by those in a position to do so."

Writing of Franco-Italian relations, the *Temps* says:

French public opinion will unanimously appreciate the part of Signor Mussolini's speech in which he affirms that the relations

between Rome and Paris have assumed a character which represents the traditional sentiments of the two countries. By limiting the outstanding points to be settled to Italian participation in the statute of Tangier, the status of Italian nationals in Tunis, and the rectification of the southern frontier of Tripolitania, Signor Mussolini shows that he has understood that, in order to arrive at a friendly settlement of Franco-Italian problems, it is sufficient to state them fairly, taking just consideration of the interests of both countries.

Reactions in Yugoslavia

Generally speaking, the Italian dictator's speech passed practically without any comments in Yugoslavia. The situation there has calmed down considerably after the violent anti-Italian riots which took place in connection with the government's proposal for the ratification of the Nettuno conventions. There seems little doubt that Yugoslavia has now accepted the Nettuno conventions—the Serbs with resignation and the Croats and Slovenes under vigorous protest.

The general feeling in Yugoslavia appears to be that the Italian hold on the Dalmatian coast is unpleasant, but that it is an established fact, which cannot be altered and must therefore be endured. It is recognized that it will probably be a constant source of friction between the two countries, but not a potential cause of war. The thing which really disturbs the Yugoslavs is the Italian position in Albania. This comes out in all press comment on relations with Italy. It is admitted that terms of friendship may be possible on the basis of the Nettuno conventions, but never unless guarantees are obtained against further Italian penetration of the Balkans. The ratification of the Nettuno conventions was delayed in the hope that negotiations might be begun for a general settlement of the disputes between Italy and Yugoslavia, in which Italian pretensions in Albania would have been cleared up. Now that the Yugoslav Government has found itself compelled to dispose of the conventions unconditionally, the implications of the Tirana Treaty remain a greater menace than ever. All the efforts of Yugo-

slav diplomacy will now be directed to drawing the attention of the rest of Europe to the importance of the Albanian question.

With this purpose in view M. Marinkovich, the Foreign Minister, has obtained the inclusion of a discussion on the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia in the agenda of the next meeting of the Little Entente, and it is more than probable that an attempt will be made before long to bring the interpretation of the Tirana Pact before the League of Nations. Unless Yugoslavia can be convinced that Italy's hold on Albania does not mean potential danger to her communications through the Vardar Valley with Saloniki, it will be idle for the two governments to talk about friendly relations.

ITALO-TURKISH PACT

THE Italo-Turkish treaty of "neutrality, conciliation, and judicial regulation," signed in Rome on May 30, is the result of negotiations which have been in progress between the two countries for some time. An impetus to these negotiations was given early in April, when the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, on his way from the meeting of the Disarmament Committee at Geneva, had an interview in Milan with Premier Mussolini. Several important questions were discussed at the Milan meeting, notable among them being that of Turco-Italian relations, Turco-Russian relations, and the possibility of Turkey's entry into the League of Nations.

Terms of the New Pact

The treaty consists of five articles, while the annexed protocol, dealing with the machinery of conciliation and arbitration, contains nine articles. The treaty is to remain in force for five years after ratification, which is to take place as soon as possible, and, if not denounced six months before the expiration of this term, the treaty will remain in force for a further five years.

In Article 1 the parties undertake not to enter into agreements of a political or economic nature with any third party, or into any combinations directed against any of them. The economic feature of

this article was not previously made known, and is regarded in some quarters as a safeguard to Italy's already considerable trade with Turkey, as against trade agreements with Soviet Russia. According to Article 2, if one of the parties is attacked by one or more powers, the other party will preserve neutrality throughout the duration of the conflict. Under Article 3 the parties undertake to submit to a procedure of conciliation any differences not settled by ordinary diplomatic means. Should conciliation fail, recourse will be had to a judicial regulation laid down in the protocol. This article, however, excepts questions which, in virtue of the treaties in force between the parties, fall within the competence of one of them. Similarly, questions affecting sovereign rights in accordance with international law are excepted. Either party may make a written declaration where a given question involves its sovereign rights. By Article 4 any difference of opinion about the interpretation or execution of the treaty will be referred at once, on a simple demand, to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. Article 5 deals with the duration of the treaty as explained above.

According to the protocol there is to be a permanent committee of five members. This committee is to be set up within six months after the exchange of ratifications. Each of the parties will nominate one member and the remaining three are to be designated by mutual agreement. These three members must not be subjects of the contracting parties, or be domiciled in their territory, or be in their service. A president will be chosen by the parties from among the three members. The protocol further provides that, in case of failure to nominate the three members within the stipulated period, or to provide a substitute within three months where a member's post falls vacant, action is to be taken under Article 45 of The Hague Convention of October, 1907. This convention is to govern the conciliation procedure unless a special agreement is made. The parties may also agree in any case to submit their disputes to an arbitral tribunal, constituted in accordance with Article 55, and following of the Convention of October, 1907.

Russian Influence and the Treaty

Report from Rome state that the Soviet Government made strenuous efforts to prevent Turkey from signing the treaty, while at the same time attempting to draw Italy into signing a similar pact with herself. The explanation of this move on the part of Russian diplomacy apparently lies in the desire of Soviet Russia to guarantee itself from possible effects of Italy's recognition of Rumania's right to Bessarabia. The Russian Foreign Office has clearly attempted to use its influence with Turkey in order to compel Italy into a new arrangement with Russia. The signing of the treaty indicates failure of the Russian attempt.

FIFTIETH SESSION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS COUNCIL

THE Council of the League of Nations met on June 4 for its fiftieth session. For some time past it had been anticipated that this would be a very important session, since it was expected that the question of the occupation of Rhineland would come up before it. However, the absence of M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann, both of whom are still suffering in health, rendered the work of the Council disappointingly unimportant. After a session lasting a whole week, the Council failed to make any decision, except on unimportant and routine matters. It did take up three important questions—the Hungarian machine-gun affair, the Hungarian-Rumanian dispute, and the Polish-Lithuanian controversy—but on none of these questions did it come to any definite conclusion.

Hungarian Machine-Gun Affair

The Council had before it a long and detailed report of the Committee of Three, appointed at the last session of the Council, to look into the seizure of five carloads of machine-gun parts at the railway station of Szent-Gothard. The report, in spite of its length and its wealth of detail, was thoroughly inconclusive and it was subjected to strong criticism.

The Little Entente Powers were all represented at the Council table, and they and the French representative pointed out

several serious gaps in the committee's statement of facts and in its conclusions. The committee had apparently not thought it strange that a consignment of machine-gun parts should be addressed to a firm in a town on the borders of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the station being in one country and the part of the town where the firm was in the other, that firm having had no notification that this unusual cargo of goods was on the way; and this firm was said to be charged with the duty of furthering the goods to Warsaw. The evidence clearly indicated that the load was intended to remain in Hungary, and the persons who were selected for censure in the report were the Austrian customs officials, who had discovered the contents of the trucks. Some of the evidence suggested that there might have been a whole series of consignments. Moreover, taking the total weight of the consignment as given in the waybill and as ascertained on the spot, there was a discrepancy of four tons. By a rapid calculation, M. Paul-Boncour estimated that this missing mass of machine-gun parts might be sufficient to arm several divisions of infantry. There had, in fact, as he said, been no effective investigation.

The Council's resolution on the report was vague and weak. It stated that the importance of the case was proved by the nature of the debate, reminded members that an extraordinary meeting of members could be summoned by any of them at any time, and urged the speedy ratification by all States of the convention on the traffic in arms.

Hungarian Dispute with Rumania

On the question of the Hungarian optants in Transylvania, the Council once more had to be satisfied with urging the Rumanian and Hungarian governments to make reciprocal concessions, and thus find a solution upon the basis of the recommendations made at earlier sessions.

A certain diversion was, however, caused by M. Titulescu, the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who announced that he was about to propose to Hungary that one member of the Council—he made it quite clear that he had in mind Sir Austen Chamberlain—should look into the individual cases of the dis-

possessed land-owners, being assisted by two persons of his own choice. Acting on the basis of the Council resolutions, the Rumanian law of agrarian reform, and Article 250 of the Treaty of Trianon, he should then decide whether any additional compensation was due to the Hungarian optants; and, if the findings were to that effect, then the compensation would be paid by the Hungarian Government, which would recoup itself by deducting that amount from the reparations due from Hungary to Rumania.

Count Apponyi, the Hungarian representative, put in a strong plea for the appointment of a judge to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in place of the one withdrawn by Rumania, that the Council might thus fulfill, as he contended, the obvious intention of the Treaty of Trianon. It was the plain duty of the Council, he urged, to reconstitute the court and insure its intangibility.

In reply, Sir Austen Chamberlain argued that there were several ways of settling disputes, of which arbitration was only one. It was a means to an end, not an end in itself, as Count Apponyi sometimes seemed to suggest. Compromise and reciprocal concession were often better. Count Apponyi said that several attempts had already been made to settle the question by private negotiation and they had all failed. He could not, therefore, feel very hopeful that any result would be reached. Sir Austen Chamberlain said he felt more optimistic than Count Apponyi, and there the matter rested.

Polish-Lithuanian Controversy

The consideration of the Polish-Lithuanian question was enlivened by the communication to the Council by the Polish Foreign Minister of the following note, which he had addressed to the Lithuanian Prime Minister:

The Lithuanian Government recently promulgated in its official *Gazette* a revised text of the Lithuanian Constitution. The attention of the Polish Government has been drawn to Article V, proclaiming Vilna the capital of the Lithuanian Republic.

I am compelled to state that the Polish Government regards the insertion in the

Constitution of the Lithuanian State of an amendment directed against the territorial integrity of Poland as a hollow manifestation, devoid of legal significance or practical effect. A unilateral act of the Lithuanian Government is powerless to alter Polish rights in the Vilna territory, which were derived from a solemn vote of representatives of the local inhabitants in the Vilna Assembly, were confirmed by a decision of the Polish Sejm, and were recognized in the resolution of the Ambassadors' Conference relating to the frontiers of Poland, which was adopted in fulfillment of requests of the Polish and Lithuanian Governments, and later was placed on record by the Council of the League of Nations. The amendment is also contrary to the spirit and letter of the Covenant of the League, more particularly of Article 10, which binds Lithuania and Poland.

I am forced to observe with displeasure that the promulgation of this amendment can only serve to impede and embitter present negotiations, of which the aim is to establish relations that will make possible between two neighboring States the good understanding on which peace depends, and must therefore be regarded as contrary to the resolution of the Council of the League adopted on December 10, 1927. I take the liberty of reminding you, in conclusion, that the Polish Government's obligation to respect the integrity of the Lithuanian Republic imposes a like obligation on the Lithuanian Government.

The action of the Lithuanian Government in making reference to Vilna in the new draft of the country's constitution produced a very poor impression at the Council. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in a press conference, warned Lithuania against actions of this sort. At the Council session he made a warm appeal to the Lithuanian Government on the same subject. He said that the Lithuanian Prime Minister had solemnly undertaken before the Council in December to end the "state of war" with Poland; and Poland, on her side, had promised to respect the integrity of Lithuania. Yet six months had passed and no appreciable progress had been made. There had lately been committed by Lithuania an act of provocation quite contrary to the recommendations of the Council, and he begged M. Valdemaras

to show a greater spirit of conciliation. He repeated his warning that the sympathy which a small nation always easily gained might be forfeited if Lithuania followed a course that no State could tolerate from another State. Every nation had need of sympathy; and, addressing himself, in conclusion, directly to the Lithuanian representative, Sir Austen Chamberlain adjured him to show a spirit of good will.

M. Paul-Boncour (France) suggested that a time limit should be named for the completion of the pending negotiations; but Herr von Schubert (Germany) thought it would be enough if by the next session of the Council it was possible to show that some definite, if only partial, progress had been made. There were, he said, some very real difficulties. Germany was most anxious that there should be no disturbance of the peace between her neighbors.

Finally a motion was passed, at the instance of Sir Austen Chamberlain, that the question should be placed on the agenda of the next session of the Council and requesting the rapporteur to prepare a report on the state of the negotiations at that time.

SECOND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT GENEVA

DURING the week of May 14-19, the League of Nations Consultative Economic Committee held its first session at Geneva. The committee is the outgrowth of the International Economic Conference, held in Geneva in May, 1927, and was created for the purpose of giving application to the decisions of the Conference. Made up in such a way as to represent not only all countries, but also all branches of economic and financial activities, the Consultative Committee surveyed the work accomplished during the year and made recommendations for the future. Its meeting was thus in effect a second international economic conference.

The report of the committee's first session is a document of much general interest and contains, besides the committee's own resolutions, an analysis of economic conditions during 1927 and a

summary of the action taken by the various governments and by the Economic Organization of the League in carrying out the recommendations of the World Economic Conference. As far as the latter is concerned, the report concludes that, "while there are legitimate reasons for satisfaction, a much more sustained effort is necessary if the ground which was covered by the recommendations of the Economic Conference is not to be lost."

Economic Conditions in 1927

The introduction to the report gives a brief summary of economic conditions in 1927. Under the heading of "Production," it states that in 1927 the improvement in the general conditions in Europe was certainly greater than in any year since the war. In the United States the level of economic activity was not more than maintained. In regard to trade the report says that the available statistics, both as to weight and as to value, indicate a definite increase in world trade during 1927, and that central and eastern Europe have probably advanced relatively rather more than the west, and Europe as a whole more than North America.

Under the heading of "Trade Restrictions," the report states that although it is not easy to summarize in a single sentence the net effect of all changes in tariffs or other restrictions upon trade, there appears on balance to have been some improvement during the year. It says, however:

When it is remembered that in the decade before the war production, trade, and the standard of living had been making headway year by year, it is very far from satisfactory that the best we can say of the present situation is that ten years after the end of the war the international trade of Europe has at last recovered to about the pre-war level.

In regard to "Commercial Policy," the Consultative Committee expresses its satisfaction that during 1927-1928 the bilateral action recommended by the World Conference has proved particularly effective, the Franco-German Treaty being described as the most conspicuous practi-

cal example of the principle of international co-operation recommended by the Conference. The Consultative Committee also welcomes the treaties concluded between certain States of Central Europe, including those between Germany and Yugoslavia, Germany and Greece, Austria and Hungary, and Hungary and Czechoslovakia. It is also glad to learn that the treaties concluded since the Conference have again been based upon the unconditional most-favored-nation clause, and in most cases for the consolidation and reduction of tariffs.

Resolution on Tariff Reduction

On tariffs the committee passed the following resolution:

The Consultative Committee, while recognizing the difficulties in the way of reaching collective agreements for the general reduction of tariffs, considers that, in view of the low level at which the trade of the world still remains, a continuous effort should be made to overcome these difficulties and to reach a general agreement.

The committee concurs in the suggestion of the Economic Committee that, as a practical method of approaching the problem and as a means of obtaining the necessary experience for dealing with it as a whole, efforts should be made in the first instance to reach agreement with regard to particular groups of commodities.

The agreement in respect of each group should cover as many stages of production as is practical, having regard to the fact that if reductions are limited to the rates of duty on raw material or on semi-finished products, such reductions increase the protection afforded to the products of the industry in question at later stages of manufacture.

The committee is of opinion that the collective reduction envisaged in the preceding paragraph should eventually cover as large a number as possible of articles which play an important rôle in economic life, priority being given to those products in regard to which a collective agreement may most rapidly be attained.

The choice of the actual commodities in respect of which collective agreements are to be made must be left to be determined, after careful investigation, by the Economic Committee. The choice should not be limited

to commodities which only interest a small number of countries.

The committee considers that, while the procedure to be followed in carrying out this scheme may differ in the case of each investigation, it should, as a rule, provide for consultation with all those specially interested either as producers, traders, or consumers, in order to secure a fair adjustment of their respective interests.

The Consultative Committee is of opinion that the plans referred to above will have much greater prospects of success if, meanwhile, governments will, as far as possible, adhere to the recommendation of the Economic Conference that "the upward movement of tariffs should cease."

Rationalization and International Cartels

In regard to the International Management Institute—which was created largely in order to study the questions dealt with in the Economic Conference's recommendations on rationalization—the Consultative Committee suggests, among other matters, that, with the help of the various national associations for standardization and of the International Chamber of Commerce, the Institute will study suitable methods of promoting international trade by abolishing unnecessary differences in the types and specifications of manufacture; that it will furnish the Economic Organization of the League with the necessary data to judge the expediency of international measures for the simplification of processes and for the reduction of the number of types of products; and that it will suggest to governments and institutions which have undertaken or may undertake general inquiries into the economic situation or the conditions of certain industries that they should employ similar methods of investigation so far as concerns the advance made in rationalization, so as to allow a comparison between the results obtained.

The committee notes that no action has yet been taken with reference to the question of industrial agreements, and says it is clear that the Economic Organization of the League cannot afford to ignore the importance of national and international agreements in the whole

economic organization of production and distribution. It therefore recommends the Council to request the Economic Organization to study (1) the subject-matter and nature of international industrial agreements and cartels, and their importance from the international economic standpoint; (2) the status and juridical form of these agreements and cartels and the legislation applicable to them; and (3) the measure of publicity given to them.

Other Resolutions of the Committee

In addition to the above, several other resolutions were adopted by the committee. Following is a summary of these resolutions:

Coal and Sugar.—At the suggestion of the Belgian delegates, the committee discussed the possibility of international action with the view to alleviating the present crisis in the coal and sugar industries. On both of these topics the committee recommends the institution of inquiries to be carried on by the Economic Organization of the League.

Agriculture.—The Consultative Committee considers that it is necessary to ensure the closest possible co-operation in the general economic field under the direction of the League of Nations between the various organizations which devote themselves to the study of agricultural questions. Further, the Committee suggests that the League of Nations should (a) arrange for the collection of the existing documentation concerning intensification of agricultural production, training, co-operation, credits, means of transport, and marketing of agricultural products, and (b) should examine the most suitable means of ensuring that direct relations may be established and developed between producers' co-operative societies and consumers' co-operative societies.

Purchasing Power of Gold.—Without desiring to express an opinion as to technical methods, the Committee wishes to emphasize the great advantages to economic development of a monetary policy which should so far as possible reduce fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold, and has adopted a resolution which expresses an appreciation of the great interest which the Central Banks take in this problem,

and recommends the problem to the attention of the Financial and Economic Organization of the League.

Finally, the committee adopted a resolution on the economic tendencies affecting the peace of the world, the text of which is given elsewhere in this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

NEW COMMUNIST PROGRAM

THE Communist International has published a new official draft program, adopted at Moscow on May 25, for the revolutionary parties of all countries. The program covers the whole field of Communist activity, with special sections explaining the strategy and tactics necessary to create a U. S. S. R. W. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the World.)

The program contains much stale matter, but it also instructs Communist parties to modify their methods of attack in many respects, because "the form of the capitalist crisis has changed" since the last program was issued. The program instructs the masses of the world to consider the U. S. S. R. their only fatherland, and lays down in particular sharper methods for revolution in England, the United States, and Germany than in other countries, which must reach the same result through several stages. The program devotes rather more space to the consolidation of the revolution than to the preliminary stage of achieving the revolution. Having overthrown the existing government, the Communists must confiscate factories, banks, railways, and church

property, and repudiate all public debts and private debts to capitalists. They must also ruthlessly destroy the prominent members of the middle classes (apparently they have forgotten the aristocracy), generals, loyal officers, and high officials, "but certain ones may be utilized for their organizing ability."

Technical specialists, it is declared, must not be destroyed indiscriminately, because it must not be forgotten that a constructive policy needs qualified guidance, but they must be watched very carefully. Complete expropriation in the countryside must proceed through several stages, because small holders, especially in the most developed countries, have a deep-rooted feeling of possession which it is impossible to remove before revolution is consolidated. Their markets and money system must be left also, and be temporarily and gradually destroyed. All parties except the Communist Party must be prohibited, and the Communist Party must take over and control the entire "spiritual life" of the country, including a monopoly of all newspapers and printing presses, cinematographs and theaters. If the capitalists offer a prolonged and active resistance "it may be advisable to introduce a period of militant communism."

The program particularly mentions Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Webb, Mr. Gandhi, and their adherents as active enemies of the Communist movement, because they advocate peaceful methods, adding that this is an absurdity, and that victory is possible in each country only by "violent destruction of the existing Government, Government machinery, army, police, law courts, and Parliament."

Man is not, by nature, a wild, unsocial creature; it is the corruption of his nature that makes him so; yet by acquiring new habits, by changing his place and way of living, he may be reclaimed to his original gentleness.

—PLUTARCH.

AS OTHERS SEE US

By ELIZABETH WALLACE *

ONE of the most beneficial exercises for prevention of atrophy of the brain is to try to put oneself in another's place. It isn't an easy thing to do. The large man may have to suffer painful compression in taking the small man's place, while the small man in turn must strain strenuously to inflate. It's a difficult matter for the worm to get the bird's-eye view of life, and equally difficult for the bird to see things as the worm does. But there is a mental poise to be achieved by the elimination of superfluous prejudices and by industrious expansion of one's knowledge; there is a mental agility to be attained by the rising from earthy, slow, practical considerations to lofty, swift, comprehensive vision.

It pleases me once in a while to invent such mental exercises, a sort of incorporeal Daily Dozen, in the fond hope that by practising them I may escape the creeping menace of the years, and of habit, and of cramping environment.

A short time ago the newspapers were full of such headlines as "Pan American Parley Closes; Results Lauded." "Tests of All Agreements Signed by Delegates." "Envoys Praise Efforts for Better Understanding in New World." "Pan American Congress Rich in Achievement." "Havana Session Ends with Satisfaction in Large List of Agreements." And I pondered. Did the daily papers of Mexico, of the Argentine, of isolated Bolivia, of little Nicaragua have the same point of view? How many of our journalists at Havana possessed the linguistic facility to penetrate into the mind of his Latin-American neighbor? Did the Colombian, the Peruvian, the Chilean feel the same exultation that was voiced in our public press? And as I asked myself these questions the result of faithful performance of insubstantial Daily Dozens made itself felt and I found myself automatically and successively taking the place of three Latin Americans.

The first one was a distinguished citizen of Colombia, who had been appointed by his government to attend the first Spanish-American Conference which met at Panama in the year 1826. I, in the person of this gentleman, had made the long wearisome journey from Bogotá, and I was returning. My mind goes back to the events of the last quarter of a century, events which have led to this conference. Indeed, my mind goes back further to vivid detached boyhood memories. A vice-roy and his splendid trappings: pack-train laden with treasure crossing the plaza to go on down the mountains to the coast, where, I am told, galleons carry it to a mysterious unappeasable mother country; frightened Indians, gentle and helpless in their misery; the difficulties of travel; the stories carried northward from Peru of the tragic but splendidly heroic efforts of the last of the Incas to free the land of his fathers from the cruel rule of the Spaniard. And I, too, begin to feel growing hatred of Spanish rule, and I feel dull disappointment when in the early years of the new century the gallant, adventurous Venezuelan, Miranda, sought aid from the United States and from France to organize a revolution—and failed. But I again knew what hope was when news came of the invasion of old Spain by the hated Napoleon, and latent fires of revolution burst forth here and there to find an answering glow in New Spain until everywhere there was revolt from Mexico to the Argentine. From that time on I followed breathlessly the career of the great leaders. San Martín, the irreproachable soldier, patriot, whose youth had been given to the service of the mother country, who had spent his manhood in fighting for the new country, and who had claimed the right to dispose of his old age himself, saying: "The presence of a fortunate soldier, however disinterested, is dangerous to a newly founded State."

And of Simón Bolívar, the self-styled Liberator, fiery, impetuous, given over to personal ambition, but such a great revolutionary leader that our souls thrilled with his deeds. We even forgave him his egotism when at that banquet, where he

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met San Martín for the first and last time, on July 25, 1822, he proposed a toast: "To the two greatest men of South America, San Martín and myself." And I followed, too, the more distant deeds of the Mexican Iturbide, who also led his forces to victory. I still feel the triumphant emotion of the great victory on the plains of Boyacá, and I still hear the thunder of victorious guns at Ayacucho.

Then came independence! Portugal was first to recognize us, then followed the United States, then cautious England, careful of her slave trade, then France, and then the others. Simón Bolívar had said, in 1815, "God grant that some day we may have the fortune to convoke an august congress, of representatives of republics and kingdoms and empires to treat and discuss important subjects of war and peace with the nations of the other three-quarters of the globe." This wish had its fruition when the Conference of Panama of 1826 was decided upon.

And now the conference has taken place. I had the honor to represent Colombia. There were delegates from Mexico and Peru and Central America. The United States had been invited upon the initiative of our Vice-President Santander. President Adams had cordially responded, but their Congress hesitated to send delegates to a conference where slavery might be discussed, so when the two delegates were finally appointed they had scant time to make the journey and arrived after the conference had adjourned. The British Government sent a special envoy, with private instructions to discourage any attempt of the United States to head an American Confederacy. At last we had a place among the nations! Many fine speeches were made and we worked out a treaty of perpetual union and formed a league of independent States. On the whole it was a memorable meeting, for now we may be assured of our political existence and of a brilliant future.

These were my thoughts as I, a Colombian in the year 1826, made my slow way up the Andes on my sure-footed mule to the city of Santa Fé de Bogotá, situated on its lofty plateau 8,000 feet above the restless Caribbean.

And then, suddenly, I found my personality transferred to that of a brilliant

Peruvian lawyer and diplomat, with a leaning toward sociology, although the word was scarcely known at the time. He is, rather I am, returning to Lima from the first Pan American Conference, held in Washington in 1889, to which I had been appointed as one of the delegates. And, as the voyage is a long one, I have time for reflection.

My mind goes back to all the efforts that have been made to bring the republics of the western world together on a common ground of understanding since that first congress at Panama 63 years ago. In all the republics men had arisen with ideals and plans, some of them workable, others unpractical. And I remember the brilliant lawyer of Santiago, Chile, Juan Bautista Alberdi, who best embodied the spirit of the ideal American Congress, when he said, in 1844, "The evils which this great curative Congress is called upon to consider are not the evils of foreign oppression, but the evils of poverty, depopulation, backwardness, and misery. Sheltered within herself are the real enemies of Spanish America. They are her deserts without trails, her unexplored rivers; her coasts, which are unpopulated because of the anarchy of tariffs; the absence of credit. These are the great enemies of America which the new Congress should combat and persecute and destroy."

There had been many congresses—in Mexico, in Lima, in Montevideo, in Rio de Janeiro. The feeling of solidarity had grown; we realized that we were bound to each other by the ties of a common origin, a common language, a common religion, and a common cause for which we had struggled. And then at last the United States took the initiative and President Cleveland, inspired by that astute statesman, Mr. Blaine, sent out invitations to all the republics and to the Empire of Brazil to attend this conference, from which I am now returning.

The meetings were interesting; the hospitality of the North American was delightful. Such openhandedness, such abundance of meat, and especially of drink!

The program of subjects to be discussed was varied and interesting: adoption of a customs union, improvement of means

of communication between the various countries, a uniform system of weights and measures, laws for the protection of patents and copyrights, the adoption of a common silver coin. The discussions were keen, and many resolutions were made, and, best of all, there was a plan of international arbitration. Only I fear that the resolutions will be nothing but waste paper. I haven't much confidence that the home governments will ratify them.

One practical result was the organization of the Bureau of American Republics. I have some apprehension lest it establishment at Washington may increase the preponderance of power already exerted by the great North American Republic.

And since, while I was in the United States, I took time to travel and study, my musings take form. I understand better why Yankee supremacy is everywhere feared. The nation that numbered eight millions in 1820 now numbers eighty millions.

The center of life is passing from Boston to Chicago; the citadel of the ideal gives way to the material progress of the great porcine metropolis. The Puritan tradition of New England seems useless in the struggle of the far west; the conquest of the desert demands another morality: the morality of conflict, aggression, and success. The trusts raise their heads above the impotent clamor of the weak. The people of the United States wish to gather into their imperial hands the commerce of the South, the produce of the tropics! And yet their oratory is full of fraternal idealism.

The Anglo-Saxons of America have created an admirable democracy upon a prodigious expanse of territory. A caravan of races has pitched its tents from the Atlantic to the Pacific and watered the wilderness with its impetuous blood. At the contact of new soil men have felt the pride of creation and of living. Initiative, self-assertion, self-reliance, audacity, love of adventure—all the forms of victorious will are united in this Republic of energy. A triumphant optimism quickens the rhythm of life, an immense impulse of creation builds cities in the wilderness and founds new plutocracies amidst the whirlpools of the markets.

I have seen the architectural insolence

of the skyscraper; I have seen the many colored material West—all mingle perpetually in the wild uncouth hymn which chants the desperate battle of will and destiny, of generation and death. Yes, we are anxious, terribly anxious.

We *cannot* let the North absorb us, although the enormous penetration of their capital in Mexico and the Argentine threaten that very thing.

We *must* not try to imitate the North. There are too many essential points of difference that separate us: difference of language, and therefore of spirit; the difference between Spanish Catholicism and the multiform Protestantism of the Anglo-Saxons. The evolution of the North is slow and obedient to the lessons of time, to the influences of custom. The history of the Southern peoples is full of revolutions rich with dreams of unattainable perfection.

And yet we need, we terribly need this powerful nation. Are they not perhaps after all, as their own diplomatists preach, the elder brother, generous and protecting?

And, musing thus, I land on the Peruvian coast and make my way up to the ancient city of Lima.

The next metamorphosis required more effort, for although only forty years had elapsed more changes had occurred, and I found it increasingly difficult for my North American mind to shape itself gracefully into another mold. I had to imagine myself a Mexican delegate who had just flown home from the Sixth Pan American Conference held in January and February of 1928 at Havana.

I was so well entertained in Havana, the sessions of the conference were sandwiched in between so many entertainments, and the trip home was so rapidly made that I had no time to think. Therefore, upon arrival, I retired to my country home near Cuernavaca, where I dictated the following confidential report to my deft stenographer:

Many events had occurred since the meeting of the Fourth Pan American Conference in 1910 at Buenos Aires to change the relations of the participating republics. Especially was this true of the relations between our own country and our

northern neighbor, and the tension had been increasing ever since the vicissitudes of the World War. Not only Mexico, but many of the other Latin American republics had had their suspicions aroused by the establishment of United States control over the Caribbean and Central American countries; by the landing of American armed forces whenever in the judgment of the State Department, or even of a naval commander, such intervention was needed to protect foreign life and property threatened by disorder. So that, when the Sixth Conference met, there was widespread and anxious interest, especially as regarded the United States, whose interests with six of our Latin American States were peculiarly involved.

The United States made extraordinary preparations to show their cordiality and good will. A distinguished delegation was appointed; the President of the United States, bearing messages of good will, came on a battleship. The presence of so much heavy diplomatic artillery seemed to have a reason, and we awaited results.

We gathered from President Coolidge's speech that we all belong to lands where the spirit of Columbus is supreme, and that this spirit thrills to noble chords, the love of peace and the faith in self-government. (Here there are some lines which I later erased, but which refer to the fact that the United States is the only organized government in the world at that moment engaged in fighting, and fighting others who have the spirit of Columbus.)

The opening session was abounding in good will. As we looked about on the various delegations we were impressed by the presence of many statesmen of splendid experience and character sent by all countries. There was intellectual breadth, personal charm, and diplomatic skill. Our spirits rise, and we feel that something more will be accomplished at this conference than a mere discussion of trade-marks, consular conventions, and copyrights. What we are interested in discussing are the subjects which are vital to us nationally: disarmament, consideration of the Monroe Doctrine, arbitration, and the renunciation of conquest.

As I review in my mind the events of the conference, I feel a sense of disappointment and discouragement. To us of the Mexican delegation there were certain ob-

jects we had wished to accomplish. The first was the reduction of excessive tariffs. The second was the reorganization of the Pan American Union, so that its scope might be enlarged, permitting it to deal with political and economic questions. The third object was to arrive at some mutual understanding as to the right of intervention.

In all of these objects we failed. Mr. Hughes triumphed in the end, but it was a triumph which swept away much of Latin America's hope in Pan Americanism, and laid bare the fact that the United States will always reserve the right to invade Latin American territory when Americans and their property are in danger.

During one brief blunt speech our chief interest in Pan Americanism was swept away. We of the Latin American republics have had brought home to us the inexorable law expressed by Mr. Archibald Coolidge of Harvard: "When two contiguous States are separated by a long line of frontiers, and one of the two rapidly increases, full of youth and vigor, while the other possesses, together with a small population, rich and desirable territories, and is troubled by continual revolutions which exhaust and weaken it, the first will inevitably encroach upon the second, just as water will always seek to regain its own level."

Two months later I was moved to add this paragraph to my memorandum.

I have learned to know Mr. Morrow, the Ambassador from the United States. I have heard on every side of the enthusiasm evoked here in my country by the visit of the young ambassador of peace, Colonel Lindbergh.

I have read Mr. Hughes' address before the American Society of International Law, on April 27, and the sense of discouragement felt and expressed in my report is gradually changing to a dawning hope.

Mr. Morrow is a man of understanding. While representing his country's interests he at the same time studies the problems of our country in a cordial and friendly spirit. My conferences with him have done much to dissipate my fears.

The *Spirit of St. Louis* flew out of the North, its fleet wings bringing to us of

the South a messenger whose eagle flight annihilated the distance separating us, and whose clear young vision kept him from stumbling while on earth. We took him to our hearts, and there he will remain.

Perhaps the Colossus of the North is not a ruthless giant. Perhaps he is the powerful elder brother, whose care is for our welfare. It is hard, very hard for the weaker to trust the stronger—for men to walk with giants.

WILLIAM LADD

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

This article was read by the Director of the Conference, at the Centennial Celebration, in Cleveland, Ohio, May 8. Under date of May 6 Dr. Scott telegraphed as follows:

"DR. ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
"Hotel Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio:

"I am sending you today, by special delivery, a very short address on a very great man. It is short because only a few paragraphs can be read at a conference, in the absence of the speaker; but, short as it is, it says what I would only amplify if I were to have the pleasure of addressing the audience in person, to which I beg you to make my compliments and express my regret that I am unable to be present because of the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, another organization which is assisting in the realization of William Ladd's Plan.

"JAMES BROWN SCOTT."

POSTERITY has a way of taking liberties with the so-called great of the world. The men and women who have often been uppermost in the public mind are as silent as the grave to which they have descended, while not a few who have cut at best but a sorry figure are put upon pedestals and, indeed, some of them are proclaimed benefactors of their kind.

Let us test this sweeping statement by three examples which would occur to an ordinarily well-informed person, and of other days, that there may be no personal feeling in the matter.

If we were asked to mention the name of the Frenchman who seems best to represent what may be called the peculiar genius of France, would it not be that of Molière, whose plays are today ranked as the most perfect of human comedies, but who in his lifetime could not aspire to membership in the French Academy because he earned his livelihood by making the playgoers of Paris laugh for a few sous o' nights.

If we were asked who can best be considered the representative of Spanish life and thought and genius, not only in Spain of the Old World, but of the eighteen American republics of Spanish origin, would it not be Cervantes, whose left arm was maimed at Lepanto, and who

in later years was imprisoned for debt, where he is said to have begun the adventures of the ingenious gentleman of La Mancha to while away the tedious hours of his confinement.

And if we English-speaking people meeting today in Cleveland were asked to mention the Englishman who most truly represents the vast and ever-increasing English-speaking world, would not the name of Shakespeare—actor, playwright, and manager—be upon every lip?

If we of the American Peace Society, the one-hundredth anniversary of which we are celebrating on this 8th day of May, 1928, were asked to name the leader of the peace movement in these United States, would we not say William Ladd, of whom a New England historian of our day has but recently written:* "The scheme of an international court, as outlined by him, was presented, unaltered, at the Peace Conferences held at Brussels in 1848, at Paris in 1849, at Frankfort in 1850, and at London in 1851." Did he stop here, there would be no reason for including William Ladd's portrait as one of the two (the other being that of William

* "The History of New England," in three volumes, by James Truslow Adams. "New England in the Republic, 1776-1850," Vol. III, p. 376.

Lloyd Garrison) in his volume on "New England in the Republic." What seemed to Mr. Adams to be a justification for the portrait and the space which he devotes to William Ladd? "Eventually both his plans for a Congress of Powers to agree upon Principles of international law and the erection of a court were carried out at The Hague," he says, "and followed very closely the lines laid down by this New Englander eighty years before." This is a fact; it is also a fact, as Mr. Adams continues, that "his name is probably unknown to all but a few specialists, and his fate is an example of that 'conflict with oblivion' waged with death, which has so many strange results." Mr. Adams continues with a further statement of fact, and with a suggestion that Ladd may emerge radiant and victorious from the "conflict with oblivion": "Yet few men in the New England of his day have had a more lasting or a wider influence throughout the whole world, and none had a clearer or more far-seeing mind."

In Ladd's own day he was affectionately known as "The Apostle of Peace." He will doubtless be known in the future as the "Pioneer of International Peace," the inscription upon the portrait which Mr. Adams reproduces in the third of his volumes, which deals with "New England in the Republic, 1776-1850."

From the beginning of history there must have been friends of peace. They have existed here and there; they have acted individually, not in unison, and it is only in the past century that they have grouped themselves into societies for the advancement of the purpose which had brought them together. With them peace can be said to have become a movement, and through them an international movement.

In the days of the American Revolution Franklin, encouraged by the "great improvements in *natural*," expressed the desire to see one made "in *moral* philosophy." It was "the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats." * The plan was

to be furnished by William Ladd, like Franklin, a New Englander, founder of the American Peace Society on May 8, 1828, and himself the author of an essay on peace published by that Society in 1840. The plan is contained in the *Essay on a Congress of Nations*; it was simple but far-reaching and Ladd's summary of it consisted of but two paragraphs:

1st. A congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to send them, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law by compact and agreement, of the nature of a mutual treaty, and also of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace, and meliorating the condition of man.

2d. A court of nations, composed of the most able civilians in the world, to arbitrate or judge such cases as should be brought before it, by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations.

The precedent for Ladd's congress was the modest assemblage of American plenipotentiaries in Panama, one hundred and two years ago, upon the call of the great Bolivar. Its best exemplifications are the two peace conferences at The Hague of 1899 and 1907, and of which we are apparently to have a third in the near future, and the International Conferences of American States, of which the sixth has recently met in the city of Habana. The precedent for the court of nations was the Supreme Court of these United States, and the court is now installed at The Hague.

William Ladd was an American with an international mind. His precedents were continental—one from the South and one from the North; his influence is universal.

In Franklin's letter to Richard Price, from which a clause has been quoted, there are two sentences with which we are all familiar, but which cannot be too often repeated. "When will human reason be sufficiently improved," he asks, "to see the advantage of this? When will men be convinced that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all its consequences?" There

* "Letter to Richard Price," Passy, February 6, 1780. Albert Henry Smith, "The Writings of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. VIII, (1907), pp. 8-9.

are two answers to these two questions: The first was upon the motion of the Mexican delegation at the recent Pan American Conference in Habana:

The Sixth International Conference of American States, considering—

That the American nations should always be inspired in solid co-operation for justice and the general good;

That nothing is so opposed to this co-operation as the use of violence;

That there is no international controversy, however serious it may be, which cannot be peacefully arranged if the parties desire in reality to arrive at a pacific settlement;

That war of aggression constitutes an international crime against the human species;

Resolves:

1. All aggression is considered illicit and as such is declared prohibited;

2. The American States will employ all pacific means to settle conflicts which may arise between them.

The second answer is the collective wisdom of the continental gathering:

The Sixth International Conference of American States *resolves:*

WHEREAS the American republics desire to express that they condemn war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations; and

WHEREAS the American republics have the most fervent desire to contribute in every possible manner to the development of international means for the pacific settlement of conflicts between States;

1. That the American republics adopt obligatory arbitration as the means which they will employ for the pacific solution of their international differences of a juridical character.

There will be other answers of other conferences voicing the wisdom, not merely of a continent, but of the world. They will be in response to Franklin's inquiry and through Ladd's plan. These two New Englanders were reasonable advocates of a great cause. Ladd had said, and Franklin would have agreed with him, that he was content to stop at the millennium.

Their millennium is approaching; we can almost say that it is at hand; and it is coming through the plan of William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, whose centenary we are this day celebrating.

A PEACEFUL PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOME OF WILLIAM LADD, APOSTLE OF PEACE

By ALICE LAWRY GOULD

FINDING ourselves, on the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the American Peace Society, in a part of Maine not far from the spot in which William Ladd, the Society's founder, had lived and written his remarkable plan for a Congress of Nations and a World Court, Philip and I resolved to make a pilgrimage to the Ladd homestead.

Most of the people from whom we inquired directions had never heard of Captain Ladd; some reminded us that Maine was observing the 150th anniversary of his birth next summer, and several offered vaguely to take us out that way by automobile some time. But we would not be in this vicinity next summer; and is not a real pilgrimage more appropriately made

on foot? At least we could walk the three or four miles from Minot Corner, where the trolley stops; and walk we did, along the most delightfully woodsy road imaginable.

It was sheltered, yet sunny, and although a cool wind was blowing in the world outside, here it served only to provide a soft, soothing murmur among the trees. And such trees! We were walking through a veritable arboretum in which beautiful big pines and other evergreens mingled with smooth gray beeches, graceful groups of white birches, and budding red maples. How still it was! We had gone several miles before we met a person, and not a single automobile (this seemed incredible) passed us until we had almost

reached our objective. Bird notes accentuated the stillness. Once we heard a small scurrying by the roadside and caught sight of a partridge before it disappeared in the underbrush.

For all it is so little frequented today, we were in old country. The storekeeper at the Corner had told us that Minot was a flourishing community when the near-by Lewiston-Auburn (now an industrial center of the State) was wilderness. There were evidences of age along the country road we traveled. Old stone walls where now no houses were made us think of the hands that had once piled them there. Beginning to fall in places, they reminded us that

Something there is that doesn't love a wall,
That wants it down,

and although we have heard Robert Frost in person declare he intended no symbolizing of internationalism therein, the poem loses nothing by such an application on the road to William Ladd's. Aged orchards we saw, too, with trees black and gnarled, out here in what seemed otherwise virgin woods. An occasional cedar pointed the site of a former habitation.

All this time the road, except for a small dip or two, had been gently rising. When at last we came out of the woods into open country, a spacious view awaited us, with wide greening fields, lordly hills, and at least two lakes of vivid blue to supplement the paler blue of the May sky. We began to look for the final hilltop and what might still remain of the four-square, two-storied house from which William Ladd, retired sea captain, gentleman farmer, and idealist, had once surveyed his six barns and hundreds of acres. We had been warned of the ravages that a century of neglect had made; and at the brow of the hill a neighboring householder reminded us: "The Ladd place is just ahead, opposite the church. 'Tisn't much of a place now, but 'twas once."

So it was that we came prepared to the weather-blackened, square house with broken windows and the shell of one remaining barn. It contrasted sadly not only with pictures of the long-ago estate, but also with the whitely trim little church opposite—the very one that figures

in Ladd biographies as that in which his friend Parson Jones preached.

Inside, the house reveals the effects not only of neglect, but of desecration. The study in which William Ladd wrote nearly forty essays on international peace, in which he conceived a plan toward the realization of which the world is still working, in which he edited the "Harbinger" (now published under the name of "THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE"), and in which he prepared his lectures, had become a littered storeroom for old rubbish; yet much remains that would make possible the restoration of the house. The carved mantels, the solid wooden shutters, upper and lower, that slide across the windows, the wonderful brass door-knobs and latches, one enormous chimney (its companion in the other end of the house has been replaced with an ordinary chimney, giving the place a lop-sided air), the fireplace, the large upper windows with their small panes, the hand-hewed beams, and exceedingly wide floor boards—all these indicate what the house once was and what it yet might be if reclaimed.

Again outside, it seemed hard at first to shake off the feeling of depression at such desolation, and we walked down the hill in silence. But at the peaceful beauty of the countryside and the trilling of birds our hearts grew lighter, and other thoughts came. After all, what we had witnessed was only the decline of material treasures laid up "where moth and rust doth corrupt." William Ladd's great ideal, recorded in his words and works, goes marching on. Just recognition, though tardy, is coming to his name. Pertinent is the remark of Woodrow Wilson, who nearly a century later labored to further this same ideal: "The one thing the world cannot permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions."

So we returned from our pilgrimage to William Ladd's hilltop a little more pensive, perhaps, than when we set out; with deeper homage in our hearts, and with thoughts of that other hilltop from which One taught: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

ELECTIONS IN NICARAGUA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By CARL L. W. MEYER

THERE has been much said and written of late as to what the relationship between this country and Nicaragua is or should be. Suggestions and demands have been made in numerous periodicals and newspapers sometimes subtle and carefully guarded and sometimes loud and vociferous, that the United States has no business telling the Nicaraguans whom they shall elect; that our State Department blundered and recognized the wrong man as President of Nicaragua; that our marines were sent to supervise elections and are making war instead; and that "the way to get out is to get out." There is plenty of comment, advice, and criticism offered, free of cost and without assumption of responsibility for the results that are to follow, if the advice and suggestions so lavishly offered were heeded and carried out.

It is, of course, not difficult to raise a hue and cry when things do not turn out so as to please everybody. It is far more difficult to locate the cause of the trouble; and it is hardest to find a suitable solution for questions of international complication which are rooted in or involve a number of intricate policies, principles, and problems. The Nicaraguan question is one of that nature. It involves the Monroe Doctrine, and to some extent also the Calvo and Drago doctrines; it embraces the principle of intervention and the matter of treaty rights, especially the right established by the treaty between the United States and Nicaragua entitling the United States to build a ship canal across the Isthmus; it includes principles of government, independence, self-protection, and even the right of existence. Perhaps it is well to recall right here that all these problems have not suddenly come upon us, but that they represent a growth of circumstances and conditions for which the present generation is not alone responsible. Nor would it be possible in every case with accuracy to point out in their correct significance the links in the long chain of events that have brought upon us a more or less desirable state of

affairs. However, the main facts leading up to the present situation in Nicaragua stand out clear enough to permit anyone to see the logical connection between the events as they occurred and the action our Government has taken.

Events Leading Up to the Present Situation

On December 21, 1911, Mr. Gunther, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, received a letter from Adolfo Diaz, at that time President of Nicaragua, requesting the United States to assist Nicaragua in the establishment of order. The letter here referred to reads in part as follows:¹

. . . The grave evils affecting us can be destroyed only by means of more direct and efficient assistance from the United States, like that which resulted so well in Cuba. It is therefore my intention, by means of a treaty with the American Government, to so amend or add to the constitution as to assure that assistance, permitting the United States to intervene in our internal affairs in order to maintain peace and the existence of a lawful government, thus giving the people a guaranty of proper administration.

This letter was promptly communicated to Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, who two days later in reply sent the following instructions to Chargé Gunther:²

In response to your telegram of December 21, you are instructed to express to President Diaz the Department's intense gratification upon noting the spirit of confidence in the good faith of the United States which he displays in his proposal, which implicates recognition by President Diaz of this Government's benevolent and sympathetic attitude toward Nicaragua and the other Central American republics. The suggestions made by President Diaz involve, however,

¹ For full text of the letter, see U. S. Dept. of State, papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (62d Cong., 2d Sess., House Doc. No. 114), Washington, Govt. Print. Office, 1918, p. 670.

² *Ibid.*, p. 671.

matters of such great importance that the Department will not be able to make any expression whatever in relation to them until after deep and careful consideration.

Four years prior to this correspondence the five Central American republics, namely, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador, had concluded, on December 20, 1907, in the city of Washington, a series of treaties and conventions³ for the purpose of "preserving the good relations between the said republics and of obtaining an enduring peace in those countries." Among the conventions concluded at that time was a so-called "Additional Treaty to the Treaty of Peace," which provided that "the high contracting parties shall not recognize any other government which may come into power in any of the five republics as a consequence of a *coup d'état* or of a revolution against the recognized government so long as the freely elected representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally reorganized the country."⁴ Again, in 1923, at the Washington Conference on Central American Affairs, the same principle of nonrecognition became a matter of discussion and was included in a treaty (art. 2) signed on February 7 of that year.⁵

The motive for concluding these agreements was, of course, to promote the peaceful economic development of these countries. Still, as long as the custom of government-directed elections, with their tendency to perpetuate the party in control prevailed, the only way to bring about a change of government in Nicaragua was to eject the party in control by means of revolution; and whenever such a revolutionary movement interfered with the personal and property rights of foreigners the unpleasant task of straightening out

these matters fell to the United States because of its traditional policy in Latin American affairs, generally known as the Monroe Doctrine.

Thus American intervention in Nicaragua became necessary in 1912⁶ during the period of violence which followed the removal of Zelaya. Subsequently, when order had been restored, a legation guard of 100 marines was left at Managua. This guard remained there until August, 1925, when a coalition Conservative-Liberal government had been established and when it was thought that this new government was able to maintain order. But no sooner had the American forces been withdrawn when Chamorro, the defeated Conservative candidate, overturned the coalition government by force. Owing to the agreements⁷ reached by the Central American republics with the approval of the United States and of Mexico, the United States refused to recognize the government set up by Chamorro and urged him to withdraw. This he refused to do, and he ignored the proposals of this Government for some time. However, when the treasury funds left by the previous administration were exhausted, he agreed to send delegates to a conference which was held in October, 1926, on board the *U. S. S. Denver*. This conference, which was also attended by Liberal delegates, did not meet with success. On October 30 Chamorro turned the government over to Senator Uriza, but the United States refused to recognize the latter because he had been elected by the same illegal congress which had elected Chamorro. At length, after certain changes had taken place in the Nicaraguan Congress, including the reinstatement into their offices of a number of senators and deputies who had been expelled by Chamorro, congress, on November 10, 1926, elected Adolfo Diaz as head of the government, whom the United States soon afterward (November 17) recognized.

³ The United States was not a signatory to these treaties, but the Central American Peace Conference met on the initiative of the presidents of the United States and of Mexico, and the treaties were entered into "under the auspices of the governments of the United States and the United Mexican States." See *U. S. Treaties, etc.* (61st Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Doc. No. 357), vol. 2, p. 2391.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2398.

⁵ For full Text of Treaty, see *Am. Jour. of Int. Law, supplement*, vol. 17, 1923, pp. 117-122.

⁶ For official correspondence, etc., as to measures taken by the United States for the protection of foreigners, see *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1912*, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1919, pp. 1012-1071.

⁷ Referred to above. The Washington treaty of February 7, 1923, had been signed by Chamorro himself.

Two weeks after the recognition of Diaz by our Government, Sacasa, a new "Liberal" candidate for the presidency, appeared on the scene. He emerged from Puerto Cabezas, a small coast town of eastern Nicaragua near the boundary line of Honduras. After having duly proclaimed himself "Constitutional President of Nicaragua" and "commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces," this latest arrival on the political horizon of that revolution-ridden country was immediately recognized by the Mexican President, and this, too, in the face of the convention of 1907, in the promotion of which the Mexican Government had taken so prominent a part. Sacasa's intimate relation with the Mexican Government was pointed out by President Coolidge in his message to the two houses of Congress on January 10, 1927, which includes the following significant statement:⁸

I have the most conclusive evidence that arms and munitions in large quantities have been on several occasions since August, 1926, shipped to the revolutionists in Nicaragua. Boats carrying these munitions have been fitted out in Mexican ports, and some of the munitions bear evidence of having belonged to the Mexican Government. It also appears that the ships were fitted out with the full knowledge of and, in some cases, with the encouragement of Mexican officials and were in one instance, at least, commanded by a Mexican naval reserve officer. At the end of November, after spending some time in Mexico City, Doctor Sacasa went back to Nicaragua, landing at Puerto Cabezas, near Bragmans Bluff. He immediately placed himself at the head of the insurrection and declared himself President of Nicaragua. He has never been recognized by any of the Central American republics nor by any other government, with the exception of Mexico, which recognized him immediately.

This statement was made by the President about three months after he had placed an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to all parties in Nicaragua. The Department of State at the same time notified the four Central

American republics, and also Mexico, of the steps taken by this Government and requested those countries to join in the embargo in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. As a result of this request, Costa Rica, Honduras, Salvador, and Guatemala assured the Department of State that they would co-operate in this measure. Mexico, on the other hand, refused to do so, and replied that "in the absence of manufacturing plants in Mexico for the making of arms and ammunition the matter had little practical importance."⁹ Since arms and munitions were reaching the rebels in large quantities, our Government deemed it unfair to prevent the recognized government from purchasing arms abroad, and the Diaz Government was notified, therefore, that licenses would be issued for the export of arms and munitions purchased in this country. However, owing to the large supply of arms which had already reached the revolutionists the disturbances assumed a violent character. Requests for the protection of their lives and property were received by our Government, not only from various American citizens in Nicaragua, but the British and Italian governments also appealed to this Government for the protection of their nationals.¹⁰ Pursuant to these requests Admiral Latimer was directed to land such forces and establish such neutral zones as would be necessary for the protection of American and foreign lives and property. Then, in March, 1927, President Coolidge appointed Mr. Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, as his personal representative and peace emissary to Nicaragua. Mr. Stimson sailed from New York on April 9 and arrived at Corinto on April 18, where he was met by Minister Eberhardt and Admiral Latimer. Soon afterward conferences were held in Managua with Diaz, the Conservative President, and also with delegates sent by Sacasa, the head of the Liberal Government at Puerto Cabezas. Later on a conference at Tipitapa was arranged, also, with General Moncada, the commander of the Liberal forces. The result of these conferences, according to Mr. Stimson, was that an agreement was reached

⁸ Message of the President of the United States communicated to the two houses of Congress at the second session of the 69th Congress, January 10, 1927, Washington, Govt. Print. office, 1927, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

whereby the United States was "to supervise the conduct of their coming national election in October, 1928." This understanding was based chiefly on the following memorandum of peace terms, which on April 22, 1927, President Diaz had placed in Mr. Stimson's hands:

1. Immediate general peace in time for the new crop and delivery of arms simultaneously by both parties to American custody.
2. General amnesty and return of exiles and of confiscated property.
3. Participation in Diaz's cabinet by representative Liberals.
4. Organization of a Nicaraguan constabulary on a nonpartisan basis, commanded by American officers.
5. Supervision of election in 1928 and succeeding years by Americans, who will have ample police power to make such supervision effective.
6. Continuance temporarily of a sufficient force of marines to make the foregoing effective.

Within a week after the acceptance of the understanding more than 9,000 rifles, 296 machine guns, and about 6,000,000 rounds of ammunition were delivered up to the United States forces from both the Liberals and Conservatives. The only one refusing to accept the Stimson terms of peace was Sandino, one of Moncada's lieutenants, who placed himself at the head of a band of revolutionists and continued his tactics of obstruction rather than "lay down his arms and return to peaceful pursuits."

Up to the present time Sandino has succeeded in escaping capture; but the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was advised on February 18 of this year by Major General Lejeune, the commandant of the Marine Corps, who had just returned to the United States, that in his opinion peace in Nicaragua would be established soon.

Supervision of Elections in Other Countries

Meanwhile our Government's action in Nicaragua has been the subject of much criticism abroad as well as at home. Foreign criticism having become somewhat chronic and stale, though it may not be without interest to study its source, shall

not concern us here at the present time. Of immediate interest, however, are the questions raised in the United States by well-meaning, though not always well informed citizens. Ours being a country where governmental action is usually based upon precedent, the question has sometimes been asked or doubt expressed as to whether the United States has ever engaged in countries other than Nicaragua to supervise elections. The fact is that there are a number of cases where our Government was engaged in a mission similar to that which it is to perform in Nicaragua this coming fall.

Elections in Santo Domingo in 1913 and 1914.—Thus, for instance, the turbulent condition prevailing in the Dominican Republic in 1913 caused the United States to send commissioners "to supervise the elections then about to be held." This supervision did not fall within the terms of any existing treaty, but rather was a development of President Wilson's statement to Latin America of the 12th of March, 1913, and of his Mobile speech of October of the same year.¹¹ When the Dominican Government protested against the interference, Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State and a man whom no one will accuse of any belligerent or iniquitous tendencies, replied that the commissioners had orders to act "as a body of friendly observers."¹² In the following year new political disturbances occurred in the Dominican Republic. After order had been restored, the government was in the hands of Dr. Ramon Baez, the Provisional President. On September 8, 1914, a conference was held on board the *Prairie* between a commission appointed by President Wilson, and Dr. Ramon Baez. An agreement was reached at this conference which provided that the election of a "regular President and Congress" was to be held throughout the Dominican Republic on October 18 and 19, 1914, and that "at said election there shall be observers at all the voting places of the primary assemblies, who shall be designated by the United States Commis-

¹¹ See Moore, John Bassett, *Principles of American Diplomacy*, p. 404ff.; see, also, Sears, Louis Martin, *History of American Foreign Relations*, p. 566.

¹² Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 405; see, also, U. S. For. Rel., 1913, p. 444ff.

sion and be allowed free access to all said voting places and full opportunity to observe the casting, counting, and return of said vote."¹³ On December 4, 1914, the Dominican National Assembly, with constitutional quorum, proclaimed Jiminez President, and the latter was sworn in the next morning.¹⁴

Supervision of Elections in Cuba.—Another country where the United States has supervised elections is Cuba. Here a general election was held on September 15, 1900, under the authority of the United States, as temporary occupant of that island, for the purpose of electing delegates to a convention which was to meet at Havana, in November, 1900, to frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba.¹⁵ In 1903 an agreement was made between Cuba and the United States which provided in part that "the Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba."¹⁶ Under the provisions of this treaty (also known from its origin as the "Platt Amendment") the United States intervened in the affairs of Cuba in 1906, when a revolution had broken out, and in 1912, when election troubles had led to open revolt. When, in 1916, elections again gave rise to difficulties, the spokesman of the Liberal Party asked our Government "to appoint witnesses to watch the verification of the elections."

¹³ For full text of the agreement, see U. S. For. Rel., 1914 (63d Cong., 3d Sess., H. Doc. No. 1721), Govt. Print. Off., 1922, p. 250-1.

¹⁴ In 1916 it became again necessary for the United States to intervene in the affairs of Santo Domingo, and to occupy and administer the government of that country. This military administration lasted until 1924, when the government was handed back to the Dominicans subject to certain conditions.

¹⁵ See U. S. For. Rel., 1900, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1902, p. XLII; also Moore's Dig. of Int. Law, vol. 6, p. 236.

¹⁶ For full text of treaty, see U. S. Stats. at L, vol. 33, pt. 2, pp. 2251-2.

The United States did not comply with this wish, and the elections were held without the assistance of this Government. Bitter accusations alleging illegal control of the voting were made by the leaders of the defeated party, and a revolt against the Menocal Government followed. Subsequently, when Cuba became a party to the World War, the United States had to intervene in Cuba because the revolutionists menaced the sugar production "necessary to the successful prosecution of the war." The forces of the United States remained in Cuba until 1921. Two years previous to the evacuation the United States sent General Crowder to Cuba, so that he might "study the Cuban electoral system." He was accompanied by a number of experts; a census was taken of the island and general order restored. Since then Cuba has enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Election of the Haitian President in 1915.—In 1915 trouble was brewing in Haiti. On July 28, 1915, the Secretary of State of the United States received the following telegram from Mr. Davis, the Chargé d'Affaires of the American Legation at Port au Prince:¹⁷

At 10.30 mob invaded French Legation, took out President,¹⁸ killed and dismembered him before legation gates. Hysterical crowds parading streets with portions of his body on poles. *U. S. S. Washington* entering harbor.

On the afternoon of the same day the Acting Secretary of the Navy sent a dispatch to Admiral Caperton, in command of the American forces in Haitian waters, advising him that the State Department desired that American forces be landed and foreign interests be protected, that the representatives of England and France be informed of this intention, and that these governments should be requested not to land any troops. It was further pointed out that the Navy Department had ordered the *U. S. S. Jason*, with marines, to proceed immediately from Guantanamo, Cuba, to Port au

¹⁷ U. S. For. Rel., 1915, p. 475.

¹⁸ President Guillaume Sam had fled from the presidential residence on July 27 and had taken refuge in the French Legation, which adjoined his residence.

Prince. If more forces were necessary, Admiral Caperton was to wire immediately.¹⁹ The United States landing forces then began to disarm the Haitian soldiers and the various revolutionary bands present in the city. At the time when the soldiers landed the Navy Department instructed Admiral Caperton to issue the following proclamation:²⁰

Am directed to assure the Haitian people that the United States of America has no object in view except to insure, establish, and help to maintain Haitian independence and the establishing of a stable and firm government by the Haitian people. Every assistance will be given to the Haitian people in their attempt to secure these ends. It is the intention to retain the United States forces in Haiti only so long as will be necessary for this purpose.

With the aid and under the supervision of the United States, presidential elections were held on August 12, 1915, and Sudre Dartiguenave, the President of the Senate, was elected as President of Haiti.

Since then several elections in Haiti have been held more or less under the supervision of the United States,²¹ including the plebiscite of June 12, 1918, when the so-called "Roosevelt Constitution" was submitted to the people for adoption.

Supervision of Elections in Panama in 1912.—Also in Panama the United States has been called upon to supervise elections. On May 6, 1912, Señor Ricardo Arias, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama, sent a note to Mr. Huntington Wilson, who at that time was acting Secretary of State of the United States, which read in part as follows:²²

. . . Under these very difficult and alarming circumstances, I have received express instruction from my Government to solicit the benevolent and friendly intervention of Your Excellency's Government, to the

¹⁹ U. S. For. Rel., 1915, pp. 475-6.

²⁰ See U. S. Congress, Senate, Hearings before a Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1921, part 2, p. 313.

²¹ Owing to the unstable conditions in Haiti, the United States has been obliged thus far to maintain there a number of American troops.

²² U. S. For. Rel., 1912, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1919, pp. 1139-40.

end that the electoral registration shall faithfully and exactly express the number and identity of the electors, and that the balloting be pure, thus vesting the right of suffrage with all the respectability that its present defective organization allows.

The Acting Secretary of State, on May 10, 1912, sent this note to President Taft, with the suggestion that the United States Government "consent to intervene and supervise the registration and, if necessary, the voting."²³ President Taft gave his consent to this suggestion and instructed the Department of State to name Colonel Goethals, together with the colonel commanding the regiment of infantry stationed on the Isthmus, and the American Minister to Panama "to act as a committee for the general supervision of the registration and election and for taking such suitable measures after consulting the Government and both parties, as will secure fairness in the registration and election." President Taft's decision to accept the supervision of the elections in Panama was followed by considerable correspondence between the two governments.²⁴ At first the United States was to supervise only the presidential elections which were to be held on July 14, 1912; but on June 9 Mr. Knox, Secretary of State of the United States, received a telegram from Mr. Dodge, the American Minister to Panama, saying that the (Panaman) Government and both parties request supervision to include elections for municipal council to take place June 30 in all municipalities.²⁵ In reply to this message Mr. Knox answered that the United States Government "is glad to accede to the request in your telegram of June 9, to include in the supervision the election for municipal council."²⁶ The elections were held as planned, and in his report of July 20, 1912, to the Department of State, Mr. Dodge stated that "today the committee has received a letter from the liberal and conservative branches of the Porrista Party, expressing their gratitude to the Government of the

²³ For full text of the communication, see *ibid.*, pp. 1138-9.

²⁴ For a full account of the correspondence, see *ibid.*, pp. 1133-65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1146.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1147.

United States and to the committee for 'the great service rendered to our country by having secured free and pure elections.'"²⁷

Supervision of Elections and the Monroe Doctrine

From the instances cited above, it may be seen that our Government has freely been called upon to supervise and has supervised elections in various Latin American republics. It is well known, of course, that the Government of this country has frequently been accused of ulterior motives and as having a special interest in supervising such elections. To deny this would be misstating the case. The United States has indeed both an ulterior motive and a special interest in these matters: There must be peace in these neighboring States, so that European nations will have no occasion to intervene in this hemisphere. The lives and property of foreigners, both American and European, in those republics will not be secure unless it is known that such life and property will be protected; and somebody has got to do the protecting. More than a hundred years ago President Monroe proclaimed that we should consider any attempt on the part of the European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." This declaration, says Elihu Root, "has grown continually a more vital and insistent rule of conduct for each succeeding generation of Americans."²⁸ The Monroe Doc-

trine, says this well-known authority, "is not international law, but it rests upon the right of self-protection, and that right is recognized by international law."²⁹ The Monroe doctrine, according to John Bassett Moore, "has been regarded by the United States as justifying the latter's recent enforcement in Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere of precisely such measures of supervision and control as it is understood to forbid non-American powers to adopt in American countries."³⁰ Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, another eminent authority on international law, states that "as the policy embodied in the Monroe Doctrine is distinctly the policy of the United States, the Government of the United States reserves to itself its definition, interpretation, and application."³¹ The Monroe Doctrine has, in fact, been defined and interpreted by numerous American presidents, statesmen, and legal authorities. The keynote of these interpretations seems to be, as Charles Cheney Hyde points out, not so much "the broad ground of self-preservation, but the narrower yet firmer basis of one form of self-preservation, that of self-defense, on which justification rests."³²

The question, therefore, in regard to the supervision of elections by our Government in Nicaragua or elsewhere prompts another question, namely, Are the people of the United States willing at this time to abandon their position as sole judge in respect of the security of their country in this hemisphere? If so, there is no need of any Monroe Doctrine in any shape or form. If not, the critics are wasting their breath.

²⁷ For full text of the report, see *ibid.*, pp. 1160-64.

²⁸ Root, *The Real Monroe Doctrine*, Presidential address to the eighth annual meeting of the American Society of International Law, published in *Addresses on International Subjects*, collected and edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott, Cambridge, 1916, p. 108.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³⁰ Moore, *Principles of American Diplomacy*, p. XI.

³¹ Hughes, *Observations on the Monroe Doctrine*. An address before the American Bar Association at Minneapolis, Minnesota, August 30, 1923, p. 7.

³² See Hyde, *International Law*, vol. 1, p. 119; see, also, *ibid.*, p. 133ff.

A GERMAN WITNESS TO PEACE

By HERMANN S. FICKE

GUSTAV FRESSEN has probably as large a following as any German writer of the present day. It is significant that he has borne no uncertain witness for the cause of peace in three of his novels. Since comparatively few readers in America take the trouble to read German books in the original, it may be well to present some of the thoughts of a peace-loving German to the friends of peace in America.

In "Peter Moor's Journey to the Southwest" (1906), he gives a picture of the war against the natives in Africa. He puts the account into the mouth of a simple-minded German soldier, who simply relates what he has experienced. The plain, unadorned narrative presents a terrible picture of the suffering on both sides, always against the background of a soul-destroying thirst. The campaign ends with victory, and we see a whole people disappearing into the desert; the cloud of sand and dust covers them. After a heroic struggle, the natives choose to perish of hunger and thirst rather than be slaves. How often in literature has a European given even the slightest sympathy to the natives of Equatorial Africa?

There is one passage in the book which deserves quoting. Like many others, Fressen saw the danger of the growing enmity between Germany and England, and he is one of those who strove to ward off the danger. He lets a first lieutenant of the German navy say:

We seamen think otherwise about the English than do the landmen. We meet them in all the harbors of the earth, and we know that they are most worthy of respect. Behind those high chalk cliffs dwells the first people of the earth—distinguished, wise in the ways of the world, brave, united, and rich. But we? Only one of these qualities do we have from of old—bravery. Another we are gaining slowly—wealth. Shall we ever have the others? That is for us the living question.

This was written before the World War. "The Pastor of Poggsee" was published in 1921. In it the history of the war is told from the point of view of a country minister. Just read the words

in which he tells what the beginning of the war meant to the common people of Germany:

Krieg! . . . Krieg!

Kein Hurra in den deutschen Dörfern.

War! . . . War!

No hurrah in the German villages. No high-sounding words! No enthusiasm! A will to war? Joy of war? Oh, a nameless, deep sorrow that now the fate of humanity is killing human beings and burning houses!

The entire sixteenth chapter should be read to get the mood of a people who enter a conflict with despair in their hearts.

When the end comes, the good pastor calls together his flock. What does he say? These are his words:

For fifty years the German people had only good fortune. Just as a man whose reputation in the community increases year by year, so it was with the German people. Such a long and great period of good fortune can neither a man nor a nation enjoy without suffering harm to its soul. The German people lived too much in external things. Eating and drinking, laughing and getting ahead in the world, loans and bank books—that was too much the contents of our life. If one had to give a representation of a typical German, one would have to put a bank book in his left hand and a scientific instrument in his right hand. Honorable things, but not enough. A nation must have depth.

Upon whom does the guilt rest? Upon the Emperor and the government alone? No; upon us all. For every one of the older men in Germany one of these facts is true: either he took part in the restless saber-rattling, gold-grabbing life or he saw it and recognized it, and because of a lack of self-confidence he held his peace. To this class of donkeys do I belong. Or he did not see it and feel it because he was too stupid in matters of politics. And so the misfortune had to come upon us. I believe that in the eyes of God our stupidity was the greatest sin.

But Frennsen does not close with any note of despair. He believes that finally human morality will rise to higher levels and throughout the world man's relation to man will be ennobled.

Gustav Frennsen's latest book is the semi-autobiographical novel, "Otto Barendiek" (1926). He has allowed himself 1,291 pages to picture the Germany of our own day. If one does not know German, it would pay one to learn the language simply to get the picture of the soul of a nation which is presented in this book. The author's political creed will give some idea of his point of view. "I sprang from the free, republican peasantry. I cannot think and feel Prussian. My thought and my feelings are wider and milder. I think and feel German and European." To that ideal he is true, and he pictures the whole range of German life, from the blacksmith's son, who is the hero of the story, to William II, whom we see in the hour of defeat.

The war chapters of the book are painted with the darkest colors. An absolutely relentless realism gives every base and sordid detail of the conflict in Russia and on the Western Front. Nor does he spare his own countrymen. One of his finest psychological studies is that of the development of the soul of a man devoted to treason to his family and his country.

Worse than the days of the war were the days after the war, when the industrious and the thrifty lost every pfennig of their savings, and the shiftless and the unscrupulous found that the fall of the mark had wiped out all of their debts. No critic of Germany has ever painted a blacker picture than that of the soulless "Schieber" (profiteer) who gained wealth at the expense of his ruined countrymen. Frennsen shows that the new Germany is able to make an intelligent criticism of it-

self. As he looks into the future, he sees no cause for pessimism. It was good that the old was destroyed, because it will make place for a better and more humane way of living.

All this is fiction, but now for fact. On the first of August I was in the great cathedral of the city of Bremen. The service was one of commemoration of the beginning of the World War. What text did the preacher choose? What text would you have chosen for such an occasion? He spoke on the words "Who Sinned?" (John 9:2). Just as in the time of the Master, people occupied themselves in fruitless discussions as to the guilt of their neighbors, so our own age likes to engage in equally fruitless discussion of the sins of other nations. The duty of the German people is not to waste time in discussing the question "Who Sinned?" but rather to face the future and see that the German Republic does its part in establishing a better world. The question of war had better be left to the trained and impartial historians of the future. Youth especially must keep itself strong and pure, that it may do its part in the new age. The sermon closed with a quotation from a modern German poet, which emphasizes this very point:

Und, Junge, halt die Augen rein,
Sie sollen Gottes spiegel sein.

We all have heard the voices of war when they sounded in the old Germany. In the spirit of fair play, should we not also recognize that the new German Republic is producing thinkers who are trying to lay the foundations of a lasting peace?

"War breeds war; vengeance is repaid by vengeance. Let us now try the new policy of friendliness and good will."

—ERASMUS.

TREATMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV MINORITY IN TRIESTE AND ISTRIA A DANGER TO THE PEACE OF EUROPE

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

HISTORY has shown that the greatest danger to the public peace lies in the oppression of foreign minorities within the frontiers of any State. The existence of the question of Alsace-Lorraine made Europe for nearly fifty years an armed camp, until the top-heavy weight of armaments ended by provoking the inevitable catastrophe of the World War. So clear was the lesson that in order to prevent the recurrence of such a state of things President Wilson enunciated the doctrine of the self-determination of peoples.

It is to this doctrine that all the smaller States, which have come into being as the result of the victory of the Allies, owe their existence. The chief task of the Peace Conference was to draw the new frontiers of Europe in such a way as to give liberty and independence to the races and peoples formerly held under a foreign yoke. It was, unfortunately, especially in the case of the succession States created by the break-up of the Austrian Empire, beyond the skill of man to draw the frontiers in such a way as to eliminate *all* foreign minorities. The various peoples were too inextricably mixed up to allow any line of cleavage being drawn such as would not create a foreign minority on one or the other side of the frontier.

All that the Peace Conference could do was to insert in the treaties creating the succession States a series of clauses guaranteeing good treatment and a reasonable amount of autonomy for the various minorities. The various governments had to give undertakings to respect language, schools, press, and churches of such minorities and to guarantee that they should not be deprived of any constitutional or civic rights accorded to the citizens forming the majority of the nation. With good and humane treatment of the minorities it was hoped that in a generation or two they would be absorbed and assimilated by the mass of the nation.

Unfortunately, though the Peace Conference insisted on these guarantees being

given by the new States, it thought it superfluous to demand similar guarantees from any of the Great Powers, in spite of the fact that some of these, notably Italy, for various reasons, chiefly strategic, had taken over territories inhabited by foreigners. In the case of Italy, that power took over the whole of the southern Tyrol, inhabited by nearly a quarter of a million Germans, and the provinces of Trieste and Istria, with nearly six hundred thousand Yugoslavs.

For the first year or two after the war the policies of Italy, both domestic and foreign, did not cause serious friction with the neighboring States. But these policies have of late been such that they are calculated to arouse the deepest anxiety everywhere, revealing as they do the aggressive and intransigent spirit inspiring Fascist Italy.

The establishment by Italy of what is practically an economic and political protectorate over Albania is viewed with the most profound distrust and hostility in Belgrade. The high-handed treatment meted out to the German-speaking population of the Tyrol (or, as the Italians prefer to call it, the *Alte Adige*) has aroused boundless indignation in Austria and Germany, while the conflict with the Vatican and the drastic measures taken against the Boy Scouts and other Catholic organizations in Italy shows a spirit of Fascist intolerance which has given deep offense to a large section of the Italian people. The recent seizure of 2,000 machine guns en route from Italy to Hungary, the outward proof of a flagrant breach of their treaty obligations on the part of these two States, has still further deepened the distrust of Italian policy prevalent in the neighboring countries.

But this series of political acts of the Mussolini Government, calculated to inspire anxiety in foreign countries, does not exhaust the list. There remains the oppressive and repressive policy of the Fascist régime toward the Yugoslav section of the inhabitants of the provinces of

Trieste and Istria. The very fact that the Belgrade Government has officially made little or no comment on this is of itself ominous. That government knows that any appeal to public opinion in Europe would only cause the Fascist Government to redouble its severity toward the half million Croats and Slovenes in the provinces of Trieste and Istria. Under these circumstances any diplomatic conversations undertaken by the Belgrade Government in Rome would promptly become embittered and might lead to incalculable consequences. It is for this reason that it can only look on in silence at acts of repression exercised against the Yugoslav population of Trieste and Istria, acts which are causing ever-increasing bitterness toward Italy among the Croat and Slovene populations of the Yugoslav kingdom.

The inland population of Trieste and Istria is, in the great majority, Yugoslav (Croat and Slovene). It numbers over half a million souls. It is only in the coast towns, Capodistria, Pirano, Umago, Cittanuova, Rovigno, Polo, etc., that the Italians are in a majority. This preponderance of the Yugoslav element in compact masses was recognized by the Italian Government at the moment of the annexation of the two provinces. By order of the Supreme Command of the Italian Army of Occupation the following proclamation was read out from the altar by the priests in every parish church in the two provinces:

Slovenes! Italy, the great State of Liberty, gives you the same civic rights as she gives her other citizens. She will give you schools in your own language, more numerous than Austria gave you. Your religion will be respected, because it is the Catholic religion, that of all Italy. Slovenes, rest assured that Italy, great and victorious, will take care of her citizens, no matter what is their nationality.

A few months later Signor Tittoni, the Italian Prime Minister, on September 20, 1919, made the following solemn declaration in the Parliament:

By various stipulations inserted in the peace treaties, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Serbia have been compelled to respect the language, religion, culture,

schools, and all the liberal institutions of their national minorities, and it is absolutely essential that these stipulations should be strictly and legally observed.

As one of the Great Powers, Italy is not bound by any juridical stipulations to observe such conditions, but, in my opinion, she is bound, in virtue of the liberal traditions which are her glory and her privilege, to act in the same way. The peoples of other nationalities who are united with us must realize that every idea of oppression or of denationalization is foreign to us; that their language and their cultural institutions will be respected, and that their administrative officials will enjoy all the privileges of our liberal and democratic legislation.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo, which was supposed to seal the bond of friendship between Italy and the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Count Sforza, then Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, still further emphasized Italy's good intentions toward her Yugoslav subjects. Speaking in the Parliament on November 26, 1920, he declared:

In order to realize that verse of Dante which defines in immortal fashion Italy's borders on the Quarnero, we have to receive into our midst hundreds of thousands of Slavs in order to secure that Julian frontier which the blood of our soldiers has consecrated.

To these Slavs, who ought, moreover, to remain in contact with their natural, but intensely Italian (*italianissimi*), capitals, Gorizia and Trieste, we shall guarantee the most ample liberty of language and culture. This will be for us at once a point of honor and an act of political wisdom. Let us be certain, therefore, that also in this respect our new citizens will soon feel satisfied to belong to a Great Power which, strong in her incomparable culture, respects their local life with jealous care.

This point of view was approved by the Parliament by a resolution passed on November 7, 1920. A year later Signor Giolitti, as Prime Minister, declared that his government adopted this point of view. It was also endorsed by Signor Bonomi when he succeeded Signor Giolitti as Premier in the same year.

A few months later came the Fascist revolution, the now historic march on Rome, and the advent to power of Signor Mussolini. Then the whole policy toward the minorities within the State underwent a drastic change. There was a complete repudiation of all the engagements entered into by the statesmen of the preceding régime and a cynical reversal of all the measures taken to respect the habits and customs and the political and religious freedom of the Yugoslav population. As a result of this political *volte-face*, the Croats and Slovenes of the provinces of Trieste and Istria charge the Italian Government with having destroyed their provincial and communal autonomy, which it had explicitly promised to respect. They further charge the government with having closed their schools and with seeking to banish their language by every possible means from the schools, from the administration, from the courts of justice, from the church, and even from the public and private signs, with having destroyed all political liberty, with having, to all intents and purposes, suppressed the right of association, and with having rendered the liberty of the press a dead letter.

The abolition of the provincial and communal autonomy which had existed under the Austrian régime, and which the Italian Government had explicitly promised to respect, was accomplished by the abolition of the old Austrian administrative divisions. Venezia Giulia was cut up into five new provinces, Udine, Trieste, Istria, the Quarnero, and Fiume. The former provincial diets were abolished.

The abolition of the communal autonomy was accomplished by getting rid of the mayors chosen by the vote of the inhabitants of the towns and villages and replacing them by "podestas" appointed by the prefects and directly responsible to the Minister of the Interior at Rome. The municipal councils, which under the mayors had formerly administered the communes, became mere consultative bodies. Thus provincial and communal autonomy were alike suppressed and all power passed into the hands of the central authority in Rome.

The next step was to crush the Slav language out of existence. The machinery adopted for this is known as the *Reforma Gentile*. This makes the use of the

Italian language compulsory in all schools from the very lowest grade. This was promulgated on October 24, 1925, soon after Signor Mussolini seized power. The Slav language is thus to be eliminated step by step and year by year. Certain optional lessons were, it is true, reserved for Croats and Slovenes, but this was rendered a dead letter by the decisions of the local school authorities, and were finally suppressed by the law of October 22, 1925. From that time on all primary instruction was to be given in Italian. In many instances the Italian teachers who replaced the Croat and Slovene teachers (650 of these were dismissed without compensation) were unable to make themselves understood by the children they were supposed to educate.

By a ministerial decree issued by Signor Fedele, Minister of Public Instruction, on February 17, 1927, the government was given the right to transfer teachers in Venezia Giulia to the interior of Italy. This will get rid of the 150 Slav teachers remaining in Istria. It is further forbidden to impart religious instruction in the Slav language after the third grade in the primary schools.

As the result of this repressive policy, the 540 Slav schools which existed at the time of the armistice have been abolished. Only two Slav schools now remain, a private school at San Giacomo, Trieste, and the primary school of the Greek orthodox parish in Trieste. But the Italian authorities did not limit their activities to the primary and secondary schools. They also attacked the Yugoslav kindergartens for very young children below school age, which existed at the time of the annexation. These were suppressed and Italian kindergartens were established in their place, under the auspices of the Lega Nazionale and the Italia Redenta Society.

Yugoslav boys and girls are compelled to join the Fascist societies, the *Balilla* for boys and the *Piccole Italiane* for girls. Parents are practically compelled to make their children join these organizations. Various and very ingenious forms of compulsion are used. Thus, when the Duchess of Aosta assumed the patronage of the kindergartens, parents who refused to contribute subscriptions were threatened with prosecution "for insulting a member of the royal family." Merchants

and innkeepers, if they wished to keep their licenses, were compelled to subscribe. In order to simplify matters, the "podestats" at the head of the communes established the kindergartens by decree, and the communes, whether they liked it or not, had to find the money for their upkeep.

It must be admitted, however, that the Fascist Government makes no secret of the aim of its policy. "The new reform," declared Signor Fedele, Minister of Public Instruction, in August, 1924, "pursues a perfectly definite political aim, viz., the denationalization of the linguistic minorities."

Having thus taken all the measures necessary to stamp out the Yugoslav language in Trieste and Istria, the next step was to attack the religious life of the population. Having checked its intellectual development, steps were then taken to undermine its spiritual support. The first step was to decree that religious instruction may no longer be imparted in the mother tongue of the Yugoslav children. All Yugoslav priests in office at the moment of the annexation who were not natives of the new provinces were expelled. Many were imprisoned; others were exiled to Sardinia and then deported. The Yugoslav religious orders were similarly treated. The Franciscans of Gorizia, Pisino, and Abbazia and the Capuchins of Sveti Kriz, near Trieste, were expelled and Italian monks sent in their place.

At the present time a great number of purely Yugoslav parishes are served by Italian priests who are ignorant of the language of their parishioners and who can therefore neither preach nor hear confession. This applies especially to Istria, where one-fourth of the Yugoslav population is thus deprived of spiritual ministrations. There remain in Istria altogether about forty Yugoslav priests—that is, one priest for every 6,500 inhabitants.

Thus the Catholic Church itself is being made an arm for political warfare on the congregations of the Yugoslav parish churches.

The next attack on Slaydom was in the domain of justice. In 1921 the Italian Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Justice gave, in the Parliament, a solemn assurance that no measures would be taken to prevent the national minorities within

the new frontiers of the kingdom from using their own languages in the courts of justice, in accordance with the administrative custom which had prevailed under the Austrian régime.

This, however, turned out to be a vain promise. In practice everything was done to eliminate the Yugoslav language. The Italian judges opposed the force of inertia. They could not understand documents written in Croat or Slovene; they had to be translated. At the court hearings they demanded interpreters, certified translators, etc., all of which increased tremendously the costs of litigation. All this was the result of the removal of the judges able to understand the Slav language and their transfer to courts in the Italian peninsula. Very soon it was *de facto* impossible to make use of a Slav language in a court of law.

All laws and governmental decrees are now published exclusively in Italian. As the government, in extending the laws in force in the kingdom of Italy to the new provinces, does not take the trouble to have them specially promulgated and often omits to mention the Austrian laws it intends to abrogate, the result is an inextricable confusion in the domain of law and justice. In this anarchy even the best lawyers are compelled to admit their inability to discern the legal dispositions which must be observed. The new citizens are thus deprived of all civil and constitutional rights, as they do not know which of the old laws remain in force and which have ceased to apply.

For a considerable time after the annexation of the new provinces a pretense was made that the liberal régime solemnly promised by the Tittoni Government would be maintained. Bit by bit, however, this was abandoned until, on October 15, 1925, this was abolished by royal decree.

Article 1 of this ran as follows:

In all civil and criminal proceedings throughout the kingdom only the Italian language is permissible. Petitions, memorials, appeals, or any other documents whatever drawn up in any other language will not be considered and cannot prevent forfeiture. Evidence, expert opinions, inquiries, and resolutions, as also all documents and records connected in any way whatever with

civil or criminal proceedings, are null and void when drawn up in any other than the Italian language. Persons who do not understand Italian cannot be empaneled as jurors.

Article 2 states:

All contraventions of the provisions of the preceding article render offenders liable to fines of from 100 to 1,000 lire. In case of a repetition of the offense the fine may be raised to 5,000 lire.

This article further provides that if the convicted party should be a judge or an officer of the court the penalty shall consist in suspension from his functions and deprivation of his salary for a period of not less than three months nor in excess of one year and dismissal from office if the offense be repeated. There would, however, be little chance of repetition, as the article further provides that to the penalty of suspension is added that of transfer to another (naturally Italian) locality.

The declaration that persons imperfectly acquainted with the Italian language cannot serve on juries deprives all Slav-speaking citizens of their constitutional rights.

The government officials further announced that no consideration would be given to any document in the Yugoslav language. In the new provinces the question of war compensation has become a delicate one, as no fewer than 370 edicts, many of them contradictory, have been issued regarding it. In 1919 estimates of war damage presented in the Slav language were accepted. Two years later all these documents were declared invalid and orders were given that they should be drawn up afresh in Italian and a "petition tax" paid when the new documents were presented. Many of the families no longer possessed the data on which the original claims had been based. In 1921 the Civil Commissioner at Abbazia (a purely Slav region) announced officially that "he would consign to the waste-paper basket all correspondence addressed to him in any other language than Italian."

On February 12, 1920, the Direction of Posts and Telegraphs at Trieste addressed the following circular (No. 5107/5a/20) to all the post offices in the province:

The only living language which may be used in the writing of telegrams are Italian, French, English, German, and Japanese. Telegrams drawn up in any other language will not be accepted.

In 1915 the Royal Italian Geographical Society began to prepare the new geographical terminology destined for the provinces the annexation of which was contemplated. On April 27, 1923, the "Official Gazette" issued a first list of new names for the provinces of Venizia Giulia (the collective name for the old Austrian territories lying east of the Isonzo), which the public had to learn as fast as possible, as letters which did not bear the new Italian name were sent to the dead-letter office. At the same time the Slav population was ordered to Italianize its names. "The termination 'itch'" (this means "son" and is the most common ending of Yugoslav names) "must disappear altogether," wrote the *Piccolo* of Trieste in April, 1927. "The Fascist party desires that none but Venitian names shall henceforth be used from Trieste to Postumia" (the new name of Postojna or Adelsberg).

It is needless to say that the Slav press was placed under the closest supervision. Any journal that received two notices from the police that its policy was displeasing to the authorities could be suppressed. Every Slav newspaper in the new provinces has received one notice. The Fascist *Popolo di Trieste* calls for their complete suppression. "Let us destroy the Yugoslav papers," it wrote in March, 1927; "let us drive a knife deep into this festering wound and suppress the ulcer without mercy."

There have further been a series of acts of violence by the Fascisti against Slav institutions and Slav newspapers. These culminated on July 13, 1923, when the Fascist mob attacked, looted, and burned the *Narodni Dom* at Trieste. This immense building, the value of which was estimated at 15,000,000 lire, was completely destroyed. On the same day the mob attacked the offices of the Adriatic Bank and did damage estimated at 3,750,000 lire. On the same day the *Narodni Dom* at Pola was looted and burned. The loss was estimated at 5,000,000 lire.

These crimes of violence have of late

become more rare, but they have not ceased entirely. Last November the Fascisti attacked and looted the Trgovski Dom at Gorizia and afterward made it the head-

quarters of the Fascist party. The total damage caused by acts of violence since the annexation of the new provinces is estimated at 36,000,000 lire.

MR. KELLOGG'S PROPOSAL TO THE GREAT POWERS EXAMINED FROM A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW

By J. H. VAN LAER, LL. D.*

BY PLACING M. Briand's draft of a treaty against war between France and the United States before the Great Powers with the purpose of arriving, by the adherence of as many States as possible, to a multilateral treaty, Mr. Kellogg has not only given a larger extension to the original idea, but has also made the subject a great deal more complicated in a legal sense. While at first only the relations between the two countries had to be considered, now those between all participating States have to be tested with respect to the proposal.

This the French Government has already pointed out in its note to the United States of January 21, 1928, and, although accepting the principle of a multilateral treaty, deemed it necessary to alter its original point of view, conscious, as it declared, of its obligations assumed with regard to other States by virtue of its membership of the League of Nations, the treaties of Locarno, and some guaranties of neutrality, given by France. The French Government made several reservations in this respect and altered the original formula of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy so that such renunciation would refer only to wars of aggression.

Apart from the question whether this point of view of the French Government is sufficiently founded, it must be admitted that by giving the treaty a multilateral character, not only the relations of France and the United States to the other signatories, but those between all participating States mutually come to the

fore. At the same time the question presents itself, whether the original sober project of a few plain articles still can make pretense to being exhaustive. This question can best be answered by examining the relations between the two countries, which the project originally was meant for, and then by testing the result of the examination with regard to the mutual relations of all participating States.

France and the United States

Between France and the United States there exist already ample conciliation and arbitration treaties, the latter for legal disputes, the former for all other differences. The conciliation treaty, dated September 15, 1914, comprises "any disputes arising between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, of whatever nature they may be, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the high contracting parties do not have recourse to arbitration." On the occasion of the renewal of the so-called Root-Jusserand arbitration treaty of 1908, on February 6, 1928, the description of the disputes subject to arbitration was considerably extended by dropping of the exclusion of disputes regarding "the vital interests, the independence or the honor" of the contracting countries, a category which leads to arbitrary interpretation. The treaty regards "all differences relating to international matters, in which the high contracting parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other, under treaty or otherwise, which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application

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of the principles of law or equity." Article 3 of the treaty excludes "any disputes the subject-matter of which (a) is within the domestic jurisdiction of either of the high contracting parties; (b) involves the interests of third parties; (c) depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe Doctrine; (d) depends upon or involves the observance of the obligations of France in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations." In an important address delivered by Mr. Kellogg, on March 15, 1928, at New York City, before the Council on Foreign Relations, which address (published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, April, 1928) is of great value for the understanding of the American point of view in this matter, the Secretary of State declared: "It is difficult for me to see by what claim of right any government could properly request arbitration of disputes covered by those exceptions, since few, if any, would present questions justiciable in their nature. As a practical matter, therefore, I do not feel that the general applicability of the new treaty is materially restricted by the four clauses of exclusion."

Assuming this opinion to be right, and, starting from the American principle, that only legal disputes are susceptible to arbitration, and that differences which do not belong to that category should be settled by other pacific means, such as conciliation and good offices, one may suppose that both countries have safeguarded their friendly relations as much as possible by security treaties. In this construction a treaty against war which definitely excludes war as an instrument of national policy and refers to pacific means for the settlement of all arising disputes is exactly fitting and makes the keystone of the edifice.

An Objection and the Way Out

Can the same be said of Mr. Kellogg's proposal with respect to States which mutually are not yet bound by effectual security treaties, and is it not likely that, as soon as a difference will arise between them, a lacuna will present itself, namely, that the pacific means to which the treaty

refers, for the settlement of the dispute, are not clearly indicated, nor in any way elaborated in the pact? This lacuna will be the more fatal because, a dispute once arisen and the will for a pacific settlement still existing, circumstances are, as a rule, unfavorable towards establishing an impartial *modus procedendi*. The treaty would then prove to be ineffective for want of what should really be its foundation.

This objection, which should not be underestimated, might be met by fixing this foundation simultaneously with the conclusion of the treaty against war, namely, by joining to the treaty, by way of annex or subsequent convention, a multilateral security treaty on behalf of those States which have not yet mutually arranged this matter. To that end a choice will have to be made between (a) the model treaties used by the United States; (b) the arbitration treaties of Locarno; (c) new model treaties to be drafted by the Committee on Arbitration and Security of the League of Nations. In this connection there must be taken in consideration, on the one hand, the fact that the United States of America, although free as any State to make use of the Permanent Court of International Justice, does not as yet participate in it; on the other, that various members of the League, by ratifying the so-called optional clause, have accepted the jurisdiction of that court in case of disputes described in article 36, paragraph 2, of the statute. As a rule, the Permanent Court of Arbitration created by The Hague Convention might be appointed for arbitral settlement, while the members of the League of Nations for mutual differences might declare the Permanent Court of International Justice competent by special agreement, in so far as this has not yet been done.

For the sake of uniformity and in order to insure a regular execution, it certainly would be desirable for all parties to be joined by the same security pacts. The sixth Pan-American Conference, held from January 16 to February 20, 1928, at Habana, adopted a resolution which, condemning war as an instrument of national policy in the mutual relations between States and referring to

arbitration for the settlement of justiciable disputes, provides for the convening of a conference at Washington within one year for the drafting of model arbitration and conciliation treaties. In February the second session of the Committee on Arbitration and Security of the League of Nations, which has not yet finished its task, was opened at Geneva. Would it not be advisable to take into account the results obtained by both these conferences?

The Government of the United States is concluding security treaties with several countries on the same basis as just agreed upon with France. It would seem to follow that it will not be efficacious for the United States to consolidate its own position by concluding arbitration and conciliation treaties with as many States as possible, unless all States participating in the pact against war are to be bound mutually by security treaties of satisfactory tendency, if possible, in uniform terms.

In this connection may be mentioned the draft treaties of the American Foundation and of Professors Shotwell and Chamberlain, which also provide for a multilateral obligation of the pacific settlement of disputes.

The French counter-proposal, bringing into prominence the right of legitimate defense within the framework of existing treaties, declares in article 1 to condemn war and to renounce it as an instrument of national policy, adding that this expression must be understood as a spontaneous, independent action, and not as one in which the parties might be involved by virtue of treaties, such as the Covenant of the League of Nations or other kind. Article 2 is like article 2 of the Kellogg proposal, while the other clauses contain three more reservations: (a) the liberty of action against the party which might violate the treaty; (b) regarding the rights and obligations resulting from existing international conventions; (c) the condition that the treaty shall be universal.

It certainly is significant that the French Government has deemed it advisable to alter the project, which is of French origin, as regards the definition

of war, which it is willing to renounce. Due to M. Kellogg's initiative, this will serve no more as merely the foundation of a bilateral treaty between the two countries, but as a pact open to the adherence of several States. Thus the spirit of Geneva presents itself—the "war of aggression," that obstacle of the League of Nations, makes its appearance.

The first question is, Does the Kellogg project exclude the right of legitimate defense?

In his remarkable message to the American people of April 6, 1927, in which M. Briand introduces the proposal, the Minister says: "If there were need for these two great democracies (the United States and France) to give high testimony to their desire for peace, and to furnish to other peoples an example more solemn still, France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to 'outlaw war,' to use an American expression, as between those two countries. The renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy is a conception already familiar to the signatories of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Treaties of Locarno." M. Briand here defines the term "outlawry of war" as "renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy." A renunciation of war in a general sense, supposing this were possible, is not meant by this term; the natural right of self-defense remains intact.

In an article by Prof. James T. Shotwell, which appeared in the *New York Times* of March 1, 1928 (copied in *L'Esprit International*, April, 1928), it is stated that M. Briand in this second formula has given the practical significance of the first; and the author argues, in virtue of the results of the negotiations of Locarno, to which M. Briand in his message refers, that the conception "war as an instrument of national policy" is identical to "war of aggression."

Leaving this question aside, the present writer is of the opinion that the term "national policy" has a broader tendency than "aggression." By the latter is understood a military action—at any rate, an action which by treaty or interpreta-

tion is regarded as equivalent thereto (articles 42, 43 of the Treaty of Versailles). The formula "national policy" implies a striving after a definite, pre-conceived aim after power, economical expansion, or whatever it may be. War originating from such a cause shall, according to the project, be excluded for the future between the parties, the right of legitimate defense being left intact.

The French Government in its note of January 21, 1928, explains its altered point of view, with a reference to its rights and obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Locarno treaties, and some guaranties of neutrality. The Covenant, which in its preamble recognizes the necessity of "the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war," can hardly be said to be in conflict with a renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, not even on account of the sanctions the execution of which it imposes on the members of the League against the State who violates the Covenant, because these measures do not have the character of national policy; nor could it be said of the fulfillment of an obligation resulting from a guaranty of neutrality. The Treaty of Locarno aims exactly to maintain the *status quo*.

Put to the test of this opinion, the French reservations with regard to these treaties cannot be called well founded. At the same time it is evident that the first article of the Kellogg project, if it becomes a treaty, certainly does not exclude war for the future. The essential part of the proposal lies in the second article, ordering the pacific settlement of "all" disputes. For this reason it is of the greatest importance—the writer draws once more the attention to this point—that a multilateral security treaty should be added to the pact in order to give it the required support.

The other reservations formulated by the French Government regarding treaties already concluded and the universality of the pact will lose their importance as soon as the parties to these treaties participate in the pact against war.

In his note to the French Government of February 27, 1928, Mr. Kellogg points out that the strength of the proposal lies in the fact that the great principle of peace is embodied in a few plain articles, but that by formulating various restrictions the inspiring strength diminishes, if it is not annihilated altogether. The proposal, namely, to the Great Powers in order to arrive, by the adherence of as many States as possible, to a multilateral pact must in the writer's opinion be regarded as another covenant of a league of nations on American lines, more brief and therefore less complicated than the Covenant of the League. Regarding it from this point of view, one becomes reconciled to the general terms of the project. It embodies two principles which have also been laid down in the Covenant of the League. (See preamble and article 13.) The Kellogg project, however, has a wider scope, as it subjects all disputes to arbitration or other pacific means of settlement.

Such a covenant in American style does certainly agree with that of the League. Completed with a multilateral security pact, as given above for consideration, it will even be a valuable support to the aims of the League and bring about the solution of the problem of arbitration and security, with the result that the League will be able to give its attention wholly to that other problem, which is so closely bound up with it, that of the reduction of national armaments, for which then the foundation of solution will have been laid.

The great significance of the Kellogg proposal is that the United States has taken the initiative to co-operate, albeit in a separate organization, with the League of Nations, within the limits deemed advisable by the Government at Washington, but with an even more radical tendency.

May that co-operation be realized in the interest of a perpetual peace.

GENEVA, May 16, 1928.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM

(In its "platform," adopted at Kansas City June 13, the Republican Party adopted the following principles of faith affecting our international relations:)

Tariff

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff as a fundamental and essential principle of the economic life of this nation. While certain provisions of the present law require revision, in the light of changes in the world competitive situation since its enactment, the record of the United States since 1922 clearly shows that the fundamental protective principle of the law has been fully justified. It has stimulated the development of our natural resources, provided fuller employment at higher wages through the promotion of industrial activity, assured thereby the continuance of the farmer's major market, and further raised the standards of living and general comfort and well-being of our people. The great expansion in the wealth of our nation during the past fifty years, and particularly in the past decade, could not have been accomplished without a protective tariff system designed to promote the vital interests of all classes.

Nor have these manifest benefits been restricted to any particular section of the country. They are enjoyed throughout the land, either directly or indirectly. Their stimulus has been felt in industries, farming sections, trade circles, and communities in every quarter.

However, we realize that there are certain industries which cannot now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and a lower cost of living abroad, and we pledge the next Republican Congress to an examination and, where necessary, a revision of these schedules, to the end that American labor in these industries may again command the home market, may maintain its standard of living and may

count upon steady employment in its accustomed field.

Adherence to that policy is essential for the continued prosperity of the country. Under it the standard of living of the American people has been raised to the highest levels ever known. Its example has been eagerly followed by the rest of the world, whose experts have repeatedly reported with approval the relationship of this policy to our prosperity, with the resultant emulation of that example by other nations.

A protective tariff is as vital to American agriculture as it is to American manufacturing. The Republican Party believes that the home market, built up under the protective policy, belongs to the American farmer, and it pledges its support of legislation which will give this market to him to the full extent of his ability to supply it. Agriculture derives large benefits, not only directly from the protective duties levied on competitive farm products of foreign origin, but also indirectly from the increase in the purchasing power of American workmen employed in industries similarly protected. These benefits extend also to persons engaged in trade, transportation, and other activities.

The tariff act of 1922 has justified itself in the expansion of our foreign trade during the past five years. Our domestic exports have increased from 3.8 billions of dollars in 1922 to 4.8 billions in 1927. During the same period imports have increased from 3.1 billions to 4.4 billions. Contrary to the prophecies of its critics, the present tariff law has not hampered the natural growth in the exportation of the products of American agriculture, industry and mining, nor has it restricted the importation of foreign commodities which this country can utilize without jeopardizing its economic structure.

The United States is the largest customer in the world today. If we were not prosperous and able to buy, the rest of the world also would suffer. It is inconceivable that American labor will ever consent to the abo-

lition of protection, which would bring the American standard of living down to the level of that in Europe, or that the American farmer could survive if the enormous consuming power of the people in this country was curtailed and its market at home, if not destroyed, at least seriously impaired.

Foreign Debts

In accordance with our settled policy and platform pledges, debt settlement agreements have been negotiated with all of our foreign debtors with the exception of Armenia and Russia. That with France remains as yet unratified. Those with Greece and Austria are before the Congress for necessary authority. If the French debt settlement be included, the total amount funded is \$11,522,354,000. We have steadfastly opposed and will continue to oppose cancellation of foreign debts.

We have no desire to be oppressive or grasping, but we hold that obligations justly incurred should be honorably discharged. We know of no authority which would permit public officials, acting as trustees, to shift the burden of the war from the shoulders of foreign taxpayers to those of our own people. We believe that the settlements agreed to are fair to both the debtor nation and to the American taxpayer. Our Debt Commission took into full consideration the economic condition and resources of the debtor nations, and were ever mindful that they must be permitted to preserve and improve their economic position, to bring their budgets into balance, to place their currencies and finances on a sound basis, and to improve the standard of living of their people. Giving full weight to these considerations, we know of no fairer test than ability to pay, justly estimated.

The people can rely on the Republican Party to adhere to a foreign-debt policy now definitely established and clearly understood both at home and abroad.

Settlement of War Claims

A satisfactory solution has been found for the question of war claims. Under the act approved by the President on March 10, 1928, a provision was made for the settlement of war claims of the United States and its citizens against the German, Austrian, and Hungarian governments, and of the claims of the

nationals of these governments against the United States, and for the return to its owners of the property seized by the alien property custodian during the war, in accordance with our traditional policy of respect for private property.

Other Policies

We approve the foreign policies of the Administration of President Coolidge. We believe they express the will of the American people in working actively to build up cordial international understanding that will make world peace a permanent reality. We endorse the proposal of the Secretary of State for a multilateral treaty proposed to the principal powers of the world, to be open to the signatures of all nations, to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and declaring in favor of pacific settlement of international disputes, the first step in outlawing war. The idea has stirred the conscience of mankind and gained widespread approval, both of governments and of the people, and the conclusion of the treaty will be acclaimed as the greatest single step in history toward the conservation of peace.

In the same endeavor to substitute for war the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the Administration has concluded arbitration treaties in a form more definite and more inclusive than ever before and plans to negotiate similar treaties with all countries willing in this manner to define their policy peacefully to settle justiciable disputes. In connection with those we endorse the resolution of the Sixth Pan American Conference held at Havana, Cuba, in 1928, which called a conference on arbitration and conciliation to meet in Washington during the year, and express our earnest hope that such conference will greatly further the principles of international arbitration.

We shall continue to demand the same respect and protection for the persons and property of American citizens in foreign countries that we cheerfully accord in this country to the persons and property of aliens.

The commercial treaties which we have negotiated and those still in the process of negotiation are based on strict justice among nations, equal opportunity for trade and commerce on the most-favored-nation principle, and are simplified so as to eliminate

the danger of misunderstandings. The object and the aim of the United States is to further the cause of peace, of strict justice between nations, with due regard for the rights of others in all international dealings. Out of justice grows peace. Justice and consideration have been and will continue to be the inspiration of our nation.

The record of the Administration toward Mexico has been consistently friendly and with equal consistency have we upheld American rights. This firm, and at the same time friendly, policy has brought recognition of the inviolability of legally acquired rights. This condition has been reached without threat or without bluster, through a calm support of the recognized principles of international law with due regard to the rights of a sister sovereign State. The Republican Party will continue to support American rights in Mexico, as elsewhere in the world, and at the same time to promote and strengthen friendship and confidence.

There has always been, as there always will be, a firm friendship with Canada. American and Canadian interests are, in a large measure, identical. Our relationship is one of fine mutual understanding, and the recent exchange of diplomatic officers between the two countries is worthy of commendation.

The United States has an especial interest in the advancement and progress of all the Latin-American countries. The policy of the Republican Party will always be a policy of thorough friendship and co-operation. In the case of Nicaragua, we are engaged in co-operation with the government of that country upon the task of assisting to restore and maintain peace, order, and stability, and in no way to infringe upon her sovereign rights. The marines now in Nicaragua are there to protect American lives and property and to aid in carrying out an agreement whereby we have undertaken to do what we can to restore and maintain order and to insure a fair and free election. Our policy absolutely repudiates any idea of conquest or exploitation, and is actuated solely by an earnest and sincere desire to assist a friendly and neighboring State which has appealed for aid in a great emergency. It is the same policy the United States has pursued in other cases in Central America.

The Administration has looked with keen

sympathy on the tragic events in China. We have avoided interference in the internal affairs of that unhappy nation, merely keeping sufficient naval and military forces in China to protect the lives of the Americans who are there on legitimate business and in still larger numbers for nobly humanitarian reasons. America has not been stampeded into making reprisals, but on the other hand has consistently taken the position of leadership among the nations in a policy of wise moderation. We shall always be glad to be of assistance to China when our duty is clear.

The League of Nations

The Republican Party maintains the traditional American policy of non-interference in the political affairs of other nations. This government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the Covenant of the League. On this we stand.

In accordance, however, with the long-established American practice of giving aid and assistance to other peoples, we have most usefully assisted by co-operation in the humanitarian and technical work undertaken by the League, without involving ourselves in European politics by accepting membership.

The Republican Party has always given and will continue to give its support to the development of American foreign trade, which makes for domestic prosperity. During this administration extraordinary strides have been made in opening up new markets for American produce and manufacture. Through these foreign contacts a mutually better international understanding has been reached which aids in the maintenance of world peace.

The Republican Party promises a firm and consistent support of American persons and legitimate American interests in all parts of the world. This support will never contravene the rights of other nations. It will always have in mind and support in every way the progressive development of international law, since it is through the operation of just laws, as well as through the growth of friendly understanding, that world peace will be made permanent. To that end, the Republican Party pledges itself to aid and assist in the perfection of principles of international law and the settlement of international disputes.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN GUATEMALA AND HONDURAS

The following is the text of a communication transmitted by the American ministers in Guatemala and Honduras to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those governments on June 5, 1928.

Since 1918 the Department of State, at the request of the governments of Honduras and Guatemala, has been serving as a friendly mediator in the matter of the adjustment of the boundary between the two countries. Through this friendly and disinterested cooperation useful exchanges of views have taken place. Animated by a sincere desire to be helpful to both parties, so far as lies in my power, and after a careful review of the situation, I now feel that I would be acting in the best interests of both nations by submitting the following proposal, which I earnestly commend to their favorable consideration:

One. That the governments of Honduras and Guatemala immediately submit the question of the boundary between their territories unreservedly to arbitration by the International Central American Tribunal established by the convention of February 7, 1923, signed at Washington by the representatives of Honduras and Guatemala and duly ratified by those governments, Article I of which provides as follows: "The contracting parties agree to submit to the International Tribunal established by the present convention all controversies or questions which now exist between them or which may hereafter arise, whatever their nature or origin, in the event that they have failed to reach an understanding through diplomatic channels, or have not accepted some other form of arbitration, or have not agreed to submit said questions or controversies to the decision of another tribunal."

Two. That the said tribunal be fully empowered to fix a common boundary between Honduras and Guatemala, taking into consideration the political, economic, and commercial interest of both States, and also to determine the amount of any compensation which it may find necessary or desirable for either party to make to the other; the decisions of the tribunal to be, of course, conclusive and binding upon both parties.

Three. That the existing Mixed Commission now in recess be convened at a time and place to be designated by its chairman for the purpose of drawing up and signing the protocol contemplated in Article VII of the aforesaid convention.

I am encouraged to make this proposal because I have become firmly convinced of the sincere desire of the governments and peoples of Honduras and Guatemala to eliminate this long-pending dispute and thus consolidate and put on a permanent footing friendly relations between them, and because I am inclined to feel that this method offers a more hopeful

opportunity to arrive at a settlement than negotiations through diplomatic channels. In this connection I also venture to recall that at the Central American conference of 1923 the Governments of Honduras and Guatemala, through their duly authorized plenipotentiaries, publicly announced their decision to submit this boundary question to arbitration.

I trust that both governments may find it possible to welcome the opportunity of adjusting their differences in this manner, at the same time making to the cause of international arbitration an impressive contribution which cannot fail to call forth the unanimous approval of civilized nations throughout the world.

(Signed) FRANK B. KELLOGG.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Following is text of (1) cablegram sent to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on May 10 by the chairman of the Nationalist Government at Nanking regarding the action of the Japanese troops at Tsinan, and (2) Japanese memorandum on the same subject, sent to the Secretariat of the League on May 28:

I. CABLEGRAM OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT

NANKING, May 10.

SIR J. ERIC DRUMMOND,
Secretary General of the League of Nations, Geneva:

On behalf of the Nationalist Government of the Chinese Republic, I, the chairman of the said government, beg to draw your attention to the grave situation which arises from the dispatching of large number of Japanese troops into the Chinese province of Shantung and their hostilities committed therein, which amount to acts of war against China. On May 3 the Japanese troops at Tsinan, Capital of Shantung, fired upon Chinese soldiers and civilians, without any provocation on the part of the latter, and then set gunfire on surrounding residential quarters with the result of more than one thousand casualties. What is more horrible is that a party of Japanese soldiers invaded the office of our local Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Tsinan, arrested him, and, after having his ears and nose cut off, shot him and three members of his staff to death on the very spot.

On May 7 the Japanese military authority at Tsinan sent a note with unreasonable and impossible demands to our commander-in-chief and set twelve hours for reply. Without waiting for our reply, the Japanese troops again started warlike actions on a more extensive scale, which have not ceased at the time of wiring. Besides, more Japanese landed and naval forces are being dispatched

to Chinese territories. In spite of all this, our military and civil authorities have throughout the time acted with utmost self-restraint in conformity with government orders.

I hereby take the liberty to call your attention to the fact that the territorial integrity and political independence of China have been ruthlessly violated and the peace of nations is threatened by the aggression on the part of Japan. You are urgently requested to summon a meeting of the Council of the League, in accordance with paragraph 2 of the Article XI of the League Covenant. It is earnestly urged that the League shall request the cessation of hostilities on the part of Japanese troops and their immediate withdrawal from Shantung. As regards the final settlement of the whole affair, the Nationalist Government, being fully conscious of the righteousness of its cause, is prepared to agree to any proper arrangement for an international inquiry or arbitration.

(Signed) TAN YEN KAI.

II. JAPAN'S CASE ON TSINAN

(Japan's action in dispatching troops to the capital of Shantung has been defended in a declaration to the League of Nations as a measure of restoring order after all other methods had failed.)

The text of the Japanese statement to the League follows:

1. On January 3, 1927, Chinese rioters, instigated by extremists, made an attack in great force on the British concession at Hankow, and, defying British efforts to hold them back, occupied it. A similar outrage was repeated at the British concession at Kiukiang on January 6, 1927.

The Southern Army entered Nanking on March 24. The Communist troops belonging to it attacked the Japanese consulate and subjected the consul, members of his staff, and Japanese residents to indescribable insults, and also inflicted bodily harm upon them.

The Communist troops looted the Japanese consulate and almost all the houses of Japanese residents so completely that practically nothing was left in them. Similar or even more serious outrages were committed on the consuls of and residents belonging to other countries, and British and American warships were compelled to open fire as a protective measure.

On April 3, in the Japanese concession at Hankow, a gang of rioters, who, at the instigation of Communist agents, had been attempting to provoke disturbances, began by

purposely insulting and striking a Japanese seaman who happened to be there. They proceeded to attack Japanese shops and injure Japanese passers-by.

The situation became so critical that most of the 2,500 Japanese living in the concession left for Shanghai or for Japan.

Quit Yantze Cities

In view of such incidents transpiring alike at Nanking and Hankow, the Japanese residents at Chungking, Ishang, Shasi, Changsha, Wufu, Kiukiang, and other places on the Yangtze began to quit those places.

On December 11 the collision occurred at Canton between Communist and non-Communist groups of Chinese troops and did not come to an end until the 13th. Fortunately, foreigners in the concessions sustained no harm; but it is to be noted that the cruelty, pillage, and massacre (including that of women) which distinguished this fighting among the Chinese troops themselves defied all description. Even after the fighting was over, efforts were made to wipe out the so-called Communists, some 200 being daily arrested. They were summarily shot, without any formality, at three places in the city which were made to serve as execution grounds for the occasion. The total number of people thus put to death is estimated at 2,500.

2. The above instances constitute only a few and the most glaring of the incidents that have occurred in China during the past year. The state of affairs which for the last few years has prevailed in that country is, broadly speaking, of a piece with them. Since the first revolution civil wars have continually followed one another and have made it difficult for any peace and order to be maintained at all.

During the last few years the activities of the Communists have rendered the general conditions still more disturbed. At present the situation is such that foreign residents cannot depend, for the protection of their lives and property, on the Chinese authorities alone.

It is inevitable, therefore, that Japan, a country contiguous to China, the interests of which are profoundly involved and many of whose people live there, should, if occasion should require, endeavor to safeguard her people and her vested right by her own exertions on the spot.

Attack at Tsinan

3. When recently the Southern Army, commanded by General Chiang Kai-shek, was advancing northward from Nanking in the direction of Tsinan, Japan dispatched her troops to Tsinan for the protection of 2,000 Japanese residents there.

It need scarcely be said that this dispatch of Japanese troops was a measure of self-protection rendered unavoidable by the above-mentioned state of affairs prevailing in China. In spite of this precautionary measure taken by Japan, some Southern soldiers looted a Japanese house. This outrage originated the whole incident.

The Southern troops then at Tsinan proceeded to attack the Japanese forces and residents at various places. They murdered over a dozen Japanese residents, including women, and plundered more than 100 Japanese houses. It is to be sincerely regretted that these outrages compelled the Japanese troops to resort to force for the protection of the Japanese residents.

If it should be thought that the present deplorable incident would not have occurred but for the dispatch of Japanese troops to Tsinan, such view would obviously be erroneous in the light of the above-mentioned incidents at Hankow and Nanking, occasions on which no foreign troops were present.

4. The present dispatch of the Japanese troops is for no other purpose than to protect the lives and property of Japanese residents, and implies nothing approaching interference with the military operations of any of the Northern or Southern forces, and troops will be withdrawn as soon as the necessity for their continued presence ceases to exist, as was announced by the Japanese Government at the time they were dispatched.

When a disturbed state of affairs came into existence at Tsinan last year, the Japanese Government dispatched their troops to that district in June in order to afford the necessary protection to Japanese residents. As soon as the situation became such that the presence of the Japanese troops was no longer required, they were recalled, their complete withdrawal having been effected by September 8.

Résumé of Tsinan Incident

5. The following is a résumé of the Tsinan incident:

(a) The Japanese troops which arrived at Tsinan between the latter part of April and the 2d of May, 1928, established as the object of their protection an area containing about 80 per cent of the foreign quarters, which constitutes the principal place of abode for Japanese, and erected defense works at two points therein.

On the other hand, following the withdrawal of the Northern troops from Tsinan on April 30, the Southern troops began to arrive on May 1 in large numbers. By May 2 the number of Chinese troops in the foreign quarter and within the walled city had exceeded 70,000.

General Chiang Kai-shek, commander-in-chief of the Southern Army, who arrived on May 2, proposed to the Japanese Army commander that, as the Southern Army would by all means insure the maintenance of peace and order, the Japanese troops might speedily withdraw and the above-mentioned defense works be removed. Accordingly, the defense works were removed on the night of May 2, and some of the Japanese residents who had gone to places of safety returned to their homes.

Japanese House Looted

(b) On May 3, at 9:30 a. m., the house of a Japanese by the name of Chohel Yoshifusa was looted by regular soldiers belonging to the Southern Army. About 30 Japanese soldiers commanded by a lieutenant hastened to the scene. The plundering Chinese soldiers had fled to the neighboring Chinese barracks. From these barracks they fired on the Japanese soldiers, two of whom were wounded. The Japanese then responded to the fire.

On the outbreak of this collision the Southern troops, with which Tsinan was crowded at the time, almost simultaneously began, at various points, to fire on the Japanese troops, to massacre the Japanese residents, and to plunder Japanese houses.

(c) The Japanese troops endeavored to afford shelter and protection to the Japanese residents and also to drive the Southern troops out of the foreign quarter or to disarm them.

In the face of much danger the Japanese consul contrived on several occasions to get in touch with the Chinese and endeavored to bring about the suspension of hostilities. As, however, the Chinese troops continued

firming, probably because the orders of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek to the contrary were not obeyed, hostilities were not discontinued until the afternoon of the 5th.

Foreign Quarter Menaced

(d) At that time 4,000 Chinese troops still remained within the walled city of Tsinan, while the number of those in the neighborhood ran into tens of thousands. They dug trenches around the foreign quarter. On the neighboring hills guns were in process of being placed in position, directed on Tsinan.

If hostilities had been permitted to be opened by the Chinese in such circumstances, the Japanese troops and residents would have been placed in extreme jeopardy. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary for the Japanese troops charged with the protection of the Japanese residents to force the armed Chinese troops to leave Tsinan and the Shantung Railway without delay.

On the 7th, at 4 p. m., the chief staff officer of the Japanese troops demanded that the Chinese troops should withdraw to a limit of 20 Chinese miles (*i. e.*, about seven English miles) from Tsinan and from either side of the Shantung Railway. He also demanded the disarming of the Chinese troops who had committed outrages on the Japanese troops and residents and the punishment of the responsible officers. A reply was to be given within twelve hours.

Not only did the Chinese fail to comply with the demands, but their troops assumed an even more threatening attitude.

On the 8th the Japanese troops set about clearing the locality. By the 9th they had driven the Chinese troops around Tsinan to points outside the approximate limit of 20 Chinese miles.

Japanese Troops Fired On

(e) On the other hand, the Chinese troops within the walled city of Tsinan, including "ununiformed soldiers," were firing on the Japanese troops and on the Shantung Railway trains. On the afternoon of the 8th the Japanese troops endeavored to disarm them by pacific means, but they would not be persuaded.

In consequence, early in the morning of the 9th, the Japanese troops bombarded the points central to the position of the Chinese troops, such as the offices, within the walled city, of the Tuchun (military governor of

the province) and of the Taoyin (district governor) and the walls, and at the same time took all possible means to induce the Chinese troops to get away and escape.

As a result, early in the morning of the 11th, the greater number of the Chinese troops changed into plain clothes and escaped from within the walls. Thus, except for the "ununiformed soldiers," in ambush, the Chinese troops were driven outside the 20 Chinese-mile limit.

(f) According to particulars ascertained up to May 15, fourteen of the Japanese residents were killed by Chinese troops in the present disturbance. Most of their bodies (including those of women) bore marks of having been subject to inconceivably brutal acts of the most revolting character. Fifteen others were wounded. Various men and women were subjected to indescribable insults before the public gaze. The number of the Japanese houses looted is 131.

As to Death of Tsai

(g) With regard to the story of the alleged murder of Mr. Tsai Kung-shih, "Shantung Commissioner for Foreign Affairs," and of the members of his staff, which is bruited abroad by the Chinese, it may be remarked that, on the outbreak of the disturbance on May 3, the Chinese troops and "ununiformed soldiers" fired indiscriminately at the Japanese, whether soldiers or civilians, from within any buildings where they could find a foothold. In fact, their fire from the commissioner's office (which was not known to be such by the Japanese troops engaged in fighting in that quarter) killed two Japanese soldiers.

In the evening of the same day part of the Japanese troops went on patrol. Over a dozen Chinese, who were lurking inside the commissioner's office, suddenly opened fire on these Japanese soldiers, who could not but respond to the fire and overpower them. Whether these included Mr. Tsai is not known.

It need scarcely be stated, however, that the Japanese troops would never in any case kill a single non-resisting Chinese citizen. Still less need it be said that the allegation regarding the "cutting off of nose and ears" is simply impossible, from the very nature of the character and habits of the Japanese people.

Blames Southern Soldiers

6. The following points call for special attention in a survey of the circumstances attending the Tsinan incident:

(a) The unfortunate incident owes its origin to the fact that Southern soldiers looted the house of a Japanese resident and that they fired on the Japanese soldiers who went to the rescue.

(b) Before the incident occurred the responsible officers of the Southern Army repeatedly declared that they would assume the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order, and demanded the removal of the Japanese defense works.

The Japanese troops removed the defense works on the night which, it so happened, preceded the outbreak of the disturbances and some of the Japanese residents who had gone to places of safety returned home.

(c) The incident occurred immediately after the Japanese defense works were removed. At the moment that happened the Chinese troops in various places simultaneously began to attack the Japanese troops and to outrage and plunder the Japanese residents. This outrage and plunder were almost entirely confined to the Japanese.

These circumstances created the impression that the disturbance was designedly brought about by the Chinese, at least by the lower classes among them.

Peace Efforts Blocked

(d) In the face of much difficulty the Japanese repeatedly established contact with the Chinese and arranged for the suspension of hostilities. On each occasion orders failed to be obeyed on the Chinese side and hostilities had necessarily to be continued.

(e) As the Chinese troops, including "un-uniformed soldiers," fired indiscriminately under cover of any houses they could find, the Japanese troops had to engage in street fighting under the most difficult circumstances.

(f) The brutalities which the Chinese soldiers committed on some of the resident Japanese men and women immediately after the incident occurred are so cruel that description of them is impossible.

(g) It is alleged that the limit of twelve hours attached to the demand which was made by the Japanese commander on the 7th gave the Southern Army scarcely any time for consideration. It must be noted,

however, that at that moment the circumstances were so urgent that the Japanese commander was convinced that, if there were any delay, sharp practice on the part of the Southern troops would find its opportunity, and place not only the Japanese residents but the Japanese troops themselves in the most dangerous position. His precaution was but natural in view of the faithlessness hitherto manifested on the Chinese side.

News in Brief

NO LYNCHINGS TOOK PLACE anywhere in the United States during the first four months of 1928. This is the first time in the thirty-nine-year period since 1889, when the record has been kept, that such a thing could be reported.

A RECENT DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT of Czechoslovakia, ruling that hereafter local authorities may correspond with one another in the language most convenient, is hailed as a step toward better understanding between nationalities in this republic. Hitherto only Czech was permissible in such cases, which constituted a grievance for non-Slav minorities.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE will be the theme of the first international conference, meeting in Paris, July 1-13, this summer. Dr. René Sand, who visited the United States in the interests of the Red Cross during the war, is the secretary general of the conference.

THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT HAS DECIDED to drop Arabic for the Latin alphabet. Fifteen years will be allowed for the 14,000,000 inhabitants to learn the western system, during which time both alphabets may be used. The difficulty of Arabic is considered to be largely responsible for the illiteracy in Turkey. Since French has been obligatory in the schools for nearly ten years, the transition will not be difficult for school boys.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS will hold its next session in the ancient city of Kyoto, Japan, in November, 1929.

HAWAII WILL CELEBRATE the sesquicentennial of Captain Cook's discovery of the islands August 15-20. Among the elaborate preparations for the event will be a masque written by a Honolulu poet, and representing the native life on the islands at the time of the landing of the English seamen.

A "LISTENING-IN" DEVICE, whereby persons attending the League of Nations sessions can hear the words of any speaker translated instantly in any one of five different languages, is now being perfected by experiment. Earphones connect with translators' microphones, and thus the waste of time, because of language differences, will be largely eliminated.

THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD UNITY will hold its third conference, with a lecture program, followed by informal discussions, at Green Acre, Elliot, Maine, from July 30 to August 24.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION will hold two summer conferences this year; one in Racine, Wisconsin, August 1-14; the other in Estes Park, Colorado, August 19-31.

A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES of some peace, women's, farm, labor, and civic organizations was called by the Peoples' Lobby, in Washington, May 12, and drew up a plank on international relations to be submitted to both political conventions this summer. The plank specifies various ways in which such matters as intervention, supervision of elections in other countries, and supervision of concessions should, if necessary at all, be undertaken, not by executive action of any one country, but by commissions of representatives from several neighboring nations.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION numbers among its activities conferences upon such problems as the treatment of foreign students in the United States; the status of the returned Chinese student; international fellowships; methods in which means of bibliographical research, destroyed by the war, and scholarly magazines, ruined by the war, may be revived. It also publishes a "Guide Book for Foreign Students in the United States," which has been translated into Spanish, German, and Russian.

ANOTHER CONSIGNMENT OF BOOKS, written by Argentinian authors, was presented by Argentina to the Library of Congress in May.

The intention of this gift is to make the culture of Argentina better known in the United States and so strengthen the bonds that unite the two countries.

THE NICARAAGUAN NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION has fixed the registration of voters in the coming presidential elections for September 23, 26 and 30, and October 3 and 7. The election date has been fixed for November 4.

A SECOND PAN AMERICAN CONGRESS OF JOURNALISTS will be held in 1930 in Montevideo, Uruguay. The first congress was in Washington in 1926.

A DIVISION OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION has been established by the Pan American Union, to carry out the terms of several resolutions on agriculture adopted at the sixth international conference of American States recently meeting at Havana.

THE NORTHWEST SESSION of the Institute of International Relations will meet at the University of Washington, Seattle, July 22-27, 1928.

CHILE HAS OPENED TO TRADE THE FRONTIER between Tacna-Arica and Peru. This frontier was closed when plebiscite proceedings were in preparation.

NEWTON D. BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR under President Wilson, has been appointed fourth member of the American delegation to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The other three members are Elihu Root, John Bassett Moore, and Charles Evans Hughes.

ADVANCEMENT OF WORLD PEACE through fellowship of business and professional men was the main theme of the Rotary International Convention which recently met in Minneapolis. Approximately forty-four nations were represented.

A MONUMENT TO WOODROW WILSON, gift of Americans of Czechoslovak origin, was unveiled in Prague on July 4. The statue is intended to symbolize the friendship and aid of the United States to Czechoslovakia during and since the World War.

ABOUT \$241,000,000 ARE ANNUALLY SENT back home by foreign immigrants, as estimated by the Department of Commerce. An offsetting \$35,000,000 were brought into this country by the 270,292 immigrants admitted in 1927, leaving a balance of some \$206,000,000 exported.

AMERICAN TOURISTS SPENT ABROAD in 1927 \$617,000,000, it is estimated by the Department of Commerce.

FOUR HUNDRED AMERICAN BOYS of high-school and junior-college age will sail from New York on a Scandinavian-American liner on July 28. They are to be entertained in homes in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway to further friendship and acquaintance, and will return to this country in September.

CAPTAIN EMILIO CARRANZA, the Mexican army aviator, flew from Mexico City to Washington, arriving on June 12. The flight was a good-will visit to return the courtesy of Colonel Lindbergh's visit to Mexico last December.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE WORLD TALKS IT OVER. By *Burr Price*. Pp. 308. Rae D. Hinkle Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$1.75.

In order to relate the American tradition with the League of Nations, Mr. Price begins his story of the League with early attempts in the United States to enunciate peace doctrines. Benjamin Franklin heads his list of prominent persons who looked upon peace as the normal state of society. In fact, everything in American history, from the Revolution on, which tended toward peaceful settlement of international disputes is considered as a forecast of the League of Nations. The peace societies of the early nineteenth century are given full credit for the growth of the movement. William Ladd is mentioned particularly, with his essay on a congress of nations. Three chapters follow the evolution of the peace ideal in America. Then the author briefly summarizes the World War and the Treaty of Versailles. Part two, which is the real body of the book,

reviews the organization of the League and its eight years of work.

The book is entirely informational and no appraisal of opinions is attempted. Its very outline, however, seems to be intended to convey the idea that it would be the natural thing for America to adhere to the League. Mr. Price ignores the cold fact that to many Americans certain points in the Covenant of the League appear to be opposed to traditional American peace principles. However, since both the League and the United States are firmly committed to the effort for peace, it is of more importance now to learn where we can talk things over together and ignore those points where we differ. The book is, therefore, constructive.

SUMMER READING

July and August are the months for agreeable, refreshing books—books that take you roving, that keep you out-of-doors, invite you to adventure, or that give you captivating persons as companions. Story, travel, biography, adventure, all have special appeal in the summer. One chooses now the easier routes in reading. There are, however, many new books, pleasantly entertaining, which also lend themselves to afterthoughts of kindly understanding or of better world relationship.

Among the newer travel books one finds several about European countries.

UNDISCOVERED FRANCE. By *Emile Francis Williams*. Pp. 342, glossary, bibliography, and index. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927.

Through Angers, Poitiers, Limoges, Moulins, Rouge, and other towns in the provinces of central and southwestern France the author of this book conducts the reader. It is a region not much traveled by tourists, yet its beautiful scenery, Roman ruins and medieval towns are full of interest. Here are to be found people who "are still carrying on the same pursuits as did their forefathers, in the same houses and with their simple faith and tenacity of purpose." With its good road map and all its lore of art and architecture this would be a good guidebook were it not too bulky and heavy to carry handily. It contains over two hundred illustrations, and has such a delightful running commentary, however, that it remains a good

book for preliminary reading and is most informing on a portion of France little known in America.

FOLK TALES OF PROVENCE. By *W. Branch Johnson*. Pp. 218 and index. Chapman & Hall, London, England, 1927. Price, 7/6.

In this little companion volume to Folk Tales of Brittany we get, not only an assortment of beguiling legends, but what is more interesting, glimpses into the life and character of this imaginative, humorous, and seething people who live about the lower reaches of the Rhone. Planted, as they are, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the ancient path of commerce, Provençals have, in their turbulent history, accumulated here a rich fund of folklore, originating in classic myth, in church story, or in sheer imagination. The book, with its unique line drawings scattered through, breathes of this effervescent southern France. It is interesting from the feast of the gypsies in the village of les Saintes Maries to the chapter on "Lovers and Their Lyrics," at the end of the book.

IN THE HEART OF SPAIN. By *Thomas Ewing Moore*. Pp. 322, notes and index. Universal Knowledge Foundation, New York, 1927.

Not a record of travel altogether, but a series of easily written essays on places in Andalusia, their people, customs, history, and art, this is a readable book. It gains greatly in informational value because of the author's experience elsewhere in Europe, in the diplomatic service, and the comparisons he is able to make between Spain and other countries. Many of these chapters make the rich pageantry of the middle ages live again. Especially good is the chapter on the "Footsteps of Columbus." There are, too, many illustrations, among them an unusual portrait of Washington Irving.

SO YOU ARE GOING TO ROME. By *Clara E. Laughlin*. Pp. 368 and index. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1928. Price \$3.00.

"And if I were going with you, these are the things I'd invite you to do." Thus Miss Laughlin writes the subtitle, and this indicates the charming unconventionality of our author-guide. Beginning with "So you're

going to Paris," probably no one ever did write such delightful guides to intelligent, pleasurable travel as Clara Laughlin. This, on Rome, is no exception. Claiming for herself "small amount of l'arnin'," she yet has a wise, informed, and original mind, too large for pedantry. With it all goes fresh interest in all one can see in the lands of story, delightful informality, and bubbling humor, subordinated always to poetic insight. Such a book is a refreshment to read, whether or not one travels.

For the children's quiet hours are numbers of new books, among which the following are especially good:

THE DREAMS OF YOUTH. By *Walter Amos Morgan*. Pp. 246. Century Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.00.

Let no one be alarmed by the knowledge that these short tales are called sermons. They are also literature of a high order. Natural, often amusing, children appear in the narratives, most of which are frankly parables teaching some facet of Truth. Yet the moral is not so obviously pointed as to violate the principles of art. The diction, almost unbelievably simple, is full of melody, the thought poetic and forceful, the characters human. It is the sort of book both children and adults like to read for its sheer beauty.

SATURDAY'S CHILDREN. By *Helen Coale Crew*. Pp. 303. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$2.00.

The old rhyme says that "Saturday's child must work for a living." In accordance with that thought, the writer of this book has chosen, for her heroes and heroines, children who help, at least, to earn the family bread. They are natural, cheerful children, living in many countries in Europe, from Scotland and Ireland to Italy. Their adventures are real adventures. Their stories are told brightly, with action and enough of local setting. The American child who reads this vigorously written book will, though unconscious of it himself, become more understanding of foreign life and, too, more appreciative of the problems of the poor in all lands.

ADVOCATE OF
PEACE
THROUGH JUSTICE



WILLIAM LADD

IN HONOR OF WILLIAM LADD, THE APOSTLE OF PEACE,
BORN MAY 10, 1778, DIED APRIL 7, 1841, ORGANIZER
AND FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, CITIZEN AND RESIDENT OF
MINOT, MAINE; AUTHOR OF "AN ESSAY ON A CONGRESS
OF NATIONS," AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO
WORLD PEACE. THIS TABLET ERECTED JULY 21, 1928,
IN RESPONSE TO A JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE 83RD
LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MAINE AUTHORIZING
A COMMEMORATION OF THE MEMORY AND SERVICES
OF WILLIAM LADD.

"BLESSED ARE THE PEACE MAKERS FOR THEY SHALL
BE CALLED THE CHILDREN OF GOD."

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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MAINE'S MEMORIAL TO WILLIAM LADD

PURSUANT to an Act of the State Legislature, passed March 15, 1927, the State of Maine celebrated the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the birth of William Ladd and the one hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the American Peace Society, at Center Minot, Maine, July 21. In the presence of a large gathering of men and women, the Governor of the State unveiled there a huge boulder upon which is a bronze tablet with the inscription printed on the front cover of this magazine. The names of the Executive Committee, the Program, and the addresses delivered upon that occasion appear elsewhere in these columns.

The ceremony throughout was a fitting tribute not only to William Ladd but to the spirit of Maine. The will of such a commonwealth to preserve the memory of such a man is an expression of the most hopeful thing in the conscience of the State. In behalf of every member of the American Peace Society, we thank His Excellency, the Governor of the State, Hon. Ralph O. Brewster; the President of Bowdoin College, Dr. Kenneth C. M. Sills; every member of the committee in charge of the celebration, and all who spoke and helped upon that occasion. The monument which they dedicated there beside the open road, amid the scenes long dear to William Ladd, is a permanent finger pointing to America's most cherished ideal, justice between nations.

It was a gracious thing for the State thus to memorialize a great man and to

pay its homage to the Society which one hundred years ago he founded and cherished. Every member of the American Peace Society will be glad to know that the people of the State of Maine purpose, furthermore, to make the unveiling of that monument the beginning of a further labor to educate peoples everywhere in the beneficent life that was William Ladd.

WILLIAM LADD AND MODERN BUSINESS

NO ONE is more concerned for the maintenance of peace between nations than the business men of our United States. While heretofore foreign wars have greatly benefited the United States in terms of wealth, such as our war of the Revolution, our war with Mexico, and our war with Spain, the World War left us with a national debt of twenty-six times that of 1913. National debts jumped from \$43,000,000,000 in 1913 to \$265,000,000,000 in 1920. During the same period the United States per capita debt increased from \$11.00 to \$225.00; Great Britain from \$78.00 to \$850.00, and France from \$160.00 to \$1,150.00. The Panama Canal cost approximately \$400,000,000. In 1918 the war was costing \$10,000,000 an hour, a Panama Canal every one and two-thirds days, 465 canals altogether. If we were to add the indirect cost of the war, the total reached 930 canals. The annual bill for war interest is now \$9,000,000,000, five times that of

1913. 13,000,000 boys were killed in the war and 13,000,000 ruined as producers, a total of 26,000,000 taken from the fields of production. Foreign governments owe the United States approximately \$11,000,000,000. Our private investments abroad are known to be from \$11,000,000,000 to \$13,500,000,000. These foreign investments are increasing. Between January and July 1 of this year American underwriters offered foreign capital securities of a par value of more than \$1,053,164,000, as compared with slightly more than \$794,277,000 in the first half of 1927. This is the first time in the history of America that private loans in foreign countries have exceeded a billion dollars in six months. Our country is the creditor nation of the world. Business men must know that the security of their capital depends as never before upon the maintenance of peace between nations.

Furthermore, the interest of American business depends increasingly upon the extension of foreign markets. Our total production in this country is increasing more rapidly than our population. This increase is not uniform in all lines of business, but the total increase is a fact. Science and new inventions are reducing costs, while readjustments and swift changes are following rapidly in the wake of technical knowledge and skill. Our credit position has never been so strong. But the dangers of fluctuating exchanges, of inflation, of speculation, are second only to the possibility of a national disaster such as a crop failure or the outbreak of a major war. With the exception of a few possible profiteers, such as the manufacturers of armaments and munitions, every line of business would be threatened, if not destroyed, by another war. Since we must increase our sales abroad if the curve of business is to continue upward, and since the stabilities of peace are essen-

tial to the success which is already ours, it is not surprising that business men are concerned with the problem of substituting the modes of justice for the ways of war between nations.

The man who more than any other first showed the way for nations to settle their disputes without recourse to war was William Ladd. It is not necessary to go into all of that man's views upon the problems of peace and war. His plan has been clearly and fully stated in an immortal document which was published to the world in the year 1840. The proposal was a simple one. It was founded upon the experience of the American States. It proposed two things: first, recurring conferences for the extension of the principles of international law, and, second, a judicial body to function for the nations as does the Supreme Court of the United States for the States of the American Union. Ladd believed, and history confirmed his faith, that there can be no peace between nations except it be based upon justice. That is the way peace is maintained between our forty-eight free, sovereign, independent States, who, in their relations with each other, have found a way to settle their disputes without recourse to arms. The principles of justice between these States have been affirmed in terms of law mutually agreed upon. In case of dispute as to the meaning of the law, a tribunal exists capable at last of interpreting the law to the mutual satisfaction of all. That is the way of peace between nations. There is no other way.

That William Ladd was led to enunciate these principles, to found one hundred years ago a society devoted to their extension, is a tribute to him as to the founders of this Republic. Nothing is of more importance to the business men of this country than that they should learn of William Ladd and bend their utmost efforts to the realization of his plan.

FRANK S. KELLOGG

FRANK S. KELLOGG, Secretary of State for the United States, deserves the acclaim of his fellows. His efforts to bring about a universal treaty by which the nations shall renounce war as an instrument of national policy have been referred to in these columns heretofore. It has been a work of a devoted and intelligent man.

And now, due to his efforts, an agreement has practically been reached for the resumption of diplomatic relations between Chile and Peru. Happily this comes at a time when our State Department is placing Alexander P. Moore as our diplomatic representative to Peru and William S. Culbertson as our Ambassador to Chile, neither of whom can be said to have any prejudice for or against Peru or Chile. Since there have been no diplomatic relations between Chile and Peru since 1910, and since the Tacna-Arica dispute has been hanging for 45 years, this resumption of diplomatic relations between these countries with their bitter enmities is a most promising fact. It is a tribute to the tact and intelligence of Secretary Kellogg.

But far from the least of the Secretary's services is his attempt to promote on a larger field the processes of peace between the States of the Western Hemisphere. Due largely to his initiative, the sixth International Conference of American States at Habana, Cuba, adopted on February 18, 1928, its resolution condemning war as an instrument of national policy and pleading for the pacific settlement of conflicts between States. The resolution contemplates the adoption by the twenty-one American Republics of the methods of obligatory arbitration for the pacific settlement of their differences of a juridical character. Since there are no questions that may not become juridical, the proposal to adopt obligatory arbitra-

tion for such questions arising between our Western States assumes proportions of importance. Upon Mr. Kellogg's initiative the American Republics will meet in Washington December 10, next, for the purpose of giving conventional form to the proposal. The conference in December will be made up of instructed jurist-consults. Every possible step will be taken to promote progressive arbitration. The convention or conventions agreed upon in December will be submitted forthwith to the respective governments for ratification. Our United States will be represented by Charles Evans Hughes and Mr. Kellogg himself.

It will not be forgotten that Mr. Kellogg was one of the representatives of the United States at the fifth International Conference of American States held in Santiago, Chile, from March 25 to May 3, 1923; and that at that conference a draft treaty was unanimously agreed to, which treaty was drawn by the distinguished international jurist of Paraguay, Manuel Gondra. This treaty has already been ratified by ten of the American governments, including Mexico who was not represented at Santiago. The treaty was drawn for the express purpose of avoiding or preventing conflicts between the American States. It contained the principle of the Kellogg-Briand multilateral treaty. It was drawn in the interest of an immutable peace. It condemned "armed peace". Its purpose was to take every measure necessary to avoid or prevent the conflicts which may eventually occur between the States of the Western Hemisphere. This treaty of ten articles provides that all controversies incapable of settlement through diplomatic channels or otherwise, shall be submitted for investigation and report to a commission of five members. This commission of inquiry shall investigate the facts in the controversy and submit a report. Following

the submission of the report, six months' time will be allowed for renewed negotiations in order to bring about a settlement of the dispute. Nothing in the treaty abrogates other treaties or conventions already in existence. Secretary Kellogg proposes that this very important treaty be ratified by the rest of the American Republics at the earliest possible moment and that it form a basis for the discussions of the conference in December. This is statesmanlike business. It, too, is an illustration of the Kellogg way of doing things.

DEMOCRATS VERSUS REPUBLICANS

THE Democratic and Republican platforms are now available. As far as the two major political parties have any official programs in the international field, they are set forth in these platforms. The portions of the Republican platform relating to foreign policies were printed in the last number of this journal. The Democratic platform in its utterances upon foreign policies appears elsewhere in these columns.

Comparing these two statements, there is a difference between them upon one of the most important of our international problems, namely, the tariff. The Republicans and the Democrats are for a tariff, the Republicans for protection, the Democrats for the maintenance of legitimate business and a high standard of wages for American labor. There is no difference here. Both are for a protective tariff. The Republicans, however, hint at the necessity for a revision upward of the present tariff laws in the case of certain industries, not mentioned. The Democrats would reduce certain monopolistic and extortionate tariff rates, not mentioned. There seems a slight difference here. The Democrats regret the domination of the Wilson Tariff Commission by

the Executive. Upon this the Republicans are silent. So much for the tariff.

The Republicans are opposed to the cancellation of foreign debts and approve the policy of settling these foreign debts and the return of alien private property. Upon these matters the Democrats are silent.

The Republicans are proud of the Briand-Kellogg multilateral treaty, and the Democrats are in favor of the outlawry of war. The Republicans have something to say about their policy in Mexico, in Canada, in Latin America, in China. They stand for the principle of noninterference in the political affairs of other nations. They stand on the refusal of this Government to become a member of the League of Nations. The Democrats believe also in noninterference and mention Mexico and Nicaragua by name. The Democrats are opposed to the President entering into and carrying out agreements with a government for the protection of such government against revolution without the consent of the Senate, as provided in the United States Constitution. But the Democrats recognize the Monroe Doctrine as a cardinal principle of this Government. The Democrats condemn the Washington treaty of 1921 and the efforts of President Coolidge to correct that mistake with a conference at Geneva, which has failed. The Democrats favor a renewed interest in Armenia, the granting of independence to the Philippines and steps toward statehood for Porto Rico. They do not mention the League of Nations.

Both parties are for peace between nations, arbitration, conciliation, conference, and limitation of armament by international agreement. The Republicans do not mention these methods of settlement by name, but the attitude of the party is implied in its treatment of the general subject of foreign policy.

It is difficult to see that either party is any more advanced in its international policies than four years ago. Neither seems to recognize that tariffs spread their iniquities all over the world; that the improvement of our international relations is the major concern of statesmen; that injustice between nations is the prime provocation of war; that the promotion of justice between nations is of more importance to the United States today than ever before in its history. Upon the international plane the Republicans and the Democrats are Tweedledum and Tweedledee, respectively. Their programs as set forth in their platform are just about worthy of those two distinguished friends of Alice in Carroll-dum.

SPORT AS A PROMOTER OF PEACE

WHEN the most varied team that has ever represented the United States at the Olympic Games sailed out of New York harbor July 11, they carried with them the best wishes of all our people. More, they carried with them the opportunity not only to add to the reputation of the United States, but the challenge to promote acquaintance and friendship between our country and foreign peoples. They are the new Lindberghs of a new day.

The enterprising Hollanders have erected an "Olympic city" of 128 acres within twenty minutes' tramway ride from the center of Amsterdam, the Dutch metropolis. Neither pains nor expense has been spared to furnish a proper setting for the ninth modern Olympic Games, which are to be held July 28 to August 12. It is clear that the world is to see this year in Amsterdam one of the greatest international athletic pageants the world has ever known. The new stadium is capable of holding 47,000 spectators. A special tank has been constructed for

the swimmers and divers. The athletic events, with the exception of the rowing, sailing and other aquatic contests, will be centralized within this stadium.

Besides the track and field men, there is the wrestling team of fourteen, the rowing team of thirty-one, the California eight, the track and field women, the swimmers and divers, both men and women—28 in all; the water polo team, the four candidates for the modern pentathlon, jumpers, shooters, fencers, cyclers, boxers, and the rest. The 268 or so American athletes will live aboard the *Roosevelt* until the ship returns to New York late in August. The ship will be anchored off the Olympic city and the athletes taken on and off in tenders. It is believed that our track and field, swimming and boxing, rowing and wrestling squads stand a good chance of winning. It will be recalled that they won the championship at Paris in 1924. They are stronger this year. Since the modern revival of the Olympic Games in 1896, the United States has always won the track and field team championship. There are nineteen girls who will compete in five of the contests. There will be altogether twenty-two track and field events for the men. It is believed by those on the inside that our women should win from one to two events and that our men should win at least a half of their contests.

Whatever the outcome on the score board, the inevitable result will be an added respect and friendship between all lands. While it is a German saying that the best of sport is to do the deed and say nothing, a very true saying, the doing of the deed and saying nothing promotes respect even when one fails. To win is not the chief end of sport. To play the game worthily, to do one's best, to show some efficiency, sincerely to congratulate one's superior, to exhibit fairness of spirit, these are the things that make up sport. They are important factors in religion.

Sports demand a fine sense of honor. They represent human conduct on the plain of nobility. They are expressions of human aspiration in the realm of conflict, leaving no bitterness. They are perhaps man's best "moral equivalent for war."

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES would, of course, make an excellent member of the Permanent Court of International Justice to succeed John Bassett Moore, resigned. In our opinion, there could be no better. It is gratifying to learn that he has been nominated by such groups of jurists as the English, the Swedish, and that he is favored by other similar bodies from various parts of the world. Since Germany is now a member of the League of Nations and the United States is not, it would seem better judgment, however, to select some such man as Dr. Walter Simons, one-time President of Germany and now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Germany.

THE relations between Poland and Lithuania do not seem to be any better than before the efforts to bring them together. Early in July the negotiations reached a deadlock, with the result that their differences are to be submitted again to the League of Nations in September. At the same time it was announced that Marshall Pilsudski has changed his plan for a long vacation in Hungary and decided to remain in Poland. He considers the months ahead to be precarious.

The Sejm Deputies did not take their chiding meekly, as the Marshall had expected, and he fears they might rise and assert themselves if he were beyond the border of the country. Therefore he will stay on the job, and he has so informed President Moscicki.

That he means a new coup d'état should his powers be questioned is generally believed here. His health, though it has improved in the last two months, is still not good. He means to rest at his country home for several months, but he will keep a keen eye on the political situation.

It would appear that Vilna is still the stumbling block, the most serious problem facing Pilsudski. Poland does not take kindly to Lithuania's new constitution proclaimed May 15 last. Article 5 of this constitution provides that the capital of Lithuania is Vilna, but that it may be provisionally placed elsewhere by special law. Since Poland is in possession of this city, the feeling between the two powers is highly inflamed. Provisions were made for an arbitration court for settling the difficulties and for the prevention of a military attack by either party. Poland, however, inserted a clause fixing the boundary between Poland and Lithuania according to the League proposals of 1927. Lithuania has insisted on holding to the boundary line set forth in her treaty with the Soviets in July, 1920, leaving Vilna on Lithuanian territory. Here surely is a problem for the Permanent Court of International Justice.

THAT Australia is doing her bit to promote the cause of peace between nations is an illustration of the universality of that work. The Peace Committee of the Society of Friends located in Melbourne is already taking steps to declare the views of its members upon the problem of armaments. They invited 200 organizations to take part in a conference on the 26th of July, and laid plans for holding large public demonstrations on Armistice Day, Sunday, November 11. Their appeal was to commercial, financial, industrial, political, religious, and other or-

ganizations. Mr. Justice Higgins, of the High Court of Australia, presided at the conference. The net result was an agreement upon one resolution as the central point of emphasis for the demonstrations in November. The resolution reads:

"We, citizens of Australia, declare our detestation of war and our earnest desire for permanent peace based on general disarmament and international friendship and co-operation, and pledge ourselves to support the federal government in all its efforts towards the achievement of this aim."

These Friends are inviting nearly 300 organizations and individuals of Africa, North and South America, Asia, and Europe to co-operate by taking whatever similar action seems, in the light of local knowledge, to be most effective. This invitation has been received by the American Peace Society. We are glad thus publicly to congratulate these laborers in the Australian vineyard and to recommend their proposal to every friend of international peace. These good people of Australia are evidently sensible folk. They recognize the obvious difficulties to be overcome before disarmament can be achieved; but they realize that these difficulties must be faced. They are not unmindful of the pressure of population, of the problems incident to food supplies and raw materials and to boundary disputes. Their position is, however, that these matters cannot be settled satisfactorily by war; that, indeed, war makes these problems more difficult of solution. They believe that declarations of friendliness toward other peoples and the expression of general desire for disarmament by large numbers the world over will tend to create an atmosphere favorable to their solution. They believe that it is time that men cease fighting each other and join together to combat famine and disease and the

destructive forces of nature generally. We subscribe most heartily to the letter and to the spirit of this Australian resolution.

THE HON. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD recently contributed an article to *The Nation* entitled "War and America." In it is a paragraph to which we are glad to call the attention of our readers.

"Is, then, the outlook for peace hopeless? By no means. It is indeed most hopeful and will remain so for this generation *if handled with practical knowledge and skill*. The organization of peace must depend upon the assent of the nations, and to get that the nations themselves must find that the agreement, whatever it is, meets their needs and allays their suspicions, especially the suspicion that if they do the right thing in sincerity they may be victimized by those who either do not do it at all or do it with reservations in their hearts. This means that the first stage in an agreement must consist in all nations putting their difficulties on the table in order that from them constructive plans may arise. That is the method which was begun at Geneva in 1924, when, for the first time, a government took the initiative in declaring that war ought to be ended by common edict, and also when it was found that, as a means to that end, it was necessary to define an aggressive state and to give collective security so that disarmament could follow and the habit of arbitration be begun. Some water has run under the bridges since then, and it may be that, were we to return to the task, we might find possibilities that were not apparent in 1924. Mr. Kellogg's recent note to France, raising the same point in the same way as was, first of all, done at Geneva in 1924, will in due course reveal whether such possibilities now exist. Be that as it may, the method of first ascertaining the state of mind of nations is the only one that will make peace efforts fruitful. It is the method of patiently building up an agreement, in contradistinction to that of launching proposals like lifeboats and asking nations to scramble on board."

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

NEW GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY

SIX weeks elapsed between the last parliamentary elections in Germany, which took place on May 20, and the formation of a new Cabinet based on the party composition of the new Reichstag. For the first half of this period, the Marx Cabinet, which was in power at the time of the elections, continued in office. It resigned on June 12, the day before the new Reichstag assembled for the first time, and Herr Hermann Müller-Franken, the leader of the Socialist Party, was entrusted by President Hindenburg with the task of forming the next government. Herr Müller accepted the mandate, but it was only three weeks later that he finally succeeded in forming a cabinet.

Composition of the New Reichstag

The new Reichstag—the fourth since the establishment of the German Republic—differs markedly from the preceding one in its party composition. The May election showed a distinct swing to the left, as may be seen from the following figures, the numbers in parentheses referring to the number of seats held by each party in the last Reichstag:

Party.	Seats.	
Communists	54	(45)
Socialists	152	(131)
Democrats	25	(32)
German Peasants' Party	8	(—)
Centre	62	(69)
Economic Party	23	(18)
Bavarian People's Party	16	(19)
German People's Party	44	(51)
National Socialists (Hitler "Fascists")	12	(14)
Nationalists	73	(103)
Land Union	3	(8)
Christian-National Peasants' Party (including three Hanoverians)	13	(—)
Saxon Peasants	2	(—)
People's Rights Party (for revalorization)	2	(—)

The loss by the Nationalists of 30 seats

and the gain by the Socialists of 21 seats, shifted the balance in the Reichstag from the right to the left. As a result, the Marx Cabinet, which was supported by a coalition of the Nationalists, the Center, and the two People's parties, could no longer command a working majority. A new coalition had to be formed, with the Socialists, as the largest single party, in a predominant position. Hence Herr Müller's appointment to the chancellorship.

The Difficulties of Cabinet-Making

The formation of a new coalition proved to be a task of great difficulty. The participation in the new government of the two extreme parties, the Nationalists and the Communists, was automatically excluded. In the nature of things, only four of the principal parties could conceivably co-operate: the Socialists, the Democrats, the Center, and the German People's Party. United into a working parliamentary majority, these parties would have constituted what is known in German political circles as the "Grand Coalition." It was such a coalition that Herr Müller attempted at first to create.

His efforts in this direction failed, because of the differences existing between his party, the Socialists, and the Populists, or the German People's Party. He then attempted to form what is known in Germany as the "Weimar Coalition," consisting of the Socialists, the Democrats and the Center—so called because at the Constituent Assembly at Weimar, which drew up the republican constitution, these three parties held a predominant position. But a "Weimar Coalition" would have been too weak to constitute a basis for a stable government: even if it included some of the intermediate small parties, it would have commanded a majority of hardly a score of votes. The idea was therefore discarded, after very brief consideration.

One of the principal demands made by

the Populists was a simultaneous reconstitution of the Prussian Government, which has since the end of the war consisted of a "Weimar Coalition." The Populists made their inclusion in the Prussian Cabinet a condition to their participation in a "Grand Coalition" in the Reichstag. To this demand the Socialist Prime Minister of Prussia, Herr Braun, would not consent, and the situation appeared to be in a deadlock.

Cabinet of Personalities

The way out of the difficulty was finally found by way of a new formula, invented, it is said, by Dr. Stresemann. Under this formula, Germany is to have a "Cabinet of Personalities," rather than of party leaders. In a sense this solution is mere political camouflage, but it has served its purpose, and Herr Müller has at last succeeded in forming a cabinet.

The composition of the new Cabinet, which is the 17th Republican Ministry in Germany, is as follows:

Chancellor, Müller-Franken (Socialist); Occupied Territories and Transportation, von Guérard (Center); Foreign Affairs, Dr. Stresemann (German People's Party); Interior, Severing (Socialist); Labor, Wissell (Socialist); Finance, Dr. Hilferding (Socialist); Economic Affairs, Dr. Curtius (German People's Party); Justice, Koch-Weser (Democrat); Food Supply, Dietrich-Baden (Democrat); Post, Schätzel (Bavarian People's Party); Reichswehr, General Groener (non-party).

Thus the "Cabinet of Personalities" consists of prominent representatives of all the parties which would have been included in the "Grand Coalition," with this difference, however: the cabinet has been formed without agreement on a definite declaration of principles, and the various parties represented in it do not, therefore, consider themselves pledged in advance, as would have been the case had a "Grand Coalition" been really formed. The new government is, nevertheless, such a coalition in everything but name, and it is expected that by the autumn a "Grand Coalition" will really be created.

Policy of the Müller Government

On July 3, Chancellor Müller, in a speech delivered in the Reichstag, outlined

the program of his government. Germany's foreign policy, he said, would continue on its present lines; it aimed at friendly understanding and takes no thought of revenge. The government hopes it would lead it to honest cooperation with the Powers to effect the political and industrial reconstruction of Europe. Foremost among Germany's difficulties are the questions of the Rhineland and the Saar. With the unanimous support of the nation, the government is convinced of its claim to the immediate freeing of these territories. Only 18 months remain until the final date (1930) foreseen by the Treaty of Versailles for the evacuation of the Second Zone of Occupation, but if the question were solved merely by the lapse of time a great opportunity to promote the policy of understanding would be lost. It is to be hoped that the Occupying Powers would adopt this view; the problem is clear and simple, and only good will is needed.

The Chancellor reaffirmed Germany's loyalty to the League of Nations, and said that in this direction the question of general disarmament stands in the forefront of his preoccupations. Germany's disarmament is complete, and no State has done as much for this cause. Germany has been the first State unreservedly to accept the United States proposal for the renunciation of war, and would do everything possible to further that great conception. All this gives her the right energetically to demand that general disarmament should now be effectively carried out. A situation in which a great country like Germany stands disarmed among States armed to the teeth is an impossible one to prolong.

The reparation question is one of decisive importance for the industrial and financial future of Germany. The Dawes Plan has worked smoothly, and has been loyally carried out by Germany. The experts themselves had foreseen the possibility of a final settlement, and the condition for this now exist. The moment for its conclusion cannot yet be clearly seen, but the interested parties might be convinced that an early settlement is not only desirable but possible. The success of efforts to reach one would presuppose mutual understanding on the part of the

parties, a reasonable industrial policy, and the assurance of a supportable existence for Germany, which would loyally co-operate in efforts finally to solve a question of the greatest importance both to her own industry and that of the world.

In internal affairs Herr Müller's speech had little to raise either enthusiasm or anger. A passage with a Socialist ring referred to the growing power of cartels, trusts, and similar organizations. If, the Chancellor said, the spontaneous will to co-operate with the government and to allow it a clear insight into their activities were not forthcoming, legislation would be introduced to give the government the necessary powers. The government would ratify the Washington eight-hour Convention. The proposal, passed by the Reichsrat, to make August 11 "Republican Constitution Day," would be placed before the Reichstag. The government would examine the question of electoral reform with the idea of bringing Deputies into closer touch with their constituencies while preserving proportional representation.

French Comments on the Chancellor's Speech

The controversial character of Herr Müller's speech rendered it inevitable that in the French comments there should be a good deal of plain speaking also. It is agreed in Paris that the observations of the Socialist Chancellor on the vital matters at issue between Germany and the Entente countries might just as easily have been made by his predecessor. In other words, it is recognized that German foreign policy on such matters as the evacuation of the Rhineland, the revision of the Dawes Plan, and the problem of disarmament remains unchanged.

The speech has thus served the useful purpose of provoking a fresh examination of France's own attitude towards her neighbor on the same questions. Though the policy of the new Government is so very like that of the old, one new aspect is remarked upon—namely, that this is the first occasion on which the abandonment of a policy of revenge has been officially announced as part of a German Government's program. The evacuation of the Rhineland is demanded by Herr Müller's Government with exactly the same arguments as hitherto—namely,

that the conditions of the Peace Treaty have been fulfilled. It is denied in Paris that this is so. Germany, it is remarked, has merely complied with the Allies' demands in respect of disarmament, and has so far punctually paid the Dawes annuities.

But it is evident from the comments on this phase of the discussion that French opinion is not quite clear as to the best course. The Occupation is obviously not regarded as essential in itself. It is rather an object for negotiation, and, if Germany saw her way to offering something substantial in exchange for evacuation, it is probable that on the French side the aspect of "security" could be given a less important rôle. In other words, evacuation before the due date is apparently to be had for a price. There is so far no indication as to what the price would be. Since the Thoiry negotiations fell through the attitude most noticeable in Germany has been that, as the evacuation of the Rhineland must eventually take place by the mere passage of time, it would be foolish to purchase it at the price of some permanent guarantee. It is noted that Herr Müller does not admit either an obligation on the part of Germany to furnish guarantees for security or the right of the Entente countries to demand the control of a neutral zone by the League of Nations.

FRENCH FRANC ON THE GOLD BASIS

ON JUNE 24, the French Chamber of Deputies and the Senate passed, by overwhelming majorities, the Stabilization Bill placed before them the day before by the Poincaré Government. With this act, the process of French financial recovery, which began in the second half of 1926, has been completed, and France once more has a gold currency, although her monetary unit is now worth slightly less than 4 cents, instead of its pre-war value of 19.3 cents. This process has justly been termed the "Poincaré experiment," since the veteran Prime Minister of France, in his capacity of Minister of Finance, has played a predominant rôle in its consummation.

The Poincaré Experiment

The experiment began in the critical days of July, 1926, when the French exchange was rapidly deteriorating, and the franc seemed to be going the way of the German mark. By a brilliant piece of statesmanship, M. Poincaré succeeded in uniting all the *bourgeois* parties of the Chamber of Deputies into a combination above party, which he styled the National Union. He formed it for the express purpose of putting the finances on to a sound basis, and he retained the Ministry of Finance in his own hands. In reality he mobilized France for an economic campaign, and thus the Poincaré experiment was begun.

An all-French Committee of Experts, somewhat on the lines of the Dawes Committee, had already advised M. Briand's Government as to the necessary steps. The Committee diagnosed the chief causes of the disturbance as being the budgetary deficit, the ever-present menace of the floating debt, and the flight of capital abroad. It formulated means for getting rid of these dangers so that a return might be made to stable exchanges; in fact, as a preliminary to the legal convertibility of notes into gold.

To balance the budget it was necessary to increase the revenue. In May and June, 1926, the receipts from direct taxation had fallen to an extent that suggested, when all allowances had been made for seasonal fluctuations, concerted evasion or even resistance. In each of these months it amounted to 74,000,000f., as compared with an average of former years of about 700,000,000f. The taxation machinery was rapidly overhauled. By October, with a revenue of 1,705,000,000f. from this source alone, the normal average had been passed. By dint of strict assessment, collection, and new taxes the monthly total of revenue from all sources was speedily doubled. Sumptuary taxes, taxes on business transactions, capital and turnover taxes, taxes on land, taxes on articles of daily use, taxes on every conceivable object calculated to yield revenue were imposed to force up the revenue.

The Budget and the Public Debt

The budget was quickly brought to a condition at which the maintenance of

an equilibrium became possible. In the teeth of Socialist opposition M. Poincaré forced his budget for 1927 through the Chamber and Senate, and the financial year closed with revenue at 43,908,000,000f. and expenditure at 42,339,000,000f. There was thus a small surplus. An analysis of the expenditure showed that rather more than 50 per cent. went in the service of the public debt. The Estimates for 1928, conceived in the same spirit, were made to balance at 42,500,000,000f., equivalent to about 8,500,000,000 gold francs. When this is compared with the Budget of 1913, totalling about 5,000,000,000 gold francs, the effect of the burden of debt is at once realized.

The debt, in fact, presented the key to the problem. There was afloat on October 1, 1926, a total of 48,168 million francs of short-term Treasury and National Defense Bonds due in periods up to one year, apart from all other debt. Internal indebtedness is in itself no serious evil, if kept within reasonable bounds, but the service and renewal of bonds of this character became a public danger. It was urgently necessary to convert this floating debt into long-term bonds, thereby removing the constant disturbance of ever-recurring and ever-increasing renewals, with all the costly administration involved. For this purpose a self-governing body called the *Caisse Autonome d'Amortissement*, or Sinking Fund Department, was set up. The inviolability of the sinking fund was made part of the law of the Constitution at a meeting of the Constituent Assembly. Certain revenues, such as the tobacco monopoly, were earmarked for its revenues.

But it was evident from the first that the work would lie rather in the direction of consolidating the short-term loans than administering a sinking fund, and so it proved. Between December, 1926, and July, 1927, the issue of all further bonds of one year and under had ceased, and the rate of interest on the two-year bonds had been reduced from 6 per cent. to 4 per cent. In place of the short-term debt the *Caisse* issued Six per Cent. Conversion Loans with amortization properly provided for. The Government was thus relieved of the danger of large masses of

short-term maturities, which was one of the principal features of the inflationary period.

Control of Exchanges

Into the measures taken to prevent the further flight of capital abroad and the circumstances in which it gladly returned it is unnecessary to enter. They had their parallel in other countries and involved no new practice. With the return of confidence and the repatriation of funds sent abroad during the crisis the rate of the exchange improved almost as rapidly as it had depreciated. In order to avoid the serious economic consequences of drastic deflation it was found desirable to stabilize the franc *de facto* in the neighborhood of 124 to the pound. The exchange rate was kept steady at this level for about 18 months by the operations of the Bank, which undertook to buy or sell all the gold or foreign exchange offered, and so retained control.

The fixing of the rate at about 124f. to the pound was naturally accompanied by an improvement in credit, with the result that capital flocked into the French market, and this enabled the Bank to acquire enormous holdings of foreign exchange, and to buy back £18,000,000 deposited in England. In the 18 months of the Poincaré experiment, the item "Diverse," under which the accumulations figured, rose from 4,700 million francs to 31,200 million francs. The Bank was absolved from the obligation to include in its fiduciary circulation any notes issued against foreign currencies thus acquired.

There was, however, a limit to this policy, which must in the long run have produced a serious inflation of credit. In February last it was perceived that the main work had been accomplished, that the franc could not be further revalorized without bringing in its wake heavy losses and great hardships, and that all signs pointed to stabilization at the current rate. Apart from the inherent limitations to the Bank's policy in support of the exchange, the fact that the franc had not been stabilized by law carried with it certain disadvantages. Chief among these was the sense of insecurity in making contracts, which persisted as long as there was the faintest possibility that M. Poincaré might elect to stabilize at some rate better than 124 (for example, at less than

100, which was the case in Italy). The capital market was affected because lenders, who were ready enough to put their money out on loan at short term for very low rates, thought twice before investing it for a long period. Money for large undertakings was, therefore, to be had only at prohibitive rates, and this produced stagnation in industry. In the business world orders were kept to a minimum, because in the prevailing uncertainty nobody cared to lay in large stocks.

The signal that legal stabilization was actually at hand came with the flotation of the Five per Cent. Consolidation Loan, the lists for which were opened in March, 1928. The moment was well chosen, and the results transcended all expectation. It was, in fact, a striking revelation of the return of public confidence. With the proceeds the Government was able to reduce the debt to the Bank of France to manageable proportions. Thereafter the way to legal stabilization was clear, provided the rate of exchange were kept in the neighborhood of the figure to which the country had already adapted the bulk of its business.

Details of the Stabilization Measure

The text of the Stabilization Bill, slightly abridged, is as follows:

Article 1. The provisions of Article 3 of the Law of August 5, 1914, provisionally fixing the value of notes issued by the Bank of France and the Bank of Algeria, are annulled.

Article 2. The franc, the French monetary unit, consists of 65.5 milligrammes of gold, 900/1,000 fine. Payments in gold francs of the former denomination, which were arranged in earlier agreements, are not affected.

Article 3. The Bank of France undertakes to convert its notes into gold at sight and on demand. It can do this either with legal gold currency or with gold bullion at the rate of 65.5 milligrammes, 900/1,000 fine, per franc. Payments of gold may be limited to the head office of the Bank, and to minimum quantities agreed upon with the Minister of Finance. Conversion will be effected by the Bank of Algeria under similar conditions. The Bank of France will buy gold at its head or branch offices at the rate of one franc per 65.5 milligrammes of gold, 900/1,000 fine, without de-

ducting interest, but it may deduct mint charges. Assay charges will be borne by the seller.

Article 4. The Bank of France will keep a reserve of gold bullion and coin worth at least 35 per cent of the combined total of notes in circulation payable to bearer and of the credit balances of current accounts. Existing legal limits on the note issue are abolished.

Article 5. The Mint will strike 100-franc gold coins, 900/1,000 fine, within a margin of accuracy of one-thousandth by value and two-thousandths by weight either way. These coins will be unlimited legal tender.

Article 6. The date and other conditions of the general issue of gold coins by the Currency Office will be fixed by government decree. In the meanwhile, coins will be struck only by the Bank of France, and the minting charge will be 40 francs per kilogramme of gold, 900/1,000 fine.

Article 7. To take the place of the Bank of France five franc, ten franc, and 20 franc notes, which will be withdrawn from circulation before December 31, 1932, and will then cease to be legal tender, the Currency Office will strike, on the account of the State, silver coins of the nominal value of ten francs and 20 francs, 680/1,000 fine. These must not exceed a total value of three milliards of francs. (This article, which has already been amended by the Finance Committee of the Chamber, originally provided for five-franc pieces instead of 20-francs pieces.) The types of the new coins will be fixed by special decree. No individual will be compelled to accept more than 250 francs in silver coins. One-third of the proceeds of the minting of silver coins will be paid at the end of each budget period into a fund for the upkeep of the coinage. The other two-thirds will be disposed of as arranged in the new Convention between the State and the Bank of France.

Article 8. Chamber of Commerce tokens will be taken out of circulation as they come in, and coins of the same denominations will be issued by the State in their stead. Private individuals need not accept more than 50 francs worth of aluminium-bronze alloy coins, or more than 10 francs worth of nickel or bronze coins.

Article 9. All earlier gold and silver currency will cease to be legal tender on the date of promulgation of the present law.

Article 10. Stocks of gold and silver, held

by banks which have been granted powers of issue in colonies and protectorates where the franc is legal tender, will be revalued on the new monetary basis. The Minister of Finance is authorized to settle with such banks the conditions under which the State will receive credit for the resulting surplus.

Article 11. Deposit accounts opened with the Central Treasury Fund by the Minister of Finance on December 17, 1920, are abolished. Article 104 of the Law of April 19, 1926, is withdrawn except as regards specially authorized accounts. The provisions of the present law will come into force on July 1, 1928.

Article 12. The Law of the 17th Germinal year XI and subsequent laws controlling the minting and issue of money and the export of currency are withdrawn.

Position of the Bank of France

Article 13 of the Stabilization Bill approves the new Conventions between the State, the Bank of France, and the *Caisse Autonome*.

The Bank of France undertakes in the new Convention to revalue in francs the stocks of gold in France, gold and reserves abroad, and silver which are shown in its weekly statement. It will also revalue in francs the bills bought by it from the Treasury in virtue of previous Conventions, and the gold, silver, and bills acquired in preparation for stabilization. The surplus created by these revaluations will be used to redeem the outstanding temporary advances of the Bank to the Treasury, which will therefore be freed from its existing debt to the Bank. Treasury bonds held by the Bank under the agreement of February 3, 1927, which represent advances to foreign Governments, and are in fact composed by the Russian debt, will cease to bear interest for the Bank, and will be taken over and paid for gradually by the *Caisse Autonome*.

As soon as the new law is promulgated, the Bank of France will place a sum of three milliards of francs, free of interest, to the credit of the Treasury account. It will receive in return a Treasury bond of the same value, due for payment at the expiry of the new Convention on December 31, 1945. The Bank will be free to purchase short-dated bills for foreign issue banks in account with it. Its stock of

silver coins will be held by it for the present and will be transferred to the State as required for conversion into the new silver coinage.

The Convention between the State and the *Caisse Autonome* provides for the transfer to the Treasury of the claim on Soviet Russia. If the Russian bonds are not redeemed by December 31, 1945, the outstanding balance will be paid by the State. The Convention between the *Caisse Autonome* and the Bank of France also provides for the liquidation of the Russian bonds.

Thus the Bank of France acquires a position of great visible strength. The Treasury debt to it, which has played such an overwhelming part in its assets, now disappears almost altogether. Its gold reserves, after the re-evaluation, are sufficient to give its note-issue the 35 per cent. cover required by the Stabilization Law, while its vast holdings of foreign bills are ample to ensure it against exchange fluctuations.

The Outlook for Financial Stability

Stabilization is usually followed by severe and painful economic oscillations. France, however, has stabilized in two stages, the actual and the legal, and the economic consequences have been faced, and in a large measure overcome, during the intervening period. It is probable that some rise in prices will take place, as the present price level is still considerably below the world level of gold prices, but this rise in prices need not be viewed with alarm, as it should give a certain stimulus to industry.

But legal stabilization is at best only a beginning, as M. Poincaré has frequently pointed out. Though the Budget of 1929, soon to be introduced into the Chamber, may be purged of some of its fiscal inequalities, taxation will remain heavy for a long time to come, and the Prime Minister, whether M. Poincaré or another, will be obliged to offer the same resistance to the vested interests. The last payments for restoring the devastated areas have been made. The prospects of trade and industry are bright. But it is evident that for the next few years no French Government will be able to afford any extravagant political experiments. If the

reconstructive work, of which legal stabilization is but the ground plan, is to be carried to its successful conclusion, it will only be amid domestic and foreign peace.

VENIZELOS'S RETURN TO POWER

AFTER four years of retirement from political life, M. Eleutherios Venizelos, the famous war Prime Minister of Greece, has once more become head of the Greek Government. His return to power was preceded by several weeks of political chaos, in the course of which his predecessor, M. Zaïmis, attempted several times to form and re-form a Cabinet. The situation finally drifted into a deadlock, which could not be broken except by M. Venizelos.

Composition of the New Cabinet

The new Cabinet, which was sworn in on July 4, is made up as follows:

M. Eleutherios Venizelos, Prime Minister; M. Alexander Karapanos, Foreign Affairs; M. K. Zavitzianos, Interior; † M. Themistocles Sophoulis, War; M. Pericles Argyropoulos, Marine; * M. George Maris, Finance; † M. I. Kanavos, Agriculture; Dr. Christomanos, Communications; M. Emmanuelides, Public Welfare; M. P. Petrides, Justice; M. P. Vourloumis, National Economy; General Kallidopoulos, Governor-General of Macedonia.

* Member of the late 10th Zaimis Cabinet.

† Member of the fourth Venizelos Cabinet.

M. Venizelos first became Prime Minister of Greece on October 18, 1910, under King George I., and held office until March 6, 1915, in the next reign. He was recalled to office by King Constantine on August 16, 1915, but again resigned on October 6, 1915, just after the occupation of Salonika by the Allies.

On September 26, 1916, he became head of the Provisional Government at Salonika in armed opposition to the Crown, but on June 17, 1917, he regularized his position by becoming Prime Minister of King Alexander, whom he and the Allies had set up after the first deposition of King Constantine.

After the death of King Alexander from the result of a monkey's bite, M. Venizelos was overthrown by the General

Election which led to the restoration of King Constantine, and resigned office into the hands of the then Regent, Admiral Kounduriotis—who is now President of the Republic—on November 18, 1920. He became Prime Minister for the fourth time on January 11, 1924, during the Regency of the Admiral which covered the closing weeks of the reign of King George II., after presiding over the Constituent Assembly which had met on January 6.

Owing to bad health M. Venizelos resigned his fourth Premiership on February 4, 1924, and soon afterwards announced his irrevocable decision to retire from political life. This decision was, however, revoked a few weeks ago, and towards the end of May M. Kaphandaris found that M. Venizelos was taking so active an interest in the fortunes of the Progressive Liberal Party (which he had been leading for four years) that he resigned the leadership, which was at once assumed by M. Venizelos.

The New Cabinet's Program

At the first meeting of the new Cabinet M. Venizelos explained his program. He claimed to be making no extravagant statement when he said that the country was struggling, and would unfortunately have to struggle for a long time to come, against overwhelming economic difficulties, and that the problem of securing a tolerable means of livelihood had become acute to the middle classes. There are two ways of remedying this, first an increase of production by extending productive works and enlarging its sources, and by assuring harmonious relations between capital and labor; and, secondly, by rigorous economy in the public expenditure. He recommended to Ministers when sanctioning expenditure to ask their consciences whether it is absolutely indispensable, and also to limit the number of superfluous officials by not filling places rendered vacant by those who leave the service.

The Prime Minister promised to assure a good administration and asked the Ministers to regulate their activities in the coming general election in such a way as to convince an unbiased critic that the election is perfectly straightforward. The presence in the Cabinet of two Ministers

(M. Zavitzianos and Dr. Antonios Christomanos) who do not belong to the Liberal Party, but are equally inspired with the conviction that unless the struggle as to the form of government came to an end and the work of stabilizing the Republic was completed it would be impossible to secure better days for Greece, constitutes an additional guarantee for the Opposition that the elections would be honestly conducted.

The Cabinet has decided to dissolve the Chamber.

NEW CABINET IN EGYPT

THE Cabinet of Mustapha Pasha Nahas, which came into power several months ago, was forced to resign on June 25, as a result of disclosures regarding the personal integrity of its leaders made the day before by the Liberal press. These disclosures were made at the height of an already existing political crisis, and rendered inevitable a change of cabinet.

The Nahas Cabinet, while predominantly made up of the representatives of the Wafd (extreme nationalist) Party, also contained representatives of the Liberal Party. Lately, considerable friction developed between the two Liberal Ministers and their Wafdist colleagues, with the result that the former resigned. While the Prime Minister was attempting to fill the vacancies from the ranks of his own party, a veritable bombshell was exploded by his erstwhile colleagues, and he was forced out together with his whole Cabinet.

Charges Against the Prime Minister

The charges against the Prime Minister were contained in a series of documents alleged to have been signed by Mustapha Pasha Nahas, Wissa Bey Wassef, the Wafdist President of the Chamber, and Gaa-far Bey Fakhry, another Wafdist Deputy. The documents consist of photographed copies of a contract, signed by all three, with the duly authorized representative of the mother of Prince Seif ed Din (who was abducted from an asylum in England three years ago) and a letter addressed to the Prince's stepfather by Gaa-far Bey Fakhry on behalf of himself and his two colleagues.

The Prince's mother brought an action before the "Court of the Crown"—to which all cases affecting the personal status of members of the Egyptian Royal Family have to be referred—against the custodian of the Prince's estate in order to raise the interdiction placed on the Prince and secure the control of his estates. According to the alleged contract, the three Wafdists—Nahas Pasha and Wassif Bey were then Vice-Presidents of the Chamber—undertook the case on condition that if the interdiction were raised they were to receive £E.117,000 and further fees, to be based on the amount of alimony allocated while the case was being decided, such fees to rise or fall according to the amount allotted. Such contracting for fees on the basis of a result of an action is a breach of Bar law and entails disciplinary measures.

The letter alleged to have been written by Gaafar Bey Fekhry is dated the month of Zaghul Pasha's death. It informs the Prince's stepfather that Nahas Pasha has succeeded Zaghul Pasha as leader of the Wafd and as President of the Chamber, and explains that this gives them additional facilities to obtain a satisfactory result for the case. It states that a proposal has been submitted to the Chamber for the abolition of the Court of the Crown and the transfer of its powers to an ordinary Court, and asserts that the unanimous approval of both Houses will be obtained for this proposal in view of the fact that the writer and his two colleagues have power to make Parliament take whatever decisions they like.

Composition of the New Cabinet

The Cabinet which succeeded the Nahas Ministry is headed by Mohamed Pasha Mahmud, a Liberal leader, formerly a member of the Nahas Cabinet. The portfolios are distributed as follows:

* Mohamed Pasha Hahmud, Prime Minister and Interior; * Ahmed Pasha Khashaba, Justice; * Gaafar Pasha Wali, War and Marine and *ad interim* Wafks; * Ibrahim Bey Fahmy, Public Works; Ali Pasha Maher, Finance; Dr. Hafez Bey Afifi, Foreign Affairs; Abdul Hamid Pasha Suleiman, Communications; Nakhla Pasha el Motei, Agriculture; Ahmed Lutfi Bey es Seyyid, Education.

* Resigned membership of the late Cabinet.

Mohammed Pasha Mahmud, who now appears for the first time as Prime Minister, was an original member of the Wafd and Mudir of the Behera Province. He was deported with Zaghul Pasha to Malta in 1919. As a Liberal, he was Minister of Communications under Adly Pasha, June, 1926, to April, 1927, and then Minister of Finance under Sarwat Pasha, April, 1927, and Nahas Pasha, March, 1928, until he left the Cabinet (for the second time) on June 17 and started the break-up of the Coalition. Ahmed Pasha Khashaba resigned the Ministry of Justice in the late Cabinet, owing to the charges brought against Nahas Pasha and the President of the Chamber in the press, and was expelled from the Wafd for having done so.

It is interesting to note that this Cabinet has again brought together the three survivors of the famous "Four" whom Zaghul Pasha sent to Egypt from London in September, 1920, to present the Milner Memorandum and ascertain the country's views about it—Mahmud Pasha, Maher Pasha, and Ahmed Lutfi Bey es Seyyid. At that time they were active members of the Wafd, but later disagreed with Zaghul Pasha on questions of policy and left the party. While Mahmud Pasha and Ahmed Lutfi Bey es Seyyid helped to form the Liberal Party in 1922, Ali Pasha Maher was one of the founders of the Ittehad Party in 1925.

Violent Wafdist Manifesto

On the day on which the new Cabinet was formed the Wafd Party issued a manifesto to the nation warning it, in terms calculated to excite feeling, that enemies were again at work conspiring against its rights and liberties. The document appeals to the nation to remain calm, close up its ranks, and trust its leaders.

At the meeting at which the manifesto was approved it was decided to expel another deputy, Ibrahim Bey Rateb, from the party because he refused to sign the manifesto which he described as revolutionary and as continuing the policy calculated to deprive the country of its constitutional advantages. Rateb Bey issued a note explaining his attitude and severely condemning Nahas Pasha's leadership of the Wafd, which, he declared, was violating all Zaghul Pasha's principles.

MARSHAL PILSUDSKI'S OUTBURST

MARSHAL PILSUDSKI, who for the past two years has been the Prime Minister of Poland and has recently retired from this post, has written a newspaper article which is a veritable outburst of bitterness and criticism. Salient passages from this article are given below as shedding a very interesting light on the man who was head of the Polish State for several years after the formation of the Polish Republic, then retired from political life, emerged again in 1926 as the leader of the *coup d'état* which set him up again at the head of the Polish Government, and has now once more retired from that high post.

Prime Minister and President

Those who think that my resignation of the Premiership was caused by ill health are grievously mistaken. I could have retained all my offices at the cost of straining a constitution which, for the matter of that, I have strained all my life long. I could also, subject to the consent of the President and my Ministers, who hold me, as I believe, in deep affection, have taken long leave in order that I might set my constitution at rights, to be strained once more when I returned. I chose a different course, and resigned the Premiership from motives of another kind.

My first reason was that the duties of a Prime Minister, as our Constitution lays them down, filled me with inner disgust. To make my point clear I shall draw a contrast between the offices of Prime Minister and President, always present to me while I was holding the former.

To be President is to be put in the most impossible situation that any human could well have conceived. Although he is the representative head of the Polish State at all times and in all places, he has no liberty for himself, his thoughts, or his action. He has not even the right to appoint his personal staff, be they lackeys or serving maids, without consulting somebody else, who may disagree with his choice and impose unwanted persons upon him. The nation's treatment of its President is viler and baser than any man's treatment of his mistress or bondsman. I am still pained by the memory of my own

experience as Chief of the State when a war had been won through me, and after much hesitation I had decided that I must undertake nothing further and leave Poland to her own devices. My hesitation then arose because I was faced by the question whether I should dissolve the Sejm that we called sovereign, that house of courtesans, or whether I was to choose, as I did choose, to leave Poland to her own devices. Perhaps if I had chosen differently the nation might have been spared the May revolution.

A Babies' Nurse

The object of the Constitution which the house of courtesans voted was that the Presidency should not fall to the man who, to an extraordinary degree, had won the confidence of his fellow-countrymen, who had never soiled his hands with tainted money, and who by his victorious conduct of the war and innate strength of character had brought Poland out of chaos and gained the wider frontiers before denied her. They wished to thrust the man who might use their sovereignty in a corner and there bespatter him with mire. I spoiled their plan by quietly withdrawing.

The Prime Minister in our Constitution appears almighty. I once made this manifest to the former Sejm by cutting off their salaries. But omnipotence has its dark side as well. "Everything" in human labor means "nothing." I told the Cabinet last week that the burden of the Premiership lay in having the fixed occupation of a nurse of foundling babies, the loved and caressed, the dirty and unloved, which my dear colleagues of Ministers were always placing on to me because they were obstacles to their work, or they wanted to bring off some stunt, or were quarreling among themselves in the true Polish fashion. The ridiculous passion for centralization which afflicts the Polish nation causes three-quarters of the agenda at every Cabinet meeting to be occupied with ludicrous trifles.

The doctors told me that my one salvation was to avoid having to master my instincts. When I heard that verdict, my mind was instantly made up to hand my resignation to the President. The Prime Minister's duty is a stern fight for self-

control, and that was what the doctors forbade me. He is under the painful necessity of collaborating also with the Sejm. If I was not fighting that stern battle with myself I should be spending my days in smacking and kicking Polish Deputies. Their methods of work are such that they are deprived from the outset of any chance of doing productive work. The idea that a man's labors can consist in the delivery of speeches is one of the most abominable ever conceived. I can find a level of oratory and keep an audience spellbound. But if I was ordered to speak daily for a couple of weeks I should consider myself a public nuisance. In the Sejm they go on talking for months.

"An Ale House"

Only look at that Chamber and see how the Deputies behave, as if they were in a common ale house. When one is delivering a speech, 15 are walking about in pursuit of private transactions, 40 are talking aloud with their backs to the tribune, and a hundred are telling indecent stories. Ministers who get paid a petty farthing for gigantic amounts of work are obliged to preserve an outward respect for that Chamber. The dullness of the Deputies' utterances, in language and composition, is enough to give anyone the stomach ache. The flies in the roof get so weary of

those speeches that they cease from disporting themselves.

When I was dictator of Poland, after the Bolshevik war, I could have crushed the house of courtesans like a worm, but I did not. All the time that I have been Prime Minister I have been more constitutional than the Sejm, and no one can say that I have been wanting in democratic convictions. I wish our Deputies would not identify their methods of work with democracy; they do democracy no honor. When the third [the present] Sejm of the Republic started work, and I saw the old habits renewing their triumphs, I decided that I again had the choice either to cease collaborating with the Sejm and offer my services to the President to impose new institutions or else to retire from the post in which that collaboration was necessary.

I chose the second alternative, and that is why I ceased to head the Government. I added that in any grave crisis I would be at the President's disposal as a Prime Minister who would take entire responsibility for all necessary decisions and accept their consequences not less boldly. With the consent of the President and M. Bartel, the general guidance of foreign policy, customarily exercised by the Prime Minister, remains in my hands as heretofore.

WILLIAM LADD

EXERCISES commemorating the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the birth of William Ladd and the one hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the American Peace Society were held under the auspices of the State in Center Minot, Maine, July 21, 1928, in front of the Congregational Church, 2:30 p. m.

Almost directly opposite what is left of the beautiful home of William Ladd the Governor of the State of Maine unveiled on that occasion a huge memorial boulder resting upon a base containing bits of granite from five European nations and four States of New England, its outer base bearing a bronze tablet, commemorat-

ing William Ladd's life and labors. The tablet reads:

In honor of William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace; born May 10, 1778—died April 7, 1841; organizer and founder of the American Peace Society one hundred years ago; citizen and resident of Minot, Maine; author of "An Essay on a Congress of Nations," an outstanding contribution to world peace. This tablet erected July 21, 1928, in response to a joint resolution of the 83rd Legislature of the State of Maine authorizing a commemoration of the memory and services of William Ladd.

And beneath this legend the Biblical verse, "*Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.*"

The Program

Chairman, Kenneth C. M. Sills, President of Bowdoin College.

Invocation by the Rev. George E. Kinney, Pastor of the Congregational Church at Lyme, New Hampshire.

Address, The Progress toward the realization of William Ladd's Conception of International Right, by Hon. David Jayne Hill, former Ambassador to Germany.

Address, William Ladd and The American Peace Society, by Dr. A. D. Call, Secretary of the American Peace Society, Washington, D. C., and Editor of *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Address by Dr. Yu-chuen James Yen, General Director of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement.

Address and unveiling of the memorial tablet, by His Excellency, Hon. Ralph O. Brewster, Governor of Maine.

Executive Committee in Charge of the Ladd Celebration

Honorary chairman, Hon. Ralph O. Brewster, Governor of Maine; chairman, President Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College; President H. S. Boardman, University of Maine; President Clifton D. Gray, Bates College; Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, Augusta; Rev. Henry E. Dunrack, Augusta; Hiram W. Ricker, Esq., South Poland; Hon. John Wilson, Bangor; George C. Wing, Jr., Esq., Auburn.

The Exercises

The Rev. George E. Kinney, long a pastor of the Congregational Church in front of which the exercises were held, now of Lyme, New Hampshire, having been introduced by President Sills, pronounced the following invocation:

O God, our Heavenly Father, thou hast made of one blood all peoples that dwell upon the earth. Thou art our Father and all we are brethren. We thy children have come to this place because it was at one time the home of him whose work and memory we desire to honor.

We thank thee for the worthy deeds of the men of former generations who by such deeds have enriched our inheritance. We thank thee for their faith and vision which laid hold of things not yet seen

and led them to consecrate their lives to the task of making that vision real in the life of the world.

We thank thee for the life of William Ladd who lived here in Minot, but whose vision of good embraced the welfare of all people in all the world.

We thank thee that his vision became embodied in the organization of the American Peace Society and has borne fruit through it and through the effort which it has inspired.

We thank thee for the growing spirit of peace and friendliness among all peoples. We pray that this growing spirit of peace and friendliness may be the earnest of that happy day not far distant when nations shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, when nation shall not rise up against nation in bloody conflict and when they shall learn war no more.

May this place become a shrine of peace and good will to all future generations of the world.

We commend to thy protection and guidance our chosen leaders of state and nation.

In the exercises of this hour we dedicate ourselves anew to the unfinished task of establishing peace on earth and good will among men.

May that which is said and done here and now meet thine approval and upon it all as we endeavor to do thy will we humbly invoke thy blessing. Amen.

ADDRESS

By **Kenneth C. M. Sills, LL. D., President of Bowdoin College**

Over one hundred years ago in 1819 William Ladd went down from his home in Minot to Brunswick to visit President Appleton, of Bowdoin College, who was then on his death bed. In their conversation the President spoke of the progress being made in the world in general and gave much credit to peace societies, "and that," said Ladd, "was the first time I ever heard of them." As the result of that memorable interview Ladd made up his mind to give the rest of his life to promoting the cause of peace on earth and good-will to man, so he founded the Peace

Society here at Minot, and so in 1828 he brought into being the great national American Peace Society. It is not perhaps inappropriate then that one of Dr. Appleton's successors should come today from Brunswick to Minot to preside over these exercises. As William Ladd sat talking to the President of Bowdoin College in the town of Brunswick in 1819 he little dreamed that one hundred and nine years later under the authority of the Legislature of the State of Maine citizens would gather, officially and formally, to honor his memory.

William Ladd is in reality a great man, because he belongs to that very rare class of men who have contributed an idea to the world. It was Ladd's idea that the world could be organized for peace and that through an enlightened public opinion there could and should be substituted for war, the methods of the conference, and of the court. In his voluminous writings on the subject there are many passages with which many of us would vigorously disagree; but that does not for a moment dim the lustre of his fame. In judging the work of a great man one must always look at it in the large. It is a striking fact that Ladd saw clearly and in a real pioneer spirit the necessity of formulating an enlightened popular opinion without which schemes and organizations no matter how fine on paper are as tinkling cymbals. Ladd believed that it is the spirit behind the government that really counts.

In the same way Lord Grey once pointed out that the League of Nations, in which he was greatly interested, was after all only an instrument, and that its success or failure depended upon the way in which it was used. "A man," said he, "may take a spade and cultivate with it a beautiful garden, or he may take a spade and knock his neighbor over the head with it."

In all our talk and argument about international agreements and international organizations we are so likely to overlook what William Ladd saw so clearly, namely, that first of all and most important of all the people must be educated to see the necessity of gaining peace through justice. That is a great service rendered the American people by the child of William Ladd, The American Peace Society.

As President Coolidge wrote in a letter to Congressman Burton, which I am authorized to quote:

The influence which this society has exerted, now for one hundred years, in behalf of international peace, has been of great importance to humanity. Fortunately, during that period, our country has been involved in but three foreign wars, two of which did not impose upon us very serious consequences. It must be recognized that this has been in part due to the conditions which surround us, but it must also be admitted that it would not have been possible but for the peaceful attitude of our government and our people.

It is for us today to carry on still further the work which William Ladd, the apostle of peace, the pioneer of international good-will here at Minot, so well began. For that purpose we are met to dedicate this tablet and to share in these exercises. I cannot take the chair without calling attention to the fact that two members of the committee particularly are entitled to the greatest credit for the work they have done in preparing for these exercises, Judge George C. Wing, Jr., of Auburn, who for several years has kept before the people of Maine the services of William Ladd and who suggested to the committee the idea of this tablet; and Hiram W. Ricker, Esq., of South Poland, who has brought his usual ability and citizenship to help us all these months.

President Sills then introduced Dr. David Jayne Hill.

AN ADDRESS

By David Jayne Hill

Progress Toward the Realization of William Ladd's Conception of International Right

Governor Brewster, President Sills, Members of the Committee, and Fellow Citizens:

It is a pleasure and an honor, as a casual sojourner in the beautiful State of Maine, to be invited to join in a tribute to William Ladd.

It is fitting that others should speak of his personal qualities and his local attachments in the town of Minot and the State of Maine, and I shall therefore confine my remarks to an estimation of the

public importance of William Ladd's efforts for the international organization of peace; a subject in which, privately and officially, I have been deeply interested for more than thirty years.

THE EARLIER PLANS FOR PEACE

The terrible disasters of the Thirty Years' War, which ruined more than half of Europe, furnished the occasion for a large crop of projects for the abolition of war. Of these seventeenth century projects those of Emerie Cruce (1623), Hugo Grotius (1628), the Duke of Sully (1638) and William Penn (1693) were the most notable. The eighteenth century brought forth the schemes of the Abbe de Saint-Pierre (1712), of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1761), of Jeremy Bentham (1789), and of Immanuel Kant (1795); this last-named writer being largely inspired by the new republican conception of the state propounded in the Declaration of Independence and exemplified in the formation of the American Union.

These earlier projects of international organization were in substance almost wholly of a political nature. All of them appealed to reason, and incidentally to right; but, with the exception of Grotius and Kant, it was not upon right in the legal sense that these writers based their projects but rather upon expediency, reinforced by precepts of religion or sentiments of humanity.

If the idea of law had any place in these schemes, it was for the most part the result of an attempt to show that since there was a divine right of kings, there were also duties which kings should not neglect to recognize. The thought of the time centered about the personal sovereign, whose will was supposed to make the law; and "sovereignty," an abstract term derived from the acknowledged supremacy and power of an absolute ruler, was taken as the seat and substance of all public authority; with the result that these schemes had to deal with as many un-governed wills as there were independent sovereigns.

It was in a spirit of high philosophy that Immanuel Kant, the advocate of the "categorical imperative" as a rule of conduct, traced authority back to first principles inherent in human nature. For him

the secret of perpetual peace was, that among nations such rules of action should be established and obeyed as could have the approval of conscience if they were made universal.

Only free citizens in free states, he thought, acting voluntarily in the light of conscience, could secure perpetual peace. They could secure it, if they wished it, through obedience to their own freely adopted laws. The hope of the world then, he argued, depended upon the triumph of the human conscience, and this triumph was to be looked for only in free states where the people's will, actuated by conscience, could control public action.

All subsequent history confirms the conclusion at which the philosopher of Konigsberg arrived—that perpetual peace can never be attained otherwise than by the general adoption of rules of action agreed to by free states, by which they consent to be bound, because these rules are fit to be made universal.

HOW LADD BECAME INTERESTED IN PEACE

It was not from Immanuel Kant, however, that William Ladd derived the fundamental principles of his plan for organizing international peace; for, as far as I am informed, Mr. Ladd knew nothing of Kant's philosophy. He does not mention it in his essay. It was rather from the principles of government which led to American independence and the formation of a law-governed union of free states, from which Kant himself had formed his idea of "Eternal Peace," that Mr. Ladd obtained his inspiration.

These principles, inherent in the moral, religious and political conceptions of the founders of the American Republic, current in the daily thoughts of a people who had so recently profited by them in the formation of a great nation from scattered colonies, could not well fail to be extended by them to the problem of international organization.

Spontaneously, as it seems, there came into existence in America a group of local peace societies, beginning with a small company in New York as early as 1812, which in 1815 became the New York Peace Society, the first for this purpose

in the world, with similar societies in eleven States in 1828.

In 1819, William Ladd had the privilege of hearing the Reverend Doctor Jesse Appleton, President of Bowdoin College, speak on "the growing improvement of the world," giving a prominent place in his remarks to the rapid growth of these peace societies. At first, says Mr. Ladd, their movement impressed his mind only as "a day-dream of beneficence"; but Noah Worcester's pamphlet, *A Solemn Review of the Custom of War*, deepened his interest in the subject of international peace, which afterward became the principal object of his life.

Inspired by the thought of uniting the local societies into one great national organization, Mr. Ladd succeeded, with the aid of others, in forming, in May, 1828, what has since been known as the American Peace Society, which last May celebrated at Cleveland, Ohio, the centennial anniversary of its existence.

WILLIAM LADD'S PLAN OF WORLD ORGANIZATION

Perceiving that what this national society most needed, in order to promote the movement for the abolition of war, was a practicable plan for organizing the nations for peace, while encouraging others to offer suggestions to this end, Mr. Ladd wrote and in February, 1840, published at Boston his *Essay on a Congress of Nations*.

To Immanuel Kant we must ascribe the honor of having proposed a "permanent congress of nations" as "the only means of realizing the idea of a true public law." But the German philosopher did not work out his idea in detail, nor did he suggest the establishment of an international court to render international law effective; still, he wrote: If it be a duty to cherish the hope that the universal dominion of public law may ultimately be realized by a gradual but continued progress, the establishment of perpetual peace to take the place of those mere suspensions of hostility called treaties of peace, is not a chimera but a problem, of which time, abridged by the uniform and continual progress of the human mind, will ultimately furnish a satisfactory solution.

It was to the solution of this problem

that William Ladd applied his thought in his essay.

Stated in the briefest possible form, his plan proposed two separate but correlated organizations; the first, a mechanism for arriving at an agreement regarding a body of international law; the second, a non-military agency for rendering it effective, as follows:

(1) A *Congress* of official representatives chosen by their respective States to formulate principles of international law, afterward to be adopted by treaty; and

(2) A *Court* to apply the law agreed upon in case of contentions regarding compliance with it, jurisdiction and judgment to be accepted by mutual consent.

The Court, as conceived by Mr. Ladd, was to function as a tribunal of arbitration or of strict judicial interpretation of law, as the case might be, both being provided for in his description, analysis and defense of this court; but it stands out clearly on every page that his purpose was not mere conciliation by concession, but the application of a body of law, to be gradually framed and extended, as a true *Corpus Juris* of international application.

It should be clearly understood that in Mr. Ladd's plan there was no provision for the political control of one State by another, or of any State by the totality of states.

In this he honored a principle which lies at the basis of the American conception of all true government, which is self-government. There was here no authority of a great power to control a lesser state. Compulsion was to be wholly eliminated. Force could be used only if necessary to resist aggression. William Ladd knew that self-defense can never be made illegal with any prospect of obedience.

THE WIDE SCOPE OF LADD'S PROPOSALS

As a man of hard-headed common sense, with no suggestion in his temperament of the visionary, Mr. Ladd did not overlook Cardinal Fleury's sarcasm regarding the Abbe Saint-Pierre's omission of a preliminary article in his scheme providing for missionaries to dispose the hearts of the princes of Europe to accept it. In answer to Cardinal Fleury's sarcasm, Mr. Ladd replied:

The peace societies must furnish these missionaries, and send them to the princes

in monarchical governments, and to the people in mixed and republican governments. Let public opinion be on our side, and missionaries will not be wanting.

Missionaries have not been wanting, but they have not always been well instructed. The consent of governments to be ruled by law is not yet universal, but it is something that no government now dares to argue openly against it. The problem of the hour is to strip away the false pretenses by which the people are deceived.

We have had The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907; we have established the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, installed in a palace of justice by the generosity of an American Philanthropist; we have the assemblies of the political alliance known as the League of Nations; and we have the League's court with its extra-judicial advisory function.

Evidently we have not yet reached the fulfillment of William Ladd's plan in its completeness; but every advance thus far in international understanding in the interest of peace has been a partial realization of it, and it stands out today as the clear indication of what is yet to be desired.

William Ladd struck a clear note of what has proved to be the consistent policy of this nation—a policy which no political party at present ventures to oppose—complete cooperation in a strictly juridical organization of international peace, with no commitment to political or military entanglements.

With clarity of vision this modest citizen foresaw the difficulties which any plan for permanent peace must encounter, and he realized that the whole problem is, in its essence, a problem of justice. If justice is possible between nations, then peace is possible. It is not a question of sentiment, for men have long known that war is cruel, and the sufferings of the innocent have not stopped it. It is not a question of expediency, for the aggressor has always believed his resort to force to be expedient for himself. It is not a question of the power of the strong to impose passivity on the weak, for irresponsible power has always excited resistance. There is only one way to terminate the spirit that leads to war, and that is by the

establishment of organized justice. And justice can never be established except by the pledged honor of nations to renounce the use of arbitrary force.

It is possible that a great step forward may soon be taken by a wide acceptance of the multi-lateral treaty to renounce war as an instrument of national policy now in process of negotiation. That would commit the signatories to the great end that is sought. But this alone does not solve the problem of *means* by which to settle the international disputes that may, and certainly will arise, involving the problems of justice. War cannot be abolished until rights can be somewhere vindicated, and wrongs prevented by some other method than the use of armed force.

It is time to come out from the shadow of the war psychosis which, at the Peace of Versailles, sought the cure of war in preponderant power.

We must seek the means to abolish war, not by the threat of more war, but in a time of peace and by the agencies of peace. We shall find peace where, as a nation, we have found prosperity, in obedience to just laws to which we have previously assented after free collaboration, followed by submission, when necessary, to a judiciary whose sole function shall be the interpretation of rules of action deliberately considered and mutually agreed upon to which a free nation can, with honor, pledge obedience. But no free nation can prudently accept a binding jurisdiction not controlled by conditions clearly expressed in the very terms of the law by which its vital issues are to be determined.

WILLIAM LADD

BY ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

A people can do no worthier thing than to keep alive and to cherish the memory of its gifted, creative men. Universal history may be more than the united biographies of great men; but of this we may be assured, great men never cease to be profitable company. A state is no finer than the people, the men and women who build the state; for, no better than water, can a state rise above its source. To forget the great men and the things they did means to miss the legacy they left and to

begin only where they began. Carlyle agreed with Chrysostom that the true Shekinah, the visible Hebrew revelation of God, is man. The wealth of England is not Manchester or empire; but Milton and Shakespeare. The Greece of Sophocles can never be poor. This State of Maine could accumulate the gold of the nation and remain forever in poverty should she forget her Elijah Parrish Lovejoy, her John Neal, her Neal Dow, her Dorothea Lynde Dix, her William Ladd. In one of his most charming essays, Emerson reminds us that "the youth, intoxicated with his admiration of a hero, fails to see that it is only a projection of his own soul which he admires." The state that forgets its great men has lost its soul.

This meeting and this dedication amid the scenes where lived and wrought the leading peacemaker of his age, are evidence that the soul of this state lives.

That there is no adequate biography of William Ladd is a misfortune. From what we know of him, his boyhood and school life must have been fascinating to the discerning student of youth. His years of experience at sea and visits to foreign lands, his courtship and marriage in England, his unrecorded many-sided activities would be welcome material for any writer of romance. The known biographical facts about this truly great man are all too few.

William Ladd, founder, in 1828, of the American Peace Society, was widely known through the middle decades of the nineteenth century in this country and abroad as "The Apostle of Peace."

While many of his writings are still available, his chief claim to interest in our day is his work of 1840, *An Essay on A Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms*, highly praised in his time and still respectfully referred to by writers on international affairs as his abiding title to fame. Elihu Burritt, one of his earnest disciples, laid the proposals of his "master" before European congresses—at Brussels in 1848, at Paris in 1849, at Frankfort in 1859, and at London in 1851. Authorities on international law, grant that the story of modern arbitration cannot be told without frequent reference to the Society which Ladd founded,

and that international conferences such as that held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, are tributes to his foresight, as for many years he specifically advocated such conferences and supplied them, in advance, with their programs. Charles Sumner, referring in 1840 to these labors, praised them highly and said that William Ladd had "enrolled himself among the benefactors of mankind."

His concentration upon a way for ending the war system led to such forgetfulness of self that few facts of his private life have been preserved. The rather fulsome biography by Hemenway, even the revised edition, still in manuscript, contains few references sufficiently exact for the careful student. He was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, the oldest boy, third among the ten children—six girls and four boys—of Colonel Eliphalet and Abigail Hill Ladd. The father at an early age was a sea captain, engaged in trade with the West Indies; later a merchant and ship builder of wealth and prominence in Exeter, member of the State Legislature, one of the five incorporators, January 3, 1792, of the first bank in Portsmouth, the sixth bank of our Republic (Stackpole's *History of New Hampshire*, Vol. II, p. 383), and for fourteen years aide on the staff of Governor John Taylor Gilman. There is evidence that the mother was a queenly and influential person of rare intelligence. The family moved to Portsmouth in May, 1792, and occupied a house now "properly marked as historic" (Stackpole, Vol. IV, p. 224).

William Ladd's education was not confined to the schools. True, he entered Phillips-Exeter Academy in 1787, where he prepared for Harvard College, which he entered in 1793, and from which he graduated, not without distinction, in 1797. It was, however, the salt of the ocean that gave tang to his views and temper. Upon leaving Harvard he went down to the sea, at first in his father's vessels and then in his own. At twenty years of age he was captain of one of the largest brigs ever sailing from New England. It appears that he made many trips to England and the West Indies, often accompanied by high adventures.

Indeed, at the age of twenty-one he married, in London, Miss Sophia Ann Augusta Stidolph, aged 19, and carried her to his home in America. On a trip in 1809 from London to Charleston, he was boarded by a French privateer and informed that under an order of Napoleon Bonaparte his ship was to be burned. He remonstrated with such moral suasion, manifesting a determination to perish, if need be, in the flames with his wife, who was on board, that he was permitted to go on his way. After three years of seafaring life he was for a short time a merchant in Savannah, Georgia. Prompted then by a philanthropic desire to aid in the abolition of negro slavery, he parted with considerable of his fortune in an unsuccessful agricultural experiment on a cotton plantation in Florida. His experiences in the South covered a period of about six years. His father dying in 1806, William returned to Portsmouth and took up again the life of a sea captain, which he continued until the outbreak of the War of 1812. That there are left so few records of Ladd's experiences at sea is but one of the unfortunate lacunae in his record.

In June, 1814, Mr. and Mrs. Ladd moved from Portsmouth to Minot, Maine. On the Fourth of July of that year he delivered an oration in behalf of the "Washington Republicans," and in honor of the thirty-eighth anniversary of American independence. While there are evidences in this oration of a fiery Federalist bias, the speaker showed that he was familiar with the history of his country, that he greatly revered George Washington, that he knew how to use the English language with precision and power, and that the possibility of an "Empire of Peace" was already working in his mind. From this oration it is clear that by practical experience in foreign lands he had acquired an international mind.

Two years later he represented his town in the Brunswick Convention, where again he showered his forensic bent and ability (Collections of the Pejepscot Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 1). In the same year he represented his town at the General Court in Boston. He is known to have devoted himself vigorously in Minot to farming on a wide, scientific, and success-

ful scale. There are numerous traditions of his many-sided social interests. His philanthropies were various and of a practical bent. The devout Hemenway, writing thirty years after Ladd's death, says: "The name of William Ladd deserves to be embalmed in the affections of mankind, as the noblest philanthropist of modern times." November 6, 1837, Emerson, writing in his *Journal*, associated William Ladd and William Penn.

In an era of great awakening, Ladd played an energetic and conspicuous part. He was that kind of a man—robust, hearty, a commanding figure, high in forehead, red-cheeked, winsome, good to look upon, with a rollicking sense of humor. When, because of the influence, in 1819, of President Appleton, of Bowdoin College, and later of Noah Worcester, it became the object of his life "to promote the cause of peace on earth and good-will to man," it was natural for such a man to give his all to "the great and noble cause" with a will. Beginning in July, 1823, he wrote and preached his faith to an increasing audience. He won the interest and help of many of the leading men of his time—Story, Wirt, John Quincy Adams, Kent, Webster, Emerson. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison wrote and dedicated a sonnet to him, and printed it in the first volume of *The Liberator*.

His writings became voluminous. An ardent Christian, licensed in 1837 by the Congregationalists to preach, led by his religious nature at times to assume an extreme pacifist position, he did not neglect the lessons of political history, such as the trial by jury, arbitration, the influence of law, and judicial settlement. He viewed the task of statesmanship to be the avoidance of irreconcilable disputes and the peaceful adjustment of conflicting interests.

William Ladd possessed the power of expression. "It is very distressing to have to go with an olive branch in one hand and a contribution box in the other." . . . "Shut the gate in the face of woman and she will jump over the pickets. Open it wide and she will not be assuming." . . . "There is such a thing as going beyond the millenium. I am content to stop there." . . . "Oh, that I had another life to devote to the holy

cause of peace. It is the cause to die for. It is to me the field of glory, the field on which my Saviour died." Here surely was a man who could see and say.

His "Essay on a Congress of Nations," written in 1831, marked the beginning of the wealth of literature on that theme. His essay of 1840, already referred to, was and still is extensively circulated. Through its one hundred and thirty pages, Ladd argues with clarity and cogency, free of all extreme views, in behalf of a periodic Congress of Nations for the establishment of a code of international laws, and a Permanent Court of Nations entirely distinct from the Congress, though organized by it, for the purpose of arbitrating or adjudicating all disputes referred to it by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations. For the execution of judgments against States, he would rely wholly upon the force of public opinion. He believed ardently in the practical possibilities of extending peace between nations by the processes of justice.

His final illness crept upon him during an arduous lecture tour through the State of New York, when he found himself able to address certain of his large audiences only by speaking from his knees. When he started for his home in Minot and died at Portsmouth on his way, it was clear to his friends that he had literally given his life to the cause of peace. His grave is in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His wife, buried by his side, died December 29, 1855. There were no children.

The dedication of this stone and tablet is an expression of the idealism at the heart of the people of this State, a graceful tribute to the man who lived here, the man who hallowed these fields, which were to him as "Paradise," and turned the eyes of the world to this little town of Minot.

The tributes to William Ladd will not end here. The entire State of North Carolina is being asked at this very time to ransack its garrets for letters, diaries and other documents bearing on the history of the Southland; and the Legislature of the State has appropriated funds for a fireproof structure and repository for the data at Chapel Hill. There are attics in New England with letters and invaluable manuscripts relating to Wil-

liam Ladd which should be brought to light, catalogued and made available to students and writers. His society, with its headquarters in Washington, D. C., anxiously awaits these hidden treasures.

Heralds will tell of William Ladd when we his followers of today are no more. His "daughter," whom he fathered and served till his death, was the American Peace Society. This Society still lives, with its headquarters in the Capital of the nation. From May 7 to 11, it celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary in Cleveland, Ohio, with many thousands present and the representatives of twenty governments upon its program. This Society, with its precious library, its magazine spreading monthly the moods of peace between nations—continuing expressions of his living spirit—will go on, challenging tomorrow and tomorrow with the life and labors of William Ladd.

ADDRESS

By Dr. Yu-Chuen James Yen

Dr. Yen, speaking extemporaneously, expressed the view that William Ladd does not belong alone to America. "He was a man of worldly vision—he belongs to the world; therefore I think it is proper for a humble Chinese to stand here with you, citizens of Ladd's country, and pay him tribute." Dr. Yen's address told of the struggles of his country, especially of the united effort at a universal education throughout China. "The past was one of isolation for all nations; the future is an age of getting together." He concluded, "After all, color is only skin deep, and if we are to be drawn closer and closer together as nations, we must learn to live together harmoniously. I am glad and proud to be able to be here and to pay my homage to a great man in his own language."

ADDRESS

By Honorable Ralph O. Brewster, Governor of Maine

Before unveiling the stone and tablet, the Honorable Ralph O. Brewster, Governor of Maine, delivered an address in which he said:

Civilization is crystallized memory. Nations go forward only as they occasion-

ally look back. Progress is born of the contemplation of the past.

The State of Maine turns aside today to pay tribute to the irresistible power of a right idea.

Under this sky great moral principles have found a congenial clime.

Here, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote and the shackles fell from the slave. Here Neal Dow spoke and the world began to end the far more subtle slavery born of the passion for strong drink.

Scholars have long recognized and the world and even his own State are now beginning to learn something of the remarkable contribution of William Ladd to the cause of peace.

The centennial of the American Peace Society founded by William Ladd and the sesquicentennial of his birth find his fellow men contemplating the trail that he has blazed.

The name of Ladd seems likely to be added to the names of Stowe and Dow in

that galaxy that Maine cherishes as pioneers in moral reform.

Other men dreamed of enforcing right by might and necessarily by an international force. Political alliances were the almost inevitable result.

Ladd taught that the world should merely determine what is right. Mankind may then confidently anticipate that "all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword."

Peace is mental and flowers in a consciousness convinced of what is right. Men only lose their tempers when they fear that they are wrong.

These commemorative exercises in this obscure and yet lovely spot under the direction of the last Maine Legislature furnish substantial evidence that nothing good is ever lost. Maine honors itself in honoring Ladd and yields nothing of its devotion to the cause of national defense.

The simple inscription upon this tablet expresses the sentiment of Maine.

WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH*

By FRIDTJOF NANSEN

WE ARE brought up with the idea of evolution. We like to think that our race is making progress. But can we actually say with truth that there has been an evolution in the history of our race? Can we say with confidence that the character of man has been much raised since our heathen forefathers? Can we say candidly, with the remembrances of the last war in mind, that we are less barbaric than our ancestors in a stone age?

Oh, no, we cannot! Our character? The test should be the control of ourselves. But our self-control and our peoples' self-control has certainly not been developed.

But surely our ethics, our morality, have improved, you may say. Yes, our ideas, so far as individuals go; but not when the individuals combine into groups. Nations have hardly begun as yet to have real morality. They are little more than collections of beasts of prey. Private, human virtues, such as modesty, unselfishness, charity, altruism, love of one's neighbor, still strike them only too often as ridiculous folly if they are urged to practice them in their politics.

It is this double morality! If you lie, betray, steal, rob, or kill for yourself, you are a miserable criminal, are despised as an inferior creature, and put in jail. If you do these things for your country, if you play the foulest game for your people, it is admirable, worthy of the highest praise of your countrymen, and you are ranked in the front row as a great patriot. As long as this bookkeeping with double entry is upheld, there seems to be but little hope for a betterment of the world.

But it is worse than that. If in spite of everything, by good or evil, we cannot get what we want from our neighbor, we think it perfectly legal and just to use force and resort to war to compel him, if he is a weaker nation, to do what we wish.

That is still the international morality, the international ethics of our age, and,

* Address delivered at the celebration of the One-hundredth Anniversary of the American Peace Society, Cleveland, Ohio, May 7, 1928.

even not considering this perfectly immoral idea of using *might* instead of *right*, can we really imagine anything more perfectly wicked, more outrageous, more absurd, than war; that grown-up, intelligent, responsible people, who ought to know what they are doing—they of their own free will and with their eyes open decide to destroy and kill each other; that they start to murder and massacre and, if possible, exterminate each other by means of every devilish invention in their power and with the assistance of their science and best brains?

The worst of it is that war is the very institution to give the unfittest, the poorest elements in a people, all the chances. Since historical times the white race has wasted its choicest blood through wars and massacres, and there is not a people in history which has not deteriorated. Modern war means the survival of the unfittest.

Here in the United States five and a half million men between the ages of 21 and 30 were examined for the drafts, and 22 per cent were rejected as *unfit*.

While 4,300,000 splendid young men were picked to be sent out to the front and to be exposed to death by shells and gas and diseases, 1,200,000 unfit men remained at home to propagate the race. Do you think the race will be improved that way? During the Napoleonic wars, about the beginning of the last century, the stature of the French recruits fell nearly four inches. War is an institution which weeds out the best elements in a people.

And the last war, which was supposed to be the last great war against war—what has it achieved? Look at the world now! The total sums spent on armaments are quite as great today as they were the year before the war, although four countries in Europe are disarmed. Armaments, if we keep them, if we do not carry through the disarmament work which has been promised, and which your great country and the League of Nations are trying to begin, will lead to war.

I say this with absolute conviction; all our experience in the past has made it obvious. I can quote good authority. Lord Grey, Foreign Secretary for Great

Britain when war was declared, has said—and said it time and again—that the war of 1914 was caused by the inflated armaments of Europe; and he has warned us that if we allow our armaments to remain as they are, and we go in for another world-wide competition in military preparation, then we shall have another war as inevitably as we had the last, and he has told us that another war will mean the end of our civilization as we know it today. Who will dispute that Lord Grey knows what he is talking about?

And he is not alone in saying that. The same thing has been said time after time by other leading statesmen of Europe. They have told us that another World War would wipe out the civilization of the white race. Mr. Baldwin, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, has said that one more war in the west—these were his words—and the civilization of the ages will fall with as great a shock as that of Rome.

These men whom I quote are no fanatics; they are not even pacifists; they are responsible statesmen who have wielded and still wield great power in world affairs. If the phrases which they use are seriously meant, and they certainly are, it seems to me to follow that there is hardly any other question in politics that is worth discussion until this problem of the next war has been solved.

Europe is still suffering from the shock of the last war, by which her very foundations were shaken, and still there are people speaking lightheartedly of the next war. They are forgetting it already before they have learned the lessons which it ought to teach. They are forgetting their dead. Of course, there are still men in almost every land, and in this great country, too, who will not forget its horrors. The slaughter of the battle-fields, once you have seen it, is not easily to be forgotten.

There are men here in this hall, perhaps, who could tell you better than I can of the pitiless holocaust of the beautiful fields of France and the agony of the great bombardments of a modern action, the unspeakable torture of men hung wounded and broken—for days, it might be—upon barbed-wire defenses, imploring by their

screams a speedy death, which they were powerless to inflict upon themselves. There are certainly men here who could tell you of all that better far than I can, and if the world would listen to such men, if its peoples would only remember the bestial filthiness of war, its savage cruelty, they would see to it that war never should come about again.

But there are other sides of war, of which I perhaps have seen more than most men. For nearly eight years now it has been my task for the League of Nations to investigate the hideous aftermath which war leaves behind. I have had to spend my life with prisoners of war, in famines, with flying, panic-stricken refugees, with the tragedy of old men and women and tiny children, left by the chance of war alone, forlorn, robbed, destitute of everything of value in the world. I wish I could give you some pictures of the things that I have seen.

I wish I could make you for a moment feel the sufferings of the *prisoners of war* in the Siberian camps from which we brought them home. There they were, these prisoners, Germans, Austrians, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Serbs, Roumanians, Italians, Turks—twenty different nationalities we had to deal with. There they were still, a year and a half after the war had ended, having been three, four, five, or even nearly six years in their grim captivity without news of their families, who believed them dead because no news had passed for all these years. There they were, camped in broken huts that gave them no real shelter against the savage cold of the Siberian winter, clothed in the rags in which they had been taken on the field of battle, given so little food that they were almost starved, too often subject to the brutal treatment of their temporary masters, subject also to what was worse—to the ravages of terrible disease, cholera, dysentery, typhus, of those scourges which follow in the wake of starvation and of filth.

It is bad enough to be exposed to disease when you are a free man, but when you are a prisoner in Siberia it is infinitely worse. There are heart-breaking stories to be told about their sufferings.

A big camp where cholera had broken out was fenced round with barbed wire.

No one was allowed to leave the camp. If somebody endeavored to escape, he was shot down. The thousands of prisoners inside the camp were left to die. Oh, many even more gruesome stories could be told.

Think of those men with their comrades dying all around them, expecting always that their own turn would come next, enduring every hour of every day the suffering of men whose lives and hopes were buried in a living grave. Can you imagine a worse hell on earth, a scene more horrifying than any in Dante's "Inferno"?

And think, too, of their families at the other end, of their long misery of waiting, of the unbroken silence of their sons, their brothers, their husbands, or their fathers, the silence which brought them in the end to the still greater misery of despair.

And still there they were. The war ended at last; but months passed, the year passed, and nothing could be done to bring the hundreds of thousands of survivors home. Rumors reached them that peace had come, but nobody came to fetch them or even to help them! The governments of the peoples to whom they belonged had no organs, no representatives, no power to negotiate and obtain the necessary agreements and arrangements for delivery of the prisoners and their transport.

There was the terror of epidemics and infectious diseases in the border countries over whose territory the prisoners had to be transported, and the transit was refused. There was the disorganization of the railways and means of transport, the inability to repair them, and lack of money to pay the freights. Several efforts were made, but with no result.

Then was it that the League of Nations came into being. At the first meeting of its council it was proposed and decided that the repatriation of the prisoners of war would be an appropriate task for the League to take up. For some unknown reason I was asked by telegram to take charge of the work as the League's High Commissioner. It came so unexpected—it was something quite new, and I thought I could not do it. But on the assurance that I would only be expected to give a few months to it, I had to give in. But those few months have rather been long. I am still at it. We managed to repatriate

nearly half a million prisoners of war.

That prisoner work, believe me, my friends, was hard work to do, but it was nothing compared to the bitter tragedy of the *Russian famine*. You will remember something of it in this country. Once again the United States contributed more than anyone else, first through Hoover's wonderful organization and later through your Government itself, which contributed twenty million dollars to fight the famine, and in addition to that all the private contributions. Taken all round, America must have given fifty to sixty million dollars for the campaign against the Russian famine and have saved millions and millions of lives. Towards the end they fed ten million people. I tell you, in the whole history of the world there is no humanitarian work that can be compared with the relief work of America organized by Hoover, in Russia as well as in other parts of Europe, during and after the war. It is unique in history. It will for all future ages be a bright golden leaf in the chronicle of the gloomy time we have lived through. May I add that we in Europe also did our share as best we could. Although some leading governments refused to take any action, the private response to the appeal we made was generous, and much good work was done by our various organizations, and some million people were fed.

But no one who did not see the famine can ever quite understand what it was like. I have a nightmare always in my mind of the things I saw. I see always those primitive Russian villages in the Volga basin, groups of houses in the midst of great open plains, miles, it might be, from any railway, frozen in the grip of winter. I remember how we drove across the plains to those villages, how, when we came into them, they seemed like places of the dead, with no moving thing about them, no sign of life of any kind. I remember how we used to push open the doors of those houses and step inside to the kitchens of those humble peasant homes. We would find there the strangest, most pitiful sight I ever saw. The whole family, grandfather and grandmother, father and mother, children, big and little, would be sitting or lying on the floor in a circle round the room or on top of the big stove of stone—

not speaking, not moving, simply waiting for help or for the end. They were far gone already in starvation. The lucky ones might have heaps of dried leaves and grass, perhaps even a horse hoof or the bone of a horse leg, which were crushed and mixed with the leaves to make bread. They were sitting quite still, quite motionless, because they knew that movement of any kind would use up their strength, would bring nearer the hour of their collapse. Some of them, lying on their sides, gaunt skeletons of men and women, would not answer when you spoke. When you touched them, you would find that they were dead.

Besides the famine were also the ravages of the terrible diseases, especially the *spotted typhus*. During two years twenty million cases of this horrible disease were registered. My companion, the English Doctor Farrar, was attacked and died; another of my staff was attacked and died; a third was attacked, but he was younger and pulled through; several others of our very few people also died.

Millions died by torturing hunger in that famine. Thousands upon thousands went mad from pain before the end. Cannibalism was rife throughout a population as great as that of the States of Ohio, New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania together. Corpses were dug up from the churchyards to be used for food. Mothers, in mad desperation, killed and ate their own babies; fathers killed their daughters. But no, I cannot go further in those horrors. All that was in civilized Europe, of which we are so proud.

But in some ways not even the Russian famine has left me so terrible a memory as the *flight of the Greek and Armenian refugees* from Asia Minor and from eastern Thrace. That was a year after the famine. The famine was in the winter of 1921-22, and in the autumn of 1922 the Greek armies suffered their great disaster in the mountains of Asia Minor. As their army retreated in the disorder of defeat, hundreds of thousands of the Greek and Armenian inhabitants of Asia Minor fled to the coast and by every ship which they could get across the sea to Greece.

When that disaster happened, when it was plain that there was to be a new refu-

gee problem greater and more difficult even than the problem of the Russian refugees, the assembly of the League asked me to go to the Balkans to see what could be done. I went straight through from Geneva to Constantinople. It so happened that in order to visit the camps of refugees in eastern Thrace I had to travel by motor car from Constantinople right through eastern Thrace toward the north. I left Constantinople on the very day on which it was announced that eastern Thrace was to be handed back by the Allies to the Turkish army. The effect of that announcement was almost beyond belief. There was to be, in fact, a delay of six weeks before the Turks came. There was time for all the refugees and the population to leave, if they desired to do so, in order and quiet, taking with them their possessions and their crops. It was of infinite importance to themselves and to Greece that they should take with them these crops, but, although they had six weeks before the Turks would come, neither the refugees from Asia Minor nor the Greeks in Eastern Thrace itself would wait a single hour. I argued with them. I would buy all their crops. I besought the Greek army to make them stay; it was all in vain. Within twelve hours of the announcements that the Turks were coming back 358,000 people were on the road; they were in a panic of fear.

Fear to me has always been the most terrifying of emotions to behold. It is far more dangerous than hatred or anger or all the rest. A horse kicks when he is afraid; a man loses the power to reason when he is afraid; nations go mad when they are afraid; it is fear which makes the madness of armament competition, and it was fear which made the Greeks of eastern Thrace go mad.

They had heard from the refugees the terrible stories of the pursuits that happened in the Asia Minor war. They had heard what followed in the track of the advancing Turkish armies, and that very day they put together some clothes, some blankets, and they set out on their great adventure. As we drove along the rough track that served as roads we passed them by tens of thousands in ox-wagons, with the old woman and the dying babies on the top, the children leading horses,

donkeys, goats, and pigs beside them, and the men with guns across their shoulders, forming a guard against marauding brigands.

I often think of the spectacle of the camps they made at night by the side of every little stream, thousands of thousands of camp fires stretching away almost to the horizon, as they alighted to rest their oxen for a few brief hours before they went on with their tragic journey at the dawn. I have no time to tell you of our adventures.

As we drove on I thought of the great flight of the people of Israel from Egypt long ago, but they were only a small number compared with these and the memory of the misery and fear which we there beheld has never left me since. We read about the emigrations and great wanderings of peoples in early history; but what were they? Mere trifles compared with what we have experienced here. A whole people, a million and a half refugees, removed, driven away from their homes and their country and transferred to another distant country.

It is true that the League of Nations has transformed that tragedy into a miracle of hope. When we were there we proposed to the Greek Government that a League of Nations loan should be made for the settlement of these refugees. The Greek Government fully agreed. The League of Nations also agreed. The loan was made. The settlement was carried through by a League commission, the able chairmen of which were three prominent Americans—first, Mr. Morgenthau, former ambassador in Constantinople, and then Mr. Charles P. Howland and now Mr. Charles B. Eddy.

That commission is now able to report that nearly a million and a half refugees have been settled in new homes; that most of them are now self-supporting, and that they are adding to the wealth and strength of Greece. Vacant land has been cultivated, new industries created, new enterprises and initiative have been introduced.

But this has been achieved only after terrible suffering, terrible losses to the refugees, to Greece, and to the world. That suffering and loss are due to war.

They are a part of all the suffering and loss which the last war brought upon us. Nay, all the things of which I have told you are due directly or indirectly to the war.

They are disgustingly horrible, and still they are but little compared with the horrors of the sufferings of the Armenian people. There is certainly no people in the world which has suffered so much and been so badly treated as the gifted Armenian people.

There will not be time here to go into their tragic history, but you will remember how they were exposed time after time to the most cruel maltreatment at the hands of the Turks, and specially the horrible massacres under Sultan Abdul Hamid in the nineties.

The Turks feared the Armenians. They were a cleverer and more gifted race than the Turks. Feeling themselves inferior, they hated them, and when the great war came and there were no disagreeable European eyes to look on they decided simply to wipe out that "accursed race," as they called them. Careful preparations were made to carry out this plan. First, all leading and prominent Armenians in Constantinople—six hundred of them—were suddenly in April, 1915, arrested, sent to Asia Minor, and disappeared; only eight of them were heard of again. Then in June, 1915, the horrors began to which we know no parallel in history. From all the villages of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia the Armenian Christians were driven forth on their death march. The work was done systematically, clearing out one district after another. There was to be a clean sweep of all Armenians.

As the majority of men had already been taken for war work, where they were gradually killed, it was chiefly a matter of turning women, children, and the aged and crippled out of house and home. They were only given a few days' or hours' notice. They had to leave behind all their property, homes, fields, gardens, cattle, furniture, tools, and implements. The things they managed to carry with them, such as money, jewelry or other valuables, and even clothes, were subsequently taken away from them by the gendarmes. The poor creatures were rounded up from the

different villages and driven in long columns across the mountains to the Arabian desert plains, where no provision had been made for the reception and maintenance of these herds of starving wretches, just as nothing had been done to keep them alive on the march. The idea was that those who did not succumb or get killed on the way should at any rate die of starvation.

As soon as the columns had fairly started, the few men and elder lads were assembled, taken aside, and killed while their women could hear it. The women, children, and old people were driven on, suffering agonies of hunger and thirst. The food, if there were any, was scanty and bad. Those who could not keep up were flogged on till they collapsed or were killed.

Gradually the columns became smaller and smaller as hunger, thirst, disease, and murder did their work. Young women and girls were raped or sold by auction in places where the Moslem population had assembled. Often bands of *tyetas*—all sorts of roughs and hooligans—and of Kurds swooped down upon the columns, robbing, maltreating, murdering, and violating the women.

A foreign witness has said that these deportation columns were merely "a polite form for massacres," but in reality they were infinitely worse and more heartless.

As an instance of what these marches meant I may mention, on the authority of a German eyewitness, that out of 18,000 expelled from Kharput and Sivas only 350 reached Aleppo, and that out of 19,000 from Erzerum there were 11 survivors. Of the survivors—emaciated, almost naked skeletons—who managed to struggle on to Syria and Mesopotamia, the majority were driven out into the desert, there to die in fearful agonies.

The columns marched on for months, and even at the end of their death march they were not left in peace, but were driven round in circles for weeks. The concentration camps were filled and emptied again while the cold-blooded taskmasters allowed their unhappy victims to die of starvation and disease or massacred them by the thousands. Bands of Circassians were hired to do this work. They

conducted companies, numbering 300 to 500, every day from the camps out into the desert, where they were murdered.

Typhus raged among them. The corpses by the roadside poisoned the atmosphere. There are descriptions by eye-witnesses of scenes among these starving and dying people which are so full of heartrending horror that they read like a nightmare. I cannot repeat them. It was a hell.

We have a telegram in cipher sent on September 11, 1915, by the responsible Turkish Minister of the Interior, Tala'at Pascha, to the "Police Office at Aleppo." This is the telegram:

It has already been reported that by the order of the committee the government have determined completely to exterminate the Armenians living in Turkey. Those who refuse to obey this order cannot be regarded as friends of the government. Regardless of women, children, or invalids, and however deplorable the method of destruction may seem, an end is to be put to their existence without paying any heed to feeling or conscience.

(Signed) Minister of Interior:

TALA'AT.

This is a picture of war and its aftermath. It is estimated that at least one million Armenians were exterminated. According to the statistics before the war, there were 1,845,450 Armenians in Turkey. Of these hardly 800,000 saved their lives. Many of them fled across the frontier, but the rest were wiped out.

When the Turks were defeated and an armistice was signed, many Armenians returned to their land in Anatolia and started life again. But then came the last grim act in the somber tragedy of the Armenians. In the autumn of 1922 the Turks, as I mentioned before, under Mustapha Kemal, drove the Greeks out of Asia Minor. Once more thousands and thousands of Armenians were driven out of the country like pariahs and fresh scenes of cruelty were enacted. Stripped of everything, the fugitives arrived in Greece, Bulgaria, Constantinople, and Syria, while great numbers fled again to Russian Armenia. All the real property and movables that they had to leave be-

hind have been appropriated by the Turks and their rulers.

All these things of which I have told you, the prison camps, the famines, the flights of refugees, the massacres, starvation, and extermination of the Armenian people—all are due directly or indirectly to the war. I have talked of them tonight because I want to show why I am so ardently, so passionately, against war.

But, believe me, such things cannot happen without weakening the social system in which we live. They undermine the very foundation of our civilization. They sap the vitality of our peoples. They leave wounds and scars behind them that take very long to heal. The wounds and scars of the last war are not yet healed; some of them have hardly yet begun to heal. Europe, the world is not yet well; the shock of the last war has not yet passed.

And that brings me back to the point at which I was in the beginning, the shameful, the absurdity, the criminal folly of war. I am convinced of nothing more firmly than that Europe, that the civilization of the white race, could not stand a new shock of another war like the last.

We talk of the next war as a quite likely possibility. Do we think of what it would really mean? Even if the next war were like the last, it might certainly wipe us out. But, of course, the next war will not be like the last. It will be incomparably worse. On that point every expert is agreed. Yet in spite of their warnings most of us, I think, fail to comprehend the real meaning of their words. We say, for example, that bombardment of great cities from the air is to be the chief weapon of a future war, but have you ever thought what such bombardment means? I will not try to describe to you what would happen in a city like this or any of the great cities of Europe if a thousand aeroplanes dropped the bombs, the high explosives, the incendiary and gas bombs which they would carry for an aerial attack. I will only quote to you the words of one of the prominent generals, General Groves, who was at the head of the British air forces in 1918, when air warfare was at its height.

This is what he says: "In the first phase of the next war there is little doubt that the belligerents will resort to gas-bombs attack on a vast scale. This form of attack upon great cities, such as London and Paris, might entail the loss of millions of lives in the course of a few hours . . . All gas experts are agreed," he adds, "that it would be impossible to devise means to protect the civil population from this form of attack."

I will trouble you with no more arguments on the point. As I said before, we are threatened, if we have another war, by a menace that our civilization might be wiped out as other civilizations have been wiped out in the past.

It may seem fantastic to say that our civilization may be wiped out. No one of us feels that such a thing is likely. We have a sense of strength and power and a great future opening out before us. But let us remember that it has happened before in history, over and over again, that civilizations have been wiped out. Mighty empires, which seemed as strong as any empire in our days seems to you and me, have disappeared. The Roman Empire, which ruled all Europe for a period longer than the period of our modern western civilization, was swept away by the incursions of barbarian hordes.

You have no sense of impending disaster; you feel the forces of life too strong around you, and I feel those forces, too. I feel what you do. But I remember, too, that we felt likewise or more so in 1914, just before the war suddenly broke out, and I feel that our civilization received a rude shock in that war, and I feel that another shock of that kind will be the end of the civilization of the white race, and you must feel the same if you begin to think. Every man and woman who will take the trouble to think for themselves, to think the whole question over, must see it.

How, then, is it possible that every man and woman in every nation do not stand up like one man in a passionate protest against this shameful traffic in war possibilities; how is it possible that they do not say to their leaders, "If you do not safeguard the future against any possibility of that horrible absurdity that so long has smirched the history of mankind, we have done with you and you will be wiped out?"

For certainly we have the means we need to remove the danger. We need have no war unless we wish to. It depends on our own free will, if only we will think for ourselves.

Indeed, as politics go, it is comparatively easy to get rid of war. May I suggest the policy by which I believe it could be done? Our governments must throw themselves whole-heartedly and without any reserve into the policy of international co-operation, into what I may call for short the policy of the League of Nations, into the policy for peace which has been so well inaugurated by the Government of this great country. As regards the League of Nations, make no mistake. The League is not an abstract idea in the clouds; it is a living thing; its institutions are now an essential part of the machinery of the government of the world.

If we can put behind the policy for peace, behind the policy for disarmament, behind all the policies for which the League of Nations stands, the full weight of our government power, we shall make an end of war.

Mr. Kellogg's proposal for the outlawry of war is a most important step in the right direction and gives great hope for the future. I do hope it will be accepted by all European States and without reservations. When accepted, this proposal will mark an important milestone in the history of mankind, the beginning of a new era in our work for peace.

INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL WORK*

By EDWARD T. DEVINE

MODERN social work has its taproot in Jewish-Christian religious traditions. Ancient Egypt and Babylon in some measure, ancient Palestine, Greece, and Rome in full measure; medieval Christianity and the Reformation; modern nations, especially England, but also in perceptible degrees other Teutonic, Latin, and Slav peoples, have given us the idea on which our current social programs are based. Either woefully ignorant and provincial, or basely ungrateful, or intellectually insolvent must be any social worker who does not acknowledge his interallied debts. *Mercy, justice, charity, love, consolation, consideration for the poor, restraint of the oppressors, parental responsibility, family solidarity, filial reverence, giving sight to the blind, making the lame to walk, freeing the captive, even beating the sword into a plowshare and the spear to a pruning hook and heroically deciding not to learn war any more*—which of all our most cherished and most unrealized ideals were not familiar to earlier nations or are unfamiliar to our contemporaries? More than religion itself, or education, or industry, or law, we may claim that the fundamentals of social work, as we conceive and try to apply them, are international in origin and in present-day acceptance.

Social work is essentially international because it deals with problems which in greater or less degree occur everywhere and because, steadfastly refusing to rely upon nostrums, panaceas, wholesale, indis-

criminally applied remedies, it seeks persistently for tried, rational, scientific, effective and humane measures, wherever they may be found.

Being human, social work has no doubt its racial, national, and class limitations, its temporal and even geographical characteristics; but no social worker is proud of them; we recognize their incongruity, and, more quickly and more easily than theologians, politicians, educators, or industrialists, we even venture to claim, more easily than the international pacifists, we respond to the international chord; or, shall we say, rather, there is less excuse for us if we fail to do so.

Social work in this country became easily interdenominational, interconfessional, for the same reason that we have claimed for it an international aspect, not because its special domain is one of such slight importance that religious bodies antagonistic at other points could be indifferent to it, but for the opposite reason, that it lies far down below their differences, on the bedrock of human need and human sympathy.

Logically, social work cannot be other than international. To use the surplus wealth of a prosperous nation to relieve the distress of another which has suffered from earthquake, famine, or the ravages of war; to search the religious, philosophical, and sociological literature of other peoples for ideas and principles; to compare experiments and methods; to cultivate across the oceans or other boundaries personal relations through world conferences, by correspondence, and otherwise, this comes natural to social workers. Ten of the members of this commission—just less than one-half—attended an international conference of charities and corrections in Chicago thirty-five years ago, and at least one of them is participating in a similar conference in Paris this year.

If it is natural and desirable that social work should be increasingly international, free from provincialism, from national

*Paper read by Dr. Devine in submitting his report as chairman of the Commission on Social Agencies at the Cleveland Conference, May 11, 1928. The other members of the Commission are: Howard R. Knight, secretary; Grace Abbott, Jane Addams, Frederic Almy, Ernest B. Bicknell, Jeffrey R. Brackett, Allen T. Burns, Amos W. Butler, Robert W. de Forest, Homer Folks, Francis H. Gavisk, John M. Glenn, Hastings H. Hart, Alexander Johnson, Robert W. Kelso, Sherman C. Kingsley, John A. Lapp, Julia Lathrop, Owen R. Lovejoy, J. W. Mack, William J. Norton, Graham Taylor, Frank Tucker, and Gertrude Vaile.

conceit, and the limitations incident to isolation, it is no less desirable that the peace movement, internationalism, should become increasingly social. If social workers have something valuable to learn from internationalists, as they have, may it not be equally true that advocates of peace, those who would prevent war, adjusting international differences by judicial process or other appropriate means, have something to learn from the history and technique of social work?

In a Christmas editorial in the *London Observer* last year Mr. J. L. Garvin very accurately analyzed the reasons for the failure of Christendom to achieve peace and good will. Under the caption "The False Road and the True" Mr. Garvin wrote:

From age to age Christendom proclaims its faith and laments its failure. From age to age its power is drained in strife, its gospel mocked by achievement. Its growth in strength is growth in slaughter. With the peace of fear, the peace of exhaustion, it is familiar. The peace of creative will and passion it scarce knows by conception, let alone experience. The "peace" of history has been the absence of war—a precarious vacuity, not a purposeful and self-stabilizing harmony.

The truth is that we have not aspired to harmony, but only to unison. Communities measure each other by aberrations from their own standard. Every nation's dream of a world at peace is one in which the rest shall share its own temperament and culture, think its own thoughts. Its good will toward them is a desire for their assimilation. International benevolence, when sifted well, is thickly impregnated with self-complacency. When we wish the foreigner well, what we really wish is that he should become Anglicized, Americanized, Germanized, as the case may be. Then he would see the issues aright, as we do, and wars should cease. This is in itself enough to rob the peace-dream of mesmeric power. Assimilation is the primest fallacy of civilized ardor. Of all conditions deadening to the human spirit, uniformity is the worst. Civilization, as it is, shudders at the monotony treading on its heels. The wise find solace in Nature's infinite variety or Art's balance of antitheses. But man will prefer any violent sensation or the vagaries of blind chance itself to the imprisonment of everlasting sameness. . . .

It is useless to love our neighbor as ourselves on condition that he will be our replica—which he never will. All estimation of him as a potential Englishman, American, or Frenchman is self-defeating. He can serve the world only by being himself, and the peace of Christmas aspiration can come only from the perception of excellences that are not ours. . . .

The road to peace is the understanding and evaluation of the whole range of human capacities, however discrepant from our own. Social strife lies in the lack of reciprocal vision between classes. National wars spring from giving an absolute character to national standards. We all create perfection in our own image. We still have but one thought, if not one word, like the Romans, for the strange and the hostile. Until that corporate egotism can be disciplined and a generous and tolerant imagination can overleap frontiers, we shall never be rid of the age-long blundering conflict of Right with Right. Love, as Goethe said, is the reconciler of discrepancies. Equally hate is the impatient short cut to evade the circuit of understanding. The peace of understanding is the only peace that can endure.

It is to this conception of love and hate and understanding that social work may be said to have contributed by the whole of its history and its philosophy. Social work now means everywhere adjustment rather than standardization, harmony rather than unison, the discovery of the soul of goodness in things evil, a generous and tolerant understanding rather than an impatient short cut to impose one rule and one type.

When we speak of assimilation we mean increasingly an adjustment which preserves diversities rather than creating an everlasting sameness. The most general and imperative problem in the philosophy of social work has been precisely to reconcile the idea of a standard of living with freedom from standardization in the sense of a monotonous conformity to type or an arbitrary domination either by force or by influence.

It is a commonplace of social workers that we must do different things for different people. What is implied in this is that the health, the intelligence, the earning power, the social history of the individual, must be taken into account in any

program which is made for his benefit. The personal endowment and the environmental influences of the individual are discovered in the course of a social diagnosis and form the basis of whatever may be called social treatment. Social work directed toward the protection of groups and the promotion of their interests is similarly, if it deserves to be called social at all, alert to preserve what is original and distinctive in each group and to avoid such measures as imply the possibility or the desirability of artificial standardization. Social work has come to this preference for adjustment, harmonious operation of diverse factors, preservation of original and unique qualities, respect for personality and for diversity of gifts in racial, national, and social groups only by the painful process of experience.

The history of philanthropy and of organized social movements abounds in efforts based upon unsocial attitudes. We also have tried force and have initiated movements which implied complacent superiority on the part of the giver or patron. We, too, have resorted to legislatures and courts prematurely for purposes which would have been better served by persuasion, education, or example. There is no magic in the mere use of the word "social" to create an understanding heart or a right spirit. Nevertheless in social work at its best—in associations for child welfare and family welfare, in medical social service, in the Red Cross, in legal aid and travelers' aid, in social settlements and community centers, in the prevention of tuberculosis and in public-health nursing, in institutions for children, for the disabled, and for the aged—there are prophetic forecasts of a world without war, without coercion, without exploitation, with no denial of the inherent and equal right of all to respect for this individuality. It is such typical, even if as yet rare, instances of a genuinely social attitude that this commission brings to you from the experience of the social agencies as its contribution to the cause of international peace and good will.

To make this discussion more concrete and fruitful, we venture to recite briefly some of the facts in regard to the origins, activities, and principles of certain of the organized social movements in this coun-

try which have in one respect or another an international character.

The American Red Cross

The security against international conflicts which the world is seeking cannot be found in political or economic reorganization. But beneath the broken and upheaved strata of political and economic foundations upon which the several countries rest we find a third stratum, which extends firm and unbroken and affords a solid bed rock upon which all nations can meet in common understanding. This foundation, sometimes obscured and forgotten in the conflicts over political and economic questions, is the social feeling, the human sympathy, of man in meeting the stress and the exigencies of life, the natural good will common to all enlightened people.

It is upon this unshakable foundation that the Red Cross idea rests. It contains nothing obnoxious to the highest and best in any nation or race. It has identically the same meaning and appeal in Asia and in Africa that it has in Europe and America. So we find the Red Cross idea understood, accepted, and firmly entrenched in nearly every civilized community. The name may vary, the forms of organization may differ, but the idea is there. And this idea, extending far below the ambitions and passions of the time, is proving one of the acceptable and far-reaching influences in quieting the anxieties and ameliorating the troubles of the world.

So we find today Red Cross societies in fifty-nine countries, recognized by their respective governments and operating under the terms of the Treaty of Geneva. These fifty-nine societies, each governed by the laws of its own country, are internationally bound together by a community of interest kept alive by international conferences, by the League of Red Cross Societies, by the International Committee of the Red Cross, and by a vast body of direct correspondence.

The Red Cross movement may be said to date back as far as the days of Haldora, the Dane, who on the eve of a battle in the year 1000 A. D. spoke thus to the women of her household: "Let us go forth and dress the wounds of the warriors, be they friend or foe." Similar expressions of commiseration are found in the years

1654 and 1655, when the medieval orders of the Knights Hospitalers and the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul went to the battlefields of Sedan and Arras.

In the nineteenth century we find Florence Nightingale saving lives of the battle-scarred in the Crimea; and then in 1859 the young Swiss, Henri Dunant, who asks: "Would it not be possible to found and organize in all civilized countries permanent societies of volunteers whose aim it should be to succor the wounded in time of war and to give aid in epidemics or national disasters in time of peace? These committees of the different nations, although independent of one another, will know how to understand and correspond with each other, to convene in congress, and in the event of war to act for the good of all."

Through Henri Dunant's efforts an international conference was called in Geneva in October, 1863. Sixteen States were represented. Later, in a diplomatic conference of August, 1864, at Geneva, representatives of thirteen European nations and the United States of America came together. The American delegates, although only observers, were able to give striking testimony of the practicability of the proposed plan from the experience of the Sanitary Commission of the Civil War then in progress. Here was drawn the first Treaty of Geneva, or, as it is popularly known, the International Red Cross Treaty. It was not until 1882, largely through the efforts of Miss Clara Barton, that the United States became an adherent to the treaty.

The first international effort of the American Red Cross was the sending, in 1892, of a shipload of corn donated by farmers to Russian famine sufferers. A few years later aid was given to victims of Armenian massacres in Turkey and Asia Minor. Then came the Spanish-American War, with occasion to render aid to the wounded and to those who were stricken by disease while in service.

A charter of the Red Cross Association, granted by Congress in 1900, was dissolved in 1904 and a new charter was approved by President Roosevelt on January 5, 1905, in time to enable the Red Cross to function in co-operation with local residents of San Francisco after the disastrous earthquake and fire of 1906.

The Red Cross movement received a tremendous impetus during the World War. It then had the opportunity in a large way to demonstrate its value, and this demonstration was so convincing that since that time knowledge of the purposes and principles of the Red Cross and the value of its activities has become general.

After that great struggle the energies of the American Red Cross were devoted to healing the wounds of war in many countries. Its long arm carried assistance to suffering people in far lands; to France, Belgium, the Balkan countries, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Roumania, and many other nations.

During recent years the actual needs of refugees have been met in such great economic disturbances as the exodus of Russians from Russia and the influx of refugees into Greece and Bulgaria. Famine suffering in China has been alleviated; assistance in the Japanese earthquake unstintingly given, and disaster victims in the Americas, both North and South, helped back to a normal life—all through the generous support of the American people.

If there is any limitation to the possible usefulness of the Red Cross, it is to be found in what is also the source of its greatest strength, viz., its quasi-governmental character.

Public Health

The science of public health recognizes no barriers of geography, race, or political frontiers. Within the last one hundred years two interrelated tendencies have developed to outstanding proportions. Isolation of nations has been broken down by increased trade and facilities for rapid transportation. Health conservation on a large social scale has become a proved reality. Scientific discoveries and their application to human use bridge the seas and wipe out national barriers in so far as the health of peoples is concerned.

As long as nations were isolated from each other their respective health hazards were of little significance to their neighbors. With the world rapidly becoming a vast neighborhood, it is of increasing importance that known health-conserving practices be everywhere applied and further discoveries be made. In this sense

public health has international significance.

The part played by the American Public Health Association in the evolution of public-health work on the North American continent has been a most important one. Little publicity has attended the work of this organization over the fifty-six years of its history.

It was organized in 1872 by a small group of far-seeing sanitarians who realized the great need for promoting the study of this rapidly developing science, for accumulating existing public-health knowledge, sharing information and experience, and making best practices available as rapidly as possible. From a small beginning this organization has grown steadily, until today it has a membership of nearly 4,000 in Canada, the United States, Mexico, and Cuba. It is to this extent an international organization. It has nine sections: Laboratory; Health Officers; Vital Statistics; Industrial Hygiene; Food, Drugs and Nutrition; Child Hygiene; Public-Health Engineering; Public-Health Education; Public-Health Nursing. There are more than fifty technical committees on such subjects as Water Supply; Dairy Products; Health Problems in Education; Public-Health Training; Forms and Methods of Statistical Practice; Control of Communicable Diseases; Administrative Practice. It is through the studies and reports of these groups of authorities, serving voluntarily, that the association has contributed most profoundly to the advancement of public health.

There are affiliated societies in many States. The official publication is the *American Journal of Public Health*. Active membership is open to professional public-health workers in the four countries mentioned interested in public health.

The association serves the public-health worker directly and, through him, the people. It aims to develop public-health standards, to stimulate the recruiting and training of public-health personnel, and to strengthen the public-health profession.

Basically, public health is a world problem. The stamping out of typhus fever, malaria, hookworm, yellow fever, plague, cholera, and other health obstacles to

human progress cannot be limited to any one country. We are all involved.

International Co-operation in the Tuberculosis Field

The earliest international co-operation by tuberculosis workers from the United States dates back to the international congresses and the early years of this century. While the National Tuberculosis Association had not yet been formed, co-operative representatives from various groups and individuals on their own behalf attended this congress, beginning with 1898. In 1905 a formal delegation from the recently formed National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis (now the National Tuberculosis Association) attended the International Congress on Tuberculosis in Paris and invited that body to meet in the United States in 1908. The congress accepted the invitation, and in 1908 what has gone down in history as the greatest gathering of tuberculosis experts ever held in this country was held in Washington as the Sixth International Congress on Tuberculosis. Representatives from practically every civilized country in the world were in attendance. The congress received official sanction by recognition of the State Department and by the fact that President Roosevelt was the honorary president of the congress.

In 1917, shortly before the United States entered the World War, at the earnest behest of a number of physicians and public-health workers in France, the Rockefeller Foundation appointed a special commission, with Dr. Livingston Farrand as its head, to develop an anti-tuberculosis campaign in France along the lines that had been worked out in this country. This commission resulted in the establishment of the *Comité National de Défense Contre la Tuberculose* and in the development of a sound national and local program of work for the control of tuberculosis, extending throughout France into her colonial possessions.

One of the results of the war was a break in the meetings of the international congress that had been held at periodic intervals since 1898.

Following the war, however, in 1920, a group of workers interested in tuberculosis under the patronage of the *Comité*

National gathered in Paris and formed the International Union against Tuberculosis. This body, in which the National Tuberculosis Association of the United States has played a prominent part, has held five meetings, the last one in the United States in the fall of 1926. The next meeting of the congress will be held in Rome in September of this year. Twenty-one countries and ninety-six delegates were in attendance at the meeting of the Union in Washington, besides a large number of other persons interested in tuberculosis.

While the Christmas seal, the chief means for financing the national, State and local tuberculosis associations of the United States, is not generally looked upon as an international symbol, it is a fact, nevertheless, that this educational and fund-raising device, which in 1927 realized over \$5,000,000, was appropriated by America from the experience of Denmark. The great success of the seal sale in the United States has stimulated the development of this device as a means for financing tuberculosis work in a number of other countries, notably France, Japan, and Syria. The Christmas seal sale idea has been responsible for many international contacts.

Almost daily the National Tuberculosis Association is called upon through its office to co-operate with representatives of foreign nations in various types of tuberculosis and public-health activities. This co-operation takes the form of conferences, correspondence, distribution of printed matter, outlining of itineraries, and personal direction in courses of study of foreign representatives sent here to study American tuberculosis methods and programs. The publications of the National Tuberculosis Association have a world-wide circulation. Requests for advice and assistance have been received in the last year from almost every corner of the world, even as far away as Abyssinia and the islands of the South Seas.

Child Hygiene

The beginning of this century showed a growing interest in child health. The coming of the Great War interrupted some of the international meetings, but resulted in the end in increasing efforts to regain and maintain the health of children.

Among the earliest international conferences on this subject was the International Congress for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. The first congress was held in Paris in 1905, the second in Brussels in 1907, and the third in Berlin in 1911. Conferences were planned for 1915 at The Hague and for 1919 in London, but the war prevented them.

The International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare held its second session at Geneva in 1923. At this conference a section was devoted to hygiene and activities promoting the health of infants and children. The fourth session was held in Luxembourg in 1925.

Le Congrès International de la Protection de l'Enfance was held in Brussels in 1913, 1921, and 1926.

International congresses on school hygiene took place in Nuremberg in 1904, in London in 1907, Paris in 1910, and at Buffalo in 1913.

Among the objects of these congresses were: To bring together men and women interested in the health of school children; to organize a program of papers and discussions covering the field of school hygiene; to assemble a scientific exhibit representing the best that is being done in school hygiene.

At this point the war again checked progress, but the international consideration of school health was resumed under the auspices of the National Education Association. In 1923 the First International Health Education Conference was organized by the American Child Health Association and held in San Francisco during the World Conference on Education. In 1925 the World Federation of Education Associations had a health section in Edinburgh and in 1927 in Toronto. In May, 1913, there was an International Conference of Day Nurseries in London, England.

The International Association of Dairy and Milk Inspectors, whose object is to develop uniform and sufficient milk inspection, held its 16th annual meeting in October, 1927, at Toronto. Five Pan American child congresses have met, and at each the health of the child has received consideration. The latest was held in Havana, December, 1927. The Pan Pacific Congress on Education, Rehabili-

tation, Reclamation, and Recreation took place in 1927. The League of Nations organized an Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Protection of Children in December, 1924, which held its first meeting in Geneva, May, 1925. There are now two distinct committees, one called Child Welfare Committee and the other Committee on Traffic in Women and Children.

The Health Section of the League of Nations adopted in October, 1926, the school programs recommended by the Health Section of the World Federation of Education Associations.

The League of Red Cross Societies, which was founded on May 5, 1919, in Paris, formed in the same year a Child Welfare Division. The practice of health habits is one of the purposes of the Junior Red Cross. The League of Red Cross Societies held a medical conference at Cannes, France, April 1-11, 1919, one of the sections of which was on Child Welfare.

International Legal Aid

Legal-aid work is substantially providing legal service, advice, and assistance to poor persons. It differs from ordinary legal service mainly in the fact that no bills are sent out to clients. Legal-aid work on an international basis will be substantially what ordinary legal work on an international basis would be.

If A has a legal problem which involves, we will say, matters affecting B in Poland, A will retain a lawyer here and B will retain a lawyer in Poland. The two lawyers then proceed to work the case out together. Where A has no money to pay legal fees, but yet has a case in Poland, he will make progress only if there is some machinery set up to assist him.

At the present time it seems desirable to keep this machinery as simple as possible. Probably the following elements are necessary:

- (a) A local legal-aid organization in the United States to which an applicant may come.
- (b) A national legal-aid organization in the United States to act as a clearing house for matters arising in this country, focusing the cases, and preparing them for transmittal.

- (c) An international clearing house to which cases from the United States may be sent for forwarding elsewhere.
- (d) A national legal-aid organization in Poland to act as a clearing house for cases arising and a center of distribution for matters to be handled.
- (e) A local legal-aid organization in Poland.

In time this machinery could be set up in every country as in the above illustration.

Assuming the illustration in connection with Poland, we will take the case of a husband who has deserted his wife in Philadelphia and has gone to Poland and she desires to secure support from him. She would then proceed to the local Legal-aid Bureau and would tell her story. The Philadelphia Legal-aid Bureau would prepare a statement and refer it to the National Association of Legal-aid Organizations. The national association, being in touch with the international office, would then transmit the record to the international office. This office in turn would transmit it to the national office in Poland. The national office in Poland would then turn the case over to the legal-aid society nearest the place in which the husband was living, and legal proceedings for the collection of support would be started.

At the present time there are legal-aid organizations in the United States and there is a National Association. There is not, however, any international clearing house, nor are there, as far as we know, any definite legal-aid groups in Poland. At the present time the only national organization is that in the United States. There is legal-aid work in Canada, England, Norway, and Sweden. In other countries the work is done in specific cities; for instance, in the Philippine Islands at Manila; in India at Bombay; in the Argentine at Buenos Aires; in Belgium at Brussels, and elsewhere.

The League of Nations directed that a study be made of the subject, and in 1914, a group of experts met in Geneva to discuss plans.* This body came to

*See article, "International Legal-aid Work," by Reginald Heber Smith. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1926, page 167 et seq.

the conclusion that the first task was to collect the treaties and laws of the various countries which provided for some aspect of legal aid. In addition, they made a search for a list of the names and addresses of the organizations doing legal-aid work. John S. Bradway, of Philadelphia, prepared the report for the United States, including the forty-eight States and the Federal Laws. This has now been promised for the compilation of all the material in French and in English.

It will probably be felt desirable to create an informal clearing house in Geneva, which will distribute information as to the way the work is being done in different parts of the world and act on an international basis in very much the same way that the National Association of Legal-aid Organizations conducts its business in the United States.

Rockefeller Foundation

The Rockefeller Foundation was chartered in 1913 "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

Its chief activities at the present time are co-operation with governments in:

- (1) the control of hookworm disease, malaria, and yellow fever and in the development of general public-health organization;
- (2) aid in developing medical education and nursing education in various centers through appropriations toward buildings and endowments and through fellowships, surveys, and the dissemination of information on new administrative and teaching methods.

The Foundation carries on its work through two divisions—the International Health Division and the Division of Medical Education. Co-operation is sometimes undertaken with independent organizations working in the same fields.

The Foundation's resources and policies are controlled by a self-perpetuating board of unsalaried trustees. Its general fund amounts to \$165,000,000, both the income and principal of which are available for appropriation. From the time of its organization, in 1913, to December 31, 1927, the Foundation has disbursed slightly over \$120,000,000.

During 1927 the Foundation (1) gave funds for building, equipment, operation, or endowment to nineteen medical schools in fourteen countries; (2) continued support of the Peking Union Medical College; (3) assisted departments of physics, chemistry, and biology in thirteen institutions in China and in the government university of Siam; (4) helped to further public-health teaching by contributions to nine schools or institutes of hygiene and public health, to departments of public health in three other institutions, to ten field training stations for public-health workers and to various conferences and training courses for health workers; (5) gave aid to seventeen nurse-training institutions in nine countries; (6) supplied laboratory equipment or scientific journals to institutions in nineteen countries of Europe where the post-war economic pressure is still felt; (7) aided nineteen governments to bring hookworm disease under control; (8) gave funds toward the support of three hundred fifty-three county health organizations in twenty-three States of the American Commonwealth (including eighty-five counties of the Mississippi flood area) and aided thirty-one local health programs in fourteen other countries; (9) helped to organize or maintain certain essential departments in the national health services of nineteen foreign countries and in the State health services of sixteen of our own States; (10) assisted eight States of Brazil to maintain safe *Aedes aegypti* indices; (11) continued yellow-fever studies in West Africa along the Gold Coast and in Nigeria; (12) participated in malaria-control demonstrations in eight of the Southern States and in eleven foreign countries; (13) aided the advancement of biological science by support of the Institute of Biological Research of the Johns Hopkins University and by contributions to the International Biological Abstracting Service for the publication of *Biological Abstracts*, to Yale University for anthropoid research, to the State University of Iowa for research in brain physiology, to the Australian National Research Council for anthropological studies in Australian universities, to the Bernice

P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, for research in Polynesian anthropology, and to the Department of Biology of the University of Hawaii; (14) aided nineteen hospitals of China; (15) provided, directly or through some other agency, fellowships for eight hundred sixty-four men and women from fifty-two countries; (16) paid the traveling expenses of one hundred fifteen officials or professors making study visits to the United States or foreign countries, either individually or as members of commissions; (17) gave assistance to the following items in the program of the Health Section of the League of Nations: international interchanges of public-health personnel, epidemiological and public-health intelligence service, training of government officials in vital statistics, the epidemiological intelligence bureau in the Far East, and the center of public-health documentation in the health section; (18) lent staff members as consultants and made small gifts to many governments and institutions; (19) made surveys of health conditions and of medical and nursing education in several countries; (20) aided mental projects in the United States and Canada, demonstrations in dispensary development in New York, research and teaching in hospitals and clinic services, and various studies and other undertakings in medical and nursing education and allied field.

The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial

The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial is also carrying on work which has implications for those interested in international relations and in social work.

The first group is comprised of projects with the specific object of advancing the social sciences. The most important international project is the fellowship program, which is administered with the assistance of representatives appointed by the Memorial in eleven European countries. In the current year ninety traveling fellowships have been supplied to European students, thirty for study in Europe and sixty for study in the United States. In addition, a few European professors were invited to visit the United States for short periods.

The following institutions have been given assistance for their social science

programs: London School of Economics, Cambridge University, National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London; Royal Anthropological Institute, American Library in Paris, Institute of International Studies, Geneva; Bavarian State Library, Prussian State Library, Notgemeinschaft (for social science literature in German University libraries), Hamburg Institute of International Affairs, Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, International Institute for the Study of African Languages and Culture, American University at Beirut.

A second group is comprised of institutions to which appropriations have been for their general work—*e. g.*, Institut J. R. Rousseau, Geneva; American-Scandinavian Foundation.

A third group consists of specific grants for a single definite piece of work—International Conference of Social Work, American Relief Administration, League of Red Cross Societies, Near East Relief, Russian Student Fund, and Student Friendship Fund.

There are one or two other organizations receiving support, such as the International Migration Service, the International Division of the Y. M. C. A., and the International Y. M. C. A. College at Springfield, which are situated in America, but engaged in international work.

National Federation of Settlements

In 1884 Canon Barnett started at Toynbee Hall an experiment which has proved a fruitful one in the realm of social work. Canon Barnett and the public-spirited men and women whom he led worked persistently for more education, better housing, and fairer conditions. His work directly inspired settlements in the United States, in Germany, and in the Scandinavian countries. His influence was felt in France and gave impetus to world movements for education. The adult Education Association as well as the Residential Settlements are the fruits of his initiative.

The movement spread rapidly in the United States in the decade following 1890, and in 1911 the National Federation of Settlements was formed. In 1919 Robert A. Woods, secretary of this Federation, made a tour of the world. He was greatly impressed by the work which

he found in the East as well as in the European countries, feeling that the inspiration was the same and many methods similar, and that much could be gained from purposeful exchange of experience and conference between settlement workers in all parts of the world, and began to take steps to bring this about.

Great Britain formed a federation of settlements in 1921 in order to co-operate more effectively with the settlement movement in other countries. In July, 1922, the first International Conference of Settlements was held at Toynbee Hall, in London. Delegates from eight European countries were present as well as from Japan, Canada, and the United States.

During the next four years the National Federation of Settlements sent representatives into the different countries of Europe to establish friendly relations and to stimulate interest among the European settlements in the interchange of experience and ideas. In the same way guests from the European settlements were invited to visit settlements in the United States. A fellowship in memory of Canon Barnett to provide for exchange of workers between Great Britain and the United States was established jointly by the settlement federations of these two countries. The acquaintance and understanding gained by these visits was excellent preparation for the Second International Conference of Settlements held at the Cité Universitaire, Paris, in 1926. At this conference there was a better representation than at the previous one, both as to numbers and the more specialized interest of the delegates. An International Association of Settlements was formed and the next meeting will probably be held in America in 1929. The proceedings of the first conference, published under the title "Settlements and Their Outlook," gives a comprehensive view of the common interests of settlements in many countries. The proceedings of the second conference are published in French and in English ("Settlements in Many Lands"). These reports give a general account of the conferences and the work of settlements in the different countries and discuss subjects of special interest to settlements, such as their relation to Education, Industry, Housing, and the Use of Leisure, Life in

Rural Communities, the Teaching of Citizenship, Formation of Public Opinion, the Drama, Music, and Handicraft.

These subjects are treated in their special application to life in industrial communities and the methods which have been found successful in creating general interest in them. The conferences accent present needs and future hopes and try to find practical methods for bettering conditions and for bringing about better understanding between groups. They believe in developing the facts in a situation rather than the theory that lies behind them.

The International Migration Service

The International Migration Service, whose headquarters are in London, has an American branch in New York. Viscountess Gladstone and Prof. Gilbert Murray are among its sponsors in England.

The International Migration Service does not extend financial aid to the individual, as that is rarely needed, but gives advice and aid in the best possible adjustment of the difficulties which migrant families and individuals encounter. Originally established to give people help in transit from one country to another and advice and information to those emigrants not yet started on their journey, the International Migration Service was soon drawn into a third and increasingly important activity—that of assisting foreign-born residents to find a solution of those personal and family problems which require expert service abroad. The service now operates bureaus in several countries, including Greece, France, and the United States.

Various Jewish organizations, even before the Great War, performed a similar service on a larger scale for immigrants arriving in the United States.

Probation and Related Fields

In the application of the principles of social work to the courts it is acknowledged that America has led. The probation system, the juvenile court, the domestic relations court, were first established in the United States and have had their greatest development here. All of these agencies of social work in the judicial and legal sphere have now been extended in

greater or less degree to Canada, England, and many of the continental countries, and are just now being introduced in Latin America. To a great extent these countries have looked to America for information and suggestions in meeting the problem of effective protection of the child and family in the court and in lessening the penal population through extending the use of probation and crime preventive measures.

Most of the contacts between representatives of the courts and agencies working in the courts have been in the nature of visits of commissions or individuals to this country to study our system; but Americans have reciprocated by studies in European countries and we have learned from them many things, especially about institutional work and governmental efficiency.

The National Probation Association has in the last few years received a great number of inquiries from other countries for literature and information regarding this work, and has received visitors within the last few years from Canada, Mexico, Cuba, the Philippines, England, Holland, Russia, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand, Germany, and other countries. This association numbers among its members men and women from nearly all of the above countries, and in addition from Ceylon, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Norway, India, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, and other countries. Exchange of publications and memberships in national organizations in the field of child welfare and prison reform between foreign countries and the United States has been noticeably increasing in recent years.

Americans in not a few instances have assisted in setting up or improving work of this character in other countries. Shortly after the war an American woman, Dr. Chloe Owings, who was studying in Paris, made a report and prepared a doctoral dissertation in the University of Paris on the treatment of delinquent children in the courts of that city. As the result of the interest aroused by this study on the part of the judges and others in authority, the first juvenile court in France was established and it has now been carried on successfully for eight or nine years. A French woman who came to this country to study our methods

served an apprenticeship in one of our courts, the Juvenile Court of Boston, and was subsequently engaged as the chief probation officer in Paris.

An English jurist, Hon. T. W. Trought, of the Juvenile Court of Birmingham, came to America in 1925 to attend the Annual Conference of the National Probation Association. He went back to England enthusiastic over methods that he had seen applied here in visiting the leading juvenile courts of the country. Since then he has visited many of the countries of Europe, working especially in Czechoslovakia, Russia, and Greece and urging the extension of juvenile court and probation work. He has written a book on the subject of probation in Europe.

There has been very close co-operation between national organizations in this country and the English home office in the extension of the probation work in the courts in England with governmental aid.

One of the outstanding books of the past year, "Juvenile Courts in the United States," was written by a Chinese student as his thesis for a doctor's degree at Columbia, after many hours of conference and consultation with members of the staff of the National Probation Association. This Chinese, Dr. Herbert H. Lou, has now returned to Asia, and as a professor in the University of Mukden is in a position to spread the doctrine of juvenile court and probation work in his native land and throughout Asia.

The Prison Congress

The International Prison Congress is the most official of all international organizations except the League of Nations. At its meeting in London in 1925 fifty-three governments were represented by their official representatives. These included cabinet members, members of parliament, of legislators, heads of departments of justice, judges, professors of criminal law, States' attorneys, sociologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, trustees, directors, superintendents of penal, reformatory, and juvenile institutions, probation officers, etc.

In 1870 the American Prison Congress met in Cincinnati. Governor, afterwards President, Hayes was president. This congress considered the question of an in-

ternational organization. Soon afterward the Emperor of Russia suggested to President Grant the calling of an International Congress on Prison Reform. That congress met in London in 1872, and it has met approximately every five years since except during the period of 1910-1925. The International Prison Commission, maintained by the adhering governments, arranges for the quinquennial prison congress. It meets in any country only upon invitation of and as the guest of the government. Among other places it has met in Budapest, Rome, Paris, Brussels. The next meeting is to be held in Czechoslovakia, at Prague, in 1930.

Dr. C. R. Hinderson was president of the Washington Congress, 1910. At that meeting and at London in 1925 the most important American contributions to penology were approved and recommended for use to the civilized governments of the world: (1) The American Reformatory System; (2) The Indeterminate Sentence and Parole; (3) Probation; and (4) Children's Courts.

Temperance

On the granite boulder which marks the grave of Frances E. Willard in Evanston, Illinois, she is described as the founder of the world's W. C. T. U. This organization of women was effected in 1884 and is now functioning in fifty-one countries. Triennial conventions have been held in London, Boston, Geneva, New York, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, and that for the present year is to be held in Lausanne. Its scope of work includes child welfare, social morals, anti-narcotic agitation, education for peace, with special emphasis, however, on the abolition of the liquor traffic. It stresses scientific teaching of the young, total abstinence in the individual, and prohibition as the governmental policy.

Among other international conference organizations are the World Prohibition Federation, with headquarters in England, and the World League against Alcohol, with headquarters in Westerville, Ohio.

International alcoholic congresses have included in their membership lists health experts, social workers, and educators, as well as those who are especially identified

with temperance organizations. The next conference will be held this summer in Antwerp.

Social Hygiene

The crusade against legalization of vice and the traffic in women and girls, which it included, was initiated by Josephine Butler, of England, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth is being widely celebrated this year. This work in England was early linked with an international movement which included our own country. The attempt to abolish the traffic in women has now reached full international expression in the Commission of the League of Nations, to the work of which the American Social Hygiene Association has contributed essential aid.

The pioneer work of physical and social safeguarding of young men in the army and navy during the Great War, although initiated by American workers, became largely international through the consolidation of the allied forces. Dr. William F. Snow, general director of the American Social Hygiene Association, who acted as the organizing head of much of this war service, has summarized it in his pamphlet, "Social Hygiene and the War." The points aimed at were:

- (1) To protect the military forces against alcohol.
- (2) To protect soldiers and navy men from prostitution by regulations respecting zones about military places.
- (3) To protect military forces and civilians against vice and crime by a constructive program of education, entertainment, recreation, physical contests, and social activities, participated in by both military and civil populations under the auspices of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, of which Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick was the chairman.
- (4) To protect both the armed forces and citizens from the venereal diseases by an adequate medical and public-health program.

The international significance of this governmental activity during the war is obvious. One of the important results of the co-operative action was the "All-American Conference on Venereal Diseases," held in 1921 under the auspices of

the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, the United States Public Health Service, the American Social Hygiene Association, the American Red Cross, and with the active co-operation of many other volunteer agencies. This conference, which was the first to respond to the call of the League of Red Cross Societies Committee to discuss "World Problems of Health Conservation," brought together representatives from North and South America and marked a new era in the crusade against preventable diseases by definitely including social and educational agencies with physical and medical in the movement to secure sound minds and sound bodies.

The various movements mentioned above have been made of distinct international significance by the appointment of the commissions of the League of Nations charged not only with international research, but with co-operative social effort in the fields of health, morals, and industrial betterment. To these international commissions our country has contributed and is now contributing devoted effort. The report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children, by Mr. Bascom Johnson and Mr. Ray H. Everett in two accessible pamphlets, published by the American Social Hygiene Association, summarizes both the international and interracial character of this report. They also demonstrate that social service by the case-work effort has entered into all this work. From now on international service in the direction of public-health and community welfare and of social progress must depend upon the methods worked out during the last fifty years in social service. Hence this commission on the "International Implications of Social Work" may well magnify its office in the world movement for peace and good will.

Social Case Work

Modern social case work, with its familiar and now widely accepted principles and methods—social diagnosis, a definite and discriminating plan of treatment, adequate, appropriate relief, co-operation, the use both of professionally trained experts and friendly volunteers, accurate and serviceable records clearing through a social-service exchange—has developed mainly

in the charity organization movement, which came to the United States from England in the late seventies. Emphasis was placed in the earlier years on what are now regarded as negative principles, such as that organized charity must not proselyte, must not directly give relief, must investigate all cases with the idea that frequently, perhaps usually, relief will be found to be unnecessary. The prevention of the waste of overlapping and the repression of mendicity received much attention, and especially its danger of pauperizing recipients of charity through careless almsgiving. However, in this country, as in England and elsewhere, these programs involved or were supplemented by consideration of the social causes of poverty. Organized charity from the outset had a bracing influence in its insistence on the importance of self-reliant character, its promotion of thrift savings, its advocacy of improved sanitation, and its insistence on the family's primary responsibility for the welfare of its members.

In recent years social case work has developed differently in various countries, but with an ever-increasing exchange of ideas and experience. The application of American methods to the emergent situations arising in Europe during and after the World War is a remarkable instance of successful internationalism. The growing desire of social workers on both sides of the Atlantic, and for that matter on both sides of the Pacific, to understand the problems and the methods of other lands makes for an international spirit. *The Family* and the *News Letter* of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work have subscribers not only in European countries but in India, China, and Japan.

The increasing number of foreign students who seek experience and training in the schools of social work and family societies in this country offers another means whereby social case work may acquire an international breadth. For our visitors are not passive learners; they give as well as get, and by their searching criticism of our cherished methods force us to apply to our social case work the test of its universality.

Probably 200 social workers from the

United States will attend as delegates to the international conferences in Paris next month.

In Paris, in The Hague, and in Geneva—wherever men are seeking means to end war—they will find apt analogies be-

tween the world movement for international peace and the movements with which they are familiar. This adjustment of human beings by each other and by their environment in such a way as to promote the good life.

AMID OUR FEUDS AND SCHISMS

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

WE ARE in a period of marked differences of opinion. Whether more so than in past eras it is difficult to say; but controversies, feuds, and schisms we have aplenty. There is our new outbreak of religious measles. Our most sacred things—the home, the school, the church, the state—are subjects of unmerciful criticism. Philosophers are at loggerheads. Scientists are little better. Social reformers are marked neither for their loveliness nor agreements. Caste distinctions and estrangements wag their ugly heads, while corporate injustice, hazards of industry, the cruelties of competition, fears and jealousies—personal, national, international—thrive amid programs for improvement, often petty as they are ineffective. Dogmatists jump to the saddle and joust viciously with each other. We are told publicly that the human will is nothing but a chemical reaction, that faith is simply a matter of digestion, and that all heroism is merely the product of the ductless glands. These views arouse the ire of the religionists. Liberals and conservatives, absolutists and pragmatists, nurse their scorns, while jeremiads hold the upstage in the melodrama of life. Amid this mess of ill humors one is led to ask, Can we approach a general agreement upon any of the things in life that are really worth while?

Two Pictures

The answer to this question is found by some in the realm of reason; by others in the areas of emotion. Each, the realm of reason and the area of emotion—worthy the brush of some master painter—presents an interesting scene. Consider these two pictures in turn.

One may well represent the pug-faced, happy, altogether delightful Socrates of

the fourth century before Christ. He shall be seen on his way home, turning a dark corner late at night. He is set upon by some convivial young men dressed as Furies, fresh young guys we would say, minded to banter him. The picture shall represent him quite undisturbed, gently ironical, cheerful and enthusiastic, as he discourses learnedly to the frolickers on various matters, especially on temperance. The kindly face of Socrates shines with his generous simplicity, ample courage, charity, magnanimity, infinite patience, logic, and good will. As he stands there in the gray of the early morning, he appears the man perfectly at peace with the world, intellectual master of his own spirit. He is the teacher on the rational plain, enjoying to the full the free play of his moral enthusiasms. Socrates is the intellectual moral enthusiast.

There is another picture. This scene is before a temporary theater at one of the German fairs of two centuries ago. There are three persons—a theater manager, an actor, and a theater poet. They are arguing the kind of play that should be produced. The mercenary manager pleads for the box office; he is interested in the receipts. The debonair player thinks only of pleasing the crowd. The fair-faced poet insists that what glitters is merely for the moment, and that it is only the genuine that remains unlost to posterity. It is this poet who holds the center of the picture. His form and gesture command attention. He is little concerned with the receipts or with pleasing the multitude. His face is touched by the light of the morning. His poise and presence register rhythm and consecration. He belongs with spring blossoms along the loved one's path, with garlands of honor, with Olympus and the gods. For him life is

music, beauty, an epic thing. Goethe placed him there, at the gateway to the mystery of "Faust," that we may be prepared emotionally to enter that sacred place. The poet is our emotional moral enthusiast.

These two pictures, one of life in its intellectual forms, the other of the human soul in its emotional phases, science and art, have one great fact in common: both center in a creative, moral enthusiasm. The intellectual moral enthusiasm of Socrates, the emotional moral enthusiasm of the poet, are symbols of something in us all. The moral enthusiasms of men, enthusiasms of the head, enthusiasms of the heart, these are the facts that make life fair and tolerable. "The most important thing in the world is the belief in the reality of the moral and spiritual values." That is the matured opinion of Robert Andrews Millikan, distinguished physicist, who received the Nobel prize for isolating and measuring the ultimate unit of electricity. Back of our neighborhoods, our games, our sympathies, our achievements, our hopes, our loves, our

"sensations sweet,

Felt in the blood and felt along the heart,"

is one common human thing, best defined by the phrase "moral enthusiasm." Without it there could be no industry or commerce, no homes, no schools, no church, no state. It opposes no creative person, no advocate of information, of accuracy, of obedience, of self-control, of health, of culture, of character. It curbs and cuts no honest effort. It sets up no fixed taboos in the realm of facts. Moral enthusiasm is the goal of the schools, for there is nothing finer than the dedication of oneself to a high endeavor.

In his baccalaureate in the meeting house founded by Roger Williams, the President of Brown University recently put the point as follows:

"A portrait of Rembrandt is more than a cunning mixture of pigments; a symphony of Brahms is more than so many vibrations per second; Lincoln's Gettysburg address was something more than contractions of his epiglottis, and forevermore life's bases rest beyond the probe of chemic test. Let no

dogma, physical or metaphysical, belittle ourselves and our world into a dance of atoms on a mound of mud."

Beginnings

Since in our world of divergent views the one common ground for agreement is that any hope for a better world depends upon the impregnable persistence of moral enthusiasms, it becomes a matter of major interest to know whence these moral enthusiasms arise. It is surprising that science has done so little work in this field. One reason seems to be that men and women, more or less conscious of certain moral enthusiasms, find it difficult to remember how they began. When asked to state the beginnings of his moral enthusiasms, nearly every man starts by referring to the influences of his mother. He recalls certain high resolutions due to the love and sacrifices of his mother. This speaks well for him. Noble behavior nourished in a mother's love is a sacred business.

There are other sources of moral enthusiasms. Most every man will insist that he learned to read when very young, and that he received a little aid from the schools. He may insist at times, however, with Teufelsdröch, that of that insignificant portion of his "education received from the schools, little need here be said." And yet early childhood experiences arouse certain enthusiasms of some moral importance. Psychologists' count the training during the first and second years of infancy as most important.

The man will recall little friendships, big in his boyhood eyes. He may smile a bit wistfully as he recalls himself, a boy of ten or eleven, in love with a comely maiden a little older. He may tell the truth and say that he loved her with such intensity that he dared not look her in the face. He may add that forever after he has found it easy to understand the meaning of the Hebrew teaching that man cannot see God and live. From that time dates the dawn of the Byron, the Burns, the Heine in him.

He is convinced that self-reliance came to him from strange little conquests—a crude threshing-machine he built, with which he threshed his family crop of

beans; that "home run" he made, that "goal" he kicked, that circus he launched with the aid of some smaller boys, a spring-board, a few stray cats, and a neighbor's calf. He remembers boys who whipped him roundly and refused him entrance to the "gang" till he "licked" somebody in turn, which he finally did, to his profound self-respect and gratification. He recalls playing truant that he might wander in the woods with the birds and squirrels, or, perchance, that he might smoke cigarettes or chew tobacco with less than indifferent success. Little enthusiasms for Mother Nature, a larger reverence for discipline at home, a more critical attitude toward pleasures and pains, arose from such complex experiences.

Once he stole some money from his grandmother and bought a brand of candy famous in his day—a "Jackson-ball." That "Jackson-ball" gave him great satisfaction. But in bed that night he learned the pangs of remorse. The darkness became unbearable. He must tell some one or die. In the small hours of the early morning he went and confessed to his grandmother, to the great consolation of his spirit. In all the after years he has done few finer things than that.

He remembers that he learned to split wood, to harness a horse, to husk corn, to trap woodchucks and other beasts. Against his mother's timid wishes, he learned to swim. In his own judgment, he became the best ball-player in town. He organized a debating club of great importance. He thought it pleasant to stand well in school, especially to hear the kindly words of praise from his teacher or parents. He grew proud at times of his achievements, probably too proud. He saw visions of future advantages and planned for their realization. He heard honor, duty, and righteousness praised, and resolved more or less manfully to be noble, faithful, and decent. He saw a gentle courtesy in some sincere soul and he went forth to emulate that. The voice, dress, poise of one he revered set him to improving his own speech, appearance, manners. He caught glimpses of the pageantry in books, and a sense of the

ideal swelled within him. Thus, in a measure, he recalls some of the beginnings of those moral enthusiasms.

Growth

He knows more clearly the reasons for the enlargement of his moral enthusiasms through the later years. Perhaps the most important influence has been hero worship, including a measure of yearning for the approval of women.

In his younger manhood he was little interested in causes. He was concerned with action, with personality. He came in touch with the heroes of history, interpreting him to himself. As he read of the Norsemen, he became adventurous, fearless, wild. He sensed the skald in him. He, too, would pour forth sagas to the undying ages. He warmed to the gersfalcon, the werewolf, and the berserker. He fancied himself a corsair, following the sea-mew and cormorant in their flight. He drank "Skool!" to a valor he longed to possess.

He looked upon the mound-builders and became a toiler, conscious of his own aboriginal weakness. In a blundering way he conceived of himself perpetuating the memory of his ancestors, of protecting himself from his enemies, concerned with the next meal and his body-thirst. But when Columbus came on the scene his sense of industry increased, his courage arose, his perseverance became inflamed. He saw in himself a new power and persistence. He became willing to risk for the faith he held. His soul would up and out.

In order that he might live abundantly, he turned later to those who have really lived. He read of Buddha and of the peace he offers to one-third of the race; of Zoroaster, Confucius, or some other discoverer of the light. What he learned from them made bigotry forever intolerable to him.

He learned of Charlemagne, and felt the soldier rise in him, the thirst for power. His thoughts were thoughts of empire. A new romantic color tinged his horizon.

He sat at the feet of Francis, sweet saint of Assisi. His spirit was warmed by that "little, poor man of God." Francis

sang for him a song pitched to the Orphic lute of love. He caught something of the joy and laughter of that Christlike man.

He looked upon Leonardo da Vinci, infinite and forever questioning, the greatest mind of all minds, and returned to his little tasks lifted high by that example of the tremendous potential in a human life.

Giordano Bruno spoke to him out of sixteenth-century Europe, turned him to evidence founded on fact, to the unity in the Infinite, to fearless freedom, to the stake, if need be, for the faith he held.

Goethe touched his spirit with his magic wand, and the storm and stress of that great German's earlier life found in him a sympathetic response. Since knowing him, he would that he himself might soothe the wounds of the world with the music of some song.

He heard of Charles Darwin. His first information about him was that he was the author of the theory that man has descended from the monkey. He learned that Darwin has rarely been highly thought of by the ministers. But because of him he became convinced that only a growing man can be a leader of men, and that an evolving moral enthusiasm is the only moral enthusiasm of importance. The more he examined Darwin's work the more he became able himself to rise above suffering, as did Darwin, to work in patience and to learn the value of little things.

Another man touched his life. Looking upon his rugged, homely face, our friend became aware that he is an American citizen, proud, glad, among a dawn-crowned people. He felt the possibilities of triumph within himself because of the poverty, simple sincerity, native humor, far-seeing intelligence, and achievement of the Atlantean Lincoln.

For some years he shared the general conception of Ralph Waldo Emerson. He conceived of him as living in Concord, of writing prose that can be read backward as well as forward. He heard him called the Yankee Plato. He learned that for some reason he has been called a poet. But, upon further examination and the passing of the years, he concluded that

that serene, lofty sage of Concord supplemented Buddha's self-denial with a fulfilling enrichment, Socrates' logic with an added insight, Charlemagne's imperial splendor with an enriching simplicity, the sweet self-abnegation of Saint Francis of Umbria with an affirmation of this present world, Leonardo's infinite variety with the music of a cosmic unity. Finding that Bruno's zeal for martyrdom had no attraction for Emerson, it had less for him. Goethe's storm and stress lost their appeal as he walked with Emerson. Darwin's researches in science settled into saner categories for him as he laid them beside Emerson's researches in the depths of the human spirit. He concluded that Abraham Lincoln represents the practical hemisphere of the last century, Emerson the ideal. Looking upon Emerson, our friend aspired to incarnate that faith and philosophy as best he could in a consistent, rational, beautiful life. Emerson has become, therefore, the apotheosis of his highest self. Our friend has come to feel at last that he knows Emerson, that Emerson was a poet indeed, the greatest our America has produced, an incarnation of what our friend longs to be, a Pierian spring of overflowing creative moral enthusiasms.

Expressions

Let science explain moral enthusiasm as it may—reduce it to imitation, vanity, inheritance, environment, reason, emotion, will, metabolism, glands; it is the permeating salt of personality, separating and lifting man above the brute. Men achieve riches, sense their emptiness, and scatter endowments across the world in the interest of this precious thing. Art galleries, libraries, hospitals, and cities are the flowers of moral enthusiasm, scattering in turn their seeds of new enthusiasms for tomorrow and tomorrow. Struggles for a new China, for a better order of things in the Near East and in Africa, for a better America, for a juster relation between nations, begin and flourish because of human, moral enthusiasm. Programs and systems, republics and empires, rise and fall; while remain, gradually improving with the passing of time, the creative moral enthusiasms of men.

Anxiously we waited breathless when a fair young man stepped from the unknown, mounted toward the east, on wings that dared every danger of sky and sea, alone. "Flying high over Cherbourg," the message came, and there was weeping of joy around the world. The moral enthusiasm of one youth had touched the moral enthusiasm latent there in everyone of us.

Fathers and mothers will forgive every defect in the schools if only they arouse within their children the sense of worthy endeavor, a glow of some moral enthusiasm, it matters little what. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, health and skill, are not enough. These things become of importance only as they bend to the will of a moral enthusiasm.

A government commission investigating the cause of unemployment concluded the more important reasons to be: first, inability; second, inefficiency; and, third, unwillingness. The major remedy for such defects is a larger devotion to ideals, an increased moral enthusiasm.

Fathers and mothers of the United States are sending approximately 25,000,000 boys and girls to the public schools, where they are taught by approximately 1,000,000 teachers. Thirty-seven per cent of municipal budgets are for education. Public-school property in the United States is now valued at \$4,000,000,000. In 1926 there were 4,132,000 high-school students, representing an increase of 100 per cent over that of three years before. Evidently the major task of this generation, set by itself, is to "educate" the men and women of the next generation. The world has never seen before such an expression of collective altruism.

The reason for this seems to be an abiding faith in the teacher—

*Honest beacon throwing light across
Savage age, barbarian misery,*

*Opening the minds of coming men
To the starward reach and march of man.*

We place the safety of our nation in the hands of these teachers. We expect them to instruct and train with humility and efficiency. But, more, we trust them to ignite the divine spark in the lives of our boys and girls, to arouse them to some happy endeavor, with their own fine enthusiasms and generous loves.

Our Common Gleam

The picture of the intellectual Socrates blends with that of the emotional poet. Reason and beauty are united in holiest wedlock. Rational and emotional schemes of men, sciences and the arts, advance or pass to their fall; but moral enthusiasms remain, working their miracles of human growth. Socrates knew, the poet felt the urge of an *Uebermensch*, a beyond man. So did Isaiah. So, in one of his earliest sermons, did the Prophet of Galilee. For the one said and the other affirmed:

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor: he hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

There it is. There is man's hope and challenge. There is the one great picture we all in our best moments long to paint. There, in spite of feud and schism, is the unity of our labors and loves. In other terms, there is our far star, beckoning us as we, with the dying Merlin of the Arthurian tale, call our companions, launch our vessel, crowd our canvas,

*"And, ere it vanishes
Over the margin,
After it, follow it,
Follow the gleam."*

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

DRAFT OF TREATY TO RENOUNCE WAR GIVEN FINAL FORM

REVISED PREAMBLE—FOURTEEN NATIONS ASKED TO ACCEPT

Final draft of a treaty for renunciation of war has been transmitted by the Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, for the acceptance of the fourteen nations which have participated in the negotiations.

The proposal as now framed follows the original form as drawn up by Secretary Kellogg, except for a revision of the preamble.

A change in the draft treaty proposal is the inclusion in the preamble of the British Dominions, India, and nations party to the Locarno treaties as original signatories. The preamble also differs from the original in its first three paragraphs.

The revised draft, transmitted to American diplomatic representatives abroad for submissal to fourteen nations with a note reviewing the negotiations, explaining the changes in the preamble, signifying the readiness of the United States to sign the compact in this form, and asking the acceptance of the nations, was made public June 25 at the State Department. The full text follows:

EXCELLENCY: It will be recalled that, pursuant to the understanding reached between the Government of France and the Government of the United States, the American ambassadors at London, Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo transmitted on April 13, 1928, to the governments to which they were respectively accredited the text of M. Briand's original proposal of June 20, 1927, together with copies of the notes subsequently exchanged by France and the United States on the subject of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war.

At the same time the Government of the United States also submitted for consideration a preliminary draft of a treaty representing in a general way the form of treaty which it was prepared to sign, and inquired whether the governments thus addressed

were in a position to give favorable consideration thereto.

The text of the identic notes of April 13, 1928, and a copy of the draft treaty transmitted therewith were also brought to the attention of the Government of France by the American Ambassador at Paris.

American Commentary on French Reservations

It will likewise be recalled that on April 20, 1928, the Government of the French Republic circulated among the other interested governments, including the Government of the United States, an alternative draft treaty, and that in an address which he delivered on April 28, 1928, before the American Society of International Law the Secretary of State of the United States explained fully the construction placed by my government upon the treaty proposed by it, referring as follows to the six major considerations emphasized by France in its alternative draft treaty and prior diplomatic correspondence with my government:

Right of Self-defense Not Impaired by Treaty

(1) *Self-defense.*—There is nothing in the American draft of an anti-war treaty which restricts or impairs in any way the right of self-defense. That right is inherent in every sovereign State and is implicit in every treaty.

Every nation is free at all times and regardless of treaty provisions to defend its territory from attack or invasion and it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to war in self-defense. If it has a good case, the world will applaud and not condemn its action.

Express recognition by treaty of this inalienable right, however, gives rise to the same difficulty encountered in any effort to define aggression. It is the identical question approached from the other side.

Inasmuch as no treaty provision can add to the natural right of self-defense, it is not in the interest of peace that a treaty should stipulate a juristic conception of self-defense, since it is far too easy for the unscrupulous to mold events to accord with an agreed definition.

(2) *The League Covenant.*—The Covenant imposes no affirmative primary obligation to go to war. The obligation, if any, is secondary and attaches only when deliberately accepted by a State.

Article ten of the Covenant has, for example, been interpreted by a resolution sub-

mitted to the Fourth Assembly, but not formally adopted owing to one adverse vote, to mean that "it is for the constitutional authorities of each member to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members, in what degree the member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces."

There is, in my opinion, no necessary inconsistency between the Covenant and the idea of an unqualified renunciation of war. The Covenant can, it is true, be construed as authorizing war in certain circumstances, but it is an authorization and not a positive requirement.

(3) *The Treaties of Locarno.*—If the parties to the treaties of Locarno are under any positive obligation to go to war, such obligation certainly would not attach until one of the parties has resorted to war in violation of its solemn pledges thereunder. It is therefore obvious that if all the parties to the Locarno treaties become parties to the multilateral anti-war treaty proposed by the United States, there would be a double assurance that the Locarno treaties would not be violated by recourse to arms.

In such event it would follow that resort to war by any State in violation of the Locarno treaties would also be a breach of the multilateral anti-war treaty, and the other parties to the anti-war treaty would thus as a matter of law be automatically released from their obligations thereunder and free to fulfill their Locarno commitments.

The United States is entirely willing that all parties to the Locarno treaties should become parties to its proposed anti-war treaty, either through signature in the first instance or by immediate accession to the treaty as soon as it comes into force, in the manner provided in Article III of the American draft, and it will offer no objection when and if such a suggestion is made.

Guarantees of Neutrality Effective Under Compact

(4) *Treaties of Neutrality.*—The United States is not informed as to the precise treaties which France has in mind and cannot therefore discuss their provisions. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that the relations between France and the States whose neutrality she has guaranteed are sufficiently close and intimate to make it possible for France to persuade such States to adhere seasonably to the anti-war treaty proposed by the United States. If this were done, no party to the anti-war treaty could attack the neutralized States without violating the treaty and thereby automatically freeing France and the other Powers in respect of the treaty-breaking State from the obligations of the anti-war treaty. If the neutralized States were attacked by a State not a party to the anti-war treaty, the latter treaty would of course have no bearing, and France would be as free to act under the

treaties guaranteeing neutrality as if she were not a party to the anti-war treaty.

It is difficult to perceive, therefore, how treaties guaranteeing neutrality can be regarded as necessarily preventing the conclusion by France or any other power of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war.

(5) *Relations with a Treaty-breaking State.*—As I have already pointed out, there can be no question as a matter of law that violation of a multilateral anti-war treaty through resort to war by one party thereto would automatically release the other parties from their obligations to the treaty-breaking State. Any express recognition of this principle of law is wholly unnecessary.

(6) *Universality.*—From the beginning it has been the hope of the United States that its proposed multilateral anti-war treaty should be world-wide in its application, and appropriate provision therefor was made in the draft submitted to the other governments on April 13. From a practical standpoint it is clearly preferable, however, not to postpone the coming into force of an anti-war treaty until all the nations of the world can agree upon the text of such a treaty and cause it to be ratified.

For one reason or another a State so situated as to be no menace to the peace of the world might obstruct agreement or delay ratification in such manner as to render abortive the efforts of all the other Powers. It is highly improbable, moreover, that a form of treaty acceptable to the British, French, German, Italian, and Japanese governments as well as to the United States would not be equally acceptable to most, if not all, of the other Powers of the world.

Even were this not the case, however, the coming into force among the above-named six Powers of an effective anti-war treaty and their observance thereof would be a practical guaranty against a second World War.

This in itself would be a tremendous service to humanity, and the United States is not willing to jeopardize the practical success of the proposal which it has made by conditioning the coming into force of the treaty upon prior universal or almost universal acceptance.

Favorable Response to American Proposals

The British, German, Italian, and Japanese governments have now replied to my government's notes of April 13, 1928, and the governments of the British Dominions and of India likewise replied to the invitations addressed to them on May 22, 1928, by my government pursuant to the suggestion conveyed in the note of May 19, 1928, from His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.

None of these governments has expressed any dissent from the above-quoted construction, and none has voiced the least disap-

proval of the principle underlying the proposal of the United States for the promotion of world peace. Neither has any of the replies received by the Government of the United States suggested any specific modification of the text of the draft proposed by it on April 13, 1928, and my government, for its part, remains convinced that no modification of the text of its proposal for a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war is necessary to safeguard the legitimate interests of any nation.

It believes that the right of self-defense is inherent in every sovereign State and implicit in every treaty. No specific reference to that inalienable attribute of sovereignty is therefore necessary or desirable.

It is no less evident that resort to war in violation of the proposed treaty by one of the parties thereto would release the other parties from their obligations under the treaty towards the belligerent State. This principle is well recognized.

So far as the Locarno treaties are concerned, my government has felt from the very first that participation in the anti-war treaty by the powers which signed the Locarno agreements, either through signature in the first instance or thereafter, would meet every practical requirement of the situation, since in such event no State could resort to war in violation of the Locarno treaties without simultaneously violating the anti-war treaty, thus leaving the other parties thereto free, so far as the treaty-breaking State is concerned.

As Your Excellency knows, the Government of the United States has welcomed the idea that all parties to the treaties of Locarno should be among the original signatories of the proposed treaty for the renunciation of war, and provision therefor has been made in the draft treaty which I have the honor to transmit herewith. The same procedure would cover the treaties guaranteeing neutrality to which the Government of France has referred.

Adherence to the proposed treaty by all parties to these other treaties would completely safeguard their rights, since subsequent resort to war by any of them or by any party to the anti-war treaty would violate the latter treaty as well as the neutrality treaty, and thus leave the other parties to the anti-war treaty free, so far as the treaty-breaking State is concerned.

My government would be entirely willing, however, to agree that the parties to such neutrality treaties should be original signatories of the multilateral anti-war treaty, and it has no reason to believe that such arrangement would meet with any objection on the part of the other governments now concerned in the present negotiations.

Revision of Preamble of Proposed Treaty

While my government is satisfied that the draft treaty proposed by it on April 13, 1928, could be properly accepted by the Powers of the world without change except for including among the original signatories the British Dominions, India, all parties to the treaties of Locarno and, it may be, all parties to the neutrality treaties mentioned by the Government of France, it has no desire to delay or complicate the present negotiations by rigidly adhering to the precise phraseology of that draft, particularly since it appears that, by modifying the draft in form though not in substance, the points raised by other governments can be satisfactorily met and general agreement upon the text of the treaty to be signed be promptly reached.

The Government of the United States has therefore decided to submit to the fourteen other governments now concerned in these negotiations a revised draft of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war. The text of this revised draft is identical with that of the draft proposed by the United States on April 13, 1928, except that preamble now provides that the British Dominions, India, and all parties to the treaties of Locarno are to be included among the Powers called upon to sign the treaty in the first instance, and except that the first three paragraphs of the preamble have been changed to read as follows:

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty.

Release from Obligations to State Resorting to War

The revised preamble thus gives express recognition to the principle that if a State resorts to war in violation of the treaty the other contracting parties are released from their obligations under the treaty to that State; it also provides for participation in the treaty by all parties to the treaties of Locarno, thus making it certain that resort to war in violation of the Locarno treaties would also violate the present treaty and release not only the other signatories of the Locarno treaties but also the other signatories to the anti-war treaty from their obligations to the treaty-breaking State.

Moreover, as stated above, my government would be willing to have included among the original signatories the parties to the neutrality treaties referred to by the Government of the French Republic, although it believes that the interests of those States would be adequately safeguarded if, instead of signing in the first instance, they should choose to adhere to the treaty.

In the circumstances I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of Your Excellency's Government a draft of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war containing the changes outlined above. I have been instructed to state in this connection that the Government of the United States is ready to sign at once a treaty in the form herein proposed, and to express the fervent hope that the Government of — will be able to promptly indicate its readiness to accept, without qualification or reservation, the form of treaty now suggested by the United States.

If the governments of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, the Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Poland, South Africa, and the United States can now agree to conclude this anti-war treaty among themselves, my government is confident that the other nations of the world will, as soon as the treaty comes into force, gladly adhere thereto, and that this simple procedure will bring mankind's age-long aspirations for universal peace nearer to practical fulfillment than ever before in the history of the world.

I have the honor to state, in conclusion, that the Government of the United States would be pleased to be informed at as early a date as may be convenient whether Your

Excellency's Government is willing to join with the United States and other similarly disposed governments in signing a definitive treaty for the renunciation of war in the form transmitted herewith.

Text of Draft Treaty for Renunciation of War

The President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the President of the German Reich, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the President of the Republic of Poland,

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and, by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force, bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy,

Have decided to conclude a treaty and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries — — who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Renunciation of War as National Policy

ARTICLE I

The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and

renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II

The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by specific means.

ARTICLE III

The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at —.

This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at — and the treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other Powers parties hereto.

It shall be the duty of the Government of — to furnish each government named in the preamble and every government subsequently adhering to this treaty with a certified copy of the treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the Government of — telegraphically to notify such governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in the French and English languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

PORTIONS RELATING TO FOREIGN POLICY

The Republican Administration has no foreign policy; it has drifted without plan. This great nation cannot afford to play a minor rôle in world politics. It must have a sound and positive foreign policy, not a negative one. We declare for a constructive foreign policy based on these principles:

(a) Outlawry of war and an abhorrence of militarism, conquest, and imperialism.

(b) Freedom from entangling political alliances with foreign nations.

(c) Protection of American lives and rights.

(d) Noninterference with the elections or other internal political affairs of any foreign nation. This principle of noninterference extends to Mexico, Nicaragua, and all other Latin-American nations. Interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin-American countries must cease.

(e) Rescue of our country from its present impaired world standing and restoration to its former position as a leader in the movement for international arbitration, conciliation, conference and limitation of armament by international agreement.

(f) International agreements for reduction of all armaments, and the end of competitive war preparations and in the meantime the maintenance of an army and navy adequate for national defense.

(g) Full, free and open co-operation with all other nations for the promotion of peace and justice throughout the world.

(h) In our foreign relations, this country should stand as a unit, and to be successful, foreign policies must have the approval and the support of the American people.

(i) Abolition of the practice of the President of entering into and carrying out agreements with a government, either de facto or de jure, for the protection of such government against revolution or foreign attack, or for the supervision of its internal affairs, when such agreements have not been advised and consented to by the Senate as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and we condemn the Administration for carrying out such an unratified agreement that requires us to use our armed forces in Nicaragua.

(j) Recognition that the Monroe Doctrine is a cardinal principle of this Government promulgated for the protection of ourselves and our Latin-American neighbors, we shall seek their friendly co-operation in the maintenance of this doctrine.

(k) We condemn the Republican Administration for lack of statesmanship and efficiency in negotiating the 1921 treaty for the limitation of armaments, which limited only the construction of battleships and ships of over 10,000 tons. Merely a gesture toward

peace, it accomplished no limitation of armament, because it simply resulted in the destruction of our battleships, and the blue prints of battleships of other nations. It placed no limitation upon construction of aircraft, submarines, cruisers, warships under 10,000 tons, poisonous gases or other weapons of destruction. No agreement was ratified with regard to submarines and poisonous gases. The attempt of the President to remedy the failure of 1921 by the Geneva conference of 1928 was characterized by the same lack of statesmanship and efficiency and resulted in entire failure.

In consequence, the race between nations of the building of unlimited weapons of destruction still goes on and the peoples of the world are still threatened with war and burdened with taxation for additional armament.

Tariff

The Democratic tariff legislation will be based on the following policies:

(a) The maintenance of legitimate business and a high standard of wages for American labor.

(b) Increasing the purchasing power of wages and income by the reduction of those monopolistic and extortionate tariff rates bestowed in payment of political debts.

(c) Abolition of log-rolling and restoration of the Wilson conception of a fact-finding tariff commission, quasi-judicial and free from the executive domination which has destroyed the usefulness of the present commission.

(d) Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue for the support of government. Actual difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with adequate safeguard for the wage of the American laborer must be the extreme measure of every tariff rate.

(e) Safeguarding the public against monopoly created by special tariff favors.

(f) Equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the tariff among all.

Wage-earner, farmer, stockman, producer and legitimate business in general have everything to gain from a Democratic tariff based on justice to all.

Immigration

Laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, but the

provisions contained in these laws that separate husband from wives, and parents from infant children, are inhuman and not essential to the efficacy of such law.

Merchant Marine

We reaffirm our support of an efficient, dependable American merchant marine for the carriage of the greater portion of our commerce and for the national defense.

The Democratic Party has consistently and vigorously supported the shipping services maintained by the regional United States Shipping Board in the interest of all ports and all sections of our country, and has successfully opposed the discontinuance of any of these lines. We favor the transfer of these lines gradually to the local private American companies when such companies can show their ability to take over and permanently maintain the lines. Lines that cannot now be transferred to private enterprise should continue to be operated as at present and should be kept in an efficient state by remodeling of some vessels and replacement of others.

We are unalterably opposed to a monopoly in American shipping and are opposed to the operation of any of our service in a manner that would retard the development of any ports or sections of our country.

We oppose such sacrifices and favoritism as exhibited in the past in the matter of alleged sales, and insist that the primary purpose of the legislation upon this subject be the establishment and maintenance of an adequate American merchant marine.

Armenia

We favor the most earnest efforts on the part of the United States to secure the fulfillment of the promises and engagements made during and following the World War by the United States and the allied powers to Armenia and her people.

Canal Zone

We favor the employment of American citizens in the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal in all positions above the grade of messenger and favor as liberal wages and conditions of employment as prevailed under previous Democratic administrations.

Alaska-Hawaii

We favor the development of Alaska and Hawaii in the traditional American way

through self-government. We favor the appointment of only bona fide residents to office in the territories. We favor the extension and improvement of the mail, air mail, telegraph and radio, agricultural experimenting, highway construction and other necessary federal activities in the territories.

Philippines

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by the Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

Porto Rico

We favor granting to Porto Rico such territorial form of government as would meet the present economic conditions of the island, and provide for the aspirations of her people, with the view to ultimate statehood accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe any officials appointed to administer the government of such territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

Old inns, most of them still standing and spread all over the States, have been, in the first book, listed, described, and, where possible, pictured. Many quaint customs are traced to their sources and historic events placed in their settings. Apparently the author is most familiar with the New England taverns, but she has gathered, also, the available material about those in the South and Middle West.

The book by Mr. Mixer is of equal value to the tourist, whether he travels by automobile or in imagination only. The author shows the old buildings of New England by picture and description; but, more than this, he demonstrates how these houses typify the liberation of thought, which was a growing element in the generations which built them, and which at the same time built up the unique New England social and political structure.

THE FATHER OF LITTLE WOMEN. By *Honore Willsie Morrow*. Pp. 283. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

MAY ALCOTT. By *Caroline Ticknor*. Pp. 315. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1928. Price, \$3.00.

Along with the old houses of New England should go these two biographies. The Alcott family is all knit up with the artistic and philosophical life of early Concord. Much has been written of the Emersons, the Hawthornes, Thoreau, and others of the group. "Little Women" has given immortality to the Alcott family. But never has the life of Bronson Alcott been written with just the spirit of appreciation that is to be found in this book by Mrs. Morrow. She believes that his ideas on primary education, so far in advance of his own day, ought now to be understood and better appraised. Though lamentably out of touch with the economic scheme of things, he is shown to be a man of clear spiritual vision, a man of selfless, gentle nobility of mind.

Of his talented daughters, Anna, gifted highly in the dramatic line, married young and never received artistic training. Louisa, the energetic and practical, had real literary talent, and with a desultory and informal education in English, but urged by dire need to plunge early into writing, made her mark, though she never attained real finish of style.

BOOK REVIEWS

SUMMER READING

(Continued)

EARLY AMERICAN INNS AND TAVERNS. By *Elsie Lathrop*. Pp. 365. Robert McBride & Co., New York, 1926. Price \$5.00.

OLD HOUSES OF NEW ENGLAND. By *Knowlton Mixer*. Pp. 346. Macmillan, New York, 1927. Price, \$5.00.

If travelers wish to learn of the past of the United States through automobile travel, an interesting preliminary would be the reading of these two books.

Beth, the musician, studied little and died young. It is a pleasure, therefore, to read, from May's letters and other sources in her biography by Caroline Ticknor, how she, at least, though late, received some adequate training in painting, achieved some little distinction abroad, and to know that it all came through the successes and generosity of her sister, Louisa.

One wonders how it would have fared with the Alcott family in the present day, when daughters, and often wives, slip so naturally into bread-winning professions.

THE BRONTË SISTERS. By *Ernest Dimnet*. Translated from the French by *Louise Morgan Sill*. Pp. 256. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

Among other recent biographies which might be chosen for summer reading we cannot omit this, not because of its cheerful subject, but because of its English setting and—this more particularly—because of the distinguished charm with which it is written. Fortunately, too, the translation by the poet, Mrs. Sill, carries over into English the beauty of the French original, which was first published in France some eighteen years ago.

The human sympathy with which the French Catholic, Abbé Dimnet, has understood the three repressed daughters of an Anglican clergymen, his discriminating characterization of them and their lives and work, renders this a very remarkable book, indeed. Once begun, it is hard to lay the book down and, when finished, the only possible next step is to re-read *Jane Eyre*, "*Wuthering Heights*," and to search for the poems of the three remarkable sisters from the desolate moors of Yorkshire.

BLACK VALLEY. By *Hugo Wast*. Translated by *Herman* and *Miriam Hespelt*. Pp. 302. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

This romance of the Argentine, poorly rendered into English though it is, gives a vivid sense of an isolated valley, hemmed in by the Sierras—the valley "where the wind roars." The human characters and romances bound together in the plot are all interesting, but the great merit of the book, to the North American reader, lies in the powerful delineation of natural backgrounds—the

strong local flavor adhering to the tale. The book, in Spanish, received several Argentine prizes and lately the Royal Spanish Academy prize.

THE FRENCH WIFE. By *Dorothy Graham*. Pp. 266. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$2.00.

Unlike most stories of international marriages, this tale of an American girl who married a Frenchman is one of perfect adjustment. Denise, the early widowed heroine, fits gladly into the well-ordered life and traditions of the old French family she enters. The conflict is all between these gracious and lovely traditions with which she clothes herself and the typically American lover who comes a-wooing. The story is a pleasing one, but, more than this, it is a wonderful picture of life in a Touraine château, of the French family in all its impersonal loyalty and abrogation of personal freedom—of the delicate patina of an old-world culture.

THE ROMANCE OF LEONARDO DA VINCI. By *Dmitri Merejkowski*. Translated by *Bernard Guilbert Guernsey*. Pp. 635. The Modern Library, New York, 1928. Price, 95 cents.

Here in handy volume size is a new and apparently excellent translation of an old favorite. The Russian author gives us a book which is not entirely history nor biography, nor, indeed, romance in the sense of fiction. Enough of fiction and enough of history is here, however, to give most vivid pictures of Florence, Milan, and Rome of the fifteenth century. Across the background of these cities, seething with political unrest and intrigue, effervescent with the new learning of the Renaissance, but dragging shackles of pagan and religious superstition, moves the inscrutable figure of Leonardo, the Master. One sees that he was never so much the artist as the scientist, measuring and testing beauty by mathematics, always cool and observing, taking endless notes, inventing, experimenting. Though frequently unexpectedly tender, because of his understanding, he is shown as mind incarnate, high and untouched by prejudice. Savonarola, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and others of Italy's great, figure in the book, but far in the background. The life centers in the shops and among the pupils of Leonardo, through whose eyes we see him.

ADVOCATE OF

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American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

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

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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PARENTS AND TEACHERS

NO APOLOGY is due for making this the September number of the *Advocate of Peace* an "*Education Number*." The supreme challenge of civilization is to open and to brighten the best ways for the feet of children. It is pretty generally agreed that these ways are the ways of information, accuracy, efficiency, self-control, health, culture, and character. So we have the three R's. We are trying to learn and to teach how best one can go about the business of study. We are taking the whole thing seriously. Thirty-seven per cent of our municipal budgets are for education. The people of this country have invested four billions of dollars in public school property. We are going at the business of education on an unprecedented scale. We somehow worship the spirit of learning, whether we have it or not. We believe in economic and faithful citizenship. We somehow feel that this generation must be taught to make proper use of its leisure.

But more germane to the purposes of this magazine, our educators are awaking to the importance of education as an agency for world comity. So the schools are laying emphasis upon social science; upon those disciplines revealing man's relation to his fellow-men, such as history, geography, civics, sociology, psychology, economics, law, and the like. It is found that in the fourth grade of our public schools one-sixth of the school time

is devoted to history, geography, and civics; in the fifth grade it is one-fifth; in the sixth and seventh grades it is one-fourth; and in the eighth grade one-fifth. In 1890, from 27 per cent to 29 per cent of the pupils of our high schools were studying history. In 1922, it was over 50 per cent. In 1926, 11.4 per cent recitation hours devoted to social studies were required for graduation. Current events courses are widely given. It is reported that in the schools of Oregon history is taught as a means of understanding world problems, growing institutions, opposing forces, and the importance of profiting by the cultural and spiritual values peculiar to other peoples. It is reported that in West Virginia the children are taught not only of their State's contributions to the world, but commercial relations generally, and the meaning of the family of nations.

Our universities and colleges are not behind in these matters. They are requiring that their students shall get from one-eighth to one-tenth of their credits toward an A. B. degree in social studies, for the Bachelor of Education degree from one to three per cent of the credits must be in social studies. It is reported that some three hundred teachers are today teaching international law to some nine thousand students. Of course, the teaching of foreign languages is supplemented by libraries and museums, all bent upon familiarizing us all with the habits and achievements of other peoples. There

are the endowments, the exchange of students, and the exchange of professors. In 1925 it was reported that there were one hundred fourteen educational institutions in this country doing international work as such. Summer schools with international courses are increasing in number.

The report of the Commission on the International Implications of Education, prepared under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Education, appearing elsewhere in these columns, will be of interest to the educators not only of this country, but of foreign lands.

THE MARCH IN CHINA

NO DEVELOPMENTS within any nation compare in interest or importance with the progress that is going on at this moment within China. When, on July 27, our Department of State announced that a new commercial treaty between the United States and China, revising existing Chinese tariff agreements, had been signed in Peking, it was an evidence of the faith our country has in the stability of the new régime in China. This commercial treaty was signed, July 25, by our American Minister to China and the Minister of Finance of the Nationalist Government. This achievement is an evidence of the rapidity with which events are moving. During the first week of February last the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee held its fourth plenary session in the Nationalist capital. Immediately the northern expedition began its final drive against Peking. The northern militarists were eliminated, and the unification of China began to take definite form. It is this new government which, by the signing of this commercial treaty, we have tacitly recognized. The fifth plenary session of the Kuomintang Central Execu-

tive Committee was convened during the middle of July, and further steps were taken toward the firmer establishment of the new order.

The new China is faced with many problems—national defense, finance, political organization, the direction of mass movements, the possibilities in a national peoples conference, foreign relations. There is the problem of taxation and the widespread will to do away with the iniquitous provincial tariffs known as *likin*. Banking and currency are upon the table for careful study. It is evident that China is resolving to establish a government based upon sound credit, to meet obligations, including all public debts, under the principle of a sinking fund. It is easy to believe that China will yet liquidate all of her debts quite in accordance with the principles advocated in the early days of this Republic by Alexander Hamilton. The Chinese are studying with scientific precision their problems of transportation, of capital and labor; and, perhaps most important of all, their problem of illiteracy.

It is with a people concerned with such important matters that we have negotiated our new commercial treaty. This treaty is of major importance. Under the treaty of January 13, 1904, there was an article which provided a schedule of tariff rates which China could not exceed. Under this new treaty, China may now apply any tariff rates to American goods that she may wish, provided, however, that they are no higher than rates imposed on goods from other countries. This is simply the well-known "most favored nation clause" and is in no sense an injustice to the sovereignty of China. Indeed, Chinese subjects are not required to pay higher duties on imports into the United States than those paid by citizens of other countries. This new note of reciprocity is an indication of the new

order of things developing within China. Old unequal treaties have been scrapped. The complete national tariff autonomy of China is recognized by this country. Here is an achievement indeed.

While it is easy to understand this much, there are other and more subtle things in the Chinese temper which only time can make clear to our Western mind. When, on July 6, the Nationalists paid homage within the Temple of the Western Hills near Peking at the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the founder of Chinese Nationalism, the world witnessed a dramatic demonstration of the Nationalists' will to unify China. On that occasion the "Big Four" of the Nationalist movement dropped their quarrels in the interests of the new unity. There was Chiang Kai-shek, young and self-conscious; Feng Yu-shiang, big and stolid; Yen Hsi-shan, modest and retiring, and Li Tsung-jen, boyish and alert. These are the four most powerful military leaders of the Nationalist movement. On that day they presented an accounting of their stewardship before the corpse of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, pledging to him loyal co-operation. It was 8 o'clock in the morning. The four, walking abreast, climbed to the white towered marble shrine, entered the little alcove, where they alone were permitted to gaze upon the remains of their chief. One of them broke down and sobbed audibly for several minutes, while among the crowd below there were many others weeping in sympathy. Here is one expression of the spirit with which we have to deal.

And there is yet much to be done. While our recognition of the Nanking régime and of China's right to fix its own tariff policies must be welcome to China, the whole problem of unequal privileges, the revision of extraterritoriality, remains yet to be solved. Our latest gesture must encourage the Chinese leaders to believe

that we will cooperate with them in their attempts to bring about a revision of all "unequal treaties." It is no small matter that our government has expressed itself as ready to open conversation with the Nationalist Government. There would seem to be here enough to warrant at an early date another Washington Conference, especially as the existing treaty will expire within two years. In any event our government's action has given to the Nationalists a moral recognition at a time when they needed it. We have no doubt that the action will promote further concord between China and the United States.

Surely that is what should be. Before Abraham came out of Chaldea, China had developed laws of marriage, the arts of writing and painting, and the manufacture of silk. When Moses was laboring for the establishment of Israel, China had colleges and universities. Before Julius Cæsar, China had an imperial library, an efficient system of taxation, many schools of philosophy, and an established religion. When Charlemagne was establishing the Holy Roman Empire, China was printing books, making paper and using gunpowder. Before America was, China had an immortal literature, the drama, the novel, and paper money. Chinese porcelain art, studies in astronomy, scholarship, antedate our United States. China is the oldest nation in the world.

We need China in our business. There are her untouched, matchless mines, her antimony and wolfram, her tin and tea, her silks and other fabrics. Our sales in China have increased fifteen times over those of forty years ago.

We need China. We need to know of her thousand character system of enabling illiterates to throw off their shackles, of her religions, of her new ambitions. America needs to know Hu Shih, forerunner of the literary revolution, Siang Chi-chao,

fine type of the modern scholar at the practical business of building the new State, and others of their kind. We can

help China. China can help us. But the process must depend upon a behavior based upon the principles of equality.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

UNITED STATES AND THE CHINESE NATIONALISTS

A VERITABLE sensation was produced in Chinese affairs by the dispatch to the Nationalist Government at Nanking of Secretary Kellogg's note, dated July 24, and the speedy conclusion, following the dispatch of the note, of a new Sino-American tariff treaty. Coming at a time when the Nationalist Government is busy denouncing the existing treaties between China and foreign powers, these two acts of the American Government have produced a deep impression not only in China but also in the other countries which are involved in this wholesale denunciation of treaties.

The Kellogg Note

The Kellogg note, the full text of which is given in the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, is in effect a reply to a communication, dated July 11, sent to the State Department by Mr. C. C. Wu, formerly Nationalist Foreign Minister, who has been in Washington for several weeks making representations on behalf of his government.

The note—copies of which were forwarded to the Embassies or Legations of Great Britain, France, Japan, and eight other countries especially interested in China—is exceedingly cordial in tone. Its fundamental importance lies in the fact that it treats the Nationalist administration as the one government in China and gives informal assurances of *de facto* recognition as soon as proof is given that the Nationalists can complete the reorganization of the country's life and discharge its obligations under international law. It indicates willingness to resume

tariff negotiations immediately, and while it makes no specific mention of the extraterritoriality problem, one paragraph can be construed as showing a willingness on the part of the United States to relinquish extraterritorial rights in proportion as the Chinese Government establishes proper judicial and legal safeguards for the protection of United States nationals in China.

Reaction in Japan

The reaction in Japan to the actions of our State Department were, naturally, not particularly favorable, since this diplomatic success of the Nationalist Government is bound to strengthen its hands in its controversy with Tokyo over the denunciation of the Sino-Japanese commercial treaty. The Japanese press rebuked Mr. Kellogg for departing from Washington agreements by making a separate tariff treaty. As a general thing, the newspapers displayed considerable jealousy at what they regard as a scheme to give the United States the leadership in Chinese international relations, but the prevailing tone was regret that Japan did not take the first step. The *Osaka Asahi* said Baron Tanaka's "childish strong policy" is more dangerous to Japan's interests than a policy of concessions. It advised Baron Tanaka to "throw away the sword and take up the instrument on which Mr. Kellogg plays so well."

The *Hochi* pointed out that the difference between the Japanese and American points of view is that the United States believes that unification is near, while Tokyo assumes that internal feuds will continue, and declares that the American policy is based on a clearer understanding of the modern spirit in China.

Japan's method of dealing with the Nationalist Government is certainly different from that employed by Secretary Kellogg. Her reply to the action of the Nationalists in denouncing the Sino-Japanese treaty was a political intervention in Manchuria through the instrumentality of "advice" given by the Japanese Consul General in Mukden to Chang Hsueh-liang, the son of Chang Tso-ling, to reconsider his almost completed agreement to fly the Nationalist flag and to subscribe to the three principles of Sun Yat-sen. This advice was followed promptly and thoroughly, and Japan thus checkmated Nanking's promising scheme to bring Manchuria peacefully within the Nationalist fold.

Reaction in Great Britain

The announcement of the dispatch of our note to Nanking brought about the following series of questions and answers in the House of Commons:

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he had any information with regard to the American note sent to the Chinese Nationalist Government, offering to begin negotiations for a new series of treaties and the withdrawal of the additional American troops sent last year; whether His Majesty's Government was invited by the American Government to join with it in these negotiations, and what steps he was taking to impress on the Chinese people the friendly attitude of His Majesty's Government.

Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: With the honorable and gallant member's permission, I will circulate in the official report the text of the note from the United States Secretary of State which was addressed to the Nationalist Minister for Foreign Affairs on July 25. The text of this note was communicated officially to His Majesty's representative at Washington, but His Majesty's Government was not invited to participate in the contemplated negotiations. As regards the last part of the honorable and gallant member's question, I may say that, in our conversation with various Nationalist leaders, every opportunity is taken both by His Majesty's Minister at Peking and by myself to assure them of the friendly attitude and policy of His Majesty's Government. I have reason

to believe that the attitude and policy of His Majesty's Government, especially since the publication of our memorandum in December, 1926, are now becoming increasingly appreciated both by the Chinese people and by the Nationalist authorities.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy asked whether we should not have a better chance of settling the Nanking claims by recognizing the Nationalist Government.

Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The honorable and gallant gentleman will observe that the Nationalist Government settled the Nanking incident with the United States Government before the United States Government proceeded.

Lieutenant Commander KENWORTHY: I was making no sort of insinuation; I was making what I thought was a helpful suggestion. (Ironical laughter.) Is not the right honorable gentleman aware that at the present moment we are being made to look rather childish over this whole business, and, as usual, have backed the wrong horse? (Ironical laughter.)

Commenting on the situation created by the dispatch of the Kellogg note and the conclusion of the treaty, the *London Times* said editorially:

As regards the liquidation of the past it would indeed appear to be still sound policy to maintain some sort of international solidarity in the dealings of the powers with China—at any rate until it is seen whether the moderate elements, who are making a strong bid for power, definitely obtain the upper hand at Nanking. In the future, no doubt, with the removal of every vestige of restriction upon Chinese sovereignty, there will be no more occasion for common action by the powers in China than in any other country. There has never in fact been quite the whole-hearted co-operation between them which was hopefully recommended at Washington; and the bubble of international uniformity of policy floated in 1922 has now, in any case, been finally pricked by Washington itself. The contents of Mr. Kellogg's latest treaty are of less importance than the manner and the moment of its conclusion.

Italian Comment

Commenting on the signature of the tariff treaty between the United States

and China, the *Corriere della Sera* said that the Nationalist Government, instead of devoting itself to internal reconstruction, has tackled the less urgent and more delicate problem of foreign policy, which is the usual mistake of improvised governments seeking to establish their prestige.

China [continued the journal] has with Italy positive and categorical engagements which cannot be simply denounced on the basis of a change of government or even of régime:

These engagements are partly of a commercial nature, but also include those of a political nature which come within the field of the capitulations, the fundamental guarantees of an international character. Everything that can be changed in matters of trade and commercial treaties will certainly be examined in a friendly spirit, but it is logical that Italy should energetically challenge the right of the Nanking Government to change from one day to another the *status quo* . . . and the invitation to revise the treaties amounts to nothing but a one-sided denunciation to which we cannot agree.

The *Corriere della Sera* considers as absurd, from the international point of view, the possibility of having to negotiate on a new basis by renouncing in advance the rights already sanctioned under preceding treaties, and says that the attitude of the powers in face of the Chinese denunciation of the treaties, that for nearly a century have guaranteed the security of foreigners and their commerce in China, can only be one of opposition. The abolition of such treaty rights would imply a return to the closed state, in which the foreigner cannot establish himself or live or act, and this, in the opinion of the *Corriere*, would represent a grave step backwards in the history of the Asiatic world. "The truth of this is shown by the news, not only of attacks on Europeans but of arbitrary trials and illegal sentences damaging to Europeans on the part of Chinese pseudo-tribunals . . . to which the immature step of the Nanking Government in abrogating the treaties will give dangerous encouragement."

The Turin *Stampa* considers that after the signature of the new United States-

Chinese Treaty the great European powers and Japan, which ought to maintain their privileges, will find themselves faced by a precedent which will be invoked by the Nanking Government as "an example which is opposed to what the Chinese call oppressive imperialism."

Revision Clauses of the Treaties

The treaties which the Nanking Government is now denouncing date, in some instances, as far back as 1842. They all have practically uniform provisions regarding revision. In the British Tientsin Treaty, the revision clause reads as follows:

It is agreed that either of the high contracting parties to this treaty may demand a further revision of the tariff and of the commercial articles of this treaty at the end of ten years; but if no demand be made on either side within six months after the end of the first ten years, then the tariff shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years; and so it shall be at the end of each successive ten years.

The Japanese, Belgian, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Peruvian, and Brazilian treaties with China all contain clauses similarly worded. The American Tientsin Treaty, contains no clause regarding revision, but our 1844 Treaty, like the Swedish and Norwegian Treaty of 1847, has a clause reading:

When the present convention shall have definitely concluded it shall be obligatory on both powers and its provisions shall not be altered without grave cause; but inasmuch as the circumstances of the several ports of China open to foreign commerce are different, experience may show that inconsiderable modifications are requisite in those parts which relate to commerce and navigation, in which case the two governments will, at the expiration of 12 years from the date of said convention, treat amicably concerning the same by the means of suitable persons appointed to conduct such negotiations.

Article 40 of the French Treaty of 1858 provides for revision after 12 years on the

initiative of the French Government. It reads:

Si dorénavant le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français jugeait convenable d'apporter des modifications à quelques-unes des clauses du présent Traité, il sera libre d'ouvrir, à cet effet, des négociations avec le Gouvernement Chinois après un intervalle de 12 années réévaluées à partir de l'échange des Ratifications.

The Dutch Treaty of 1863 has no revision clause, but reserves the right of the Netherlands to participate in any revision of the tariff, a reservation further safeguarded by a clearly worded most-favored-nation clause. A most-favored-nation clause appears also in the French and American treaties, as in the British and Japanese.

INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATION

From the Report of the Proceedings of the Commission on the International Implications of Education of the World Conference on International Justice, Held at Cleveland, Ohio

May 7 to 11, 1928

General Chairman, JOHN J. TIGERT, United States Commissioner of Education; Secretary, JAMES F. ABEL, Associate Specialist in Foreign Education.

PROGRAM

General Topic: "A practical program of education for the promotion of international good will."

Tuesday, May 8, 1928—10 a. m. to 12 m.

JOHN J. TIGERT, United States Commissioner of Education, presiding.

Topic: "The knowledge and activities designed for the promotion of international good will that the State can and may properly include in the curricula of the elementary, secondary, and normal schools."

"A brief survey of the activities carried on by public and private schools and the agencies related to the schools"—Dr. JOHN J. TIGERT.

"The programs in a State school system"—Hon. JOHN L. CLIFTON, Director of Education of Ohio.

"The public schools and international friendship"—Miss CORNELIA ADAIR, President of the National Education Association.

Discussion: Dr. R. G. JONES, Superintendent of City Schools, Cleveland, Ohio.

Wednesday, May 9, 1928—10 a. m. to 12 m.

Honorable AUGUSTUS O. THOMAS, President of the World Federation of Education, presiding.

Topic: "Constructive programs for the promotion of good will among nations, to be

carried on by institutions of university rank."

Opening statement by the chairman.

"The peculiar function of the university in promoting world peace"—Dr. HERBERT A. MILLER, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University.

"The cultural leadership of the university"—Dr. D. M. SOLANDT, Associate General Manager of the United Church of Canada Publishing House.

"A practical program of education for the promotion of international good will"—Dr. GEORGE F. ZOOK, President of the University of Akron, Ohio.

"The problem of the promotion of international good will in the large State universities"—LAWRENCE D. EGBERT, University of Illinois.

Discussion: Dean WILLIAM F. RUSSELL, LAWRENCE D. EGBERT, and CHARLOTTE REEVE CONOVER.

Thursday, May 10, 1928—10 a. m. to 12 m.

JOHN J. TIGERT, United States Commissioner of Education, presiding.

Topic: "The field of activity for educational agencies allied to the school systems."

"The field of activity of the Junior Red Cross in aiding the establishment in the school systems of the nations of a practical program of education for the promotion of international good will"—Dr. H. B. WILSON, National Director of the American Junior Red Cross.

"The activities of the World Federation of Education Associations"—Hon. AUGUSTUS O. THOMAS, President of the World Federation of Education Associations.

Discussion: Mrs. S. M. N. MARRS, President of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Tuesday, May 8, 1928

Topic: "The knowledge and activities designed for the promotion of international good will that the State can and may properly include in the curricula of the elementary, secondary, and normal schools."

JOHN J. TIGERT, United States Commissioner of Education, presiding.

The session was called to order by the chairman at 10.00 o'clock in the Hotel Cleveland. The chairman delivered the following opening address:

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE ACTIVITIES CARRIED ON BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND THE AGENCIES RELATED TO THE SCHOOLS

By JOHN J. TIGERT

United States Commissioner of Education

In entering upon a series of discussions on a practical program of education for the promotion of international good will, it seems necessary, first, to have some account of the activities in that direction that are now being carried on by our organized public and private schools and by the many agencies other than the schools that are closely connected with the work of our educational institutions. The announcements of this world conference and my acceptance of the chairmanship of the educational commission came such a short time ago that an exhaustive study could not be made. Nevertheless, the data available in the Bureau and elsewhere are sufficient to indicate in a general way the opportunities which the schools offer for giving the young people of the United States an understanding of the attitudes of mind and national policies included in the somewhat vague term "international good will," of the part they have played in the history of mankind, and of the place they must of necessity take in the modern world. Moreover, I think we may confidently expect that an adequate picture will soon be drawn by some one of our educators or students of education.

The Bureau of Education is preparing for publication a bulletin one part of which shows the amount and percentage of time given weekly in the elementary schools to the various subjects of instruction. In the secondary school Professor Counts published a study in 1926 of the high-school curricula in fifteen representative cities of the United States, which gives in detail the subjects of instruction in the secondary schools, and from that one may get a good idea of the extent to which the social science studies are made a part of the training of our high-school students and of the spirit in which those subjects are taught. The Bureau published in 1922 the number and per cent of students in public and private high schools pursuing each subject of study, and the data are now being gathered for a similar study. The American Association of Teachers' Colleges published in 1927 a paper which includes a summary of the courses offered in 184 teacher-training institutions, and this reviews the number and per cent of different titles of courses in the social studies. Professor Dollarhide, of Pennsylvania, now has in process of preparation a thesis on the status of the social science studies in 200 of the larger universities of the United States. "American Universities and Colleges," published recently by the American Council of Education, giving a splendid, broad view of the offerings of our higher institutions. Of the masters' and doctors' theses being prepared for the school year 1927-28 a dozen or more deal directly with one phase or another of international relations as they are taught in our schools. The data then for an adequate survey of our international attitudes as expressed in formal education are being gathered rapidly for one purpose or another. They need assembling and correlation, and encouragement to some one person or group of persons to do so may properly fall within the scope of this commission.

Educational participation in international relations may be classified broadly under two heads into organized instruction given in the classes as a part of the regular curricula of the schools and extra-curricula activities carried on by the many organizations somewhat closely connected

with education, such as the international societies, scholarship and fellowship funds, and student organizations designed to foster the exchange of students and teachers, care for students in foreign lands, etc.

For the main part of the training given to the students in our schools one turns naturally to the social sciences, history, geography, civics, sociology, psychology, economics, law, and kindred studies that deal with man's relation to his fellowmen. In our elementary schools history, geography, and civics are taught in their simpler forms and deal generally with local, State, and national affairs. To these three subjects fourth-grade children give one-sixth of their school time, or about 3½ hours a week; fifth-grade children give one-fifth of their time, or 4 hours and 40 minutes; sixth and seventh grade children, about one-fourth of their time, or 5¼ hours weekly, and eighth-grade children, one-fifth of their time, or a little more than 4 hours weekly. As an example of what is being done in the elementary schools, I note that the geography course for fourth-grade children in Massachusetts provides for world geography as approached through child life and classifies the various peoples into highland, lowland, plains, and island peoples. It requires that at least two of the peoples under each type be studied, with much stress laid on picture study and child stories. This American child approach to the Swiss children and their homeland or to the children of any other country and their homeland must, of course, lay the foundation for a better appreciation of the people of other countries and their national ideals. In short, no child need now complete the grade-school course without having had a fair introduction into the world of mankind in which he must live and into the affairs of the nation of which he will probably be a citizen.

As for organized instruction in our secondary schools, we need go back no further than 1918 to the report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education made to the National Education Association. That report has had a very wide influence in the past decade in shaping the course of secondary education in the United States. It named

the objectives of education to be health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. Its recommendations on training for citizenship are in part:

Civic education should develop in the individual those qualities whereby he will act well his part as a member of neighborhood, town or city, State, and nation, and give him a basis for understanding international problems.

While all subjects should contribute to good citizenship, the social studies—geography, history, civics, and economics—should have this as their dominant aim. Too frequently, however, does mere information, conventional in value and remote in its bearing, make up the content of the social studies. History should so treat the growth of institutions that their present value may be appreciated. Geography should show the interdependence of men while it shows their common dependence on nature. Civics should concern itself less with constitutional questions and remote governmental functions, and should direct attention to social agencies close at hand and to the informal activities of daily life that regard and seek the common good.

The work in English should kindle social ideals and give insight into social conditions and into personal character as related to these conditions. Hence the emphasis by the committee on English on the importance of a knowledge of social activities, social movements, and social needs on the part of the teacher of English.

Civic education should consider other nations also. As a people we should try to understand their aspirations and ideals that we may deal more sympathetically and intelligently with the immigrant coming to our shores, and have a basis for a wiser and more sympathetic approach to international problems. Our pupils should learn that each nation, at least potentially, has something of worth to contribute to civilization and that humanity would be incomplete without that contribution. That means a study of specific nations, their achievements and possibilities, not ignoring their limitations.

Such a study of dissimilar contributions in the light of the ideal of human brotherhood should help to establish a genuine internationalism, free from sentimentality, founded on fact, and actually operative in the affairs of nations.

The social studies have been growing steadily in importance in the secondary-school offerings for many years. In 1890 about 27 per cent of public high-school students and 29 per cent of those in private high schools were studying history, and kindred subjects had little place in the schools. In 1922 over half the children in the public high schools and 63 per cent of those in private schools were in history courses of one kind or another and 19 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively, were in civics courses. At the same time sociology and economics were enrolling pupils in considerable numbers. Of the 4,132,000 high-school students in 1926 it is reasonable to say that more than half were students of at least one course in history, and of the total number of recitation hours required for graduation an average of 11.4 per cent are given to the social studies. Only English and industrial arts rank higher in this respect, the percentages for them being respectively 18.8 and 12.4.

Twenty-four of the States *require* one unit of history or social science for graduation from high school; six require two units.

Now as to the kind of offerings in the social sciences and the place which international affairs have in them. An examination of a few State courses of study selected more or less at random will be something of an indication of what we are doing in that specific field. The high-school course of study for Oregon gives the aims of the course in world history for the ninth grade as:

A. Knowledge leading to understanding of recent and present world problems.

B. Attitude of seeing institutions as changing rather than as permanent; knowledge of social movements and tendencies.

C. Evaluation of opposing forces in the progress of civilization; for example, the conservative and the radical.

D. Intelligent view of the struggle for democracy and of the forces opposing it; significance of strong leaders.

E. Perception that no nation is isolated, and that world cooperation would lead to permanent peace.

F. Desire to incorporate into our own civilization the spiritual and cultural values of other peoples.

The outline of the course in modern history for the high schools of Texas includes the following topics:

1. The League of Nations.
2. The Disarmament Conference.
3. International Relations.
The Hague Court.
The Geneva Conference.
The Saar Valley Dispute.

The outline for the course in American history closes with these items:

Give European background of the Great War; our effort to keep out, our resources, our service. Give fundamentals of League of Nations.

Show that America is no longer an isolated nation, but a part of the world movement. Viewpoint should be international as well as national.

The high-school course in Indiana closes the outline of its course in history with—

The third important phase in this period should constitute a careful study of the cause of the World War, its chief development in a military and scientific way, the Peace Conference at Versailles, the reception of the peace treaty at Washington, the radical post-war developments in eastern Europe, and, finally, the present-day problems, both national and international.

Junior high-school geography in West Virginia is intended to develop in the children the disposition and ability to understand—

The contribution which West Virginia industries make to the nation and the world.

The contribution which the industries of the United States make to the world.

That early methods of exchange developed

into our system of world-wide commercial relations.

What other nations produce and with which nations we can trade most satisfactorily.

The characteristics and customs of the people with whom we must trade.

That no nation can live alone and that a nation's destiny will depend upon its attitude and methods in dealing with other nations.

That America is an important member of the great family of nations and to appreciate her opportunities and obligations as such.

The course in citizenship is intended to develop the disposition and ability to understand—

The relation of our Government to that of other nations.

The responsibilities and duties of this country as a member of the family of nations.

How commerce and industry bring us in contact with other nations.

We must not forget here the part that current-events courses have in our high schools. Half a dozen or more small periodicals intended for school use are now issued weekly or oftener to carry to the schoolroom the main occurrences of the present time. Few well-equipped high schools are without one or more such papers, as well as the larger current-events magazines published for the busy adult. Accounts of national and international events are carried daily into the schoolroom, and in this respect the schools generally are free from the much-repeated adverse criticism that they are not in touch with life.

Our universities and colleges also have taken up the social sciences, are offering a wealth of courses, and are requiring that a fair percentage of the semester hours necessary for graduation be given to social studies. For the bachelor degrees in either science or arts from one-eighth to one-tenth of the student's credits must be in social studies; for the bachelor of education the requirement is on an average 13 per cent. In commerce and pre-legal curricula the percentages are respectively 44 and 28. Three hundred of our higher in-

stitutions are teaching international law and related subjects to over 9,000 students.

The University of Washington offers 45 courses in history, 11 of which relate directly to international affairs. Because of its situation on the Pacific coast, it has 17 courses in oriental studies and 15 of them have a distinctly international bearing. Moreover, 10 of its courses in economics, 8 of those in political science, and 5 of those in sociology are devoted to world aspects of the subjects treated. The departments of sociology and economics, political science, and history in the University of Texas have at least 29 different courses that lead the students into understanding and study of international affairs. These are merely two examples of what is going on in nearly every university and college in the United States in the way of organized instruction to acquaint our citizenry with world affairs.

In reviewing so briefly the character rather than the amount of international training given our students we have thus far taken no note of the foreign-language studies and the indirect but obviously strong influence they have in this respect. Without attempting to give any statistical data as to the number of persons that are studying languages other than the mother tongue, it is sufficient to say that most language teachers believe that a course in a foreign language is poor indeed if it does not give the students an insight into the life, customs, and ideals of the foreign country as well as a fair reading or speaking knowledge of the tongue. Besides that, a most cursory survey of the university libraries in the United States show that we have here many priceless collections of manuscripts, books, gems, coins, pottery, and other material to give reality and directness to our teachings.

Leaving now the field of organized instruction in international relations and turning to the many extra-curricular avenues, still closely connected with the education systems, for intellectual cooperation among nations, we find a wonderful variety and extent of international contacts that have grown up in recent decades. Their chief characteristic is that they are not essentially an exotic, forced growth, but have developed so naturally and easily that they have attained much strength

without attracting any great amount of public attention.

Late in the nineteenth century a general feeling among the educators of France, England, and Germany that modern languages were not well taught in the schools led the educational authorities in those countries to work out a scheme of exchanging teachers so that French could be taught in the schools of England and Germany by teachers from France, and so on. This kind of exchange, not confined to language teachers, is being carried on regularly between the schools of the United States and other countries, but thus far it has been limited for the most part to the higher institutions. It would seem advisable to extend it to elementary and secondary teachers as well.

The American Council of Education published a study some three years ago of the various organizations in the United States that have to do with international educational relations. About 114 were found at that time and several have come into existence since. Many of them undertake to foster the exchange of teachers and students and offer scholarships and fellowships of one kind or another. The opportunities for American students to go abroad for training number well over 500 annually and involve an expenditure of more than half a million dollars each year. A considerable number of scholarships are given to foreign students to spend one or more years in our universities. Each year a number (1,833 in 1927) of non-quota immigrant students come to the United States, and most of them eventually return to their own countries carrying back with them a knowledge and appreciation of our national life. Columbia University reports more than 700 students that give foreign countries as their permanent residence. They are divided among some 60 different national groups.

Summer schools for foreigners are being conducted in many of the countries of Europe. The French summer courses offered at the Sorbonne include the French language and literature, university lectures on France of today, conducted visits, and an academic trip of two weeks. Their purpose is to teach both French and France in such a way as to give students from other countries some

insight into French civilization, its history, and its present-day expression. This plan is characteristic of the continental summer schools for foreigners. They attract many young people, and one report that has come to the Bureau is to the effect that in 1926 about 361,000 students and teachers utilized this method of achieving their desire to study in Europe.

Another plan for furthering proper international relations is to be found in the several international congresses that meet yearly. An incomplete calendar of them for July and August of 1928 lists ten such meetings. They will consider such matters as the protection of infancy, preparation for social service, secondary schools, the teaching of drawing and the applied arts, school films, and inter-scholastic correspondence. In the British Empire the educational conferences held at stated intervals and attended by school men and women from all parts of the Empire are considered to be among the most valuable of the various movements undertaken to promote the unity of the empire.

Science knows no national boundaries. No one country, but the entire world, owes a debt to such men as Pasteur, Lister, Walter Reed, Edison, Marconi, the Wright brothers, and other men and women who have contributed immeasurably to the advance of civilization. The national academies of science maintained by most of the countries of the world have among themselves a strong bond of fellowship that political disagreements among nations have for the most part entirely failed to weaken or break. Many of our school texts in science include enough of the history of scientific advance to give proper recognition to the scientists of other countries and to their achievements. At the centenary celebration of Franklin Institute in Philadelphia a few years ago the leaders of scientific thought assembled from many countries to confer for a week and to pay tribute to an institution that had been a leader for a century in the promotion of scientific research.

No matter how the nations may disagree in their economical and political concerns, there is no lack of unity in regard to the subject of health or lack of cooperation in furthering health work

throughout the world. The health section of the League of Nations has always been harmonious and has actively promoted the study of hygiene.

The Rockefeller Foundation in a recent year (1926) "aided the growth of fourteen medical schools in ten different countries; maintained a modern medical school and teaching hospital in Peking; assisted the development of professional public-health training in fifteen institutions in twelve countries and in ten field stations in the United States and Europe; contributed to nurse-training schools in nine countries; . . . made surveys of health conditions, medical education, and nursing in thirty-one countries, and helped the League of Nations to conduct international study tours or exchanges for 120 health officers from forty-eight countries."

Much was done, internationally, for the health of school children in European countries immediately following the war, and this is still going on. Through the Commonwealth Fund training scholarships for use at home or in schools abroad have been furnished in Austria not only to physicians and nurses, but to teachers of health education and of physical education in public schools. In its model demonstration at Salzburg 7,658 children were examined physically last year with remedial attention, and health education was carried on in all schools, supplemented by lectures to teachers and the public, with brief courses for mothers and older girls. Similar model centers for school health work have also been started in other parts of Austria.

Within the past year the representatives of a dozen or more foreign countries have consulted the United States Bureau of Education in regard to the promotion of school health work.

Finally, it is plain that we have here in the United States both the opportunities and the equipment for giving students intimate and correct knowledge of the peoples of other countries. Plainly, also, we are making considerable use of them. We have now to determine as well as we can whether we are using them in the best way possible and what more we can do through education to promote friendly international relations.

THE PROGRAMS IN A STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

By HON. JOHN L. CLIFTON

Director of Education of Ohio

Director Clifton emphasized particularly that one of the most important steps in a State program is the training of teachers in ability to think of and deal with international relationships; to select well-graded material that will help the children to understand the peoples of other countries, and to keep their emotions under control when teaching the facts of international relations. The constant change in teaching personnel makes it difficult to supply the schools with teachers trained for and capable of doing this work. Second, he stressed the great advantage of first-hand contacts and the need for developing in the young folk now growing to maturity the desire to see other countries and know other peoples. Modern methods of transportation make it possible for those desires to be met. Finally, he expressed the hope that the question of international relations will be freed from partisan politics and studied and handled deliberately and judiciously.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP

By CORNELIA S. ADAIR

President of the National Education Association

For many years—practically ever since the beginning of education—the schools have been unconsciously following a program which, carried to its natural conclusions, will make for world friendship. When we teach the children in the kindergarten the simple folk dances of other countries, when they crowd around the piano and sing their childish songs that are frequently new words to old melodies, when they look around the wall of the classroom and see pictures of children from other lands, they are acquiring a familiarity with these things that may well be made the basis of friendship. Those of us whose memories stretch back over the years can remember a series of books that were quite popular among

young people some forty or fifty years ago. Now few of us would be willing to endure the stilted phraseology of those books, but they were quite a step in advance over children's literature previously published. I refer to the Rollo books. You may remember how Rollo and his tutor traveled in foreign lands and how the tutor patiently answered Rollo's many questions bringing out the history and characteristics of the people whose countries they visited. In modern times these books have been superseded by many far more attractive children's stories. There are the twins from Holland, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. There are stories of Hans Brinker and Heidi, and other charming books. A few days ago I saw a list issued by a certain library of twelve books which every boy and girl should read before the age of sixteen. Four of these books were by American authors in an American setting. The other eight were by foreign authors in foreign lands.

As the boys and girls grow older there are many other contacts that we have unconsciously made for them in the realm of history, of geography, of music and of art. America is such a comparatively young nation that we have naturally wanted to give to our children a knowledge of the literature, art and music of other countries, the home lands of their parents, grandparents or great-grandparents. Usually, the material that we put before our children is chosen because of its intrinsic value, the artistic work in the picture, the charm of the music, or the beauty of the story. Many stories that illustrate international friendship have been chosen not for that quality but for the sheer beauty of the idea within the story; for example, *The Story of the Christ of the Andes* is often read by the children in our schools. Where could there be a more beautiful illustration of the arbitration of an ancient hatred?

As I said, we have been unconsciously laying the foundation on which we may consciously work for the promotion of world friendship. Education is the only sure and permanent method of producing changes in civilization. For that reason the teachers of the country will be the most effective group in preventing preju-

dices, selfishness, undue boastfulness and pride on the part of the youth of the country. They must see to it that in history and social studies truth is taught. They must advocate pacific settlements of disputes, arbitration instead of war. Teachers must be loyal to their respective countries with a loyalty that does not view other nations with suspicion and distrust. Teachers must teach fairness to the foreign-born now in residence, and from that lead to an appreciation of the good things in the country from which they come. They must encourage the study of current history making the most of our conquest of the air and of other inventions that are wiping out national and international boundary lines.

In my travels up and down the country this year I have met with teachers and have gone to schools where these ideals for the teachers' work are being actively carried out. Not long ago I attended a patriotic celebration in a school in a western city. This celebration was a traditional affair with the schools and had been carried on by the pupils of the sixth and seventh grades for more than twenty years. About 200 children were massed on the stage, singing and waving flags; they served as a background for the enactment of various episodes in our history. As I saw figures symbolizing soldiers of the Revolution, of the war between the States, of the Spanish-American War, my heart stood still, for I feared that this patriotic demonstration stressed fighting for our country rather than living for it; but I wronged the pupils, teachers, and principal of that splendid school, for the celebration ended on the beautiful note of world friendship—friendship not only for the stranger who had come within our gates, but for those whom they had left in other lands. The pageant was a most wonderfully impressive spectacle.

Not long ago one of the teachers in a school whose attendance is largely foreign born was given a beautiful new map of the world. She decided to use this map to help build up within her class a respect for the countries from which the children came, so she asked each child to point out on the map the country from which his

father and mother had come. Soon the map was surrounded and eager fingers were pointing to many spots both in Europe and Asia. The children were asked to tell the next morning what things their fathers' countries had contributed to the United States. Naturally this produced a great deal of interest, not only among the children, but among the homes, and they brought in varied contributions. Then the class was formed into groups according to nationalities to decide which of these contributions from their parents' countries were of most service to the United States. When the project was finished, the children of the school saw each other through different eyes. They looked with great respect on the little Italians whom they had heretofore classed as "wops." Perhaps the proudest person in the group was the Turk, who alone and unassisted bore the honor of Turkey's contributions to the beauty, comfort, and upbuilding of our country.

A short time ago an editorial in *Collier's Weekly* told of an experiment which was being conducted in this great city of Cleveland—an experiment to remove race prejudices by the discussion of method. "But," you may say, "we have little difficulty in arousing pride in the achievement of the countries from which our more recent citizens have come, but how about awakening a spirit of friendship for the citizens of other countries among those who have been longer here?" To illustrate:

I was reading a story the other day of a conversation between a young descendant of Jonathan Edwards and an elderly Irish American. This old gentleman was telling of his experience in coming to Connecticut from Ireland some seventy years before and of the difficulties he had met in making a place for himself among the native-born Americans. Then in the same breath he protested vigorously against allowing other immigrants to come into the country, using all manner of invectives concerning the more recent additions.

It seems to me that our best means of promoting friendship between the pioneer American stock and the natives of other lands lies through the teaching of our social studies. How many teachers in

teaching the story of the Revolution remember to say that the great liberal leaders in England fought our battles in parliament as bravely as our soldiers fought them at Bunker Hill and Yorktown, and that our fathers proclaimed their gratitude by dotting our map all over with Pittsfields, Chatham, Burkes, Barres, Craftons, Foxbars, and Conways?

How much do we stress the interdependence of all nations? How fully do we realize this ourselves? The Welsh children were the first to broadcast a message of international friendship. In 1922, through the courtesy of the British Postmaster General, and every year since it has been broadcast from the most powerful radio station in Great Britain. They said in part:

We boys and girls of the principality of Wales and of Monmouthshire greet with a cheer the boys and girls of every country under the sun.

Will you, millions of you, join in our prayer that God will bless the efforts of the good men and women of every race and people who are doing their best to settle the old quarrels without fighting? Then there will be no need for any of us, as we grow older, to show our pride for the country in which we were born by going out to hate and to kill each other.

There was no answer either the first or second year. Then in increasing numbers distinguished officials replied. In 1925 came the first answers from children. Our first reply went from the children of a New York City school.

In 1926 the children of Sweden and Switzerland broadcast beautiful replies to the Welsh children. In both countries the message used was the result of competition among the older children of the public schools to see who could write the best, the friendliest, message.

Last year on Good Will Day, May 18, one of our normal schools sent out, through their respective Ministers of Education, a message to the teacher-training institutions in thirty different countries. It was:

To those who in your normal schools are training to be teachers:

On this World Good Will Day, May 18, 1927, the teachers and students of the State

Normal Training School at Castleton, Vermont, United States of America, extend a hearty hand-grasp of greeting and of friendship to the students in your country who are training to be teachers. May we all recognize that as teachers we hold in our hands a priceless weapon, more powerful than any Damascus blade—a weapon jeweled with the hearts of little children, the men and women who will soon direct the affairs of our nation, a weapon that can break down national prejudices, that can unite the people of the world in the common interests of humanity. And may we feel that we, the teachers, shall have a powerful influence in bringing this about through directing aright the minds of little children, giving them thoughts of friendship, of love, and of good will for the children of other lands that cannot fail to foster and to shape similar sentiments and attitudes as they come to manhood and womanhood.

Replies have been received from seventeen different countries. Replies will be sent out this Good Will Day.

There are many agencies outside of the schools that are helping us to develop this spirit of international friendship. No agency has done more for promoting friendship among the children than the Junior Red Cross. This work has been ably seconded by the International Bureau of Educational Correspondence at George Peabody College. In these days, when character education is receiving so large a share of the attention of educators all over the world, the work of the Character Education Institute in Washington in translating into various languages the ten laws of the Children's Morality Code is most noteworthy. The institute is sending the code into the elementary schools of the world with the idea of inculcating a common code of morality in the hearts and minds of all children.

The Federal Council of Churches created a most friendly spirit between the children of Japan and America by the interchange of friendship dolls. Their new project, the Mexican friendship school bags, will undoubtedly create as much interest. The inauguration by Miss Estelle Downing, Michigan State Normal School, of the idea of an international hope chest to contain posters, scrapbooks,

folk songs, and other international material has been most helpful in many communities. The work of the Pan American Union, the posters of child life issued by the Child Welfare Association, the annual World Hero Contests, the books on good will published by the National Council for the Prevention of War, and last, but not least, the work of the World Federation of Education Associations—all of these agencies are most helpful to the teachers and the schools that realize the possibilities of world friendship among children.

How can we awaken the educators all over this country to the opportunity that is theirs? Here and there we find individuals who are doing a splendid piece of work, but their influence is limited in its scope. Three groups of people can be exceedingly helpful—first, the superintendents of the country. They are the class who are charged with the responsibility of preparing the curricula for our schools. Their influence behind a movement for world friendship would be incalculable; for example, just suppose every superintendent in the United States requested every teacher to celebrate May 18 as World Good Will Day, what an awakening in interest in world friendship would come, an awakening that would carry over to every other day in the school year. If the teachers of the country are to inculcate the feeling of world friendship in the hearts and minds of the children under their care, they must be not only aware of the need but have the knowledge necessary to correlate this idea with everyday work.

It is one thing to tell the story of Hansel and Gretel. It is a greater thing to tell the story of Hansel and Gretel and awaken within the minds of the children an interest in and respect for the country in which that story has its setting. It is one thing to teach the trade relations of our country with South America. It is another thing to show how these relations are immediately affected by any disturbance of the friendship between the United States and South America. Take, for example, the recent effect of the trouble in Nicaragua upon our exports to South America. Teachers must be trained in this very interesting phase of their work.

For that reason the interest of the faculties of the normal schools and colleges of the various agencies for teacher training in service should be secured. A complete and workable course of study for elementary, secondary, and normal schools on the promotion of world friendship through education has been worked out by the five committees of the Herman Jordan Peace Plan. This material has been published in the Toronto volume of the World Federation of Education Associations. If the educational authorities of the country are behind this movement, then the teachers and principals will be free to do the work. Behind every great movement we usually find public opinion. One of the pleasantest things that I have done this year was to appoint the members of the various committees of the National Education Association. I was most interested to find that our Committee on International Relations was perhaps the most popular committee. Educators everywhere are interested in international relations. I found out, too, that practically every nation-wide organization was doing some international work. Among these were men's and women's luncheon clubs of various kinds, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the university clubs, and so on. Sometimes it is under the guise of Americanization work. For example: Not long ago the Lions Club of Rock Springs, Wyoming, held its international night, taking as its theme "Above all things, humanity." One of the most striking parts of the program was the candle-lighting ceremony, when representatives of forty nations repeated each in his own language these words, "As light begets light, so love begets love the world around."

Addressing the gathering, Governor Emerson, the guest of honor, said: "I cannot speak the language of all the different folks who are here, but I can smile at you in my language and you can smile right back in yours. That will constitute a big step toward that middle ground upon which to base both understanding and friendship." Public opinion is behind the ideal of international friendship. Note the enormous growth in the number of international conferences. We formerly counted them by tens, now we

count them by hundreds. An increasing number of magazines are carrying articles on the economic aspect of world cooperation. Business is awakening.

I have tried to show that much is being done and can be done, especially in the lower grades, to inculcate world friendship through the media of material now in the curriculum, but the teacher must have the required knowledge and skill, must be fully aware of the objectives to be obtained. These objectives should be definitely stated in the teacher's manual, together with suggestive material and many references.

The same sort of things should be done in the upper grades. In addition, great care must be taken in the choice of textbooks and in the avoidance of raising the question of racial antagonisms. The observance of World Peace Day should be universal. International clubs should be formed and cooperation with outside agencies, such as the Junior Red Cross, should be encouraged.

Normal schools and teachers' colleges should have world friendship "orientation" courses. Superintendents should provide similar courses in their teacher-training institutes. Travel both at home and abroad should be encouraged.

It seems to me that the question is not so much what we shall put into the curricula to promote world friendship, but how can we utilize the enormous amount of material already in the curricula. How can we make the whole teaching corps aware of their opportunity?

H. G. Wells has said in his somewhat startling way, "Give me the schools and I will produce the millennium in fifty years." What a challenge!

At its annual convention last year the National Education Association reaffirmed its oft-repeated pronouncement in favor of every legitimate means for promoting world peace and understanding among the peoples of the earth. Through the local, State and national group, affiliated or allied with the National Education Association, it is possible to reach every teacher in the nation in a very short time. Our organization is committed to this work. I shall eagerly await the discussions of this commission, so that I may

carry back to our Board of Directors suggestions of constructive work that we may undertake.

DISCUSSION

By SUPT. R. G. JONES

The discussion of education as applied to measures of peace has taken a very practical turn in this meeting, since Dr. Tigert has indicated that we may well first discover what agencies are already present to carry out training in public schools that will lend help to the cause of peace. It is herein indicated that quite a substantial mass of material in social-science work is now being presented in the schools, country wide. This indicates the extent of informational material, together with its organization.

Dr. Clifton feels it important that teachers shall be trained successfully to present such material in the course of instruction. I am quite in accord with this representation. I wish, for my part in the discussion, to call attention to the fact that we are not wholly sure that the work in social science has been sufficiently adjusted to convey the truth, and that the subject of history particularly should have very much further attention.

I discussed history recently with Mr. John Clark, of the Clark Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio, which publishes histories, of a documentary basis, on the study of the Government, suitable for universities and colleges. I was left with a very distinct impression that Mr. Clark believes our histories are quite idealistic, to express the matter modestly. It may be well for us to examine some of the pages of history and ascertain what the information would be if one had learned it as it is. May I again call attention to the fact that we are not quite sure that learning in the abstract from print is ever carried into effect? We are not sure that there is a very strong correlation between learning and performance.

There is very much to be said for the need of character building, but the sole and seasoning process of developing character is very important and has very much to do with what our teaching and learning process shall be. So, if we think that we have served the cause of peace by oral instruction or by the reading of books,

perhaps we may be mistaken. How well Dr. Nansen pointed out in his speech last night that, morally, we are not perhaps very much more civilized than we were ages ago. However true that may be, the quantity of learning and understanding has increased.

In commenting upon the thought expressed by Dr. Clifton, I am sure that teachers will profit in large measure by special training in social science with a view to international good will. If teachers are soundly trained on documentary history, it will tend to put a stop to surplus idealistic talk which may pass for history.

I am heartily in accord with the suggestion that Miss Adair has placed before the committee in recommending that the children of our own country shall understand fully the lives of children of other countries. I believe I have no constructive criticism to offer on this recommendation, even on the point of psychology. Such study and reading will, at least, make children conscious of the necessity for knowledge of how others live.

In conclusion, it is my judgment that our selection of material must be improved, our psychology of the learning process must be improved, and the extent of our information must be greatly increased if we are to make young people conscious of what the world thinks and why it acts as it does. This will provide for the understanding. I am, however, at a loss to know what will energize us, or anyone else, to performance beyond our selfish requirements.

Wednesday, May 9, 1928

Topic: "*Constructive programs for the promotion of good will among nations, to be carried on by institutions of university rank.*"

HON. AUGUSTUS O. THOMAS presiding.

The session was called to order by the chairman at 10:00 o'clock in the Hotel Cleveland.

Dr. THOMAS: The organization of these commissions is very fine because each is reasonably small, and that gives opportunity for more intimate discussions of the subject at hand. I have always felt that if we could have our education meetings in the form of conferences; have the

subjects opened up, and then leave every one free to express himself, we could work out some definite things. For that reason this small group seems advantageous, and we have here persons who have already thought seriously of the topic for discussion.

This is virtually a continuation of the program of yesterday. The program tomorrow will close the series of meetings of the commission. The topic is "Constructive programs for the promotion of good will among nations, to be carried on by institutions of university rank."

I presume that the university is the phase of education, or the institution which comes in contact with international life more directly than does any other particular phase of our school system. This arises from the fact that students are going from country to country for the purpose of studying people in their native lands, studying their history and their social backgrounds, and determining the direction and progress of the country.

The subject is to be opened this morning by Prof. Herbert A. Miller, of the Ohio State University.

A PROGRAM FOR INSTITUTIONS OF UNIVERSITY RANK

By Dr. HERBERT A. MILLER

Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University

The peculiar function of the university is the unbiased discovery and transmission of scientific truth. Its influence is inevitably long run rather than immediate. Over and above this definite function, however, is the fact that the university is composed of teachers and students whose human relationships are unusually significant in world affairs.

Considering this second fact first, we find that there already exists in most universities a cosmopolitan aggregation of people which extends across national, religious, and racial lines both in faculties and student bodies. The unconscious influence of this situation is incalculable. The mere being together promotes good will. One time near the end of the war I was in a conference with Paderewski and there were present representatives

of very hostile nations neighboring Poland. After shaking hands with them, Paderewski said, "Just being polite tends to smooth out difficulties."

Immediately after the Armistice, President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, who had for forty years been a university professor, met a group of Americans in New York who asked him what America could do to help his country. They expected him to reply about the arrangement of loans, but his immediate answer was, "Establish international scholarships. For it is then that the students of the next generation of nations will understand each other." He himself has lived up to his advice in a remarkable way. Not only has the Czechoslovak Government provided several scholarships each year which have been enjoyed by Americans, but in the treatment of Russian refugee students the Czechoslovak Government engaged in the most remarkable educational enterprise in history. Not only was a complete Russian faculty, made up of refugee professors, established in the University of Prague, but also full university expenses, including spending money, have been provided for many thousands of Russian students in many of the institutions of higher learning in Czechoslovakia. The justification has been that in the future these Russians will have an understanding which will be of fundamental benefit to both nations.

This same principle has been recognized by all of our American universities, which in a much smaller way continuously give aid to many foreign students. This policy should be widely extended, both in the amount of money provided and in the number of students made welcome. Also our American universities should enter practical politics to the extent of seeing to it that all difficult barriers to the free movement of foreign students are removed.

Our universities also freely invite foreign professors to our lectureships. Thanks to the activity of Dr. Duggan, this policy has been greatly increased in the last few years and it may be increased still further. There is no field of university interest that can be offended by genuine scholarship.

A couple of years ago I visited many universities in central and eastern Europe and Asia. They were in countries that had been at war with each other and with America. But everywhere there was the utmost cordiality based on the universal assumption that in science there is neither nationality nor religion. I was talking one time with the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, chosen head of the Mohammedan community because he was such a valiant opponent of the Zionist Jews. I said to him that the only way in these days to compete with the Jews is on the level of the Hebrew University in Palestine. He said that they knew it and had that year made a beginning toward a university in which, by the way, there is a Christian teacher. When he was charged with this, he replied, "So long as he is a good teacher what difference does it make?" He said further that "we are now well served by the American University at Beirut." This is not only an American institution, but was founded by Presbyterians. When I arrived at Beirut, I found Moslems, Jews, and Christians together in perfect harmony. From the point of view of the object of this conference, I think that at the present moment the American University at Beirut is the most important university in the world.

This mere being together has an unconscious and inevitable influence, but in all our universities there are conscious efforts to accelerate this influence through interracial and international clubs. These have a mutual influence on their members and more or less influence on the whole university attitude. A larger number of foreign students would increase this. Also, most of the groups of university students who go abroad during the vacation have as one of their motives the increase of understanding. This definite motive is very important, for a large proportion of the Americans who go abroad completely fail to enter sympathetically into the life of the countries which they visit.

These incidental factors of personal relationships in the university, while they are of utmost importance, are after all merely incidental to the main object of a university. The business of the university is knowledge, and in this field there

are two lines of attack which are making for understanding. The first is an insistence on the critical assumption of social facts. This criticism has recently been popularized as "debunking," and I am not sure that a large part of the actual work of university teaching is merely that of "debunking." Most of our facts are out of focus and our attitudes and prejudices are perverse. The university should be fearless in this direction. In my opinion, however, the most important service the university can render in the direction of international good will and justice is as an agency for making us aware of the actual world in which we live.

Most national attitudes are based on conditions that no longer exist, and the pathology of nationalism is of the same sort as the complexes which a child gets and which may be dissolved by explaining the origin. Exclusive patriotism is now as absurd as exclusive isolation with one's family. One's responsibility or affection for one's family is not lessened by having civic interests, rather it is enhanced, and it does not lessen one's usefulness to one's community to recognize that one's real interests are not confined to the community. There is no greater illusion than that of 100 per cent patriotism. Ten per cent is nearer the justifiable facts and is quite enough to make useful citizens. But since this is so much misunderstood, and because there is so great political value in prejudice, it is part of the task of the university to make it clear.

In the natural sciences there is very little difficulty. The fact that Einstein was a German Jew has no influence on the validity of the law of relativity, and the fact that the principle of "conditioned response," which is in constant use in our psychological thinking, was discovered by Pavlov, a Russian, is of no importance. Illustrations of this sort can be multiplied indefinitely. In fact, a professor from the University of Moscow only yesterday lectured at the Ohio State University on a mathematical problem, and not even the most rabid anti-Bolshevik would have thought of objecting.

When we come to the social sciences and fine arts, there is perhaps a little more

difficulty. Right here the university may function more vigorously and effectively because its approach must always be essentially objective.

Anthropology and social psychology are showing the essential basic similarity of people with respect to race and nation. Popular prejudice is directly opposed to these facts, and by the assumption of superiority of each of these groups the bitterest hostilities among them have been perpetuated. A number of pseudo-scientists have in recent years stimulated this prejudice, but genuine science points only in one direction, namely, that there are no essential reasons why people may not live together on terms of good will. These two approaches are acting very much like psycho-analysis in breaking down complexes.

Even more important is the field of economics, in which our thinking and social organization has a genuine culture lag. It is in the economic field that competition leads to hostilities and most war is based on false economic premises. The late war proved the contention of Norman Angell that economically war is a "great illusion." If we consider this from the point of view of capital, commerce, and labor, the facts show that the international relations are becoming more elemental than national inclusiveness. Not only does the investment of capital show its indifference to national frontiers, but banking is a genuine international enterprise. In commerce and trade local interests are tied up with the most distant parts of the world. When the Mississippi flood occurred a year ago, the price of cotton in Egypt immediately went up. The price of wheat in North Dakota is immediately dependent on the market in Europe. Labor has for some years recognized its common interest across boundaries. It is the business of the university to clarify the extent of the economic basis so as to break down the provincial attitudes which are only of political value.

History, which has been used by most countries as an agency for the promotion of patriotism, is beginning to show that, instead of being divinely founded, most nations were conceived in injustice and born in corruption. Political science, sociology, ethics, and religion all are play-

ing a part in showing the unity of order, attitudes, codes, and ideals.

In the fine arts, literature, drama, music, and painting are becoming as impersonal as natural science. The most popular dramatic art is coming out of Russia. Our music cannot for a moment be called American, except jazz, which is of negro origin and has been developed by the Jews.

These purely academic functions which are the very core of the university can have an influence only in the future, but the universities must constantly be on guard lest selfish and chauvinistic interests interfere with their proper function.

To sum up: There are four ways in which the universities can promote good will:

- (1) By the conscious and unconscious association of cosmopolitan students.
- (2) By the interchange of professors.
- (3) By "debunking" the basis of hostility.
- (4) By making a scientific awareness of the interrelations and interdependence of modern society.

THE CULTURAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UNIVERSITY

By Rev. D. M. SOLANDT

Associate General Manager of the United Church of Canada Publishing House

Mr. Chairman, I feel at something of a disadvantage in entering upon this subject after the rather comprehensive survey just made by the first speaker.

Wherever in history there is a period marked by vigorous reconstruction, we find a renewed faith in the possibilities of education. Plato made the ministry of education the pivot of the State. Democratic government is essentially government by opinion, and unless all who take part in it are educated it cannot function wisely. The great ideals of justice can only be understood and practiced among a people who are educated. It is therefore specially fitting to have a conference such as this to discuss the ways and means whereby the force of education can best be directed against that curious remainder of injustice that now, as part of our international relationships, is called war.

When that great world citizen, Abraham Lincoln, spoke those few vivid sentences, which have become one of the greatest literary heritages of the race, in dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, he reaffirmed allegiance to the proposition that all men are created equal—that is, they should be regarded of equal status before the prevailing justice of the land. Then he closed with those oft-repeated words, "This nation, under God, will have a new birth of freedom, and government of the people, by the people, for the people, will not perish from the earth." Let us change the word "nation" to that of "world" and our desire today is that "The world, under God, will have a new birth of freedom, and the government of the people, by the people, for the people, will not perish from the earth."

We wish a democratically expressed justice to prevail through the whole world. We have advanced in our relationships so that we adjust our social, industrial, and political differences with but seldom having any inclination to kill our opponents. Why cannot this same spirit of justice prevail in our international relationships? Isn't it strange that today, as in the time of Carlyle, we should still think of taking one group of citizens from one of our towns and marching them out to fight and to kill citizens from a similar town in another country, against whom they have no grudge, simply because, as Carlyle said, "their governors had fallen out." And yet such is the case. And to those of this generation the sad experiences of the Great War stand as a witness to the world's lack of judgment.

In 1913 no one thought that a world war was possible. Through freedom and civilization the sour, soiled, crooked old world was gradually getting rid of bullies and crooks and turning to the ways of decency and good nature. Then the war broke loose, and, as one writer puts it:

In the pursuit of the vision—what vision?—ten millions fell in battle. Most, let us hope, fell asleep with merciful swiftness. Twenty millions were wounded. Many halt in our streets and scream in our hospitals still. Six millions were prisoners or missing. God knows how they fared, how they

died. And all of these were of the best physical manhood of the nations. In Europe between six and nine millions of children were left fatherless. Their widowed mothers are five millions in number. Two million Armenians walked out into the desert to death. One would require to sink a *Lusitania* every day for seventy years to match the frightful human destruction of the Great War (Gen. T. H. Bliss in "What Really Happened at Paris," page 385).

Ex-Premier Nitti, of Italy, said the losses of human life and property, great as they were, are small evils compared to the undermining of morals and the lowering of standards of culture and civilization. Expediency is the standard of the conduct of war, and falsehood is therefore its native tongue.

At this point we shall not argue whether international disputes can ever be settled without force. We know from experience, as Viscount Grey has suggested, that "the internal peace of any country depends upon the knowledge that force is available to uphold law. . . . The greater the consensus of opinion in any country that force should be used for this purpose, the less occasion there will be for the use of force, the more set and sure will be the internal peace of that country." Lord Grey concludes this by stating that "so it is with the community of nations." One is persuaded to believe that Viscount Grey is speaking in accordance with the verdict of history. The problem set for us today is to suggest some practical program to bring about world peace, or rather to extend the ideas of justice that we hold in our home relationships to our international relationships.

We are to discuss institutions of university standing. There is a saying that Mark Hopkins, or some mythical character, at one end of a log and a student at the other constitute a university. A mother, a child, and a good book would qualify as a university along this line. By university training we become citizens of the world in the widest sense:

To be at home in all lands and ages, to count Nature a familiar acquaintance and Art an intimate friend, to gain a standard for the appreciation of other men's work and the criticism of your own, to carry the

keys of the world's library in your pocket, and feel its resources behind you in whatever task you undertake.

To this definition let there be added remarks taken from an article by the president of the University of Michigan when he doubted whether we were succeeding in sending out our university students with "a sense of social humility and a knowledge of the need of lifelong service."

There is a growing uneasiness among our university leaders. Some are wondering whether those great masses of buildings housing thousands of students can be called universities from the highest standpoint. At the meeting of the World Federation of Education Associations held last August in Toronto, Canada, one of the leading educationists dropped the remark that to a great extent university education today was tending to bring the students "to know more and more about less and less." This reference to the highly specialized form of our education seemed to irritate the educators very much, and one after another of them tried to explain the situation, but with very little success. The question is, Are such overspecialized, highly developed technical schools universities at all? Or are they merely training schools for a type of artisans?

One of the leading educationists of England, in speaking on this subject, states that during the last fifty years universities, not in England alone, but throughout the world, have been undergoing a steady process of dehumanization. And then he goes on to say that the special lines of study have obscured what he calls "the idea of the unity of knowledge," which should lie at the back of all university training. It is that idealistic background of the unity of knowledge that gives to a university the right to be called a university, because with this in mind the student then can relate all knowledge he gains on various subjects to this unified ideal interpretation of life. Until he has this firmly grounded in his mind he is not a wise and safe individual to depend on as a means of bringing about world peace.

However, our universities have to a more or less extent these ideals definitely

alive among those on the staff who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of materialism, and it is to the leadership of these that we must look for the real international spirit that we hope in the future will make for world peace. These are the men who understand the intellectual heritage of the past and thus can enter into the full possession of the kingdom of Truth, of Beauty, and of Goodness. These are the men of whom it can be said that education and peace are necessarily correlative; men who, possessing political or industrial or social power, will not allow injustice to prevail because it mars the eternal unity of their own lives; men who, understanding the delicate complexity of civilization and measuring it by their unity of knowledge, are careful of its mechanism and traditions. In every university there is a coterie of this type, and these are the ones to whom we have to appeal to form that atmosphere which will bring international justice into the same relationship to life as the justice between two neighbors on the same street.

In attempting to suggest a constructive program for institutions of university rank for the bringing about of world peace, it would seem that such a result can be brought about only by indirect methods. We do not train for peace directly, but we try to create that attitude of mind out of which world peace will naturally come.

As we approach this we should remember that the students entering the best European and British universities are almost two years further on than those entering the American and Canadian universities, thus giving them a better grounding in the so-called cultural subjects.

The great messages of literature know no national bond, and the university that does not bring the world's best to her students is missing much. The teaching of history may become a broad, cultural subject, establishing a community of thought, humility of judgment, and an attitude of kindly respect for other countries. It may, on the other hand, engender rancid patriotism and a pharisaic attitude to others. The teaching of this subject de-

serves the most earnest consideration in the problem of world peace. Through the studies of anthropology and ethnology we could learn of other races, and knowledge tends always to a kindly attitude. A careful study of the world's advancement and the contribution each nation has made to the world's progress would be helpful and humbling. In this connection the study of the forces which bring about the rise and fall of nations will greatly strengthen confidence in the spiritual forces of national life.

Then there is the interchange of professors and students. Better acquaintance tends to better understanding. This program, charged with a fine idealistic content, should send students out who are real citizens of the world.

The constant difficulty, however, with the idealistic background of culture as given in our universities is to have it carry on into adult life. Many of our university graduates, while in their courses, are men and women of high ideals, but when they come into actual touch with world conditions, instead of holding to that phrase, "My mind to me my kingdom is," they change it to the common idea, "My mind to me my income is, and nothing more."

To be of any real use in this movement for world peace the universities must generate enough idealistic power through their teaching of the great literatures, philosophies, and histories to carry on to the end of life in the minds of its graduates. The old Chinese universities have an odd attitude to this. They ask their graduates to return at the end of every three years and to rewrite their examinations or lose their degrees. This shows at least that they believe in the continuance of the process of education of their students.

It is said, possibly with considerable truth, that the reason that Scotland today is practically free from religious fads is because in the parish schools, which are the same as our public schools, over 80 per cent of the teachers are university graduates, living permanently in the community and carrying the culture of the university into those communities.

Following this, we find that in England, where, by the way, about 25 per

cent of the income of the people is going to pay war debts, a definite socialistic and unionistic movement was arising which gave great concern to the educational statesmen. After a careful survey of the situation by a strong government commission, the decision arrived at was that the only way to meet these difficulties was through culture. A definite movement was organized whereby the great literatures of the world—and here let it be known that a book is not great because it is old, but it is old because it is great—might be made available to all the people, and through the extension of the county library system 98 per cent of the people in Britain are now within reach of such a service.

Lord Haldane, who is the directing head of this movement, states that the aim in this adult education movement is to establish in every center of population the organized influence of the university. For into all these they are extending through lectures the idealistic influence of the universities. They say that "the process of education is to fit a man for life and in a civilized community to fit him for his place as a member of that community. Education is an inseparable aspect of citizenship and should be universal and lifelong." Citizenship is defined as "the power to contribute one's instructed judgment to the public good." Democracy, we believe, can function only among an intelligent population, and therefore we believe that the thoughtfulness of the cultured mind should be the mark of citizenship and service to the community should be his watchword. All these ideals should be constantly fed from our great university centers.

It was indeed significant that last year when Premier Baldwin was touring in America he spoke at almost every center regarding the necessity of this cultural background in the life of the nation.

The subject set for us is to deal with institutions of university standing. One can hardly refuse university standing from the standpoint of idealistic influence to such institutions as the Danish folk high schools. These are schools for life to which the older come and are sent back with greater inner joy, greater love for country, greater appreciation for a high

and more ideal conception of life. They study without textbook or notebook the mother tongue, history, philosophy, literature, agricultural economics, singing, and the Bible. They take no degrees. Their preparation is only to prepare them for life. Their motto is "that the culture of the mind must precede the efficient culture of the soil." They believe that the nation carries on this cultural background. Professor Lindemann, in visiting this country shortly after the war, said regarding Denmark:

Here I came into contact with a civilization which by sheer contrast with hate-ridden Europe seemed like a cultural oasis in the desert of nationalism. Beneath the easily recognizable distinctions of Danish life one finds an educational ferment such as motivates no other people in the world. Adult education, one begins to learn, after prolonged observation, has not only changed citizens from illiteracy to literacy, but it has rebuilt the total structures of life's values.

It is a spirit like this with which we wish to permeate the whole body politic.

The World Federation of Education Associations passed this resolution at its last world conference on peace:

Whereas the peace and happiness of the world depends largely on education; and

Whereas one of the most important means of education is that of the reading of the great literatures of the world (this includes music, art, and drama); and

Whereas these great literatures have in them those correctives as to the values of life which are needed to build up permanent communities of intelligent and happy people, which tend to strengthen the intellectual and spiritual qualities of character, and which keep alive with growing force, as citizens become older, the great ideals of honor, truth, and justice, on which ideals alone contented community life, national democratic life, and world peace must finally depend; and

Whereas such a selection of literature is being constantly made more difficult by the increasing number of papers, magazines, and books of doubtful and mediocre character-building value which are being printed:

Therefore be it resolved, That we, the

World Federation of Education Associations, do advise the organizations herewith affiliated to consider ways and means whereby the adult citizens of their constituencies may be encouraged to continue their education throughout life by

I. Making the great literatures of the world easily available to all adult citizens in both country and city districts.

II. By making provision for the advisory guidance of the reading of their adult citizens.

That through the messages of the great literatures of the world there may be diffused throughout every country and in every section of society those ideals which will vitally mold the lives of their citizens, enkindle their imaginations, widen their interests and sympathies, and by the continuing process of education give them an inexhaustible source of happiness and thus help to bring, by mutual sympathy and responsibility, a world peace based on the great principles of honor, truth, and justice.

Here again you have a great world-wide organization depending on the idealistic background for world peace. The inspiration for this must come from our universities and be of such a character as to extend to the end of the road of life in all nations.

In all this national pride will not be lessened, but fuller knowledge will deepen the bonds of respect. Let us be done with private diplomacy, and even consider the possibilities of a federation of nations as a federation of the States of this great Republic, with a mutual respect that comes from knowledge, with no boundaries which require passports, and with trade as free the world over as it is between the States of a republic. Let us put first things first. Let the great principles of Beauty, Goodness, and Truth permeate and control all our relationships, and let evenhanded justice be given between nations as within nations today. Let us go on

"Till the war-drum throbs no longer,
And the battle-flags are furled,
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation
of the World!

A PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF EDUCATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL

By Dr. GEORGE F. ZOOK

President of the University of Akron

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS: Naturally I am more at a disadvantage than the second speaker was in endeavoring to place before you any new ideas.

Peace is an ideal the attainment of which in domestic or international affairs depends on three things: (1) information as to international problems and difficulties; (2) the character and completeness of the political machinery which is established to solve them; (3) the spirit of fairness and unselfishness which pervades those who deal with them. Inasmuch as the material advancement of the world and the happiness of all its citizens, even to the remotest parts of the earth, are bound up in the attainment of this ideal, it is indeed fitting that we who represent the higher educational institutions, from which leadership in the whole field of education is expected to spring, should concern ourselves deeply with the subject of this conference.

The attainment of peace is a matter of popular will. No matter whether the form of government be democratic, representative, monarchic, or that of a dictator, the actual issue of international war or peace, in these days of quick communication and widespread popular information, is determined as never before, in every great civilized country of the world, by the democratic expression of opinion of all the people, rather than by the whims of their rulers or even the deliberate judgments of their chosen representatives. Therefore, the problem of peace or war, so far as the schools and colleges are concerned, is not merely a matter of acquainting the chosen few with the causes of international difficulties, with the political machinery for effecting peace, and with the proper zeal for so commendable an ideal. The education of political leaders in international affairs is no longer sufficient; peace and war touch the deepest interests of the whole people, and *they* will settle the issue of peace or war in the future, without much consultation with their rulers or representatives, on

the basis of such information and impressions as they may possess concerning the issues involved. The attainment of international peace, therefore, confronts the schools and colleges, as never before in the world's history, as a solemn obligation.

And now as to the contribution of the universities and colleges in effecting the first of these means for the promotion of international good will, namely, the spreading abroad of information as to international problems and difficulties. In this realm our higher institutions seem most at home. Already, indeed, they have performed their function exceedingly well. They have, for example, been most diligent in searching out and setting forth at great length the causes of international conflicts. We understand today, for example, that the Anglo-Dutch War of 1664-'77 had its beginning in the rivalries of slave traders on the West African coast. We know now, as we did not for many years, that underlying economic difficulties were the real cause of the American Revolution and not the popular slogan, "No taxation without representation." The struggle for the markets of the world accounts in no small part for the world conflict which ended only a decade ago. Our knowledge, therefore, concerning the basic causes of all our modern wars has been traced out with meticulous care. Indeed, a great army of historians, imbued with peculiar zeal for the truth, have been exceedingly busy, in the classroom and through well documented books, in expounding the causes, the casualties, and the deplorable results of one war after the other. So, too, for example, have they pictured the sunshine of the golden age of the Antonines in Roman history and the Era of Good Feeling in the United States. We have had every opportunity through history to *know* the miseries of war and the satisfactions of peace.

In a similar way the economists and the sociologists of the present age have been busy as never before in searching out and setting forth the detailed effects on society of each major economic and social change, including such world calamities as the late war. We know a great deal more than ever before concerning the

price of war in the loss of human lives and the waste of material resources.

All these services of the historian, the economist, and the sociologist, which constitute a very large part of the world's information and knowledge as to the grief of war and the virtues of peace, are very largely the contribution of the colleges and universities. A great army of patient men and women, most of whom have been or now are attached to the teaching staffs of the higher institutions, have gladly contributed of their spare time to search out and evaluate this information. While others are now frequently engaged in these efforts, the world little knows or appreciates how much it owes to the humble college professor for his services as the discoverer and teacher of accurate and unbiased information relative to international difficulties, both past and present.

Knowledge is power. Armed with accurate insight into the world's problems, both the college professor and his pupils have gone forth from the classrooms to serve the country as peacemakers in organizations devoted to the peace ideal, in the halls of Congress, and even in the White House. We owe, therefore, a great debt of gratitude to the college professor for his invaluable services to the cause of peace through his devotion to the discovery and promulgation of the truth.

What more, therefore, in the realm of spreading abroad accurate information remains to be done in the universities and colleges? Evidently a great deal. So far we have reached only the select few, the college students, and although they will doubtless in most instances be the leaders of future public opinion, yet, until we reach an even larger proportion of our population with the information that is contained in college courses in history, economics, and sociology, we can never depend upon public opinion to be sufficiently intelligent to resist the ignorant rantings of the demagogue and the misrepresentations of the self-appointed arch patriot.

Let us refer for a moment to the conditions immediately following the outbreak of the World War. Europe got itself into a war which the United States entered three years later. From the be-

ginning to the close, there was a frantic effort in this country to find out why Europe was having a war. College professors of history, one of which I happened to be at the time, were engaged in the rather ridiculous business of lecturing from town to town, writing long articles for the newspapers and magazines and later organizing special courses for the S. A. T. C. on the causes of the World War. In other words, we first got into the war and then, as a people, proceeded to find out the details of why we were in it and why the thing got started in Europe in the first place. Perhaps this procedure was more or less natural, but, after all, it would seem to have been preferable for our people as a whole, not merely our professors of history, to have had much more accurate and extended information as to the international situation leading up to the war itself. Had this been the case throughout the world; had there been, as Bismarck once remarked, "the fresh air of public criticism," based on extended knowledge of the international situation, it is not too much to hope that so great a world catastrophe might have been avoided.

This is the task of the colleges and universities at this moment. Everywhere, among a host of other subjects, courses in history, economics, and sociology should be offered not merely to college students, but also to the adult population, in every corner of the several States in the Union, in order that people may have the opportunity to keep constantly abreast of international affairs and to familiarize themselves with the trend of international events before, rather than after, a great conflict is begun. Armed with widespread information as to these matters, gained through extension classes, correspondence courses, public addresses, the radio, etc., there is good reason to believe we may be a long way toward attaining our ideal of permanent peace. When the people—a larger proportion of them—know the causes and results of international conflicts, they can be depended on to find a way of avoiding them.

Coming now to the second point, namely, the organization of and instruction in international machinery for effecting the peace ideal. Here, again, the

contribution of the universities and colleges has been exceedingly noteworthy. One has only to recall the names of David Starr Jordan, Manley O. Hudson, John Bassett Moore, Nicholas Murray Butler, James Brown Scott, Leo S. Rowe, Charles E. Hughes, Woodrow Wilson, and a whole host of other familiar names to realize what a remarkable contribution to international law and international organization has been made by men who are not only the product of, but who are or have been attached to the teaching staffs of American universities. It is indeed impossible to conceive that the machinery of international law and organization would be anywhere nearly so well developed as it is, were it not for the patient and untiring efforts of this group of men who have devoted themselves to this objective.

What more can the colleges and universities do in this direction than has been done? The number of professors of political science who engage in this work will always be considerably smaller than the number who search out and teach the truth relative to the world's problems and difficulties. The makers of international law and organization are therefore a chosen few whose energies and talents should be conserved to the best possible advantage. Furthermore, we are as yet only emerging from the stage of groping about in a variety of directions for practical machinery for the settlement of international difficulties. For these reasons it is exceedingly important that men whose interests or special abilities run in this particular direction should have unusual freedom to participate in international conferences for the formulation of international law and in the development of international organizations. Universities and colleges could render no more important service in attaining the peace ideal than to grant such men frequent leaves of absence from their teaching work in order to participate in these activities. Not only will this contribution of service mean much to the promotion of the cause itself, but it will enable such men to present the problems involved, and the degree of success attained in solving them, with vigor and conviction.

There remains here, as in the field of history and economics, the problem of getting this information to a larger proportion of the student body than is now reached and to the general public. It seems clear that every graduate of a higher institution, in whatever course of study he may pursue, should at some point be given the opportunity to familiarize himself with this field of work. At the present time we are turning out altogether too many graduates of technical, professional, and even liberal arts curricula who are not at all well prepared to undertake their obligations of citizenship intelligently, including citizenship in the world community. Furthermore, we should, through extension classes and other similar means, zealously spread this information to the largest possible proportion of the adult population, most of which cannot now evaluate properly even the slight attention which American newspapers devote to the work of international courts, the League of Nations, and other peace organizations.

There remains what, after all, is the most important part of the program of promoting international good will. International law is a matter of the last few centuries. International organization in the modern sense is the product of the last two generations. The contributions of the economist and especially the historian toward popular knowledge of international problems reaches back into the centuries. In all these aspects we have made truly remarkable progress, particularly in the last half century. But underlying them and stretching back through all time has been the aspiration and the attempt of mankind to develop the spirit of brotherly love among individuals, groups, and nations. Occasionally, in a fit of pessimism, we doubt that we have made much progress toward the attainment of the Christian ideal, and we know, of course, that men are not saved by their knowledge nor politics, whether domestic or international, made effective through the excellence of human machinery. Consequently we shall doubtless agree with a recent statement from Mr. Hughes in answer to the question, "How shall we promote international good will? By getting rid of particular contro-

versies? Certainly, so far as possible. But it is friendship which makes this easy."

The promotion of friendship and good will among nations as an abstract virtue is indeed a difficult problem. We transmit physical features and characteristics from one generation to another, but no means has yet been found by which the virtues of previous generations may be passed on intact to those which succeed. Exactly as is true with individuals, every generation must learn anew, sometimes through bitter personal experience, the wages of sin and the rewards of international good will. Therefore we must be forever teaching the rising generation in all countries the ideal of international friendship in such a way as to make it both attractive and meaningful.

In all these things what can the colleges and universities do? Doubtless there is much that we can do. In the first place, we should remember that we have young men and young women at the very time in their lives when they are most impressionable and when their sense of idealism is most easily awakened and developed. We should take every possible advantage of this situation.

Obviously the classroom presents the first opportunity. The American college professor of the social sciences has, however, been so thoroughly devoted to the discovery and teaching of objective facts and so modest about using his function to influence student opinions that he has not always had time to pause for comment on the significance of these facts. As a result, our classrooms all too often suffer from a mass of undigested detailed information which is handed out in routine fashion through lecture and textbook. The student returns the compliment in like fashion. Neither his imagination nor his ideals are necessarily awakened by the process. It seems to me very clear that we should be forever endeavoring to improve our teaching staffs through the addition of men and women who are not only scholarly but who will interpret and inspire. Ultimately we cannot evade our responsibility, nor should we attempt to do so, to make better men and women of our students. The classroom in history, economics, and political science pre-

sents an unusual incidental opportunity for the creation of the proper international ideals without making such instruction either offensive or excessive.

There are, too, opportunities for the introduction of course in international ethics, such as are now offered at the University of Wisconsin. The courses in Bible and religion, which exist at nearly every denominational college in the country, may very well be used for incidental instruction in international good will.

There yet remains the obligation of the college and universities, wherever they exist and under whatever auspices, for extension instruction along all these lines throughout the constituency from which the institution draws its students. The higher institutions should be centers of lofty ideals in matters international which may be drawn on freely for popular inspiration and guidance.

In some respects so-called extra-curricular student organizations, devoted in whole or in part to the peace ideal, have been more effective than the classrooms. The students themselves have full rein to indulge in their favorite pastime of initiating and developing another organization. As always, they learn better through participation. Even the faculty advisers feel far greater freedom in expressing their convictions in some such organization. An excellent example of this type of organization is the cosmopolitan clubs, which for a quarter of a century have flourished in a number of institutions and in which many an American college graduate has received a permanent inspiration toward international friendship.

While there may be some hesitation on the part of college administrators and teachers in using the classroom for peace propaganda purposes, there should be none whatever in connection with such extra-curricular student organizations. Whether our institutions be publicly or privately controlled, we cannot escape the demand, often to the extent of an undue shifting of responsibility from the home and the church to the schools and colleges, that we somehow instill proper ideals of love and fellow service in the minds and hearts of our students. While I am fully convinced that the schools and

higher institutions are being expected to bear too large a share of this obligation, nevertheless I am very clear that every college teacher may reasonably be expected to participate actively in organizations devoted to civic righteousness, including those which are interested in the promotion of international good will. In every college or university, therefore, there should be one or more strong student organization, with competent faculty advisers, which devotes itself in whole or in part to the peace objective.

So much for the triple program of effective peace instruction and inspiration to be carried out in our universities and colleges. I have not suggested a program filled with novelty and striking features. Such appeals are likely to be ephemeral. Let us realize that we have before us a task which stretches out through all time—a task, indeed, which requires the patient service of faithful teachers in all countries and under every condition of living. It is particularly necessary, therefore, that there should be flowing into the channels of the educational system a constant stream of suggestion and inspiration to promote the peace ideal. While it is not at all necessary to agree with the details of the plan which won for Chancellor David Starr Jordan the Herman Prize of \$25,000, three years ago, yet the plan contains one central thought to which we should give our most serious consideration, namely, the appointment of a committee or committees by some prominent international organization with sufficient funds to formulate new materials suited to classroom use and constantly to inspire teachers and students to devise new ways of promoting the spirit of international good will. With such an inexhaustible spring of information and inspiration to supplement their own facilities, the universities will add new laurels to their already brilliant contribution of the past in the interest of brotherly love among the nations of the earth.

Finally, let us not underestimate our possibilities as peacemakers. As has been remarked, David Starr Jordan was "wise enough to build his house of enduring peace on a rock—the spirit of international amity developed in children and

youth through mutual understanding." It is the privilege of those of us who are interested on this section of the Conference to guide these young people into this promised land. We ourselves, in our generation, were not wise enough or sufficiently zealous in the good cause to avoid the most terrible international conflict in all human history, but we can in a measure make up for our own shortcomings by inspiring those who sit under our instruction to attain that new and higher level of international good will which will forever render impossible a recurrence of the barbarism of international war.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL IN THE LARGE STATE UNIVERSITY

By LAWRENCE D. EGBERT

University of Illinois

In making a brief survey of this problem I concluded it best to start out by trying to discover what factors for the promotion of international good will are already at work in a given large State university. Having found at least a few of these, the next step seemed to be to attempt to evaluate these factors, observing their shortcomings and the nature of the obstacles which led to them. The third step which remained to be taken was to draw up a few suggestions which it is hoped are not merely academic or dependent upon some vague and unreal hypothesis, but rather capable of adoption and, if adopted, full of possibility for the promotion of good will among nations in so far as that is possible in the university.

In examining the factors in a university which make for the promotion of international good will and peace among nations, two seem to stand out particularly. The first is the rôle played by the faculty; the second is the rôle played by student and other organizations. Perhaps the two most important functions of professors are teaching and research. Most large State universities give many courses which deal with subjects full of opportunity for producing international good will and friendship—courses in international law and relations, international organizations, American foreign policy, contemporary world politics, com-

parative European governments, and public opinion, to name only a few of those given by the political science departments alone. Certain courses in history, economics, and sociology also offer the student an opportunity to get acquainted with other nations and the problems of international law and relations.

Another fundamental objective of the university professor is research. Through experiments in physiology, psychology, sociology, and related fields, we are daily learning more about the way man acts in given circumstances—invaluable data, in view of the fact that the basic element in all human affairs is naturally enough man himself. Much research has also been done by historians and others on the causes, nature, and effects of different wars, revealing studies eloquent as guides of what *not* to do. Further research is being done on various phases of international organization, international justice, the outlawry of war, international conferences, and related subjects, no less revealing studies, helping to suggest to us what can be done.

The university professor is also serving in various other ways; for example, by giving special lectures on the subjects of his particular research and by arranging for special addresses by scholars, both from different parts of this country and abroad. Thus, at the University of Illinois members of the departments of history, economics, sociology, and political science have upon several occasions this year given special lectures on the campus with the purpose of examining important international problems. These departments have likewise been able to secure such foreign lecturers as Steed and De Madariaga to speak on the subjects of their special interest and study. Again, professors often have foreign students in their homes during the academic year, which sometimes proves to be of real value to both parties. These are at least some of the things professors are now doing to promote international good will and peace.

The second main factor making for international friendship is the student organization. There is the Y. M. C. A., the Cosmopolitan Club, the special young people's societies in the churches, and

various clubs and foundations for social work. It is interesting to note their objectives and how they work them out. In the first place, they try to help the foreign student by making his student life in the university agreeable and profitable. They help him get a comfortable room in a cultured American home, and provide teas and "smokers" and other "get-togethers" to give him some sort of social life. A second objective of these student organizations is to help the American student to get the facts and the contacts that will break down his ungrounded prejudices and narrow provincialisms. This is accomplished through forums, study groups, and interracial contacts leading, it is hoped, to a better understanding by Americans of the nationals of the foreign country. Finally, these groups occasionally foster protest meetings at the psychological moment, as, for example, against the passing of a large naval bill or the failure of American adherence to the World Court. Such meetings at least help to inform the students of the nature of certain international problems and the fallibility of governmental agencies.

In attempting an evaluation of the above factors supposedly promoting international peace and good will through the university, it must be frankly admitted that there are many weaknesses and gaps in the present contributions of these two agencies. With regard to the professors it should be pointed out at once that it is not the name of the course nor often its subject-matter that makes it truly valuable. It is the personality, conviction, experience, technique of presenting his courses, and the charm of the man himself. Many a student has taken a given course because the name of the course was really intriguing, only to find that the professor was a mere pedant, totally lacking in real grasp of his problem or so clumsy or otherwise faulty in the presentation of his material that the course was a real bore. To be sure, most students are warned against such courses by their fellow students, whose sense of discrimination in such cases easily excels the perception of the given professor. Again, research work is often so unrealistic in its nature that only a pedant could produce it, and surely only another pedant

of the first rank would ever read it. This may, perhaps, be explained by the fact that much so-called research is done merely, or at least primarily, with the motive of turning something out for the sake of appearing in print, and thus gaining professional advancement. On the other hand, be it said in all fairness that real research of the best sort is invaluable and is ever expanding our knowledge.

With regard to student organizations, suffice it to point out a few striking weaknesses. All too often these clubs and societies, meeting ostensibly to study international problems, dwindle into mere formalities, the main function of which is to elect officers and hold meetings, but without substantial accomplishment in any direction. Again, these organizations seem to lack a coordination of all the activities attempting by various means to accomplish the same general things. The work of these groups is also all too frequently superficial. An international tea is given. The foreign student comes. The tea is over. He goes home again. And that's all there is to it. There's no follow-up, no substance to that sort of thing. Another interesting and particularly important point to observe is the motives behind these organizations. How frequently there is a flavor of the paternalistic, expressed in an almost patronizing attitude, with a sort of "white-man's-burden" philosophy back of it. Stripped of all camouflage, it intimates that we really want to do "just all we can" for the "poor foreigner." More experience in this sort of work will doubtless iron out this all too naïve approach.

There is yet another obstacle to any program for promoting international good will—in fact, a basic and most baffling obstacle. It is the widespread lack of interest among the students, perhaps especially in the large Middle Western State universities, in even the most challenging international problems, such as war, disarmament, international arbitration, and international justice. The reason for this is probably not very far to seek—these problems are not vivid to the average student, or, to state the point more accurately, they do not exist for him at all. Where do they fit in with the general life

of fraternity and sorority, of "dating", and dancing, of athletic competition, of getting the maximum grade in the minimum amount of time, or even in the general preparation for the professional or technical career? The normal procedure is not to reflect seriously until challenged in a practical, vivid way, and such a challenge rarely comes to the great mass of students at a large State university. At the University of Illinois, for example, there are 14,071 students. How many of these give any serious thought or attention to the problems to which this Conference is devoting its earnest consideration? Right here is an obstacle of the first magnitude.

A really constructive program is always difficult to work out in all its details. Here are a few suggestions, however, which may be worth considering:

(1) Constant efforts should be made by professors in international relations and related subjects to give attractive, vivid, and real courses, which somehow stir that basic desire of the average student to get something worth while.

(2) A more active participation of qualified professors in the tasks of breaking down prejudices and building up international friendship by lectures, conferences with students, and other means.

(3) A careful analysis by research workers of their own motives and methods, with a purpose of avoiding unnecessary research projects and of analyzing carefully chosen research topics in such a way as to clarify, rather than further confuse and befuddle, the alert lay thinker.

(4) The coordination of student activities and the crystallization of common goals and methods of attaining them.

(5) More extensive and intensive work by organizations working as a unit in order to reach, in a vivid and vital manner, the great mass of students.

(6) The helpful cooperation of the administration in enabling the foreign student to pursue his academic work in this country with the maximum of pleasure and profit, and the general adaptation of the administrative policy to meet these general ends.

DISCUSSION

By DEAN RUSSELL

The speakers have reviewed much the same ground in their addresses, but they are not agreed on many points. We can hardly improve international relationships by trying to "debunk" all other people that we think have foolish ideas. The spread of science does not necessarily make for better international relations. Science has of necessity neither humility nor goodness, as we saw very clearly in the World War. Teaching the facts of history will not make nations more friendly, but the way in which those facts are interpreted and made a part of peoples' thought. There is a decided truth of an objective nature and a truth as it works into the minds of the people. It is true that John Hancock was a smuggler, but it's also a lie.

In some minor points certain statements were not correct. It is not true that the European boy finishes his secondary training at an earlier age than the American boy. The brighter European boy gets through as soon as the American boy. In 1923 the French secondary school did go back to the classical basis, but it has now changed that and is again on more of a modern-language, scientific basis.

The point at which the speakers did get together was that friendship and good will are the things to teach. I do not believe that merely the transfer of students makes friendship. I do not think that tourists and exchanges of teachers make friendship. I do not think that this little group of necessity makes friendship.

What does bring good will? The ideal is given in the Sermon on the Mount; but there is a decided difference between conduct and ideals. Merely talking of this ideal does not teach it. People must live it. The James-Lange theory of the emotions is that the emotion is the result of the act, and not that we perform the act because of the emotion. If we are to have this feeling of good will, it must come as the result of kindnesses shown to foreign people.

Your friends are not the ones that do things for you; they are the ones for whom you do things. Benjamin Franklin

tells in his autobiography that when he was chosen clerk of the General Assembly for the second time only one person, a man of considerable influence, voted and spoke against him. Franklin wanted this man's friendship, and he got it by borrowing from him a rare and curious book that he had in his library. The man had done him a favor and was his friend from that time on.

The curious thing about this international good-will proposition is that when the relationship is purely one-sided it does not bring good will. When we put institutions in China, does that bring good will from China? No; it brings international good will from us. International good will must be a mutual proposition, and no program for teaching it can be achieved on anything but a fifty-fifty basis.

Any good business transaction profits both buyer and seller alike. Each trades something that he has less need for, for something that he has more need of. In the field of international relations, it looks to me as though there are just two places—there may be many more, but my present thought is that there are only two—where the exchange is on a fifty-fifty basis. Mutual interchange of business relations is one of them. When we go in and get concessions and cheat and rob other people, difficulties come. When we deal on a mutual-benefit basis, troubles do not arise.

Second, in the matter of professional education, there is much opportunity for the nations to learn from each other. In the fields of history, economics, etc., facts can be taught in one country as well as in another; they can be taught in one library as well as in another, and can be taught by one professor as well as another. You could move Professor Einstein to New York or Professor Millikin to Berlin and the total result would be the same. But in such things as how we administer our hospitals, handle our poor, educate our children, care for our insane, conduct our courts of law, we come to an aspect of education which can be learned only by actual study and contact with peoples. Hardly a speaker ever gets up now that he does not refer to education in other lands. Our students are going

abroad to get what other countries have to offer, and their students are coming here.

In this country we have the most extraordinary educational laboratory in the world. We have 48 school systems and systems within those systems. We have tried every kind of an educational "ism." We have duplicated the problems of most other countries of the world. We try to educate the negro; we try to educate the Indian. This is the home of the scientific study of education.

To sum up, international good will is the result not of kindnesses received but of services rendered. A year from this summer, just prior to the meeting of the World Federation at Geneva, a teachers' convention will be held there. At that convention there will be representatives present from more than 30 countries, most of them holding prominent positions in education in those countries, all of whom have been students of Teachers' College in Columbia University. We have rendered these young people, and through them their countries, a service. We have received services in return, and I count that an enormous step forward toward international good will.

Mr. EGBERT: I would like very much to have Dean Russell make some suggestions as to the technique of educating the young people in the universities, so that they can think about these problems of international relations intelligently.

I am very eager to put into effect the democratic control of foreign relations and to weave into the minds of the students a vivid picture of what the importance of peace is, and what the dangers and results of wars are, but I find that the technique of handling it is very difficult. I shall be glad to have any suggestions he may wish to make.

Dean RUSSELL: It is very unique to find a professor who worries about how he teaches. I am in no more position to teach you at this moment than I would be to teach you your golf game. If I could be at your classes for a few days and see how your pupils react, I could be of a good deal of assistance to you.

Mrs. CONOVER: I come as a passive learner of these things, and what has been said in this discussion about the teaching

of adults has come very close to me. The possibility of the next war will not depend upon international friendships. It will not depend upon what the college professor has done in our minds. It will not depend upon our reading the best literature or hearing the best music of other countries. It will depend upon the reaction of ourselves to the first slogan of war.

I would like to remind you of the first thing that any government does in preparation for war, long before appropriations are thought of, long before mobilization. A government that is wise proceeds to close the minds of the people to both sides of the controversy. Look back ten years and see all the propaganda put out about the World War. Our minds were closed to the fact that there was any other side to the question but the American side. I know about this very well because I, myself, was a propagandist. I was a 100 per cent patriot and went around as a lecturer, telling of German atrocities and doing other things of like nature.

We shall be able to prevent threatened war if in the first stages of a controversy we do not allow ourselves to be swept off our feet to believe only one side of the question. We should be taught to weigh testimony, to read about both sides, and to control our judgments. Then we must inquire as to how much self-interest has to do with it and be sure that our motives in urging war are correct and not selfish.

Dr. THOMAS: One thing that has not been touched upon in our session this morning is the question of international sports, international oratorical contests, international correspondence, and international debating. I have been impressed recently with the fact that the sportsmen of the different countries have been doing much to bring about better feeling among nations through the various international contests. There is a human element in sports to which it is easy to appeal, and the colleges are the one place in our school systems where international sports can be most easily developed.

Thursday, May 10, 1928

Topic: "The Field of Activity for Educational Agencies Allied to the School Systems."

JOHN J. TIGERT, United States Commissioner of Education, presiding.

The session was called to order at 10 o'clock by the Chairman, who immediately introduced Dr. H. B. Wilson, Director of the American Junior Red Cross, as the first speaker for the day.

THE FIELD OF ACTIVITY OF THE JUNIOR RED CROSS IN AIDING THE ESTABLISHING IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE NATIONS OF A PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF EDUCATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL.

By H. B. WILSON

National Director, American Junior Red Cross

It is peculiarly appropriate and very significant that this Commission on Education is meeting in serious conference in constructive relation to this week's sessions of the Centennial Anniversary of the American Peace Society. The Commission was created at the instance of the President of the American Peace Society. The problem upon which the Commission is at work was evidently considered important in relation to the general purposes of this Centennial meeting.

The problem assigned to this Commission, for study, under the chairmanship and leadership of the United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. John J. Tigert, is important and vital in any fundamental effort to establish the peace of the world in a firm and enduring way. Many factors and agencies influence the attitudes of nations toward each other. The factor of greatest consequence, however, is public education. What the children learn in school, the beliefs they acquire in their early, impressional years, and the attitudes they assume toward the people of other nations dominate them throughout life and largely determine their conduct. How important, therefore, that what is taught and that the spirit and aim of that teaching should be fair and right, and that it should be directed to the achievement of the highest practicable ends!

Maintaining and urging upon teachers the far-reaching effects of education, the "International Guide of Material Descriptive of Many Lands and Peoples," published by the Non-partisan League of Nations Association, addressed to leaders and teachers, rightly says:

What your boys and girls are thinking today nations will be doing tomorrow. On their right understanding or their misunderstanding of foreign lands and peoples hangs the balance of peace or war, coöperation or conflict; in fact, the whole future of our civilization. The responsibility resting on you who lead or teach them to encourage good will and friendship for the youth of other countries is too momentous to be neglected.

The dominant concern of all thoughtful people for the last ten years has been to find a way to establish permanent peace. The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kellogg, is now seeking to negotiate with the leading nations of the world a multilateral treaty abrogating war as a means of settling disputes between the signatory powers. The greatest influence that could be established making possible the keeping of such a treaty is "A Practical Program of Education for the Promotion of International Good Will." That is what this Commission on Education was asked to work toward. The ultimate result of doing our task well would be very far reaching. No amount of international machinery will bring and keep world peace unless new motivating ideals are first taught. The way to the permanent peace of the world is through the proper education of the youth of the nations. While idealism still grips their lives, while they are still personalities rather than issues, while they are still capable of assimilating without prejudice one another's habits, customs of thought, while they are still in the process of formation—that is the time to unify, through education, the peoples of the world.

My particular task, representing the Junior Red Cross, an educational agency allied to the public schools of forty-eight nations, is to show its field of activity in helping to bring about "A Practical Program of Education for the Promotion of International Good Will." In seeking to discharge the duty assigned, I shall raise and answer certain questions, in the process of doing which I shall be able to indicate the place that the Junior Red Cross is and has been occupying in its

multilateral effort to promote international good will.

In the first place, what is the Junior Red Cross? There are many ways to answer this question. Basically, it is the great Red Cross membership in the public schools of the world, numbering over eleven millions of children.

Numerically, there are over six and one-half millions of Juniors in the schools of the United States, and over four and one-half millions are in the schools of the other forty-seven nations where the Junior Red Cross is organized. During the great World War over thirteen million pupils in the public schools of the United States were active workers in the American Junior Red Cross. Another million and a half of just as noble workers were enrolled from private and parochial schools.

Spiritually, the Junior Red Cross is a great transforming force, exerting its deep influence among all of the children who are members. The composite statement written by the John Marshall High School, first-year English class, in Chicago, beautifully defines the Junior Red Cross as follows:

I AM

I am the spirit of love among little children—the little children of the world.

I help to establish love and joy among all.

I help people to see each other as they really are.

I save the lives of the little children of the future.

I am heaven among the hells of war.

I bring happiness where sorrow reigned.

I am the spirit that binds the future citizens of the world together.

I am for the people who are helpless and in need.

I am the spirit of education.

I stand for all that is just, honest, and beautiful.

I help develop peace throughout the countries for the coming ages.

I am the spirit of healing that heals the wounds of hate.

I am the spirit of international love among children.

I am the Junior Red Cross.

Any agency which the children themselves thus define is certainly a great im-

mortal, spiritual influence in their education and socialization. The establishment even of the peace of the world is possible under its influence!

It was in working as a member of this great transforming organization that a Santa Rosa, California, boy, hastening to a pageant the Juniors were giving, was knocked from his wheel and his leg broken. Undaunted he said,

Don't mind me. Take this box, for it must get to the boys at Mare Island in time for their Christmas.

The Santa Rosa Juniors were sending a total of 400 boxes to the boys at Mare Island Naval Station for their Christmas festival. It was of this same fundamental, spiritual influence that Ferman G. Duvall, a pupil of Frederick County, Virginia, was speaking when he said to the Junior Red Cross Council:

I feel that every Junior should be proud to think that he is a member of an organization of which the President of the United States is President, and when you go from this meeting you should all look at the badge "I Serve" and resolve to render your best service to your community, your State, your nation, and the world.

In the second place, what has the American Junior Red Cross done, and with what effect, in furthering good will and in establishing an educational program for the continued promotion of international good will? First, since the close of the war it has given *greatly needed help* to the children of the nations where the war wrought such havoc. This was done through establishing and building up the National Children's Fund. This program of rendering help was entered upon by the American Juniors in March, 1919, just a little over nine years ago. By July 1 of this year the American Juniors will have raised and expended from the National Children's Fund in this undertaking \$1,298,784.07. Only the larger aspects of what they have achieved by this expenditure can be indicated here.

Three rather clearly defined periods mark the progress in the development of the program of the American Juniors to

give international help. The first stage was from the opening of their effort, in the spring of 1919, through 1921. At this period the need was widespread and serious everywhere. From April to December, 1919, one notes the following outstanding things which were undertaken: Four schools were created—three in Albania and one in Belgium; an orphanage was created in Montenegro; an orphanage was supported in France; twenty-two schools and institutions were aided—fourteen in France, five in Italy, one in Montenegro, one in Serbia, and one in Rumania—and a total of 496 scholarships and apprenticeships were provided for war orphans—193 in Paris, 266 in Italy, six in Turkey; six in Serbia, twenty-five in Jerusalem. The need of educational aid was very great, as educational development had been neglected during the war and funds were lacking with which to improve schools. Constructive health activities of various sorts were undertaken—summer colonies were provided for children in France and Czechoslovakia and winter colonies were provided for French children in charge of trained workers who conducted a recreational program. A demonstration center showing methods of work for the improvement of children was opened for the benefit of ten villages in France. A total of nearly 300,000 destitute or very needy children in European countries were aided. The help thus given extended to France, Belgium, Italy, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Montenegro, Hungary, Austria, Serbia, and Greece. The expenditures were largest during these years, totaling between July 1, 1919, and June 30, 1922, \$975,173.65—just under one million dollars.

The second stage covered two years, from July, 1922, to July, 1924. The activities in extending help were of the same general type as were indicated above, but the responsibility for carrying them out was gradually shifted to the local Red Cross Societies. The activities were closing in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Italy. The educational and relief work continued in the other countries. During these two years the total expenditure was \$179,844.16.

By the opening of the third or present stage, 1924, such progress had been made in the various European countries in recovering from the disastrous effects of the war that the American Juniors were gradually relieved of many of the foreign projects. Since 1925 foreign activities supported by the National Children's Fund, with the exception of the Albanian Vocational School, have been administered by the League of Red Cross Societies as a part of its program.

The policy of the American Junior Red Cross, throughout all of its efforts to aid and assist, has been to coöperate rather than to extend charity. Its members have carried only a portion of the responsibility. The total of the National Children's Fund expenditures in Europe, from July, 1924, to July, 1928, is \$103,806.26.

What effect had the giving of this greatly needed help upon the good will and friendliness of the people thus served? One might theorize extensively and speak eloquently in answering this question. I prefer to answer it, however, by quoting those who have been benefited.

Note this testimony from a young man in Paris who had the benefit of a scholarship so that he might finish his education:

It is a real pleasure to me to be able to manifest my gratitude to you this year. If I am able to accomplish the object on which I am determined, it is to you that I owe it.

One day some one said to me: "It is unnecessary for you to ruin your career. Yonder in America your little comrades have thought of you and, concentrating their efforts, they have resolved to assist their unfortunate French friends."

It was true. From America has come the financial aid which will enable me this year to accomplish the object of which I had despaired. I can assure you that it is not without emotion that I think of this which you have accomplished for me, even without ever having known me, simply because I was a comrade in need.

The children of the Abbeville playground wrote as follows, in 1922:

We realize what sacrifices our little American friends have made in order to give us

this playground. Rest assured that we will prove ourselves grateful.

Expressions received at the time of the Mississippi Flood, a year ago, were largely called out by what the American Juniors had done eight years previously in giving help. The following note came from the children of Poland:

Heart can only be repaid with heart. When after the war hunger stared us in the face you thought of helping us in our need. Many among us remember to this moment how, when they came hungry to school, they received a breakfast which had come from America. Today we sympathize with you in the great disaster which has befallen your country. We cannot help you, but we should like to receive you under our roofs. We send you the flowers growing in our gardens and meadows. May they be the expression of our loving feelings towards you.

The Polish Red Cross sent a contribution of \$1,900, a gift from 130,000 school children, to the sufferers in the flood area.

Although money is very scarce among the Russians, a refugee school sent a check for \$5 for the Mississippi Flood victims. This was earned by the children going without their breakfasts of bread and tea for several days.

The following expression from France, at the time of the Mississippi Flood, is very meaningful indeed:

How can France forget what the people of America did for our war orphans and thousands of French children following the war? It is for these French children I wish to serve today as interpreter in expressing their distress and sympathy for their little brothers and sisters in the Mississippi Valley, who have been prey to the horrors of the terrible flood. A unanimous feeling of sympathy and pity animates every school in France where daily the children with their teachers pray that the American people may be spared new disasters.

Tragic hours are those which bind friendships of individuals and nations, and those hours which America is now passing will bind closer the bonds of friendship of France, and particularly the gratitude and affection of French children.

Second, not only have the American Juniors, through the National Children's Fund, given much-needed help, but they have likewise provided annual *gifts of good cheer* at the Christmas season to the Juniors of twenty-three other nations. For six years the American Juniors have sent from one hundred to one hundred thirty thousand cartons to foreign countries. The transportation charges and costs in delivering the gifts were paid from the National Children's Fund. The gifts thus received made a deep appeal to the children and to the older citizens, who saw the significance of this step and were really appreciative of this gesture of intimacy and friendship which was taking place between the children of the world. The following quotations were taken from letters of children who received these gifts in various countries of Europe and are clearly indicative of the fine good will engendered:

In 1921 the Polish children wrote:

The Polish children thank the American children with all their hearts for the joy which was given them at Christmas time. What a beautiful surprise were the Christmas trees, with sweets, gifts, and songs, all of which awakened general enthusiasm!

The heartiest wish of the Polish children is that some day they themselves may repay with their own strength the debt of gratitude, thus giving to other children the same joy that has been theirs.

Letters from Belgian children in 1925:

Oh, why could you not have been among us the day of the distribution of these presents! It was charming to see each child come up and receive that which was destined for him. More than one mother on returning home with her children could have cried for joy, and you do not know how much these mothers blessed the kind little unknown friends.

On their side, our class mistresses teach us to love and respect your beautiful country and tell us to follow you on the road of kindness and virtue.

Another Belgian letter said:

We have safely received your presents and we thank you very much; these parcels show that international solidarity is not a vain

word, and it gives birth to the hope of one day seeing all the children of every country in the world giving each other their hands across the frontiers, which will have so become non-existent—a beautiful dream that will one day become a reality. Are we not the humanity of tomorrow.

The Juniors in Austria wrote in 1927:

We can assure you that these gifts spread in the hearts of thousands of children the belief that there are still good people in the world. Nothing demonstrates better the fact that the Red Cross is no theory, no artificial thing, than those Christmas gifts, which show so beautifully that there are Juniors elsewhere, and that service, help, and friendship among the children of all the nations is not only a program but a wonderful reality.

The Esthonian Red Cross says:

Those Christmas gifts are most welcome; indeed, some of the children long for them with all their hearts. They enable us to give joy to so many little children, thanks to the kind-heartedness of the American Junior Red Cross.

The Czechoslovak Red Cross writes:

These gifts are known in nearly all parts of our Republic. Thanks to the generosity of the American Junior Red Cross, they have been for several years proofs of a real international friendship which forms a part of the program of the Czechoslovak Junior Red Cross.

A German school writes:

Herewith I beg to thank you sincerely for the Christmas gifts from the American Junior Red Cross. The expression of the friendly feelings of the American children through this act made a deep impression on our children.

The Norwegian Red Cross office says:

I am sure that the generous action of you children abroad never will be forgotten by Norwegian Juniors.

Third, as a result of giving help and sending Christmas gifts, one of the most significant developments of the foreign program occurred, resulting in the establishment of *International School Correspondence*. Soon after the American children began their foreign program of

helping, coöperating and giving, there began to come from the various children in the devastated countries of Europe who had been benefited and cheered by the American Juniors' offerings, messages of appreciation, and friendship. These messages were often accompanied by photographs and articles descriptive of conditions, and sometimes by simple return gifts, which usually represented the painstaking handiwork of the grateful children. The American Junior Red Cross would have been remiss if it had not transmitted these messages to the children in the schools, for whom they were intended. Thus began this intimate, friendly exchange of courteous letters between the children of the schools of forty-eight nations.

As is generally known, International School Correspondence, as carried on by the Junior Red Cross, includes not only an exchange of letters, but also of photographs of characteristic scenes and activities, of descriptive articles prepared by the children, samples of school work, of industrial products, sketches of historical events and characters, national songs, specimens of native flora, postage stamps, and many other things that illuminate the environment and life of the children corresponding. A Junior Red Cross school letter, therefore, is usually a large portfolio, containing not only letters but illustrative materials of the sorts mentioned, to make the letters meaningful.

The growth of this correspondence has been remarkable, increasing since 1922 from a total of 1,359 portfolios passing through the Washington office to 3,106 for last year. This is an increase of 129 per cent.

What has been the effect of this increasing volume of correspondence between the Junior Red Cross children of the world in promoting understanding, friendliness, and good will? That it tends to promote understanding and appreciation of each other is evident. Unwarranted and unreasonable prejudices are broken down. The total ultimate effect is the cultivation of a growing and deepening international friendship.

Note the bond of sympathy and understanding indicated in the following letters:

From Austria:

It is proven that youth is meant to reconcile the different nations. For that purpose a Junior Red Cross was organized. We heard that for the same reason a Junior Red Cross was organized in other countries, to create friends all over the world. No conference will be able to bring about international reconciliation as long as national hatred lives in the hearts of the people. Therefore, let's be brothers; away with the barriers, and give us your hand through the Junior Red Cross! How glad we shall be to have the same songs, though they be sung in a different tongue, and to enjoy the same games.

From the United States:

Isn't it fine that children three thousand miles away can talk to each other as if they were right next door? We all have the same experiences, don't we? And it does seem as if we were very near when we can exchange letters as we are doing now.

From Switzerland:

In spite of the distance that separate us, I find myself transported to your country through the photographs which you were good enough to send me. In thanking you, we ask you to enter into relations with us. *To instruct and to comprehend is to love and to aid.* Of this land which I inhabit, this Switzerland, praised by all writers, I cannot but be proud. One should love one's country.

From Italy:

If with our correspondence we learn to appreciate reciprocally our beautiful languages, we will strengthen still more the bond of affection and collaboration that unites the land of Dante with that of Washington. My far-away and unknown friend, I shake your hand.

From Porto Rico:

The purpose of this letter is to further friendship between Porto Rican and American students. The basis of friendship is mutual understanding, and it is with this purpose in mind that we desire the American students to meet us and learn something about our beautiful island and its interesting history.

It would be easy to quote lengthy statements from superintendents of schools,

showing their experiences with the Junior Red Cross International Correspondence and the good effects resulting from it. There is space, however, for but two quotations.

A California county superintendent writes:

The familiarity with which these children speak of the peoples and children in the countries to which they have sent and from which they have received portfolios is surprising. They know them! And international understanding is surely being fostered in these young minds by this correspondence. The Junior Red Cross has been called "a wonderful reality of understanding and friendship," and the Juniors of the county schools in San Bernardino have proven this to be true. We are looking forward to the promotion of universal good citizenship and true brotherly love in these citizens of tomorrow that are crowding the schools of today.

A West Virginia county superintendent of schools says:

On one occasion I delivered the portfolio myself to a two-room rural school and their reception of it was proof enough that Junior Red Cross work is one of the greatest influences for good in our rural schools. Those children played with the children of the Japanese school, ten thousand miles away. Through that experience these little youngsters learned more human geography than the drill method could ever have given them.

In all schools the values of Junior Red Cross work are those of developing habits of service, learning the joy of sharing, forming world-wide friendships and attitudes of tolerance and good will. The Junior Red Cross helps solve the problems of motivating school work and of freeing folks from those prejudices that are fostered by isolation.

Fourth, the *exchanging of Junior Red Cross and other types of magazines* has grown as a feature of the acquaintance of the children. The American Junior Red Cross publishes the *News* and *High School Service*. These two magazines have been improving from year to year. The American Junior Red Cross has also interested itself in aiding 27 other nations having the Junior Red Cross to establish Junior Red Cross magazines, to serve the

purpose of furthering the Junior Red Cross program in each of those countries as our Junior magazines serve the American Juniors. These magazines not only discuss the Junior Red Cross program with the idea of extending it and improving it, but they likewise bring reports of the activities and ways of living of boys and girls from all over the world. These concrete stories serve a vital and inspirational purpose, corresponding to that served by school correspondence, in connection with the work in English, history, geography, music, art, health, and games of various sorts.

The exchange of these magazines brings an effect similar to that which resulted, as was shown above, from giving needed help, sending Christmas boxes, and exchanging letters.

During the present year 65 American high schools are exchanging high-school papers with other high schools where the Junior Red Cross is organized. This intimate contact in helping each other and in sharing results cannot help but exercise a deep effect in cementing friendship and in unifying purposes. Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, former Director of the American Junior Red Cross, was fond of pointing out that "true end of education is neither life nor living, but living together." The exchange of magazines very definitely helps to further the realization of that end, for the Junior Red Cross young people the world over are truly understanding each other and "living together."

Fifth, an outstanding undertaking which the National Children's Fund established when it began its work in 1919, and which has been growing since, is the Albanian Vocational School at Tirana. Other European interests of this fund have been transferred to the League of Red Cross Societies at Paris for administration. This interest, so great, far-reaching, and fundamental in its consequences, has been distinctly kept by the American Juniors. The Albanian Vocational School is developing a type of institution and providing a sort of education such as is rendering great and unique service in aiding the development of the Albanian nation. That it is exercising a good effect on the feelings of

friendship between the Albanian and the American people is evidenced in many ways. Note the following from the boys who were pupils in this school:

On this Thanksgiving Day we send you our best wishes across the ocean. . . . The American Junior Red Cross has played a very important part in laying a new and strong foundation for the present and future Albania, and we should now be able to build up the rest of the wall. . . . Let us work! The words are a call and a challenge. . . .

The following expressive quotation is from Beqir Hachi, an Albanian who is now teaching in this school:

I feel that I have a vast deal to thank the Juniors of America for; I owe to them my education and am now trying to repay the debt my careful work in teaching other Albanian boys.

The following letter of March 1, 1928, from Stavro V. Bojaxhi to the American Junior Red Cross is a very adequate expression in reference to the general feelings of the people regarding this school and the excellence of the leadership of the director of the school, Mr. Harry T. Fultz:

The American Red Cross came among us just following the close of the great war. The help she then gave is much more than can be realized by those who do not know how badly off our people were in those lean days; but far more reaching than that work of relief is the service rendered to our whole people through the school it founded, which will continue ever a permanent source of help and blessing to our land.

Day and night, shine and rain, through heat and cold, ruled by the Red Cross spirit, our director is developing a new national life among us. For our country he is the best type of teacher, leading the path we are traveling to a place in a modern world. He is the embodiment of industry, from morn to midnight taking part in every sort of work which makes up our many-sided school.

Already the school has graduated sixty-six boys. In all parts of our country they are doing the work that formerly must be done by subjects of our foreign neighbors. The sixty and six are at the same time teaching

other youths how to do skilled work and how to be positive worthy citizens. Can it be thought that such a spread of benefit is a little thing? No! And to our leader—a more fitting term than director—we the students and graduates, and our people as well, give their whole hearts; and to the Junior American Red Cross in appreciation and gratitude, we dedicate our work.

Sixth, the training of the membership of the American Junior Red Cross to a more fundamental understanding of their duties and responsibilities is being carefully guided by the American Junior Red Cross staff. In order to enlarge their conception of the American Red Cross and to broaden and deepen their grasp of its purposes and achievements, the National Red Cross Convention welcomed the attendance of Juniors upon its regular sessions, for the first time, in the annual meeting of October, 1927. Fifty-three delegates were present, representing Junior Red Cross organizations in eighteen States, the District of Columbia, and Porto Rico. To attend and participate in a session of this National Convention insures bringing to each one present the beginnings of a thorough training for extending good will at home and abroad and for participating constructively and aggressively in the great humanitarian program of the American Red Cross throughout the world.

The beginning made in 1927 in the attendance of Juniors and in their participation in the Annual Convention program will be enlarged and extended in future annual meetings. Thus will all Juniors be trained, not only to see in a larger way the opportunities for service in the Junior Red Cross, but to prepare themselves to enter more fully, as they reach maturity, into carrying adequately their responsibilities as worthy members of the American Red Cross.

Seventh, through the continued appropriations from the National Children's Fund the work of coöperating with the children of Europe in carrying forward successfully certain undertakings goes on. The budget for the year ending June 30, 1928, provides specific help not only for the Albanian Vocational School, but also assistance, through the administration of

the League of Red Cross Societies, for seven other countries. In Jugoslavia a series of kitchens provides warm food for the pupils who have to walk so far to and from school. In Iceland a dental clinic is being established by request of the School Board of Reakjavik. In Hungary and Greece there is an effort to perpetuate and appreciate the folk art of those countries. In Bulgaria refugee camps have been developed and are being maintained by the Bulgarian Junior Red Cross, aided by the American Juniors. In Austria the American Juniors, through the National Children's Fund, are helping to perpetuate Austrian art, through the publication of books of drawings made by the children of the famous Cizek art class.

Evidently the same type of good feeling and of good will on the part of those helped which we have noted above will result from continuing this type of program. Just what is done, of course, will be modified from year to year as the needs change. The object always is to expend the funds available where the need is greatest and where the results secured may be largest.

The foregoing sketch of the larger efforts of the Junior Red Cross shows what has been done and suggests the effects in extending good will and in deepening the friendship between the peoples of the world. The topic under discussion has given opportunity to note merely the foreign program of the Junior Red Cross and its results. Care has been exercised not to overstate the permanent value of the good will secured and the friendships established. There can be no doubt, however, but that a right, fundamental start has been made. The attitudes assumed and the good will expressed by those quoted above will not be easily changed. What has been done, evidently, has been promotive of a broader and truer understanding between the peoples of the great family of nations.

The plans put into operation and the procedures employed were the result of most serious thought and counsel on the part of great leaders in the fields of the Red Cross, public education, and social engineering. This gives assurance that action was not taken hastily or impulsively, but with great care. The Junior

Red Cross is the child of the public schools and the Red Cross. Its purposes are in agreement, therefore, with those of the public schools and the Red Cross. It has consequently been of immediate concern to these two great institutions. The development and guidance of the Junior Red Cross program of work has been the motive for many important meetings. One of the first of these meetings was that in San Francisco in 1923, of the conferences which led to the organization of the World Federation of Education Associations. In one of these conferences Mr. E. J. Sainsbury, President of the National Union of Teachers in England, urged that:

Our duty is to create a good understanding between the nations, and the schools offer the most complete opportunity for doing this.

At the same meeting Dr. M. Saway-nigi, President of the Japanese Imperial Education Association, said:

It is important to implant in the minds of children the idea that men are members, and that the nations are a family of nations. From now on we must maintain this idea as the most vital and fundamental one. It must be taught thoroughly to the children and be treated as are the principles of honesty, justice and kindness.

Other important meetings, generally internationally constituted, where fundamental thought by outstanding leaders was given to the Junior Red Cross program and its guidance, are numerous. The following are illustrative: The Conference of Educators at Paris, July, 1925; The Conference on the Pedagogical Aspects of the Junior Red Cross, Paris, 1926; Department of Superintendence Meeting of the National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1926; The Conference of Secondary Principals at Belgrade, July, 1926; The Brussels' Conference, July, 1927.

What permanent effects have the public schools experienced since the opening of the war, in part at least, from the operation of the foreign Junior Red Cross program?

Several effects are outstandingly noticeable. In the first place, the work of the

schools has been broadened. When the schools began to concern themselves with the real purposes in life and to assume responsibility in the progress of social movements, as they did during the war, they had taken a definite step in cutting loose from their narrow, traditional devotion to the three R's. Interesting themselves in war and its effects, the children of the schools began to have a growing world consciousness, resulting in the study of topics and the assumption of duties that assisted this growth.

In the second place, therefore, the program of the school and its procedures became socialized. Children were studying about those things which they needed information upon in order to do what they were attempting and to equip themselves satisfactorily for life's duties.

In the third place, the school became better unified and the results of its efforts were much more definitely integrated when pupils were at work upon topics of such fundamental character and the total results fused in usable solutions drawn from pertinent information secured from various fields.

In the fourth place, all the work that the schools did was much more fundamentally motivated than it ever had been before, owing to the fact that the children were studying and learning about things which they had use for. They were mastering them because they needed them and would apply them as soon as they had mastered them.

In the fifth place, the school became a place where children were really exercised and experienced in study. They learned how to attack a problem, to gather data, and to reach a solution. They learned to do in school, under teacher guidance, the type of thing which they must be able to do alone when they go from the school into the work of the world.

In the sixth place, the schools became more nationalized and internationalized in their concerns than they had ever been before. What the children worked upon any place in America in the schools was of corresponding concern to all other children of America. Since much of what they studied had an international bearing as the schools became more definitely nationalized, they gradually assumed a truer

perspective regarding the bearing of what they did upon the interest, welfare, and good will of other nations.

The foregoing account shows what has been done and is still going forward under the direction of the Junior Red Cross that has a bearing upon extending and establishing good will. Each thing done was recognized as important and much needed before it was undertaken. That was always the reason for including anything in the Junior Red Cross program. That is why much-needed help was given, why Christmas boxes were sent, why extensive and extending and improving school correspondence grew, why Junior Red Cross magazines were started, why the Albanian Vocational School was established, and why the High School Juniors became participants in the Senior Annual Convention. Importance and need are fundamentally the explanation of each project undertaken thus far by the Junior Red Cross. Would that every pupil in American schools might participate in all these efforts!

I believe the reason for and the method of work which have prevailed in the Junior Red Cross program from the outset indicate the place and procedure of the Junior Red Cross in making further contributions to the general social welfare and to the educational program of this and other countries. It should go forward, working as it has in the past, upon matters of importance to the educational welfare and the right growth of the children of the world, giving its attention to those problems and concerns that present themselves which are not a responsibility of some other constructive socializing agency. By this procedure it will do its work effectively and lend its help in the improvement of educational curricula and procedures in teaching.

Out of it all will result a wider and truer acquaintance between the peoples of the world, and from this will come such types of friendship and good will as are possible. Gradually there will be established the possibility of a future concord of nations, made up of adults who as children engaged in Junior Red Cross and other welfare organization activities and sacrifices. The children of today, molded by the practices of disinterested service

and fraternal sympathy, are a final guarantee of a governed and balanced world.

THE WORK OF THE WORLD FEDERATIONS OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS IN PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL AND PEACE

By AUGUSTUS O. THOMAS

President of the World Federation of Education Associations

Mr. Chairman and Members of this Commission:

Doctor Wilson began his very fine address by saying he had taken the subject seriously and had prepared a paper. His fine paper showed that to be the case. I also have taken it seriously and prepared no paper.

Since I shall make this only a report of the World Federation of Education Associations, if any one wishes to interrupt me to ask a question he may feel free to do so.

I take it that whatever interests me for these few minutes interests every one of you. We are all in the same things. Strange as it may seem, we all go back to the wonderful source of expression from which the following quotation is taken: "And a little child shall lead them." When I stop to think of it, it seems to me that the way to lead this old world out of its turmoil, out of its national animosity, and out of its religious intolerance and racial prejudices is through childhood. I think every teacher realizes it.

The teacher who does not believe what follows is hardly a teacher—that is, if it were possible for us to set up a code of ideals which we would like to see embodied in future generations, and we could hand that code of ideals to the five million teachers of the world teaching the three hundred million children of the world and have it taught by experts, we could determine what the attitudes, what the ideals, and what the thought a generation or more hence would be. If we do not believe in that, we do not believe in the work of teaching.

We teach because we think the things we teach are going to become a part of the

world of life, and if we do not have the vision of a fine world we will do no good.

I wish that I belonged to some other occupation or profession, one in which I could see the work of my hand. I had a friend once, a very excellent blacksmith. He was not uneducated, for he read widely. I used to like to stop at his shop and watch him. He always had a cheery word. I would see him draw the hot iron out of the forge and with the hammer shape it into a horseshoe that he hung on a peg in the wall. He could see the work of his hand, the consummation of the thing he had in mind. He had no pattern, but with his forge and hammer he beat into shape the thing he pictured, the finished product.

I was a teacher then and I taught the children the subjects that were assigned to me, but at night I could not hang on the peg an ideal of virtue, an ideal of confidence, an ideal of industry, an ideal of thrift, or any particular ideal that I could see. We teachers are very much like some weavers that I once saw working on the wrong side of the cloth. They could not see the figures they were making. Only confused thread ends were on their side; the beautiful flowers blossomed on the reverse side of the cloth. We do much this same thing in the process of education. We find the things that are depending upon education and work toward them. We must content ourselves to work them out by the process we call education.

By way of reminiscence, when Doctor Wilson was in Topeka, Kansas, he was one of the first educators to see a vision and express it in a school, which was making the school more a part of life than apart from life. We make a mistake in preparing children to take their place in life. They are living when they are in school. Life is life to them. As they live, as they think, as they feel, as they are taught, so they will become.

The Junior Red Cross is doing a wonderful work, especially in getting the children of the world to know and understand each other. The work is something more than mere correspondence, because we find that the simple writing of a letter of friendship does not bring the effect. We must teach the thing the reaction to which will bring about a condition which

will enable the people to live in harmony and understanding. So the children send letters in pictures because of the language barrier which exists. Pictures have a common appeal to all children.

Not long ago the Federal Council of Churches sent dolls to the children of Japan. Just before I came to this meeting I participated in a very beautiful imaginary program. The Japanese people were returning the courtesy by sending dolls to the children of America. Three came to our town. We had a public ceremony to receive those ambassadors of good will. We placed the dolls on the stage in the city hall.

The Justice of the Supreme Court presided, and he as well as the Governor made addresses of good will to these ambassadors from Japan. The meeting passed a resolution, had a big red seal put on it, and sent it to the Emperor of Japan, showing him that we received the dolls in the spirit of good will.

I wish now to discuss a little what the World Federation may do to help the cause of world understanding. The purposes of the World Federation are to promote the cause of education and to elevate the character of teaching throughout the world; to secure international cooperation in educational enterprises; to foster the dissemination of information concerning the progress of education in all its forms among nations and peoples; to advise and promote suitable and effective means to bring into closer coordination the various agencies in every civilized country which have to do with education; to cultivate international good will, and to promote the interests of world-wide peace.

I have here the report of the Toronto meeting, nine hundred pages. I do not think I can read all of them in the twenty or twenty-five minutes, but I am going to file it with Doctor Tigert when I go home and I shall expect him to read it.

In 1923 we brought about six hundred people together at San Francisco to, as Doctor C——, of Chicago, said, "lay aside our prejudices while we solve our problems." Out of that meeting the World Federation of Education Associations was born and we have had two subsequent meetings.

We believe that we are succeeding in doing what practically no other force in the world can do. We are resting our cause upon what is recognized as the truth. We do not always know what the truth is, but, so far as it is known, education deals with truth and educators are the most broad-minded people on earth because they are discovering the truth. The man who deals with science is broad-minded because he always leaves his views open to change. When he finds himself in the dark, he shifts his thought. He is not prejudiced and he will not adhere to an old philosophy when he find that it is untrustworthy.

We are trying in the World Federation to work out the truth about international relations and have the facts upon which to base the removal of national prejudices. Superintendent Jones has attended all of the meetings of the Federation, and in the schools of Cleveland he has undertaken to figure out the things in the curricula that will relieve religious prejudices. He is illustrating in the programs in a very concrete way that study has for its main objective broad-mindedness.

You may ask, "What is broad-mindedness?" My answer is that it is when you can give your neighbor a right to his own judgment, a right to his own opinion and still be friends; when you can accord to others the privileges you have for yourselves.

The World Federation is working with committees on such things as civics, geography, history, and allied subjects that deal with human relations and with their influence on the child's life. We are trying to make an analytical study of them, and when the studies are completed they will be sent out to all teachers throughout the world. These are important things and they should be studied for a long time. We ought not to take snap judgments like the man who goes out from the city to the country for a few days and then returns to start an agricultural paper.

Mr. Raphael Herman a few years ago offered a \$25,000 prize to any person in any country who could write a program of education calculated to bring about international amity. The contest lasted a year and papers were submitted from

thirty-six different countries. When it was decided, the award was made to Chancellor David Starr Jordan, of Stanford University.

The main point of the plan is that we are to take nothing for granted. Under that plan we had to appoint commissions, each one to make a particular study. From those studies we will get the data and formulate our program. The committees have been working for two years. They meet at Geneva in 1929, but in the interim they will continue their work on the programs.

One committee is investigating the teaching of history, and textbooks have been collected by the committee from many lands. They found in some of our history texts many things that tend to magnify our importance and have a strong element of braggadocio. In Mexico the history devoted about 25 pages to the inglorious outcome of General Pershing's punitive expedition and a very few pages to the industrial development of the country. They found in the histories of France and Germany things that taught the children to hate.

Certain persons of France got together an organization of elementary teachers of Germany and France, and they have now taken out of the books all expressions of hate and derogation and are emphasizing the teaching of friendship.

The committee has set up certain blueprint plans for the writing of history. The blue prints that the committee will furnish may be incorporated into a text of history, because it is known that these things will react favorably in the life of the child. They will include teaching as an historic fact the attempts that have been made to settle international disputes by means of arbitration. They are beginning back at the time when the nations came together to establish a police force and are carrying it clear down to a study of the League of Nations. They will teach the settlement of controversies by peaceful means as actual facts of history, not as propaganda.

We must be very careful what we teach and teach only those things to which we know the children will react properly. Nobody knows yet how the child should approach the study of history. Should

he be instructed first in the love of his own people, or shall we give him the world viewpoint and then come down to the specific teaching of his own country? Personally, I think it is a great thing to have the child well grounded in the faith of his own people, but I do not know that that is best. I try to keep an open mind all the time. Something may fall into it.

We must have the truth of certain things, and the eventual truthful judgment cannot be reached unless we have the facts. Thinking is collection plus arrangement plus comparison of facts to a definite end. Crooked teaching comes from facts that are not properly related, so we must be very accurate. We plan first to teach the child by an inductive method and later by a deductive one; first by a synthetic method, then by an analytical one.

The League of Nations is a reality. While the United States is not a member, I do not know of any good citizen that wants it to fail. The people of the United States have not as yet said, "We want to belong to it," but so far as we educators are concerned, especially as it has done good to Europe since the war, it is an historic fact and should be studied. So we study the League of Nations as history.

We of the World Federation believe that education should be for information and guidance, not for propaganda. Suppose that the old theory that the sun moved around the earth had been fastened always in the minds of children. That would have hindered the progress of mankind. Let us give the children the facts and they will then make up their minds better than we can make them up for them. Some people say that the children of today are not so good as their forbears. I feel that they are fully up to "par" and "mar." They say that our children do not know much about religion. Well, what do we grown folks know about it?

The Almighty Wisdom, next to birth, established death. I think that is the great grace of the world. The old order with its limitations, its prejudices, and its unwillingness to accept new things passes away and leaves opportunity for the new to go on. Only in that way can humanity make progress.

In order to determine what shall be taught to make for better international relations, we are bringing representatives of the different countries together in a clearing house, where they can exchange experiences and tell what is resulting from their efforts. We have a group of men and women now who come together every other year to sit down and consider these questions and try to arrive at an intelligent understanding of them. People who will not agree on many things merely because they have not the same facts often find that if they study them together for a day or two they begin to think exactly alike on them.

By some such process as this we have built up in the United States, not a national system of education, but an *American* system of education. Each State has its own independent school system, but by a constant process of meeting and mingling Ohio, California, Maine, and all the other States have much the same ideals and use much the same materials in the teaching process. Teachers in the various groups of States have met and wrestled with their problems and have made reports for teachers everywhere to read, so that we have come to have certain definite standards. Had we all stayed at home, we would have fifty-two entirely distinct school systems. We have gone from district to county, from county to State, and State to nation, and now we are bringing education to the world.

If the leaders of the children are right and have faith and vision, the children are likely to be right and have faith and vision. We are working toward the end of having a better and more righteous world. While we may never bring the nations together on religion, we can all accept the Golden Rule.

The Golden Rule will have a power in the hearts of men everywhere to enable them to live together in a more righteous and profitable world.

DISCUSSION

Mrs. MARRS: Mr. Chairman and members of this Commission: The paper that has just been presented, setting forth the program of the Junior Red Cross, was most interesting and enlightening. Few of us, I am sure, have realized the extent

of the work done by this organization. The leaders are to be congratulated upon working out such a practical program, one which embodies the great ideals that make for sympathy and understanding. Through their constant contact with each other by means of gifts, contributions, exchange of letters and periodicals, the children of many nations are becoming fast friends. They are learning to know each other and to love each other, for service begets love, and where love and understanding abide, peace and good will prevail. It is very certain, therefore, that the Junior Red Cross is making a definite contribution to the cause of world peace.

There is another educational agency allied to the school systems which is deeply concerned with a world-peace program and which is rendering a service in the promotion of such a program. It is the organization which I have the honor to represent, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. This organization is made up of 1,275,000 men and women banded together for one great purpose, and that purpose is the welfare of the children and youth of the country. While the National Congress is vitally interested in aiding the schools in developing a practical plan for the promotion of international good will, its chief concern is with the home and its primary aim is to develop a type of home and a type of parent which not only co-operate with the teacher and with the school in establishing a program designed for the promotion of good will among all nations, but at the same time recognize and meet the individual responsibility that rests upon every home and every parent in America, that of making of the children world citizens.

Much has been said about the necessity of the schools, from the elementary through the university, building courses of study that will include a knowledge and understanding of other nations and of other peoples, in an effort to break down prejudices, religious, political or governmental, and social. And that is well. But we must not overlook the fact that the home is the child's first school and to it is given the responsibility of inculcating in the child during its early and impressionable years these lessons of tolerance, respect for rights and ideas of

others, and a sympathetic attitude toward people. Good will must be established first in the family relationship, then it will naturally extend to the neighbors, the community, the State and nation, and finally to world relationships. The ideas of social education cannot begin in the school. They must be established in the home, where the child first forms his habits of thinking, his habits of action, his habits of living.

That the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is conscious of the opportunity to bring the peoples of the world together in a common cause is shown by the fact that it has undertaken such a venture. Last year at Toronto, during the meeting of the World Federation, through the kindness of Doctor Thomas, a section meeting was held by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers for the purpose of presenting its program of work to delegates from other nations who were interested in this phase of education. The conference was well attended and much interest was manifested. The result was the formation of the International Federation of Home and School. This organization is made up of national groups interested in promoting parental education and a closer contact between home and school.

The object as set forth by the by-laws of the Federation is stated thus: To bring together for conference and co-operation all those agencies which concern themselves with the care and training of children in home, school, and community and with the education of adults to meet these responsibilities. What better means could we desire for developing a program of universal good will than that offered by such an organization as I have just described? Fathers, mothers, teachers, friends, banded together for the high purpose of giving every child, no matter what his race or creed, an opportunity for his fullest possible development. At our board meeting last week the National Congress of Parents and Teachers voted a sum of money to be used for the purpose of advancing this great international program of child welfare.

Without doubt the world peace movement is the most significant movement of the century. Every organization, every

agency, and ever individual desires a part in it. We, the members of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, believe we have a place to serve, we believe we have a contribution to make, and we pledge ourselves and our organization to work toward bringing about that day when war shall cease and peace shall reign.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

At the close of the session Commissioner Tigert appointed Mrs. S. M. N. Marrs, Dr. A. O. Thomas, Supt. R. G. Jones, and Dr. H. B. Wilson a committee to draft the report of the Commission to the World Conference. With Doctor Tigert acting as chairman, the committee met at 2:00 p. m. and drafted the following report:

To the Officers and Members of the American Peace Society:

Your Commission on the International Implications of Education submits the following report:

The Commission consists of men and women representative of State and city education systems, institutions of higher education, the National Education Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the World Federation of Education Associations, the Junior Red Cross, and the United States Bureau of Education. All members of the Commission were present at one or more of its sessions. Unity of thought and purpose characterized the meetings. There was no discord.

The Commission had for its objective the consideration of a practical program of education for the promotion of international good will to be carried on (a) by the elementary, secondary, and normal schools; (b) the institutions of university rank, and (c) the education agencies allied to the school systems.

The various members of the Commission presented to it a fairly comprehensive account of the amount and quality of the efforts to promote international good will that are now being made as a part of the formal instruction given in educational institutions of the United States and in a variety of ways by agencies allied with the schools. The Commission hopes that its proceedings may be printed and given wide distribution.

Believing that the main cause of troubles among nations is ignorance of the varying conditions of life and thought in the different national entities, the session on elementary, secondary, and normal schools gave its chief attention to the opportunities offered through the teaching of geography, history, civics, literature, modern languages, music, and art to develop in the students in each country an adequate understanding and appreciation of life in other countries. Many specific instances were presented of mutual interest in and good will toward children of other countries roused by well-directed and vitalized teaching of these subjects.

Reports of research in the status of the social sciences in secondary and teacher-training schools to determine the natural social attitudes of children and the actual effect upon them of social science instruction were made to the session.

The session suggests that in teacher-training institutions instruction be given to prospective teachers and teachers in service that they may have a clear concept of the need for common understanding among all peoples and be prepared to bring their pupils to an appreciation of that need and of the ways and means to attain that understanding.

The twenty-five million children in the United States that are being taught by one million teachers will be in control of this nation a few years hence, just as the children of other nations will then direct the affairs of their countries. The Commission has faith that through education these future leaders of the world may bring the many people to a plane of understanding that will enable them to live harmoniously in the modern conception of society.

At the session of institutions of university rank the peculiar function of the university in the discovery and statement of fact and its advantages in the way of bringing together cosmopolitan groups of young people and providing wholesome social contacts for them, and in the exchange of lecturers, research workers, and students, were presented to and illustrated for the Commission.

The universities have done much toward the promotion of international good will through the work of their departments of history, government, economics, and sociology in searching out and setting forth the causes of international conflicts and their effects on society.

A suggested program for the future includes (1) giving to every student, in whatever course of study he may pursue, an opportunity to familiarize himself with the fields of history, economics, and sociology; (2) offering such courses not only to the college student but through extension work to the entire adult population that the people may have opportunities to keep constantly abreast of international affairs and to familiarize themselves with the trend of international events; (3) providing for vastly more interchange of lecturers and students and affording teachers and professors of international relations ample opportunity to participate in the international conferences now frequently held; (4) permitting and encouraging extra-curricular student activities, such as cosmopolitan clubs and international student organizations, and (5) making the most of the contributions to university life that may come from the different national groups among the students.

At the session for agencies allied with the schools the Director of the Junior Red Cross recounted its activities in giving needed help to foreign children, sending Christmas gifts, exchanging school work and magazines, and the like.

The President of the World Federation of Education Associations reported that the Federation is a society for the advancement of learning and culture throughout the world and for bringing the educators of the world together for the consideration of educational movements in the different countries. It does not seek to promote movements that are already being fostered by others, but to correlate them in a definite program for international good will, friendship, and justice. The Federation is a clearing house for making universally known the most beneficial results of any kind of education. It is now giving attention to special committees and commissions on the teaching of certain subjects and their effects upon the life of the child. The results of the studies will be available as soon as the work is completed, probably about the time of the Geneva Convention, 1929.

The contribution of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers toward promoting good will among nations includes (1) interpreting the good-will programs of the schools to the general public; (2) co-operating with

the schools in carrying out their programs; (3) developing right social attitudes in the preschool child; (4) making the home a laboratory for working out good-will projects instituted by the schools, the churches, and other agencies; (5) developing among the parents of all nations a united interest in the welfare of all children and promoting a world-wide program of peace and good will through the International Federation of Home and School.

The President of the National Education Association, reports that at its annual convention in 1927 the Association reaffirmed its oft-repeated pronouncement in favor of every legitimate means for promoting world peace and understanding. Through the local, State, and national groups affiliated or allied with it, every teacher in the nation may be reached in a very short time with a constructive program for international good will.

The Commission received from the World Federation of Education Associations an invitation to co-operate with it in the promotion of the Commission's program.

The Commission recommends that it be continued as a permanent organization, or that some similar organization be formed to carry on a continuing survey of the educational activities looking toward better international relationships.

The Commission expresses its gratitude to the American Peace Society for including the International Implications of Education in the deliberation of its centenary celebration.

Cleveland, Ohio, May 11, 1928.

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BUREAU OF EDUCATION

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April*, 1928.

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INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINA

I. United States Note to China

(The following is the text of the note sent on July 25 by Secretary of State Kellogg to the Chinese Nationalist Government at Nanking.)

Events in China have moved with great rapidity during the past few months. The American Government and people have continuously observed them with deep and sympathetic interest. Early in the year the American Minister to China made a trip through the Yangtze Valley region and while in Shanghai he exchanged on March 30, 1928, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government a note in settlement of the unfortunate Nanking incident of March 24, 1927. In pursuance of the terms therein agreed upon, a Sino-American Joint Commission has been entrusted with the appraisal of the damages suffered by American nationals during that occurrence.

On January 27, 1927, I made a statement of the position of the United States towards China. To it I have often subsequently had occasion to refer in reaffirmation of the position of this government. I stated therein that the United States was then and from the moment of the negotiation of the Washington Treaty had been prepared to enter into negotiations with any government of China or delegates who could represent or speak for China, not only for putting into force the surtaxes of the Washington Treaty, but for restoring to China complete tariff autonomy. Ever since, the American Government has watched with increasing interest developments pointing towards the coordination of the different factions in China and the establishment of a government with which the United States could enter into negotiations. Informed through press dispatches and through official reports which have from time to time been released to the press, the American people also have ob-

served with eager interest these developments.

In a note addressed by the United States Minister in China to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, on March 30 of the present year, in reply to the suggestion of the latter concerning the revision of existing treaties, reference was made to the sympathy felt by the Government and people of the United States with the desire of the Chinese people to develop a sound national life of their own, and to realize their aspirations for sovereignty, so far as possible unrestricted by obligations of an exceptional character, and it was stated that the United States Government looked forward to the hope that there might be developed an administration so far representative of the Chinese people as to be capable of assuring the actual fulfillment of any obligations which China would, of necessity, have for its part to assume for the incident to readjust treaty relations.

In a communication addressed to me under the date of July 11, 1928, Mr. Chao Chu-wu informs me that the Nationalist Government has decided to appoint plenipotentiary delegates for the purpose of treaty negotiations, and that he is instructed to request that the United States Government likewise appoint delegates for that purpose.

The good will of the United States towards China is proverbial, and the American Government and people welcome every advance made by the Chinese in the direction of unity, peace, and progress. We do not believe in interference in their internal affairs. We ask of them only that which we look for from every nation with which we maintain friendly intercourse, specifically proper and adequate protection of United States citizens, their property, and their lawful rights, and, in general, treatment in no way discriminatory as compared with the treatment accorded to interests of nationals of any other country.

With a deep realization of the nature of the tremendous difficulties confronting the Chinese nation, I am impelled to affirm my

belief that a new unification of China is in process of emerging from the chaos of civil war and turmoil which has distressed that country for many years. Certainly this is the hope of the people of the United States.

As an earnest of my belief and conviction that the welfare of all peoples concerned will be promoted by the creation in China of a responsible authority which will undertake to speak to and for the nation, I am happy now to state that the United States Government is ready to begin at once, through the United States Minister in China, negotiations with properly accredited representatives whom the Nationalist Government may appoint, in reference to tariff provisions of the treaties between the United States and China, with a view to concluding a new treaty, in which it may be expected that full expression will be given reciprocally to the principles of national tariff autonomy, and to the principle that the commerce of each contracting party shall enjoy in the ports and territories of the other treatment in no way discriminatory as compared with the treatment accorded to the commerce of any other country.

II. THE TARIFF TREATY

(The following is the text of a treaty regulating tariff relations between the United States and China, signed at Peiping (Peking) on July 25, 1928, by J. V. A. MacMurray, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to China, and T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China.)

The United States of America and the Republic of China, both being animated by an earnest desire to maintain the good relations which happily subsist between the two countries, and wishing to extend and consolidate the commercial intercourse between them, have, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty designed to facilitate these objects, named as their plenipotentiaries the President of the United States of America, J. V. A. MacMurray, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to China, and the Government Council of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China, T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance of the Nationalist Government of

the Republic of China, who, having met and duly exchanged their full powers, which have been found to be in proper form, have agreed upon the following treaty between the two countries:

Article One

All provisions which appear in treaties hitherto concluded and in force between the United States of America and China relating to rates of duty on imports and exports of merchandise, drawbacks, transit dues and tonnage dues in China shall be annulled and become inoperative, and the principle of complete national tariff autonomy shall apply, subject, however, to the condition that each of the high contracting parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other with respect to the above specified and any related matters treatment in no way discriminatory as compared with the treatment accorded to any other country.

The nationals of neither of the high contracting parties shall be compelled under any pretext whatever to pay within the territories of the other party any duties, internal charges, or taxes upon their importations and exportations other or higher than those paid by nationals of the country or by nationals of any other country.

The above provisions shall become effective on January 1, 1929, provided that the exchange of ratifications hereinafter provided shall have taken place by that date; otherwise, at a date four months subsequent to such exchange of ratifications.

Article Two

The English and Chinese texts of this treaty have been carefully compared and verified, but in the event of there being a difference of meaning between the two, the sense expressed in the English text shall be held to prevail.

This treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with their respective constitutional methods, and the ratifications shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

In testimony whereof we, the undersigned, by virtue of our respective powers, have signed this treaty in duplicate in the English and Chinese languages and have affixed our respective seals.

Done at Peiping the twenty-fifth day of July, 1928, corresponding to the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the 17th year of the Republic of China.

(Signed) J. V. A. MACMURRAY,
T. V. SOONG.

News in Brief

BULGARIA IS REJOICING THIS SUMMER over a rose crop which, after previous severe damage by earthquake, is now nearing normal. Eighty-five per cent of the world's supply of rose essence, the base of nearly all perfumes, is produced in a Bulgarian district ninety miles long. Over 14,000 families make their whole livelihood growing the rose buds, which are shipped to some 266 distilleries.

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION met in Warsaw August 9-15.

A LONG BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE, which has been seven years in construction, has recently been opened between the cities of Novi Sad and Petrovaradina, in northeastern Yugoslavia, thus connecting two rich and prosperous districts of the southern Slavs. The iron material for the bridge was prepared in Germany and delivered as partial reparations payment.

YUGOSLAVIA COMMEMORATED with much solemnity the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Alexander Stambulisky, former prime minister of Bulgaria. A new note of friendliness was struck in the Serbian praise of the Bulgarian patriot and his devotion to Balkan unity.

FRANCE AND SPAIN HELD A PICTURESQUE CEREMONY of amity at the new frontier station at Canfranc on the completion of the Somport tunnel in the new Trans-Pyrenees Railway route. The Tunnel, begun in 1882, has not until lately been pushed to completion. This makes possible the first railway route through the Pyrenees. Previous railroads between France and Spain have fol-

lowed the coast of the Mediterranean or the Atlantic.

THE WIRELESS 'PHOTOGRAM SERVICE, which has been conducted between London and New York by the Marconi Company since May, 1926, has now been extended by wire to include Boston, Cleveland, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. By this service photographs, signatures, and other facsimiles can be sent.

A MOORING MAST IS TO BE ERECTED for air-ship traffic in Durban, South Africa. The level coast belt in the vicinity offers excellent facilities for air traffic and Durban may become the center of British Imperial airways in the Southern Hemisphere.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS IN-DORSED the proposed inter-American highway linking North and South America. Landing places for airplanes along the route are considered as part of the plan. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has circulated 5,000 copies, in Spanish and English, of its report favoring government assistance in the construction of the highway.

ALL HUNGARIAN GIPSIES are ordered by government decree, handed down on July 20, to abandon nomadic habits, to settle down in fixed abodes, to use the Hungarian language instead of their own dialect, and to assume full political, social and military duties in the State. This order affects about 50,000 Gypsies in Hungary, who, through their king, have protested against such a "loss of freedom."

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION is planning to conduct, in its annual fall conference, a searching examination of its own goals and its methods for the past fourteen years. The conference will be held September 13-16, at Walton Lake, Monroe, New York.

A CONFERENCE ON CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION has been called by Secretary Kellogg to convene in Washington on December 10. Twenty-one nations, members of the Pan American Union, are invited, in accordance with a resolution passed at the recent Havana Conference. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Kellogg will represent the United States.

AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE will be held at Prague, October 4-6, 1928, upon invitation of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, with headquarters in Brussels.

YALE-IN-CHINA is scheduled to reopen this fall. The teaching staff is nearly all Chinese, with but two Americans on the faculty.

INLAND SEAS IN THE SAHARA DESERT are the object of an engineering scheme under consideration by the French cabinet. The plan, which has been developed by an American engineer, calls for three ship canals, forty feet deep and two hundred feet wide, leading to three dry lake beds in the desert. This would overflow some 10,000 square miles. It is believed that increased rainfall would result in fertility along the shores. The scheme would also, if carried out, provide waterways through Tunis and deep into Algeria.

lines and subjects here proposed to help understanding the rest of the world are admirable. Courses of study are worked out for pupils of different grades and ages.

There are a few strange omissions in the list of great Americans for study. In fact, few of the lists are quite what we would have chosen. However, the basis of the work is remarkably good, and, with some few revisions as to emphasis, would be a trustworthy guide for conscientious teachers.

RACES, NATIONS, AND CLASSES. By *Herbert Adolphus Miller*. Pp. 192 and index. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1924.

"The psychology of domination and freedom" is the subtitle of this study of composite America. While not a new book, it has immediate and fresh interest just now, when international-mindedness and patriotism are often so artificially pitted against each other.

Dr. Miller considers Americanization a great task, which "thus far we have needlessly botched." He looks upon the American people in the light of the European conditions out of which they have pushed. The psychosis of fear induced by generations of oppression are still with us and lead to exaggerated emphasis on many things not now so important as they once were.

The normal need of the individual for group relationships is studied in its natural and its artificial consequences. We find the immigrant bringing with him natural loyalties to his homeland. He also brings great gifts to bestow upon America, gifts of language, art, and other cultural attainments—gifts which America has been slow to appreciate and to utilize.

Defense complexes are still with him, however, as with us, and a keen interest in European rivalries. He naturally brings loyalties to his own racial group, but merged, if properly met, into new loyalties in America. Intelligently used, this composite addition to our national life should bring about that sort of social intercourse "which is the predominating factor both in order and progress."

"Proportional loyalty" is one of the good phrases Professor Miller uses. This has recently been illustrated in the decentralization of the British Empire, which allows a

BOOK REVIEWS

WORLD FRIENDSHIP. Compiled and edited by *Eveline Dowling*. Pp. 167. Committee on World Friendship, Los Angeles City School District, 1927.

"We cannot really expect the children of our country, when they grow up, to have great friendship for the people of other lands if the early school impressions are not conducive to respect," says Dr. Thomas, president of the World Federation of Education Associations. With some such idea as this in mind, the teachers of Los Angeles, under the leadership of a committee and endorsed by nationally known educators, have compiled this booklet for the aid of teachers.

We assume that the curriculum of the Los Angeles schools, as well as all others in the land, teach, already, the principles of loyalty and good citizenship in our own land. That they give adequate and truthful instruction in our own history and the principles of peaceful co-operation which we are here developing. With this as a foundation, the out-

percentage of local patriotism to exist along with the broader loyalty to the Empire. The same thing is to be found in our own combined State and federated governments.

The same sort of balance might be allowed the foreign-born citizen who gives his loyalty to America, but who also loves the old home. Even more might the same proportion be admitted between the American patriot's loyalty to his own country and his recognition of his country's inalienable membership in the society of nations.

IMMIGRATION CROSSROADS. By *Constantin Panunzio*. Pp. 295 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1927. Price, \$2.50.

The author of "The Soul of the Immigrant," a native of Italy, who came to Boston at the age of eighteen, Mr. Panunzio pictures to us the melting pot from the side of the immigrant. From working on the roads with a pick, Panunzio has risen through study and alert thought, till he has now become Professor of Social Economics in Whittier College. He shows us in this book, labor with many of its problems and cross-currents. The bulk of the book, however, is concerned with our immigration laws. He traces their history through years of debate in Congress. He finds some things to criticize in the latest methods of restriction, along with the good, and grave consequences are seen as possible. Yet the study is full of creative suggestions, both as to the restriction and distribution of immigrants. The "Americanization," which in the eyes of the immigrant flourished rather ludicrously during the war hysteria, has now, says this author, split into two branches. One tries to make the foreigner over into a duplicate of the native-born; the other strives to incorporate him as he is into the body politic and social. The second branch recognizes the value of foreign language and other cultural gifts which the alien brings. It leaves the newcomer to follow out his own path on the road to Americanism, helping him only as he feels the need of help. This method, of course, is merely good pedagogy. The first is only too likely to antagonize and throw him into the anarchist's camp.

As to restriction, the author pleads for a more rational basis founded upon a broader point of view. He suggests the substitution

of a more rational test of eligibility, such as, possibly, intelligence or property qualification. The whole matter is close to the heart of the author; he has spent years of earnest study upon the subject, and he seems to have a grasp of what America is and the wish to serve her; therefore the book is worthy of careful reading and thought.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.
By *Gaspar G. Bacon*. Pp. 187 and index. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1928. Price, \$2.00.

These chapters comprise the first course of lectures in the Gaspar G. Bacon Lecture-ship on the Constitution, opened at Boston University in March, 1927. It was a lecture on the Constitution by state Senator Bacon which inspired the establishment of the lectureship; therefore the trustees invited Mr. Bacon himself to deliver the first course.

In the study of the United States' Constitution here presented Mr. Bacon performs a valuable and much-needed service. For one thing, he demonstrates that the Constitution is our fundamental organic law. It is in no sense a legislative code, nor should it be, if it is to be permanent; and, for the safeguarding of our fundamental liberties, it ought to be permanent and very little tampered with. It leaves the sovereignty in the hands of the people; it balances the powers in the three government branches; it places war powers in civilian hands.

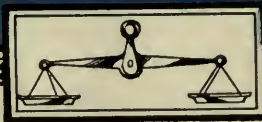
With some illustrations from history, but largely by exposition and argument alone, Senator Bacon explains the instrument which was hammered out by the Federal Convention of 1787. A clarifying chapter on "What the Constitution Means" ought to be read by people generally, but by legislators in particular. The Supreme Court is cogently shown to be the balance-wheel of the Constitution, and he quotes Chief Justice Marshall, who said: "The judicial department comes home in its effects to every man's fireside."

The reading of the book will tend to increase one's appreciation of the instrument which secures our rights and privileges. It will, too, help us understand the value of those wonted liberties which we take for granted and whose difficult winning we are prone to forget.

ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



Interparliamentary Union
Twenty-fifth Conference
Meeting in the German Reichstag, August, 1928

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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THE TWENTY-FIFTH INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

THIRTY-EIGHT parliaments were represented at the Twenty-fifth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, which held its sessions in the German Reichstag, Berlin, August 23 to 28, last. The number of representatives in Paris in 1927 was thirty-three; at Washington in 1925, forty-one. The number of delegates registered at Berlin was five hundred five. With the exception of Lithuania, all European groups were represented. There were no representatives from the Philippine, Cuban, Mexico, or Venezuelan groups. The following parliaments, however, not yet members of the Union, were represented: South Africa, Australia, Bolivia, Chile, India, San Salvador, and Uruguay.

The German group played the part of host with grace and distinction. The organization of the Conference was perfect. The social side of the Conference included a luncheon at the Hotel Esplanade to the members of the Interparliamentary Council, Wednesday, August 22; and a reception by Herr Löbe, President of the Reichstag, in the great hall of the Reichstag, in the evening of the same day. The next evening, Thursday, the German Government gave a banquet in the Marble Hall of the Zoological Garden, attended by members of the government and members of the diplomatic corps. The next evening, Friday, the members of the Con-

ference were received by the mayor and corporation of the City of Berlin, with a dinner at the Town Hall. On Saturday afternoon a tea was given by the German Chancellor. On Sunday there was an excursion to Potsdam, with a visit to Sans-Souci and the New Palace, with a lunch by the lake side. Monday, August 27, the delegates were the guests of the Prussian Government at the performance of Beethoven's "Fidelio," at the National Opera House. Tuesday, August 28, the last day of the Conference, a farewell banquet was given at the Restaurant Kroll. As an expression of efficiency, of kindness and courtesy, the work of the German group could not be surpassed.

The labors of the Conference opened Thursday, August 23, with a brief address by Dr. J. Brabec, of Czechoslovakia, Vice-president of the Interparliamentary Council. Dr. Schücking, President of the German group, was elected President of the Conference. Following Dr. Schücking's opening address, Herr Hermann Mueller, the German Chancellor, welcomed the Conference. In spite of his illness, Herr Stresemann, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, came to the opening session.

Following these opening exercises, the work of the Conference began with the general debate on the report of the Secretary General, which related primarily to world economic problems and the reduction of armaments. The discussions, however, covered a wider range, including

national minorities, the Hungarian-Rumanian controversy, and many other problems.

The second item on the agenda was "The Evolution of the Parliamentary System in Our Times." This discussion was opened by Dr. Wirth, former German Chancellor and prominently mentioned as a possible successor to Dr. Stresemann. In the discussion of Dr. Wirth's report, there arose some rather ticklish matters. Delegate Makarim Ebid, of Egypt, submitted a resolution calling upon the Interparliamentary Union to condemn any illegal or violent act abolishing or suspending parliamentary régime and declaring that any departure from such régime shall be based upon the nation's will, freely expressed. To the American delegation this seemed harmless enough, but for reasons it aroused the opposition of some of the delegates, particularly those from Great Britain.

In a somewhat startling address, Wissa Bey Wassef, chairman of the Egyptian delegation, rather bluntly pointed out that in no circumstances has Great Britain any special rights with regards to the protection of foreigners in Egypt under the so-called "capitulations." Under these capitulations the status of all countries is equal. He went on to point out further that the British claim to maintaining occupation in Egypt is wholly without foundation. He objected to the insistence by Great Britain that she should have the right to assure communications with India at the expense of Egyptian independence. Sir Arthur Shirley Benn, of the British delegations, called attention to the fact that the Egyptian's statement was *ex parte*. The matters referred to were still the subject of continuous negotiations between the British and Egyptian governments. He added that the steps taken with regard to Egypt had had the approval of the powers and of public

opinion. So the resolution was referred to the Council, where it was softened down by the multiplication of words.

Other matters brought before the Conference, charged with more or less dynamite, related to the protest by the Croats against the right of the Yugoslav delegates to represent that parliament. Macedonian minorities tried to be heard. Shapurji Saklatvala, British delegate, not wholly unknown in the United States, announced that he was speaking as the representative of Communism. Carl Drexel, of Austria, argued for a union of his country with Germany. Aemile Borel, of France, warned that the Treaty of Versailles must be held inviolate. Such were some of the matters of highly controversial nature. After a reference to the Council, however, it was possible to arrive at a series of resolutions upon which the majority of the delegates could agree. The interesting fact to the American observer, however, is that the existence of the Parliamentary system, accepted by us as a matter of course, is a problem of serious concern throughout wide areas in Europe.

The next problem discussed related to migration, occupying the attention of the Conference throughout the day of August 27. The discussion upon this matter was in the main scientific and unruffled. The report by Dr. Secerov, of Yugoslavia, proposing the extension of bilateral treaties for the control of migration, however, was not convincing to the American delegation, who declared at the beginning of the discussion that it was their opinion that migration problems are of a strictly domestic character. The American delegation refrained from voting on this resolution.

The last point on the agenda related to the declaration of the rights and duties of States. This report, submitted by Senator La Fontaine, of Belgium, gave one the impression of being altogether

doctrinaire. It is an illustration of the time which can be spent unprofitably by reformers unconcerned to associate their efforts with the facts of life. Compared with the statement of the rights and duties of nations, as adopted by the American Institute of International Law at its first session, in the City of Washington, January 6, 1916, the statement of this committee is altogether sophomoric.

All in attendance upon the Conference in Berlin, however, realized anew that the coming together of over five hundred representatives of all the leading parliaments of the world is a fact of major importance. No delegation after attending such sessions could return to his native heath without a wider knowledge and a more sympathetic outlook upon the parliamentary problems of other lands.

THE DEVELOPMENT IN GERMANY

THE new development of Germany is a matter of world importance. Members of our Senate and House of Representatives having but recently returned from attendance upon the Twenty-fifth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, at Berlin, the rehabilitation of Germany is a matter of renewed interest to the United States. This rehabilitation is shown both in the political complexion of Germany and in the economic situation.

As a result of the recent general election the Conservative parties lost forty-six seats in the Reichstag, while the parties of the Left increased from two hundred one to two hundred thirty-one, and other parties from eight to twenty-eight. The increase of the strength of the Socialists led President Hindenburg to call upon Hermann Müller, leader of the Socialists Party, and Chancellor for a short time some eight years ago, to form

the new cabinet. This Dr. Müller has done. We now have in Germany a coalition government composed of five parties—Socialists, Democrats, Catholic Center, German People's, and the Bavarian People's Party. Of the eleven cabinet ministers only four are Socialists. Neither the Conservative Nationalist and Völkische parties nor the Communists are represented in the new government. Dr. Stresmann, of the German People's Party, retains his post as Foreign Minister. From what the new government has said and done, it is clear that German foreign policy will not be affected by the Nationalists' insistence upon the revision of the Versailles Treaty, the return of the German colonies, and the increase of her military machine. Dr. Stresemann will have a freer hand under the new government than heretofore. Germany will carry out her obligations. She will probably insist upon the withdrawal of French troops from the second zone of occupation in the Rhineland as soon as possible, instead of a year and one-half from now as provided in the treaty. She is already demanding that the amount of her reparations payment shall be definitely stated.

In his program speech of July 3, the new Chancellor was careful to point out that peaceful understanding without thought of revenge would be the basis of the government's foreign policy. With some pride he pointed out that thus far the German Government has punctually fulfilled all its reparation obligations. He expressed the view that a settlement can be reached on condition that "all concerned display the required measure of vision and progress." While Germany desires to know what definite sum she must count on paying in the future to her creditors, there is no indication that Germany will attempt to have the fixed annuities in the Dawes Plan materially reduced.

And yet a new committee is about to be formed with the view of revising the whole plan, a natural step in light of the new international facts.

It is clear that the men responsible for the operations of the Dawes Plan are aiming primarily to provide for the recovery of Germany's reparations, but more broadly to provide also for the reconstruction of Germany not only as a means of securing the reparations, but also as a part of the larger problem of European reconstruction.

Thus it appears that the political and economic situation in Germany are two sides of the same shield. All the prescribed payments have been punctually made by Germany. Deliveries in kind have increased, with the result that it is now possible to make transfers in foreign currencies at more than one-half of the total transfers. Mr. S. Parker Gilbert has pointed out that Germany ought to be able to continue her standard payments, as the revenues are yielding a margin over one hundred per cent the standard budget contributions of twelve hundred fifty gold marks. The working assets of German industry are increasing. The German Railway Company is meeting the requirements under the reparation bond. The German budget is balanced. The currency is stable. The tendency to overspend and over borrow has been checked. The government is insisting upon economy.

While the French are especially interested in deliveries in kind, the other powers are taking an increasing amount of payments in this form. Last March, the French Government promulgated a law in the interest of public utilities "on a larger scale, with the assistance of deliveries in kind to be supplied by Germany in execution of the peace treaty." This is aiding the French in the development of water power, the development of

harbors, the dredging of the Seine, and in other respects.

The revenues of the German Government increased more during the last fiscal year than during either of the two preceding years. It is estimated that there will be a substantial increase during the year 1928-1929. Unemployment in Germany has decreased. Extraordinary expenditures are to be made only when the extraordinary budget has funds available for the purpose. Surplus in the ordinary budget is to be used to diminish debts. Tax revenues have exceeded the budget estimates by seven hundred forty million gold marks.

Germany is profiting from economic peace and economic prosperity. It is apparent that sound economic and political considerations are working together in the interests of the whole. The German people know that the clashes of economic interest are unprofitable. These are important matters of interest to us all. The economic facts of our modern world need to be more clearly known. We need to know how far governments, traders, and investors from industrialized countries are trying to secure special advantages for their markets within less highly developed regions. It is of importance that we know accurately, what we now mainly surmise, the attempts to extend special extraterritorial protection to property and credit, to establish monopolies of raw materials, and opportunities for capital investors in these less developed regions. Such activities create problems which may lead to war. They must be brought under the control of international law. Before this can be done we must know the facts. But thanks to the men responsible for the operations of the Dawes Plan, we are fairly well informed of the financial situation in Germany. In the main that situation is encouraging.

THE MAJOR NEED IN GERMANY

ONE acquainted with Germany since the war must be impressed by the rapid recovery from the desolate days of 1918 and 1919. The currency is stabilized. Men and women are working in the fields, in the shops, in the stores, in the offices. Widows and orphans, the middle class wrecked by the depreciated currency, are struggling, often with marked heroism, to hold families together and to regain a position of competence. The effort of Germany to return to the sisterhood of nations is one of the outstanding facts of history.

The traveler in Germany, with his eyes and ears open, finds that there are, as in any country, many men of many minds. Some, about 25 per cent of the population, long for the fleshpots of the former Empire. Some have their eyes upon the return of the lost colonies. Some are worried over the Balkans, some over the Baltic States, some over the Germans in Tyrol, some over the foreign debts, some over the problems of transfer of capital, some over the breakdown of the plan of Thoiry, some over the need of additional capital for an area occupied by four millions of people more than in 1914.

There are resentments in Germany. Thoughtful Germans argue that the agreement of Locarno, the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations, and the faithful observance of the Dawes Plan, not to mention the Briand-Kellogg Pact, make it unjust for Germany to be saddled longer with foreign troops; and they ask, therefore, for the withdrawal of those troops from German territory.

The two main demands, however, universal throughout Germany, are: First, that the question of Germany's war guilt shall be reopened and determined by a commission of unbiased experts. The German people firmly believe that they

did not contemplate and that they did not initiate the World War. In our opinion, this insistence by the Germans is unwise. Germany did violate Belgium neutrality. Germany did conduct the war on French soil. The question of how far Germany was guilty in precipitating the World War is a question for the future. To insist upon it as a matter of the moment is to befog other and more important matters.

The second contention, unanimously supported throughout Germany, is that the Polish corridor, dismembering East Prussia from the rest of Germany, is unnatural, unjust, and intolerable. This position of the German people, in our opinion, is more defensible. The issue, however, is beset with great difficulties. The corridor is established by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Nothing but a successful war could take it from Poland. The solution of this problem, therefore, remains for the future. The only possible solution would seem to be the extension of Danzig as a free city, across the Baltic end of the corridor, with free passage both for Poland and Germany. The establishment of Hamburg as a free port for Czechoslovakia, an accomplished fact satisfactory to all parties, may, as an example, help toward the solution of the corridor problem.

There is one aspect, however, of the German situation more important than any of these. It is set forth in the first paragraph of a little book, written by a deputy of the Reichstag, spokesman for M. Stresemann, Baron Rheinbaben, entitled *Que Vise L'Allemagne?* This paragraph reads:

"La question qui se pose, ce n'est pas le choix entre la paix et la guerre. Mais il s'agit seulement de savoir comment la paix doit se présenter pour que l'Allemagne, égale aux autres nations, recouvre enfin la liberté."

Germany's position upon this matter is

impregnable. It will be noted that she does not raise the question of war or peace. She simply insists that she should know how the existing peace can be developed to the end that Germany, equal among nations, may recover her liberty. However far it was necessary as a war measure to punish Germany for her part in that war, the peace of the world now demands that Germany shall be treated as a free and independent nation. This means that, in accordance with the principles of law and equity, the control of German finances, of her territory, and of her national life should at the earliest possible moment be turned over to the German people themselves. This should be done not because Germany asks it, but upon the frank and open insistence particularly of France, England, and Italy. It may be natural for Germany to wish the evacuation of the Rhine, for a revision of the eastern frontier, for a reduction of armaments by her neighbors commensurate with the reduction imposed upon her, for a definition of the debts which she must pay. The peace of the world, however, demands that these matters should be attended to fairly, upon the initiative not of Germany but of the victors in the war. What is needed now is the magnanimity shown by Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant at the close of our Civil War. If the League of Nations, the Locarno Treaties, the Briand-Kellogg Pact mean anything at all, there is no room left for the coercion of a European State by secret treaties, military force, or by special alliances, even where such a State is a defeated people. The future of Europe hangs upon the attitude of governments toward the development of the rule of justice expressed in terms of law. This demands the co-operation of equal States. It is time, therefore, that Germany should be given the control of her own affairs. That is the major need.

"ONLY A MORAL GESTURE"

THE fate of the Paris Pact, signed at the Quai d'Orsay, August 27, lies now in the hands of the United States Senate. The friends of the treaty will do well to cultivate the friendly interest of all the members of that body. Over-enthusiastic supporters of the proposal are already rendering a disservice to the project by claiming for it too much and by lugging in other, extraneous, and controversial questions. To tie it up with proposals for the abolition of our War and Navy Departments, with the abolition of compulsory military service, with the scrapping of our navy, with our relations to the League of Nations, and the like, can only result in the loss of support in the Senate. The wisdom and restraint of Secretary Kellogg should be a lesson to these enthusiasts. Mr. Kellogg believes that the general pact for the renunciation of war is a solemn, public expression of the aspirations of whole peoples speaking through their governments; that it is significant of the new spirit in the world; but he has been careful to point out that peace cannot be always maintained unless the nations have a method of settling disputes other than the old method of war; that, therefore, it behooves the governments steadily to develop, and to codify in the form of treaties, the great principles of conciliation and arbitration.

Nothing is to be gained by deceiving ourselves with the belief that statesmen abroad are greatly interested in the Briand-Kellogg Pact. The ink of the signers was scarcely dry before Lord Cushendun, who signed for Great Britain, warned the idealists that the signing of the anti-war pact was only an expression of a wide-world desire for peace and in no sense a death blow to the underlying causes of war; that, indeed, it was not even a panacea against war.

When M. Procopé, of Finland, opened

the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations, on September 3, and called attention to the pact, it received but formal applause. The most favorable comment among the statesmen of Europe is, "The pact is good moral gesture, but that is all."

It was quite proper for M. Briand at the signing ceremony to say that the day marked "a new date in the history of mankind." That "for the first time, on a comprehensive and absolute scale, a treaty is truly devoted to the establishment of peace, initiating a new law and freed from all political contingencies." It was fitting and characteristic of the great orator that he should say:

"At this unforgettable hour, the conscience of the peoples, pure and rid of any national selfishness, is sincerely endeavoring to attain those serene regions where human brotherhood can be felt in the beatings of one and the same heart. Let us seek a common ideal within which we can all merge our fervent hopes and give up any selfish thoughts. As there is not one of the nations represented here but has shed the blood of her children on the battlefields of the last war, I propose that we should dedicate to the dead, to all the dead of the Great War, the event which we are going to consecrate together by our signatures."

But even the enthusiastic M. Briand was careful to point out that "such a treaty is a beginning and not an end unto itself."

This "moral gesture" is too important to run the risk of its defeat in the Senate by claiming for it too much. The treaty will not be ratified by other States until it has been ratified by our Senate, and the treaty will be of no avail until ratified by all fifteen of the original signatories. Thus the fate of the treaty depends entirely upon the action of our Senate.

At the present the prospects are favorable for ratification. It is not a political issue. The principle has been endorsed by

both the Republican and Democratic Party platforms. Senator Borah, of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, believes that the Senate will ratify the treaty. Other Senators, Democrats and Republicans, have expressed the same opinion. But already supporters of the administration five-year, seventy-four ship naval construction program are planning to oppose action upon the treaty until provision has been made for adequate national defense. It must be borne in mind that the treaty must muster a two-thirds vote in the Senate.

Reservations referred to in the British, French, and American correspondence have added to the difficulties facing the treaty. The language of the treaty itself is perfectly simple. It condemns the recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounces it as an instrument of national policy. Furthermore, it provides that the high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin, shall never be settled except by pacific means. But it has been thought necessary to clarify these provisions by a number of reservations. It is these reservations that may give rise to controversy. Secretary Kellogg holds that these interpretations to the multilateral treaty are in no way a part of the pact. Indeed, the interpretations will not be deposited with the text of the treaty. It is a fact that these interpretations are not embodied in the instrument signed at Paris.

It is always possible to find reasons for refusing to do a thing. Great Britain has a Monroe Doctrine. We have a Monroe Doctrine. France has a Monroe Doctrine. There are questions involving all sorts of things, including the right of self-defense. But, in our judgment, none of these matters are effected by the proposed pact. It involves no moral obligation on

the part of the United States to employ force against a State that violates the treaty. The treaty is an affirmation of policy. That policy has been set forth by this country from its very beginning. It found expression in The Hague Conferences, in various acts of Congress, in the Bryan treaties, in speeches without end, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives; in the pronouncements of every President of the United States since the beginning of our Union. Should we raise now such questions as Does it mean that we join, under the term of the pact, an alliance promising to employ military and naval forces against any nation thought to have violated the pact?, we but begot the issue. The United States will join with no international organization and promise in advance to employ military force, blockades, financial or economic boycotts in situations which we cannot now foresee. Nothing in this treaty contains any legal commitment to such a process. Whether or not we shall be under moral obligations to fare forth to war will be decided by this nation when the contingency arises, quite as in 1916-1917. In our judgment, the Senate should ratify the treaty on its merits. Its simple merit lies in its clear-cut expression of policy already accepted by our American people. By its adoption we stand to lose nothing and to gain considerable. After all, a "moral gesture" is the most important of all gestures.

Wisdom requires just now that we of America should refrain from confusing the Paris Pact with problems of our legitimate national defense, with our relations to the League of Nations, or with other political questions irrelevant to the Pact; that we avoid unnecessary hair-splitting, and that we support this measure as it stands, renouncing war as a national policy and agreeing to the peaceable settlement of future international disputes.

A MISTAKE IN DIPLOMACY

DIPLOMACY is perhaps the most important as it is the most common of international activities. This art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations is a complicated business, requiring exact information, the observance of accepted rules of procedure, organized intelligence, and training. Many of its activities have to be conducted privately. Many of the criticisms of secret diplomacy are unjust. The objection to the Franco-British Naval Limitation understanding, referred to elsewhere in these columns, is not that French and English diplomats discussed the problem of naval limitations in secret. The trouble arose over the manner of the negotiations, giving rise to the suspicion that there were secret clauses and political understandings destined to be known only by those in authority in Paris and London. The negotiators laid themselves wide open to the charge that they had reverted to prewar diplomacy, one offering diplomatic support to the other with the understanding that the other promises to support the one in case certain contingencies were to arise. From the manner of the negotiations, it was natural to suspect that the old system of barter and intrigue had returned in full force.

It has been a clumsy affair. It all looked like a return to the old British policy of playing one side against the other on the continent, a return to the old policy of the balance of power. It aroused the fear, particularly in Germany, that the promises of the League of Nations, of the Locarno Treaties, and of the Thoiry conversations had broken down, and that France and England were negotiating a private alliance, probably against Germany.

Coming at a time when both business men and statesmen of France and Ger-

many were heralding a rapprochement across the Rhine, the maledroit diplomacy of France and England proved to be most unfortunate. The thing that keeps the United States suspicious of Europe is this tendency to rely upon private defensive agreements. It was a mistake for the negotiators to announce anything about the English-French negotiations without announcing everything. It was a mistake to notify Washington in terms of a summary only. It was a mistake for England to break down the growing cordialities between France and Germany. It was a mistake for Sir Austen Chamberlain to announce the agreement with France in the House of Commons last July, and for the negotiators to defer publishing their correspondence to October, 1922. It was a mistake for the Preparatory Disarmament Commission to hold up their work for eighteen months for the purpose, it would seem, of allowing private conversations to mature the Anglo-French negotiations, but it was no less a mistake for the Anglo-French negotiators to take advantage of that situation.

The publication of the French Blue Book and the British White Paper, giving the correspondence on the Franco-British Naval Limitation Understanding, comes better late than never. We hope now that all the cards are on the table. We are informed that Mr. Chamberlain and M. Briand will meet at the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva in December, and that they would welcome the presence there of an American representative for the purpose of discovering a basis for a revision of the naval proposal acceptable to Washington. We hope that it will all turn out to mean that France and England have simply been trying to iron out their own differences with the prospect of a naval agreement at Geneva. But, far more important, all of the nations are concerned in this business.

The October publications, belated as they are, will clear the air. There were differences between France and England. It was necessary that these be straightened out. That these two governments agree how this can be done may prove to be an advantage. Japan has accepted the plan in principle, but America and Italy have refused. The encouraging statement in both documents, however, is that what is sought to be shown by the publication of the documents is that the naval agreement represents an honest effort to reach a basis which all the naval powers would accept, and that no attempt was made to conclude any "secret bargain."

In our judgment, the whole plan of reducing naval armaments by direct action is beset with insuperable difficulties. But that is another story.

NICARAGUA

THE situation in Nicaragua is of interest to everyone concerned to preserve the reputation of our foreign policy. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, supervisor of Nicaragua's forthcoming presidential elections, has sent out his observers to the various departments of Nicaragua to act as department chairmen. These observers, composed of American army and marine corps officers, will begin the organization of the staff which will supervise the registration of voters in September and the elections in November. Our representatives have sent out an order as follows:

"First, all officers of the Guardia Nacional are directed to state to all prospective voters that the coming registration and elections in Nicaragua will be free and just.

"Second, division and subdivision commanders will continue to spread the information in their divisions and subdivisions that voters will be insured the

free right of suffrage and that they will not be molested on the way to the polls, at the polls, or after leaving the polls.

"In other words, cause the voter to know that methods of intimidation will not be tolerated and that he may vote as he desires and not according to the will of some politician. Furthermore, spread the information that the vote as made will be fairly counted and that the election is going to be free, just and impartial."

It appears that the General plans to use the service of the personnel of the various department boards, and not to draw upon civilians from the Canal Zone. This policy was adopted from a consideration of economy.

There is no doubt that our services in Nicaragua are appreciated. July 26, Maj. Archibald Young, Colonel of the Nicaraguan National Guard, received the highest National Guard decoration, conferred by Col. T. R. Beadle, Chief of the Nicaraguan National Guard.

Major Young's citation, which entitles him to wear the coveted blue ribbon decoration awarded only for conspicuous gallantry in action, reads as follows:

"Col. Archibald Young, Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua, Major, U. S. M. C., commanded the special combat expedition against El Chipote, operating against organized bandit forces in the vicinity of San Albino gold mine, Nueva Segovia, Nicaragua, during the periods January 7 to February 11.

"During this period, Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua and United States Marine Corps forces under his command took part in five important engagements with the enemy, which resulted in the destruction or flight of all bandit forces then in that era and the capture and occupation of all of their positions. This includes El Chipote, the mountain stronghold of the bandit leader, Sandino, which he had proclaimed impregnable. In the conduct of the successful operations, the skillful leadership, constant aggressiveness, and personal courage of Colonel Young were so outstanding that they serve as an example to all associated with him.

"In testimony thereof, and as an ap-

preciation of his valor, I award him this citation. It is directed that the citation insignia prescribed for the Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua be made a part of the uniform of Colonel Young.

"Major Young in some of the most precarious situations encountered by his troops personally led the column, a pistol in each hand, with a remark that has become famous among his men:

"Let an older man take a chance. You young fellows have too much to live for."

"During the taking of Sandino's stronghold, Major Gen. John A. Lejeune, the Marine Corps commandant, in a plane piloted by Maj. Ross E. Rowell, was flying over Major Young, General Lejeune was so impressed by the orderly and skillful disposition of the battalion that he wrote Major Young a personal note of congratulation on his sound handling of a large body of troops on a difficult and far-flung terrain."

Of course, an interesting side light on all this is that we seem to have been carrying on some major military operations in Nicaragua. Such honors are not handed out for mere police duty or the chasing of a few bandits.

The factions of the Conservative Party in Nicaragua threatened at one time the effectiveness if not the life of the party. Under date of July 26, it was announced that the factions had buried their differences and agreed upon candidates in whose support they will unite in the coming elections. It was announced that they had agreed upon Adolfo Bernard, father-in-law of Alejandro Cesar, the Nicaraguan Minister to the United States, for President, and Julio Cardenal as the candidate for Vice-President.

This happy result appears to illustrate the value of our government's efforts to aid the Nicaraguans, for the schism among the Conservatives presented a serious difficulty, each faction having held a separate convention in Managua last May. It is evident that General McCoy convinced both sides that our government

is wholly impartial as between the factions, and that the refusal, July 6, of the Board of Elections to recognize either of the factions was just.

General McCoy's statement in relation to the situation was of such effect that we repeat it here. The General said:

"In announcing the decision of the National Board relative to the difficulties of the two factions of the Conservative Party, the President of the Board desires to set at rest once and for all any possible misconception on the part of any portion of the people of Nicaragua to the effect that either the United States State Department or the personal representative of the President of the United States in Nicaragua is in any way committed to the candidacy of any particular individual or to the fortunes of any particular party or faction. It has been the earnest effort and hope of the American Government and of the National Board of Elections that the 1928 elections for supreme authorities might be held under conditions that would involve the full participation therein as such of the two great parties whose difficulties the agreements effected by misunderstandings Stimson sought to compose by peaceable means. The factional division within one of the parties has to date presented serious obstacles to that purpose; but it continues to be the desire and purpose of the Chairman of the National Board, approved and shared by the other members of that board, that the 1928 elections for supreme authorities shall be so conducted as to give any opportunity for the full and free expression of the will of the Nicaraguan people and that any such choice registered at the election shall in accordance with the Nicaraguan constitution and the Executive decree of March 21, 1928, be duly certified to the Nicaraguan Congress in order that it may be given effect."

There is no reason for doubting that this statesmanlike utterance represents the spirit of our government toward Nicaragua. We await the outcome of the November elections with interest.

THE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

EFFORTS toward the codification of international law go on apace. The League of Nations Committee finished its fourth session at Geneva in July. The committee decided two questions: That the legal duties and status of consuls and the competence of courts in regard to foreign States are sufficiently ripe for codification. The committee examined a plan of the delegation from Paraguay submitted to the last Assembly, concerning the preparation of a general and progressive plan for the codification of international law. This was a proposal recommending the principle of universality as the necessary foundation for the further codification of international law. In our judgment this proposal must eventually be adopted. Then, there is the work for codification going on in our western world. It is all to the good.

For all who believe in the importance of the codification of international law, which includes the American Peace Society, there is nothing more encouraging than that these efforts are being made. We have no fears that the work in Geneva and the work in the Western Hemisphere can result in any important embarrassment. That kind of competition can do no harm. We prefer to agree with Mr. Root that "these two independent proceedings are not exclusive or competitive. They are contributory toward a common end." It should not be an embarrassment to the friends of the League that the movement for the codification of international law began in the new world as far back as the Washington Conference of 1889, that there was a Commission of Jurists at Rio de Janeiro interested to promote the codification of international law sixteen years ago. The work of the Geneva Commission is not wasted. The achievements in behalf of

international law at the Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana are of real importance. Prof. Arthur K. Kuhn, writing in the *American Journal of International Law* for July, says:

"In order, however, that the contribution shall be consistent and harmonious and not transform a theoretical uniformity into a practical diversity of law, an initiative of coördination ought to be taken before such diversity advances to a crystalized stage."

This is the position taken by this magazine. We are waiting for our own government to show more interest in the proposed Conference for the Codification of International Law, to be held next year at The Hague.

THE Pan American Arbitration Conference will convene in Washington December 10. Every Latin-American country will send two delegates, together with their experts. This will be a conference of major importance. Its principal work will be to embody in a treaty the principle of obligatory arbitration for the pacific settlement of international differences of a juridical character affecting the American republics. The delegates will be plenipotentiary juriconsults, with instructions regarding the maximum and minimum which their governments would accept in the extension of obligatory arbitrary jurisdiction. Of course, any convention or conventions which they may agree upon will have to be submitted to the respective governments for ratification. It will be the opportunity for carrying on the work of Pan American agencies for promotion of peace on this continent, a work which has already achieved encouraging results. Arbitration as a means of settling disputes between Latin-American States is no new thing. Prior to the World War, Latin-

American States had gone further in the unlimited application of compulsory arbitration than any other group of nations. The principle of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes is expressly provided for in the constitution of some of these States, namely, Brazil, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic. There are no less than sixteen treaties calling for the submission of all disputes to arbitration: One of 1828 between Colombia and Peru; another between Colombia and Venezuela, under date of 1842. There are many other treaties providing for various forms of arbitration. There are also different types of arbitral tribunals. As a result of the first Pan American Conference, 1889, a draft treaty of arbitration was agreed to by the representatives of eleven States. There is the experience of the Root Arbitration treaties, twelve of which were negotiated with Latin American States and five of which are still in force. There are the conciliation treaties of 1913-1914, eight of which are now in force in States of South America. There is the Central American Conciliation Convention of 1923, adopted at Santiago and known as the Gondra Convention. At the time of the Sixth Pan American Conference in Havana nine Latin American nations had ratified the Gondra Treaty. At the present time some sixteen nations have ratified. With this experience, it is reasonable to expect that the coming Washington Conference will be able to draft a new multilateral treaty of compulsory arbitration in a form that will be acceptable both to the Latin American nations and to the United States.

THE settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute seems to be nearer because of an announcement by our Department of State, under date of October 10. This

announcement pointed out that in view of the resumption of diplomatic relations between Chile and Peru and the hopeful prospect that these two countries may now be able to settle this long-standing dispute, which, if settled, will make unnecessary further work of the Boundary Commission, the two governments have agreed to the suggestion of the Secretary of State, to suspend the work of the Boundary Commission for a period of four months in order to give time to permit negotiations between the governments for a settlement. Both governments have accepted such proposal. In this action the two governments have taken a broad-minded and liberal view of the matter and have shown their earnest desire to come to a settlement.

THE Presidential elections to be held in Nicaragua November 4 will be followed with the keenest interest throughout the United States. The increase in the number of registered voters, amounting to nearly 40,000 over 1924, is due in no small measure to the protection of citizens of Nicaragua from intimidation by their political opponents, a protection due to our Marines and the Nicaraguan National Guards. No cases of intimidation or other disturbances have been reported in the 352 precincts throughout the Republic. A brief but illuminating history of the relations between the United States and Nicaragua, covering the period 1909 to 1928, has just been issued by the United States Government. Copies may be had from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., at fifteen cents a copy.

TWO problems affecting our relations with Europe, both with a number of unknown quantities, relate to the effects

of the British and French announcements relative to their naval understandings; and the future of the Dawes Plan now up for revision. We cannot see that the publication of the British White Book and the French Blue Book has ended the agreement made by Sir Austen Chamberlain to respect the French attitude on trained Reserves in exchange for a promise from M. Briand to stand by the English contention relative to small cruisers. As for the revision of the Reparations, the whole matter is now in the hands of a new Commission which will probably not be able to meet before the middle of November. While it is pretty generally agreed in Germany that they could pay a sum equivalent to the French and English obligations to America, plus a fair amount for reconstruction of the devastated sections of France, we are left to wonder whether or not such a plan will be acceptable to the Allies for any length of time even if it were adopted. Following the elections, the United States may have something helpful to offer toward the solution of this problem. There is no doubt of our interest in the promises.

IF INTERNATIONAL understanding is promoted by acquaintance, then the year 1928 must register an advance in world friendship. It is estimated that American tourists have spent nearly one billion dollars abroad, representing an increase of over one hundred million dollars in excess of a year ago. Passports issued during the first nine months of 1928 number 163,319, as compared with 128,384 during the corresponding period of 1927. Nineteen twenty-eight has to its credit, therefore, a record-breaking total of tourists abroad, which ought to mean something of an addition to the credit side of the world's balance sheet.

M. FERNAND BOUISSON, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, is the new President of the Interparliamentary Council, succeeding Baron Theodor Adelswaerd, of Sweden. M. Bouisson is the fourth to hold this, the chief office of the Interparliamentary Union, his predecessors being M. Beer-naert, Lord Weardale, and Baron Adelswaerd. Baron Adelswaerd succeeded Lord Weardale in 1922. Because of his ill health, it was necessary for the Interparliamentary Union at its Twenty-fifth Conference, in Berlin, last August, to elect a successor. That successor is M. Bouisson, who will be remembered by the American group as the presiding officer, at the final sitting of the Twenty-fourth Conference in Paris, in 1927. He was born in 1874. He engaged early in business in Marseilles. He was returned as

deputy for the Department of the Bouches-du-Rhône in 1909. In 1924 he was elected Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies. He succeeded M. Herriot as President when the latter became a member of the government in 1926. At the last session of the Chamber he was re-elected to the chair by a large majority, composed of representatives of every party. In his address, closing the Paris Conference of the Union in 1927, he sketched in general lines the future of the Interparliamentary Union, which won the support of all the delegates. His election at Berlin followed his nomination by the President of the German group, Dr. Walter Schücking. Friends of the Interparliamentary Union will welcome M. Bouisson and wish for him abundant success in his efforts to carry on the work of this unofficial parliament of the world.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

XXVth INTERPARLIAMEN- TARY CONFERENCE

THE XXVth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union was held in Berlin August 23-28. Its principal labors during this session were concerned with the following three questions: Evolution of Parliamentary System; Migration Problems; and Rights and Duties of States. On each of these questions the Conference adopted a resolution. The Resolutions follow in full.

Meaning of Interparliamentary Work

The significance of the work done by the Interparliamentary Union at its periodic conferences was summed up in a speech, delivered at the opening session of the Berlin meeting by the German Chancellor, Herr Hermann Müller, who greeted the delegates in the name of the

German Government. The catastrophe of the World War, Herr Müller said, had naturally interrupted the work of the Interparliamentary Union. Nevertheless, those who were present at the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union in the years immediately following the war would recall with satisfaction that it was just at those conferences that the bonds were reknit which must never again be rent, lest Europe be reduced to a heap of ruins. It is sincerely to be hoped that those years would soon be relegated to a virtually forgotten past. No epoch had ever more need of community of effort.

In the necessary labors on behalf of the mutual progress of the peoples the Interparliamentary Union is a particularly effective instrument. Parliamentarism, like every human institution, has its weaknesses; but, of all methods of government, the parliamentary system offers the easiest,

surest, and most just compromise of interests. In every parliament the task is to effect a compromise of conflicting interests, and to win over the majority. This is above all, true for the great world parliament constituted by the Interparliamentary Union. Difficulties and conflicts will always exist among the nations, but it is the aim of the Union to see that these conflicts are fought out in the same arena in which struggles are conducted within parliaments, namely, in the arena of intellectual conflicts.

Disarmament and Outlawry of War

The first sessions of the Conference were devoted to a discussion of the report presented to the Conference by the Secretary General of the Union, Dr. Christian L. Lange. The discussion centered very largely around questions of disarmament and the outlawry of war, and on the day of the signing of the Kellogg Pact in Paris the following telegram was dispatched to Messrs. Kellogg and Briand:

"The XXVth Interparliamentary Conference, composed of the elected representatives of 38 countries, sends a sincere greeting in the name of the Interparliamentary Union to the authors of the pact condemning war, Messrs. Kellogg and Briand, and to the other representatives of States who will today solemnly sign that treaty. It expresses the hope that every other State will adhere to the document. Already, at its 22d Conference in Bern, in 1924, the Union proclaimed the principle of the outlawry of war. It considers that one of its chief tasks will now be to work in favor of the complete embodiment of that high principle in international relations and in the legislation and policy of every country.

(Sgnd.)

SCHÜCKING,

President.

(Sgnd.) LANGE,

Secretary General.

Evolution of Parliamentary System

On the question of the evolution of parliamentary system, the Conference had before it a comprehensive report on the subject, prepared by Dr. J. Wirth, former German Chancellor, and the following resolution presented by him:

I

The XXVth Interparliamentary Conference, comprising the representatives of * * * parliaments, expresses its faith in the parliamentary system. That system is the only one which allows of self-government by the people. By calling upon all citizens to take part in public life, it guarantees a control over the action of the government and contributes to the political education of the nations.

II

Seeing that men owe to parliamentary institutions the conquest of their personal liberties and of their civil and political rights, but seeing that the complexity and the technical nature of the problems which arise in our times, particularly in the economic and social fields, demand from parliament and governments not only a more considerable and more specialized work, but also its more rapid execution, the XXVth Conference, while recognizing that the customs and traditions of the different peoples render uniform solutions impossible, requests the national groups to initiate within their respective parliaments a study and a discussion of their national political and parliamentary life in the light of the debates held within the Interparliamentary Union and of the experience of other countries. It invites them, if necessary, to submit proposals in that connection to their respective parliaments.

In this connection the Conference calls the special attention of the groups to the following points:

1. The desirability of insuring a greater degree of governmental and parliamentary stability, either by the nomination of members of the government for a fixed period (United States of America, Switzerland) or by the adoption of an electoral system of a nature to prevent the multiplication of parties and insure a definite majority representing the opinions of the majority of the electors, while, however, guaranteeing that the minority shall be represented.

2. The necessity of insuring the independence of the parliament and of the government as regards great economic organizations which too often influence parliamentary and governmental decisions.

3. The desirability of providing parliamentary authorities with a more complete prac-

tical documentation and, if necessary, with the co-operation of experts for the solution of the question submitted to them (international exchange of parliamentary and administrative information; creation of *consultative* bodies in connection with the parliament; hearing of experts by parliamentary committees; creation of research departments for the use of parliaments).

4. The necessity of winning the co-operation of a conscious and enlightened public opinion for the work of parliament, for instance (as examples), by creating a medium of information guaranteeing an impartial documentation and public discussion; by the official recognition of the parliamentary opposition through the remuneration of its leader (Canadian system); by the institution of the legislative referendum and of the popular initiative (Swiss and German systems); by the institution of "public hearings" before parliamentary committees (Massachusetts system).

5. The desirability of lightening the task of parliament by conferring certain powers either on local organizations or on autonomous national authorities (as, for instance, the British "trade boards") acting alongside of the parliament.

6. The improvement of parliamentary technique and procedure in order to avoid delay in the taking of decisions and to insure the better drafting of laws (institution of permanent parliamentary committees corresponding roughly to the government departments; institution of a general permanent legislative committee (Yugoslav system); limitation of the right of amendment at parliamentary readings.

III

The Conference believes that the Interparliamentary Bureau is particularly fitted to serve as the connecting link between the groups and, if necessary, between the parliaments for the exchange of information which the above study will necessitate.

It expresses the wish that a second debate on the foregoing problems be instituted at a later conference, based on the discussions within the groups.

In the place of this resolution, with its series of specific proposals, the Conference adopted a general resolution, at the same time referring Dr. Wirth's resolution and the several amendments to it proposed in

the course of the debate on the subject back to the Council's Committee for Political and Organization Questions for fresh study.

Resolution on Migration

On the question of migration the Conference had before it three documents: a report, presented in the name of the Committee for the Study of Social and Humanitarian Questions, by Dr. Slavko Secerov, of Yugoslavia; a memorandum on the subject, prepared by the Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union on the basis of information furnished by the various national groups; and the project of a resolution presented by Dr. Secerov. In the course of the discussion on the subject, Dr. Secerov's resolution was slightly modified in two unimportant respects and was adopted by the Conference unanimously, except that the American delegation abstained from voting on the resolution.

The American point of view was expounded by Representative Andrew J. Montague, who, in the absence of Representative Theodore E. Burton, President of the American group, headed the American delegation to the Berlin Conference. Mr. Montague stated that America regards the problem of migration as one of purely domestic policy, and that while in Dr. Secerov's report, as well as in the general discussion, this point of view was conceded to some extent, nevertheless both the report and the resolution tend to suggest the need of an international discussion of the problem. For this reason the American delegation felt compelled to abstain from voting on the resolution.

Rights and Duties of States

The American delegation also abstained from voting on the resolution dealing with the rights and duties of States, which was presented to the Conference by Senator Henri La Fontaine, of Belgium. The view of the American delegation was stated by Representative Roy G. Fitzgerald, who declared that the American delegation could not accept article 7 of the proposed resolution, which reads as follows:

A State victim of armed aggression has the right to legitimate defense, and the community of States is obliged to lend it its

support. A State is also entitled to that support in the case of disregard or violation of an acknowledged right.

This article, in the interpretation of the American delegation, imposes, under certain conditions, upon States the obligation to take part in a war. The American delegation maintained that there are only two methods of regulating relations among States: 1, the method of arms—*i. e.*, war—provided for in Article 7; and, 2, the method of law—*i. e.*, peace. It declared its unequivocal preference for the second of these methods.

The text of the resolution aroused a certain amount of opposition in some of the other delegations as well. It was finally adopted by a majority vote.

American Participation

The Conference brought together representatives of thirty-eight parliaments. The American Congress was represented by the following delegation:

Senator Walter E. Edge, of New Jersey; Senator Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma; Representatives Fred Britten, of Chicago; Thomas E. Cochran, of Pennsylvania; Roy G. Fitzgerald, of Ohio; F. H. La Guardia, of New York; Charles Linthicum, of Maryland; Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia, and former Representative Richard Bartholdt, of Missouri. The delegation was accompanied by Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the American group, and Mr. Leo Pasvolsky, Assistant Secretary. The following ladies were with the group: Mrs. Edge, Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Thomas, Miss Esther Caulkin, Miss Jessie L. Snow, and Mrs. Pasvolsky.

THE RESOLUTIONS

(The resolutions as passed by the Conference related to four subjects: The Evolution of the Parliamentary System in our Times; Migration Problems; Declaration of the Rights and Duties of States; and the Statutes of the Union; which resolutions follow.)

The Evolution of the Parliamentary System in Our Times

Motion Presented by the Interparliamentary Council

THE XXVth Interparliamentary Conference, considering that the principle of representation of the people by

freely elected parliamentarians is at the very foundation of the work of the Union; faithful to the tradition which has guided previous conferences; careful to avoid the expression of any opinion which might be regarded as a pronouncement on the political issues of the day, and particularly on the domestic policy of any State, affirms its disapproval of every illegal act committed with the object of abolishing the parliamentary régime, and declares that that régime can only be modified by the procedure provided by the constitution of the country itself.

(The resolution presented by Dr. Wirth (Germany), in the name of the Committee for Political and Organization Questions, was referred back to that committee for fresh study, together with the amendments presented in the course of the debate.)

II

Migration Problems

1

The XXVth Interparliamentary Conference, considering the world-wide importance of migration problems; considering that it is the right of each State, in conformity with the principle of national sovereignty, to regulate immigration into its own territory, but considering, nevertheless, that the measures enacted might, by their reaction on the standard of life and prosperity of other countries, disturb good relations between the nations and, consequently, international peace, expresses the wish that States shall endeavor to conclude among themselves bilateral treaties making it possible to conciliate their points of view and to safeguard the economic and social interests of emigrants.

Such treaties should in particular bear on the following points:

(1) The organization of national and international information services.

(2) Rules relating to the conditions under which emigrants may leave the country and be admitted into foreign territory.

(3) The protection of the emigrant, with special reference to the simplification of the passport system to health and

to moral conditions, particularly in the case of women, children, and young people; measures to combat the white-slave traffic and prostitution.

(4) Sanitary conditions: housing, preventive measures against contagious diseases, addiction to drugs, etc.

(5) The application to immigrants of the social legislation in force in the country receiving them, and particularly of insurance measures.

(6) Practical measures relating to the application of laws on nationality.

(7) Military obligations.

2

The XXVth Conference, moreover, invites the national groups to propose to their respective parliaments any measures which would make for the realization of the recommendations expressed in the above resolution.

III

Declaration of the Rights and Duties of States

1. Relations between States are governed by the same general principles of law and morality as relations between individuals.

2. All States are solidary and form a *de facto* and *de jure* community.

3. The members of the community of States are equal before the law. Each of them possesses within that community only those rights conferred on it by the law of nations.

4. Treaties have the force of law between States. It is their strict duty to respect them.

A treaty may only be annulled or modified with the consent of the States concerned or in accordance with international law.

5. Every dispute between States which cannot be settled amicably must be settled by jurisdictional means, whether conciliatory, arbitral, or contentious. All States must carry out in good faith the judgment given.

6. No State has the right to be judge in its own case. All armed aggression is a crime. The culprits shall be prosecuted in conformity with the law of nations.

7. A State victim of an armed aggression has the right of legitimate defense and the community of States is obliged to lend it its support. A State is also entitled to that support in the case of disregard or violation of an acknowledged right.

8. The independence of each State is inviolable. There is no right of conquest.

9. The peoples have the inalienable and imprescriptible right of free autodisposition.

Territorial modifications may only take place in conformity with international law.

10. States must not exploit for their own profit populations of different civilization which are placed under their guardianship. It is their duty to co-operate in the improvement of their material, moral, and intellectual conditions in order to allow of their admission as early as possible into the community of States.

The territories inhabited by those populations must, from a commercial and industrial point of view, be open to the nationals of every country.

11. It is the duty of States to collaborate in every branch of human activity and especially in those whose aim is to further the general welfare of mankind.

The community of States must guarantee for each of them the economic conditions which are absolutely necessary for its existence and for its development.

12. In every State there should be granted to all citizens, without distinction of religion, race, or nationality, the exercise of rights which will insure the free development of their own culture.

13. States must, on their respective territories, guarantee to all human beings, without distinction of race, nationality, age, or sex, and whatever may be their religious, philosophical, and social convictions, the full exercise of the rights granted to their own nationals (political rights totally or partially excepted).

14. The members of the community of States must guarantee to all workers, whether manual or intellectual, respect of their dignity, their right to work, to rest and leisure, and a fair remuneration for their labors.

IV

Revision of Articles 3, 4, 14, 15, and 16 of the Statutes of the Union

New Text as Voted

Article 3 (§ 3). One national group only may be formed in each parliament. Each group shall elect a bureau, with power to direct its operations and to correspond with the Interparliamentary Bureau (IV). It shall draw up its own rules of organization and administration and, when necessary, fix the amount of the annual contribution of its members. It must send to the Interparliamentary Bureau, before the end of March of each year, a report of its activities and a list of its members.

Article 4. The following are entitled to become members of a national group:

(a) Members of the national parliament of their country;

(b) Ex-members of parliament, who are or have been Members of Interparliamentary Council, or who have rendered distinguished services to the Union and are admitted on this ground by the Council on the recommendation of their group as honorary members of the latter.

Every member of parliament who joins the group formed within his parliament in so doing gives his assent to the aim of the Union as defined in Art. I of the statutes.

Article 14. The attributes of the Council are the following:

* * * * *

§ 14. It takes, in general, any steps necessary to realize the aims of the Interparliamentary Union. It may in particular, in the interval between the conferences, make a public declaration of opinion in the name of the Union with regard to international problems which, in accordance with Art. I of the statutes, come within the field of action of the Union.

Article 15. The Executive Committee is the administrative organ of the Interparliamentary Union. It exercises the powers delegated to it by the Council, in accordance with the statutes.

Article 16. The Executive Committee is composed of five members belonging to

different groups. The President of the Council is *ex officio* member and President of the Executive Committee. The other members are chosen by the Conference from the members of the Council. One member retires at each Conference. The retiring member is not eligible for re-election for two years and must be replaced by a member representing another group.

In case of the death or resignation of a member of the committee, or of his election as President of the Council, the Council designates a successor, who remains a member only until the next conference, which proceeds to an election. The new member takes the place of the member whom he has succeeded in the order of retirement.

The Executive Committee fixes its own rules. In case of urgency it may summon the Council.

The Executive Committee entrusts to the Interparliamentary Bureau the execution of the decisions taken by a Conference or by the Council.

V

Executive Committee

Baron Theodor Adelswärd, the former President of the Interparliamentary Council, having tendered his resignation, M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, was elected President in his stead. M. Bouisson thus also becomes the chairman of the Executive Committee.

The Conference elected Dr. L. Moltesen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, to take the place of Dr. J. Brabec (Czechoslovakia), the retiring member, on the committee.

The Executive Committee will therefore be composed as follows:

M. Fernand Bouisson (France), President; Senator R. Dandurand (Canada), until the XXVIIth Conference; Dr. W. Schücking (Germany), until the XXVIIth Conference; M. H. La Fontaine (Belgium), until the XXVIIIth Conference; Dr. L. Moltesen (Denmark), until the XXIXth Conference.

The committee nominated Dr. Schücking to act as President of the Council in case of absence, resignation, or death of the President.

VI

Auditors

The Council nominated the following members to serve as auditors for 1927:

Mr. van Embden (Holland), and Mr. Djuvara (Rumania).

Bureau of the Conference

President: Dr. Walther Schücking (Germany).

Vice-Presidents: Mr. Andrew J. Montague (United States of America), Dr. Karl Drexel (Austria), M. H. La Fontaine (Belgium), M. Raschko Madjaroff (Bulgaria) Mr. N. A. Belcourt (Canada), Don Alfredo Saborio (Costa Rica), Dr.

L. Moltesen (Denmark), Dr. Simon Antonio Campos (Dominican Republic), Herr Fritz Spill (Free City of Danzig), Mr. Wissa Wassef (Egypt), Mr. M. Martna (Esthonia), Dr. O. Mantere (Finland), M. Fernand Merlin (France), Sir A. Shirley Benn (Great Britain), H. E. Albert de Berzeviczy (Hungary), Mr. W. M. G. Schumann (Dutch Indies), Mr. Eamon de Valera (Ireland), Signor Di Stefano Napolitani (Italy), Mr. Jigoro Kano (Japan), Mr. Kviesis (Latvia), Mr. I. Lykke (Norway), Dr. Th. Heemskerck (Holland), Prof. Bronislas Dembinski (Poland), Mr. Mircea Djuvara (Rumania), Mr. Jovan Jovanovitch (Yugoslavia), Mr. E. Hallin (Sweden), Dr. Philippe Mercier (Switzerland), Dr. J. Brabec (Czechoslovakia).

Secretary General: Dr. Christian L. Lange.

ANGLO-FRENCH NAVAL COMPROMISE

THE United States note on the subject of naval limitation, delivered on September 28 in London and Paris, which refuses to consider the so-called Anglo-French naval compromise as a basis for discussion, and an equally emphatic, similar attitude to the question contained in the Italian note on the subject, renders this compromise, which has received so much sensational attention, quite useless. The compromise owes its sensational character to the fact that its terms, contained in a memorandum sent by the French Minister of Finance to his diplomatic representatives, were published by the *New York American*, after the original document had been obtained in some undivulged manner by the Paris correspondent of the Hearst press. The French Government ordered the correspondent to leave France, and both the French and the British Foreign Offices issued explanations on the subject. These explanations were rendered necessary by the fact that the compromise was widely commented upon as an anti-American move, since it consolidates the British thesis put forth at the Three-Power Geneva Conference

last year, and also as an anti-German move or an attempt on the part of Great Britain to obstruct the growing rapprochement between Germany and France.

French Explanation

The following semi-official *communiqué* was issued by the French Foreign Office on August 21:

Some of the comments in the foreign press regarding the Franco-British Naval Agreement let it be presumed that the conditions in which this compromise arose and its nature have on occasion been lost sight of. It appears, then, opportune to recapitulate them.

What has been called the "Naval Agreement" does not constitute a diplomatic act involving the signature of plenipotentiaries, but is rather the end of a disagreement between the French and British governments on the subject of naval disarmament.

It is known that since the signature in 1921 of the Washington Convention by France, Great Britain, the United States, Japan, and Italy relating to capital ships and aircraft-carriers of a tonnage of over 10,000, negotiations were carried on with a view to the limitation of the other categories of war-

ships. Last year at Geneva, outside the Preparatory Disarmament Commission organized by the League of Nations, a tripartite conference of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan met with a view to preparing the regulation of the construction and commissioning of cruisers, light units, destroyers, and submarines not included in the Washington Treaty. The conference failed on account, in particular, of the opposition between the standpoints of Great Britain and the United States in regard to light cruisers and their armaments.

As was explained recently in an official note, the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, which had brought forth a draft convention to be submitted to the great powers, also met with difficulties, which up to the present it has not been possible to remove. The French and British governments, anxious to enable negotiations to be resumed by the Preparatory Commission, made a joint search for the bases of an *entente* which might eventually be accepted by the other powers. Far from running counter to the points of view of the other nations interested in naval disarmament, the compromise arrived at tends to reconcile those points of view. It was established progressively in the course of conversations and correspondence. So it is quite inaccurate to talk about secret clauses, as there has been no signed convention, but mere arrangements made for the purpose of enabling further negotiations in a definite sense and on precise bases to be carried on. In other words, France and Great Britain have succeeded in bringing their points of view closer together, so far as naval disarmament is concerned.

It is known that France had been favorable to a limitation of light craft from the point of view of aggregate tonnage, while Great Britain desired to obtain limitation by classes. It appears that a mean solution between these contentions has been arrived at, as an understanding has been reached. Moreover, since the outset of the negotiations each country has emphasized the special conditions in which it lives from a maritime and naval point of view.

In that way France has shown the obligation under which she lies of insuring the security of her colonies near and far, and in particular, the safety and rapidity of her communications with North Africa. For this

she requires ships, which, while not being excessively costly, may constitute an efficacious means of defense. In that respect submarines of small tonnage are perfectly capable of supplying the need. Thus, according to the French argument, they ought not to be subjected to any limitation.

That does not apply to high-powered submarines with a very extended cruising radius and a big tonnage, which are regular vessels for attack and offensive. Surface vessels of a tonnage lower than 10,000 tons are likewise necessary for France to ensure rapid communication with her colonies and the defense of her coasts. Nor should these vessels be limited, as their armament is purely defensive. Cruisers and other light craft better armed for attack, on the other hand, ought to be limited, according to the British point of view.

Such would seem to be the two most important points on which there has been established between France and Great Britain a compromise which has no other object than to enable the resumption of the negotiations for the limitation of land and sea armaments.

The purpose of these negotiations is, as is known, to achieve an understanding between the powers which would enable a convention regulating the general problem of disarmament as a whole to be signed.

British Explanation

On August 30 Lord Cushendun, the Acting British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, issued in Geneva the following statement:

There has been a great deal of speculation and misunderstanding in regard to the so-called Anglo-French agreement or accord on naval disarmament. The difficulty has arisen because of the different meanings of the word agreement and because we have not got different words for every sort of understanding between individuals or nations. This is not an agreement at all, in the ordinary sense of the word, as applied to international negotiations resulting in an accord. It is not a treaty and it is not final.

The matter can best be explained by referring to the way in which it has arisen. We must start from the setting up of the Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference, the purpose of which was to lay down agreed principles to be followed by all

nations in reducing armaments, whether by land or sea.

This commission began work in March, 1927, and as a basis for discussion the British and French governments each submitted a draft convention. The commission directed its endeavors to reconciling the two drafts and producing a single agreed text. There were several points on which there was, naturally enough, disagreement, but the most important from the British point of view was the divergence of opinion between ourselves and the French regarding the principles on which naval disarmament might be approached.

There is no question of figures or numbers of ships. That is for a later stage. The commission was naturally concerned with principles—a skeleton form to be filled in with actual figures by a subsequent disarmament conference. This disagreement between the French and ourselves for a considerable time prevented anything being done. The other nations ranged themselves, some on our side and some on the French, often substantially, if not exactly, agreeing, with one or the other. In principle the United States Government supported our view rather than that of the French.

Various meetings of the Preparatory Commission sought a compromise which might produce agreement. At the meeting last March the French representative and I announced that certain conversations had been proceeding both here and in Paris, sometimes between ministers and sometimes between experts, to see whether these divergences could be surmounted. Obviously the first step in reaching an agreed text must be agreement between the French and ourselves. This so-called agreement is nothing more or less than a solution of that particular difficulty. But obviously this can only be a first step. All the other nations concerned at Geneva must come into the agreement, otherwise the proposed convention falls to the ground.

We intimated to the American, Italian, and Japanese governments that these conversations had resulted in an agreement between the French and ourselves, and invited their observations upon the text so agreed. If they are also all in agreement, then we may hope that the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission will accept the draft. If any of them objects, obviously that result

will not be achieved. It will, of course, be open to the governments concerned to make suggestions for amendments, or if their objection goes farther than that, it can be met by an amendment to say that our views are not acceptable. If that is so, it only means that, so far as the Preparatory Commission is concerned, we shall have to approach the matter again and see if we can reach accord on some other lines.

The agreement is simply for the purpose of securing a single text as between two draft conventions. There are only four or five short but very technical clauses, and the natural thing is to delay publication until the governments most concerned have had an opportunity of considering their replies. We want their observations, and I am very hopeful that when they are considered by the other governments, possibly with some amendments, we may succeed in arriving at an agreed text.

Speculations as to secret clauses and so forth have no foundation whatever. I see it suggested, for instance, that we were going to arrange for pooling our navy with the French. There is absolutely nothing in any such suggestion, nor is there anything at all in the shape of an agreed policy between ourselves and the French. It is not a question of policy. That has never been discussed. There are no secret clauses nor any arrangement as to an alliance or co-operation of navies. All that is absolutely beside the mark; nothing of the sort has ever been suggested.

Terms of the Compromise

While the official terms of the Anglo-French compromise have not as yet been made public, the *Echo de Paris* has published a summary of the diplomatic correspondence which resulted in the agreement between the two countries. According to this summary, the correspondence consisted of three notes, dated as follows:

(1) A note presented at the Quai d'Orsay by Lord Crewe [then British Ambassador in Paris] on June 28, 1928.

(2) The reply of the Quai d'Orsay, delivered on July 20.

(3) The reply of the British Government, dated July 28.

Following is the *Echo de Paris* summary of these notes:

1. The British note of June 28, 1928, begins by taking note of a suggestion presented to Admiral Kelly, the British delegate at the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, by his French colleague. By the terms of this suggestion the only surface ships to be limited would be those carrying guns of more than six-inch bore. Four classes of ships would be subjected to limitation: (1) Battleships and battle cruisers; (2) aircraft carriers; (3) 10,000-ton cruisers; (4) submarines.

The Washington Convention applied to the first two categories. It would be for the Preparatory Commission to extend this convention to the minor naval powers, and to deal with the third and fourth categories.

The British Government [the note continues] has examined the above suggestion, and if, as it supposes, the French representative presented it with due authority, the British Government is prepared to accept it. If the French Government were similarly inclined and instructed its representatives on the Preparatory Commission to support the proposal, that would enable the British Government to withdraw its opposition to the French thesis in the matter of the trained army reserves.

2. The French note of July 20 declares that M. Briand has examined the British proposal, and it takes particular note of the reference to French army reserves. The French Government would have preferred to see the British Government support the French proposals made in March, 1927, to the Preparatory Commission. But, in a spirit of conciliation, it is ready to come to an agreement. It asks, however, that the British Government shall take into consideration the following three demands made to Admiral Kelly by Admiral Violette, chief of staff of the French Navy:

(a) For 10,000-ton cruisers subject to limitation, an equal maximum tonnage should be allotted to all the powers. In practice, each power would undertake to build only up to a stated figure, determined by its needs, during the period covered by the Convention.

(b) The same rule should apply to submarines

(c) Finally, two classes of submarines should be distinguished, as follows: Over and under 600 tons. Only submarine over 600 tons should be limited. Thus, in the

same way as with cruisers, serious political disputes would be avoided.

M. Briand [the note continues] proposes to communicate to Italy, the United States, and Japan the proposals on which France and Great Britain will have agreed. He considers that these powers will accept, but if they do not, it will be imperatively necessary that the co-operation of the French and British Governments should continue, either to secure an agreement on other lines or to face the difficulties born of failure.

3. In the note of July 28 it is declared that the British Government would have preferred to abide by the first suggestion. It doubts the validity of the distinction made by Admiral Violette between offensive and defensive submarines. Nevertheless, in a spirit of conciliation, it is prepared to meet the views of the French Government. It also considers that a communication should be made to Italy, the United States and Japan.

In its fourth and last paragraph the British note sets out point by point the program of limitation of naval armaments which results from the conception on which the two governments have just agreed.

According to the *Echo de Paris*, this last paragraph was detached from its context and communicated to Washington, Rome, and Tokyo on August 2 by Great Britain and on August 3 by France. It formed the substance of the circular addressed to French Ambassadors which the *New York American* published some weeks ago. When the State Department asked whether the agreement contained no other provisions, the three notes summarized above were sent to the United States, Italy, and Japan, according to the *Echo de Paris*, in the last week of September.

United States Reply

The American reply, contained in the note of September 28 (the full text of the note sent to Great Britain, which is practically identical with that sent to France, is given in the *International Documents* section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*), takes into account both of the above communications. It rejects the Anglo-French compromise as a basis of further discussion and restates in detail the American position in the matter of

limitation of auxiliary naval craft. In its last paragraph, however, the note definitely leaves the door open for further discussion of the subject, and this last paragraph has received a great deal of attention in Europe.

The paragraph begins with the assurance that the United States "remains willing to use its best efforts to obtain a basis of further naval limitation" satisfactory to all, and "to take into consideration in any conference the special needs of France, Italy, or any other naval power for the particular class of vessels deemed by them most suitable for their defense." It then revives a suggestion informally made by France in March, 1927, at a meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, and declares that an adjustment of the method of limitation to special national needs "could be accomplished by permitting any of the powers to vary the percentage of tonnage in classes within the total tonnage; a certain percentage to be agreed upon." That is to say, "if there was an increase in one class of vessels it should be deducted from the tonnage to be used in other classes." At the time this informal suggestion was made by the French delegation in 1927 it seemed to the representatives of the United States, both civilian and naval, to hold within it the germ of a possible composition of the conflicting claims of France, with her demand for "global" tonnage, and of Great Britain and the United States, with their apparently irreconcilable views as to cruiser strength—an opinion which persists to this day. Accordingly the present United States note announces that "a proposal along these lines made by France and discussed by the American and French representatives would be sympathetically considered by the United States," it being understood, however, that the United States Government "expects on the part of others similar consideration for its own needs."

Italian Reply

The Italian reply to Great Britain and France was sent a few days after the delivery of the American note. It also takes into account both communications on the subject. After laying down the premise that the various forms of limiting arma-

ments, whether military, naval, or aerial, are interdependent, the Italian note restates the declaration of Signor Mussolini that "Italy is disposed to accept *a priori* as the limit of her armaments any figure, however low, provided it is not exceeded by any other power on the Continent of Europe."

Passing to the method of determining how this criterion is to be applied to naval armaments, the Italian Government declares itself favorable to a "limitation of global tonnage" rather than to limitation by categories. This would leave to every State the right to utilize the tonnage allowed it according to its own particular requirements. The Italian view is that the greater the number of categories of ships and the more rigid their classification, the more difficult it will be to arrive at any understanding. The note maintains that the system of global tonnage is the only one which gives to the lesser armed States a measure of compensation for their inferiority by allowing them the greatest liberty of choice within the limits laid down.

These considerations have particular importance for a country like Italy, which has special needs of national defense corresponding to its geographical conditions. Such conditions, the note explains, are, first, the existence of only three lines of communication and supply with the rest of the world—namely, Suez, Gibraltar, and the Dardanelles; secondly, an enormous coastline with densely inhabited cities and vital centers situated along or close to the coast; thirdly, the existence of two large islands, in addition to the Dodecanese, connected with the Peninsula by vital lines of traffic; and, fourthly, the existence of other nations which face or may face the Mediterranean and which are particularly favored by their geographical position.

The Italian note touches on other technical points and, raising afresh certain provisions of the Washington Convention, urges consideration in favor of one particular provision which is capable, in Italian opinion, of furthering notably the cause of the limitation of armaments and of giving to the world a tangible proof of the pacific sentiment of the chief naval powers. The note concludes by declaring

that the Italian Government, which has already taken part with Great Britain and France in all the more important international treaties designed to reconstruct and consolidate Europe, desires to reaffirm its fixed determination to contribute towards and to collaborate with every effort for making the limitation of armaments an additional instrument for extending such process of consolidation and reconstruction.

Views of General De Marinis

An interesting discussion on the Anglo-French compromise is contained in an article contributed to the Milan *Corriere della Sera* by General de Marinis, who represents Italy on the Preparatory Disarmament Commission at Geneva. The compromise, writes General de Marinis, must be considered not only as a diplomatic failure but also as a cause of delay in the conclusion of possible international agreements for the limitation of armaments. A naval understanding between the British Empire and the United States will now be more difficult, because the Foreign Office has not realized the ultimate reaction which an agreement based on principles antagonistic to those supported by the United States at the Geneva Conference of last year would have provoked in the United States Navy. Moreover, no naval agreement can be reached if all the points in dispute with regard to land and air armaments are not equally settled; in other words, the principle of the interdependence of armaments has been overlooked by the conclusion of the naval compromise. From whatever point of view this is considered, one must admit that it is not altogether hopeful.

General de Marinis, however, is not skeptical as to the chances of this universal understanding, provided that "all the disproportions now existing disappear, all hegemonic traditions should be broken, and the privilege of constituting itself the armed guardian of universal peace should be conceded to no country. On this basis international agreement will be possible; otherwise it will be wiser to abandon the discussion of a problem which certain countries would solve only to their own profit, a solution that others have firmly declared they will never accept."

RHINELAND AND REPARATIONS

DURING the course of the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations, in September, a series of important private conferences took place at Geneva on the question of the evacuation of the Rhineland and the final settlement of the reparation problem. The evacuation question was broached in Paris by Dr. Stresemann during his visit there in connection with the signing of the Kellogg Pact, but his attempt did not meet with any success. The question was again brought forward at the League Assembly by the German Chancellor, Herr Müller, and this time the attempt resulted in a series of conferences, held at Hotel Beau Rivage, the headquarters of the British delegation to the Assembly.

Germany's Contentions

On his way to Geneva, Herr Müller issued a statement, in which he designated the evacuation of the Rhineland as a demand upon which the whole German nation, irrespective of party, is united.

By evacuation, he explained, the Germans mean the withdrawal of the French, British, and Belgian forces of occupation, some 67,000 strong, from German territory. It is no longer understood in Germany, he continued, why these troops are kept on German soil after Germany has given proof after proof, in the sphere both of reparations and of disarmament, of her desire to fulfill all the obligations she has assumed to her former enemies. The Chancellor pointed to the Dawes Plan and to the London Agreement of 1924, at which the reparations problem was denuded of its political character and transformed into a purely economic and financial matter, dependent upon natural and organic developments, as was shown by four years of the Dawes Plan, just completed without the slightest friction.

No country, the Chancellor said, has done more on behalf of universal security than Germany. This was proved by the Locarno agreements, the many arbitration treaties concluded by Germany, the German acceptance of the optional clause of the statutes of the Permanent Court of

International Justice, Germany's active co-operation in the work of the Geneva Disarmament Commission, and her unhesitating and unreserved acceptance of the Kellogg Peace Pact. Germany has disarmed more than any other country; she is, moreover, prepared to co-operate with all her national energy in the task of bringing further proposals for the assurance and organization of world peace to fruition. What Germany has accomplished in the past, and is prepared to accomplish in the future, gives her the right Herr Müller concluded, to demand the withdrawal of the troops of occupation from her soil. The maintenance of these troops would be regarded by all circles in Germany as unjustified and contrary to the spirit of peace.

Beau Rivage Conferences

Six nations participated in the Beau Rivage conferences: Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, and Japan. The principal negotiations, however, were carried on between Herr Müller and M. Briand. From the beginning it was evident that there was an almost irreconcilable difference of views as between Germany and France. Germany asked for the evacuation without offering anything in return, while France was determined not to grant this request unless she got her price. The bargaining finally came down to approximately the following two propositions:

France was willing to evacuate the Second Rhineland Zone immediately in exchange for Germany's agreement to prolong the life of a committee of verification and conciliation, to be set up for purposes of control, beyond 1935, the date set by the Treaty of Versailles for the evacuation of Rhineland.

France was willing to discuss total evacuation in exchange for a definitive reparation settlement.

Germany found both of these sets of terms unacceptable, with the result that the last (third) Beau Rivage conference, held September 16, issued the following vague *communiqué*:

At the conclusion of the third conversation, which has taken place today, the representatives of Germany, Belgium, France,

Great Britain, Italy, and Japan are able to record with satisfaction the friendly conditions in which an exchange of views has taken place regarding the question under consideration. An agreement has been reached between them on the following points:

1. The opening of official negotiations relating to the request put forward by the German Chancellor regarding the early evacuation of the Rhineland.

2. The necessity for a complete and definite settlement of the reparation problem and for the constitution for this purpose of a committee of financial experts to be nominated by the six governments.

3. The acceptance of the principle of the constitution of a committee of verification and conciliation. The composition, mode of operation, object and duration of the said committee will form the subject of negotiations between the governments concerned.

Questions at Issue

The above *communiqué* did not clarify the situation very much. It left quite vague the question of whether or not the evacuation and the reparation problems are to be regarded as interconnected. The French thesis has consistently been that the two questions are inseparable. The German Chancellor, on the other hand, upon his return to Germany, declared that in the opinion of the German Government the Beau Rivage decision might indicate the fact that the two questions are parallel, but certainly does not make them interdependent.

It is interesting to note that the new committee of experts to consider the reparation question is not to have American participation, as was the case with the Dawes Committee.

FRENCH BUDGET FOR 1929

ON AUGUST 21 M. Poincaré, in his capacity as Minister of Finance, issued a report on the 1929 budget, which will be submitted to the French Parliament when it reassembles after the summer vacation. The new budget was awaited with considerable interest, in view of the fact that it follows upon the monetary stabilization achieved last summer. M. Poincaré's report contained

nothing startling, and it had a rather mixed reception in the French press, arousing a certain amount of criticism even among the supporters of the Bloc National.

Warning to Parliament and Nation

M. Poincaré began his report by warning Parliament and the country at large that the period of France's financial difficulties is not yet at an end. If the government's firm intention of maintaining the balance between revenue and expenditure is to be realized, the strictest economy must still be practiced. The various branches of the public administration, he said, are already showing a tendency to evade the restrictions on expenditure imposed upon them, and their preliminary applications for credits if granted, would involve a deficit of six milliards of francs.

While the budget of 1929 will be burdened with such exceptional expenses as the reorganization of the army, the continuation of the naval program, the application of the housing scheme, and the revision of salaries and pensions, the treasury, M. Poincaré pointed out, no longer disposes, owing to the stabilization of the currency, of resources which it has long enjoyed. The issue of national defense bonds has been discontinued and advances to the State from the Bank of France have been closed. The government does not, however, intend to increase taxation, and considers that in this respect a point has been reached which cannot be passed. The balancing of the budget can therefore only be achieved by cutting down expenses.

Increased Revenue from Reparation Payments

On the basis of the experience of recent years, M. Poincaré considers himself justified in estimating for 1929 an increase in revenue of one milliard francs to be taken out of payments from Germany under the Dawes Plan. All preliminary estimates from the public administrations, including those for national defense, have been reduced by the Ministry of Finance. The army estimates will only exceed by one milliard those for 1928, while the development of naval aviation will be assured by an increase in credit of 119 millions. A further section of the naval pro-

gram will also be undertaken during the course of the year.

Turning to the development of agriculture and industry. M. Poincaré stated that 500,000,000f. will be voted for the intensification of agricultural production and 50,000,000f. will be spent on the improvement of roads.

The amount of payments in kind to be expected from Germany during 1929 necessitates, he said, the undertaking of large public works to insure their absorption. The government will therefore ask Parliament for authorization to vote one milliard, 200,000,000f. worth of these payments to the carrying out of an extended program in France and the colonies. A credit of 80,000,000f. will be required for the development of civil aviation.

Readjustment of salaries and pensions has, owing to the stabilization of the currency, become a serious charge, and the government estimate that an increase of about three milliard francs in credits for this purpose would be required to meet the case. As this would, however, be too heavy a burden for one budget, an increase of only one milliard, 100,000,000f. over last year's estimates will be made. The credits for public works will also be increased by 157,000,000f. in order to meet the expenses of carrying out M. Loucheur's housing scheme.

In conclusion, M. Poincaré stated that certain minor alterations will be made in taxation in order that the burden may be more fairly distributed among all classes of taxpayers.

Comments of the Friendly Press

A favorable view of M. Poincaré's achievement was expressed by the *Avenir*, which characterized the forthcoming budget as one of economy, postponement, stabilization, and fulfilment. M. Poincaré, the *Avenir* pointed out, has declared his capacity to maintain the balance between revenue and expenditure without increasing taxation; he has begun the readjustment of State salaries and pensions without burdening the budget more heavily than it could stand; he has safeguarded the stabilization of the currency by refusing to issue more national defense bonds or accept further advances for the Treasury from the Bank of France,

and has fulfilled his promises of devoting important credit to the development of agriculture, public works, and the solution of the housing problem; neither has he forgotten the necessities of national defense.

The *Temps* expressed its disappointment that there is no indication of any lightening of the serious financial obligations which paralyze the State. It expressed satisfaction, and this is repeated in the majority of the moderate press organizations, with M. Poincaré's timely warning that currency stabilization is not an end in itself, but a means, and for its success the support of the undivided Union Nationale is still necessary.

The transference of one milliard francs worth of payments under the Dawes Plan from the funding of the debt raised for the reconstruction of the devastated areas to swell the budget revenue was generally approved, notably by the *Journal des Débats*, which pointed out that the funding of the debt is already sufficiently assured to justify this.

Views of Extreme Groups

The criticism leveled at the report by the press of the extreme Right varied from the general assertion that successful financial policy can be achieved only by a complete reorganization of the State to the particular one that M. Poincaré has, by cutting down the credits applied for by the service ministries, sacrificed the interests of national security and defense in order to satisfy the Left sections of his Parliamentary majority. He has, in fact, it was alleged, attempted to alleviate the lot of the "petit rentier," of whose representatives in Parliament he is afraid, at the expense of the more general interests of the country.

The extreme Left were equally dissatisfied with the report. That any increase of the estimates for the army, navy, and air force should be contemplated is to them a proof of the insincerity of the government's pacifist declarations. Further, they are unconvinced by M. Poincaré's promise that the burden of taxation will not be increased. How, they ask, if this is true, is the increase of expenditure to be met and the promised balance achieved?

POLAND AND DANZIG

THREE agreements were signed in Berlin on August 4 by the representatives of Poland and the Free City of Danzig, regulating some of the existing disputes between the two. These questions have been brought before the Council of the League of Nations, and it was upon the latter's recommendations that direct negotiations were inaugurated and have now been brought to a provisionally successful close.

In virtue of the new agreements, the Free City Government has withdrawn its denunciation of the provisional convention of August 8, 1921, granting the Polish Government, under certain conditions, the right to use the port of Danzig for Polish war vessels, and has consented to the prolongation of the convention at least until July, 1931.

In return for this concession the Polish Government has agreed to the provisional use by merchant ships of the Wester Platte Basin and the surrounding area, where the Polish munitions store is situated. It reserves the right to have the area cleared temporarily when war material and explosives are being handled, and undertakes to insure by the strictest disciplinary measures the observation of the safety regulations on the Wester Platte. The chief of police of Danzig will have the right to visit the Wester Platte at any time in order to convince himself that the necessary precautions are being taken in the handling of the explosives.

This agreement may be denounced by either party with six weeks' notice. It is expressly understood that both of these agreements are to be regarded merely as practical efforts to smooth over difficulties in the running of the harbor and do not affect the legal standpoints hitherto maintained by the two governments.

The third agreement, like the second, is expected to bring considerable economic advantages to the free city. It provides for the abolition of the so-called "broken" railway rates between Poland and Danzig, and the introduction of the Polish rates in the Danzig area. The uniformity of rates is to be accompanied by a uniformity of general railway regulations, Danzig

undertaking to introduce a new set of regulations in conformity with those prevailing in Poland.

The signing of the Danzig conventions aroused a great deal of comment in Germany, where the defenders of the agreements claim that they will tend to improve the general economic situation of Danzig by extending the available space for shipping and cheapening both passenger fares and freight rates. The German Nationalist Press, however, criticizes this achievement of the preponderatingly Socialist Government of Danzig, as it does automatically every action of the preponderatingly Socialist Government of the Reich. It is described as a political victory for Poland, which has made further encroachments upon Danzig's sovereignty, obtaining tacit endorsement of her position on the Wester Platte, the use of the mercantile harbor of Danzig as a naval port for another three years, although she has her own port of Gdynia almost completed, and a further measure of "Polonization" in the form of the extension of Polish railway conditions to Danzig.

CHINA AND THE POWERS

THE Nationalist Government of China continues its efforts to place on a new treaty footing its relations with the outside powers. The most important recent developments along these lines have been the settlement with Great Britain of the Nanking incident of March 24, 1927, which, it is believed, will open the way for negotiations regarding treaty revision, and the signing of the new Chinese-German tariff treaty.

Promise of Compensation for Nanking Outrage

On August 9 several letters were exchanged between Dr. C. T. Wang, the Nationalist Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Sir Sidney Barton, the British Consul General at Shanghai. These letters contain the terms of the settlement of the Nanking incident.

The first of the letters is from Dr. Wang, and it reads as follows:

With reference to the Nanking incident, which took place on March 24 last year, I

have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, animated by a desire to promote the most friendly feelings happily subsisting between the British and Chinese people, the Nationalist Government are prepared to bring about an immediate settlement of the case along the lines already agreed upon as a result of the recent discussions.

In the name of the Nationalist Government I have the honor to convey in the sincerest manner to His Majesty's Government in Great Britain their profound regret at the indignities and injuries inflicted upon the official representatives of His Majesty's Government, the loss of property sustained by the British consulate, and personal injuries and material damage done to British residents. Although it has been found, after investigation of the incident, that it was entirely instigated by Communists prior to the establishment of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, the Nationalist Government nevertheless accept responsibility therefor.

The Nationalist Government have, in pursuance of their established policy, repeatedly issued orders to civil and military authorities for continued and effective protection of lives and property of British residents in China. With the extermination of the Communists and their evil influences, which tended to impair friendly relations between the Chinese and British peoples, the Nationalist Government feel confident that the task of protecting foreigners will henceforth be rendered easier; and the Nationalist Government undertake specifically that there will be no similar violence or agitation against British lives or legitimate interests.

In this connection I have the pleasure to add that the troops of the particular division that took part in the unfortunate incident at the instigation of the Communists have been disbanded. The Nationalist Government have in addition taken effective steps for the punishment of soldiers and other persons implicated.

In accordance with the well-accepted principles of international law, the Nationalist Government undertake to make compensation in full for all personal injuries and material damage done to the British consulate and to its officials and to British residents and their property at Nanking. The Nationalist Government propose that for this purpose there be instituted a Sino-British joint

commission to verify the actual injuries and damage suffered by British residents at the hands of the Chinese concerned, and to assess the amount of compensation due in each case.

Sir Sidney Barton replied in the following terms:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of this day's date, which reads as follows: [Here the text of the first letter is given.] I have also taken note of the orders recently issued by the Nationalist Government regarding the punishment of those implicated and regarding the prevention of similar incidents in the future, and believing that prompt and full effect will be given to the intentions so expressed, I accept on behalf of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain Your Excellency's note in settlement of demands contained in the communication of April 11, 1927, addressed to the former Minister for Foreign Affairs.

China Demands Apology for Bombardment

The third letter is from Dr. Wang, who said:

Referring to the notes exchanged this day on the subject of the settlement of questions arising out of the Nanking incident of March 24, 1927, I have the honor to invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that on that date fire was opened upon Socony Hill, at Nanking, by the British war vessel *Emerald*, then lying in the port. In view of this fact, the Nationalist Government earnestly hope that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain will express regret at this action.

Sir Sidney Barton replied, saying:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date, in which reference was made to the fact that on March 24, 1927, the British war vessel, His Majesty's ship *Emerald*, then lying in the port, opened fire upon Socony Hill at Nanking, and in which the hope was expressed that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain would indicate their regret at this action.

In reply, I have to point out that the firing referred to was in fact a protective barrage, strictly confined to the immediate neighborhood of foreign houses, in which a number of British subjects had been driven to seek ref-

uge from the assaults of an unrestrained soldiery; and not only did not provide the only conceivable means by which the lives of this party were saved from the danger that imminently threatened them, but it also made possible the evacuation of other British residents at Nanking, who were in actual peril of their lives. His Majesty's Government in Great Britain therefore feel that the measures taken by His Majesty's ship *Emerald* were absolutely necessary for the protection of British lives and property, however deeply they may deplore the fact that the circumstances at Nanking on March 24, 1927, were such as to render necessary the adoption of these measures.

Possibility of Treaty Revision

In a further message Dr. Wang said:

Referring to the notes exchanged this day on the subject of the settlement of the questions arising out of the Nanking incident of March 24, 1927, I have the honor to express the hope that a new epoch will begin in diplomatic relations between China and Great Britain, and to suggest that further steps may be taken for revision of existing treaties and readjustment of outstanding questions on the basis of equality and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.

Sir Sidney Barton replied:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date, in which you expressed the hope that a new epoch would begin in diplomatic relations between Great Britain and China, and that further steps might be taken for the revision of existing treaties and the adjustment of outstanding questions on the basis of equality and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.

His Majesty's Government in Great Britain recognize the essential justice of the Chinese claim to treaty revision, and in their declaration of December 18, 1926, and their seven proposals of January 28, 1927, they have made their policy abundantly clear and have taken such practical steps as lay in their power to carry it into effect. In order to give further expression to the friendly and sympathetic attitude which they have always maintained towards China, His Majesty's Government in Great Britain are prepared in due course to enter into negotiation

with the Nationalist Government, through their duly authorized representative, on the subject of treaty revision. His Majesty's Government in Great Britain do not intend to allow the Nanking incident to alter their previous attitude toward China and prefer to consider it as an episode bearing no relation to their treaty revision policy.

Terms of Chinese-German Treaty

The Chinese-German tariff treaty was signed on August 17. It is modeled largely on the Chinese-American treaty of last summer.

By article 1 the parties agree that in all customs and related matters neither shall within the other party's territories be subject to any discriminatory treatment as compared with the treatment accorded to any other country. "The Nationals of each of the high contracting parties shall in no circumstances be compelled to pay within the territories of the other party higher or other duties, internal charges, or taxes whatsoever upon the importation or exportation of goods than those paid by the nationals of the country or by the nationals of any other country." The most-favored-nation stipulations thus appear to be doubly enforced.

It is further agreed that provision of the agreement concluded in May, 1921, under which, pending tariff autonomy, German imports pay in accordance with the general tariff regulations is annulled. Article 2 stipulates that negotiations shall be begun at the earliest possible date for a treaty of commerce and navigation "based on the principle of perfect parity and equality of treatment." The treaty is drawn up in Chinese, German, and English, and it is agreed that in case of difference of interpretation the English text shall prevail. The treaty becomes valid as soon as each Government has notified the other of its ratification, which is to be effected with the least possible delay.

Commenting on the Chinese-German treaty, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* pointed out that it gives Germany what she most needs for the development of her trade and what the agreement of 1926 withheld

from her, most-favored-nation treatment, and places her on the same footing as the United States.

The 1921 agreement, the journal continued, led to a rapid increase of German imports from China, but hampered the development of her exports to China. Now that the conditions in China are becoming stabilized, the conclusion of the treaty will considerably strengthen the prestige of China and of the Chinese Nationalist Government, which has now been recognized *de facto* by the United States and Germany and *de jure*, strangely enough, by Cuba. In other comments it is also assumed that the treaty will increase German prestige in China and thus help to promote German-Chinese trade.

Negotiations With Japan

In a statement to Japanese journalists, made on August 20, Mr. Yada, the Japanese Consul General at Shanghai, stated that the recent friction between Japan and China has been needlessly magnified. The abrogation of the commercial treaty, he said, was not an act directed against Japan, as it was followed by similar action towards European countries. He did not think that the Nanking Government could be expected formally to withdraw the abrogation, and, as for the provisional regulations against which Tokyo had protested so strongly, he declared that Mr. C. T. Wang, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, and Chiang Kaishek had assured him that there was no intention of departing from the practice of the existing treaty until a new treaty had been negotiated. In regard to Manchuria, Mr. Yada said that foreigners made more of the incident than the Nationalists.

This moderate tone is characteristic of a statement which Mr. C. T. Wang has made to the correspondent at Nanking of the *Jiji Shimpō*. Mr. Wang said that the diplomatic exchanges were largely a matter of "saving face," but the Nanking Government wanted a practical solution of her differences with Japan.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Two Addresses

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS

Delivered by Professor Schücking, LL. D., at the Inaugural Sitting of the 25th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, August 23, 1928

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I thank you for the great honor and distinction which you have conferred upon my country and myself by electing me President of the Plenary Conference of the Interparliamentary Union. You will have to show great forbearance with my chairmanship. If a practical statesman ought to be placed at the head of this assembly, I, as a simple savant, am not the man; if, as might naturally be expected, some one ought to preside here who possesses ample experience as a leader of great parliamentary bodies, then, ladies and gentlemen, I am not that man either. Only if you consider it essential to have a chairman who, owing to his life's work as a professor of international law, happens to be able to appreciate the full significance of the Interparliamentary Union in regard to the progress of international law, a chairman every fiber of whose heart is interwoven with the tissue of this work, and who knows no greater ambition than some day to be buried in the acre of the law, then truly I believe I may perhaps be the right man for your purpose. An assembly so representative of the parliamentary life of its day, our rooms here saw for the first time in the year 1908.

We Germans who subsequently met with such great hospitality in the most various spots of the earth, both before the war and afterwards, we who were accorded such a hearty reception last year in Paris, we are proud and happy to welcome here the Interparliamentary Union and to see among its delegates such a goodly number of our French friends of last year. "Who shall the nations count, who call

the names of those who gathered here for hospitality?" On behalf of the more than 260 present members of the German group of the Interparliamentary Union, I have the honor to extend to you a hearty welcome. During a casual stay at Prague, a German told me that the Czech people had a charming proverb which runs: "Where the stranger is, there is God also." Albeit we have no such proverb, we entertain the same feeling for our guests; hence I may here utter the wish that you will in every way feel happy amongst us, and that you will, after the close of your conference, return home with a sense of inward satisfaction as regards your visit to Germany and the labors we shall here perform.

Despite the severe after-effects of the war, from which the greater part of the world is still suffering, the times in which we live are curiously interesting. A great work is now in progress. Mankind is occupied with a problem which Kant characterized as the greatest presented to humanity—a problem the solution of which is forced upon us by nature—namely, the formation of an organization administering justice to human society as a whole. But we are still in a period of transition. The old is wrestling with the new everywhere. No matter what newspaper we pick up, we read on the one hand of fresh large expenditure for military armaments, and on the other hand of continued negotiations, concerning the restriction of armaments. In one and the same newspaper we read, it is true, of more and more comprehensive arbitration treaties and of decisions by international courts, but unfortunately also of severe conflicts between State and State and of the immediate danger of fresh catastrophes. Again, in one and the same newspaper we read on one page of general conventions in the interests of peace, open to all

States, and on the next page of special political agreements which other States regard as menaces. The old is wrestling with the new, and it would be foolish to believe that the forces of the old were already extinguished, or that the old methods of international politics had everywhere long since been thrown overboard. And yet how many hopeful beginnings have sprung up on all sides, like blades of young corn in spring. One would think even the blind must perceive them. Ideas which only a few decades ago were pondered solely by individual pioneers of international progress and laughed at by the great majority of people occupy nowadays the attention of cabinets in all civilized countries. The tenets of truth have been mobilized, but they need assistance to carry the day. New political ideas have to be established and international anarchy has to be forever overcome. Humanity must be given a renaissance whose blessings shall fall upon every individual.

Everywhere in the world the Interparliamentary Union is now the chief representative of these new ideas. Great as were the efforts made by the Union in the past to realize those ideas, the tasks of the future are still greater. If our organization had achieved nothing further in the past than that famous memorandum concerning the national arbitration, which at its instigation was submitted to the powers by the Belgian Baron Descamps, whose fellow-countryman I, in this connection, would welcome here in Berlin with particular cordiality—that memorandum which became the foundation of the relative labors of The Hague Peace Conference—if, I say, it had done no more than this, it would thereby have laid the foundation stone of an era of international justice. But how many other achievements has the Interparliamentary Union since then made its own!

I will confine myself to a reference to the Kellogg Pact, which in a day or two is to be signed at Paris and the tendency of which is to go beyond the provisions of the League Covenant in its endeavors to eliminate from international law war as a legal institution, and I would point out that this pact merely reflects a resolution which we adopted at our plen-

ary conference at Bern in the year 1925. But, as I have said, there are greater and more difficult things to be done. It is not sufficient to do away with war as a legal institution, for from time to time facts override all legal maxims. We must also, so to speak, combat the sociological causes of war by helping the natural rights of all peoples in all respects and in all places to attain legally established procedure; we must find ways and means of realizing the ideals of justice. To discover the appropriate means whereby this can be achieved is the most difficult, but also the most important, task of all those who, like the Interparliamentary Union, labor for the improvement of international law. May the present conference, with its important aims, be filled with the spirit of progress, which is the breath of God in the history of the world. May, moreover, the many millions of electors who stand behind the 35 parliaments here represented welcome our work everywhere in the world. May all those electors share the conviction which has brought us together here, the conviction so admirably expressed by an American in the saying, "No one is entitled to leave the world as he found it."

TO THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

By Mr. HERMANN MÜLLER

German Reichs Chancellor, at the Inaugural Sitting of the 25th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, Berlin, August 23, 1928

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is an honor and a pleasure to me to greet the members of the Interparliamentary Union at their 25th Conference, here in the German capital. The first words of welcome I bring you from the head of the German Reich, our President, Herr von Hindenburg. He regrets not to be in Berlin to greet you personally. I now do so on his behalf.

Next to the greetings of the German Reich's President comes expression of pleasure from the German Reich's Government, who likewise cordially welcome you here in the German capital and in the home of the German Parliament. With these greetings and good wishes of the German Government, I deeply desire to associate my own. For years I have, my-

self, been a member of the Interparliamentary Union. Permit me, right at the outset, to express my satisfaction at the steady growth of the Union—a growth which he alone can appreciate who is familiar with the progress made by our Union since its foundation.

True, as an international institution, the Union can look back only over a span of thirty years; that is but a single generation; and yet it is a long period when gauged by the standard of speed which marks the present age—an age when a few years give birth to changes such as formerly required centuries for their accomplishment.

This short space of time saw the catastrophe of the World War, which naturally interrupted the work of the Interparliamentary Union and produced psychological after-effects which for years rendered it difficult for the peoples involved to resume friendly and confidential relations toward each other. Nevertheless, those who were present at the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union in the years immediately following the war will recall with satisfaction that it was just at those conferences that the bonds were reknit which must never again be rent lest Europe be reduced to a heap of ruins. I recall with particular gladness the efforts of one of the founders of the Interparliamentary Union, the late Mr. Weardale, who at Stockholm so ardently endeavored to banish from our memories the recollection that some of the delegates had stood opposed in hostile camps down to 1918. It is sincerely to be hoped that those years will soon be relegated to a virtually forgotten past. The chasms which had yawned between the various nations are closing up. The barriers between the different States have dropped away; across the frontiers people are joining hands in the interests of common tasks. No epoch has ever more needed such community of effort. The world has shrunk, as it were, under the magic wand of modern technology; our present-day means of communication reveal hitherto undreamed possibilities, whereby the peoples of the earth are brought closer and closer together and rendered dependent one upon the other.

No nation, however great and strong it may think itself, can permanently stand alone; all need the help and assistance of the rest of the great family of nations.

In these labors on behalf of the mutual progress of the peoples the Interparliamentary Union is a particularly effective instrument. In that Union the parliamentarians of all countries are united; these are men and women who have received their mandates from the peoples themselves; they are the men who form our governments, men who in this era of democracy decisively influence the destinies of States. I am aware, ladies and gentlemen, that parliamentarism is subject to much criticism and much of this criticism is, to a certain degree justified. Parliamentarism, like every human institution, has its weaknesses, and it would be foolish not to admit them. But where is the better system to take its place? In any case, we can with even greater certainty bring proof that, of all methods of government, the parliamentary system offers the easiest, surest and justest compromise of interests. In every parliament the task is to effect a compromise of conflicting interests and to win over the majority to one's own views and convictions. This is, above all, true for the great World Parliament constituted by the Interparliamentary Union. Out of an organization which primarily promoted the idea of arbitration, and thus incidentally advocated the abolition of recourse to arms, there arose this organization, which has developed into a world parliament. As such it endeavors, in absolute freedom and intellectual independence, to solve the great problems of the day on the lines of the mutual interests of all nations.

Our Union is a desirable and necessary counterpart to the League of Nations, to which the governments send representatives to discuss their questions. In this great world parliament, all the nations cry with one voice for the ensurement of the Kingdom of Peace on Earth. All the labors of the Union are undertaken with the earnest and sincere hope that its mutual consultations may contribute to liberate mankind from one of its most frightful scourges and to ward off forever that terrible misfortune bound up with

the word "war." Difficulties and conflicts will always exist among the nations, but it is the aim of your labors to see that these conflicts are fought out in the same arena in which you conduct the struggles within your own parliaments, namely, in the arena of intellectual conflicts, in the arena of disputes between opinion and opinion, in the arena where he is victor who shows himself the intellectually stronger and whose cause proves most sound.

We are all well aware that this great goal lies in the distant future, that many ardent efforts will be needed to reach the promised land of peace. We do not know whether it will be vouchsafed to this living generation to tread that promised land; but we are all convinced that we shall attain the goal, mutual and peaceful

understanding, only if the peoples themselves are filled with a firm belief in the possibility of reaching that goal and are inspired with an indomitable determination to do so.

The German Government, on whose behalf I have the honor of addressing you, heartily wishes that your labors, your discussions, and in particular the personal relations between each and all which this Conference will renew and reknit in closer form than ever, may contribute to lessening the distance between mankind and our great common goal, and that this year's conference in Berlin, which, together with the last conference in Paris, forms a symbolic ring in the chain of our conferences, may prove a source of blessing to humanity.

DIFFICULTIES OF PEACE

By SIR ESME HOWARD

British Ambassador to the United States

(An address delivered before the World Conference on International Justice, in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, Cleveland, May 7, 1928.)

THERE is more joy on earth over two sinners who break each other's heads than over ninety and eight just men who keep the peace. This is, then, I am convinced, one of the principal obstacles in the way of educating men in the ways of peace.

I have often wondered why it is that persons who spend their lives striving for the cause of peace should so frequently be looked on with a certain contemptuous indifference and even positive dislike by their fellow-countrymen; should be treated as foolish dreamers and subjected to contumely and abuse by those who arrogate to themselves a special right to monopolize the title of patriot. I have often wondered why men who in the face of great difficulties have maintained peace are hardly remembered, while those who have been great in war have statues set up to them in every square. I have often wondered why it is that in the columns of the daily press, whenever there is even a remote possibility of conflict of some

kind, there are flaming headlines to announce the fact, whereas when the cause of trouble is removed by discussion or negotiations this hardly receives any notice in the back pages. Why is it that peace, generally speaking, has so little news value, for that is what all this amounts to? I have noticed during the years since the Armistice one crisis after another announced in thick type—Anglo-Russian, German-Polish, Polish-Lithuanian, Greece-Bulgar, Franco-German Italo-Yugoslav, Yugoslav-Albanian, and so on—until one would suppose that every country in Europe was just straining at the leash to fly at the throat of its neighbor, and that nothing but the special intervention of Providence could prevent a catastrophe at any moment. But when the catastrophe is averted, it has little or no news value and the announcement of settlement is generally tucked away on a back page or makes room for the announcement of a new crisis.

Now I would not for worlds pretend that this state of things is the fault of the daily press. It is not. But it is the result of some inherent kink in the brain of humanity, in the natural make-up of the genus homo. The fact is that peace is not dramatic; it has no thrill and no kick in it. It is—well, just peaceful. But a fight, from a dog fight to a first-class war, is immediately absorbing and the virtue of courage in animals or men makes an instant appeal.

I may be very wrong in my diagnosis, but I cannot help feeling at times that if there was a little less pious denunciation of war and a little more practical proof that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred any country actually stands to lose more by a forcible than by pacific settlement of disputes, it would be easier to overcome the natural inclination of war to the dramatic, poetic, thrilling method of the ordeal by battle.

If we can prove to man, the ordinary man, the inhabitant of Main Street, that if his country goes to war for any issue short of its absolute liberty of action at home, and in defense of that liberty, he will in future stand a very good chance of being bombed in his home on Main Street; if we can show him that, even though his country may be victorious, he will certainly have his taxes increased by two, three, four or five hundred per cent and may as well, owing to a fall in the value of currency, see his income reduced by one-half or more; if we can make it clear to him that, for the sake of some issue to which he is probably an entire stranger and of which he does not understand the A-B-C, he risks having to give up that new Ford car next month, or the radio set his wife had set her heart on, or even worse, that he may very probably be thrown out of work and his wife and children reduced from comfort to poverty and actual want, such as has been the fate of millions in Europe after the last war, then perhaps the dweller on Main Street may find war less pleasingly dramatic, poetic, and thrilling and may bestir himself to see that as a means of settling disputes between nations it is better abandoned.

With every year that passes, with every

month that passes, we see an improvement in the European situation, in spite of journalists who try to keep alive public interest in the drama of human nature by constantly predicting wars. There are, however, some like my friend, Mr. Frank Simonds, who clearly see the improvement that has taken place. In a recent article in the *American Review of Reviews*, written from Berlin, he says: "Does contemporary Germany seek peace? To this question there seems to me but one possible answer. Nowhere in Europe today is there more impressive evidence of a desire for peace and a will for international co-operation than in Germany." He gives a picture of Germany very different from that of only a few years ago. The same may be said of France, where the mass of the people hunger and thirst for peace, and I need hardly say that in England the one fixed idea common to all classes is that we *must have peace*, since another war would inevitably plunge us and the rest of Europe into such a bottomless pit of ruin and despair that it would be the end of our civilization.

One hundred years ago, when this Society was founded, any such proposal as a general renunciation of war would have been considered a Utopian dream and laughed out of court accordingly. It would have been so considered twenty years ago. But now see the difference. The governments of the Great Powers are all deeply interested, deeply anxious, to find a formula which will permit them to adhere to such a treaty without thereby incurring the risk of violating previous pledges, honorably given and to be honorably maintained. Only the extreme militarists and jingoes have dared this time to mock at these proposals, and they belong to the past and not to the future. They do not even belong to the present, because they do not understand the great tide of public opinion which is mounting yearly, monthly, and weekly and preparing to sweep them from the points of vantage they have so long occupied.

Therefore, as I said before, let us not relax our efforts to forward the greatest of all human causes, the cause of peace and good will in the world—the cause of the settlement of international disputes

by peaceful means. The cause is progressing by rapid strides, and we may truly hope that before long we shall see it so far advanced as no one only a few years ago could ever have dreamed possible.

I know of no country more worthy of admiration than the wonderful little Republic of Switzerland, situated, as it has been for centuries in the center of Europe, surrounded by Great Powers, which frequently threatened its existence. While always retaining its neutrality, and therefore not engaged in any war for generations past; while neither threatening its neighbors nor envying any of their territory, nor seeking aggrandizement even for the sake of its own security, that little country of only four million inhabitants has yet always maintained so high a standard of preparedness in its army that when the late war came it was able, I believe, in order to secure respect for its neutrality, to mobilize and place in a strategic position its entire force of 250,000 men, well trained and armed, in a less time than it took any of the Great Powers to get a similar number of men into their places on the frontiers.

We must pray that never again will any occasion arise for Switzerland or any of us to be put to the test in this way; but it is well, so long as wars and rumors of wars have not died away, not to discourage all preparation for defense.

Little by little, no doubt, as the world becomes more accustomed to the idea that wars belong to a past and barbarous age, we shall be able to discard our naval and military armaments, but their complete disappearance from the world cannot be yet. Let us hope that long before another hundred years have passed there may be no further use either for the sword or the gun, because mankind will have got so used to settling disputes by legal methods that to continue to spend money for wars will appear to be mere waste.

Then, also, this Society, a hundred years of whose most useful work we celebrate today, may be wound up, for its purpose will have been accomplished and it will be able truly to sing its "Nunc dimittis": "Now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace," for peace will at last have been established among all peoples on the earth.

FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES

By Hon. PAUL CLAUDEL

French Ambassador to the United States

(An address delivered before the World Conference on International Justice, in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, Cleveland, May 7, 1928.)

ALLOW me first to read the following message just received from the Foreign Minister of France:

"Will you express to the Honorable Theodore E. Burton, President of the American Peace Society, and to its members my most sincere sympathy and admiration for the work accomplished by them and my heartfelt wishes for the success of their enterprise.

"France follows with great attention all the manifestations towards the establishment of permanent peace which are taking place in the world and she is proud to work in close co-operation with the United States today, as she did 150 years ago, for an

achievement of peace, liberty, and good will among nations.

"ARISTIDE BRIAND."

A great technician told me that in a not-distant future a man will be able to stand up, not necessarily on a mountain, but simply in his study, and speak aloud to the whole world, which will hear every word of his speech. A part of this prediction has come true today for me, since by the kind invitation of your Society I am able today to address such a numerous audience, which is made up of citizens of every one of the forty-eight States, belonging to every tribe and creed; and it seems to me that only big words, clear

words, such as can be not only heard, but looked at from afar, such as we see flaming up in the sky above the roofs of your great cities, can be expected tonight out of my mouth; and among those great words I know no greater one than *peace*, the word of words, which made twenty centuries ago the whole substance of the heavenly and everlasting message. Your Society for many years has dedicated its steady and powerful effort to the commendation and establishment of peace among nations, and during many years the only answer was the flashing of guns and the hurrah of marching armies; but today another answer is coming to you; it is only a whisper, but it is a whisper which is breathed from every point of the compass. It is only a word; but, after all, everything in the world has begun by words, and we know that a word was the beginning of everything. It is only a few signs on a piece of paper, but, after all, a piece of paper is worth something when it is used to record the Declaration of In-

dependence and "*La Déclaration des Droits de l'Honneur.*"

No word was ever more mocked than peace. No word attracted more derision from cheap cynics and from slanderers of human nature. But no critics, no doubts, no mockeries, no temporary difficulties, will be sufficient to bury a word which is not only the expression of the most actual and pressing and burning necessity, but also the hope of the whole human race, the afterglow of one thousand battlefields, and the testament of ten millions of dead belonging to every nation under the sky.

Thanks to Mr. Kellogg and to Mr. Briand, this sacred word of peace has been kept for many months flaming to the eyes of the American people and of all nations in the world, and we feel sure that it never will be extinguished.

I am proud to see once more the names of France and America associated in that great declaration of peace, and to assure you that France will do everything in its power that it comes not to naught.

GERMANY AND WORLD PEACE

By HON. FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON PRITZWITZ UND GAFFRON

German Ambassador to the United States

(An address delivered before the World Conference on International Justice, in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, Cleveland, May 7, 1928.)

IN THE few hours of leisure I can spare, owing to my official duties and the traditional hospitality of Washington, I am endeavoring to learn more about the United States and their history by reading the descriptions of the lives of those men who have been the framers of the American Commonwealth. In turning over the pages of Sandburg's history of the life of that great American, Abraham Lincoln, I came across a passage where Sandburg tells us about an old legend which made a lasting impression on Lincoln. The legend tells that one day an eastern monarch had charged his wise men to invent him a sentence appropriate in all circumstances, and the answer these wise men presented was, "*And this, too, shall pass away.*" Lincoln was much impressed by these words,

which give consolation in hours of affliction and are a warning in hours of pride. But the more he thought about it, the more he found these words of wisdom too fatalistic to be guided by them as a golden rule of life. Let me quote his words of comment on the sentence: "Let us hope it is not quite true. Let us hope, rather, that by the best cultivation of the physical world beneath and around us and the intellectual and moral world within us we shall secure an individual, social, and political prosperity whose course shall be onward and upward and which while the earth endures shall not pass away."

Individual, social, and political prosperity in the world calls for *peace* as a prerequisite and for an ever-growing mutual understanding between the nations of this world.

Peace is largely a matter of *human faith*, and as such has to be borne in the heart of man. Only if the majority of men believe that peace can and must be definitely established it will be established. To act as missionaries of this faith is the aim of the American Peace Society. Let us hope that the future generation in all countries will join in one big peace society to make peace not only a *matter of faith* but also a *matter of fact*.

Ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me worth mentioning that those who actually fought in the war look at it ever more as one common experience and are also aiming at the establishment of peace as a goal common to all human beings. We talk so often of preparedness in all fields of human enterprise, but little is said of preparedness for peace! Allow me to quote another word of Lincoln, contained in his speech in Cooper Union, as a slogan for this work of preparing peace: "*Let us have faith that right makes might.*" A lasting peace can only be established by the triumph of justice. Only if peaceful methods are arrived at of settling all disputes that have led to wars in the past war can be avoided.

International diplomacy may claim that great progress has been made along this line. The arbitration treaties have not only increased in number and effectiveness, they have been invaluable supplemented by the conciliation treaties forever connected with the name of William J. Bryan. Not merely judicial disputes between a great number of nations are being settled by arbitration, but also all nonjusticiable questions arising may nowadays be solved by conciliation.

The German Republic, which I have the honor to represent at this meeting, has, by joining the League of Nations, by signing the Treaties of Locarno, and by subscribing the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, clearly indicated the direction in which its policy is proceeding in Europe. By signing an arbitration and conciliation treaty with the United States, Germany has further evidenced its good will to promote international friendship across the ocean. The attitude

taken by Germany in the discussion on outlawry of war is another step in the same direction.

I am not speaking of the policy of the German Government supported by the German people for the sake of claiming any particular recognition. In the struggle for peace and the development of peaceful settlement of all disputes, there cannot be any rivalry; there can only be loyal co-operation between all the nations; but I understand it to be the intention of this gathering to have the representatives of the different countries to give their viewpoint on the question in which we are all interested.

Dr. Stresemann, German Minister for Foreign Affairs regretted exceedingly to be unable to attend this meeting personally, but he has asked me to read to you a message as a sign of his interest in the proceedings of the meetings and his gratitude for having been invited thereto. The message of Dr. Stresemann reads as follows:

"I extend to the American Peace Society, celebrating its centennial anniversary, my heartiest congratulations. The great idea of meeting the calamity of war by application of justice and law has long moved the best minds of the German people. Ever since the times of Immanuel Kant, whose famous treatise on 'Eternal Peace' opened new ways on this field of thought, our leaders in philosophy, political economy, and politics have not ceased to demand that in the relations between the people arbitrary force should be replaced by the rule of law. As opposed to such endeavor the bloodshed of the last European war would seem to have proven definitely that humanity did not want peace. In truth, however, that great catastrophe has, more than any other happening, roused in the hearts of millions the yearning for justice. Death, misery, famine, and devastation have spoken in unambiguous terms; slowly, but irresistibly, the doctrine of justice forged its way. To fight for this lofty power and to pave way for its victory through practical work, to which the American Peace Society has consecrated its activities, is the high aim. The American Peace Society may be assured that the German people welcome its work with deep sympathy and with the cordial will of co-operation."

GOD HAS MADE US NEIGHBORS; LET JUSTICE KEEP US FRIENDS

By HON. COSME DE LA TORRIENTE

First Ambassador from Cuba to the United States

(Address written by Dr. Torrientes for the World Conference on International Justice, Cleveland, Ohio, May 9, 1928.)

I REJOICE to find myself here today among you, in Cleveland, taking part, as a plain Cuban citizen, in this great World Conference on International Justice, which is being held to celebrate the first centenary of the American Peace Society, the oldest association for promoting peace among the peoples of the earth which exists in our America and perhaps in all the world. This association was founded a hundred years ago, on the 8th of May, 1828, with a group of men of good will, by William Ladd, that famous American philanthropist who devoted his life to the cause of peace. The State of Maine, where he resided for many years, will commemorate next June the 150th anniversary of his birth, which took place in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1778, thus showing that those who have truly served the cause of progress and happiness, as in his case, by working for the reign of concord and love among the various peoples who form our civilization—that is, for peace among the nations of the earth—are always, sooner or later, remembered and glorified by humanity.

Several years ago I became a member of the American Peace Society at the suggestion of my distinguished colleague, Dr. James Brown Scott, whom I have called "Cuba's best friend" in the final chapter which I wrote for his book, "Cuba, the United States, and Latin America," and who is one of the most learned international jurists that I have known in my extensive relations with men of different races and countries. It is to him that I owe principally the honor of making this address, since it was Dr. James Brown Scott himself who, at the request of the Directors of this Society, invited me to do so during his recent stay in Havana, when he attended the sessions of the Sixth International Conference of

American States as one of the members of the delegation of the United States. The chairman of that conference was your great jurist and eminent statesman, the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, my very esteemed friend, of whom I shall always cherish the best recollections on account of the excellent relations which we maintained while he was your Secretary of State and I was the first Ambassador of Cuba in Washington, from end of 1923 to the first months of 1925.

Resolution of April 20, 1928

All those who are listening to me are no doubt familiar with the history of the relations of Cuba and the United States, and I now wish to speak to you of those relations, as it will be of interest to you to recall some of the events which are common to the history of our two countries. You have not forgotten that we were an unhappy colony of the old Spanish Kingdom; that our misfortune consisted in striving unsuccessfully to become a free people, as free as the American people and the other nations of this continent who at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century emancipated themselves from their European rulers; that we had carried on various revolutions, in which much blood had been shed, in order to obtain our liberty; and you will not have forgotten that in the last of these revolutions, which began with the cry of "Independence or death," on the 24th of February, 1895, under the leadership of José Martí, whom we consider the apostle of our redemption, the Cuban people perished in large numbers and the territory of Cuba was devastated by the most ferocious and cruel of civil wars. The Cubans resolved not to yield in their struggle against the most numerous armies which till that time had crossed the Atlantic, and without being able clearly to foresee their definitive triumph,

since they did not possess a navy which could destroy that of Spain, they observed with astonishment and desperation that no other people came to their assistance, except the personal efforts of a few generous men of different nations of this hemisphere, until the day in which the Congress of the United States of America, by the famous joint resolution approved on the 20th of April, 1898, declared that the people of Cuba were, and of right ought to be, free and independent, that the United States disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserted its determination, when that was accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people, and demanded that Spain immediately withdraw from Cuba, authorizing the President of the United States, in order to carry these resolutions into effect, to employ the military and naval forces of the nation.

War

You all know very well what then occurred: that the Spanish fleet which then blockaded our island, and the other which, under the command of the heroic Admiral Cervera, sailed from European waters and entered the port of Santiago de Cuba, soon disappeared, their ships being destroyed or captured by the fleets of Admirals Sampson and Schley, forever famous in your history. The soldiers under the command of Major General Shafter, in union with those who served under the orders of our assistant commander-in-chief, Major General Calixto Garcia, attacked and laid siege to the city of Santiago de Cuba, compelling General Linares to surrender. As a result of the very decisive action of the United States in making war against Spain, there was signed at Washington, on the 12th of August, the protocol for the establishment of peace. By this protocol Spain agreed to evacuate the territory of Cuba and to renounce her sovereignty over it. This was confirmed by the Treaty of Paris, signed December 10, 1898. The President of the United States took over the government of Cuba on the 1st of Jan-

uary, 1899, and by means of his representative, Major General Leonard Wood, transferred said government, on the 20th of May, 1902, to President Tomas Estrada Palma, who had been elected for the office by the Cuban people, in accordance with the constitution drawn up for the new republic by a constitutional convention. On that day the military government and the army and navy of the United States were withdrawn from the island.

Ever since the 20th of May, 1902, when the Republic of Cuba began its existence as an independent and sovereign nation, every American who cherishes the glories of his country has had reason to feel proud of the noble action which was undertaken on that day of April, 1898, of which I have spoken, by the Congress and Executive of the United States, in order that Cuba might become independent, as all the other European colonies had already become, who one after the other had risen in arms against their oppressors. That satisfaction and pride should be shared by all those who are here present, both young and old; but the satisfaction should be greater for the latter, since they will recall perfectly well the trying days when the Cubans struggled to obtain their independence, and during which public opinion in the United States gradually became more and more favorable to the justice of Cuba's cause. At the beginning the Cubans found sympathy here and there among your citizens; then a portion of the press took their side; later on organizations were established to aid us, as far as the laws of neutrality permitted, and a number of prominent public men in the United States commenced also to defend the cause of "Cuba Libre." Meanwhile the Spanish Government increased the horrors of war by giving General Weyler unlimited powers, which were equivalent to orders to exterminate the Cubans, since he did not spare the lives of prisoners. He summarily executed every day the sympathizers of the revolution and carried out the terrible reconcentration of the inhabitants of the country into the large cities. Only those whom the American Red Cross could succor at the end of the war escaped death from this reconcen-

tration. As a result of these measures the agitation in favor of the Cubans increased greatly in the United States, until in the press and in Congress the demand arose for the recognition of the belligerency and even for the independence of Cuba. Thus the 20th of April, 1898, arrived. Surely many of you who are here today gave ardent aid to Cuba and even risked your lives for her!

The Lesson

For this reason it should be a satisfaction to you all to see that a Cuban, who was a soldier in the war of independence alongside of your troops, under the orders of Calixto Garcia, in the campaign of Santiago de Cuba, a Cuban who admires you and esteems you for what you did for his country, with the authority with which the various offices which he has held there and the international positions which he has occupied permit him to speak, comes here to say to you at this conference that war should be opposed relentlessly by means of the ideas which the American Peace Society has propagated in the world, when it is a war of aggression, whether it be to conquer territories, or to protect citizens, or to collect debts, or to settle any disputes which may be adjusted by conciliation, arbitration, or judicial decision; but when it is war like that which the United States fought to assist in liberating Cuba, it will always be necessary to consider it as a just and necessary war, if the governments that oppress refuse to concede to the peoples whom they oppress and offend and who aspire to their independence the right to their own self-determination and prefer to exterminate them instead of emancipating them. In order that wars of this kind might be excluded from international law and be abolished, it would be necessary to create in the future some world organization which would make it possible to find a solution to conflicts of this nature, which are and always will be repellant to the conscience of humanity.

The Platt Amendment

Since the time when Cuba began her life as an independent nation, she has, day after day, been strengthening and

consolidating her international personality; and, notwithstanding the statement to the contrary which has been made frequently by her detractors, she has at all times been able to act with freedom in her relations with the other peoples of the world, as I shall show, the Platt Amendment not having been an obstacle to her. The so-called Platt Amendment was voted by the Congress of the United States on the 2d of March, 1901, and stipulated that the Government of the United States should require that its provisions should be incorporated into the new constitution which the constitutional convention, convoked by the military governor, was drawing up. We all know how, after lengthy discussion, the convention accepted the amendment, and how it accepted it only after the American Government had formally given assurances that the intervention mentioned in the principal clause, the third, which reads: "the Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba," *is not synonymous with intermeddling or interference in the affairs of the Cuban Government, but only the formal action of the Government of the United States, based on just and substantial reasons, for the preservation of Cuban independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States.*

Although great patriots like Juan Gualberto Gomez, Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, and others were tenaciously opposed, the incorporation into the constitution of the provisions of the amendment was accepted under the impossibility of doing anything else. The last of these provisions, that of clause 8, required the Government of Cuba to embody them in a permanent treaty with the

United States. Shortly after the commencement of the administration of President Estrada Palma, whose government enjoyed a credit which has never been surpassed by any of the other representatives of the Cuban people who have succeeded him, the permanent treaty of May 22, 1903, was signed with the Government of Washington, and the ratifications were exchanged on the 1st of July, 1904, thereby complying with the Platt Amendment and the appendix to the constitution. On the 16th and 23d of February, 1903, there was concluded with President Roosevelt, the great friend of the Cubans, a convention with regard to naval and coaling stations, and on the 2d of July of the same year another convention regulating the former, relative to the naval stations of Guantanamo, of which the United States was given possession on the 10th of December of that year, and Bahia Honda, which was several years later, during the administration of President Gomez, it was agreed not to establish, but to extend instead the lands of the Guantanamo station. During Estrada Palma's administration there was also negotiated with the United States the Convention of Commercial Reciprocity, still in force, of December 11, 1902, the ratifications of which were exchanged on the 31st of March, 1903. This treaty has been of great mutual benefit to the commerce and to the agricultural and manufactured products of our two nations, but it is now much in need of modifications, in order that Cuba may have, principally for her agricultural products and especially for those of her great sugar and tobacco industries, a greater protection in the United States, and in order that at the same time in our country greater protection may be given to some of your products, so that they may be better able to resist the competition of the merchandise of European and Asiatic countries, in which the laborers are paid low wages.

The Rise of Cuban Credit

During the time of Estrada Palma there were also negotiated with the United States two treaties recognizing the sovereignty of Cuba over the Isle of Pines—one on the 23d of February, 1903, which

lapsed because it was not ratified within the period of time stipulated, and the other on the 2d of March, 1904, signed by two patriots who will ever be remembered, John Hay and Gonzalo de Quesada, reproducing in its entirety the previous treaty. Until many years later—that is, until 1925—as we shall see, it was not possible to get the Senate of the United States to ratify the second of these treaties. Every effort to that end met with failure.

It fell to President Estrada Palma to establish in the closest manner the international relations of the new republic with all the other nations of the world, and among them with Spain, the old mother country, who had discovered and colonized Cuba. In this I took an important part, since on account of the illness in 1903 of our first Minister Plenipotentiary in Madrid, the great patriot and writer, Rafael Maria Merchan, I remained at the head of the legation until I resigned, at the time of Estrada Palma's resignation, at the end of 1906. When this event occurred the Republic of Cuba had already concluded several treaties with various nations, among them the first of those that she negotiated with Spain, and had established her credit and reputation in the world as an enlightened and progressive nation, complying with her international duties and conscious of her rights, which she knew how to defend, to clearly set forth, and to make prevail in her relations with strong and powerful peoples, among these the United States themselves, Spain, and other great European nations. During all this period of our republican government our Department of State and Justice was fortunate in having at the head of its foreign affairs Colonel Aurelio Hevia, the real organizer of our international relations, who for this reason has well deserved the recognition of his country.

Internal Problems

The internal political struggles of the latter part of Estrada Palma's administration, through the error of his opponents in engaging in a revolution and through a mistaken idea of the President himself with respect to the obligations of

the United States toward Cuba under the treaty, led to his resignation and brought about, against the desires of President Roosevelt, an intervention by the United States, which lasted in our fair island until, in a new election, Major General José Miguel Gomez became President. The government of this valiant soldier of our independence was characterized by a constant effort to assert the sovereign personality of the Cuban people, by establishing the closest relations with other nations, by extending our diplomatic representation, principally throughout all the nations of America, and by his tenacious opposition to interference in our affairs by mistaken rulers of your nation, who attempted to interpret the permanent treaty according to their own inclination. He was at the same time pressed by European governments, which since the beginning of the republic had attempted to collect indemnity for their nationals who suffered losses through the revolutions against Spain.

When President Gomez was substituted in a constitutional manner, in 1913, by Mario G. Menocal, also a major general of the Cuban Revolution, the new government was at once compelled to adjust the matter of these claims with three great European nations, united for this purpose and supported to a certain extent until then by the State Department at Washington. Pressure was also brought to bear upon President Menocal to keep him from establishing, as he did, and maintaining the nullity of the concession in favor of a company formed to execute certain public works in which a number of American and English citizens were interested in one way or another. As Secretary of State at the time, it became my duty to reject such unwarranted pretensions, and in this way the right of the Cubans to settle or determine their own affairs continued to be affirmed.

The World War

But never in the history of the new republic did the opportunity arise to take part in the life of international relations with greater firmness and in wiser manner than at the time of the terrible World War, in which Cuba took part by

declaring the existence of a state of war with the German Empire on the 7th of April, 1917, the day following the like declaration by your government. Cuba demonstrated then that she had not forgotten the decisive aid which she received in 1898 from the land of Washington, McKinley, and Roosevelt, and she showed at the same time how her great sympathies for the cause of liberty and justice, for which the Allies were fighting in Europe against the Central Empires, impelled her to contribute with her modest effort toward the triumph of the common purpose. Cuba established compulsory military service and called all her young men to arms; she sent her best officers to the United States to acquire the necessary training alongside of your own officers, who were then training to go to the front in Europe. Cuba offered to send, as quickly as possible, some of her military units to the battlefields, but this offer was not accepted, as it was thought better that we should keep our soldiers in the island to defend it against a possible attack of the enemy, which had commenced to send its submarines to these waters. Our republic assisted the charitable organizations of the Allies, contributing to that purpose relatively large sums of money for a small country like ours, by means of the Cuban Red Cross and the National Commission of Propaganda and of Aid to the Victims of the War, the latter being established as a result of a proposal which I made to the Senate, of whose Foreign Relations Committee I was chairman, as also of said commission. With but a small margin of profit for our producers, our entire sugar crop was ceded to the Government of the United States to supply the needs of the United States and of the Allies. Cuba also increased her production, in accordance with the official request which was made to her, and in this way she really prepared the crises and even the disaster which at a future time this increase was to bring upon our principal industry—a disaster which still affects us. In short, there were no sacrifices nor inconveniences which the Cubans did not willingly impose upon themselves in order to cooperate toward the triumph of the United

States and of the other nations to whom she had united her lot.

When the Armistice came, Cuba, by means of her representatives, of whom Dr. Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante was the president, took part in the peace conferences which were being held at Paris and signed the corresponding treaties; and when the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles the men who were at the head of the legislative and executive branches of the Government of Cuba became convinced that the greatest assertion that we could make of our independence and sovereignty and the clearest demonstration that our relations with the United States did not prevent us from acting freely in international life was to approve, as we did, in the Cuban Congress, the convention which put an end to the war with Germany, and by virtue of which, after its ratification by President Menocal in 1920, we formed part of the League of Nations as one of its original members and also of the other bodies which were constituted as a result of said treaty. For this reason, when President Menocal in 1921 turned over the government to the recently elected Dr. Alfredo Zayas, he was able to retire to private life and to the peace of his home with the complete assurance that his conduct in the World War had confirmed even more the international personality of Cuba, and the fruits of that conduct began to be gathered soon afterwards.

President Zayas' administration was characterized by the most perfect utilization of all the international resources which the participation of Cuba in the World War offered to whoever could make use of them to firmly establish the personality of our country in the concert of the free nations of the world, as had been the dream of Carlos Manuel de Cespedes in 1868 and of José Martí in 1895. The fact that this was obtained is more to be admired when it is considered that as a consequence of the terrible economic crisis which the violent fall in the price of sugar produced toward the end of 1920 the government found itself without any funds in the treasury and with a large floating debt, as a result of the enormous deficit

in the national budget of 1920-21, due to the decrease in the revenues from taxation. This, together with the failure of the majority of the banks of the country and the readjustment made necessary by the excessive inflation produced by the war, not only totally disturbed our public administration and our economic life, but also brought about frequent friction, even with the officials or public agents of your government, who, without any right, giving capricious interpretations to the clauses of the Permanent Treaty, attempted to interfere in our internal problems, but without being eventually successful on account of the wise and energetic attitude of the Cuban Congress and of the President of Cuba, until, at last, in the second half of this period of government, the relations between our two countries again became normal.

Extension of Cuban Influence

The greatest ability of President Zayas lay in knowing how to make use of the knowledge, experience, and advice of many of his countrymen, doing so with entire independence of their political opinions; and this, together with his clear intelligence and readiness with which he realized what things were for the good of the republic, led him, by means of the persons whom he knew how to utilize for the purpose, to bring it about, in 1921, that the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations should elect Dr. Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, the learned Cuban jurist who has not been able to attend this Conference with me, as he had intended, to one of the eleven offices of judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice—an honor which should be considered notable for our country when we consider that it was not obtained by any other nation of the Spanish language, and that if the prestige of Cuba and the merits of the person elected contributed to that result the triumph was also due to the skill of the government and of the delegation which successfully obtained the election. It was a positive achievement for Cuba, in 1922, that a Cuban occupied the presidency of the famous Commission for the Reduction of Armaments of the Third Assembly of the

League of Nations and co-operated in the preparation of the celebrated work done at that time, which, in the course of time, formed part of the bases of the Treaties of Locarno. Our country also collaborated in international affairs and with general applause, as was shortly afterwards recognized among other personalities by the most famous ruler of the present day, President Poincaré, when that same Cuban was President of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations, in 1923, during the difficult days of the occupation of the Ruhr and of the conflict between Greece and Italy, when some very grave problems which threatened the peace of the world were dealt with and settled. That Cuban was deliberately selected for that office by the powers which favored his candidacy that he might be a guarantee of impartiality between the great interests which were contending with each other. In addition, Cuba received another distinct honor at the Fifth Assembly at Geneva, in 1924, where one of her citizens was among the group of persons who prepared the celebrated Protocol for the pacific settlement of international conflicts, on which the said Treaties of Locarno were later constructed.

And just as on the world stage of the League of Nations President Zayas' activity had such great influence and was productive of such positive results, as further exemplified at the First Conference of Emigration and Immigration, at Rome, which voted to hold the second of these conferences, as has been done, at Havana; so, in respect to this hemisphere, his action at the Fifth International Conference of American States, by means of an able delegation, of which the outstanding figure was the Cuban who enjoys the highest diplomatic reputation of any of his countrymen in this continent, the eminent writer and journalist, Sr. Manuel Marquez Sterling, led to the selection of our capital as the seat of that Sixth Conference, which a few weeks ago closed its sessions. Besides, President Zayas succeeded, after the difficulties which he faced during the first part of his administration, in asserting the prestige of Cuba in the United States, so much so that the respective diplomatic representations of the United States and Cuba were

raised to the rank of embassies, and at the close of 1923 the first ambassador which Cuba had in permanent mission before a foreign government was accredited in Washington.

Isle of Pines

It was at the end of his administration that President Zayas obtained the most positive triumph for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba and for his prestige as a ruler having a clear vision of the world—a triumph which not even his most implacable enemies can deny him. I refer to the triumph which he obtained when, as a result of the labor which I carried on during some fifteen months before the Government at Washington, we succeeded in getting the Senate of the United States to approve, on the 13th of March, 1925, at a special session and after a stubborn obstruction by its adversaries, the treaty which had first been negotiated twenty-two years before and by which Cuba's sovereignty over the Isle of Pines is recognized. We had never been able to obtain this approval of the treaty—neither our first minister, Gonzalo de Quesada, always well remembered, nor any of his successors, nor I myself during my first efforts—until I secured the decisive intervention of President Coolidge. It is opportune to recall that the exchange of ratifications of that convention took place on the 23d of March of that same year, 1925. A notable European writer, M. Jacques Crokaert, has said, in a book published last year, that the approval of the Isle of Pines Treaty implied a conspicuous triumph for Cuba, whose representative in Washington had obtained a diplomatic victory which re-enforced the international institutions of the Cuban Republic; and this same fact has been recognized by one of the greatest internationalists of the world and the foremost in my country, Dr. Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, both in a speech which he made at the time of its ratification and by declaring within the past few days that the elimination of Article VI of the appendix to the constitution of Cuba is the first breach to be made in it. The sixth article of the permanent treaty, it should be recalled, is the same as the

sixth clause of the Platt Amendment and of the appendix to the constitution of Cuba, and refers to the omission of the Isle of Pines from the constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

Importance of Justice

On all the occasions to which I have referred, the public officials of Cuba acted as in identical conditions those of the most independent and sovereign peoples of the world could have acted, without being hindered by the Government at Washington availing itself of the third article of the permanent treaty. Nor did the Government at Washington ever attempt to prevent the contracting of any loan on the strength of article second of said treaty. The latter imposes upon Cuba the obligation not to assume or contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which and to provide for its final amortization the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate. When the Cubans have carried out any negotiation of this kind, the requirements of the third paragraph of article 59 of our constitution have first been complied with—that is, permanent revenues for the payment of the interest and redemption thereof have been provided—which constitutes a greater security for the orderly administration of the public finances of Cuba than the aforementioned second clause of the permanent treaty.

And what has occurred during previous administrations is likewise taking place during the government of General Machado, who at present conducts the affairs of the nation. And while I am in complete disagreement in what refers to his internal policy and in some points of his foreign policy, nevertheless I cannot but recall here, the strengthening of the international personality of Cuba which he has secured by obtaining at last a place for Cuba on the Council of the League of Nations—a candidacy in discreet preparation since 1922—and in obtaining the triumph for Cuba at the Sixth International Conference of American States of the notable Project of the Code of Private International Law of Dr. Antonio San-

chez de Bustamante—a triumph which writes undying fame for the author and establishes a monument to the culture of the Cubans. And there is a greater importance, in my judgment, in that the President himself, in a more or less precise and scientific manner, but with a lofty purpose, has set forth in his speeches, when he visited the United States, the convenience and the necessity of modifying our permanent treaty in order to remove from it that which may hurt or harm our nationalist sentiments. This same viewpoint has been sustained by many Cuban writers, both within and without our great Cuban Society of International Law, affiliated with the American Institute of International Law. Dr. Bustamante, in making reference in a speech to the appendix to the constitution, has just now said:

“Until the opportune moment arrives when, with the co-operation of the great American people, to whom Cuba owes so much, we may some day wipe it out completely, not because it (the appendix to the constitution) lessens or harms in the least our independence and our sovereignty, but because many of our enemies, more or less deceitful, avail themselves of it, more or less insidiously, to bring them into discussion and put them in question.”

We have met here in a congress of international justice, which cannot exist and assert itself in the world unless the principle of the juridical equality of States is a fact, and that equality presupposes the existence of certain principles of justice among the peoples who form the international juridical community. To the principle of the equality of citizens before the law, which is the basis or foundation of all democracy and its life blood at the same time, there corresponds that juridical equality of States before international law. The United States of America, the greatest nation of this continent and the richest and most powerful in the world, is juridically equal to any other sovereign State of the earth, however small it may be; and if Cuba and the United States, to live in perfect friendship and harmony, should be juridically equal, they always need to strive to remove from between them every

motive of difficulty or annoyance. A great Frenchman, Leon Bourgeois, has said:

"The rights of the small and weaker nations are of as much importance and weigh as heavily in the balance as those of the most powerful."

A good friend of Cuba and of myself, a person who for many years exerted a great influence on your public life, William Jennings Bryan, on his last birthday, the 19th of March, 1925, after having worked enthusiastically among his friends in the Senate for the approval of the Isle of Pines Treaty, wrote in an album the following:

"To the daughter of my dear friend: Allow me to express my sentiment toward your country, in whose behalf I was a soldier, in the following: God has made us neighbors; let justice keep us friends."

This is our desire, this is the aspiration of the Cubans!

Cuba and the United States

When there is the desire to annoy our people, we are told that the Platt Amendment, the appendix to our constitution, and the permanent treaty convert the Cuban Republic into a protected, semi-sovereign, mediatized nation. When there is the purpose of accusing the United States of not being generous and of not keeping its word, it is said that the famous joint resolution of April, 1898, has yet to be complied with, because instead of keeping the promise made therein, not to exercise sovereignty or jurisdiction over Cuba, but to wage war upon Spain only in order to liberate us, what has been done has been to impose said amendment upon Cuba by which certain rights of sovereignty are withheld from us. Thus, in one way or another, those much-debated clauses have served hitherto only to wound the national pride of Americans and Cubans. Without the Platt Amendment, the Government at Washington, when it has considered it necessary, has intervened to protect its interests in various American nations; and, on the other hand, that amendment has constantly been used to criticize the United States throughout the world.

When the Congress of the United States passed the amendment the American jurists did not realize that the joint resolution of 1898 and the Treaty of Paris itself prevented obtaining from the Cuban people, while Cuba had not yet established its republican government, any right as the result of a demand not freely consented to. The situation of the United States in relation to Cuba at that time was that of a guardian with respect to his ward: no contract between the two could be effected; and it was improper to require something from the ward before declaring him of age. There was reason for the United States to affirm emphatically before the world that they *disclaimed all desire or intention of exercising sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island except for the pacification thereof, declaring their determination when that was accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people*; and there was reason for not accepting from Spain, in the Treaty of Paris, a cession of the Island of Cuba to the United States and for insisting that she should simply renounce her sovereignty over Cuba.

When the Isle of Pines Treaty was recently discussed in the American Senate a great Senator and a renowned jurist, George Wharton Pepper, maintained that the situation of the American government with respect to Cuba was that of the trustee with respect to the property which formed part of the trust; that it could not acquire them in whole or in part, but could only deliver them to their owner in accordance with pre-established conditions, which were those set forth in the joint resolution of 1898 and in the Treaty of Paris, all of which prevented the United States from acquiring for themselves the Isle of Pines. This was the view which in the end triumphed in the Senate.

In the same way I now state what I have always understood: that the United States could not acquire any right other than that which voluntarily and freely it should be the will of the Republic of Cuba to grant them, after it had been established in accordance with the con-

stitution, freely adopted by the delegates of the Cuban people itself!

When these ideas gain acceptance in the United States and in Cuba, the time will have arrived to study the modifications which should be made in our permanent treaty; and this study is an easy matter if the United States does not forget the doctrines of the American Peace Society and the words of Mr. Bryan: "God

has made us neighbors; let justice keep us friends." Nothing will make the United States greater in the eyes of all the civilized world than to continue, as they have always done, to give proofs of a high spirit of international justice; and no better occasion to do so exists than to offer the Cubans the opportunity to bind together forever a friendship which our relation as neighbors requires shall be imperishable!

NICARAGUA AND THE UNITED STATES

By HON. ALEJANDRO CÉSAR

Nicaraguan Minister to the United States

(An address delivered before the World Conference on International Justice, in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, Cleveland, May 9, 1928.)

NICARAGUA occupies a unique geographical position on the American continent. More than four centuries ago, on discovering these regions, the Spaniards declared that Nicaragua was the ideal place to construct a canal to join the two oceans, and this canal would have made possible the direct voyage by sea to the East Indies which Columbus expected to make on his immortal adventure.

Lake Nicaragua is one of the largest in the world, and in the middle there is an archipelago of hundreds of the most picturesque little islands in existence. They rise from the water like immense bouquets of tropical flowers and fruits, and on them abound images and historical relics of a native civilization that dates back thousands of years. If the Nicaragua Canal is ever constructed, our lake will be the favorite spot for tourists from all over the world.

Nicaragua, relying on its own resources, does not and cannot derive any advantage from its admirable geographical situation and its immense lake, which awaits the magic wand of American enterprise to open its waters to the commerce of the seven seas. The Nicaragua Canal would make the distance by sea between San Francisco and New York about a thousand miles shorter. Our lake contains hundreds of times the water there is in Lake Gatun, in Panama. The Bryan-Cha-

morro Treaty, signed at Washington in 1914, gives the United States an option to construct this canal.

There has always been on the part of the United States in its relations with Nicaragua entire good faith and an invariable purpose to promote the welfare of that country. Nevertheless, there has been much criticism of American activities, and the criticism most frequently heard is that the troops of the United States are in Nicaragua to defend the interests of Wall Street, which are exploiting the country in a merciless fashion.

It is well to know that the interests of the Wall Street bankers in Nicaragua in March, 1928, were represented by the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the balance of a loan of one million dollars made to the Government of Nicaragua at interest of 6 per cent. An insignificant sum indeed and not deserving of the honor of such comments. And on April 20, 1928, the Government completely canceled the debt and at the present moment does not owe one cent to the Wall Street bankers. This seems to me to be a fact of the first importance.

In 1911 Brown Brothers and J. & W. Seligman & Company, of New York, loaned the Government of Nicaragua one and a half million dollars at 6 per cent per annum and 1 per cent commission; they established the National Bank, 51 per cent of the stock being owned by the

bankers and 49 per cent by the Government of Nicaragua. At the same time the bankers also acquired 51 per cent of the stock of the railway to the Pacific. The national debt then amounted to 23 millions and the monetary unit, with a nominal value of 100 cents, fluctuated between 5 and 8 cents.

In 1920 the government bought back from the bankers all the stock in the railway which had been transferred to them, and in 1924 bought the bank shares; so that since then the Government has been absolute owner of the entire stock of the railway and the bank. The national debt has been reduced from 23 millions to 6 millions and the monetary unit, the cordoba, is worth exactly one dollar, and its value has not changed at any time, not even during the World War, when almost every other country saw its money greatly depreciated.

The export trade of Nicaragua in 1926 reached the highest figure in its history, and in 1928 it will reach the same figure, more or less, in spite of political unrest.

Nicaragua is without doubt one of the countries most favored by Nature with immense stores of undeveloped wealth. Coffee from Matagalpa is the finest in the world; there is more mahogany in our forests than in any other country, and we can produce cattle in huge quantities; but we need two principal factors to give value to these riches, and they are:

First. Peace and stability, which we are now on the road to securing, thanks to an adequate electoral system and to the establishment of the national guard, which is organized independently of any partisan tendency.

Secondly. Foreign capital to build a railway to the Atlantic and to give impetus to our agricultural enterprises and to highway construction.

If any criticism can be made of American influence in Nicaragua in the past few years, it is that it has not been sufficiently constructive and efficient in helping the country in its economic problems, and the reason for this, without doubt, has been the fear of unjustifiable criticism on the score of imperialism and intervention.

I have been sorry to see the estimates made by prominent persons in this coun-

try of the relative strength of the two political parties in Nicaragua. Would it not be better, before expressing an opinion, to await the results of the coming elections, so as not to be later taxed with partiality, when Americans, as supervisors of the elections, are bound to be entirely impartial?

Much has been said of the danger which the American policy constitutes for the autonomy of Nicaragua. But if a careful examination is made of the historical facts, the impartial observer must come to the conclusion that the United States, on the contrary, has been the safeguard of this very autonomy.

In 1823, with the Monroe Doctrine, the United States declared to the world that the countries of the new continent would be free and not open to any European colonial enterprise. Without the Monroe Doctrine, it is probable that the excellent strategical position of Nicaragua would have tempted the cupidity of some power of the old continent.

In 1894, thanks to the Monroe Doctrine and to the good offices of the American Government, the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, which, under the name of Mosquito Coast, was virtually a protectorate of Great Britain, was reincorporated with Nicaragua. This constitutes one of the richest and most important regions of our country.

In a general way, ever since the time when the United States recognized the independence of Nicaragua, the United States has sought to aid us on the difficult road to self-government.

In 1907 President Roosevelt's administration invited the Governments of Central America to hold a conference in Washington; and this conference, with the aid and advice of American representatives, signed treaties the principal object of which was to diminish so far as possible the causes of revolution in those countries.

In 1923 the nations of Central America held another conference at Washington, wherein the stipulations of the 1907 treaties were made broader and more practical.

In 1922 the Conservative administration in Nicaragua accepted with enthusiasm the recommendations of the De-

partment of State and appointed Dr. H. W. Dodds, of Princeton, as expert to study the electoral question and draft a law which would permit the elections in Nicaragua to be conducted in a manner satisfactory to the two political parties.

In 1927, after one of the most sanguinary conflicts in the history of Nicaragua, the details of which are well known to everyone, the two parties, the Conservative and the Liberal, signed the Pact of Tipitapa under the auspices of General Henry L. Stimson, personal representative of President Coolidge. In virtue of this pact both parties agreed to lay down their arms and leave the decision of the conflict to a civil contest in the form of free elections, supervised by the American Government, in place of the bloody strife, in which the country was positively bent on self-destruction.

When Moncada was about to lay down his arms in virtue of this pact he called together his officers and told them of his purpose. All were in accord, including General Sandino, who was present; but in spite of that Sandino set out with the contingent of troops under his command, with arms and munitions, under the specious pretext of procuring clothing and food, and on May 9, two days before the signing of the agreement, he sent a letter to Moncada. I have a photostat copy of that letter in my possession, and it seems opportune to read an English translation of it here:

"MAY 9, 1927.

"ESTEEMED GENERAL MONCADA:

"I take pleasure in informing you that, having arrived at this place, I have found myself in a difficult position, due to the fact that all of my followers have not joined me, since I have found but a few chiefs, the rest of my troops having gone to Jinotega, the place from whence they came; for this reason I feel that my remaining at this place will avail nothing, all of my followers having disbanded.

"I have decided to go to Jinotega again to assemble my men, in order to collect all the arms. In this case I shall remain there awaiting your orders.

"I likewise delegate my rights that you may arrange the matters as may suit you best, informing me of the results at Jinotega, which I shall occupy with my troops.

"The disbanding of my men is due to their not finding anything to eat and for this reason they have left. However, I assure you that as soon as I arrive they must all come where I am, and then I shall collect all the arms."

(Formal ending.)

(Signed)

A. C. SANDINO."

This letter shows clearly that Sandino had apparently accepted the idea of the pact and had given full powers to Moncada to arrange the details; but, untrue to his word, he commenced the guerrilla warfare which has so greatly retarded the consolidation of peace.

If Sandino were a patriot, as some claim, a George Washington, a William Tell, as he has been called, he could not have commenced his campaign with an act of deceit such as I have just related.

Sandino, in spite of the declarations of former Vice-President Sacasa and of the clandestine support of some Liberal elements, has neither principles nor flag. Sandino knows that the American marines are in Nicaragua to guarantee the country the free election that is desired by both parties, and that once a stable government has been consolidated the American forces will withdraw from the country. He knows that the United States has no preference for either candidate or for either party, and that the elections will be the free expression of the will of the people. If he had any true patriotism, he would hasten to cooperate in this constructive work of order and peace; but, far from co-operating, he has devoted himself to sterile destruction of life and property in inaccessible regions of the country. If the marines were to withdraw from Nicaragua Sandino would continue fighting against the Nicaraguans.

The people of Nicaragua know that the American Government does not threaten their liberty and have absolute confidence in the oft-repeated words of President Coolidge, in the declarations of Secretary Hughes at the Havana Conference, and this confidence was eloquently expressed at that same conference by our then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Doctor Carlos Cuadra Pasos.

The false and incorrect presentation of

the real motives and tendencies of the American Government in Nicaragua so actively propagated in this country and in Europe is not the work of Nicaraguans.

The opposition of some party factions in the Nicaraguan Chamber to the McCoy Law, which establishes and regulates American supervision of the elections in accordance with the Stimson pact, has been provoked only by questions of form, and not in any way by the question of policy, for all the parties are in favor of supervision of the elections as the best way of putting an end to the present crisis, and they have confidence in the uprightness and impartiality of the American officials entrusted with carrying it out.

Both parties are now preparing to take part in the electoral contest which will decide the government for the coming term.

The Conservative administration has given one more proof of its loyalty, of the loftiness of its views, and of its purpose to keep faith with its political opponents.

The pages of the history of Nicaragua are full of glorious deeds, which prove that Nicaraguans, when occasion arises, can be great patriots.

The chronicles of our colonial history relate that on the occasion of an English advance across the San Juan River, Horatio Nelson, the victor of Trafalgar, then a simple naval officer, attacked the fortress of "El Castillo," which guarded the entrance to Lake Nicaragua. Governor

Herrera, commanded-in-chief, died in the fight, and his daughter, Doña Rafaela de Herrera, a girl of eighteen, put herself at the front of the garrison and directed the defense. After a terrific battle, in which Nelson lost his right eye, the English were forced to withdraw and the young heroine, victorious, remained in possession of the fortress.

When William Walker, in one of the strangest, most fantastic adventures in the history of this continent, tried to make himself master of Nicaragua, with the support of some slaveholders from the South of the United States, the Nicaraguans fought with indomitable valor. The battle of San Jacinto, in 1856, was the first battle fought for the liberty of the slaves in the New World and it was won with Nicaraguan blood.

On one occasion Walker threatened one of our statesmen with the execution of his brother, holding him hostage for the fulfillment of certain conditions, and the statesman nobly replied with these words, which are engraved on the memory of all true sons of Nicaragua: "Happily shall my brother die if his blood serve to water the soil of liberty."

The centennial anniversary celebration of the American Peace Society I have thought a fitting occasion to narrate these facts, which so clearly show that, though precious lives may have been lost, the work of the United States in Nicaragua, in its true significance, has been a work of peace.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

THE BRITISH-FRENCH NAVAL ACCORD

(Note, September 28, 1928, of the Government of the United States, delivered by the American Embassy in London on September 28 to the British Government in reply to its note of July 31, 1928. An identic note was delivered by the American Embassy in Paris to the French Government September 28, in reply to the French Government's note of August 3, 1928.)

The Government of the United States has received from His Majesty's Government a

communication summarizing the understanding reached between the British and French governments as to a basis of naval limitation, which agreement, it is stated, will be submitted to the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

The Government of the United States is willing to submit certain suggestions as to the basis of naval limitation as summarized in the British note. From the communica-

tion of the British Government it appears that:

The limitations which the Disarmament Conference will have to determine will deal with four classes of men-of-war:

(1) Capital ships—*i. e.*, ships of over 10,000 tons or with guns of more than eight-inch caliber.

(2) Aircraft carriers of over 10,000 tons.

(3) Surface vessels of or below 10,000 tons, armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch caliber.

(4) Ocean-going submarines over 600 tons.

As the Washington Treaty regulates the first two classes—that is, capital ships and aircraft carriers—the Preparatory Commission will have to consider only the last two categories, so far as the signatories of that treaty are concerned.

From the foregoing summary of the agreement it appears that the only classes of naval vessels which it is proposed to limit under the Franco-British draft agreement are cruisers of or below 10,000 tons, armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch caliber, and submarines of over 600 tons. The position of the Government of the United States has been and now is that any limitation of naval armament to be effective should apply to all classes of combatant vessels. The Franco-British agreement provides no limitation whatsoever on six-inch gun cruisers, or destroyers, or submarines of 600 tons or less. It could not be claimed that the types of vessels thus left without limitation are not highly efficient fighting ships. No one would deny that modern cruisers armed with six-inch guns, or destroyers similarly armed, have a very high offensive value, especially to any nation possessing well-distributed bases in various parts of the world. In fact, such cruisers constitute the largest number of fighting ships now existing in the world. The limitation of only such surface vessels as are restricted in class 3 of the draft agreement—that is, cruisers of or below 10,000 tons, armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch caliber—would be the imposition of restrictions only on types peculiarly suited to the needs of the United States. The United States cannot accept, as a distinct class, surface combatant vessels of or below 10,000 tons armed with guns of more than six-inch and up to eight-inch caliber. It is further clearly apparent that limitation of this type only would add enormously to the comparative offensive

power of a nation possessing a large merchant tonnage on which preparation may be made in times of peace for mounting six-inch guns.

At the Three Power Conference at Geneva in 1927 the British delegation proposed that cruisers be thus divided into two classes: those carrying eight-inch guns and those carrying guns of six inches or less in caliber. They proposed further that eight-inch gun cruisers be limited to a small number or to a small total tonnage limitation, and that the smaller class of cruisers, carrying six-inch guns or less, be permitted a much larger total tonnage, or, what amounts to the same thing, to a very large number of cruisers of this class. The limitation proposed by the British delegation on this smaller class of cruisers was so high that the American delegation considered it, in effect, no limitation at all. This same proposal is now presented in a new and even more objectionable form, which still limits large cruisers, which are suitable to American needs, but frankly places no limitation whatever on cruisers carrying guns of six inches or less in caliber. This proposal is obviously incompatible with the American position at the Three Power Conference. It is even more unacceptable than the proposal put forward by the British delegation at that conference, not only because it puts the United States at a decided disadvantage, but also because it discards altogether the principle of limitation as applied to important combatant types of vessels.

Much of what has been said above as to vessels in class 3 of the Franco-British agreement applies with equal or greater force to class 4. The American Government cannot accept as a distinct class of submarines those of over 600 tons, leaving unlimited all submarines of 600 tons or under. Six-hundred-ton submarines are formidable combatant vessels. They carry the same torpedoes as are carried by larger submarines and of equal destructive force within the radius of their operation. They can also be armed with guns of five-inch caliber. The United States would gladly, in conjunction with all the nations of the world, abolish the submarine altogether. If, however, submarines must be continued as instruments of naval warfare, it is the belief of the American

Government that they should be limited to a reasonable tonnage or number.

If there is to be further limitation upon the construction of war vessels, so that competition in this regard between nations may be stopped, it is the belief of the United States that it should include all classes of combatant vessels, submarines as well as surface vessels.

The Government of the United States has earnestly and consistently advocated real reduction and limitation of naval armament. It has given its best efforts towards finding acceptable methods of attaining this most desirable end. It would be happy to continue such efforts, but it cannot consent to proposals which would leave the door wide open to unlimited building of certain types of ships of a highly efficient combatant value and would impose restrictions only on types peculiarly suitable to American needs.

The American Government seeks no special advantage on the sea, but clearly cannot permit itself to be placed in a position of manifest disadvantage. The American Government feels, furthermore, that the terms of the Franco-British draft agreement, in leaving unlimited so large a tonnage and so many types of vessels, would actually tend to defeat the primary objective of any disarmament conference for the reduction or the limitation of armament, in that it would not eliminate competition in naval armament and would not effect economy. For all these reasons the Government of the United States feels that no useful purpose would be served by accepting as a basis of discussion the Franco-British proposal.

The American Government has no objection to any agreement between France and Great Britain which those countries think will be to their advantage and in the interest of limitation of armament, but naturally cannot consent that such an agreement should be applied to the United States.

In order to make quite clear that, in declining to adopt the Franco-British agreement as a basis for discussion of naval limitation, it seems appropriate briefly to review the attitude of the United States regarding the methods of limitation, in order to show that the American Government has consistently favored a drastic proportional limitation. The success of the Washington Conference is known to all. It strictly limited all combatant ships and aircraft carriers of

over 10,000 tons. In order to bring about such limitation the American Government made great sacrifices in the curtailment of plans of building and in the actual destruction of ships already built. At the first session of the preparatory conference the American Government submitted proposals which were consistently adhered to at subsequent meetings:

(1) That the total tonnage allowed in each class of combatant vessel be prescribed.

(2) That the maximum tonnage of a unit and the maximum caliber of gun allowed for each class be prescribed.

(3) That, so long as the total tonnage allowed to each class is not exceeded, the actual number of units may be left to the discretion of each power concerned.

Within this general plan the American proposal at the Geneva Conference was, for the United States and the British Empire, a total tonnage limitation in the cruiser class of from 250,000 to 300,000 tons and for Japan from 150,000 to 180,000. For the destroyer class, for the United States and the British Empire, from 200,000 to 250,000 and for Japan from 120,000 to 150,000 tons. For the submarine class, for the United States and the British Empire, 60,000 to 90,000 tons and for Japan 36,000 to 54,000 tons. It was further stated by the American delegation that, if any power represented felt justified in proposing still lower tonnage levels for auxiliary craft, the American Government would welcome such proposal.

The purpose of these proposals was that there might be no competition between the three powers in the building of naval armament, that their respective navies should be maintained at the lowest level compatible with national security and should not be of the size and character to warrant the suspicion of aggressive intent, and, finally, that a wise economy dictates that further naval construction be kept to a minimum.

The Government of the United States remains willing to use its best efforts to obtain a basis of further naval limitation satisfactory to all the naval powers, including those not represented at the Three Power Conference in Geneva, and is willing to take into consideration in any conference the special needs of France, Italy, or any other naval power for the particular class of vessels deemed by them most suitable for their defense. This could be accomplished by permit-

ting any of the powers to vary the percentage of tonnage in classes within the total tonnage; a certain percentage to be agreed upon. If there was an increase in one class of vessels, it should be deducted from the tonnage to be used in other classes. A proposal along these lines made by France and discussed by the American and French representatives would be sympathetically considered by the United States. It expects on the part of others, however, similar consideration for its own needs. Unfortunately, the Franco-British agreement appears to fulfill none of the conditions which, to the American Government, seem vital. It leaves unlimited a very large class of effective fighting ships, and this very fact would inevitably lead to a recrudescence of naval competition disastrous to national economy.

TURCO-AFGHAN TREATY

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the articles of the treaty of friendship and security signed between Turkey and Afghanistan.)

Article 1. True friendship and everlasting peace shall exist between the Turkish Republic and the Kingdom of Afghanistan.

Article 2. Should any Power or Powers commit an act of hostility against either of the contracting parties the other pledges itself to use every effort to prevent an actual conflict, and, despite those efforts, should war ensue the two governments shall consult together in a spirit of good will as to how they shall reach a solution which shall safeguard the essential interests of both.

Article 3. Each of the contracting parties undertakes not to make with any Power or Powers any alliance or agreement, political, military, economic, or financial, directed against the other.

Article 4. The contracting parties shall use every endeavor to insure the progress and re-establishment of both countries concerned, and with this object in view shall make, as and when required, special treaties other than those already existing between them.

Article 5. Turkey undertakes to place at the disposal of Afghanistan judicial, scientific, and military experts to assist her progress and development.

Article 6. Turkish nationals residing in Afghanistan and *vice versa* shall enjoy the most-favored-nation treatment as regards conditions of residence and commerce. The contracting parties shall, however, be free to

conclude between them commercial, residential, consular, postal, and telegraphic conventions and a treaty of extradition.

Article 7. Each of the contracting parties reserves for itself full liberty of action in its dealings with other Powers except as specially stipulated in the present treaty.

Article 8. The present treaty has been drawn up in Turkish and Persian, and either text is valid.

Article 9. The present treaty shall be ratified with the least possibly delay and shall enter into force immediately it is ratified.

The first article of the present treaty is valid for all time; the remaining articles for ten years. Should the treaty not be annulled by either contracting party six months before the expiration of the ten years mentioned, it shall be considered valid for a further period of one year.

Signed and sealed at Angora, May 25, 1928.

News in Brief

THE GRAF ZEPPELIN, MAMMOTH AIRSHIP, made in Germany for the use of Spain, made its first ocean crossing, under German command, covering a distance of 6,300 miles in 111 hours and 30 minutes. It started from Friederichshafen, Germany, flew overland 1,200 miles to Gibraltar, and then over the Atlantic to the Lakehurst Naval Air Station, U. S. A., arriving late in the afternoon, October 9. Sixty persons were carried by the airship, twenty of whom were passengers.

THE POSSIBILITY OF CALLING a universal religious peace congress in the year 1930 was the subject of discussion in a gathering of 124 persons meeting in Geneva September 12-14. The objects of such a congress were formulated under three heads. The third of these begins as follows: "To devise means whereby men of all religious faiths may work together to remove existing obstacles to peace."

THOMAS A. EDISON WAS AWARDED A MEDAL, voted by Congress and presented to him by Secretary Mellon on October 20, for his achievements in invention.

A PAN AMERICAN TRANSPORTATION BUREAU, to advise and assist travelers from Latin America, has been established by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in New York City. This is intended not only to help the business of the railroad company, but to further happy and peaceful relations between the two continents.

THE NEW STATE COUNCIL OF CHINA, consisting of fifteen men, and their chairman, Chiang Kai-shek, took office in Nanking in ceremonials closing October 11. The presidents of the five newly created Yuans, or department boards of China, were also inaugurated. The reorganization scheme continues the Kuomintang in control of the Nationalist Government. The new State Council is merely a channel through which the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang directs the affairs of the country. The five board presidents are responsible to the State Council, while the various ministries under the different boards are similarly controlled by these new "Yuans."

MRS. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, mother of Colonel Lindbergh, has gone to take the position of visiting professor of chemistry in the Constantinople Woman's College, Turkey. With her is Miss Alice Morrow, sister of Dwight W. Morrow, Ambassador to Mexico, who will act as hostess at the College during the winter.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES was unanimously elected on September 8, by the Council of the League of Nations, and by the Assembly with a vote of 41 to 7, to succeed John Bassett Moore, recently resigned, as judge for two years of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

THE AMERICAN CONSULATE AT GENEVA has lately been enlarged and reorganized, in order to facilitate the co-operation of the United States in the non-political activities of the League of Nations.

INTERNATIONAL GOLDEN RULE SUNDAY will be observed on December 2, 1928, in this country. The immediate beneficiaries of the day will be the orphaned children of the Near East, most of whom are under sixteen years of age.

JAPANESE SCHOOLS, established only a little more than half a century, now enroll 98

per cent or more of the children of school age in Japan.

AIR MAIL SERVICE between the United States and Canada was inaugurated on October 1.

PRELIMINARY PLANS have been completed for the international Civil Aeronautics Conference to be held in Washington, December 12-14.

CHINESE NATIONALIST GENERALS in the northern area have ordered the troops under their command to undertake the dredging of rivers and canals in Peiping and Tientsin as an initial step in the policy of transforming soldiers into productive laborers.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX MILLION POUNDS of high explosives, manufactured for military purposes, have been used since the World War to clear lands, help in road construction, and for other useful purposes, according to an official in the U. S. Bureau of Mines.

MAJOR SCAPINI, A FRENCH WAR VETERAN, speaking before the American Legion at its tenth annual convention in San Antonio in October, is quoted as saying, "The idea of peace is on its way in the world and we veterans are its best aid."

MR. HIPÓLITO YRIGOYEN, who served as President of the Argentine Republic from 1916 to 1922, was again inaugurated as President this year on October 12. The Argentine constitution forbids two consecutive presidential terms, but the majority accorded Mr. Yrigoyen in this year's election was the largest ever given an Argentine presidential candidate. Ninety per cent of the electorate voted.

THE SPANISH DICTATORSHIP completed its fifth year on September 13, 1928. The anniversary was celebrated with apparently sincere enthusiasm throughout Spain.

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS for Intellectual Cooperation met at Prague October 1-3.

AN INTERNATIONAL GOOD-WILL CONGRESS will be held in New York City November 11-13, under the auspices of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. This will occur on the tenth anniversary of the signing of the armistice.

GERMANY CELEBRATED ON AUGUST 11 the ninth anniversary of the adoption of the Weimar Constitution.

THE NETTUNO AGREEMENT WITH ITALY, concluded in July, 1925, was pushed through the Yugoslav Parliament on August 13 this year, thus ending the long-drawn-out contest between Serbs and non-Serbs over Italian rights in the Adriatic coast region.

AHMED ZOGU, PREVIOUSLY PRESIDENT OF ALBANIA, was, on September 1, formally proclaimed King by the National Assembly. Italy was the first among the powers to recognize the new monarchy.

THE MEXICAN PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT, elected unanimously on September 25 to take the place of President-elect Obregon, who was assassinated, is Emilio Portes Gil. His term of office will extend from December 1, 1928, to February 5, 1930. The election of Portes Gil is notable, in that he is a civilian, whereas previous presidents of Mexico have all been military men.

PRESIDENT VON HINDENBURG OF GERMANY celebrated his eighty-first birthday October 2 by ordering the distribution of \$106,000 to war invalids. The fund from which this donation was made was collected by popular subscription and presented to Hindenburg on his eightieth birthday, a year ago.

BOOK REVIEWS

TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPE. By *Preston William Slosson*. Pp. 724 and index. Illustrations and maps. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1927. Price, \$6.00.

Of many books, covering the last quarter century of history, this is eminent in certain respects. It is written in a pleasantly clear and simple style, detailed enough, but never prolix. It is written in an unbiased temper, without the preaching of doctrines. The method is, rather, that of a scientist getting an estimate of facts and data. These the author presents in a readable running narrative of political and social events since

1900. Biography is not his concern, nor are battles; yet national leaders are given their places in the forefront of movements, and the main outlines and the principles involved in the World War are detailed with a large grasp, together with the geographical and industrial factors entering into problems.

Two of the best portions of the book are those describing the British Commonwealth and, this especially, Russia since the revolution.

An added chapter by the author's father, the scientist, Edwin E. Slosson, tells of the advances in science since 1900, adding the one thing necessary to complete the survey.

The maps are particularly good, many of them colored to show more graphically the geographic or political facts they illustrate. The appendix, giving suggestions for topical study, complete the usefulness and interest of this book, not only for those new to the study, but for those who wish a résumé of facts already familiar to them.

INTERALLIED DEBTS AND REVISION OF THE DEBT SETTLEMENTS. Compiled by *James Thayer Gerould* and *Laura Shearer Turnbull*. Pp. 1484 and index. H. W. Wilson Co., 1928. Price, \$2.40.

INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA. Compiled by *Lamar T. Beman*. Pp. 295. H. W. Wilson Co., 1928. Price, \$2.40.

The two books listed above are handbooks designed either for debaters or for individual students of these much-discussed problems.

The first mentioned contains well organized briefs, opposing and favoring allied debt revisions. Following this section is one on bibliography, and also references to debates and arguments, classified according to the stand taken. Then come twenty-two official documents relating to the contracting of the debts, followed by articles or excerpts arguing the question of revision. An excellent chronology, down to the end of 1927, precedes an index.

The second book, possibly because of the different nature of the question, gives no space to documentary and little to factual references. The latter are included, if at all—as, for instance, in the case of the occupation of Haiti—in the quoted articles of the discussion. As in most of the Wilson

handbooks, briefs of the arguments precede the quoted opinions. Unfortunately, no index is included in this book.

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. By *Paul Radin*. Pp. 371. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1927. Price, \$5.00.

The fascinating story of prehistoric cultures in America is not yet fully deciphered. Amazing archeological discoveries are announced from time to time, but to most general readers these facts cannot be fitted into any logical historical framework. It is a pleasure, therefore, to read a connected story, simply narrated and profusely illustrated, as is this by Dr. Radin.

The actual origin of the high type of civilization once existing in the New World is still an enigma to scholars, though several hypotheses are given. As early as 100 B. C., however, an actual date can be fixed when the Maya civilization of Central America was highly developed. Art, architecture, and astronomical science at least, and to a great degree political organization, were well grown. As these people migrated or expanded, they influenced successive cultures—Toltec, Aztec, Mound-Builders, and a constantly attenuating stream, through successive tribes in North America. There exist evidences of commerce, at least, between the Mayas of Central America and the Incas of Peru, and on through other South American territory until the trail is lost in the Brazilian jungles.

It is a broad study which Dr. Radin makes, and, with the many descriptions of customs and their results, in the main aboriginal groups, it lends itself to philosophical queries as to the reasons underlying any survival or decay of civilizations. These points the author hardly touches. The answers, of course, can scarcely be guessed until science has contributed much more than it has thus far done to the known facts.

THE TREATIES OF 1778 AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. Edited by *G. Chinard*. Pp. 70. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

Bound in colonial buff and blue, this attractive volume contains, in parallel columns, English and French, respectively, three momentous documents. They are "The

Treaty of Amity and Commerce," the "Treaty of Alliance," and the "Act, Separate and Secret," by which France threw the weight of her influence with this country and against Great Britain in our struggle for independence. The book is timely, since this year marks the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the signing and ratifying of these treaties.

The introduction, by Dr. James Brown Scott, gives the interesting historical setting of the treaties—the European political currents, the appointment and personnel of the American commissioners, and some pertinent technical comments.

Quotations from the Journals of the Continental Congress recording the plans for these treaties and the selection of commissions to draft and to present them to France follow the treaties themselves, making altogether a unified story of the winning of France's aid to us in our dire necessity one hundred fifty years ago.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENTS. By *James Wilford Garner*. Pp. 803 and index. American Book Co., 1928.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES. By *James Wilford Garner*. Pp. 254 and index. New York, University Press, 1928.

The former of the two books is a textbook for colleges, with all the virtues and drawbacks of a textbook when considered for general reading. It is condensed, classified, and quite successfully detached in manner. Since the democratic ideal has, in the years since the World War, made sudden, unprecedented advance in some parts of the world, while it has been definitely abandoned in other countries, such as Italy, Spain, and Russia, it needs, more than ever, to be examined and defined, along with the newer experiments in human government. This Professor Garner, of the University of Illinois, has admirably done in the textbook.

In the other book, however, while it has some historical significance, the author has not maintained the detachment and historical objectivity which one has a right to expect. The pose of impartiality is not convincing. The history is written from the standpoint of opinion, and the views of the opposing section of public opinion, which has ruled American foreign policy, is no-

where fairly stated. This, it seems to us, is a serious flaw in a historical book, which should record the facts and lead the student to investigate further and to think for himself.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC. Edited by J. B. Conditte. Pp. 615 and index.

This book contains the proceedings of the second conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held in Honolulu, July 15-29, 1927. Its editor calls it the story of a democratic procedure applied to international relations. The delegates were unofficial and uninstructed, yet many of them were well versed and expert in the affairs and views of their own governments. They came from nine countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean, and from the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. Unfortunately, no delegates from Latin America, other than the Philippines, are recorded.

The volume contains the opening statements of the national groups, summaries of the round-table discussions, papers read at the conferences—some thirty-three of them—and a series of appendices concerning the conference, its aims and program. A number of excellent maps accompany articles, making this a very useful reference text on the aspirations and problems of the Pacific peoples. The conference, as a whole, was a most suggestive example of the way in which peace and understanding may be furthered among the nations.

LATIN AMERICA IN WORLD POLITICS. By J. Fred Rippey. Pp. 286. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928.

A growing stream of literature now flowing from the presses of this country deals with Latin America and with our relations here on the western continent. Public interest in the United States is obviously focused upon our neighbors to the south. We are beginning to realize how little we really have understood them. Of a different ancestry, both temperamentally and legally, the States of Latin America are yet bound up in the same ideals of freedom and democracy as are we in the United States. This English-speaking republic therefore tremendously needs to comprehend the mind and powers of Spanish America.

The book in hand needs scarcely any other recommendation than its authorship. Professor Rippey, of Duke University, and Associate editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, has every advantage of scholarship in his field. He gives this outline survey, however, without dogmatism or pedantry, realizing that the field is too new to be exhaustively worked; admitting, too, that differences of opinion and sentiment would necessarily modify one's choice of questions to be discussed in such a book.

What he aims to do, and succeeds admirably in doing, is to provide a background against which North Americans may estimate their southern neighbors. As the reader begins with events in the fifteenth century and goes on toward the present, he begins to have a dawning perception of the bearing upon recent events which early history has. Rivalries south of the Rio Grande have a long past. Not only the United States and Spain, but also Great Britain, Germany, France, Japan, and other countries have long dabbled in the politics and economics of South and Central America. From a more or less passive part in these affairs, the various Latin American States have risen to active participation in world events. They have often, especially recently, given distinguished service to the nations.

The final chapter is of special timeliness. Knitting up the threads previously followed, it deals frankly, but briefly, with such questions as Tacna-Arica, Panama, and Nicaragua. Without avoiding criticism, it is not entirely censorious of the United States. It explains, rather, United States foreign policies and also the natural fears of the Latin-American countries. Conclusions are constructive in tone. Professor Rippey holds that, in spite of many blunders, public opinion in the United States is more to be trusted by Latin America than the bitter suspicions circulated in some European journals.

SOUTH AMERICA LOOKS AT THE UNITED STATES. By Clarence H. Haring. Pp. 243. Macmillan, New York, 1928. Price, \$2.50.

More popular in style, though hardly more readable, this book differs from Professor Rippey's "Latin America in World Politics," in that it interprets the thought of the Latin American as he looks at the United States.

Relations with the rest of the world are not considered, nor the long history of many present difficulties.

Interspersed with incident, anecdote, and literary quotations, Mr. Haring criticizes, interprets, and explains, to the end that relations between the North and South Americas may be freer of offense, fuller of co-operation.

It is briskly written, its findings based largely upon a year's residence in South America under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard and Radcliffe Universities. It is a helpful book and, incidentally, explanatory of the kind of democratic diplomacy which should exist.

MUSSOLINI, THE MAN OF DESTINY. By *Vittorio E. de Fiori*. Translated from the Italian by Mario A. Pei. Pp. 222. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1928. - Price, \$3.00.

"One may disagree with him, or even hate him, at a distance, but those who are near him cannot escape his subtle fascination. Even his enemies are forced to admire him and bow their heads under his lashing tongue and pen." So says the very partisan biographer, who has seemingly something of the driving energy and grandiloquent patriotism of his chief.

It is interesting, whatever one thinks of Mussolini's methods, to read this electric narrative of a strong man's life. It fires one's sense of drama. The man seems to be living an epic—austere, even savage, but thrilling. Even those rapturous pages glorifying Italy's entrance into the World War, pages covered with such phrases as "Clarion call," singing regiments, "Songs of Garibaldi," and "Sword of Scipio," intoxicate the reader like the strains of a regiment band and the beat of a regiment's feet.

Only upon laying the book down does one realize that the story has not all been told. The book ends with the ascent of Mussolini to dictatorship. "It is," says de Fiori, the "dictatorship of organization"—a dictatorship which Italy sorely needed in 1922. A second Russia would have been a worse calamity. But the use of a dictatorship to suppress free speech, to impose its will upon the people in intolerant, apparently unnecessary ways, has a menace of its own—possibly to the rest of the world as well as to Italy.

Yet Fascism does not, like Bolshevism,

strive to overrun other countries. To Mussolini, Fascism, and, for that matter, Bolshevism as well, are indigenous to their own countries, and cannot be transplanted. He finds democracy weak and futile, a hang-over from the nineteenth century. His ideal is an Italy, disciplined and industrious, building up an aristocracy of technicians. Such an aristocracy he believes will recreate the ancient glory of Rome—a Rome which will be a force with which other nations will have to reckon.

But, however one may dissent from the policies of government and freedom espoused by de Fiori and his master, the book helps one to understand the remarkable metamorphosis of this fiery son of a blacksmith from a Socialist and Pacifist before the war to the grim and dominating militarist which he has, through the influence of that war, now become.

THE AMERICAN AND GERMAN UNIVERSITY. By *Charles Franklin Thwing*. Pp. 232 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1928. Price, \$2.25.

President Emeritus Thwing, of Western Reserve University, has given much of his life to the study of university problems, here and abroad. This latest volume traces the influence of the German university on America for the last hundred years. Dr. Thwing feels that, due partly to the war, which has so impoverished Germany in men and money, partly due to the rise of research foundations in this country and the enlargement of all educational schemes here, the coming century will find Germany much less influential in American university work and methods than in the past. Already less numbers of students are enrolling in German universities and even in medicine, law, and theology the torch seems to have passed to other hands.

For these reasons, if for no other, it is interesting to look back over the work which German scholars have done for American students. It may be, too, that this work is not so nearly a thing of the past as seems on the surface. It may be that, by transferring his field of operations to the more propitious United States, the German professor and scientist, with all his thoroughness and patience, may yet infuse some much-needed qualities into American university work.

ADVOCATE OF

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THROUGH JUSTICE



WILLIAM FORTUNE
President of the American Peace Society

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

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The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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

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BOOKS

Call, Arthur D.:			
Our Country and World Peace. . . .	1926	1.25	
Johnson, Julia E. (Compiler):			
Permanent Court of International Justice	1923	.60	

Scott, James Brown:			
Peace Through Justice.	1917	.70	
Whitney, Edson L.:			
Centennial History of American Peace Society	1928	5.00	

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Christian Non-resistance. 278 pages. First published 1846, and republished	1910	.35	
Crosby, Ernest:			
Garrison, the Non-resistant. 141 pages	1905	.25	
La Fontaine, Henri:			
The Great Solution. 177 pages. . . .	1916	.70	

Lynch, Frederick:			
Through Europe on the Eve of War. 152 pages.	1914	.25	
Von Suttner, Berthe:			
Lay Down Your Arms (a novel), 435 pages	1914	.50	
White, Andrew D.:			
The First Hague Conference. 123 pages	1905	.50	

REPORTS

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WILLIAM FORTUNE

WILLIAM FORTUNE, of Indianapolis, Indiana, was elected sixteenth President of the American Peace Society, October 26, 1928. On that day the Board of Directors telegraphed to Mr. Fortune as follows:

“At a meeting of the Board of Directors the American Peace Society today, Doctor David Jayne Hill in the chair, and upon motion of Doctor James Brown Scott, seconded by Judge John J. Esch, it was unanimously voted that William Fortune, of Indianapolis, be elected President of the American Peace Society, to succeed Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio.”

Since David Low Dodge, of New York City, presided at the first annual meeting of this Society, in 1829, the Presidents of the Society have been: Rev. John Codman, Dorchester, Massachusetts, 1830-1831; Hon. S. V. S. Wilder, New York City, 1831-1837; William Ladd, founder of this Society, 1838-1840; Samuel E. Coues, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1841-1846; Anson G. Phelps, New York City, 1847; Hon. William Jay, New York, 1848-1858; Dr. Francis Wayland, Providence, Rhode Island, 1859-1861; Dr. Howard Malcolm, Boston, 1862-1872; Hon. Edward S. Tobey, Boston, 1873-1891; Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Boston, 1892-1910; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, Ohio, 1911-1915; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, New York City, 1916; Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio, Texas, 1917-1920; Hon.

Andrew Jackson Montague, Richmond, Virginia, 1920-1925; Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, Ohio, 1925-1928; William Fortune, 1928—.

Mr. Fortune, succeeding to a line of distinguished men, comes to the Society with a record also of conspicuous achievements. At one time he was city editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, an editorial writer on the *Indianapolis News*, and the founder of the *Municipal Engineering Magazine*. He was a personal friend of James Whitcomb Riley, with whom he traveled extensively. After Mr. Riley's death Mr. Fortune purchased the Riley home and established it as a perpetual memorial to the poet.

Mr. Fortune has had extensive business experience. He was president of the Indianapolis Telephone Company from 1908 to 1923. He has been a director in a number of industrial corporations. He has served as president of the Interstate Life Assurance Company. He was the originator and president of the Commercial Club, first president of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, and founder of the Indiana good roads movement. For a number of years he was president of the Indiana State Board of Commerce and chairman of the Commerce Elevated Railroad Commission. Under his chairmanship of the Executive Committee for the reorganization of county and township governments in Indiana, the expenses incident to these governments were reduced the first year by

three million dollars. In 1898 one hundred citizens of Indiana, headed by Benjamin Harrison, presented Mr. Fortune with a loving-cup.

Mr. Fortune's activities have not been limited to business. He was the first president of the Indianapolis Chapter of the American Red Cross, a position which he still holds. He was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Red Cross, which raised one-half million dollars. He has headed organizations which have raised in Indianapolis over four million dollars for war reliefs and charities through the years 1916-19, during which time he became the originator and president of the Indianapolis War Chest. It is agreed in his city that he has led in the raising of more money for public enterprises than any other citizen in the history of Indianapolis. In 1927 he served as the special representative of the Red Cross in connection with the meeting of the American Legion in Paris. He has traveled extensively in many parts of the world.

Men acquainted with his work speak of him in the highest terms. Mr. John W. O'Leary, when president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, congratulated the United States upon having a "man of his outstanding qualities" and went on to say: "Within every generation, there stand out a few men who can be called 'citizen,' with all that the name implies. In William Fortune, who has through his service to the public earned the most universal respect of his fellow-men, we have a citizen who walks at the front of those who are giving of their time and ability to the American public."

Dr. Thomas E. Green, director of the Speakers' Bureau of the American Red Cross and member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, one who has known Mr. Fortune for many

years, says of him: "A gentleman, a scholar, independent in means, large in accomplishment, an adept in finance, a monumental promoter of large enterprises, a practical idealist, possessed of large leisure and yet ever busy in contributing to the common good."

Mr. Felix M. McWhirter, president of the People's State Bank, Indianapolis, director of the American Peace Society from the State of Indiana, telegraphed to this Society that Mr. Fortune "will prove a distinguished acquisition," he has "great propensity for thorough and deliberate accomplishments."

The election of William Fortune to succeed Theodore E. Burton as President of the American Peace Society therefore marks an epoch in the history of this venerable corporation. Successful in private business, widely known for his sanity in philanthropy, he brings to the Society a wealth of organization experience. Through the advent of such a President, the American Peace Society is facing its newest and perhaps its greatest opportunity.

No one realizes this more than Senator Theodore E. Burton, who served the Society as its President from 1911 to 1915, and again from 1925 to 1928. Immediately following Mr. Fortune's election, Senator Burton wrote to him as follows:

"As the retiring President of the American Peace Society, an office which I have held for a number of years, I am writing you to congratulate you upon your election as President of this worthy organization.

"My retirement was due in no sense to a lack of appreciation of the great services which the Society has rendered through a century and is still rendering, but to circumstances over which I have no control. My associations with the American Peace Society have been most

happy. On various occasions I have voiced my appreciation of its work in writing and on the public platform. The principles upon which the Society is founded are enduring and peculiarly American. Its efforts in behalf of international justice have been eminently worth while. Its policy of promoting a better international understanding, of advancing the principles of judicial settlement of international disputes, its emphasis upon the power of law and order, have been most helpful. The American Peace Society is an educational organization of real merit. I have grown to feel for it nothing but a profound respect. It comforts me to know that you have consented to take up the promotion of its great work. I both thank and congratulate you.

"If at any time I can be of service to you, you have but to let me know. My best wishes go with you."

This letter from the distinguished statesman who knows the Society at first hand, who by returning now to the Senate establishes the record of serving many years in the House, then in the Senate, then again in the House, and once more in the Senate, will be most encouraging to the new President. The press has heralded the new leader with country-wide unanimity. Government officials have expressed their satisfaction. This Society's officers are heartened by the general approval of their choice. Plans already suggested by the new order are as stimulating as they are hopeful.

The unanimity of the call, the qualifications of our new President, the challenge in this hour of human history, combine to favor an unparalleled development in the affairs of the corporation represented by this magazine. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, speaking, it believes, on behalf of the Society's entire membership, heartily welcomes William Fortune to the Presidency of the American Peace Society.

THE PACT OF PARIS FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR

FOR America the Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War occupies now the center of the international picture. This instrument, signed by fifteen powers, at Paris, August 27, 1928, has been approved at this writing by all governments invited, with the exception of Iceland, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. Its fate is now in the hands of the United States Senate.

What difficulties, if any, may be brought up in the Senate to jeopardize the ratification of this treaty?

The treaty provides two things: First, the renunciation of war as a national policy; second, an agreement to settle all disputes by pacific means. The exact wording is as follows:

"The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

It is reasonable to expect that some Senators will oppose this treaty. It will be pointed out that its simple words are complicated by explanations set forth in many letters between representatives of the various governments. It will be insisted that these communications are in fact reservations to the treaty. From this correspondence it appears that all hands agree that the treaty does no violence to the right of self-defense. It will be asked, therefore, what rights can be defended under this right to self-defense. Some will wish to know what rights can-

not be defended by force, if need be. Certain possible situations will be called frankly by name. It will be pointed out by some that the treaty constitutes no restriction upon the League of Nations or upon the Treaties of Locarno, both of which constitute military and political alliances with plans under certain circumstances to wage war. In what ways, if any, will the ratification of this treaty embroil us with the League or with Locarno? Some will insist that the treaty is useless, since it is no assured check against violators and because it provides no guarantees or sanctions.

Some will wish to know what the words of the treaty mean. What is meant by "war," by "national policy," by "pacific means"? One writing in this magazine points out that a "dispute" is one thing and that a "conflict" is quite another. He wishes to know whether or not an invasion is a dispute or a conflict, and if in any case an invasion is to be settled by "pacific means." He points out the fact that we have fought a number of wars where there was no invasion of our territory, implying that we may wish to do so again. He wonders what is meant by the word "sought."

Others will wish to know if the ratification of the treaty will mean the end of all so-called "intervention," such as we have carried on in Nicaragua, Haiti, and San Domingo.

Other difficulties will be brought up. It will be pointed out that such a treaty would mean the maintenance of the *status quo*, which in many instances is quite unjust, and the estoppel for certain peoples from doing what our forefathers did in the War of the Revolution or what was done in South America under San Martin or Bolivar. It may be pointed out that such a treaty may put us under moral, if not legal, obligation to do what under other circumstances we would not think

of doing. Some familiar with the complacency, the ignorance, the prejudices and distrusts, the political immaturity of peoples, with the inertia of war habits, with our emphasis on rights and our forgetfulness of duties, will see no sense in the business. It will be pointed out that, in spite of the talk of governments, there is little interest in the treaty outside the United States. Those who conceive of no security between States except that it be backed by a club will feel little interest in the treaty. Certain friends of the measure have so linked it with the reduction of our navy and with the possibilities of our joining the League of Nations that they have already aroused opposition to the treaty. Some one will point out that Article I, Section VIII, Clause XI, of the United States Constitution provides that "the Congress shall have power . . . to declare war." They will wish to know what effect such a treaty will have upon this section of the Constitution of the United States. These are some of the hurdles which the treaty may have to negotiate in the United States Senate.

We are hopeful that the Senate will pass the treaty. There is no doubt that it marks a new step in the peace movement. It is no mere resolution passed by a peace congress. It is a statement of purpose. It soft-pedals methods. It is a contract. In the name of respective peoples, it is backed by governments. In no sense is it inconsistent with liberty, or justice, or peace. It is an adventure of the spirit. It is sufficiently American to preserve our *amour propre*. Its merit is its simplicity and directness.

It is true that the condemnation of war does not construct peace; but the arguments against the pact fail to carry conviction. The various letters exchanged by the governments cannot be classified as reservations. The documents signed by the powers in Paris did not contain these

letters. Our Senate will not be asked to ratify anything other than the pact itself. In any event, there is nothing in the correspondence to which thinking people can object. Reservations or no reservations, nations will not renounce their rights to self-defense. It will be absurd to construe the treaty as in any sense an embarrassment to the members of the League of Nations or to the signatories of the Locarno pacts. No written instrument can forestall all possible violators. Absence of guarantees, of threats and sanctions, is a strength and not a weakness. It is not possible for any treaty to carry with it a definition of each and every word. Words have to be used, and that in their ordinary sense. If because of international commitments now in force a declaration such as this is impossible, it is time for us to know it. The provision of our Constitution giving to our Congress the power to declare war would not be abrogated by the adoption of this pact, for the pact is not a renunciation of all war.

The importance of the treaty is that it opens the way to "pacific" means, in other words, to the methods by which the condition of peace between nations can be hopefully preserved. With this pact signed and ratified by all the governments of the world, it is reasonable to expect that the processes of arbitration, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement, may be more hopefully extended across our nervous world. Our Senate will not be unduly influenced. For the most part these objections are more theoretically objectionable than important. We know of no people who stand for war as a national policy. All peoples are against war. They are all striving to avoid it. It is, therefore, difficult to see why the treaty should not be acceptable to our Senate.

When, last August, Mr. Kellogg landed at Le Havre, he was quoted in the Euro-

pean press as saying, "The pact will render war more difficult." To that simple statement we subscribe fully and without reservation.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S ADDRESS

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S address on Armistice Day may be called, we believe, a fair expression of our American opinion.

European views of the address as cabled to this country are evidently based upon incomplete European reports. Nothing in the address warrants the accusation that Mr. Coolidge proposed that Europe should disarm while America enlarges her fleet; that he has no sense of European difficulties; that he has "indicted a whole Continent"; that he violated the spirit of the Paris pact for the renunciation of war; that he does not sympathize with those in Europe who suffer because of their dead, their ruins, their devastated cities; or that he tried to balance blood with gold. We find nothing in the address of a "holier than thou" attitude.

Our friends in Europe advance no righteous purpose by accusing America of profiteering, following the World War. Because of that tragedy the national debt of the United States increased from one to twenty-six billions of dollars. That debt stands today at over seventeen billion dollars. The production of wealth in America was set back a decade by the unproductive wastes of the war. Mr. Coolidge's facts of the costs of the war are accurate as they are impressive. War's destruction of wealth cannot be confined within the boundaries of any nation or group of nations.

But the important feature of President Coolidge's address seems to have been

quite overlooked in Europe. It was distinctly a peace address. He referred to his efforts in behalf of a limitation of armaments. He acknowledged our duties to Europe. Throughout the address there is not one unkind criticism of any foreign Power. The address begins with "thanks for ten more years of peace," and closes with the statement that "we want peace for not only the same reason that every other nation wants it . . . but because war will interfere with our progress." Almost the last sentence is an expression of "gratitude for the important contributions of the more ancient nations which have helped to make possible our present progress and our future hope."

The injustice of the criticism of President Coolidge's address may have inspired in part, the remarks of the President of the American Peace Society to Mr. Coolidge in person on November 24. According to the press, President William Fortune said on that occasion:

"Mr. President: The American Peace Society does not come to urge upon you any new or startling program for the establishment of world peace. In your gracious letter of May 4, 1928, addressed to the President of the American Peace Society, the Honorable Theodore E. Burton, you were kind enough to say that 'The influence which this Society has exerted for now one hundred years, in behalf of international peace, has been of great importance to humanity.' Today, in turn, we of this Society express to you our profound appreciation of your able, consistent, and persuasive efforts in behalf of a mutual limitation of the instruments of war, without jeopardizing any essentials of our national strength. But further, for your fine spirit of neighborliness, especially in our relations with other nations of this Hemisphere; for your labors in behalf of the universal renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; for your insistence upon justice between nations as the abiding bulwark against the devastations of war; for your emphasis upon the ways of law and order

as the hopeful course of nations in the settlement of their international disputes; for your conspicuous and unswerving allegiance, throughout your distinguished career as President of our United States, to the best in our America, always with a high regard to the interests of a better and fairer sisterhood of nations; for all these things, Mr. President, we thank you.

While it is the policy of the American Peace Society to work as best it may at all times with and through our Government to the end that nations may achieve their interests by ways other than war, we deem it a special privilege to have been able thus to carry on our tasks during your broadening and creative administration."

THE RELATION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE TO WAR

IT IS frequently said that foreign trade tends to produce international frictions, sometimes provocative of war. Our country is engaged in international commerce on an increasing scale. Our volume of trade during the early weeks of October, according to payments by check, showed an increase over the corresponding period of a year ago. There was greater activity in our steel plants, in our building operations, and in the manufacture of automobiles. Federal Reserve Banks increased their loans and discounts. Wealth is springing up in new and many places. Business contacts are increasing rapidly over the world. In what respect are these processes calculated to endanger our foreign relations?

We believe not at all. The dangers of "exploitation" are less today than formerly. That form of business is no longer considered profitable. International trade depends for its success upon credits. There can be no credits without confidence. Where there is confidence there is peace. We have no fear because of the struggles for business extension. "Commercial imperialism" is a thing of the past.

Business men know that war kills business. Differences between nations are more of a political than an economic nature. The wants of the peoples are being supplied by the inventor, the producer and the transporter on an unprecedented scale. Dr. Julius Klein, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, believes that American trade can double or triple, in volume without taking away any trade that other countries have enjoyed. Improvement in trade means improvement in wages. Improvement in wages means a greater purchasing power. Greater purchasing power means more and better business. Within fifteen years we have doubled our exports to Australia without interfering with Australia's purchases from Britain. Our total exports to the Far East since 1913 have increased nearly five times without any detriment to Europe's trade in that area. When business organizations offer their new facilities and articles, extend their credits, cultivate the confidence of their buyers, they are observing the laws of competition; but they are not arousing enmities. They are creating friendships. This is one of the reasons for the growing investments not only of our investors abroad, but of foreign owners of capital investing in our own industries in this country. Capital is quite international. In spite of a certain odor attached to the word, business men are internationalists. Their investments in the old world have increased during the last fifteen years nine-fold. Foreign investments in our industries are very large. The business men of the world, therefore, are vitally interested in the maintenance of peace, in the maintenance of international good-will as a matter of dollars and cents.

AGAIN AS TO NICARAGUA

UPON the invitation of the Nicaraguan Government and with the consent of our Department of State, Dr. W. W. Cumberland has made an economic and financial survey of Nicaragua, which survey was made public November 19 by our Department of State with the approval of the Nicaraguan Government. The proposals do not assume that our relations with Nicaragua were to end with the elections, to be held in that country on November 4.

Under the terms of this survey, it is proposed that the American Director General be given control of the collection of internal revenue, as well as of customs collections which he has supervised heretofore. It is proposed that an independent Auditor General be named by the United States to supervise Nicaraguan Governmental expenditures. Another proposal contemplates a Nicaraguan High Commission, to consist of the Collector General, the Auditor General, and the Nicaraguan Minister of Finance.

When it is recalled that these proposals meet with the approval of the present Nicaraguan Government, one senses something of the inadequacy of that Government. But further, it is proposed that the joint interests of the National Bank of Nicaragua, now owned by the Nicaraguan Government, "be sold to strong American banking groups." The report indicates that "Nicaragua will be unable to borrow upon any acceptable basis unless the United States Government is willing to interest itself in the future stability of the Republic, both political and financial." "Limited optimism may be placed in the future of Nicaragua," according to Mr. Cumberland, only if these recommendations are followed. All these views are set forth in a letter from Dr. Cumberland to our Secretary of State, dated at Managua as far

back as March 10. One wonders why the publication of this letter has been so long delayed. In any event, if its proposals are carried out, it will be fine ammunition for the snipers against the United States. Under such a scheme we would become either paternalistic or imperialistic, and neither of these roles is becoming to us. Neither would enhance our prestige with the other governments of Latin America. Neither would be of lasting influence in the interest of Nicaragua.

NICARAGUA'S election on November 4 turned out to be a most orderly affair—friendly, honest, and impartial. The Liberal candidate for President, General José Moncado, was elected President over his Conservative opponent, Adolfo Benard, by nearly twenty thousand votes. The date of the new President's inauguration has been fixed for January 1.

It is interesting to note that 88 per cent of the registered voters voted. All votes were in by 4 p. m. Approximately 133,000 votes were cast. The results seem to have been accepted in most part by all concerned. There seems little doubt that the satisfactory results were due to the complete co-operation of the Nicaraguan forces, aided by our marines under General Frank R. McCoy.

Our Department of State on November 14 made public a message received from President Diaz of Nicaragua in reply to a message from President Coolidge congratulating the Nicaraguan executive on the recent election in that country. In this message the President of Nicaragua assured Mr. Coolidge that he had done everything possible to co-operate in an efficient manner with the members of the electoral mission. President Diaz said: "Both parties recognized the impartiality and justice with which these officials acted during the election period, as the result of

which the people of Nicaragua again thank the American Government for the friendly co-operation and interest which it has always taken in order that peace and national prosperity may obtain in this republic." Since our efforts to aid Nicaragua in this manner were because of an invitation from Nicaragua, and since Nicaragua is pleased with the results, it is reasonable to expect that the criticism of our behavior in Nicaragua will gradually subside.

THE Pan American Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration, called to meet on December 10, in the city of Washington, will be composed of leading statesmen from each of the American republics. The delegation from the United States will be Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, and Charles Evans Hughes. The Secretary General of the Conference will be Mr. Cord Meyer, Secretary of the American delegation to the Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana. As announced to date, the delegates from the various countries will be as follows: Argentina, Dr. Podestá Costa and Dr. Alberto Alcorta, both delegates at the Havana Conference; Brazil, Ambassador do Amaral, and Mr. Fraujo Jorje, Minister in Havana; Chile, Dr. Antonio Planet Cordero and Dr. Manuel Foster Ricao; Colombia, Dr. Enrique Olaya, Minister, and Dr. Carlos Escallón; Cuba, Dr. Antonio Sánchez Bustamante, and Dr. Orestes Ferrara, Ambassador; Dominican Republic, Mr. Angel Morales, Minister, and Dr. Gustavo Diaz; Ecuador, Dr. Gonzalo Zaldumbide, Minister, and Dr. Carlos Arroyo de Río; Guatemala, Dr. Adrián Ricinos, Minister, and Dr. José Falla; Honduras, Dr. Mariano Vásquez and Dr. Rómulo Durán; Mexico, Dr. Fernando González Roa and Dr. Benito Flores; Panamá, Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Minister, and Dr. Carlos L. López; Paraguay, Dr. Eligio Ayala, ex-President; Peru, Dr.

Maúrtua; Uruguay, Dr. José Pedro Varela; Venezuela, Dr. Carlos F. Grisanti, Minister, and Dr. Francisco Arroyo Parejo.

THE Pan American Union is continuing its efforts to develop a closer cultural, economic, and social co-operation between the Republics of the American continent. The Director General of the Union, Dr. L. S. Rowe, submitted his annual report at the November meeting. From this report it appears that six Pan American Conferences have been held during the past year. The Union continues to serve as the center of information, both for the Governments and for the citizens. The important publications of the Union include "*Bulletin of the Pan American Union*," published monthly in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. The Union issues pamphlets on the various countries, including a series in Spanish and Portuguese dealing with education, public health, social welfare, finance, industry, and commerce. The Union has established a Division of Agricultural Cooperation with the view of spreading widely recent results of agricultural research to the people of the entire continent.

THE Paris pact for the renunciation of war was impressively approved by Premier Baldwin, speaking in London, November 9, at the Lord Mayor's annual banquet, in the Guildhall. During the course of his remarks he said: "Believe me, the alternative before us in Europe is very simple, and the choice ought to be easy. We must either keep faith with the spirit of the pact that we have signed, or in time we must go down the steep place altogether like the Gadarene swine and perish eternally. Let us all tonight—and there are representatives here of many, great

powers—accept this opportunity which has been given to us for a new start and go forward with new faith and new hope. . . . I believe the time may come when in the history of this period there will be no greater act credited to the United States than this—that in this year she had the high honor of voicing the aspirations and desires of mankind in presenting that pact to the nations for signature."

THE Ladd celebration in New Hampshire last May deserves recording in these columns. We are in receipt of a letter and several newspaper clippings from Portsmouth and Exeter, New Hampshire, telling of the observance in Exeter of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of William Ladd and the centenary of the American Peace Society. The celebration, called "an impromptu affair," took place on the afternoon of May 10, while the Cleveland World Conference on International Justice, convened in honor of the same events, was holding its "World Day" meetings.

The local celebration was under the direction of Miss Martha L. Kimball, who is the New Hampshire State Chairman of the International Co-operation Committee of the League of Women Voters. A brief service was first held at the cemetery in Portsmouth, where Miss Kimball placed a laurel wreath on William Ladd's grave and the Rev. William Safford Jones, of the South Church (Unitarian), offered prayer. The party then motored to Exeter, where Mrs. William Burlingame had arranged for the opening of Ladd's birthplace, a fine old house, now the property of the Society of the Cincinnati. Here a meeting was held, addressed by the Rev. Mr. Jones, who spoke of the life and enduring work of Ladd. Others spoke of modern efforts toward international peace, and at the conclusion

of the meeting a poem, "Tribute" (to William Ladd and Woodrow Wilson), by Alice L. Gould, was read from the May ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

THE State of Maine has not ended its efforts to honor the memory of William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society. Mr. Hiram W. Ricker of South Poland, Maine, writes us under date of November 12:

"You will be pleased to know that the State, from the appropriation made two years ago, is spending about \$1,000.00 in drains, roads and grading around the William Ladd Memorial. The work is nearly complete. The Committee has also contracted to have a fine sign put on the corner of the road with an arrow pointing to the Memorial Tablet. We also included in the signing of the road, all the cross roads between Auburn and Paris and Norway, on which road there is large travel for a country road. There is a movement to make this road which is about 16 or 17 miles long, what we call a "State Aid Road" between Norway and Auburn. Paris and Norway are very interesting towns of about 3,000 people each and it is a geographical center for many tourists who have cottages and camps in that vicinity to come to do their trading. We believe with this improvement to the road that we will have, at least, 250 to 300 automobiles pass by Minot Center every day in summer, and a large percent of these from out of the State. We want them all to see this William Ladd Memorial. The erecting of this tablet, I feel, has awakened an interest among the people in that locality and undoubtedly will increase the attendance at the church."

MR. HOOVER'S mission to Latin America, accompanied by Hon. Henry P. Fletcher, our Ambassador to Italy, may turn out to be one of the most important facts in the history of Pan American relations. We have no doubt

that the outcome has already been a warmer friendship between this country and the rest of America to our south.

THE efforts of M. Vénizélos, leading figure in the Government of Greece, to link up the Balkans with all the neighboring countries on a basis of friendship, should be more widely advertised in America. On the theory that the main difficulty in the way of complete Balkan harmony is the relationship between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the Greek statesman hopes that by making pacts with both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, Greece may perhaps become a link between the two. The whole plan is a sort of Balkan Locarno, with all the countries pledged to keep the peace. M. Vénizélos explains his aims in these words: "What the world wants, especially in the Balkans, is simply rest, and peace, and confidence that there will be no more war. That is my object. That is what I am traveling to explain."

THE cancellation of debts owed to the United States by foreign governments is already a fact in amounts too little appreciated by the critics of this country. Computing the original value of the debts at the rate which the obligations originally bore, namely, 5 per cent, about 30 per cent of the debts were canceled by the funding operations agreed upon in the case of Finland, Hungary, Poland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In the case of Czechoslovakia and Rumania, the cancellation is about 37 per cent; of Belgium and France, about 60 per cent; of Yugoslavia, about 76 per cent, and of Italy, a fraction over 80 per cent. Great Britain's debt has been canceled to the extent of 30 per cent.

In the case of Finland, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, and Latvia, the minimum

and maximum interest charges have been scaled to 3 and 3½ per cent. In the case of Belgium and Czechoslovakia, the interest rates are even easier.

In the case of Italy, no interest at all is charged during the first five years. During 1930-40 the interest rate is one-eighth of one per cent; from 1940 to 1950, it is one-fourth of one per cent; from 1950-60, it is one-half of one per cent. At no time will the interest rate exceed 2 per cent.

In the case of France, we have proposed to charge no interest prior to 1931. For the next ten years, we agree that interest shall be computed at the rate of 1 per cent; for the following ten years, 2 per cent, and for the next ten years, 2.5 per cent. From 1955-1965, 3 per cent, and from 1966 to the end of the sixty-two year period, 1987, 3½ per cent.

From such figures it does not appear that the United States has been a hard bargainer with her sister nations.

THE American Legion believes in methods better than war for settling international disputes. It assumes that such a method must be practical and acceptable to all nations. This is the view set forth by Paul V. McNutt, Dean of the Indiana University School of Law and National Commander of the American Legion, in an address before the American Federation of Labor, November 20, at New Orleans. Commander McNutt recently pointed out also, in an interview to the *Christian Science Monitor*, that two of the fundamental purposes of the American Legion, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are to make right the master of might and to promote peace and good will on earth. The American Legion has a Commission on World Peace and Foreign Relations. It has approved the multilateral treaty

renouncing war. It participated actively in the World Conference on International Justice, held under the auspices of the American Peace Society last May. In his statement to the *Monitor*, Colonel McNutt went on to point out that the American Legion "has joined hands with the veterans' organizations of the allied nations in FIDAC, an organization which works day and night for a better understanding between the nations therein represented. It is sponsoring an interchange of students between the first-class powers of the world. It is giving its most careful consideration to the whole problem of universal peace. Its members have seen war and want no more of it, if war can be avoided honorably. However, until peace is assured, the American Legion insists upon an adequate national defense, which embodies the principle of universal draft. American ideals and institutions must be preserved. They are the hope of the civilized world. The nation has expressed its will for peace and has assumed a place of leadership. It must not be destroyed. It must not be rendered helpless. It must be preserved and strengthened in order to achieve its high purposes."

COLLEGES for Negroes in the United States more than doubled in number and their enrollment increased sixfold during the last ten years, according to a report just issued by the Federal Bureau of Education, after a comprehensive survey of Negro colleges and universities. The report states that in 1916 there were thirty-one Negro institutions offering college work, with an enrollment in their college classes of 2,132. In 1926 there were seventy-seven institutions doing college work, wholly and in part, with a college enrollment of 13,860, a student gain in ten years of 550 per cent. In the latter year 1,171 degrees were conferred, of

which 211 were graduate and professional degrees.

According to the report, the survey revealed "the immediate need of more education, better education, and higher education." Special emphasis is laid on the need of facilities for the training of Negro professional men—physicians, surgeons, dentists, engineers, chemists, technicians, ministers, and teachers. It was found, for example, that there is but one Negro physician in America to each 3,343 of Negro population, as against one white

physician to every 535 persons, while the proportion of Negro dentists was only one-third as great as that of physicians. Negro theological seminaries are turning out annually less than ten graduates to fill vacancies occurring in 19,000 pulpits. The report points out that the Negroes themselves are making strenuous efforts to meet this need, having established sixteen colleges and universities which they own, administer, and in large degree finance.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

PRESENT POLICY OF THE GENERAL BOARD AND THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

THE seventy-four vessel program of the last Congress having failed, the General Board of the Navy, with the approval of the Secretary of the Navy, made public on November 12 a statement on naval policy. It will be observed that the Board asks for cruisers of ten thousand tons only, carrying eight-inch guns. It calls for the application of the 5-5-3 ratio, agreed upon at the Washington Conference as to capital ships and aircraft carriers, to the other arms of the service. The program calls for a fleet second to none as a support to our commerce and a guard to our possessions. The full text of the policy follows:

United States Naval Policy

Naval policy is the system of principles, and the general terms of their application, governing the development, organization, maintenance, training and operation of a navy. It is based on and is designed to support national policies and national interests. It comprehends the questions of number, size, type and distribution of naval vessels and stations, the character

and number of the personnel, and the character of peace and war operations.

Fundamental Naval Policy of the United States

The navy of the United States should be maintained in sufficient strength to support its policies and its commerce and to guard its continental and overseas possessions.

The Washington Treaty Limiting Naval Armament

The Washington Treaty Limiting Naval Armament is the supreme law of the powers party to the treaty, governing their naval armaments as to capital ships, aircraft carriers and the size and armament of cruisers.

The spirit of the treaty indicates two elements of international import: A general desire to avoid competition in naval armament and a partial recognition of a ratio in naval strengths as a means of avoiding competition.

Should any power undertake a program of expansion in unrestricted classes of naval vessels, or in personnel, not consistent with the treaty ratios of capital ships, a new competition in naval strengths would thereby be initiated.

Until such time as other powers by inequitable conduct in international relations as to United States interests, or, by their departure from the idea of a suspended competition in naval armaments, indicate other procedure, the navy of the United States may be governed in naval strengths by the spirit of the capital ship ratios; otherwise it will be necessary appropriately to readjust our naval policy.

General Naval Policy

To create, maintain and operate a navy second to none; and in conformity with the ratios for capital ships established by the Washington Treaty Limiting Naval Armament.

To make war efficiency the object of all training and to maintain that efficiency during the entire period of peace.

To develop and to organize the navy for operations in any part of either ocean.

To make strength of the navy for battle of primary importance.

To make strength of the navy for exercising ocean-wide control of the sea, with particular reference to the protection of American interests and overseas and coast-wise commerce next in importance.

To encourage and endeavor to lead in the development of the art and material of naval warfare.

To give every possible encouragement to civil aviation with a view to advancing the art, and to providing aviators and aircraft production facilities available for war.

To cultivate friendly and sympathetic relations with the world by foreign cruises.

To support in every possible way American interests, especially in the expansion and development of American foreign commerce and American merchant marine.

To maintain a Marine Corps of such strength that it will be able adequately to support the navy by furnishing detachments to vessels of the fleet in full commission, guards for shore stations, garrisons for outlying positions, and by the maintenance in readiness of an expeditionary force.

To co-operate fully and loyally with all departments of the Government.

Building and Maintenance Policy

To build and maintain an efficient, well-balanced fleet in all classes of fighting ships in accordance with the capital ship ratios and to preserve these ratios by building replacement ships and by disposing of old ships in accordance with continuing programs.

To make superiority of armament in their class an end in view in the design of all fighting ships.

To provide for great radius of action in all classes of fighting ships.

Capital Ships

To prepare and maintain detailed plans for new capital ship construction.

To replace existing capital ships in the year specified in accordance with treaty provisions.

To keep all retained capital ships modernized as far as treaty terms permit and good practice justifies.

Aircraft Carriers

To build and maintain aircraft carrier tonnage allowed by the Washington Treaty Limiting Naval Armament.

To prepare detailed type plans for the rapid conversion of suitable merchant vessels to aircraft carriers.

To design aircraft carriers with hangar space such that the maximum number of heavy class planes may be carried.

Cruisers

To support the fleet and protect our commerce, replace all old cruisers with modern cruisers of 10,000 standard tons displacement, carrying 8-inch guns and, in addition, to build similar cruisers at a rate that will maintain effective cruiser tonnage in conformity with the capital ship ratios as established by the Washington Treaty Limiting Naval Armament.

Small Cruisers and Gunboats

To build no small cruisers.

To build replacement gunboats as required.

Destroyers

To build and maintain effective destroyer tonnage in conformity with the

capital ship ratios, giving priority to destroyer leaders.

Submarines

To build and maintain effective submarine tonnage in conformity with the capital ship ratios.

Eagle Boats

To build no more.

Sub-Chaser

To build no more.

Mine Layers and Mine Sweepers

To maintain a sufficient number for training and development work.

Auxiliaries

Colliers, oil supply ships, transports, cargo vessels, tenders, fleet repair ships, target repair ships, hospital ships, ammunition ships: To maintain a minimum number consistent with training and mobility of the fleet.

Aircraft Repair and Store Ships

To provide and maintain as necessary.

Submarine Rescue Ships

To provide and maintain as necessary.

Tugs

To maintain a minimum number needed for active employment with the fleet and at shore stations.

Dispatch Boats

To maintain a sufficient number for fleet and district service.

Conversion

To prepare detailed type plans for rapid conversion of suitable merchant vessels for naval use in war.

Aircraft

HEAVIER THAN AIR

To direct the development and employment of naval aviation primarily to the fulfillment of its principal mission, namely, operations at sea with the fleet.

To direct the development of heavier-

than-air craft, principally in the two classes that can operate from ships, viz.: (1) Light planes, for fighting, spotting, tactical scouting and diving bombing; (2) heavy planes, for torpedoes, heavy bombs and long-distance scouting.

To combine as many functions in a single plane in each class as can be done with efficiency.

To continue the development of a sea-plane for long range for sea operations from a ship or from a naval base.

To operate airplanes from capital ships and cruisers to their full authorized complement.

To determine by trial the practicability and desirability of operating airplanes from all classes of naval vessels.

LIGHTER THAN AIR

To complete the rigid airships now under construction or appropriated for, with a view to determining by operation, primarily with the fleet, their utility for military operations.

To build only such non-rigid airships as may be necessary for training purposes.

Organization Policy

To organize the navy as far as possible so that expansion only will be necessary in the event of war.

To decentralize administration as far as indoctrination permits.

To organize fighting ships permanently by classes.

To assign units as required from the permanent organization to task groups for special operations and training.

Operating Policy

The principal elements of naval efficiency are:

Discipline and contentment of the personnel, and gunnery, engineering and aviation excellence in their tactical and strategic application.

To maintain a general scheme of progressive education and training for the Navy.

To assemble the active fleet at least once a year for a period of not less than three months.

To keep in communication, fully manned and in active training, all fighting ships possible.

To keep airplane carriers fully manned and operating with the fleet.

To put vessels assigned to reserve in condition for active service.

To make foreign cruises as international conditions warrant, thereby cultivating good-will and educating the personnel.

To operate a naval train sufficient for the upkeep of fighting ships and expeditionary forces.

To make every effort, both ashore and afloat, at home and abroad, to assist the development of American interests, and, especially, the American Merchant Marine.

To make every effort for economy in expenditures compatible with battle efficiency.

To assign suitable partially manned vessels for the training of naval reserves.

To have in mind in assigning naval forces, that yard and base facilities must be maintained on both coasts and in both oceans.

Personnel Policy

To maintain the personnel at the highest standard and in sufficient number to carry out the building, replacement and operating policy.

To develop and coordinate systematic courses of instruction and training for officers, petty officers and enlisted men.

To be liberal in the assignment of officers to duty in foreign countries to broaden and perfect their professional education.

To educate, train, rate and retain the services of a reasonable excess of petty officers over those necessary for the operation of the navy.

To avoid frequent shifting of personnel in organizations afloat and ashore.

To retain all naval aviation personnel as an integral part of the navy.

To consider marines assigned to ships as an integral part of the ship's company.

To maintain the Marine Corps personnel at a strength sufficient for current requirements.

To create, organize and train a naval reserve sufficient to provide the personnel necessary for mobilization and to guard its interest.

To cultivate a close association between officers of the navy and the Naval Reserve, and to the liberal in the assignment of officers to duty with the Naval Reserve and to educational institutions.

To emphasize in the training of the reserves the duties most likely to be assigned them afloat upon mobilization.

To safeguard the spirit of fair competition and sportsmanship in manoeuvres, exercises and training, and to foster initiative and teamwork.

Base and Shore Stations Policy

A system of outlying naval and commercial bases suitably distributed, developed and defended, is one of the most important elements of national strength.

To retain for future use all stations now owned by the navy that would be of use in the event of war.

To maintain in operation the number of shore stations required to support the navy in time of peace.

To distribute the demand on shore stations to avoid peak loads, and to further the development of Oahu, the Canal Zone and the Pacific Coast station.

To build a new naval base on the Pacific Coast in the San Francisco Bay area.

To maintain and operate a system of naval districts organized for rapid expansion in war with their organizations separate and distinct from the administrative organizations of subordinate activities.

To encourage development of commercial facilities that would be useful to the navy in time of war.

Communications Policy

To maintain and operate a naval communication system based on the requirements of the fleet in war.

To reduce by thorough indoctrination the number and length of communications.

To provide and operate radio compass stations as required.

To develop such radio communications as may aid maritime and aviation interest.

To co-operate with the radio and cable organizations of the United States and other countries and to safeguard the communication interests of the United States, both public and private.

To develop and maintain within the fleet the best forms of communications for battle efficiency, stressing aviation and submarines.

To use naval radio communications to assist in the furtherance of American interests abroad.

Inspection Policy

To provide for the inspection of all offices, fleets, ships, stations and activities of the navy in the following forms, viz.: visit and observation; reports; financial audit; inventory.

To make service efficiency and coordination of effort by constructive criticism and judicious approval the mission of inspection.

To maintain under executive authority the inspection system distinct from the executive function.

To use the conference as an adjunct to inspections, particularly for indoctrination.

Information Policy

To emphasize the importance of thorough indoctrination to give proper effect to information in the exercise of command.

To recognize that sound decisions and action proceed only from accurate information rapidly communicated.

To recognize the importance of the psychological effect of information on morale.

To acquire accurate information pertaining to the political, military, naval, economic and industrial policies of our own and of foreign countries.

To select, analyze, arrange, classify, summarize and make available all information acquired for the purpose of reference and dissemination.

To disseminate appropriate information systematically throughout the naval service.

To preserve for ready reference and for historical purposes information collected and arranged systematically.

To issue analytical studies of important historical incidents with a view to indoctrination.

To co-operate closely with other departments of the Government in collection, preservation and 'dissemination' of information.

To link up information so closely with communication and operations that in time of war intelligent, continuous, co-ordinated and efficient effort will result.

To recognize the great educational value of receiving and imparting information bearing on naval matters through the various appropriate public and private institutions of our country.

To provide for protection against foreign espionage and propaganda.

To acquire and disseminate appropriate information of the enemy in time of war.

Publicity Policy

To furnish the public with full information of the navy not incompatible with military secrecy, including its activities at home and abroad, its educational features and its contributions to science and industry.

Approved Oct. 6, 1928.

CURTIS D. WILBUR,
Secretary of the Navy.

TOWARD A NICARAGUA CANAL

A DISPUTE lasting for over a century between Nicaragua and Colombia seems to have been settled by a treaty, which treaty clarifies the rights of the United States as to important approaches to the Inter-Oceanic Canal to Nicaragua. This treaty was negotiated between Nicaragua and Colombia, and explained by a subsequent exchange of notes between Colombia and the United States. The treaty signed on the 24th of last March was made public by Secretary Kellogg on September 21.

Under the treaty Nicaragua obtains the sovereignty of the Mosquito coast and of Great and Little Corn Islands, about forty miles off Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast, for which the United States holds

leases and which will be of strategic value in commanding approaches to the projected canal. Ownership of the two islands and of the Mosquito coast, which stretches on the Atlantic from Cape Gracias a Dios to the San Juan River, has been in dispute between Nicaragua and Colombia for over a century.

The compact, on the other hand, grants absolute sovereignty to Colombia over the islands of San Andres, Providencia, Santa Catalina and other small islands and keys which form a part of Andres Archipelago. These lie in the Atlantic, about 150 miles off the Nicaraguan coast in the general latitude of Bluefields.

Sovereignty Issue Adjusted

The Keys of Roncador, Quita Suenos and Serrana, which lie from 150 to 200 miles off the Nicaraguan coast in the general latitude of Cape Gracias a Dios, are not included in the treaty, their sovereignty having been in dispute between Colombia and the United States and involving the question of discovery before Colombia acquired its independence. This issue has been placed on a *status quo* basis through an exchange of notes whereby the United States is permitted to continue lighthouse services it has established on the islands as aids to navigation and Colombia obtains the right to use the surrounding waters for fishing.

Gratification was expressed at the State Department today that the several problems had been adjusted on a basis satisfactory to the three governments.

"The Department of State," Secretary Kellogg said, "was consulted by both parties to the treaty and expressed the opinion to both that the proposed treaty appeared to offer a very satisfactory and equitable solution of this controversy and the Department, therefore, hoped that the treaty would receive the approval of the respective governments."

Notes Exchanged in April

The notes were exchanged between Secretary Kellogg and Enrique Olaya, Colombian Minister to the United States, on April 10.

"These provided [the department explained] that whereas both governments

have claimed the right to sovereignty over the Serrana and Quita Suenos banks and the Roncador Cay; and whereas the interest of the United States in these islands lies primarily in the maintenance of aids to navigation; and whereas, Colombia shares the desires that such aid shall be maintained without interruption and furthermore is especially interested that her nationals shall uninterruptedly possess the opportunity of fishing in the waters adjacent to these islands, the *status quo* in respect to the matter shall be maintained and the Government of Colombia will refrain from objecting to the maintenance by the United States of the services which it has established or may establish for aids to navigation, and the Government of the United States will refrain from objecting to the utilization by Colombian nationals of the waters appurtenant to the islands for the purposes of fishing."

Text of Treaty

The text of the treaty between Nicaragua and Colombia is as follows:

The Republic of Colombia and the Republic of Nicaragua, being desirous of terminating the territorial litigation pending between them and of strengthening the bonds of traditional friendship which unite them, have resolved to conclude the present treaty and have named as their respective plenipotentiaries: His Excellency the President of the Republic of Colombia, His Excellency the President of the Republic of Nicaragua, who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article 1. The Republic of Colombia recognizes the sovereignty and absolute dominion of the Republic of Nicaragua over the Mosquito coast between Cape Gracias a Dios and the San Juan River and over the Mangle Grande and Mangle Chico Islands in the Atlantic Ocean (Great Corn Island and Little Corn Island); and the Republic of Nicaragua recognizes the sovereignty and absolute dominion of the Republic of Colombia over the islands of San Andres, Providencia, Santa Catalina and all the other islands, small islands and keys which form a part of said Andres Archipelago.

The Keys of Roncador, Quita Suenos and Serrana, the dominion over which is in litigation between Colombia and the United States of America, are not included in this treaty.

Article 2. The present treaty will be submitted for approval to the Congresses of both States and once approved by them, the exchange of ratifications will take place within the three months following, in Managua or Bogota.

Note of Envoy to Kellogg

Minister Olaya in his note to Secretary Kellogg wrote as follows:

COLOMBIAN LEGATION, APRIL 10, 1928

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Colombia, duly authorized by his Government, proposed to his Excellency the Secretary of State of the United States the conclusion, by exchange of notes, of the following agreements respecting the status of Serrana and Quita Suenos banks and Roncador Cay, situated in the western part of the Caribbean Sea; that is to say that, whereas both governments have claimed the right of sovereignty over these islands, and, whereas the interest of the United States lies primarily in the aids to navigation being maintained without interruption and whereas Colombia shares the desire that such aids shall be maintained without interruption, and furthermore is especially interested that her nationals shall uninterruptedly possess the opportunity of fishing in the waters adjacent to those islands, the *status quo* in respect to the matter shall be maintained and the Government of Colombia will refrain from objecting to the maintenance by the United States of the services which it has established or may establish for aids to navigation, and the Government of the United States will refrain from objection to the utilization, by Colombian nationals, of the waters appurtenant to the islands for the purpose of fishing.

(Signed) ENRIQUE OLAYA.

Text of Kellogg's Reply

In reply Secretary Kellogg said under date of April 10, 1928:

SIR: The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to acknowledge and

take cognizance of a note of this date from the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Colombia, stating that having been duly authorized to take such action on behalf of the Colombian Government by His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Colombia, he proposes the conclusion by exchange of notes of the following agreement respecting the status of Serrana and Quita Suenos banks and Roncador Cay, situated in the western part of the Caribbean Sea; that is to say, that whereas both governments have claimed the right of sovereignty over these islands; and whereas the interest of the United States lies primarily in the maintenance of aids to navigation; and whereas Colombia shares the desire that such aids shall be maintained without interruption, and furthermore is especially interested that her nationals shall uninterruptedly possess the opportunity of fishing in the waters adjacent to those islands, the status quo in respect to the matter shall be maintained and the Government of Colombia will refrain from objecting to the maintenance by the United States of the services which it has established or may establish for aids to navigation, and the Government of the United States will refrain from objecting to the utilization by Colombian nationals of the waters appurtenant to the islands for the purpose of fishing.

The arrangement set forth in the Minister's note is satisfactory to the Secretary of State, who understands such arrangement to be concluded by this exchange of notes.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

Dr. Enrique Olaya, Minister of Colombia.

THE COMING CONGRESS AND THE WORLD COURT

THE Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate agreed last May that the Gillette Resolution proposing a resumption of negotiations in the World Court matter will be taken up at the opening of the Senate in December. This agreement followed a discussion lasting through several meetings of the Committee last Spring. Indeed, the resolu-

tion came near being reported out favorably in the month of May, failing only by a vote of 9 to 8. Friends of the resolution are hopeful that it will be favorably reported at the first session of the Senate in December, and that the Senate will pass it promptly. The *American Foundation*, actively sponsoring the resolution, says under a release of November 25:

It is almost three years since the Senate, by a bipartisan vote of 76 to 17, passed the Swanson resolution, providing, with certain reservations, for the adherence of the United States to the Court. It is more than two years since the member nations of the Court, meeting in conference to consider the United States' reservations, accepted most of them outright, expressed their belief that "in principle, at least, all the reservations should be accepted," raised a question as to the full implication of the fifth reservation, and accepted it only conditionally, suggesting, however, a "further exchange of views" to clear up any misunderstandings. To this courteous suggestion, the United States has made no reply whatever.

The development of differing points of view in connection with our terms of adherence to the Court treaty is a reason for continuing negotiations, not for dropping them. Frequent exchanges of views, definition, redefinition, interpretations are a normal process in the negotiation of *any* treaty. The recent multilateral treaty was, as we all know, subject to various exchanges of views (for instance, as to whether it should cover *all* wars or only wars of aggression) before it was finally developed to the form in which it was offered for signature. In the case of the Court treaty only have negotiations ceased at the first appearance of difficulty.

Mr. Gillett's resolution aims merely to continue the normal process of diplomacy, in this case, interrupted. It proposes a "*further exchange of views with the signatory States in order to establish whether the differences between the United States and the signatory States can be satisfactorily adjusted.*" It aims to secure a courteous reply to the signatory States. It does not propose a revision of the Senate's reservations. It simply assumes that if the United States *wishes* to be in the Court, and if the nations

in the Court wish to have us there, the differences that have arisen are certainly not insuperable.

In an effort to minimize war the United States has recently taken the initiative in proposing the general treaty by which the signatories renounce war as an instrument of national policy. If thus, on the negative side, we renounce war, we need, on the positive side, to agree to use the known methods of peaceful settlement.

Among such methods the Court has a distinguished position. It offers no panacea. But since 1922 it has adjusted (in its 13 judgments and 16 advisory opinions) 29 international disagreements, some of which at least contained the seeds of war. And its decisions, though enforceable only by public opinion, have not been flouted. In the treaties for pacific settlement which, during the past few years, have been negotiated by pairs or groups of European countries, the Court is the very keystone. Of 67 such treaties in existence, 40 use the Court in some way for the settlement of disputes (and not merely for the interpretation of the treaty); 26 provide for the exclusive jurisdiction of the Court in all disputes or in certain classes of disputes; 14 give the Court jurisdiction over all disputes which they cover; 12 limit the Court's jurisdiction to disputes of a legal nature; 13 provide for the possible use of another agency but give the Court the final voice.

This is the process of renouncing war in the concrete. It is so recognized by most of the civilized world. Of the 15 original signatories to the Kellogg treaty, 14 are members of the Court. The United States alone, of these, has not given its formal endorsement to the principle of judicial settlement. The above summary of how the Court figures—in Europe!—in the attempt to renounce war bears out what was said a few years ago by Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, lately made one of the Court's judges: "It is not too much to say that there will be no World Court if this Court cannot be made one."

"And," he added, "whether or not it is to be in the fullest sense a World Court depends upon *our* action."

If a majority of the Foreign Relations Committee agree with Justice Hughes, the

Gillett resolution will be promptly reported in December. If a majority of the Senate agree with him, it will be promptly passed.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMANY

THREE important developments have marked recently the internal political situation in Germany. The first was a significant change in the leadership of the Nationalist Party. The second, resulting partly from the first development and partly from the outcome of the Geneva negotiations in September, was the improvement of prospects for the formation of a "Grand Coalition." The third was the renewal of discussion regarding a far-reaching reorganization of the German Reich.

Triumph of National Reactionaries

The Nationalist Party, at its congress held the middle of October, elected Dr. Alfred Hugenberg, an industrialist and newspaper proprietor, as its leader, in the place of Count Westarp. This election represents the triumph of the extreme reactionary group in the party.

The struggle between the out-and-out reactionaries in the Nationalist Party and its "opportunist" moderate elements has been going on for years, and raged with particular fury at the time of the London Agreement, the Locarno Conference, and the entry of the Nationalists into the late Government. On the whole, the moderates won on those occasions, although the extremists gained a point in forcing the resignation of the Nationalist Ministers from the Luther Cabinet after Locarno.

The New Leader and His Program

Dr. Hugenberg, who was born at Hanover in 1865, became chairman of the board of directors of the firm of Krupp in 1909, and remained there until 1918. He has been a Nationalist member of the Reichstag since 1920, and has devoted himself to politics and the organization of Nationalist newspapers. He is not himself, apparently, the sole owner of the huge newspaper organization he has de-

veloped, but he has entire control over it.

The newspapers controlled by Herr Hugenberg, of which the *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger*, *Der Tag*, and their evening and Monday editions, are the best known, have always been hostile to the Republic and to the foreign policy of "understanding."

Herr Hugenberg's activities undoubtedly give some justification for regarding him as the apostle of a German Fascism to be founded on the reactionary ex-soldiers' organizations. In addition to the Press organization, which includes a large news agency and many provincial newspapers, Herr Hugenberg and his business associates control the Ufa, the largest German film enterprise, and other film interests.

Although the "program speeches" at the closing session of the Nationalist Party congress were delivered behind closed doors and a colorless *communiqué* was issued afterwards, enough of Herr Hugenberg's speech in his new capacity as party leader has been reproduced in his own newspapers to give an impression of his program. To start with, it appears, he attacked Dr. Stresemann's foreign policy, which he criticized as being too precipitate and incautious. Great Britain and France have merely been helped to come together again and Germany was left out. The most important task is to prevent Germany's becoming the battlefield of the world. After deploring the prospect of losing transfer protection, Germany's only advantage from the Dawes Plan, he went on to declare that the most serious domestic problem is the enormous indebtedness. If this economic policy were pursued for another ten years, Germany would be "sold out." Social legislation must be reformed, and it must not be allowed to become an instrument of power in the hands of one party, presumably the Socialists. The foremost task of the Nationalist is to work for the preservation of the German spirit and for this purpose to inspire the extra-Parliamentary forces of economic life and the semi-military organizations. The guiding star of Nationalist policy is freedom at home and abroad.

Prospects of a "Grand Coalition"

Several significant announcements have indicated the improvement of prospects for the formation of a "Grand Coalition," that is, a government representative of all factions from the German People's Party on the Right to the Social Democratic Party on the Left. Herr Marx has announced that the Roman Catholic Centre wishes to see the "Grand Coalition" formed, and delegates of the Centre and the Social Democrats have met to discuss outstanding differences; the Bavarian People's Party (also a Roman Catholic faction) will join if the Centre does; and both the Social Democrats and the Democrats have throughout been anxious that the "Great Coalition" should come into being. This leaves only the German People's Party, to which Herr Stresemann belongs. This party, which stands between the other prospective Coalition parties and the Nationalist Opposition, has now added its voice to the others through the mouth of its Parliamentary leader, Herr Scholz.

There is no doubt that the parties which are to make up the coalition have been greatly influenced by the fact that the two main international problems confronting Germany—Rhineland evacuation and Reparations—have come into the sphere of practical politics, and it is clearly desirable that the Government which is to carry through these important negotiations should be one with an assured majority and unhampered by internal dissensions. There is equally no doubt that the change of leadership in the Nationalist Party has played an important rôle in the situation. Together with the anti-Republican campaign of the Stahlhelm organization, it has tended to make the Republican parties close their ranks.

Reorganization of the German Reich

The problem of constitutional and administrative reform in Germany again came up for discussion in the middle of October, after an interval of eight months. Last January, a Conference of the Reich and State governments met in Berlin to

consider the question of the overlapping of legislative and administrative functions and of extravagant tendencies in public finance. It was convened largely as a result of vigorous protests made to the German Government by Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, the Agent General for Reparation Payments, against financial waste resulting from the chaotic internal organization of the Reich, but the question of reform had been under discussion for many years before that.

The creators of the German Republic in 1918 were for the most part in favor of a unitary form of State; but when it came to drafting a Constitution at Weimar the following year they realized that for the time being a struggle on fundamental principles would endanger the young State, and consequently the Constitution was based on compromises with the Federalists which were bound to lead to reconsideration after ten years or more, but by that time it was to be hoped that the country would have settled down. It was not until January, 1928, that the first attempt was made to face the problem.

The January Conference contented itself with the appointment of a Constitutional and Administrative Reform Committee which was empowered to study the question and receive suggestions from the Federal and the State governments. At its October meeting, the Committee had before it over 25 memoranda submitted by various governments and groups, as well as a resolution drafted by the Reich Cabinet. It accepted the procedure suggested in this resolution, namely, the appointment of two subcommittees for a further study of the question.

Luther League Scheme

Shortly before the January Conference, Herr Luther, a former Chancellor, founded a "League for the Regeneration of the Reich," which has been very active in promoting the idea of constitutional reform. It presented to the Committee a fully worked out scheme of reorganization.

This scheme rejects the Greater Prussia solution, that is, the incorporation of the

smaller States in a Prussia which would still remain a separate State—and, starting from the assumption that the root of the evil lies in the waste entailed by the dual government and legislative activity in Berlin, it suggests a return to something like the “Prussia-Germany” basis on which Bismarck founded the Empire, with these differences—that the dynastic tie, a much stronger element than a presidential tie, no longer exists; that Prussia would no longer remain a separate State; and that the scheme is clearly only meant to be a transition stage on the way to a unified Reich.

Prussia, it is proposed, should be administered by the Reich as a “Reichsland.” The President of the Reich, the Reich Government, and the Reichstag should take the place of the State Government and the Diet. Twelve small and medium-sized States—all, indeed, except Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden—would be incorporated in the “Reichsland,” which would be divided for administrative purposes, like the present Prussia, into provinces. One or two of the absorbed States, Mecklenburg, Thuringia, and the Free Cities, would become new provinces; the rest would be incorporated in existing provinces.

Within the “Reichsland” it would be simple to abolish the illogical enclaves and “exclaves” of dynastic origin, and those in the Southern States would be absorbed or exchanged. Although the Diet would be abolished, a “Reichsland” State Council would succeed the present Prussian State Council and would have a certain influence over legislation directly affecting the Reichsland. Having got so far the League is afraid to go further. It merely recommends that “all other States may join the Reichsland on the passage of a State law to that effect.”

Reactions to the League Scheme

The Prussian Government drafted two memoranda and ten bills. Its proposals cover the whole ground, and are in substantial agreement with those of the League. They differ, however, on three points. One is the designation “Reichs-

land,” which would tend to divide Germany and create a new dualism in the place of the old, with the North German “Reichsland” on the one side and Saxony and the South German States on the other.

Another point of difference is the manner in which the Reich and Prussian legislative bodies are to be united. The Prussian Government is uneasy at the thought that, for instance, a Reichstag Coalition including the Bavarian People’s Party might have a say in legislation affecting North German administration, whereas North German Deputies would have no say in the internal affairs of the Southern States. It is felt in Prussia that the proposed State Council would not be an adequate safeguard. The third point mentioned is that the Prussian Government makes definite proposals for the incorporation of the other big States.

There has been no lack of criticism of the Luther League’s scheme from all parts of the country, in addition to the Prussian misgivings.

Saxon comment is very cautious. Although the advantages are appreciated, there is clearly some disappointment at the thought that the scheme would kill what is called “trialism”—a provisional grouping of North Germany under Prussian, Central Germany under Saxon, and South Germany under Bavarian leadership as a step towards a unification in which Saxon ambitions would be gratified by the rôle of intermediary between North and South.

COMMUNISM AND WAR

THE Text has now become available of the “theses” on “The Imperialist War Menace and the Tasks of the Communist Parties,” passed last summer by the Congress of the Communist International. It is a document of 14,000 words and presents, according to the official Moscow *Pravda*, “an unequivocal and concise, truly Bolshevistic statement of the principles and policy of the Comintern (Communist International) with regard to Imperialist wars and the advent of the world revolution.” The document presents special interest in view of recent persistent reports from Moscow re-

garding dissensions in the Russian Communist Party. While the International solemnly proclaims communistic principles, within the ranks of the only important Communist Party in the world there is a growing rift between the extremists and the moderates.

Communist Attitude Toward War

The first of the six sections of the "theses" deals with the "menace of Imperialist Wars," and opens with a preamble in which it is declared that, "in signing the anti-war pact [the Kellogg Pact], the Great Powers are attempting to dupe the toilers of the world with the fallacy that universal peace is attainable under a capitalist régime. . . . The Sixth Congress of the Comintern brands all these manoeuvres as a base deceit."

"The Proletariat's Attitude towards War" is the subject of the second section. It is laid down:

The proletariat has no fatherland until it has wrested political power and the means of production from the *bourgeoisie*. . . . In the wars against Imperialism the proletariat must fight for the defense of its Socialist fatherland against the Imperialists. But in purely Imperialist wars it must energetically oppose "patriotism" as treason to Socialism.

Therefore, "it is the Communists' first duty to expose the hypocrisy of the *bourgeoisie*, under cover of which it is conducting its war preparations, and to wage a ruthless political and propagandist war against pacifism" in all its numerous forms, and "explain in detail to the working masses the Bolsheviks' anti-war campaign during the Great War" and their basic slogan of "converting an Imperialist war into a civil war." For this purpose the following "work among the masses" is recommended:

Work among the masses and trade unions must be concentrated in the first place in all mobilization and key war industries, such as the chemical, metallurgic and transport, with the attendant setting up of committees of action and *liaison* organizations for creating a united revolutionary proletarian front. . . . Work among the peasants and national minorities also is very impor-

tant. . . . The decisive factor is work among youth, particularly among Labor youth. All Communists, not only the youthful organizations, must apply their utmost energy to combating all *bourgeois* sports and Fascist organizations, military training centers, and so forth, in which the *bourgeoisie* is training the youth for the future war. . . . Anti-militarist work within *bourgeois* armies and navies, among reservists and conscripts, and all *bourgeois* defence organizations must present one organic whole with all the mass revolutionary work of the party. . . . This cannot be sufficiently emphasized. . . . The party must also be ready, in the event of an imperialist war, to face a probable *régime* of terror on the part of Imperialist Governments, and therefore must prepare beforehand to retire underground and organize its *liaison* service. . . . It is the bounden duty of all Communist parties to concentrate their efforts on capturing the masses for the fight against Imperialist war and its conversion into civil war and revolution.

Communist Attitude Toward Armies

The "thesis" declares that the idea that war can be abolished by a refusal to join the army is as much an illusion as that it can be prevented by a general strike alone. Communists must go to war in the ranks of *bourgeois* armies, because systematic revolutionary work within the army is one of the main tasks in the war against war. Communists should therefore insist on revolutionary workers joining the army, in order to learn how to use arms, and at the right moment turn them against their own *bourgeoisie*.

In the event of a war of Imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union, the "thesis" lays stress on the point that the Soviet Union is "the Socialist fatherland of the workers of the world," and as such is entitled to be defended by the international proletariat. The Red Army is the army of the international proletariat, and service in the Red Army is a duty which no class-conscious proletarian can forego. From this point of view, the "thesis" says, there is no contradiction between the "peace policy" and the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Gov-

ernment and its steps for the safeguarding of the Soviet Union from Imperialist attacks.

Section three deals with work within the "*bourgeois* armies," for "without a clear and concise program of such work, and without explaining its meaning to the masses, the struggle against Imperialist wars and preparation of the revolution will never go beyond mere theory." The actual military system existing in this or that Imperialist country is of no particular importance; the main point is to get hold of the military apparatus, emphasize the social differences between "superiors and inferiors," and to disrupt military discipline and honor from within. The same tactics should apply to the "mass militarization" of the population as conducted by *bourgeois* Governments. In armies like the British Army, Communists should organize the men on the basis of the slogan of soldiers' councils against the officers and *bourgeoisie*; if the social status of the units precludes such propaganda, efforts should be made to obtain their disbandment.

An important section of the "thesis" is devoted to the "campaign against pacifism." Workers "in Imperialist countries" are warned again and again of the danger of giving way to "pacifist illusions." "The workers of the U. S. S. R., who have overthrown the *bourgeoisie* in civil war, may in their campaign against this poisoned arrow of the *bourgeoisie*—*i. e.*, pacifism—indulge in the novel method of proposing disarmament." But the proletariat still struggling for power in capitalist countries must not use it.

Dissentions in the Russian Communist Party

Reports concerning dissentions in the Russian Communist Party, which have been current for some time, received confirmation in a speech, delivered before the Moscow Disciplinary Tribunal by

Joseph Stalin, the all-powerful Secretary-General of the party. Stalin admitted that a new conflict over the policy of the party had arisen, not only within the Moscow Committee of the party, but also within the Central Committee itself. This, he stated, appeared openly at the plenary conference in July, which formally passed a resolution to relax the severity of the rural policy, and the discord had continued since.

Stalin also admitted that wide currency had been given in Moscow to reports alleging a split even in the Political Bureau of the party on the question of the necessity of a Rightward course, and that the chief element in these disagreements was an attempt among members to settle personal scores and personal struggle for power. He further admitted that the personal element played a certain rôle, but that was not the chief factor: the chief factor was the development of an un-Socialist—*petit bourgeois*—atmosphere. He sought to assure the Tribunal that among the nine members of the Political Bureau a Right wing and a Left wing did not exist, and reports to that effect were slanders launched by Opposition elements. Stalin concluded by declaring that the Right wing danger in the party was most important and serious, especially in view of the present economic difficulties.

Since Stalin's speech, however, the reports of strife among the Communist leaders have not ceased, but have become even more persistent. Recent significant statements on the peasant question, made by M. Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee, are considered as a definite, though cautious, proclamation on the part of the moderates, led by Prime Minister Rykoff, of the necessity of temporarily re-adopting a gentler attitude towards the peasantry as the most vital factor in solving the problem of food supplies.

"Fools and clowns and sots make the fringes of every one's tapestry of life, and give a certain reality to the picture. What could we do in Concord without Bigelow's and Wesson's bar-rooms and their dependencies? What without such fixtures as Uncle Sol, and old Moore, who sleeps in Doctor Hurd's barn, and the red charity-house over the brook? Tragedy and comedy always go hand in hand."—(Emerson's entry in his "Journals," June 22, 1843).

ARMISTICE DAY *

By PRESIDENT COOLIDGE

WE MEET to give thanks for ten more years of peace. Amid the multitude of bounties which have been bestowed upon us, we count that our supreme blessing. In all our domestic and foreign relations our chief concern is that it should be permanent. It is our belief that it is coming to be more and more realized as the natural state of mankind. Yet, while we are placing our faith in more complete understandings which shall harmonize with the universal conscience, we ought not to forget that all the rights we now possess, the peace we now enjoy, have been secured for us by a long series of sacrifices and of conflicts.

We are able to participate in this celebration because our country had the resources, the character, and the spirit to raise, equip, and support with adequate supplies an army and a navy which, by placing more than 2,000,000 men on the battlefields of Europe, contributed to the making of the armistice on the 11th day of November, 1918.

Our first thought, then, is to acknowledge the obligation which the nation owes to those who served in our forces afloat and ashore, which contributed the indispensable factor to the final victory. Although all our people became engaged in this great conflict, some in furnishing money, some in producing food and clothing, some in making munitions, some in administering our Government, the place of honor will always be accorded to the men and the women who wore the uniform of our country—the living and the dead.

Unprepared for World War

When the great conflict finally broke upon us we were unprepared to meet its military responsibilities. What navy we possessed at that time, as is always the case with our navy, was ready. Admiral Sims at once carried new courage and

new energy to the contest on the sea. So complete was the defense of our transports that the loss by enemy attack in sending our land forces to Europe was surprisingly small.

As we study the record of our army in France, we become more and more impressed by three outstanding features. The unity of the American forces and the integrity of the American command were always preserved. They were trained with a thoroughness becoming the tradition of McClellan, they were fought with a tenacity and skill worthy of the memory of Grant. And, finally, they were undefeated. For these outstanding accomplishments, which were the chief sources of the glory of our arms, we are indebted to the genius of General Pershing.

It is unnecessary to recount with any detail our experience in the war. It was a new revelation, not only of the strength but of the unity of our people. No country ever exhibited a more magnificent spirit or demonstrated a higher degree of patriotic devotion. The great organizing ability of our industrial leaders, the unexpected strength of our financial resources, the dedication of our entire manpower under the universal-service law, the farm and the factory, the railroad and the bank, 4,000,000 men under arms and 6,000,000 men in reserve, all became one mighty engine for the prosecution of the war. Altogether it was the greatest power that any nation on earth had ever assembled.

U. S. Alone Had Reserves

When it was all over, in spite of the great strain, we were the only country that had much reserve power left. Our foodstuffs were necessary to supply urgent needs; our money was required to save from financial disaster. Our resources delivered Europe from starvation and ruin.

In the final treaty of peace, not only was the map of Europe remade, but the enormous colonial possessions of Germany were divided up among certain allied na-

* At the observance of the tenth anniversary of the Armistice, under the auspices of the American Legion, in the Washington Auditorium, Sunday evening, November 11.

tions. Such private property of her nationals as they held was applied to the claim for reparations. We neither sought nor took any of the former German possessions. We have provided by law for returning the private property of her nationals.

Yet our own outlay had been and was to continue to be a perfectly enormous sum. It is sometimes represented that this country made a profit out of the war. Nothing could be further from the truth. Up to the present time our own net war costs, after allowing for our foreign-debt expectations, are about \$36,500,000,000. To retire the balance of our public debt will require about \$7,000,000,000 in interest. Our Veterans' Bureau and allied expenses are already running at over \$500,000,000 a year in meeting the solemn duty to the disabled and dependent. With what has been paid out and what is already apparent, it is probable that our final cost will run well toward \$100,000,000,000, or half the entire wealth of the country when we entered the conflict.

U. S. Cost Heaviest

Viewed from its economic results, war is the most destructive agency that ever afflicts the earth. Yet it is the dead here and abroad who are gone forever. While our own losses were thus very large, the losses of others required a somewhat greater proportionate outlay, but they are to be reduced by territorial acquisitions and by reparations. While we shall receive some further credits on the accounts I have stated as our costs, our outlay will be much greater than that of any other country. Whatever may be thought or said of us, we know and every informed person should know that we reaped no selfish benefit from the war. No citizen of the United States needs to make any apology to anybody anywhere for not having done our duty in defense of the cause of world liberty.

Such benefits as came to our country from our war experience were not represented by material values, but by spiritual values. The whole standard of our existence was raised; the conscience and the faith of the nation were quickened with new life. The people awoke to the drumbeats of a new destiny.

In common with most of the great powers, we are paying the cost of that terrible tragedy. On the whole, the war has made possible a great advance in self-government in Europe, yet in some quarters society was so near disintegration that it submitted to new forms of absolutism to prevent anarchy. The whole essence of war is destruction. It is the negation and the antithesis of human progress. No good thing ever came out of war that could not better have been secured by reason and conscience.

Must Face Facts

Every dictate of humanity constantly cries aloud that we do not want any more war. We ought to take every precaution and make every honorable sacrifice, however great, to prevent it. Still, the first law of progress requires the world to face facts, and it is equally plain that reason and conscience are as yet by no means supreme in human affairs. The inherited instinct of selfishness is very far from being eliminated; the forces of evil are exceedingly powerful.

The eternal questions before the nations are how to prevent war and how to defend themselves if it comes. There are those who see no answer except military preparation. But this remedy has never proved sufficient. We do not know of any nation which has ever been able to provide arms enough so as always to be at peace. Fifteen years ago the most thoroughly equipped people of Europe were Germany and France. We saw what happened. While Rome maintained a general peace for many generations, it was not without a running conflict on the borders which finally engulfed the empire. But there is a wide distinction between absolute prevention and frequent recurrence, and peace is of little value if it is constantly accompanied by the threatened or the actual violation of national rights.

If the European countries had neglected their defenses, it is probable that war would have come much sooner. All human experience seems to demonstrate that a country which makes reasonable preparation for defense is less likely to be subject to a hostile attack and less likely

to suffer a violation of its rights which might lead to war. This is the prevailing attitude of the United States and one which I believe should constantly determine its actions. To be ready for defense is not to be guilty of aggression. We can have military preparation without assuming a military spirit. It is our duty to ourselves and to the cause of civilization, to the preservation of domestic tranquility, to our orderly and lawful relations with foreign people, to maintain an adequate army and navy.

Need Larger Navy

We do not need a large land force. The present size of our regular army is entirely adequate, but it should continue to be supplemented by a national guard and reserves, and especially with the equipment and organization in our industries for furnishing supplies. When we turn to the sea the situation is different. We have not only a long coast line, distant outlying possessions, a foreign commerce unsurpassed in importance, and foreign investments unsurpassed in amount, the number of our people and value of our treasure to be protected, but we are also bound by international treaty to defend the Panama Canal. Having few fueling stations, we require ships of large tonnage, and having scarcely any merchant vessels capable of mounting five- or six-inch guns, it is obvious that, based on needs, we are entitled to a larger number of warships than a nation having these advantages.

Important, however, as we have believed adequate national defense to be for preserving order and peace in the world, we have not considered it to be the only element. We have most urgently, and to some degree successfully, advocated the principle of the limitation of armaments. We think this should apply both to land and sea forces; but, as the limitation of armies is very largely a European question, we have wished the countries most interested to take the lead in deciding this among themselves. For the purpose of naval limitation we called the Washington Conference and secured an agreement as to capital ships and airplane carriers, and also as to the maximum unit tonnage and maximum caliber of guns of

cruisers. But the number of cruisers, lesser craft, and submarines have no limit.

Made Heaviest Sacrifice

It no doubt has some significance that foreign governments made agreements limiting that class of combat vessels in which we were superior, but refused limitation in the class in which they were superior. We made altogether the heaviest sacrifice in scrapping work which was already in existence. That should forever remain not only a satisfaction to ourselves, but a demonstration to others of our good faith in advocating the principle of limitations.

At that time we had twenty-three cruisers and ten more nearly completed. One of these has since been lost and twenty-two are nearly obsolete. To replace these we have started building eight. The British have since begun and completed seven, are building eight, and have five more authorized. When their present legislation is carried out, they would have sixty-eight cruisers. When ours is carried out, we would have forty. It is obvious that, eliminating all competition, world standards of defense require us to have more cruisers.

This was the situation when I requested another conference, which the British and Japanese attended, but to which Italy and France did not come. The United States there proposed a limitation of cruiser tonnage of 250,000 to 300,000 tons. As near as we could figure out their proposal, the British asked for from 425,000 to 600,000 tons. As it appeared to us that to agree to so large a tonnage constituted not a limitation, but an extension of war fleets, no agreement was made.

Frowns on Anglo-French Pact

Since that time no progress seems to have been made. In fact, the movements have been discouraging. During last summer France and England made a tentative offer which would limit the kind of cruisers and submarines adapted to the use of the United States, but left without limit the kind adapted to their use. The United States, of course, refused to accept this offer. Had we not done so, the French army and the English navy would be so near unlimited that the principle

of limitations would be virtually abandoned. The nations have already accomplished much in the way of limitations, and we hope may accomplish more when the preliminary conference called by the League of Nations is reconvened.

Meantime the United States and other nations have been successfully engaged in undertaking to establish additional safeguards and securities to the peace of the world by another method. Throughout all history war has been occurring, until it has come to be recognized by custom and practice as having a certain legal standing. It has been regarded as the last resort and has too frequently been the first. When it was proposed that this traditional attitude should be modified between the United States and France, we replied that it should be modified among all nations. As a result, representatives of fifteen powers have met in Paris and signed a treaty which condemns recourse to war, renounces it as a national policy, and pledges themselves not to seek to resolve their differences except by peaceful action.

Defends Anti-war Treaties

While this leaves the questions of national defense and limitation of armaments practically where they were, as the negative supports of peace, it discards all threat of force and approaches the subject on its positive side. For the first time in the world the leading powers bind themselves to adjust disputes without recourse to force. While recognizing to the fullest extent the duty of self-defense, and not undertaking, as no human ingenuity could undertake, an absolute guarantee against war, it is the most complete and will be the most effective instrument for peace that was ever devised.

So long as promises can be broken and treaties can be violated, we can have no positive assurances, yet every one knows they are additional safeguards. We can only say that this is the best that mortal man can do. It is beside the mark to argue that we should not put faith in it. The whole scheme of human society, the whole progress of civilization, requires that we should have faith in men and in nations. There is no other positive power on which we could rely. All the values

that have ever been created, all the progress that has ever been made, declare that our faith is justified.

For the cause of peace the United States is adopting the only practical principles that have ever been proposed, of preparation, limitation and renunciation. The progress that the world has made in this direction in the last ten years surpasses all the progress ever before made.

Will Not Finance Wars

Recent developments have brought to us not only a new economic but a new political relationship to the rest of the world. We have been constantly debating what our attitude ought to be toward the European nations. Much of our position is already revealed by the record. It can truthfully be characterized as one of patience, consideration, restraint, and assistance. We have accepted settlement of obligations, not in accordance with what was due, but in accordance with the merciful principle of what our debtors could pay. We have given of our counsel when asked, and of our resources for constructive purposes, but we have carefully refrained from all intervention which was unsought or which we believe would be ineffective, and we have not wished to contribute to the support of armaments. Whatever assistance we may have given to finishing the war, we feel free from any responsibility for beginning it. We do not wish to finance preparation for a future war.

We have heard an impressive amount of discussion concerning our duty to Europe. Our own people have supplied considerable quantities of it. Europe itself has expressed very definite ideas on this subject. We do have such duties. We have acknowledged them and tried to meet them. They are not all on one side, however. They are mutual. We have sometimes been reproached for lecturing Europe, but probably ours are not the only people who sometimes engage in gratuitous criticism and advice.

We have also been charged with pursuing a policy of isolation. We are not the only people, either, who desire to give their attention to their own affairs. It is quite evident that both of these claims cannot be true. I think no in-

formed person at home or abroad would blame us for not intervening in affairs which are peculiarly the concern of others to adjust, or, when we are asked for help, for stating clearly the terms on which we are willing to respond.

Would Safeguard Loans

Immediately following the war we went to the rescue of friend and foe alike in Europe on the grounds of humanity. Later our experts joined with their experts in making a temporary adjustment of German reparations and securing the evacuation of the Ruhr. Our people lent \$110,000,000 to Germany to put that plan into immediate effect. Since 1924 Germany has paid on reparations about \$1,300,000,000, and our people have lent to national, state, and municipal governments and to corporations in Germany a little over \$1,100,000,000. It could not be claimed that this money is the entire source from which reparations have been directly paid, but it must have been a large factor in rendering Germany able to pay. We also lent large sums to the governments and corporations in other countries to aid in their financial rehabilitation.

I have several times stated that such ought to be our policy. But there is little reason for sending capital abroad while rates for money in London and Paris are at 4 or 5 per cent while ours are much higher. England is placing very considerable loans abroad; France has had large credits abroad, some of which have been called home. Both are making very large outlays for military purposes. Europe on the whole has arrived at a state of financial stability and prosperity where it cannot be said we are called on to help or act much beyond a strict business basis. The needs of our own people require that any further advances by us must have most careful consideration.

Would Like Debts Paid

For the United States not to wish Europe to prosper would be not only a selfish but an entirely unenlightened view. We want the investment of life and money which we have made there to be to their benefit. We should like to have our Gov-

ernment debts all settled, although it is probable that we could better afford to lose them than our debtors could afford not to pay them. Divergent standards of living among nations involve many difficult problems. We intend to preserve our high standards of living and we should like to see all other countries on the same level. With a wholehearted acceptance of republican institutions, with the opening of opportunity to individual initiative, they are certain to make much progress in that direction.

It is always plain that Europe and the United States are lacking in mutual understanding. We are prone to think they can do as we can do. We are not interested in their age-old animosities; we have not suffered from centuries of violent hostilities. We do not see how difficult it is for them to displace distrust in each other with faith in each other. On the other hand, they appear to think that we are going to do exactly what they would do if they had our chance. If they would give a little more attention to our history and judge us a little more closely by our own record, and especially find out in what directions we believe our real interests to lie, much which they now appear to find obscure would be quite apparent.

Peace for Own Progress

We want peace not only for the same reason that every other nation wants it, because we believe it to be right, but because war would interfere with our progress. Our interests all over the earth are such that a conflict anywhere would be enormously to our disadvantage. If we had not been in the World War, in spite of some profit we made in exports, whichever side had won, in the end our losses would have been very great. We are against aggression and imperialism not only because we believe in local self-government, but because we do not want more territory inhabited by foreign people.

Our exclusion of immigration should make that plain. Our outlying possessions, with the exception of the Panama Canal Zone, are not a help to us, but a hindrance. We hold them not as a profit, but as a duty. We want limitation of armaments for the welfare of humanity.

We are not merely seeking our own advantage in this, as we do not need it, or attempting to avoid expense, as we can bear it better than anyone else.

If we could secure a more complete reciprocity in good will, the final liquidation of the balance of our foreign debts and such further limitation of armaments as would be commensurate with the treaty renouncing war, our confidence in the effectiveness of any additional efforts on our part to assist in the further progress of Europe would be greatly increased.

Encouraged by Last Decade

As we contemplate the past ten years, there is every reason to be encouraged. It has been a period in which human freedom has been greatly extended, in which the right of selfgovernment has come to be more widely recognized. Strong founda-

tions have been laid for the support of these principles. We should by no means be discouraged because practice lags behind principle. We made progress slowly and over a course which can tolerate no open spaces. It is a long distance from a world that walks by force to a world that walks by faith. The United States has been so placed that it could advance with little interruption along the road of freedom and faith.

It is befitting that we should pursue our course without exultation, with due humility, and with due gratitude for the important contributions of the more ancient nations which have helped to make possible our present progress and our future hope. The gravest responsibilities that can come to a people in this world have come to us. We must not fail to meet them in accordance with the requirements of conscience and righteousness.

THE PARIS PACT TO RENOUNCE WAR*

By HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG

Secretary of State

MR. CHAIRMAN: In this period of great progress in cordial understanding between nations, I am pleased to accept your invitation to discuss the steps taken by the United States, in collaboration with other nations, to advance amicable relations, to remove the causes of war, and to pledge the nations solemnly to renounce war as an instrument of their national policy and adopt instead the principle of the settlement of all disputes by pacific means. No more fitting time could be chosen for this peace movement than the tenth anniversary of the signing of the armistice which brought to a close the greatest war, the most appalling catastrophe of all the ages.

The best way to abolish war as a means of settling international disputes is to extend the field of arbitration to cover all juridical questions, to negotiate treaties

applying the principles of conciliation to all questions which do not come within the scope of arbitration, and to pledge all the nations of the world to condemn recourse to war, renounce it as an instrument of international policy, and declare themselves in favor of the settlement of all controversies by pacific means. Thus may the illegality of war be established in the world as a principle of international law.

There is one other means which can be taken by governmental authorities and also by private organizations like yours throughout the world, and that is to inculcate into the minds of the people a peaceful attitude, teaching them that war is not only a barbarous means of settling disputes, but one which has brought upon the world the greatest affliction, suffering, and disaster. If the people are minded that there shall be no war, there will not be. Arbitration is the machinery by which peace may be maintained. It cannot function effectively unless there is back of it a popular will for peace.

* An address before the world alliance for international friendship, delivered at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, Sunday, November 11, 1928.

Other Steps

I cannot go into detail concerning all the steps which have been taken to extend the principles of arbitration and conciliation as a part of the machinery for the maintenance of peace. In a general way, I can say that when I came into office I found that, on account of the war, many of our arbitration treaties and treaties of amity and commerce had lapsed, and that many of the boards of conciliation under the Bryan treaties had become incomplete or vacant through death or resignation. These boards have been filled and there are now in force nineteen of the original Bryan treaties, among the signatories being included many of the principal nations of the world. We have already negotiated five new treaties and are negotiating many more. We have negotiated with many countries a new arbitration treaty for the settlement of all juridical questions, which is an advance over the old form of treaty. In Central and South America practically all of the countries have signed and ratified a general conciliation treaty, to which the United States is a party. Under this treaty, in the event of failure to settle a dispute by diplomatic means or arbitration, the signatory nations agree to submit it to boards of conciliation for examination and report, and not to go to war for a reasonable time pending such examination. Furthermore, pursuant to a resolution of the Pan American Conference held in Havana in January and February, 1928, the United States has called a conference on arbitration and conciliation of all the States parties to the Pan American Union, to be held in Washington on December 10. Thus, it will be seen that the United States and the nations of all Central and South America are taking steps to extend the principles of arbitration and conciliation.

I might, if I had the time, show you the progress of this principle in other nations. It is evident that there is a great forward movement all over the world and a growth of an enlightened sentiment for the settlement of international controversies by means other than the arbitrament of war. I might mention in this connection the Locarno treaties and many others

negotiated in Europe as well as in Central and South America. Probably no part of the world has made such progress in arbitration as Central and South America, and certainly there is no part of the world where the sentiment for peace is stronger, and consequently where there is less danger of the outbreak of war.

Arbitration and conciliation are appealing more and more to the imagination of the peoples of all nations. I deem this movement of surpassing importance in the advancement of world peace. When all nations come to the conclusion that their disputes can best be settled by diplomatic means and, when these fail, by arbitration or commissions of conciliation, the world will have made a great step forward. I realize that treaties of arbitration and conciliation have existed for many years, and that in spite of them there occurred the greatest war of all history. But this should not be a cause of discouragement, because today world sentiment is stronger for such means of settling international disputes than ever before. I realize also that there are many political questions which cannot be arbitrated, although they may be settled by conciliation. I know that national jealousies and ambitions and racial animosities often are the causes of war. These causes of conflict can be eliminated through education, through the development of tolerance, and through the creation of an effective desire for peace.

In addition to these means of insuring universal peace, I know of but one other step, and that is a treaty solemnly pledging all the nations of the earth to condemn recourse to war, to renounce it as an instrument of their national policy towards each other, and solemnly to declare that the settlement of international disputes, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, shall never be sought except by pacific means. This leads me to the discussion of the multilateral anti-war treaty lately signed in Paris.

The Pact

As you know, the original suggestion of this movement came from Monsieur Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, in a proposition to the United States to enter into a bilateral treaty with

France to abjure war as a means of settling disputes between them. The American Government believed that this grand conception should be extended to all the nations of the world, so that its declaration might become a part of international law and the foundation stone for a temple of everlasting peace. I need not discuss the details of this negotiation, which lasted more than a year. All notes exchanged between the nations upon this subject were published from time to time, as they were sent by the various powers. It seemed clear that no treaty of such world-wide importance, so affecting the peoples of all nations, marking so great a forward step, could be taken without the support not only of the statesmen, but of the press and the people of the world themselves, and, as you know, the multi-lateral anti-war treaty was negotiated in the blazing light of full publicity.

The announcement of the purpose to negotiate such a treaty was at first met by much skepticism, the expression of which soon ended, because it was drowned in the voice of the people of all nations strongly supporting the movement. The consummation of the treaty was not the work of any single nation or of any individual. It is doubtful if such a treaty could have been negotiated between the ministers of the different governments in secret. I did not attempt it, neither did Monsieur Briand. We could not have succeeded. And the reason for this is that the treaty is the expression of the hope of millions of people in the world today. It came from the visualized expression of the desolated battlefields, from ruined homes and broken men, and stirred the great beating heart of humanity. Is there any wonder that there should be, in this modern and enlightened age, a world-wide protest against the horrors of war? We are but ten years removed from the greatest calamity of all time. No one can portray the desolation, death, misery, and sorrow inflicted by that last conflict. As we look back over the ages on the gradual growth and advancement of our civilization, is there any wonder that the people are now demanding some guarantee for peace?

In the negotiation of this treaty I had the hearty co-operation of the statesmen

of other countries, of President Coolidge, of statesmen of all parties, and of publicists throughout the United States. It was not a political move. I consulted with Senators and Representatives and public men, the sanest and wisest of our time, and I can say without the slightest doubt that the treaty meets the matured judgment of the people of the United States.

It was an impressive sight when representatives of fifteen nations gathered around the historic table in the French Foreign Office and solemnly pledged their governments before the world to renounce war as an instrumentality of their countries, agreeing to settle all international disputes by pacific means.

The treaty is a simple and plain declaration and agreement. It is not cumbered with reservations and conditions stipulating when a nation might be justified in going to war. Such a treaty, if attempted, would fail because of the complexity of national aspirations and the wide difference of conditions. It contains but two articles, as follows:

Article 1. The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article 2. The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Related Matters

There are some matters which have been the subject of press comment which I desire to discuss. I have been asked why we did not attempt to negotiate the treaty with all the nations of the world and make them original signatories. The reasons are these: it was my opinion that to attempt to negotiate a treaty with over sixty nations would entail so much discussion and so prolong the negotiations as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to sign a treaty and obtain its ratification within a reasonable time. Furthermore, if any one

country failed to ratify, the treaty would not go into effect, thereby postponing the matter for an indefinite period. It seemed to me best to select four of the large nations of Europe, the seat of the last war, where there was perhaps more danger of conflict than anywhere else, and Japan in the Far East, and to negotiate with them a treaty which would be open to adhesion by all the nations of the world. I felt sure, after very careful consideration, that a treaty satisfactory to those powers would be readily accepted by the others. There were two additions to the six original powers involved in the negotiations, the British dominions and India and the additional powers parties to the Locarno treaties. The British Government, for example, stated that the proposed treaty, from its very nature, was not one which concerned His Majesty's Government in Great Britain alone, but was one in which they could not undertake to participate otherwise than jointly and simultaneously with the governments in the dominions and the Government of India, and suggested that the United States invite those governments to become original signatories. This was done and the dominions and India promptly and readily accepted the treaty and signed at the same time as the British Government.

In the course of the discussion, France raised the question of whether the proposed treaty would in any way conflict with the obligations of the Locarno treaties, the League of Nations, or other treaties guaranteeing neutrality. My reply was that I did not understand the League of Nations to impose any obligation to go to war; that the question must ultimately be decided by each country for itself; that if there was any similar obligation in the Locarno treaties, the United States would agree that all of the powers parties to the Locarno treaties should become original signatories of the present treaty. Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia therefore were brought in as original parties because they were the only signatories to the Locarno treaties outside of the nations included in the negotiations of the anti-war treaty. The following countries were parties to the Locarno treaties: Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

The treaty contained a clause undertaking not to go to war, and if there was a flagrant violation by one of the high contracting parties, each of the other parties undertook immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such violation or breach was directed. It therefore was simply a matter of law that if any of the parties to the Locarno treaties went to war in violation of that treaty and were at the same time parties to the multilateral treaty they would violate this treaty also, and that it was a general principle of law that if one of the parties to a treaty should violate it, the others would be released and would be entirely free and under no obligation to take any action unless they saw fit.

For these reasons the Locarno powers became original signatories, and all of the nations agreed that under these circumstances no modification of the present treaty was needed. It was my expectation that if the treaty was signed it would be readily adhered to by many, if not all, of the other nations. My expectations have been more than fulfilled. Up to the present time 58 nations have either signed the treaty as original parties, have adhered to it, or have notified the department of their intention to adhere to it. It is my belief that all the nations of the world will adhere to this treaty and make it one of the principles of their national policy. I believe that this is the first time in history when any treaty has received the approval of so many nations of the world.

There are no collateral reservations or amendments made to the treaty as finally agreed upon. During the negotiation of this treaty, as in the case of other treaties, questions were raised by various governments and discussed, and in many of my notes I explained the legal effect or construction of the treaty. There is nothing in any of these notes, or in my speeches sent to the signatory powers during the negotiations, which is inconsistent with or changes the meaning of the treaty as finally signed. Finally, the countries were satisfied that no modification of the treaty was necessary to meet their views.

To illustrate: The question was raised as to whether this treaty prevented a coun-

try from defending itself in the event of attack. It seemed to me incomprehensible that any nation should believe that a country could be deprived of its legitimate right of self-defense. No nation would sign a treaty expressly or clearly implying an obligation denying it the right to defend itself if attacked by any other country. I stated that this was a right inherent in every sovereign State, and that it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require resort to war in self-defense. If it has a good case, the world will applaud it and not condemn it, but a nation must answer to the tribunal of public opinion as to whether its claim of the right of self-defense is an adequate justification for it to go to war.

Self-Defense

In the discussion of the treaty I noticed in one or two instances a criticism that by recognizing the right of self-defense the treaty had been greatly weakened; that if a nation should go to war claiming that it was acting in self-defense, the mere claim must be accepted by the peoples of the world, and that, therefore, the multilateral treaty does not change the present juridical position. I cannot agree with this criticism. As I have already stated, a nation claiming to act in self-defense must justify itself before the bar of world opinion as well as before the signatories of the treaty. For that reason I declined to place in the treaty a definition of aggressor or of self-defense, because I believed that no comprehensive legalistic definition could be framed in advance. Such an attempt would have led to endless difficulty. For years statesmen interested in preventing war have tried to frame definitions of aggressor and the right of self-defense, in an attempt to prevent conflicts between States. They have failed to accomplish this object. Furthermore, technical definitions are easily evaded by a nation which desires to go to war for selfish purposes. It therefore seemed best simply to make a broad declaration against war. This would make it more difficult rather than less difficult for an aggressor nation to prove its innocence. If there is a narrow, legalistic treaty definition as to the meaning of self-

defense or of aggression, and such a definition would be very difficult if not impossible to make in advance, the nation making war might well find justification through a technicality far easier than if it had to face a broad political examination by other signatories of a simple anti-war treaty in the light of world opinion. The mere claim of self-defense is not going to justify a nation before the world.

Furthermore, I do not believe that any tribunal can be set up to decide this question infallibly. To attempt to negotiate a treaty establishing such a tribunal would meet with endless difficulties and the opposition of many nations. I am certain that the United States and many countries would never have become parties to a treaty submitting for determination to a tribunal the question of the right of self-defense; certainly not if the decision of the tribunal was to be followed by the application of sanctions or by military action to punish the offending State.

I know there are men who believe in the lofty ideal of a world tribunal or superstate to decide when a nation has violated its agreement not to go to war, or by force to maintain peace and to punish the offender, but I do not believe that all the independent nations have yet arrived at the advanced stage of thought which will permit such a tribunal to be established. Shall we postpone world agreements not to go to war until some indefinite time when the peoples of the world will have come to the conclusion that they can make a sovereign State subservient to an international tribunal of this kind? Shall we take no step at all until we can accomplish in one single act an entire revolution in the independence of sovereign nations?

I have the greatest hope that in the advancement of our civilization all peoples will be trained in the thought and come to the belief that nations in their relations with each other should be governed by principles of law, and that the decisions of arbitrators or judicial tribunals and the efforts of conciliation commissions should be relied upon in the settlement of international disputes rather than war. But this stage of human development must come by education, by experience, through treaties of arbitration and conciliation

and solemn agreements not to resort to war. How many centuries have passed in the upward struggle of the human race to substitute government and law for force and internal conflicts in the adjustment of the rights of citizens as between each other. Is it too much to hope for the ultimate realization of this grand idea, in the adjustment of international as well as personal relations, as a part of the great movement of world advancement? The last war certainly gave an impetus, and it is for this reason that I believe the time has come for united world denunciation of war.

Violators

Another question which has been raised in connection with the treaty was as to whether, if any country violated the treaty, the other parties would be released from any obligation as to the belligerent State. I have no doubt whatever of the general principle of law governing this question, and therefore declined to place in the treaty a reservation to that effect. Recognition of this principle was, however, included in the preamble, which recites that the parties to the treaty are "Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made, to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated; convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty."

What were the benefits to be furnished? An unconditional agreement not to go to war. This is the recognition of a general principle, that if one nation violates the treaty it is deprived of the benefits of this agreement, and the other parties are therefore necessarily released from their obligations as to the belligerent State.

Sanctions

I have seen from time to time claims, on the one hand, that this treaty is weak

because it does not provide the means for enforcing it, either by military or other sanctions, against the treaty-breaking State, and, on the other hand, that through it the United States has become entangled in European affairs, and, while under no express obligation, is under moral obligation to join other nations and enforce the treaty by military or other assistance. Neither of these positions is correct. I know that men will differ on the question of whether it is better to provide sanctions or military agreements to punish a violator of the treaty or military alliances to enforce it. But whatever the merits of this controversy may be, as I have already said, I do not believe the United States or many nations in the world would be willing to submit to any tribunal to decide the question of whether a nation had violated this treaty or irrevocably pledge themselves to military or other action to enforce it. My personal opinion is that such alliances have been futile in the past and will be in the future; that the carrying out of this treaty must rest on the solemn pledges and the honor of nations; that if by this treaty all the nations solemnly pronounce against war as an institution for settling international disputes, the world will have taken a forward step, created a public opinion, martialled the great moral forces of the world for its observance, and entered into a sacred obligation which will make it far more difficult to plunge the world into another great conflict. In any event, it is not at all practical for the United States to enter into such an obligation.

Entanglement

It has also been said that the treaty entangles us in the affairs of Europe. I cannot understand why such an argument should be made. It no more entangles us in the political affairs of foreign countries than any other treaties which we have made, and if through any such fear the United States cannot take any step towards the maintenance of world peace, it would be a sad commentary on our intelligence and patriotism. But, it is said, we are under moral obligations, though not under binding written obligations, to apply sanctions to punish a treaty-

breaking State or to enforce its obligations. No one of the governments in any of the notes leading up to the signing of this treaty made any such claim, and there is not a word in the treaty or in the correspondence that intimates that there is such an obligation. I made it perfectly plain, whatever the other countries might think, that the United States could not join in any such undertaking. In the first speech I made on the subject, which was afterwards circulated to the nations, I said:

"I cannot state too emphatically that it [the United States] will not become a party to any agreement which directly or indirectly, expressly or by implication, is a military alliance. The United States cannot obligate itself in advance to use its armed forces against any other nation of the world. It does not believe that the peace of the world or of Europe depends upon or can be assured by treaties of military alliance, the futility of which as guarantors is repeatedly demonstrated in the pages of history."

I believe that for this same reason Great Britain and some of the other nations of Europe rejected the treaty of mutual assistance. Whether the Locarno treaties will be construed as agreements to apply sanctions, I cannot say; but whether they are or not, I do not believe that it is possible to enforce such a treaty. I know of no moral obligation to agree to apply sanctions or to punish a treaty-breaking State unless there is some promise to do so, and no one can claim that there is any such a promise in this treaty. It is true that some of the press in Europe have indicated that the United States will now be under some moral obligation to do so, and these speculations have been echoed in the press of this country. But no government has made any such claim, and press speculations can certainly not be called a part of the treaty.

There have been, of course, expressions of gratification on the part of European statesmen and journalists that the United States is again taking an interest in European affairs and is willing to aid in the furtherance and maintenance of peace. I, for one, believe the United States has always had a deep interest in the maintenance of peace all over the world. Why should not our Government and our peo-

ple feel a deep interest in this question? In modern times no great war can occur without seriously affecting every nation. Of course, the United States is anxious for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the people of Europe as well as of the rest of the world. Because we did not approve of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations in all respects, it has been assumed by some that we no longer take any interest in Europe and world affairs. I, for one, do not accept this as a just estimate of our national character and vision.

Conclusion

By some this grand conception of a world pledge for peace is considered visionary and idealistic. I do not think that all the statesmen of Europe and of the world who have solemnly pledged their nations against the institution of war can be called visionary idealists. Idealists they are, of course. Idealists have led the world in all great accomplishments for the advancement of government, for the dissemination of learning, and for the development of the arts and sciences which have marked the progress of this great growing age. Today, probably more than at any time in recorded history, there is a longing for peace, that we may not again go through the horrors and devastation of a World War. I am sure that the people of this country are willing to try this last and greatest step, the solemn pledge of peoples and of nations. I cannot believe that such a declaration, entered into, not in the frenzy of public excitement, but in the cool deliberation of peoples, can fail to have a world-wide moral effect. I believe that this treaty is approved by almost unanimous sentiment in the United States and in the world. Such approval means advancement in the ideals of government and of civilization. Of course, I know there are some who criticize it either as an attempt to accomplish too much or too little. Against these men I have no complaint.

I have always been pleased to have the treaty discussed in all its phases with the greatest freedom, and I am willing to submit it to the matured judgment of all the world. I believe it is the bounden duty of the United States in every way possible, by its example, by treaties of

arbitration and conciliation, and by solemn pledges against war, to do what it can to advance peace, and thus to bring about realization of the highest civilization. When that time comes the maintenance of world peace will rest largely in your hands—you men and women here in the great audience before me, the many millions who, though absent, are following this meeting by means of the radio, and our brothers and sisters in the other countries of the world. France and the United State pointed out to other nations

a hopeful pathway to world peace. The other nations have gladly joined France and the United States and have agreed to follow that path with us. Whether or not we reach our common goal depends not so much upon governments as upon the peoples from whom their power flows. I believe in the people. I have confidence in mankind, and I am happy that I have been privileged to participate in the conclusion of a treaty which should make it easier for men and women to realize their long-cherished ideal of peace on earth.

THE PARIS PACT

By OSCAR T. CROSBY

(Mr. Crosby has been Assistant Secretary of the United Treasury, President of the Interallied Council on War Finance and War Purchase, and an engineer and explorer. He is author of "International War—Its Causes and Its Cure" and numerous papers on international questions, in this magazine and elsewhere.)

IN THE Kellogg Treaty renouncing war is found one unusual merit, that of *brevity*. Even the casual reader will not be bored by reading its exact language:

"The high contracting parties solemnly declare, in the names of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solutions of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

What an impression of finality in these two short paragraphs! But alas! Mr. Kellogg's facile brevity is deceptive. It is too long for clarity by all that follows the words "renounce it." If the plan ended with these two words, we should have a renunciation of *all* war. It does not end there. Observe that we "*renounce it as an instrument of national policy.*" What does this limitation mean? The word "policy" suggests a settled rule of conduct. May war then be waged as an *exception* to the rule, when it is not an instrument of policy? And when is war not an instrument of national policy?

We find no answer to these questions

in the text of the treaty. But there are certain extra-textual letters between Secretary Kellogg and various foreign ministers.

Before consulting these, however, let us glance at the second paragraph of the treaty cited above. Note that "solutions of *all* disputes and *conflicts* shall never be *sought* except by pacific means." A "dispute" is one thing, a "conflict" is another; else why the two words? Does an attack upon one's national territory give rise to a conflict? One would say it does. Then, apparently, we are not to seek a solution of that conflict by resistance in arms, but by pacific means. Does the plan contemplate that we surrender the right to repel force with force?

Another question raised at once by the text is presented in the word "sought." We are not held to find solutions by pacific means, but to seek them. And no institution is established by the treaty for settling disputes. Yet the lack of a tribunal and a sanction for its decrees is the general condition of all international wars, whatever may have been the motive cause of any particular dispute. Will the correspondence throw light on this apparent inattention to a basic fact in human experience?

Having extracted from the treaty proper a number of interrogation marks, let

us turn elsewhere for positive statements. We learn from the pronouncements of all the ministers that something called the right of making war for self-defense is not to be affected by the treaty. Mr. Kellogg says this right is "inherent in every sovereign State and implicit in every treaty." But he thinks the words are so difficult of definition that it would be unwise to introduce them into the official text. It seems to him not unwise to introduce them, and without clear definition, in official correspondence anent the treaty. And it is made plain by the assenting ministers that their acceptance of the treaty is based upon this correspondence. Therefore, these difficult words must be interpreted if the treaty is to be understood. Sixty or more judgments of sovereign States must be registered in words or in deeds regarding every future act of war.

Doubtless Senators, before ratifying so momentous an engagement, will ask themselves whether or not they are also ratifying a dozen or more variously expressed diplomatic letters in which this phrase "self-defense" is of prime importance. Every citizen also may reasonably search for a meaning of that which he retains in the commentaries on the treaty and of that which he renounces in its text.

Let us now start the inquiry.

War Powers Retained

Mr. Kellogg has said: "Every nation is free at all times, and regardless of treaty provisions, to defend its territory from attack or invasion, and it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to war in self-defense." Note that the only clear example given of the inherent right of self-defense relates to actual attack or invasion of *territory*. Is that, then, the new meaning of the phrase? Perhaps not, for in the last clause of the sentence just quoted an opening is made for a more elastic definition. No nation can be supposed to hesitate in making war to repel attack or invasion of its territory; there can be no "whether" about this. It may, however, exercise its "sole competence" to decide whether certain other

cases fall within the accepted definition of self-defense—that is, of defense of certain rights other than mere territorial lordship. Is it in this clause that the door is opened to other rights that may be defended by war?

Examples from our own history will aid the inquiry. Our territory was not actually invaded in various Indian wars; in the Tripolitan war; in the Algerian war; in the undeclared maritime war with France; in the War of 1812; in the war with Spain over Cuba; in the recent war with Germany. In our declared war with Mexico both parties invaded a territory claimed by each; hence, in the narrowest sense, that war may, perhaps, be called a war of self-defense—for both belligerents.

Now may not a citizen reasonably ask whether or not we are about to "renounce" the right to fight under conditions that led to nearly all the wars we have actually waged? Is the Mexican conflict the example of the only kind of war we are now permitted to wage? Or, on the other hand, would the other cases be let in by the "weasel words" of the clause declaring our "sole competence to decide," etc.?

May we not go further and ask generally whether or not all the signatories have renounced the right to make war when there has been destruction of or injury to the property and lives of their citizens lawfully sailing on the high seas or lawfully established in foreign territory; when there is a gathering of menacing armies on their borders or of menacing fleets in or near their ports and a refusal to withdraw such forces after protest; when there is a patent denial of or serious interference with their trade, whether in the country of the adversary or in that of some weak government—China, for example; when some foreign power incites rebellion among their own citizens; when there is an extension, or threatened extension, of foreign control over territories where the signatory claims special interest, as in our case, under the Monroe Doctrine, over countries to the south of us. Many recent wars have been rooted in one or more of such situations. Most of these wars have been declared as founded on "self-defense," on

defense of rights held as vital to the power claiming them.

Usage fixes definitions of words and phrases. In the documents under consideration, does the phrase "self-defense" appear in its usual significance or in a new one?

Respecting the last case, it is to be remembered that "understandings like the Monroe Doctrine" are enshrined in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and that covenant is declared by the signatories who are League members to be inviolate. Several European and one Asiatic government claim "Monroe Doctrines" applicable to vast areas throughout the Eastern Hemisphere. Secretary Kellogg has accepted the Covenant as being harmonious with his proposition, and is reported as having given specific assurance to the press that our Monroe Doctrine is untouched. Take all these declarations together, they mean that the great powers do *not* "renounce war as an instrument of national policy" when it comes to defending a network of special interests claimed in many lands not their own.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, in his letter accepting the treaty, expressed in straightforward language his government's rejection of the renunciation in respect to a British Monroe Doctrine. He says: "As regards the passage in my note of the 19th of May relating to certain regions of which the welfare and integrity constitute, a special and vital interest for our peace and safety, I need only repeat that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accepts the new treaty upon the understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect."

Now, if the theory of self-defense is thus plainly set up as applying to indirect interests in foreign lands, how much more will it apply to any of the other cases in which direct injuries to national peace and safety are involved?

Thus there is established a doctrine standing outside the renunciation treaties but controlling them—a doctrine broad enough to permit the making of war *in substantially all the familiar cases known in the past*. Verily this new straight-jacket is made of rubber and of gauze!

War Powers Renounced

There are different kinds of wars: those of self-defense, which we do not renounce by the new treaty; those waged to comply with the terms of an alliance, where "A" may declare war against "B," though "B" is at first not in conflict with "A," but with "C," "A's" ally.

We are not now directly concerned with alliance wars. All members of the League of Nations are deeply concerned. They are in agreement with each other to fight punitive wars under given contingencies. And they have, in their letters accepting the Kellogg Pact, made it clear that their League obligations in this respect are not to be affected by the pending engagement. They thus extend the definition of "self-defense" to include alliance wars, or they inferentially exclude these wars from the scope of "national policy." Strange conclusions! Unless we also make it clear that alliance wars are accepted by us as being outside the renunciation, then we—we as a State not in the League—are now about to cut ourselves off from the right to make such engagements in the future. I hope we never shall; yet, if we are to yield the *right* to do so, this should be understood. We may or may not have made this particular renunciation in the pending treaty.

There remains the war of aggression, of unprovoked attack. This is the thing actually renounced. We promise that we shall not become marauders, at least in our own judgment. We refuse to be judged by others in any formal way. There the matter stands.

Our Relations with the League of Nations

We have now before us the dimensions of the "grand conception," ingeniously announced by Mr. Kellogg as having flowed from his recent negotiations with Mr. Briand. It is the same conception which appears in the opening paragraph of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The members of that League accept "the obligation not to resort to war." This is more conclusive than the renunciation in the Kellogg Pact. Many provisions following the fundamental engagement have to do with the organization of bodies for hearing and settling disputes or for actuating punishment of violators of the

fact. No loophole is left for beginning war without previous submission of a threatening dispute to an indicated authority. In one contingency, namely, failure to obtain a stipulated proportion of votes for a decree of settlement, the parties are freed from further obligation to refer to the League organization. But the loophole thus left for war-making does not free the parties from punishment if the war then undertaken be judged by the members as one of aggression. In that case the guarantees of Article X come into play. The culprit must take into account the possibility of combined or separate constraint by other members, acting not only within their right, but within their duty under the covenant.

With the conditions *inter se* imposed upon themselves by the members of the League we are not directly concerned. But the covenant goes further. It attempts to impose a discipline upon non-member States. With this part of the covenant we will be involved as never before. The League members are solemnly pledged to constrain us by whatever means may be necessary in the following cases:

First. If we are in dispute with any other nation, whether member of the League or not, and fail to make an amicable settlement, we must be invited "to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute." If we refuse the invitation and "resort to war against a member of the League," then we are to be sent to Coventry, to be denied any intercourse whatever with the rest of the world. Not only our government, but each and every one of our nationals. These punishments flow from the mere refusal of the invitation, if followed by war against a member State. Nothing is said about our claim of self-defense. That is the very matter which, by presumption, we have refused to submit to inquiry.

Second. If a member State is held to have resorted to war in disregard of its covenants, it shall likewise be denied intercourse with all the world—that is, with member and nonmember States—with us. Let us particularize such a case. Let us consider any country with which we have peaceful relations—Italy, for example.

By mutual agreement the enjoyment of rights of commerce, of residence, of travel, are guaranteed by each government to the citizens of the other. Thousands of Italians are united to thousands of American by ties of sentiment, of business interest, of scientific comradeship. Thousands are established as residents in an alien but friendly territory. Then, in some obscure Balkan or Asiatic or African territory, an imbroglio ends in a war between Italy and another State. We are not directly concerned. But the League Council takes note. The usual line up of interested parties is quickly made. A few great powers, acting hastily (they *must* act hastily if at all), stigmatize Italy as having violated her League obligations. If unanimous in the Council, they undertake a judgment from which the Muse of History recoils. Italy is outlawed. And lo! *we* must play traitor to our Italian treaty of amity and commerce. Our Italian neighbors, living next door, must be deported. Our cousins who are traveling or residing in Italy must come home. No speech, no letter can be exchanged between any American and any Italian. The League has *undertaken* to bring this about. The League members who have accepted the war-renunciation treaty with us (while holding to the Covenant) have thus reserved to themselves the right to call us to this dishonor to Italians and to this wrong to thousands of our own people. And if we do not submit? Mr. Kellogg says: "The League has imposed no affirmative, primary obligation to go to war. The obligation is secondary and attaches only when deliberately accepted by a State." But, if the League fulfills its engagement under Article XVI, must it not *enforce us*, in the case outlined, to do vast injury to all Italo-American interests and to our good faith toward Italy, unless we "voluntarily accept" a rôle of dishonor dictated to us by the League? Is not this an affirmative primary obligation to subject nonmember States to the will of the League, and is not war involved if they stand in defense of their own rights and honor?

Now all these threats against the independence of nonmember States existed

before the new treaty was heard of. That treaty, in its own texts, introduces no new element in that situation. The novelty arises from the fact that, in so far as Mr. Kellogg can speak for us, we seem now to have declared that a war against us by League members, waged to overcome our resistance in the cases just discussed, would not be the kind of war that is renounced by them. By implication it would be a war for *their* self-defense—of defense of their obligations and interest as bound up in the League. Could we, then, make resistance without exposing ourselves to the charge that we are the treaty-violators? We deal with them *after having taken official cognizance* of the covenant requirements and having declared them innocuous.

Whether or not Mr. Kellogg fully appreciated the scope of the covenant provisions affecting nonmember States, I do not know. Certainly, however, it was a triumph of European diplomacy so to engineer the negotiations as to destroy our previous position of aloofness. M. Briand knew that it would be useless to propose that we join the League. But might we not be tied to it? And we will be if the pending treaty, with its penumbra of reservations, be ratified.

Pacific Settlements

League members are already bound to seek pacific settlements of all threatening disputes, through the League machinery if other means fail. We are similarly bound with respect to those nations who have signed our Wilson-Bryan cooling-off treaties. But these specifically reserve the right to resume freedom of action in case the findings of a commission (provided in the treaties) are not accepted by the parties, who are in no way bound to accept them. The new treaty sets up no new machinery. Let us suppose, then, that in some of our disputes the cooling-off treaty is invoked. The commission findings are not accepted by both parties. A year or more has elapsed since the steps of submission began. "Liberty of action" is resumed by the contestants, as set forth in the treaty. But, under the Kellogg Pact, liberty to make war is *not* resumed, unless we declare that self-defense requires it. There is *pro tanto* an abroga-

tion of the cooling-off treaty. Following close upon its failure must come the invitation to submit the dispute to the League. If we accept, more delay. If we refuse, while still refraining from making war, that also means delay. Now, many people have come to believe that delay is in itself a sort of panacea for war. In some sense it is. But it will often mean defeat for one or the other of the adversaries. It will mean a surrender of the alleged *casus belli*—a consummation of the threatened wrong. History would be reversed if indefinite delay ruled our actions. The starving Cubans die—Spain wins (1898). The oppression of the Uitlanders is completed—the Boers win (1898). Our stricken commerce perishes—England wins (1812). The Port Arthur fortifications rise to completion—Russia wins (1904). A hundred similar cases may be cited. I do not say that the world might not have been better if pacific settlement had been reached in the cases. It is sufficient that we see clearly what it means to be committed to *indefinite delay*. It means submission to alleged wrong. 'Twere better then formally to revive the Sermon on the Mount as "an instrument of national policy." Then no tiresome treaties would be needed, but perhaps the ruffian would triumph in the world.

Tribunals

Mr. Kellogg stands firmly against the idea of submitting a self-defense claim to any official, organized tribunal. Announcing positively that we are not prepared to enter into such an arrangement, he goes further, saying: "I do not believe the United States or many nations in the world would be willing to submit to any tribunal to decide the question of whether a nation had violated this treaty . . ."

Yet that is, in effect, just what League members have done in adopting the covenant. Nay, more, they impose a judgment on nonmember States as well. In Article X, in Article XVI, in Article XVII, action by the League Council is made mandatory, whether the dispute or the war in question involve members only or nonmembers. It is, indeed, probably true that quick repelling by force of an attack upon territory is by inference left

to every State, but its action is subject to inquiry and review by the Council.

To this procedure Mr. Kellogg prefers another course. He says: "If it (a belligerent claiming self-defense) has a good case, the world will applaud it and not condemn it, but a nation must answer to the tribunal of public opinion as to whether its claim of self-defense is an adequate justification for it to go to war."

What an opportunity for the paid propagandist! And how will this applause or condemnation find expression? Through the press? What power for the half-dozen great newspaper proprietors who supply the daily reading matter for many millions of us!

If not this, then will governments speak? And will they applaud or condemn? And will the mere applause or condemnation of mobs or of governments silence the thundering cannon of the foes on a distant battlefield? Must not some material act be performed by government in order that this appeal to the bar of world opinion should aid the "good" cause? And if one neutral applauds *A* and another applauds *B*, must not a beneficial demonstration of this contradictory applause result in a widening of the circle of war?

Now I do not believe that we would be willing to risk our national welfare because in the welter of a foreign war our government had hastily concluded that *A* had a good self-defense case and *B* a bad one. But if we do not do something of the kind, then why this pother about justifying to us an act claimed by the belligerents as one of self-defense?

The Punishment

But, says Mr. Kellogg, a judgment by us that *A* has a bad case will at once deprive him of the benefit of the new treaty with us. That is to say, we resume our right to make war on him, not in self-defense, but merely as aggressors or as self-appointed chastisers. Our famous renunciation is itself renounced. And is this precious right, if not exercised during the existent hostilities, to endure forever, or until a new renunciation takes place? Even if the two belligerents make peace and swear to love each other thereafter, are we to stand as a perpetual men-

ace to the one we had adjudged as an "aggressor"? Now, we hotly deny that we will ever become marauders. Then, the thing actually resumed is the right to *punish*. That brings us squarely within the spirit of the League Covenant. The meddlesome Mattie rôle which we have refused since 1919 is now undertaken by indirection. There we must stand or the denouncement of the treaty with any future offender will be meaningless to both parties. Well, if we want to take that position, let us do so in clear words, understood of all.

Future Armaments

If, after signature of the new treaties, the powers maintain any armaments suitable for foreign wars, they must do so assuming that one or more of them will attack somebody. We may be reasonably sure that such an act will not be described by the perpetrator as being in violation of pledges made. It will be charged, mutually, that "the other fellow started it." Or, again, the initial violence may be declared by its perpetrator to be not real war, but only some species of "near-war," not the kind covered by the renunciation. We denied that our capture of Vera Cruz in 1914 was war. The British in 1812 and the Germans in 1917 declared that their seizure or destruction of American persons and property on the high seas was not war, while we declared it was. In some such fashion hostile actions may grow over night into full-fledged war. Question: Are the renunciation signatories to prepare for such contingencies? The British War Secretary does not hesitate to say (speaking in the House of Commons July 19, 1928) that *his* government will always be prepared to defend the liberties of British subjects. Our recent official pronouncements speak the same language.

And if some naïve persons, controlling national policies, should disarm, with or without agreements, what would be the results? Supremacy would at once pass to that State having the most powerful commercial fleet, on the water and in the air. Quick installation of arms would permit that State to impose its view on every foolish virgin adversary. So it seems fair to conclude that the new treaty

will not in any way affect the awkward efforts now being made for limiting armaments.

Our Constitution

An apparently plenary power to declare war is vested in Congress by our Constitution. The pending treaty on the face of it attempts to abridge or destroy that power *in toto*. Through extraneous documents and by implication, we learn that a wide power of waging war for self-defense and for punishment is reserved to the signatories. Is that limitation to be inferred as already existing in the Constitution? If so, we renounce nothing except the exercise of illegal powers. We merely say, in the Kellogg Pact, that our President and members of Congress will support the Constitution, will observe their oath of office.

If the limitation is not to be inferred, then the treaty attempts to amend the Constitution—a thing Mr. Kellogg would not hold possible. It is not probable that in the Senate there will be found any champions of a rigid observance of the Constitution; yet it would be well that the point should be discussed.

Moral Gesture

Much (not all, I believe) of the criticism here made of the Kellogg Treaty has already appeared in print. The approval of it has boiled down to this: "It is a fine moral gesture."

Is it moral to make engagements understandable only by reference to extraneous text?

Since war as "an instrument of national policy" is prohibited, and war as an instrument of national self-defense and of punishment is *not* prohibited, have we not made "national policy" mean only "aggression"—wanton attack, rob-

bery? Is this not a violation of the usual meaning of the term "national policy," to exclude from it defensive and punitive wars? Is it moral thus to violate language in a solemn engagement?

What Next?

Few readers will be satisfied with mere destructive criticism. The thing has gone so far, the national dignity is so much involved, that we must now ask, "What shall be done about it?" Is there a way out? Yes. Let the Senate amend the text by making it read: ". . . and renounce it (war) as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, save in case of self-defense, as that case may be judged originally by the party concerned, and in the case of punitive wars against a nation making an unprovoked attack upon another, as that case may be judged by the party desiring to punish, or by any international organization to which the right of judgment may have been committed by treaty."

In 1915 Mr. Bryan, referring to the cooling-off treaties, said: "I believe that a thousand years from now the name of Woodrow Wilson and my name will be linked together in the capitals of the world, and that these treaties will preserve the peace of our nation by furnishing machinery by which peace can be preserved with honor."

Mr. Bryan's treaty was at least clear. I doubt its efficiency. Mr. Kellogg may entertain a laudable ambition that his name and that of Mr. Coolidge should share in the millennial glory predicted for their predecessors in office; but if that ambition is left to rest upon a treaty that is not clear, the angels may withhold the crown.

"Dr. Johnson was disappointed in the effect of one of his pamphlets. 'I think I have not been attacked enough for it,' he said; 'attack is the reaction; I never think I have hit hard unless it rebounds.'"—(Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.)

PEACE FOR PAN-AMERICA

By HON. DON RICARDO J. ALFARO

Panama's Minister to the United States

(An address delivered before the World Conference on International Justice, in celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Peace Society, Cleveland, Ohio, May 9, 1928.)

IT IS with the greatest pleasure that I have accepted the kind invitation tendered to me to attend this meeting, and I desire before all to return my thanks to our illustrious President, Senator Burton, for having conferred upon me the honor that I so highly appreciate, of addressing such a distinguished audience on such a momentous and significant occasion.

I feel happy and proud to join with the eminent personalities who have once more voiced the yearning that conscientious and thinking people all over the world have for peace, and I will always deem it a great privilege to have been for a number of years a member of the American Peace Society, to which the cause of justice and fraternity between nations owes so much. Peace is the byword of the hour, the supreme aspiration of mankind after witnessing the most destructive of all wars known to history, and therefore all efforts tending to insure peace must find sympathy and co-operation among those who influence one way or the other the destinies of peoples and States, as well as among those who desire to help those efforts for the mere fact that the miseries of war and the blessings of peace are to be participated in by every living human being.

The Havana Conference

In this state of mind I hope it may be of interest to you to have some information about what I consider the most constructive and significant step ever taken with the aim of insuring peace in our continent. I refer to the peace work of the Sixth International Conference of American States, recently held in the city of Havana.

It is unfortunate that when mention is made of the Pan-American Conference so much stress is placed on the sensational and so much attention paid to it. To most of those who have heard or read about the Havana Congress, that was a meeting

in which the question of intervention by some nations in the affairs of other nations was dramatically discussed and in which all efforts failed to reach an agreement on that question. Beyond this, few people realize that in volume of constructive work and in significance of results obtained this conference has surpassed all previous conferences. Suffice it to remark that we concluded and signed at Havana a convention adopting a whole code of private international law and eight conventions of public international law, all of which endeavor to define questions, to regulate matters, to make recommendations, to express aspirations which in some way, either directly or indirectly, work for the stabilization of peace between the three Americas.

Compulsory Arbitration

Of exceptional importance among them was the resolution whereby the twenty-one republics of the American Continent proclaimed compulsory arbitration as the only means for the solution of international conflicts, and providing for a special conference to be held at Washington within a year for the exclusive purpose of concluding a general convention on the subjects of mediation and arbitration.

We sons of America—*i. e.*, North, Central, and South Americans—are proud of the fact that arbitration, as a general principle of international law, was born in America. It was in the Panama Congress of 1826, convoked by Bolivar, the Southern Liberator, that the principle of arbitration was for the first time solemnly proclaimed in the multilateral treaty entered into by four republics, which at the time comprised the territory and population of eleven of the present nations of our hemisphere.

Many attempts have since been made to have arbitration, or rather compulsory arbitration, as a precept governing the

relations of the American States, but while there have always been an abundance of popular and official expressions in favor of this principle, it has not been possible to see it crystalized in a general convention.

In 1881 the Colombian Government addressed a circular to the American Governments proposing a second Congress of Panama, the purpose of which should be the adoption of compulsory, unrestricted arbitration as a fundamental principle of American international law. The events of that time prevented the realization of the noble Colombian initiative, but the response given by the different countries evidenced the favor with which the project was regarded.

In 1883, during the celebration in Caracas of the centennial of Bolivar's birth, the diplomatic representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, El Salvador, Santo Domingo, and Venezuela made a joint declaration in favor of arbitration "as the greatest and most solemn tribute that could be paid to the memory of the Liberator."

In 1881 James G. Blaine, preparing already to be the successor of Bolivar in the field of Pan-Americanism, addressed a circular to the nations of the continent inviting them to a congress in Washington "for the purpose of considering and discussing methods to prevent wars among the nations of America."

Mr. Blaine's aspirations, however, were not realized until eight years later, when a meeting was held in Washington, which was the first properly called Pan-American Conference, as it was attended by all the States of the Western Hemisphere.

The conference of 1889 passed a resolution whereby arbitration was adopted by the republics of North, Central, and South America as a principle of American international law for the solution of any and all controversies between two or more of them. Arbitration was to be compulsory in all cases excepting only those in which the independence of any of the interested parties might be endangered. In this case arbitration was to be optional for the nation affected, but compulsory for the other power.

One would be inclined to think that with such a beautiful start the cause of arbitra-

tion was bound to take great strides in our continent. But unfortunately that was not the case. In the subsequent conferences there was always some form of expression in favor of the pacific solution of international conflicts, but when it was a question of entering into a general arbitration convention no satisfactory results were ever attained. Unanimity was impossible because there was always some form of resistance offered. It was either open refusal or the attempt to confine arbitration within so narrow limits as to make it entirely nugatory. Thus we can see that the noble efforts of the staunch supporters of ample arbitration in America always failed.

In the conference of Mexico in 1902 a resolution was signed by nine of the delegations binding their governments to submit to arbitration all their differences with the exception of those affecting national honor or independence.

The Conference of Rio de Janeiro in 1907 subscribed a recommendation to the governments to endeavor to sign a general convention of arbitration in the Second Hague Conference "as efficient and definite as possible." The result of The Hague Conference is well known. It was very far from satisfying the desires of those who cherish the ideal of ample, compulsory arbitration.

The Fourth Conference, held in Buenos Aires in 1910, made arbitration obligatory in controversies of a pecuniary nature. Nothing was done with regard to general arbitration.

Then came the horrors of the World War, and the next conference could not meet until 1923, in Santiago, Chile. Here the cause of arbitration found new impetus, and most impassionate pleas were made in its favor by some of the delegations. But the three resolutions adopted contained mere recommendations, and things remained unchanged. Thus, since 1889, the matter of arbitration has always been postponed from conference to conference with no definite results achieved. Such were the circumstances when the Sixth International Conference met in Havana last January.

A Report

It was my privilege to be elected reporter on the project of a convention for

the pacific solution of international conflicts, and in the speech in which I presented and supported my report to the Committee on Public International Law, I said:

"Now fellow delegates, after reviewing all that America has said regarding arbitration, the moment has arrived for placing our hands on our hearts and ask, "What have we done?"

"Here is a torturing, formidable question, What have we done after so many words, so many vows, so many pledges, so many recommendations, so many joint resolutions?"

"Gentlemen, it is sad to acknowledge, but in the forty years elapsed since the Washington Conference, in the 102 years passed since the Panama Congress, we have made no effective advance. What do we have today? We have optional arbitration, the same we had in the days of Bolivar, the same we had in the days of Blaine. And, if we want to be candid, optional arbitration can never be satisfactory solution, because it will always let force stand above the law. States will enter into arbitration in so far as it suits them to do so; but when that is not the case, the question is cloaked under the well-known formula of "national honor or vital interests" and the way of judicial settlement is abandoned."

In this spirit, when I submitted my report I decided that the moment had arrived to make a supreme effort for a system of compulsory arbitration as ample and general as possible. There is no question that the universal conscience stands for obligatory, unrestricted arbitration; but it must be borne in mind that the governments are bound by circumstances and forces to which they must yield in their official action. I had to make proposals which it should be reasonable to expect would be subscribed to by all the sovereign entities concerned.

The project of Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Conflicts, prepared in Rio de Janeiro by the Congress of Jurists, proposed five different methods for the purpose:

1. Good offices and mediation;
2. Commissions of inquiry;
3. Conciliation;
4. Amicable composition, and
5. Arbitration.

Regarding the first four measures, I followed in general the lines of the Rio de Janeiro jurists, to whose high scientific authority I took pleasure in paying my unbounded tribute; but I did radically depart from their project on arbitration because the articles proposed by them maintained the illusion of optional arbitration and I came out strongly for an ample and general procedure of compulsory arbitration. My conception was that this is the only way to build up an organic system of procedures applicable to international conflicts that will allow no other result and lead to no other end than the pacific settlement of the difference.

A Summary

Therefore, inasmuch as the Rio de Janeiro jurists had not contemplated an ultimate and unavoidable recourse to arbitration and had failed to set any rules regarding the manner and opportunity of using the other remedies provided, I took up the task of mapping out their mutual co-ordination. My proposal in this respect may be summed up as follows:

Good offices cease the instant one of the disputants requests another procedure.

Investigation by a commission eliminates mediation and suspends conciliation and friendly composition, but the parties may suspend the investigation to submit the dispute to arbitration.

Conciliation might be requested after mediation and before or after investigation, but not during the inquiry or during friendly composition.

Friendly composition, in its turn, could only occur when the dispute was unsettled after good offices, investigation, or conciliation.

Arbitration might be resorted to at any time and would automatically stop all other procedures.

A Formula

Now, regarding the arbitral formula that is the crux and climax of the whole system, I proposed, as the minimum with which continental conscience can be satisfied and as a reasonable compromise between the known views of the twenty-one governments concerned, two articles pro-

viding for compulsory arbitration of all controversies with only two exceptions:

1st. Those affecting constitutional provisions in force in one or the other State; and,

2d. Those capable of endangering the independence of a State. In this case arbitration shall be optional for such a State, but it shall be obligatory for the antagonist power.

Arbitration shall also be obligatory to decide the question of whether a specific controversy is or is not comprised within the above exceptions.

This latter provision was inspired by a similar clause contained in the arbitration treaties concluded in 1911 by the United States with France and Great Britain. These treaties, many of those present will remember, were the subject of much controversy, especially on account of that clause, but it was defended in a most brilliant manner by no less conspicuous personages than Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, Mr. S. M. Cullom, Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, Judge John Bassett Moore, and our admired and beloved chairman, Mr. Burton. Thus it happened that when the clause was severely criticized at Havana by a disagreeing delegation, all I had to do in support of my proposal was to quote some of the forceful, illuminating utterances of those eminent men and state that if I was mistaken I was happy to be mistaken in such a good company.

Tribunals

Regarding the tribunal which must serve as the instrument for international justice, Elihu Root has remarked that the thing driving States away from arbitration is the fear that the courts may not be impartial. That is a great truth. If a nation is convinced that a divergence to which it is a party is to be decided by an impartial judge, there is no reason whatsoever for it to be afraid of arbitration.

Now, in order to approach the ideal of a great community of nations concerting a general treaty of arbitration, it was necessary to begin by rejecting the thought that it is possible to create one single tribunal or category of tribunals to pass on all litigations. There are in the dif-

ferent countries conceptions, prejudices, relations, legal methods, and peculiar circumstances by reason of which the thing that for one or more of them is perfectly satisfactory, expedient, and safe, for others is not so. Tolerance must be a paramount element of relations between States, just as it is in relations between men. Consequently, in a spirit of tolerance, I recommended that each State be left the greatest possible liberty for the selection of the court that must settle the dispute. To do otherwise would have been to hinder the cause of arbitration rather than helping it.

In harmony with these ideas I proposed a system by which the principle of obligatory arbitration is coupled with the greatest possible liberty in the selection or formation of the arbitral court. Six different courts or categories of courts are placed at the disposal of the litigants. The first two places are given to unipersonal tribunals and to those formed by two arbitrators and an umpire, as tribunals of this sort offer exceptional conditions of adaptability and accessibility. The power invited to arbitrate would have the privilege of the choice between one or the other class of court, or it might counter-propose some other type of special creation which it may consider more adequate to the nature of the litigation. Only in case of disagreement on any of these three alternatives would there be recourse to the two courts already existing at The Hague or the such other similar court as may be created in and for the American Continent.

Thus, unless otherwise agreed upon in special and private arbitration treaties contemplating specific cases, six types of courts would be available under the system proposed by me for the settlement of international conflicts, to wit:

1. A tribunal consisting of a single arbitrator selected by common agreement between the parties;

2. A tribunal composed of three judges, one selected by each one of the two disputant States and the third by the two judges in such a manner appointed;

3. A tribunal organized in any other manner by agreement of the litigant States;

4. The Pan-American Court of International Justice, should it be created;

5. The Permanent Court of International Justice of The Hague, generally known as the World Court; and

6. The Permanent Court of Arbitration, established at The Hague by the conventions of 1899 and 1907.

Arbitration is made obligatory by means of a provision whereby The Hague Arbitral Court automatically acquires jurisdiction of the case when there has been a failure to agree on any of the other courts. The reason why this particular court has been given the preference as the court of last resort is that the World Court is more judicial in character, while the Court of Arbitration has a more ample jurisdiction.

Certain Results

It is impossible for me, without trespassing on your patience, to dwell on the details of the debate which these proposals brought about. I will limit myself to say that a special subcommittee was appointed to consider my report, where it was my privilege to sit with a veritable galaxy of eminent men. There were Doctor Maurtau, of Peru, a giant of the body and of the mind; Doctor Lira, of Chile, with whom even disagreements are pleasant; Doctor Fernandez, of Brazil, of World Court fame and a man of powerful, vast learning; Doctor Roa, of Mexico, suave, but energetic and keen; Doctor Amezaga, of Uruguay, and Doctor Podestá, of Argentina, both profound and polished university professors, and last, but not least, that great statesman, who for his clever diplomacy, his oratorical ability, and his extraordinary tactfulness maintained so high the prestige of the United States and contributed so much to the success of the conference, the president of the Americana delegation, Charles Evans Hughes.

This subcommittee considered the situation and could readily see that in the two days that were left it was a physical impossibility to prepare, discuss, approve, and sign a multilateral convention on such delicate matters as the methods for the pacific settlement of international disputes. But the spirit of peace and co-operation was there. There was no heated debate. There was amicable, cordial,

intelligent, constructive work. We decided that it was impossible to have an arbitration convention concluded by the sixth conference, but we saw to it that the matter was not left to drag painfully for five more years until the next conference, and the result of our deliberations was a resolution whereby for the first time in the history of Pan-Americanism the twenty-one republics of the Western Hemisphere have subscribed to an act by which obligatory arbitration is not recommended but actually *adopted* as the means of adjusting controversies between them. Provision is made for a conference to meet in Washington during the year, in which each government must be represented by plenipotentiary jurists whose task will be that of framing the long and earnestly desired general convention of conciliation and arbitration.

Sovereignty of the Law

I cannot but repeat here what I said in Havana, that all contemporaries have witnessed the stupendous reaction with which men and peoples have been clamoring for peace after the indescribable horrors of the World War. For the last ten years statesmen, writers, thinkers, economists, pacifists have been striving to find formulas and solutions for the disquieting problem of universal peace. We could all hear the hurrah of joy that resounded all over the world when the great powers of Europe subscribed in Locarno the memorable conventions known by that name. Relieved of an enormous pressure, mankind sighed in satisfaction and sang a song of praise to the so-called spirit of Locarno.

But, gentlemen, fear must not be the only thing compelling us to recognize the rights of others. International life, in order to be fruitful, must develop itself in an atmosphere of brotherhood and human affection. The spirit of Locarno is peace, but it is neither fraternity nor love. It is the horror of the slaughter, it is the fear of the catastrophe, it is the gruesome conviction that modern war is so frightfully destructive that when it takes place between the great powers victors and vanquished suffer alike, and not mere years or decades but entire generations are necessary to repair the deadly work of the elements of destruction. Behind Locarno

we can still smell the vapors of the blood recently shed which poisons the past, and glimpse the specter of rancor and suspicion which darkens the future.

Locarno is a great battle won in this formidable war that everywhere is being waged against war. But let us not forget that war is not the only manifestation of force. There may be oppression without armed struggle, and rights suffer just the same when injured in silence as when trampled over amidst the thunder of artillery. Let us make war against oppression, whatever its form may be. The world wants peace. America clamors for peace. But it is necessary that peace be not the mere absence of warlike activities. "A single great power," says Elihu Root, "may compel peace, but a *pax Romana* implies a Roman imperium." The peace America needs is not the stillness of things, but the tranquillity of the spirits. The peace for which we are thirsty is moral peace, the one that rests upon law and justice.

In order to have international conflicts fully, finally, and satisfactorily settled, we must recognize and consecrate the sovereignty of the law as proclaimed by a just and impartial court.

America has waited for a whole century the definitive establishment of obligatory arbitration. It does not show any impatience to say that we have waited long enough, and that we cannot be contented any more with recommendations, vows, words. I have every hope that the impending arbitration conference will undertake its work in a real spirit of conciliation and tolerance and will establish an unalterable peace, not founded on fear, but on mutual respect and reciprocal affection, so that we may be proud to tell the world that along the path of peace, beyond the spirit of Locarno, we have carried the spirit of America.

As President-elect Hoover goes forth with his message of good-will to our sister nations to the South, and as plans progress for the organization of the Pan American Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration to be held in Washington, D. C., December 10, this article by Minister Alfaro is especially timely and may prove to be of official importance.—THE EDITOR.

THE ARMISTICE DAY OF THE WOMEN

By AGNES O'GARA RUGGERI

A JERKING back to wakefulness from the depths of a horrible nightmare! A sudden dreadful stillness after a dreadful clamor! A quiet, quivering, with the soundless reverberations of guns! A sunshine still hazed with smoke after a darkness blasted with star shells! An awful moment! Such a one as that in which Cain stood over the dead body of Abel and, through the pulsing of his subsiding rage and the pounding of the blood in his veins, heard that awful self-condemnation beating into his brain—I have slain my brother!

In very truth that must have been the message of the Armistice Day of ten years ago—we had slain our brother. And for what? Not even with the murderer's excuse of passion or revenge, or the gunman's mercenary purpose, but because in this twentieth century two nations, finding themselves in dispute, could not, from all their efficient, highly learned statesmen, get any other solution of the difficulty than that of the savage or the beast of the jungle, "Let us kill our enemy."

Useless, then, is this civilization that teaches us nothing new on this stupendous question. "Useless, indeed? What did not science do for modern warfare?" say the men who planned the murder of the innocents. "Where your savage slew ten, our inventions have killed, maimed, and shellshocked hundreds." A record to be proud of, indeed. A monument to efficiency calculated to honor the God-given talent for invention by destroying God's creatures.

But hardly a commendation to appeal to the mothers of those young men, gathered in by this efficiency and organization as into the arms of an octopus to be sucked to destruction—uselessly, uselessly.

And it is to women, therefore, whose instinct it is to preserve, to nurture, to cherish, that the world must turn to be preserved, nurtured, and cherished; for one of the supposed contradictions that every woman knows is that the sentimental sex, so called, is really the practical

sex. It translates its love and its patriotism in terms of service, and can see no devotion to country in turning the brawn, brain, and heart of youth into an ineffectual cripple or a bleeding corpse.

Keep before the eyes of your daughters—the mothers of the next generation—the things that war meant to *you*. Tell them that if, in another score of years, aged statesmen decide that a holocaust must be offered, they will dangle before the eyes of your grandsons the gauds and baubles that *you* have seen dangled. Tell them that the trumpets' music and the cheering of the heroes are so much din and clamor to blur the horrible undercurrent of dirt, cold, hunger, pain, lonesomeness, death, and worse into which these boys will be plunged. Tell them that the martial drums that swung your sons into battle with the laughter in their eyes for which you loved them had the rhythm of a requiem for you. Tell them there was no camouflage so perfect as the smiles with which you cheered them on.

You are not deceived now by high-sounding phrases, nor even by the cold honors accorded to that lonely Unknown Soldier. You know, none better, that that formal wreath placed on his tomb by the hands of the great foreign ambassador, in the presence of the highest dignitaries of the land, is cold comfort to the hundreds of mothers who must wonder if the "Unknown" is theirs—cold comfort compared to the consolation of just patting the earth above his grave in some quiet churchyard, without the touch of alien hands, great though those hands may be.

You are not so foolish as to think that the world can go on without struggle, but you *do* know that the struggle need not be a bloody one. You can and must, if you are to live up to your destiny as preservers of life, use the power which is but lately yours to force the statesmen of the next generation to play their international chess with other pawns than the boys you have nurtured in such pain and tears.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

RUSSIA AND BRITISH COMMUNIST FUNDS

(NOTE.—Following is the text of a British White Paper on "Russian Banks and Communist Funds," dealing with an inquiry "into certain transactions of the Bank for Russian Trade, Ltd., and the Moscow Narodny Bank, Ltd." The inquiry arose out of a question in the House of Commons as to whether, in view of the fact that Bank of England notes found on the persons described as Irish gunmen arrested before Easter for being in illegal possession of firearms had been traced to a Russian banking institution in Great Britain, the Home Secretary would make inquiries as to whether any of the moneys standing to the credit of Russian trading organizations in this country were being used in attempts to foment and organize revolutionary actions in Great Britain. Both the Bank for Russian Trade and the Moscow Narodny Bank (or the Moscow People's Bank) wrote on that day offering to give facilities for inquiry. Two Bank of England notes were found in the possession of the two Irish gunmen and these notes were found to be part of a consignment from the Bank for Russian Trade to

the Garantie und Kredit Bank, a Soviet institution in Berlin. "Subsequent movements of the notes have not yet been traced." Not much more than a page of the White Paper is concerned with these dealings of the Bank for Russian Trade. The rest of the White Paper, some 53 pages, is taken up with an elucidation of transactions through the Moscow Narodny Bank which had for their purpose the financing of the Communist Party and allied bodies.)

The Moscow Narodny Bank was started in Moscow in 1912. It became an English limited liability company in 1919, but in 1923 it again came into organic relation with Russia when all the shares and management were transferred to the All Russian Co-operative Bank (Vsekobank) and the Central Co-operative organizations of Russia. Its board of directors consists of Mr. M. V. Zembluchter (chairman), Mr. F. Shmeleff, Mr. G. Martiushin, Mr. N. Barou, and Mr. A. Gourevitch. The manager is Mr. M. Gourevitch, but he is at present abroad as permission has not been granted to him to return

to this country. All these gentlemen are of Russian nationality. The assistant manager, Mr. J. J. Muirhead, is British, and in the absence of Mr. M. Gourevitch is acting as manager. The head of the foreign department, Mr. Garnett, the accountant, Mr. Potts, and the cashier, Mr. A. J. Cameron, are all British subjects, as are the remainder of the staff with the exception of Messrs. Omelchenko, Baryshnikoff (assistant cashier), and Alexandroff, and Mrs. Moltchanova (Russian), Miss Küssner (Latvian) and Mr. George Chudinov (Finnish).

The report deals with "a long and somewhat complicated series of transactions" and sets out first a summary of the facts. Through three persons—W. B. Duncan, a clerk in the foreign exchange section of the Bank, and F. Quelch and F. Priestley, two employees of Centrosoyus, Limited—"a total sum of not less than £27,998 was disbursed for Communist purposes during the period July 5, 1927, to April 20, 1928, and that at least £10,330 of this sum was derived from a payment of £5 Bank of England notes made by the Moscow Narodny Bank to the Commercial Attaché at the Soviet Embassy in May, 1927."

"Denials and Admissions"

A detailed account is given of the course of the inquiry and the difficulties encountered in obtaining information—denials of facts being later followed by admissions—and the Report says:

The fact that Treasury notes had been drawn from varied sources was obviously known to many persons in the Bank and the categorical statements repeatedly made to us in the early stages of our inquiry that all supplies had been obtained by cheque on Lloyds or by exchange of small sums at the Bank of England are so inaccurate that we find it difficult to understand how they could ever have been seriously put forward.

There are particulars of the appointment of William Burnett Duncan and his transactions through the bank are set out and explained. He had been in the employment of the bank for some three years; his salary was £22 a month and his age about 25.

The subordinate staff of the bank (he Report says) were usually obtained on the recommendation of Mestkom (the Union of Soviet employees) in pursuance of a collective agreement under which preference was required to be given to the nominees of this body. Mr. Muirhead told us that he did not recall the bank having advertised for any employees for the past four years. He was

pretty certain that no advertisement had been issued at the time of Duncan's appointment. We examined Duncan's file, from which it appeared that his application for employment was made in writing on June 7, 1924. This letter was, however, missing from the file, which opened with a letter of June 12, 1924, from the bank addressed to Duncan, care of Mrs. Rust, Granard-road, Peckham, asking him to call. Duncan's reply, dated June 14, 1924, from Aberdeen, stated that he was unable to call, and the file closed with a letter from the bank of June 25 asking him to take up duty as messenger as soon as possible, and Duncan's reply, of June 30, stating that he would begin work on July 7, 1924.

Story of W. B. Duncan

Of Duncan himself the Report says:

William Burnett Duncan has been a member of the Communist Party since at least 1923. He became a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League in October, 1923, and in 1925 he became secretary of a section of the National Minority Movement. In 1924 he came to London and took up employment as a messenger in the Moscow Narodny Bank. Sergeant Graham told us he believed Duncan obtained the situation through the Young Communist League, and from another source we know that his removal to London was effected at the desire of the Communist Party.

From the file shown to us at the bank, it appeared that he furnished references from the bodies mentioned [an Aberdeen company and the Trades and Labor Council, Aberdeen] and was recommended by Mr. Rothstein. This is Mr. Andrew Rothstein, the son of Mr. Theodore Rothstein, an important official of the Soviet Foreign Office, who was formerly Soviet Minister at Teheran. It has been well known for some time that, acting under the directions of the Third International, Andrew Rothstein has been a controlling influence in the policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain. With such antecedents and connections it would not be surprising to find that Duncan utilized his position in the bank in the interests of the Communist Party, and our investigations leave no doubt whatever that the transactions which led to his dismissal from the bank had this, and not speculations in share or currency, as their real object.

Large Communist Payments

Duncan's own explanation of his dealings was that he had been engaged in gambling transactions in conjunction with a friend employed in a commercial firm in the city. The name of this friend was not disclosed. The Report says that "Duncan's account to us of his transactions was obviously untrue." Having set out his transactions and given the

number of the notes traced to Communist organizations the Report adds:—

It has for a long time past been the practice of the Communist Party of Great Britain to pay its workers in Treasury notes. The total amount of such payments is very considerable and the payments to which we have referred above as having been identified represent, of course, only a very small part of the actual notes traced to Communist organizations.

The examples we have set out above, coupled with the circumstances in which Duncan's transactions have been carried on, his known political connections and activities, and his untruthful statements to us regarding his transactions are, we think, sufficient to demonstrate conclusively that in Duncan's transactions we have one of the channels through which the Communist Party of Great Britain and its allies received their financial supplies. The total sum handled by Duncan which we have been able to trace is £14,202.

The report goes on to deal with the Quelch, Priestley transactions. On May 7 of last year the Moscow Narodny Bank drew £16,000 in £5 notes and £4,000 in Treasury notes from the Midland Bank Overseas Branch. This transaction was the result of a request from the Edel Metalle Vertriebs A. G., Berlin, to transfer from their deposit account to their current account the equivalent of 97,150 dollars in order that it might be withdrawn. The instructions were given by Mr. Shannin, commercial attaché at the Soviet Embassy, who was authorized by the Edel Metalle Vertriebs to draw on their account. The bank-notes were taken direct by Mr. Baryshnikoff (the assistant cashier) to Mr. Shannin at the Soviet Embassy at Chesham House.

On two dates in November the Midland Bank exchanged two amounts of £500 each in £5 Bank of England notes for their equivalent in £1 Treasury notes. Mr. Cameron, when asked, said these notes had been received from F. Quelch, but when informed that at the time Quelch was in Moscow he said that in that case they must have come from Priestley. Quelch and Priestley had a joint account. Mr. Cameron also said that knowing Quelch and Priestley in connection with this account and as employees of another Russian institution in London he had on numerous occasions in 1927 exchanged bank notes for Treasury notes at their request. The joint account was opened in the first place to deal with the liquidation of the affairs of Mestkom, the Union of Soviet Employees in London. After the breaking off

of relations between this country and the U. S. S. R. in May, 1927, the union came to an end. In this connection the report mentions that Mr. Alexander Square had been sent to Moscow to interview the headquarters of Mestkom and to clear up a confusion that had arisen in the affairs of the union. His salary was £40 a month, and he was engaged whole time on this work. The report proceeds:

It is of interest to inquire from what source Quelch and Priestley obtained their supplies of £5 notes. An indication was furnished by Priestley, who, in his statement, said that the two payments of £750 into the Quelch-Priestley account on December 13 and 19 were made in Bank notes furnished to him by Mr. Squair, who stated that they represented withdrawals from the Quelch-Priestley account which had proved not to be required. From our examination of Mr. Cameron and the books of the Bank, together with our inquiries at the Bank of England and elsewhere, we are satisfied that at any rate £500 worth of these Bank notes formed part of the £16,000 worth of £5 notes handed to Mr. Shannin on May 25, 1927, and we have no doubt that the remainder came from the same source. It appeared to us to be important to obtain an explanation from Mr. Squair of the manner in which he became possessed of these notes and of the large transactions on the Quelch-Priestley account with which he was connected, particularly as the former Mestkom account in the names of Oldfield, Kish and Howard showed few payments of any magnitude.

We therefore invited Mr. Squair to come and see us and give any explanation he might wish. He promised to consider whether he would come and to telephone his decision, but we have received no message from him, and can only conclude that, for reasons best known to himself, he does not wish to give an explanation of his part in these transactions. Squair has for a long time been known as an active Communist. In 1927 he was reported to be treasurer of the London District Party Committee, and he has been closely connected with Mr. Andrew Rothstein, to whom we have already referred in our report on Duncan's transactions.

As to the use which was made of these large sums of money, amounting from July 5, 1927, to December 21, 1927, to at least £10,330, by Quelch, Priestley, or Squair, all of whom are well-known members of the Communist Party of Great Britain, there can be little doubt.

Particulars follow of notes traced to Communist organizations, and the Report says:

There can be little doubt that on the other occasions on which Treasury notes were obtained by the bank or by messengers of the

bank in connection with Quelch or Priestley's exchanges of banknotes, the transactions of October 13 and 14 in Priestley's account, and the large withdrawals on the Quelch-Priestley account, the Treasury notes so obtained also found their way to a similar destination.

The Conclusions

The report then sets out the following conclusions:

As the result of our investigations, therefore, we find that there have been two series of transactions carried on through the Moscow Narodny Bank, in which the bank's messengers and the cashiers had, at the request of Duncan, Quelch, Priestley, and, possibly, Squair, obtained supplies of Treasury notes. . . .

The first series of transactions by Priestley and Quelch extended from July 5 to December 21, 1927, and consisted in the exchange of at least £10,330 worth of £5 notes for £1 Treasury notes. These £5 notes were exchanged in blocks at frequent intervals; at one period, from November 1 to 29, they were exchanged at the rate of £500 per week. They were the actual notes which had been handed personally to the Commercial Attaché of the U.S.S.R. at the Soviet Embassy, Chesham House, on May 25, 1927, and it is evident that they must have been in the custody of some person who paid them out through Squair, Quelch, or Priestley as required. During this period there was also a sale of \$13,000 on September 9 and 20 for £2,666 3s. 11d. and an exchange through Priestley's account on October 13 and 14 of eight £100 notes, probably the proceeds of a sale of dollars.

This was clearly the source of part at any rate of the Communist funds during the last autumn. The total sums which we have traced through this channel are: £10,330, the result of the exchange of £5 notes; £2,666, the result of Quelch's sale of dollars; and £800, the result of the transactions of October 13 and 14 on the Priestley account; total, £13,796.

The transactions arising out of the payment to Mr. Shannin of £20,000 on May 25, 1927, are of particular interest as showing that the financing of Communist activities in this country was in the hands of a high officer of the Embassy itself, and not, as has been stated on many occasions, in the hands of some representative of the Communist International for which the Soviet Government, notwithstanding the evidence to the contrary, still continues to disclaim any responsibility.

In October, 1927, a new source of supply was brought into use, for on the 27th of that month Duncan began to sell dollars. On that day he sold dollars to A. H. Leigh for £81 18s. 11d. and to Platonoff for £614 15s. 9d. Further transactions followed in

November of £614 2s. 6d., the proceeds of a sale to Platonoff on the 3rd; £400 12s. 6d., the proceeds of a sale to Messrs. Flindt, Figgess, and Duke on the 10th; £14 7s., the proceeds of a sale to the Moscow Narodny Bank on the 16th; and £6 13s. 3d., the result of a sale to Platonoff on the 17th. There follows in rapid succession a number of sales of dollars in different quarters by Duncan. These were at first pure cash transactions—sales of dollars for bank-notes and Treasury notes, and the eventual exchange of the bank-notes for Treasury notes, by various means.

For some reason, possibly emboldened by success, possibly because he found the arrangement of the necessary exchanges becoming increasingly difficult, Duncan opened an account of his own with the Moscow Narodny Bank on February 15, 1928. Thereafter the proceeds of practically all his sales of dollars were paid into this account, and he drew his supplies of Treasury notes from the Moscow Narodny Bank against cheques on this account. This procedure continued until, as a result of the publicity given to Major Kindersley's question, the bank caused the inquiry to be made which led to Duncan's dismissal. The total sum handled by Duncan from his first transaction on October 27, 1927, to April 20, 1928, was at least £14,202.

A Total of £27,998

Thus during the whole period under review there passed through the channels we have described a total sum of not less than £27,998. The circumstances surrounding these transactions, and the fact that in many cases, of which we have given instances, particular Treasury notes have been traced through these channels to Communist organizations, leave little doubt that the whole of this money found its way into the hands of Communist organizations in this country.

The final section of the Report deals with the responsibility of the bank and its officers. Both as regards the first series of transactions—the exchanges by Quelch and Priestley—and as regards Duncan's sales of dollars assurances had been given that the bank had no knowledge of them. There was also an assurance that, apart from one transaction of 1,600 dollars, neither the manager nor Mr. Garnett had any idea that a series of sales had been going on. They were effected by the cashier, Mr. Cameron, without reference to his superiors and contrary to an instruction. The attention of Mr. Potts, the chief accountant, was drawn by Mr. Cameron and Mr. Baryshnikoff to Duncan's account a few days after it had been opened.

When examined, Mr. Potts said that he had later drawn the attention of Mr. Muirhead to the account as he thought it unusual, but as nothing was done he had left the

matter in abeyance. "There was general talk in his Department about this account, but no suggestion as to its real nature was made by anyone; he thought that they were afraid to do so. He himself suspected the real object of the account, for, knowing what Communists were, and knowing that Duncan was a Communist, he thought they might be Communist payments, but he did not trust Duncan, and therefore had not asked him about it. He had, however, not communicated his suspicions to Mr. Muirhead.

Mr. Muirhead admitted that his attention was called to Duncan's account some three weeks after it was opened, but there was then nothing definite on which he could raise objection to it, and he decided to see how it developed. It passed completely from his mind until, on his return from holiday, he saw a reference in the newspapers to Major Kindersley's question. He then immediately called for the account, and the matter was brought before the bank's committee of inquiry. [This inquiry resulted in Duncan's dismissal.] The report continues:

Having been in close touch with Mr. Muirhead throughout our inquiry, we have been able to form a clear judgment of his integrity, and we have no reason to doubt his statement. At the same time, having regard to the allegations which had been made on many occasions for a long time past that Russian organizations in this country were being used to finance Communist activities, we think Mr. Muirhead ought, at once, to have questioned Duncan regarding his account, on attention being drawn to it.

We cannot regard as satisfactory the statements made to us as regards exchanges of bank notes by the cashier, Mr. Cameron. . . .

It was only by degrees that we extracted from him information regarding the transactions we have described and it is to be noted that it was he who discontinued the keeping of the Register of Bank Notes which, had it been kept, would at once have disclosed particulars of a large part at any rate of these transactions.

At our visit to the Bank on Thursday, May 24, we were informed that Mr. Cameron had been dismissed on the previous day.

We understand that Mr. Baryshnikoff, the Assistant Cashier (whose connection with the transactions we have described was, so far as we have been able to ascertain, limited to one or two exchanges of Bank notes for Quelch or Priestley), has been reprimanded and deprived of his signature for the Bank.

As regards the information furnished to us by the Messengers of the Bank, and particularly by the Head Messenger, Sergeant Graham, we have the same comment to make as in the case of Mr. Cameron. . . . We

understand that at a meeting of the Board of Directors on May 23 it was decided in view of the difficult situation which the activities of certain Communist employees had created for the Bank to dismiss the messengers, Rust, Patterson, and Bailey and also Mr. Ruderman, a clerk in the Accounts Department.

At the same meeting the board decided to reprimand Mr. Muirhead and Mr. Potts for neglecting to draw the attention of the directors until April 20, 1928, to the state of the current account of W. B. Duncan, and to request Mr. Zembluchter, the chairman, to find as soon as possible suitable candidates for the post of manager, vacant since October, 1927, and in this connection to ask the friendly advice of the bank's clearing agents—the Midland Bank and Lloyds Bank.

As regards any knowledge which the directors of the bank may have possessed of the transactions which have come to light in the course of our investigations we can offer no opinion. At the same time, it seems to us remarkable that a series of transactions running into thousands of pounds and extending over nearly ten months, in which three cashiers, a clerk in the foreign exchange department, and five messengers were concerned, could have been conducted without having come to the knowledge of any responsible official. We have discovered nothing to show that the directors had any such knowledge, but, acting on instructions, we have not examined any of them with this object in view. They have expressed to us a desire that after receiving our report you will give them an opportunity of coming to the Home Office and furnishing you with any explanations you may desire. . . .

We are glad to be able to say that throughout a long investigation, extending over nearly four weeks, we have met with uniform courtesy from the directors, the acting manager and all employees of the Bank in circumstances which to them must have been of a very difficult character.

Bank Directors Statement

The White Paper also includes a memorandum by the directors of the Moscow Narodny Bank, in which they point out that immediately after reading the Home Secretary's statement that Russian banks domiciled in this country were financing Communist organizations, they offered to give all facilities for an inquiry. They say:

The Inquiry and the Report have proved that none of the capital of the Bank and none of the money under its control has been used by it directly or indirectly for financing, subsidizing or otherwise assisting any political party or organization or activities not of a commercial nature in this country or elsewhere.

We are glad to feel that this serious allegation has been completely disposed of in the course of the Inquiry. . . .

No bank can possibly take responsibility for what happens to money paid across its counters in the ordinary course of business. Nor can we. We have been concerned to prove that we have not as a bank had relations directly, or, so far as we had any means of knowing, indirectly, with any such organizations.

In all the specific cases referred to in the Report the evidence proved that all payments by the Bank were made in the ordinary course of business, either in meeting cheques or orders for payment presented to it on ordinary current or deposit accounts or in ordinary exchange transactions. In none of these cases were any credits or overdrafts accorded. Nothing transpired in the Inquiry nor appears in the Report which is at variance with this.

The directors deal with the complaints made against individual members of the staff, and draw attention to the disciplinary measures that have been taken. They add that "it would be unjust to the staff of the bank if we did not claim that in general it has fulfilled its duties efficiently and conscientiously. Of the 43 employees of the bank, 37 were British subjects. There are only four Russians and two others who are not British citizens." The directors also answer the complaint that there was delay in furnishing information, and suggest that the delay was partly due to the Home Office's representatives not disclosing for some time the name of the bank on which cheques had been drawn, and partly to a misuse by the Home Office representatives of the technical term "drawing cash." They say that all information in the possession of the bank was given without hesitation and without reserve, and they received no complaint at any time from the Home Office representatives as to the refusal of information.

As to the general responsibility of the board, the memorandum says:

The Report states that the Home Office representatives discovered nothing to show that the directors had any knowledge of any of the transactions on the part of subordinate officials of which complaint is made, though, acting on instructions, they state that they did not cross-examine the directors in this connection. It is fair to add that questions were put in the course of the inquiry to every one of the officials bearing upon the responsibility or knowledge of the directors; and that, as stated in the report, nothing at all was discovered which implicated them. The point was dealt with at our interview with the Under-Secretary of State on June 5. We confirm what we individually stated then

that neither the Board nor any of the directors knew anything of these matters.

They became aware of them only after the statement of the Home Secretary in the House of Commons or in the course of the inquiry.

The board and the individual directors are in contact with details of transactions only through the managers and the heads of departments. If any irregularities had come under their notice, they would have been dealt with without delay. The board of directors, of course, is responsible for the policy and general conduct of the bank, but it fails to see how they personally can be regarded as responsible for breaches of trust or violation of duty outside their knowledge and contrary to their instructions. We think it fair also to state that, in the middle of last year, for reasons unknown to us, the then manager of the bank, a competent and experienced banking official, was refused a visa to enable him to reside in this country. We believe that the supervision he normally exercised over the work of the bank would, if he had remained here, have prevented these breaches of duty on the part of the staff.

The Board has given very serious attention to measures for the prevention of any repetition of these events. The persons in default have been dismissed, reprimanded or transferred to other duties. Stringent instructions have been issued as to the observance of the rules laid down for office routine. Steps are being taken with a view to finding a suitable and fully competent banking official to fill the vacant post of manager.

Finally the directors say: "We did not hesitate voluntarily to offer all our books and transactions for inspection when it appeared to be required, and if it should again be required we should be willing to supply all information concerning our transactions. In conclusion we repeat that the Bank exists solely for legitimate commercial and financial purposes, and that our only object is the development of trade between the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain."

News in Brief

THE BOLIVIAN CAPITAL, LA PAZ, celebrated, on October 22, the 380th anniversary of its founding.

THE HONDURAS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, held on October 29, were, for the first time in the history of the republic, conducted without disorder or disturbance of any kind. Mr. Vicente Mejía Colindres was elected President by a majority of about twelve hundred.

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION on November 6 elected Mr. Kellogg chairman of the governing board and Dr. Velarde, Ambassador of Peru, vice-chairman, for the term of one year.

THE CONGRESS OF COLOMBIA ratified the Briand-Kellogg Pact on November 11, with certain reservations. These reservations declare that Colombia, in agreeing to the condemnation of war, does not renounce the right to repel by force any unjust aggression. The congress considers that the pact condemns all acts of violence which are in practice equivalent to war, such as peaceful blockades, military occupation of debtor nations and armed intervention by one State in the internal affairs of another.

BRAZIL AND COLOMBIA on November 15, the anniversary of the establishment of the United States of Brazil, signed in Rio Janeiro a boundary treaty.

TELEPHONE SERVICE WAS OFFICIALLY OPENED between Spain and Cuba on November 15. The King of Spain and the President of Cuba held a telephone conversation on that date.

THE GORGAS MEMORIAL INSTITUTE expects to erect at Panama a laboratory for the study of tropical diseases. For this purpose the Panama Government has donated a tract of land. The expenses of the institute are to be met by all the American countries. The United States contributes \$50,000 annually. Other American countries, including Panama, will also contribute.

HIROHITO, THE 124TH OF HIS LINE, ascended the Japanese throne formally on Sunday, November 10. Japan has become a constitutional monarchy, and the young emperor is reported to be a young man of modern ideas and education. The ceremonies of enthronement, formal, elaborate, impressive, symbolized Nippon's idea of a tutelar father, of a benevolent patriarch, inspired leader and sovereign, the unifying principle at the heart of the nation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SWEDISH AIR-MAIL SERVICE is furthered by a gift from Colonel Lindbergh of funds collected for him in Sweden. The American aviator refused to accept for his own use the Swedish gift in recognition of his New York to Paris flight, but asked that it be applied to advance commercial flying in Sweden.

THE AMERICAN LEGION, in the person of its newly elected national commander, Paul V. McNutt, presented its legislative program to President Coolidge on November 9. This legislation is designed to take the profit out of war and is considered by its sponsors to be a peace measure and a measure of even-handed justice.

COMMANDER BYRD, AT A CELEBRATION in his honor held at New Zealand early in November, said that he intended to carry, on his flight to the South Pole, a British flag in memory of the British explorers in the Antarctic, Scott and Shackleton.

THE MEXICAN MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY, Commerce, and Labor has, at the suggestion of Provisional President-elect, Portes Gil, called a conference of employers and employees to meet in Mexico before December 1, to consider legislation which might benefit the relations of labor and capital.

THE FLOATING UNIVERSITY FOR 1928-9 left New York early in November for its trip around the world. It is the steamship *President Wilson*, of the Dollar Line, and goes first by the Panama Canal to San Francisco. There are one hundred students aboard, including some teachers, all of whom must carry on serious study during the winter. Credits will be given in their several colleges for the work done on the trip.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS, IN SUFFOLK, ENGLAND, celebrated this fall the 714th anniversary of a meeting of the barons of England, at which a committee was appointed to compel King John to grant certain rights to his people. This eventuated in the Magna Charta, signed later at Runnymede, which was the forerunner of many and varied constitutions and laws of freedom.

A GERMAN NEWSPAPER, *Acht Uhr Abendblatt*, proposes that August 27, the date of the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, be generally observed as "World Peace Day."

THE NEGRO'S PART IN AMERICAN HISTORY is to be studied by high-school students to whom the International Co-operation Commission is offering prizes aggregating \$100 for the best essay on the subject, "America's tenth man."

DR. DENGLER, DIRECTOR of the Austro-American Institute of Education in Vienna and Austrian representative of the Institute of International Education, has recently been in this country conferring with the Bureau of Education and lecturing on the cultural relations between America and Austria.

THE FIRST FRANCO-BRITISH EDUCATION CONGRESS was held in London in July.

A NEW SYSTEM OF RADIO WEATHER REPORTS to airplanes is announced by the Department of Commerce and was installed on some divisions of the transcontinental route early in November.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CIVIL AVIATION is to be held in Washington December 12-14. President Coolidge has appointed twelve delegates. Secretary of Commerce Whiting is chairman of the delegation. Other members of the American delegation are the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Aeronautics, Assistant Secretary of War, Second Assistant Postmaster General, and Assistant Secretary of Commerce, in charge of aeronautics.

CHINESE GOVERNMENT WIRELESS STATIONS at Canton can now radio messages to Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin and Peiping. There has been heretofore, it is said, no overland telegraph connection between north and south China, messages having been sent by submarine cable from Hongkong to Shanghai.

THE TEACHERS' COLLEGE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY reports that 254 foreign students, representing fifty-two countries, are in attendance this year. This number, slightly larger than last year, will be augmented by about 100 more at the beginning of the spring term.

M. MANIU, LEADER OF THE PEASANT'S PARTY of Rumania, recently come into power, has already freed the press from censorship, restricted martial law to a ten kilometer zone on the frontier, and promises

free and fair elections to the country. These elections are scheduled for mid-December.

A BOOK WRITTEN BY LEON TROTSKY in exile, said to be an indictment of the present Russian rulers, has been suppressed by the government. A copy has been smuggled into Germany, however, and is announced for publication in Berlin very soon. Mr. Kerensky, commenting on the book, states that the indications which Trotsky regretfully sees of the inevitable downfall of Bolshevism, would be hailed with joy by many Russians who eagerly await the dawn of democracy in Russia.

BOOK REVIEWS

DOCUMENTS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY, 1914-1917.

By *Frank Alfred Golder*. Pp. 650 and index. Century Co., New York. Price, \$4.00.

This imposing volume in the Century Historical Series contains an array of translated documents that would be appalling if they were not so interesting. The table of contents alone covers eight closely printed pages. The documents are grouped in ten parts, beginning with the memorandum which Durnovo, then Minister of Interior, handed to the Tsar February, 1914, and ending with a section headed "How the Bolsheviks came into power."

The many letters and documents are strung together by explanatory paragraphs, so that one may follow the continuity of events and from many points of view. The historian's lack of bias is shown in his treatment of the so-called "Kornilov plot," the details of which, he says, "we have not yet and may never have." The two versions are, therefore, given impartially, one from *Izvestia*, organ of the revolutionists; the other from the right-hand man of Kornilov.

As far as possible, and notably after the Bolsheviks came into power, the story is given without comment by the author.

Appendices contain sections from the Tsar's diary and, too, lists of ministers from 1914-1917. The book covers an extremely

vital chapter in Russian history and will be of growing importance as Russia evolves from war-time psychology.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY, 1904-1914. By G. Lowes Dickinson. Pp. 491 and index. Century Co., New York, 1926.

Believing that public opinion is still reluctant to follow out international organization because it has hardly begun to see the perils of the old way, Mr. Dickinson has written this study of events leading to the World War. Although civilization has, so far, survived its wars, he believes it to be a poor thing compared to what it might have been without war.

The book runs rapidly through the background of international stresses from 1870 to 1904, and then, more thoroughly and with much analytical power, through the various attempts at national defense and enrichment by means of a network of secret treaties. He shows how worse than useless such a system was. "The war did not arise out of a desire for justice, liberty, democracy, or anything of the kind. It was a product of the international anarchy, as we have analyzed it." But the lesson is not yet learned. "Europe is armed, suspicious, and covetous, even more than she was before the war."

Further development of the League of Nations and universal membership in it, followed by general disarmament, seems to this author the true way to salvation.

As a diagnosis of Europe before the war, especially of the Balkan situation, the book is well presented, keen and incisive, at times bitter. It is a strong book, though the specific prescribed does not seem to be quite enough to cure the disease. We suspect that other elements must enter in to any remedy. This book is, nevertheless, a material addition to literature on the World War.

THE WHITE MAN'S DILEMMA. By *Nathaniel Peffer*. Pp. 305. The John Day Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$2.50.

The subtitle of this book, "Climax of the Age of Imperialism," gives a clue to the dilemma. It is imperialism that is discussed—its logical outcome—and, opposed to it, the logical outcome of renouncing imperialism. The former course leads, thinks the author, inevitably to war, to strife for military dominance; the latter, to other in-

escapable losses. Laying aside all arguments of a moral nature, Mr. Peffer analyses the issue on its economic basis, as a matter of general welfare.

It is a book not to be blindly accepted in all details of analysis, yet it is a book to give one pause, to make one think.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION. By *William English Walling*. Pp. 205. Robins Press, New York, 1927. Price, \$1.25.

The recent crisis in Mexico, due to the assassination of its President-elect Obregon, gives to that country and its affairs special interest to our own people. The relations between the two countries have for a long time been the subject of comment, frequently immature, and of opinions often based upon quite insufficient knowledge. Since the sending of Ambassador Morrow to Mexico the questions at issue between us have become considerably less acute. Still an understanding on our part of the recent political reforms in Mexico, their difficulty and aims, is most desirable.

Mr. Walling devotes a large part of his book to a discussion of the C. R. O. M., the Mexican Federation of Labor. It is not, he claims, as sometimes stated in this country, dominated by Communists. There are in the book serious indictments of the Harding cabinet. Indeed, the author seems to find little but bungling or worse in American handling of the Mexican problem for many years. Yet one does not get the impression of pessimism from his book.

Mr. Walling has made previous first-hand studies of Socialism and of labor problems, which give background to the present book and add greatly to its value. This preparation enables him to give with much fairness the Mexican side of many controversial questions.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *John Spencer Bassett*. Pp. 400 and index. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$3.50.

The author of this book, a professor of American history in Smith College, met with a fatal accident in January, just after the completion of this work. It stands, therefore, as a memorial of his own building. It is not just another book on the League. It should be read in connection

with his earlier volume, written during the World War, "The Lost Fruits of Waterloo." In that book the author pleaded for a grouping of States in some way, for co-operation; for a building up of organs by whose agency peace might be secured for as long as man could see ahead. He continually used the American federation of States as an illustration of his ideal. In the last paragraph of that work he used these words, referring to the writer of books: "His cry goes out to those who govern, to those who direct the press, and to all citizens who feel responsibility for the formation of good public opinion. If he speaks to them faithfully and without prejudice or mere enthusiasm, he has done all he can do. The results are on the knees of the gods."

And now Professor Bassett has been able to write a book about that attempt to organize Europe for peace. More, he has done so "without prejudice or mere enthusiasm." The new book is in no sense a defense of the League, as so many books about it have been; still less is it an attack upon it. It is a friendly study of its nature and the work it has done in the seven years of its infancy. The various controversies which have arisen are studied, from that over the Aaland Islands to that over Irak. The temper of the book is shown in the handling of the stresses between the League and Italy. When offenders have been weak nations, he says the League has done good work; but with the challenge of a strong nation, like Italy, he finds the League inefficient. "The Corfu incident," he says, "had no redeeming feature" except to secure delay for negotiation and ended in the perpetration of theft by Italy.

The chapter on the United States and the League is another instance of unbiased statement of fact. It is not without its appreciation of humorous situations, however, from the early timid uncertainty of the State Department as to what it should do with the League and its communications, to the devising of means to co-operate with it in humanitarian work, and finally to a friendly state of living side by side, separate but neighborly. In the final chapter, "At the Close of Seven Years," the League is appraised by the light of recent events. Professor Bassett sees dangerous as well as hopeful possibilities, which he clearly defin-

es and illustrates, but the tenor of the study is distinctly hopeful.

The life of the League, with its insistence upon peaceful international dealings, is already outliving the generation trained in the war ideal. "As a newer generation comes into control, whose ideals have been formed face to face with the League, it is reasonable to think that war will not be so completely instinctive with them."

SKYWARD. By *Commander Richard E. Byrd*. Pp. 359. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1928. Price, \$3.50.

In reading this book, as in looking at the author's portrait, one is convinced that something besides love of a thrill has inspired the many daring exploits of this navy aviator. There is vision in the man, acceptance of discipline and gallant meeting of the disappointments, which were frequent and seemingly crushing. Coupled with the adventurous spirit and the firm will to pursue his ends is a scientific patience and brainy understanding of the elements needed for success. One sees steadiness in his face and gravity in the eyes. With all these traits go an agreeable candor and upstanding honor, which tie other men to the young aviator in confidence. Thus equipped, he goes through the experiences so modestly narrated in his book, with ever-strengthening character and prestige.

Commander Byrd begins with the flyer's standpoint. He tells of learning to fly and of his war-time training. Then on through many services, disappointments, and adventures up to the preparations for the South Pole Expedition, which has only lately set forth.

Byrd's book is in style less of a report than is Lindbergh's "We," interesting as that book is. It carries, by its manner of telling, more of the thrill and intensity of an aviator's life. Then, too, one sees rather more clearly here the tremendous dependence of any successful air exploit upon science and experience.

The future of aviation, its ultimate safety and dependability, are very much clearer to the reader after reading Byrd's story.

As to exploration, one of the real services to the cause is Byrd's answer to the question, often heard, "What is the sense of Arctic exploration anyway?" His answer is not

categorical, but whole new realms of future possibilities open up as one reads Byrd's plea for addition to the world's store of abstract knowledge. This is a book of vision no less than a record of actual accomplishment.

EMPIRE TO COMMONWEALTH. By *Walter Phelps Hall*. Pp. 508 and index. Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1928. Price, \$4.00.

Many years ago America and England fought to a finish, and finally settled, the question of parliamentary dominance over colonies. The battles were fought out, not only on American soil, but on the floor of Parliament itself. From that time the policy of Great Britain began to change, to allow a great deal of self-government in her colonies and dominions. Loyalty thereafter was admitted to be to the Crown and not necessarily to Parliament.

It is, however, especially during the past thirty years that the theory of a cohesive empire, with self-government of its members, has fruited. The World War, whatever it did of harm, did hasten the day of a contented and developing British Commonwealth. It is this period, covering a generation, which Mr. Hall has analyzed in his book. Beginning with the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, he tells of events in far-flung parts of the Empire. The South African situation and war, with succeeding reorganization, are trenchantly narrated. Australia, Canada, Ireland, India, and Egypt all successively take the center of the stage. Finally comes the epochal conference of Great Britain and her dominions, November, 1926, which clarified the status of the "autonomous communities within the British Empire."

"But," says the author, "this is not a social history of the British emigrant. The empire panorama is on too vast a scale to portray in detail upon its surface the interplay of motives and stimuli that affect the individual. A social history of Ontario is possible, one of Canada more difficult; but of the British Empire, beyond the scope of any single volume. A wise historian would be he who sought to appraise the historic tendencies of cohesion and unity in contrast with those of disintegration and decay."

In accordance with this purpose we have here the thread of political and social ideas

over the Empire. Leaders have their place in the story, but it is national and group psychology which we follow, all those pertinent actions and reactions of peoples in their experiments in self-government.

It is a book delightful to read, direct in method, and the page is clean of notes or reference, which sometimes clog one's progress. A bibliography, maps, and index supply all necessary helps for the student.

OUR GREAT EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY. BY *Carl Becker*. Pp. 332. Harper & Co., New York, 1927. Price, \$3.00.

Professor Becker, of Cornell, calls this book in the subtitle "A history of the United States." As such, however, it is quite unique, since he does not follow the chronological method. He chooses, rather, topics, which are discussed in separate chapters, and the keynote all through is the idea of democracy—democracy in its origin in the United States, its relation to government, to free land, to slavery, to immigration, education, equality, and other topics. A general knowledge of United States history is presupposed, and from it are drawn the facts and tendencies illustrative of the principle of democracy.

Professor Becker's regard for the Puritan seems to be unnecessarily meager. Scant justice is at times done to the austere righteousness which in this age might in truth be cantankerousness; yet even in the Puritan's day the struggle for democracy is seen to be the dominant American trait. "It is," he says, "the most deep-rooted political instinct which Americans have—an instinct which determines all their thinking is the feeling that they can and will govern themselves."

The bearing of Socialism and of Individualism upon democracy is cogently discussed in the last chapter. He finds the line between legitimate majority rule and oppression of minority groups a delicate one, requiring much political balance. America has heretofore successfully met the "material realities"; she now must utilize all her intelligence and idealism to solve the problems in the "realities of human relations." "This America must do," says Professor Becker, "if she is to be in the future what she has been in the past, a fruitful experiment in democracy."

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

SOME FACTS

It is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonprofit-making organization, free from motives of private gain.

It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, organized in 1828 by William Ladd, of Maine, aided by David Low Dodge, of New York.

Its century of usefulness was fittingly celebrated in Cleveland, Ohio, during the early days of May, 1928. This Century Celebration was the background for an international gathering of leading men and women from all parts of the world.

The American Peace Society is the first of its kind in the United States. Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. It has spent its men and its resources in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a law-governed world.

The first society to espouse the cause of international peace on the continent of Europe was organized at the instigation of this Society.

The International Peace conferences originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1843.

The International Law Association resulted from an extended European tour of Dr. James D. Miles, this Society's Secretary, in 1873.

Since 1829 it has worked to influence State legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court of Nations.

It has constantly worked for arbitration treaties and a law-governed world.

In 1871 it organized the great peace jubilees throughout the country.

The Secretary of the Society was selected by the Columbian Exposition authorities to organize the Fifth Universal

Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago in 1893.

This Society, through a committee, organized the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, which was held in Boston in 1904.

The Pan American Congress, out of which grew the International Bureau of American Republics—now the Pan American Union—was authorized after numerous petitions had been presented to Congress by this Society.

The Secretary of this Society has been chosen annually a member of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Geneva since the second year of the Bureau's existence, 1892.

It initiated the following American Peace Congresses: In New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; in San Francisco, 1915.

It has published a magazine regularly since 1828. Its *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is the oldest, largest, and most widely circulated peace magazine in the world.

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

The claim of the American Peace Society upon every loyal American citizen is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for more than a century; which is today the defender of true American ideals and principles.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of loyal Americans who wish to have a part in this important work.

For further information about the accomplishments and objectives of the Society, and about memberships, address request to The American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

THE TREND OF PEACE

A Record of the Movement in the United States

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

A CENTENNIAL HISTORY

by

EDSON L. WHITNEY

Foreword by

THEODORE E. BURTON

THIS account contains no arguments in favor of peace or in criticism of war. It is not a panegyric of the Society or of any one connected with it. It is a plain description of the organization of the Society, its aims, the methods it has used to influence governments to adopt something in place of war, and the progress it has made in expanding idealism into actuality.

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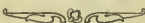
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