

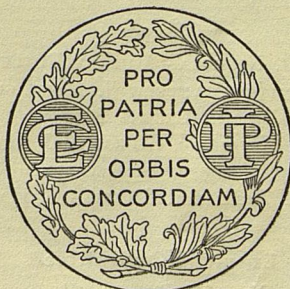
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# INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

## SPECIAL BULLETIN

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF PUBLIC MASS MEETINGS  
IN NEW YORK CITY AND WASHINGTON, D. C.  
ARMISTICE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1931  
TO PREPARE FOR THE  
DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE  
TO BE HELD IN GENEVA, FEBRUARY, 1932



DECEMBER, 1931

SPECIAL BULLETIN

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CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE  
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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1931

NEW YORK MEETING

TO PROMOTE THE SUCCESS OF THE

**WORLD DISARMAMENT  
CONFERENCE**

TO BE HELD IN GENEVA, FEBRUARY, 1932

MECCA AUDITORIUM

133 West 55th Street, New York City

*Under the auspices of*

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE  
INTERORGANIZATION COUNCIL ON DISARMAMENT  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION



## Organizations participating in the Interorganization Council on Disarmament

American Association of University Women	League for Independent Political Action
American Community	League of Nations Association, Inc.
American Ethical Union	National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations
American Friends' Service Committee	National Committee on Churches and World Peace
American Unitarian Association	National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War
Anglo-American Committee for Interna- tional Discussion	National Council for Prevention of War
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	National Federation of Business and Pro- fessional Women's Clubs, Inc.
Central Conference of American Rabbis	National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America	Teachers' Union of New York City
Commission on International Relations of the Congregational and Christian Churches	The Young Men's Christian Associations
Committee on Educational Publicity	Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (Women's Branch)
Committee on Militarism in Education	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Fellowship of Reconciliation	Women's Peace Society
First Humanist Society	World Alliance for International Friend- ship through the Churches
Foreign Policy Association, Inc.	World Peace Foundation
Friends' Peace Committee of Philadelphia	World Peace Posters, Inc.

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### CONCERT BY POLICE BAND

City of New York

*Under the direction of* CAPTAIN FRITZ FORSCH

### SINGING

*Led by the Columbia University Choir under the direction of*  
PROFESSOR LOWELL P. BEVERIDGE

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A portion of program broadcast over WABC, the Columbia network, operating from coast to coast.



## Program

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, *Presiding*

President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

THE HONORABLE ALFRED E. SMITH

Governor of New York, 1919-21, 1923-29

THE HONORABLE ALANSON B. HOUGHTON

Representative in Congress, 1919-22

Ambassador in Berlin, 1922-25

Ambassador in London, 1925-28

Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### *Intermission with music*

MISS LILLIAN D. WALD

President and Head Resident of the Henry Street Settlement

NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Candidate for Governor of New York, 1924; for Mayor of New York, 1925 and 1929; for President of the United States, 1928; for President of the Borough of Manhattan, 1931

THE REVEREND KARL REILAND

Rector of St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church

THE HONORABLE JOHN W. DAVIS

Proposer of Resolution

EVERETT COLBY

Seconder

— o —

The audience is invited to join in singing

### AMERICA

*My country, 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing;  
Land where my fathers died,  
Land of the pilgrim's pride,  
From ev'ry mountain side  
Let freedom ring.*



The following resolution, identical in text with that voted at the great disarmament rally held at Albert Hall, London, July 11, 1931, was unanimously adopted at the Mecca Temple mass meeting:

RESOLVED, That this meeting warmly welcomes the forthcoming Disarmament Conference and urges the Government to do all in its power to bring about a real reduction in the Armies, Navies and Air Forces of the World.



INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS  
AS CHAIRMAN OF THE MASS MEETING IN FAVOR OF DISARMAMENT  
HELD AT MECCA TEMPLE, NO. 133 W. 55TH ST., NEW YORK  
ON ARMISTICE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1931, AT 8:15 P. M.

by

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

*Fellow Citizens:* Andrew Carnegie had a great vision. It was a vision of the world at peace, in good order, and in fullest international cooperation for the promotion of industry and commerce, for the advancement of knowledge and its constant application to meet the needs and aspirations of men, and for the steady increase of human contentment, satisfaction, and happiness. It was the vision of a wise, a kindly, and a far-seeing man. Toward the accomplishment of that vision he entrusted a portion of his great fortune to carefully chosen trustees, upon whom he enjoined its use "to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization." "Although we no longer eat our fellow men, nor torture prisoners," said Mr. Carnegie, "nor sack cities, killing their inhabitants, we still kill each other in war like barbarians. Only wild beasts," he added, "are excusable for doing that in this, the twentieth century of the Christian era. For the crime of war is inherent, since it decides not in favor of the right, but always of the strong."

Surely, no clearer or more forceful statement could be made as to the real meaning of war. Gloss it over as we may, and often do, war remains a highly organized effort at killing men, at laying waste towns, villages, and fertile fields, at bombarding great cities, and at destroying historic and artistic monuments of incomparable value and charm. The doctrine that men can be neither safe nor free in any other way is too grotesque to be listened to with patience.

What men did not already know about war they learned from the stupendous happenings of that greatest of all international combats which came to an end on this day, thirteen years ago. In commemoration of that happening and in harmony with the



name of this day itself, the day of armistice, the day when arms stand still, Mr. Carnegie's trustees, in fortunate cooperation with other groups and individuals of many different sorts and kinds, have asked that throughout this land there be held in a hundred or more cities, towns and villages, public meetings to give forceful and definite expression to the demand that policies of government be everywhere quickly shaped in full harmony with the declaration which governments throughout the world have united to make, that war is renounced as an instrument of national policy and that the settlement of international disputes will always be sought by pacific means. This great deed having been done—much the most important deed, as history will certainly record, accomplished by modern man—what remains? Two things, and two things only. First, that public opinion shall everywhere insist that governments keep their plighted word and refrain, not only from war, but from preparation for war; and, second, that the apparatus of war, costly, enormous, various, which now absorbs a great part of the revenues of the chief nations of the earth, shall be consigned to the museums of history, and that hereafter what have been armies and navies shall be police, to do the honorable and necessary work appropriate to that name.

In the month of February next, there will assemble at Geneva an international conference on disarmament. That conference simply must not be allowed to fail, for should it fail, the fate of our civilization will be at stake. We do not need any conference of technical experts who will weigh one form of weapons of offense and defense against another, or who will seek for some technical mathematical formulas that will salve wounded professional pride at vast cost to the national treasuries. What we need and demand is a conference of open-minded, liberal, progressive and constructive statesmen and men of affairs, who will agree together on ways and means, not to equalize armaments, not simply to limit armaments, but to get rid of armaments. When we get rid of armaments, we get rid of all that follows in their train. As the world stands today, the most heavily armed nation is the most insecure, and the safest nations are the Switzerlands, the Hollands, the Denmarks, the Norways, and the Swedens, which go their way honorably and fairly, without either desiring to at-



tack their neighbors or wishing to prepare to defend themselves against attacks by their neighbors.

It must be repeated over and over again that the fundamental fact to be kept in mind is that war as an instrument of policy has been formally renounced by practically every nation on this earth. Therefore, if nations keep their word, there can be no war. Armies and navies will be required as police force and as nothing more. If we are to assume that nations will break their word and go to war despite the Pact of Paris, then what assurance have we that any treaty will be kept? In such a case, why should we make treaties at all? Surely, the course of good sense is to assume that statesmen and governments will keep their plighted faith. This is something far higher and far more important than what has been called the "outlawry of war." If war were "outlawed," then somebody or some force would have to enforce that law, and such enforcement would itself be war. On the other hand, the renunciation of war is a moral act and, like all moral acts, requires no enforcement save on the part of him who has given his word.

So much being premised, then what more is needed on the part of our government or any government? Only this: That, if despite its pledge any government breaks its word and begins hostilities without having first offered and endeavored to settle the pending difference by peaceable means, it thereby becomes an aggressor and, as such, is not entitled to aid or comfort on the part of any other nation signatory to the Pact of Paris or on the part of the nationals of such a nation. In other words, the pledge-breaker under these circumstances makes neutrality as impossible as does the man who starts a riot in the streets of New York or Chicago. In a controversy between the rioter and the police no citizen can be neutral. He must be on the side of the police. Least of all can he slip a pistol in the hands of the rioter on the ground that he himself is neutral and has no concern over the outcome of the struggle.

The statement that the cutting off of economic assistance and resources under such circumstances is the same as war is quite ridiculous. The contrary is the case. Economic aid to an aggressor is participation in his aggression, and that is war. The moment



that the leading half-dozen nations make it their declared policy to refuse aid and comfort to a pledge-breaker under the terms of the Pact of Paris, pledge-breaking and threats of pledge-breaking will go out of fashion.

Nor is there any weight in the contention that there would be difficulty in determining which of two parties is the aggressor. That might well be the case if we were asked to go into the merits of the controversy, but we are not. We are only asked to determine whether either of the parties to the controversy has begun hostilities without first exhausting every effort, as called for by the Pact of Paris, to settle the controversy by peaceable means. That simple question of fact can be determined by any one. If both parties to the controversy have omitted or refused to try to settle it peaceably, then both become aggressors and neither is entitled to aid or comfort from any other people on the ground of neutrality. These are the gravest problems before the world at the present moment. They must be settled; they can only be settled by an enlightened public opinion in this land and in many lands.

Tonight the public opinion of this metropolitan city will find expression through eloquent voices, each one competent fully to represent a great group or a distinct point of view in our citizenship. We shall know neither party nor race nor creed. A Democrat will speak, as will a Republican and a Socialist. A woman will speak for her sex, and the Church will have an eloquent spokesman. Here, then, speaks the voice of many-sided New York, a great city which always leads, which always helps, and which always binds up the wounds of those who have fallen—New York, chief of the nation's burden-bearers and the greatest of the power-houses of the nation's mind.



## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ALFRED E. SMITH

On Armistice Day at a meeting of a Peace Endowment it is peculiarly appropriate that we dwell not so much on past glories but rather on the task that lies before us to accomplish that ideal of world peace which shall truly lead in the end to the laying down of arms.

Prior to the World War, disarmament was never a serious practical issue. Universal thought turned to large armaments. So much had been said in our own country about unpreparedness that the public mind naturally drifted to the question of better preparation in case of future difficulties. Immediately following the war, so terrible and so costly had been the loss of the world in human life and property and so far reaching the economic havoc, that public thought around the world began to direct itself to the promotion of peace rather than the preparation for future wars. Following the Treaty at Versailles and the setting up of the League of Nations machinery successive steps looking toward an acceptance by the world of the limitation at least of future armaments if not the reduction of existing armaments began.

The attention of the world turned to efforts toward peace rather than preparation for war, beginning with the establishment of the World Court. Then followed the Washington Conference which for the first time placed dramatically before the world the danger of naval competition among the five great sea powers of the world. The Washington Conference was a direct practical step toward the limitation of naval armaments. From the conference at Locarno following later, came to western Europe the feeling of security so necessary to sincere cooperation toward limitation of armaments. Further milestones in the progress toward peace were marked by the Pact of Paris, after which came the unsuccessful attempt at naval limitation at Geneva. At the London Naval Conference the difficulties engendered by political and economic entanglements prevented successful progress.

Just as the methods of warfare have advanced because of advances in science, so the arts of peace should advance with them.



It would be difficult to overcome the natural and human desire on the part of the citizens of nations for the feeling of security. Yet I am sure that if the rank and file of any nation were to have the question submitted to them in simple, understandable form, they would undoubtedly be on the side of disarmament or at least as severe a reduction or limitation as could reasonably be brought about. I feel sure that they would for two great reasons: First, they would wish to prevent, if possible, for all time to come, the fearful destruction of life and property, made more terrible than ever before because of modern warfare and, second, because of the great economic burden of producing the money required for the progress of modern warfare.

For the last fiscal year alone, Great Britain spent more than 65 per cent of its total national expenditure on armaments, war pensions and the paying off of the national debt incurred by war. This national debt that we speak of here is directly related to the aftermath of war. The United States paid over 70 per cent of its total expenditures in the same period for the same purposes, 67 per cent of the total national expenditure of France went for the same purposes.

As indicating the burden upon the taxpayers of the leading nations it is interesting to look at the percentage of the total expenditures devoted solely to maintenance and the operation of the army, the navy and aircraft for war purposes. Great Britain spends over 13 per cent of its entire tax budget on armament. The United States takes  $1/5$  of the total expenditure and devotes it to the maintenance and operation of its armed forces. France and Italy each spend more than  $1/5$ . In the fear that the percentage figures may not properly indicate the enormous cost, we will translate it into dollars so far as our own country is concerned. In the period mentioned, the maintenance and operation including construction and acquisition of new material for the military, naval and air forces reached a figure of over \$727,000,000.

Naturally there is now no way to say what would be an adequate expenditure to give security and protection only, and not at the same time build up a great war machine which can become an engine of destruction over night. Departmental heads always ask for a program ideal from their point of view and limited solely



by the amount of money they believe appropriating bodies will grant. Legislatures represent popular sentiment. If popular sentiment is for large military establishments because of a national psychology fed on admiration for the exploits of war, or made anxious by the fear of invasion, large sums will be put into this branch of the governmental machine. No doubt the popular mind is so actuated in France and Italy today.

The difficulties in the way of greater success in efforts for limitation of armaments in the past grow pretty much from the same human equation which is present in all arguments. First, the concept of a particular nation as to how much is required to promote her security is to be dealt with. Into that comes the question on the part of the delegates to Disarmament Conferences as to what meets the demands of the various nations. Premier MacDonald recently said that the trouble in the past has been that the delegates to such conferences simply talk about peace in great public speeches and then pass the real problem to be solved on to subcommittees who so often kill the hopes of practical results. Just as in any committee there arises immediately the division of opinion as to what in the first instance constitutes an armed force sufficient for the security of the people. Security after all is not a tangible thing. It depends very largely upon the condition of mind of the person seeking it.

Another point of friction in such committee efforts is, naturally, the difficulty in fixing armaments in terms of appropriations. Money may not in the last analysis spell equality. It costs more to build a battleship in the United States due to our high scale of wages than it would in Germany or Italy. So it apparently cannot be done in terms of annual appropriation for armament.

We must differentiate between complete disarmament, and limitation or reduction of armaments. It is probably too soon to expect complete disarmament on the part of nations. It will have to be a gradual process. So far all our talk has been for the limitation of naval armaments. Never, except in the Treaty of Versailles, have we even touched upon the limitation of land armaments. None of our efforts so far have ever considered reduction of armaments as apart from limitation. We have not considered the actual cutting down of our present equipment and



have discussed only the limitation of the future growth of our naval establishments.

It is certain that profound study and sincere effort will have to be made to accomplish a severe limitation on future armament not to speak of the reduction of existing armaments. Notwithstanding the difficulties that stand in its way, if there is really genuine, honest, straightforward effort made to do it, it is possible to bring from the next Disarmament Conference called for February, 1932, real, lasting and beneficial results to all of the nations.

In government, reform, improvement, or betterment, cannot always be handed down from those in power but must come up from the rank and file. A desire for disarmament must be stimulated by appeal to the rank and file of the people, themselves, and by a process of education that brings them to the realization of what it is individually costing them to maintain large armed forces, which by mutual understanding could be greatly reduced if not eliminated.

I realize, of course, the immense present political difficulties in the way of even a reasonable limitation of armaments. To avoid this and to minimize their importance we must bring home to the rank and file that pride in power must give way to the larger interests of human welfare and well being of the nations of the world.

There is no doubt that human nature with all its frailties is prone to war upon slight provocation when nations feel that the armament they possess insures victory. Belief that they had not out-armed the other nation would make it difficult for them to declare war with any hope of success. When all the modern, deadly science of war can be invoked and death and destruction can come out of the clouds there exists a temptation because of human nature to make the vast engine of war work.

It is a noteworthy fact that with the desire for peace finding expression in all the leading nations of the world, in the Far East at the present time, Japan and China are at each others throats and as yet our existing machinery for peace fails to function.

The history of the past indicates that the heavily armed nation is like the boy with the wooden chip on his shoulder. He is looking for somebody to knock it off as an excuse for fighting.



I believe that a large part of the present world-wide depression in business and the consequent unemployment and the distress and sickness growing from it can be attributed in no small degree to the waste of the recent war. No nation or group of nations, any more than any individual or group of individuals can engage in any costly warfare, waste life and property, and not have a day of reckoning. It is a natural outcome. Let us hope that this has been brought home to the peoples of the various nations with sufficient force and effect to reflect their opinions in the discussions and proceedings at the February Geneva Conference. The United States has a will toward peace. We are not a war-loving nation and we will sit at that Council table to exercise our best efforts to lift the weight of battleships off the backs of the men and women who toil to produce the wealth that makes them possible. If we could bring home to every citizen the personal meaning of the burden he must bear, we could get more than an emotional or sentimental reaction. We could count on his reasoned determination to reduce armaments and to abolish war.

Our own attitude must necessarily be that we have always traditionally stood apart from the political differences of Europe. That very attitude puts us in a strong moral position with the European nations. We cannot go to the Conference and just brush these difficulties aside. They are realities. We must know to the fullest possible understanding what those difficulties are and be willing to lend our impartial and disinterested advice to their solutions, expressing in every way our own confidence in Europe's ability to reach a solution for her own problems. By that confidence we would pave the way for that solution, inspiring in the European nations a supreme faith in their own ability to meet their difficulties. There is no doubt that the will to war can work out a technique of war. Where there is a will to peace, we must also be able to work out a technique of peace. Armaments are the technique of war.

The Geneva Conference will be only one month after the nations of the world have passed through the happy and joyous season of Christmas, when there was repeated round the world, as it was sung by the Heavenly choir on that first Christmas morning, "Peace on earth to men of good will." The reason that we have not the peace is that we have not the good will.



Let us hope that the Geneva Conference will be able to awaken in the hearts and consciences of the peoples of the world the desire for the promotion of that good will in order that the promised peace and all the blessings and graces that flow from it may be an accomplished fact.



## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ALANSON B. HOUGHTON

Today we commemorate the ending of a great war. Whatever else we may think about that war—its origin, its objectives, its final result—we know at least that great armaments did not protect the world against its fiery outbreak. The war came. Four and a half years of unprecedented carnage and destruction followed. The military autocracies ultimately were overthrown. The free peoples were victorious. And, on the face of it, the perils, real or imaginary, which, we had been told, threatened the peoples democratically organized when confronted by the military autocracies, were swept away. A future, free from the threat of war, bought at a great price, had apparently been won. And then, you remember, we awoke to discover that those in political authority over the free peoples now distrusted one another quite as profoundly as before they had distrusted the autocracies. A new crop of perils was conjured into existence. Those in authority over us again turned to armaments and still more armaments to afford us protection. And today, as you know, more men are under arms than ever before, armaments have steadily increased in mass and in power, and the search for new and more effective methods of destroying life and property goes on unwearied and unchecked. Truly, we learn slowly, we human beings, even after bitter experience.

Now, however, by the grace of God, a new opportunity offers itself. The entire status of armaments is to be reviewed. Early next year the long-heralded and long-prepared for Conference on Disarmament will be held. The experts and the diplomatists of all nations will then come together to determine whether, by mutual agreement, this burden of armaments which weighs so heavily can be lightened. And we are assured, on every hand, that the success or failure of the Conference depends on us, the peoples concerned, and on our insistence that a substantial measure of disarmament shall be effected. Without that insistence, we are assured, the Conference, after a more or less futile discussion, will in all probability, politely, and with assurances of good will,



adjourn without accomplishing anything. And if that be true, and I think it is, it is certainly high time we made our wishes clear and unmistakable. Two contingencies need no consideration. Any measure of disarmament the Conference may reach by mutual consent will be acceptable to us here in America. That goes without the saying. And, on the other hand, if the Conference finds itself unable, by mutual agreement, to obtain any measure of disarmament, it is not at all likely that America will enter upon a process of disarmament all by herself. That, too, goes without saying. There is, however, a third contingency. Any of you who have read the recent French note to the League of Nations disclosing the status of French armaments will know to what I refer. The note carries with it the very frank and definite statement that, under present conditions, France will not disarm further. What then, I ask, will be your attitude in face of that contingency? Does that action on the part of France end the matter? Is her refusal so all-inclusive that the other nations must, perforce, follow her example? Does the fact that France will not disarm further mean the other nations should not and, indeed, can not? I raise the question because it seems to be the one question which we have need to consider. It is the rock on which the Conference may split. What, I ask you again, will be your attitude in face of this contingency?

I can speak only for myself. But, Mr. Chairman, I, for one, am wholly disinclined to accept such a conclusion. I do not believe it necessary. I am sure it would be highly inexpedient. I have no doubt that France at the moment will take no step toward further disarmament. And, I confess frankly, her attitude seems to me wholly natural. Twice within the memory of multitudes of her people now living France has been invaded, a large part of her territory devastated, and a savage loss of life and property sustained. The French will not, if they can help it, risk a third invasion. After efforts, little less than heroic, to bring their country back to normal conditions, they mean now to guard it against possible attack. And they, and no one else, will decide what measure of armament her security demands. Who can blame them? We may disagree. We may think that to base security on a preponderance of armaments is merely to base it on shifting



sand. But that is beside the point. A fact confronts us. Today, France stands unchallenged in her power. Her armies could sweep over Europe without serious opposition. Almost literally she holds the fate of Europe in her hands. Yet, I think, few of us fail to recognize that her basic and dominant purpose nevertheless is defensive—is primarily to guard and protect her own frontiers. What we have to decide is not what France will do, but what we will do.

As I said, Mr. Chairman, I can speak only for myself. But to me, at least, the answer seems reasonably clear. I do not believe that a French refusal to disarm further is an adequate and sufficient reason why the other powers—America, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan and the rest—should also refuse. It seems to me, on the contrary, a reason why they should not refuse. If you urge that something more is involved here than mere security—that France seeks, in fact, to maintain the status quo in Europe, and to preserve the post-war treaties which now define territorial boundaries without regard always to their essential justice, I ask you in reply whether you think, in any time now worth contemplating, that those injustices, in so far as they exist, can be remedied by war—whether, indeed, they are worth the price of war—whether a new war would not in all human probability result in equally great injustices, and be a mere prelude to a still further war? Surely, Mr. Chairman, that is not the way to obtain relief. Time, and a decent sense of fair-dealing, and the public opinion of the world, may far more reasonably and confidently be invoked to bring about any necessary modifications. Or, if you urge that in the background stands Russia, and that Russia waits only a favorable opportunity to launch an aggressive campaign, and that the nations must keep themselves armed against so serious a threat, I say in reply that no people on earth today needs peace so much as the Russian—that Russia's whole plan of internal development, her whole effort to industrialize her people and provide them with the necessities of civilized life, depends on peace. War would simply destroy what has been accomplished, and throw her back into anarchy and confusion. And no one knows this better than the little group who now controls her destiny. Or, finally, if you urge that, by an agreement to reduce their



expenditures for armaments, the other nations would be in effect isolating France, and forming a bloc against her, which France would inevitably resent, I say, in reply, that such a block would leave France stronger than before, would increase rather than decrease her defensive strength, and provide her with added security. If the other nations are willing to accept France's military superiority, and it exists, whether they accept it or not, why should France hesitate to see the other nations united to reduce armaments, and so to promote a more durable peace? Resentment on her part would simply give the lie to all her former professions of peace.

So I, for one, Mr. Chairman, venture to urge that, in so far as we Americans can help it, the Disarmament Conference shall not be permitted to wreck itself on the rock of French dissent. That is merely a plausible excuse for doing nothing. This Western world of ours is in no condition to justify inaction when action will afford it needed relief. If the other great powers, or indeed, only those closest to us by natural ties, can agree upon a definite and substantial percentage of reduction in their war budgets, I, for one, hope and pray that America will join them. Indeed, I go further. In view of the crushing burdens of taxation which the peoples are carrying, in view of the unprecedented industrial depression and world-wide unemployment and social unrest, and in view, even more, of the demonstrated folly of competitive armaments which do not afford security but endanger it, I plead that America shall take the lead, and entering the Conference, unhesitant, unafraid, and with her purpose clearly avowed, use her mighty and resistless strength to ensure a definite measure of disarmament, a greater assurance of peace, and a happier and more contented world.



## ADDRESS BY MISS LILLIAN D. WALD

Your chairman honors me by his request to speak on this memorable anniversary, and he places upon me the mighty obligation of speaking for women, a responsibility for which I confess myself inadequate. In my heart of hearts I see no great disparity between the profoundest convictions of men and women on the most challenging question of our times. I believe that thinking people—men and women alike—the world over are eager that the devices which have been developed to prevent war should be recognized and accepted, for the most essential obligation before us is that whatever our sphere of influence, we should encourage the rising protest against war. We should see to it that organized protest is developed to the end that the old cries, the old stimuli, will never again excite men to those mass deeds that would be impossible for them as individuals. However men and women may react to depressive or exalting appeals, their stakes in life and their sources of happiness and security are identical.

More than 2,000 years ago Euripides, bound as prophet to deliver his message, cried out through the mouths of the Trojan women against the wrongs of a war-filled world, the eternal sorrow for the sacrifices and suffering of the victors as well as the vanquished, and the utter futility of war. That sorrow is no less poignant today, perhaps more poignant, for in the face of the stark tragedies that follow modern warfare, one can claim little of the romance and pageantry of the old hand-to-hand combat. When beautiful youth is destroyed by bomb, by gas, or completely vanquished by the filth of trench life, there is little of glory to compensate. False propaganda and fear of being called cowardly mobilize the forces of war. Tolstoy long ago said warfare could not be carried on without a band to excite and deflect the marching men. Few indeed have been or ever will be able to trust their judgment at a time when they are blinded by the confusion of conflict, when all the psychology of war is exercised, and reason and memory are clouded. But after all is over and the dead and the crippled are counted, the ancient cry of the women is repeated



and once more the supreme absurdity of retaining barbarous methods is proclaimed and agreed to.

Occasionally during the heat and the treachery of war, the voices of the victims themselves are heard. I remember when in 1919 the statesmen were assembled at Versailles, a little paper published by the soldiers of the Army of Occupation contained a simple, honest and direct plea that went something like this: "Boys, never, never forget the filth, the pity, the waste of young life that *we* know. Remember what we have been through and when you grow to be forty or more, pledge now that you will never hang out of your office windows waving flags and cheering the boys on to *this*."

In many countries since the war students have been organizing into international groups bent on finding a way out for more abundant life for themselves. Women, freer to express themselves, are (though not all, I grant) availing themselves of their new privileges by sending instructions to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva and petitioning their delegates to work for disarmament. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has been outstanding in its organized protest against war. About a month ago members of their Peace Caravan motored from Hollywood across the continent and laid a trophy at President Hoover's feet—150,000 signatures to the Disarmament Petition—and thousands of signatures are still pouring in. The women of England are far in their second million of signatures, while in forty countries unnumbered people have said the same thing in their petitions: "We want no more wars. Take such steps as will bring about disarmament."

Many, I think, will agree that the wise woman of our times is Jane Addams. Perhaps she is the wise woman of all times. For long years a leader for tolerance and better understanding between peoples, she has made articulate the deep beliefs of many that we are the more discerning because, knowing the elements out of which human nature develops, it is logical that artificial and unnatural means for pacification should be discredited and discarded.

Reason and experience strengthen their skepticism of destruction as a step toward security, and I think that there is now more than perhaps at any other time in the history of the world, the will to discard old cries and old shibboleths. That is logical, since



despite the outworn argument, which is supposed forever to silence us—that human nature does not change—we know that there has been a revolution in daily living and that those who hold tenaciously to old formulae are not really living in this age. That has nothing whatever to do with the fundamental emotions. Love and sorrow and pity are unchanging, for these partake of the immensity of creation and are of the inner life that binds individuals one to another; but in all other respects we adjust ourselves daily, hourly, almost by the minute, to recognize new factors. A distinguished journalist said the other day that Edison had altered the mentality of mankind with his revolutionary conception that man could, by the use of intelligence, invent a new mode of living on this planet. So familiar have we become with the new life that we hardly comment upon it. The sense of hearing is the same, but the telephone and the radio have brought about a miraculous expansion of our power to listen. The swift-footed cover no greater distances than the swift-footed of Biblical days, but each modern invention overtakes the other in such rapid succession that we look upon quick and easy communication as a matter of course and hardly lift our eyes to note the swift messenger who flies from world's end to world's end, meeting people who think alike and are alike in all matters that really count.

These changes have touched the home, too, for the home must accommodate itself to change. Recently an Arab friend, desiring me to visualize the new in his country, said: "When I was a boy I dared not sit down in the presence of my elder brother without his permission. Last summer when I revisited my old home, my small brother, ignoring my presence, rushed into the house, slapped my mother's shoulder with, 'Mom, what about a horse-back ride today?'" Even an Arab mother does not resist, lest she be criticized and lose authority for opposing change.

In former days individuals with a grievance against each other were accustomed to employ their fists or the more elegant usage of the duel. The result was broken heads and undying hatred. Today questions as to right and wrong may be laid upon the lap of the judges.

A visitor to the Settlement felt it incumbent one day to chide us for what he construed as too easy tolerance of the laborer's



cause. On his way to the Settlement he had witnessed a striking teamster throw a rock at a man whom he called a scab. The latter was driving the wagon which the striker considered his own. The act was unforgivable, our visitor thought, and there could be no difference of opinion that rock-throwing was bad and could not possibly lead to a peaceful settlement of the industrial dispute. But the obvious argument was accepted that primitive people throw rocks and sophisticated people engage lawyers.

Real statesmen, people of intellect and valid experience, know that not only are ethical standards and security attainable by the development of legal instruments that can be employed to settle disputes, but that these instruments can only function effectively when intelligent public opinion is assured. But it is necessary to begin early. Educators will have to scrutinize the textbooks and the history books and story books given to children. No "greater than thou," no "more righteous than thou" nation, nor one superior to the other! It is not true that any one country can do no wrong. Antiquated the history books that claim this! Perilous the training that breeds prejudices and bewilders the mind! Try to analyze the sources of social or national antipathy and anti-social prejudice and you will see what I mean. Live among simple people and you can realize the poison given to young minds, and this may be—undoubtedly is—the basis of the readiness to destroy when customary excitements of war are employed.

Some here tonight may remember the poem written during the war by an Englishman (employed I understand in the war office) and set to the music of Bethoven. He touched the emotions of those who felt even at that time the pressure brought to bear upon men against those other men for whom they held no enmity. The poet pictures five souls who meet and communicate with one another:

"I was a peasant of the Polish plain  
 I left my plough because the message ran;  
 Russia in danger needed every man  
 To save her from the Teuton—and was slain.  
 I gave my life for freedom, this I know,  
 For those who bade me fight had told me so."



And the second soul, a Tyrolese,—

"I left my mountain home to fight the Muscovite, and  
... Died on Cossack spear . . ."

And the third soul,—

"I worked in Lyon on a weaver's loom . . ."

And the fourth soul,—

"I a vineyard owned by the wooded Main and died in fair  
Lorraine" . . .

And the fifth soul,—

"I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde . . ."

All: "I gave my life for freedom, this I know,  
For those who bade me fight had told me so."

Equally touching are those plain soldiers and citizens who know nothing of the cause or the settlement of international disputes. While sailing as a passenger on the Black Sea, I was moved to ask the captain's permission to go down to the ship's galley in order to bake a cake for the little children on board, who were finding the long trip tiresome and difficult to endure. I could not identify the utensils or the ingredients, so I said to the cook, "What are you?" "Oh," said the cook, "I don't know. All my life Austrian; overnight, they made me Italian!"

But I must try to give some adherence to the place allotted me on this program. If women have any message that differs in degree from that of men, it is of their never-changing devotion to the home and their absorption in the home, for upon them more than upon men rest the countless details of life which go to make up the home. As statesmen sit around the table, hoping to accomplish security for the countries they represent, women see that security as an assurance of the safety of the home, and the most precious things in life that are associated with it. It is not strange that through this most natural and passionate desire women have sometimes been made the unconscious tools of the war-mongers. And yet we know that so-called "security" expressed in excessive war preparation has aggravated, if not actually projected the awful carnage of war, such as the last, and utterly destroyed the home.



Women perceive that its protection, like the protection of a nation, can be secured without forts or military reserves. Women in Canada and the United States have no fear of each other's guns, because no gun is in the hands of either side to be used for defense. Organized peace is the kind of preparedness that has our faith, and we see in the World Court, the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris, the exchange of visits between prime ministers, landmarks that demonstrated how far we have traveled, and that diplomacies, too, recognize a changing world. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, when in America, said wisely that the whole question before the nations is how to shift their sense of security from armies and navies to dependence on political arrangements, to replace quick firing with ready communication. It is the greatest accomplishment of our mechanical genius to know that this swift communication is practicable for the men sitting around the tables. But they must be sure that back of them is the desire of the world to avert disaster. Before a single gun is fired, to bring about a conciliatory attitude which later would be impossible.

The best kind of preparedness is organized peace, and we want to make clear our desire for peace. I think that women throughout the world are expressing themselves as never before. We do not feel that this is in opposition to the aspirations of men, but that we are with the vast numbers, united in a noble fellowship for a noble cause.



## ADDRESS BY MR. NORMAN THOMAS

Tonight, thirteen years after the end of the most costly and sanguinary war in the world's history, a war fought by unnumbered thousands of unknown heroes as a war to end war, we meet to acknowledge the complete futility of that struggle and to take anxious thought of the possibility of preserving world peace. We face the paradoxical fact that probably never was there a greater or more intelligent desire for peace or a more general acceptance of the likelihood, if not the inevitability, of new war. We here are especially concerned with the success of the forthcoming disarmament conference; yet before that conference can be convened it is all too probable that in defiance of all pacts and machinery for keeping the peace Japan will turn her military intervention in Manchuria into open war, the end of which in that cockpit of the world where Russia, China, and Japan meet no man can foresee. It is not improbable that in one of several danger zones in Europe, perhaps in Germany itself, internal violence or the open repudiation of some provisions of the blundering peace treaties will precipitate new war. Against that war economic depression and the bitter poverty of the nations is no guarantee. Indeed, the very bitterness of depression may make new war more likely, first, because unemployed workers and poverty-stricken farmers have less to lose than in more prosperous times; and second, because economic depression in almost every country heightens the unscrupulous competition for world markets.

There is nothing to give cheer in recent events. Whatever else it was, the British election was a triumph for a Tory nationalism without adequate plan or program. Unquestionably England desires peace and can scarcely hope to stay the decline of her imperial grandeur by war. Yet the Tory policy will not be a peace policy and will almost certainly wreck what hopes there are of reasonable adjustment of the Indian question. Our own American government and both the major parties are without a program for peace. We have good intentions, and that is about all. France, for reasons that can be understood, is so concerned for security



that she does not realize that in the pursuit of security she has achieved by her gold and guns a position in Europe which may be greater than she has enjoyed since the time of Napoleon but which is at least equally dangerous to France. True, Hoover and Laval have met. But beyond some approaches to personal understanding there is no hint that they arrived at any program adequate to meet the immediate crisis.

The great dangers to peace, however, consist not in a number of isolated incidents or in the personal dereliction of politicians and governments. The great dangers to peace are inherent in the dying imperialist order; inherent in an economic system which makes acquisition a virtue, and profit God; inherent in the hyper-nationalism which in an age of necessary interdependence reduces all men to unquestioning loyalty to one of the many contending absolute states. The price of peace is a new organization of society which will make our economic and political structure match the facts of world interdependence which a machine age has laid upon us as a necessity unless the powers that might make for life more abundant are to be turned to catastrophic destruction.

Intelligent Americans who love peace may differ in details concerning the degree and method of America's cooperation in the world. They may rightly believe in abstaining from some of Europe's quarrels, but they deny their intelligence if they think that peace can be found in isolation. That is impossible at a time when America has become the great creditor nation; nay more, it is impossible in a world where every day's breakfast table lays tribute on all corners of the globe.

I entirely agree with men like H. G. Wells and Bertrand Russell who hold that peace depends upon a rapid approach to world government in certain great essentials of our common life. I go farther than Mr. Wells in believing that the kind of world government which will assure peace must also assure definitely the end of capitalist exploitation of weaker races and the working class. For instance, a world government of financiers and great industrialists, if it could be achieved at all, which I doubt, would be more likely to change the area of conflict from war between nations to war between classes rather than to end it. I cannot escape the conclusion that intelligent international socialism while



not of itself the automatic guarantee of everlasting peace is the necessary basis in the modern world for such lasting peace.

It is still possible, I think, to present that socialism as the alternative to war rather than the consequence of the kind of catastrophe that modern war would bring. When Bertrand Russell looks forward to world organization as a consequence of the next war, I am skeptical. There never has been a war to end war and I doubt if there ever will be a war which will end war. The next war fought from the skies, from under the sea and on land by means of destruction more deadly than devils in hell could have invented for torture is far more likely to result in chaos and dark night than in salvation. Besides, if other men are like myself it is poor consolation to tell us that such of our grandchildren or great grandchildren as may survive will achieve a warless world if only we will endure the next war. My interest in my great grandchildren's world is somewhat academic. In my children's world it is near and dear.

Our problem, then, which every passing month of drift makes more difficult, is to avert large scale violence while we seek intelligently and rapidly to change the system which is the mother of war. If we fail let us have done with all the hopes and dreams we have for ourselves and our children.

There are factors that make the situation less than hopeless. Imperfect as it is, there is more machinery of an international sort than formerly for the preservation of peace. There is on a very wide scale a new and realistic appreciation of the meaning of war and a resolution on the part both of individuals and of labor organizations to have none of it. In most European countries the politicians are aware that to take a chance on war is to take a chance on internal revolution.

In this situation it is high time for an American immediate program on which men may agree who differ on more ultimate things. Let me briefly outline some elements of that program, most of which are either re-statements of former Socialist platforms or logical deductions from them.

1. By all means we should be interested in the success of the forthcoming disarmament conference not only as for its own intrinsic importance but because it has become a symbol of the



efficacy of the will to peace. It would be incredible that we should get disarmament as an isolated phenomenon, and if by some miracle we should, it cannot alone guarantee peace at a time when advanced industrial nations can with comparative ease improvise the most deadly methods of war because they already possess chemical industries and airplanes. Nevertheless a disarmed world cannot be so easily and quickly stampeded into war. It will have money to devote to the lasting works of peace so that men will have more of a stake in peace. It will be a world in which it is not psychologically necessary for a professional military class in its own interest and for jingoes in the support of their own delusions to play up the jealousy, fear and hate which make for war in order to persuade people to support costly armaments under pretext of preventing war!

2. The French concern for security would in reality be more likely of fulfillment in a disarmed than an armed world. It will not be promoted in the present stage of world development by trying to set up an international army, were that possible in a nationalistic world, or by giving pledges to go to war to enforce peace. Certainly I do not believe in going to war to change the terms of the iniquitous peace treaties which followed the World War. So far as those treaties determine boundaries each passing year makes it more difficult to re-determine those boundaries with justice. The hope of re-drawing the map of Europe on an extensive scale lies paradoxically in the growth of that international feeling and that economic organization which will make the re-drawing of boundaries less important. Nevertheless to accede to the French desire to put force behind the existing peace treaties will have the psychological effect of increasing resentment and keeping it alive in the minds of nations which now feel a sense of outrage and injustice. Practically I think what the United States should do in the matter of security is simply to agree to consult with other nations before insisting on an unlimited right to trade with an aggressor nation; that is, with a nation that goes to war without utilizing the existing machinery of peace to which it is committed at least morally, by the Pact of Paris and other treaties. If worse comes to worst I think there should be such consultation among the nations concerning economic pressure on



Japan. At the very least we have no right to seek to make money out of her war in Manchuria. Economic pressure can be applied by statesmen not as an incitement to war but as a check on war.

3. With relation to Europe the necessary accompaniments of successful disarmament are recognition of the great Soviet government and the end of foolish talk of embargoes against it, and a cancellation of German reparations and interallied debts which are burdensome economically and such a psychological irritant as to make them an outright cause of war. Of course, any forgiveness of debts should be conditioned on reduction of armaments, and the nominal loss to our national treasury should be met by an increase in the income tax on those classes which still hold foreign securities which will not be forgiven, and who profited, if anyone did, out of the last war. Almost equally important with the settlement of the question of debts and reparations is a general reduction of tariffs which militate against both prosperity and peace. The machinery whereby these causes may be hastened we may leave to diplomats but we must insist that these are the basic elements of a genuine peace program. They are necessary to clear the air and to make the atmosphere in which genuine internationalism can flourish.

4. With regard to the world in general and especially to Latin America, with which on the whole our relations have been improving, it is essential to stress the fact that we shall not collect private debts by public force of arms in the weaker nations, and that in general we shall not practice in Nicaragua and Haiti what we condemn Japan for practicing in Manchuria.

Let me make a plea for boldness on the part of lovers of peace in urging their immediate and more ultimate program. Statesmen may have to take account of ignorance, prejudice, and the backward condition of public opinion. But genuine leaders of the people in or out of office cannot be as timid as most peace advocates have been. The cause of peace requires courage and downright facing of the facts. Too long have we been mired in absurdities about parity and proportional disarmament when all the logic is on the side of outright disarmament. Too long have we played timidly with moratoriums when a whole world is sick for radical economic readjustment of the burden of debts and



reparations. Too long have we said as individuals that we were opposed to war, but have shrunk from saying with Einstein: "I will have none of war." Too long have our labor organizations failed to perfect plans for international action to prevent war. These things are part of the price of peace. And with these things must go a constant effort by means of political and economic organization and, if necessary, by such methods of non-violent resistance as Gandhi has been teaching to redress that economic exploitation which is the great tap root of war both domestic and foreign.

The service of peace requires intelligence and a program. Likewise does it require a new philosophy for our world and a courage like unto the war makers in advocating it. It requires for its achievement a revolutionarily changed society, and a revolution in the ancient methods of violence by which hitherto we have sought our utopias. Either we shall find this more excellent way or our children in the unimaginable horrors of new war, however holy its avowed ends, may live to curse the day that we gave them birth.



## ADDRESS BY THE REVEREND KARL REILAND

Organized religion has laid emphasis on two ideas specially: a reverence for antiquity and a confident hope of eternity. Between these two objectives the present in every age has seemed to suffer from neglect.

There are three obligations resting upon the institutions of religion today—

I—The Intellectual

II—The Economic

III—The Ideal

I—*The Intellectual*. The early Christians had three definite convictions: They despaired of this world; they despised the human body; they distrusted the rational faculty. To them the whole world was under a curse. The human body had suffered the displacement of the "fall of man," and the human reason was an "instrument of the devil."

This resulted in a degraded view of the world and man which has not only discouraged belief in progress but which is the faith—at least in formal statements—of 90 per cent of religious orthodoxy today.

Opposed to this and intellectually obligatory upon religion is the fact of biological evolution and its implications for theological re-statement and a more exalted view of human nature.

This world was not created in six days, nor subsequently cursed on a later one, and the only fall that man ever fell has been an upward fall through millions of years of struggle from the features of brute creation to the ideal of the brotherhood of man.

Such phrases as "human nature being what it is," and "man being a fighting animal," should carry the modification that man is not what he was, nor what he is becoming—a peace aspiring animal.

The great facts of man's natural history and of his increasing biological control can no longer be ignored and a biological understanding of the phenomenon of war is essential to reasonable thought.



Through millions of years man has had no other vehicle except war for the settlement of his disputes. That business has cut deeply into the disk of consciousness and has permeated his nature. The stimuli of war have found easy hospitality in him, because his nerve paths, habit trails and action patterns have so long entertained them.

But now, with man's increased biological control, understanding, and the dawn of idealism, he is coming to regard the arts of war as vestigial elements in his makeup, elements that may be said to have long survived their usefulness.

No one can speak to the purpose about man and war who has not made this biological shift in his thinking, and therefore, when you hear any one argue for war or urging resort to war for any purpose, whether he be banker or bishop, politician or prelate, you are witnessing an exhibition of one who is merely actuated by ancient action patterns of the race and is reverting to his biological origins.

II—*The Economic.* Disraeli is said to have exclaimed that "The world is governed by phrases," and his observation seems to be true. We certainly are the victims of many of them and our critical faculty rests under them in peace.

Terms like "democracy," "church," "state," "government," "court," etc., easily intrigue us and conscript our judgment without reflection. There is no separate entity in "democracy," "church," "state," "government," "court," and the rest, apart from the human spirit. In the last analysis, such a thing as a conversation between two nations, is a private talk between two individuals. Whatever the machinery, the merger, or the mass direction may be, the ultimate fact is that, "The spirit of the living creature is in the wheels thereof." The higher the estimate of the human spirit, the higher the civilization, and the greater the inclusiveness of human relations, the greater the patriotism. When Diogenes was asked where he came from, he said, "I am a citizen of the world."

Man was never more surely or speedily affected by whatever happens anywhere in the world than he is today. There is no distress that does not touch us, and no success that does not encourage us. The whole race of men has been drawn into a rela-



tivity, into a social monism, and the story of our lives "is woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

"No man," says Frederick Pollock in his Oxford lectures, "lives an isolated life in this world for men are interdependent." It sounds like a voice from nineteen centuries ago: "No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." This is the new ideal of international relationship beckoning us, and we are under the economic necessity of getting together in mutual helpfulness, good-will and self-respect. Back of all our terms and phrases, our institutions and plans is the human spirit and it is all that really matters.

III—*The Ideal*. In ancient times the atavistic temper said: "The prophet is a fool and the spiritual man is mad," but we are learning differently in these later days. Your out-and-out practical man is the world's champion fool and the man of madness. Your prophet, seer, dreamer and poet are the world's wise men who keep the race from perishing. They are the men of vision, and "where there is no vision, the people perish."

The wise men present the ideals that are worth attention. These ideals challenge the thoughts of men and invade the field of the imagination with imperial demand, and the greatest gift of life is the high demand with which it meets us. There are no loftier or more brilliant stars in the sky of human consciousness than the ideals of human brotherhood throughout the world, the abolition of the implements of war, the judicial adjustment of all disputes between nations, and the reign of universal peace among all people.

I am not competent to judge the political projects of the late Honorable William Jennings Bryan. I am distinctly out of sympathy with his religious orthodoxy, and I can easily restrain my enthusiasm for his opinions on the subjects of biological evolution, but I have striven to honor men for their virtues rather than for their vagaries and his efforts for international peace have taken on no tarnish with the years.

It is over twenty-five years ago that a great peace meeting took place in this City in Carnegie Hall. The sessions lasted through the week and were addressed by political, consular and diplomatic representatives from all over the world. The last speaker on the



last day was Mr. Bryan and the Hall was packed to capacity to hear him.

He was the only speaker of the week who mentioned Jesus of Nazareth in connection with the subject. His oratory was fine, as it always was; his persuasive arguments were irresistible, but his peroration was overwhelming. I cannot venture to quote him, I can merely relate what I believe him to have said in substance:

"On my trip around the world I came to the city of Paris and my chief thought was to visit the tomb of Napoleon. As I entered the building with a feeling of awe and wonder I stepped to the balustrade and looked down upon the marble sarcophagus which rested in the center of a circular depression, and as I gazed upon it I noticed a yellow light shining on the polished surface of the stone, and wondering from whence it came, I looked up and saw on the wall opposite an heroic figure of Jesus of Nazareth stretched upon a huge cross, and I thought it passing strange that over the sarcophagus of the greatest man of war who ever lived there hung the crucifix of the Prince of Peace."

Is it too much to expect that one of the most favored nations in the world can make a contribution to the family of nations? Is it too much to hope that America can contribute to the peoples of the earth a contagious enthusiasm for the brotherhood of man, a determination not only to limit armament, but to work for the abolition of the instruments of war, to establish some kind of tribunal effective enough to settle the differences between people by orderly judicial procedure and to close forever to the vision and vocation of man "the purple testament of bleeding war," not only as a national policy but as an international program, and to open a new testament of universal peace among the nations, that the peace of God, which now passes our poor understanding, may rest like a benediction upon the brow of humanity?



# Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

ARMISTICE DAY MEETING, NOVEMBER 11, 1931  
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB AUDITORIUM

For the discussion of present international problems, with  
particular reference to the coming Disarmament  
Conference in February, 1932.

*Overture from William Tell*, Rossini. . . Meyer Davis Orchestra  
*Blue Danube Waltz*, Strauss. . . . . Orchestra  
*To a Wild Rose*, MacDowell. . . . . Orchestra  
*Serenade*, Drigo. . . . . Orchestra

Introductory Remarks by the Chairman  
HONORABLE FREDERIC A. DELANO  
Trustee of the Endowment

*Liebestraum*, Liszt . . . . . Orchestra

Address by HONORABLE HUSTON THOMPSON  
Former Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission

*Un Peu d'Amour*, Silesau. . . . . Orchestra

Address by MR. FREDERIC R. COUDERT  
International Lawyer, of New York

*Star Spangled Banner*. . . . . Orchestra



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE FREDERIC  
A. DELANO, TRUSTEE OF THE ENDOWMENT

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

On behalf of the Trustees of The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, I have the honor to welcome you here this evening.

Of the various foundations for educational purposes by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, most of which were announced to the public some twenty years ago, none, we are told, were so close to the heart of this "canny Scot," as this particular foundation to aid the world in arriving at some way other than war of settling international disputes.

We are not here this evening to tell you that the ultimate formula to abolish war has been found, even though twenty years have rolled by since this Trust was established, but we venture to hope, and do honestly believe, that substantial progress in the right direction has been made.

The hopes and desires of the world in this direction are evidenced by the existence of the many hundred societies here and abroad, which have for their main purpose, the adoption of peaceful methods of settling international disputes, and yet it would appear that the methods of many of these Peace Societies have been such as to bring into disrepute the very name of *Pacifist*. This seems to indicate that it is time for us all to adopt more intelligent and, let us say, more persuasive methods of presenting our proposals.

Speaking for myself, I do not abhor war because I am afraid of it! I will grant that worse things than *war* may befall a nation! We all recognize that the splendid unity of action, the loyalty of an entire nation in a common purpose and for a cause conceived to be noble, is in itself most important.

The sad thing seems to be that no nation in our day, except perhaps, Russia, has been able to appeal to its citizens to "carry on" in peace time as in war; and the explanation in the case of



Russia appears to be that the leaders there have persuaded their people that every other nation is against them and that they must therefore hang together or hang separately.

But let us change the subject somewhat. Let us recall the fact that on this memorable occasion we celebrate the 13th Anniversary of the Armistice in the Great War; for it was at 11 o'clock on that never-to-be-forgotten 11th of November, 1918, that the "General Order" was given to "cease firing." Up to within a few minutes of that moment, batteries on both sides were firing at each other with intent to kill.

And after the Armistice, then what? I shall not attempt to relate it, but as I now see it, the sin was that most of us imagined our job was over when the firing ceased. Gradually, we are coming to see that the readjustments, the reparations, the care of the wounded and the derelicts, involved a problem of perhaps greater magnitude, while devoid of all the martial enthusiasm which helped us in war time. President Wilson, the then Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to whom every soldier and sailor took an oath of allegiance, no longer found himself at the head of a great army. He who saw more clearly than many the task still ahead of us, found himself blocked and frustrated by men who were either blind or prejudiced. I recognize that this is not the time to argue either this question, or the merits of this or that plan of procedure, but when we place a wreath on the graves of our heroes of yesterday, let us in all sincerity remember that we owe it to them *to do our bit* in working out an adequate solution.

On this and on *every Armistice Day*, we must keep before us that great thought expressed by Lincoln, "*it is for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.*"



## ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HUSTON THOMPSON

The press informs us that with the aid of a magnifying glass a slight flaw has been discovered down in the lower corner of the ten-ton slab of snow white marble that lies above the body of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington. The slab was cut from a rib of the Rockies, far up on the mountain side in Colorado, just beneath where the perpetual snows lie. It was hauled to the narrow gauge railroad and put on a car. At the end of the road it was lifted onto the car of a broad gauge line and started on its long journey to Arlington. Now it has been rejected. In its place a fifty-ton slab of crystal purity has been taken from the same quarry and soon it will grace the most distinguished spot in America. A microscopic search has failed to reveal a single flaw in this, the largest piece of marble ever quarried. In beauty, form and soundness, it is perfect. Surely no one will challenge the meticulous care with which the authorities have sought a cover for the body of our National hero.

But if it is good to have honored the body of this soldier, why would it not be even better to honor the covenant which we made with him. As he went to keep his tryst with death on a foreign battlefield, we made a solemn vow with him through our President, who was his commander-in-chief, that in return for his fighting our battles, we would make this a war to end wars. Twelve years have passed by since the first Armistice, and yet 5,600,000 men are still under arms, and \$3,500,000,000 are annually spent by the nations of the world on armament—a greater number of men under arms and a greater sum of money spent than at any time before the war. At this very hour we are within the shadow of another possible war. Should Japan, Russia and China become involved in Manchuria, in war, can the rest of the world keep out of it? Should the spirit of the Unknown Soldier be confronted with these figures and this situation, might he well not ask did I die in vain? Would he be satisfied with our defense of what we had done toward keeping that covenant?



We might argue that we had made some earnest gestures toward peace. We could prove to him that three of the great naval Powers had sought to limit and fix certain ratios in the number of ships. We could demonstrate that we had sought to outlaw war, at least on paper, and that a few of the nations of the world had given assurances to the others that in event of attack upon one of them, the others would go to its rescue. If he were to reply that these movements were nothing more than earnest gestures, we could still point to the meeting to be held in February at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations for the purpose of bringing about a reduction in armament. It is twelve years since many of the nations of the world agreed to make provision for such reduction. So far as America is concerned, this covenant, though not accepted by our Senate, was, in part at least, in response to the pledge given by the commander-in-chief of our armies to the Unknown Soldier.

The question that is on the lips of the world today is—will the gathering at Geneva be a success? The pessimists say no. We do not pretend to say, but one thing is certain, the sincerity of nations will be there exposed to the court of world opinion. For once the spotlight of humanity will be focused on the coming and going of those delegates. They will have the opportunity of representing their nations in the greatest decision ever made for mankind. They will determine whether man shall put himself below the plane of the brute, refuse to reduce armament and eventually destroy our civilization, or rise to the heights and honorably carry out the pledges made with the dead.

It is not necessary to describe the horrors of a next war, if one there shall be, for we know them all too well. The common people of the world are crying aloud for peace and are in dread of war. Though the governments know this, they are strangely helpless to bring it about, and in this helplessness are obsessed with fear. It seems ridiculous, and yet reports are coming from Geneva, that a special building is being erected to house this great gathering and it is fully expected that it will last for from two to three years. Well may humanity ask, what may we look for from an assembly that expects to spend three years reducing armament while a hair-trigger situation confronts the world, and the military of most



nations are secretly pressing for advantage for their respective groups.

The world will doubt the success of the meeting at Geneva so long as it is uncertain what the chief figure among nations will do. Go anywhere today among thinking people and the one question asked is, What will America do? This is natural, for what America does will determine in great degree, if not entirely, the success or failure of this conference. The officials and peoples of other nations may openly or covertly sneer at us, but the fact remains that our moral, physical, and financial leadership so dominates the world that disarmament waits upon us.

As we turn this question of "What America will do" back upon ourselves, we are reminded of the limitations put upon our Executive in international affairs. The approval of our Senate to his action has been a stumbling block in all our negotiations with other nations. It has often checked and limited the movements of our treaty commissioners. It has forever kept them in doubt as to how far they could go. Of late years the whole world has come to know this difficulty and has lost confidence in our system of negotiation. To surmount this difficulty and give confidence at the very outset, is perhaps the supreme problem that confronts the success of this movement for peace.

We shall have two months intervening between the opening of Congress and the assembly of the conference at Geneva. Why not in this interim be bold and fearless and tell the world what we are willing to do? Why not have our Congress suggest to our President and the other nations of the world, through a joint resolution, how far they will support the President in his negotiation? It would require joint action of the House and Senate to do this, for the Senate has the veto power over treaty-making and the House must be consulted in the matter of expenditures. Such a joint resolution prepared by the Chairmen of the Foreign Relations Committees of the two Houses, could possibly be passed before Christmas. It could inform the President and the world that Congress would approve of our commissioners offering to cut our total budget for both armament on land, sea and air, for the next ten years, to any point up to 50 per cent to which the other nations of the world would agree. It would point out that the cut



to be determined for each nation would take into consideration the proportionate purchasing value of the moneys of the several nations as of the date of the opening of the Conference at Geneva.

The joint resolution would further authorize our commissioners to negotiate a five-year holiday of armament on land, sea and air, with no further capital investment for that period. It could conclude with a declaration against the use of poison gas and germ warfare forever. Undoubtedly such a declaration would be welcomed by the executive side of the Government, for it would give the necessary assurances to hearten and guide the commissioners in their negotiations. It would be an invitation for action by all the other nations around which world opinion would crystallize. It would clear away immediately many doubts and fears and should cut short the actions of the Disarmament Conference to three months instead of three years.

Is there any reasonable objection that could be successfully advanced by Democrat or Republican, or even militarist, against this plan, if the reductions were made alike and on the equitable basis here suggested? Consider what it would mean if the cut were to reach as high as 50 per cent. There would be a total saving of \$17,500,000,000 in ten years to the nations of the world that could be used in solving their unemployment problem, paying national debts, checking increased taxation and reviving business. In America alone there would be a saving of more than \$300,000,000 a year; in France \$130,000,000 a year; and in England \$280,000,000. With such savings, the nations of the world could then afford to make a reasonable reduction in Germany's reparations to a point where she could be revived and take her place as a solvent nation.

Physical disarmament is at best, however, a treatment of the war disease upon the surface. In and behind it, there must be a psychological disarmament, if physical disarmament is to be permanent. To America, with long ocean spaces on either side of us, an unarmed peace of one hundred years to the north of us, and a weakened nation to the south, it is difficult to understand the fears which possess the peoples of most of the European nations and some of those in Asia. But because we do not comprehend this fear, is no reason why we should not realize that it exists. We do not pretend to defend this state of mind, nor hold that it is war-



ranted. All we assert is that it must be recognized as a fact, for it is the most vital factor underneath the surface that stands in the way of political peace. It is foolish to try to dismiss it, as some of our people do, who apparently fear to go abroad and investigate conditions, lest they may be compelled to change their attitude toward world relations.

No one needs to be told of the fears of France. Not until one has ridden across Poland will he appreciate the fear that possesses that nation on both its eastern and western borders; not until one has traveled from Finland across the Gulf to Estonia and seen the guns peeping up from within waterbound rocks off shore; not until he has traveled down the corridor, all along the western Russian border and seen the patrols that guard both sides of that border; not until he has looked into eyes of peasant folk of those nations and heard them say they will die to the last man, woman and child, before they will permit themselves to be taken by Russia; not until he has listened to the fears of Russians toward the capitalistic nations, will be understand the potency of this dread that possesses these peoples.

How can there be any permanent peace or continued reduction in armament so long as there is such a state of mind? Our Isolationists will say, well what of it? The answer is that all sane thinking men now know that we, in America, cannot avoid the consequences of this fear, once it brings upon the world another war. We know that we cannot avoid the effects of another war. At this very hour we are fearful of what may happen to us in the event that Russia and Japan come to grips in Manchuria. Have we not over a billion dollars invested in the Far East, and is there not there a foreign trade that we are very much in need of? How long can our isolation last when bombing planes can now fly at a speed of over 215 miles an hour, and when poison gas and germ warfare can reach and strike down civilians, even in our country? How far can our isolated shores escape the approach of the slinking submarine of modern time? Why not wake up, come out of these dreams of ours and face the realities of the situation? If isolation for us is past, as it is, and fear is the controlling factor among nations, does it not behoove us to take the lead in substituting confidence for fear?



We have the alternative of doing this or retreating within our own territory, building armament that will surpass any other nation, and waiting in dread until the next war is upon us.

There is but one way out, and that is for all of the nations of the world to give assurances of territorial integrity against external aggression to any nation that is attacked. Let us try out for once a joint agreement with all the nations of the world, at least to the extent of an economic boycott against any nation that over-runs the borders of another nation.

We have worked with other nations to stop the epidemics of disease throughout the world. We have cooperated to bring about a new language for world business. We have come to an agreement as to the methods of accounting to be used in gathering world's statistics on economic subjects. If we can do these things, why can we not have the courage to make at least one trial for peace together, by giving assurances, especially when the methods of armament have always failed?

To make a permanent state of mind for peace the nations must move toward a gradual economic disarmament. Already 54 nations have signed a covenant agreeing to give equitable treatment to the commerce of the signers. Today most of them have dug themselves in behind tariff walls, so high that they have stopped the business of the world. Until these walls are lowered to the level where nations can trade profitably with each other, we can have no hope of permanent peace. Starving nations, like hungry men, are never peaceful.

The signs in our own nation are ominous in this respect. Manufacturing plants have been closing here by the hundreds, while the same corporations are opening up similar ones in the territory of competing nations in order to avoid reprisal tariffs. With this loss of plants, the opportunity of reducing our unemployment is growing daily more difficult. Now there looms up before us an economic battle with the last great low tariff country, that may engender untold bitterness. No one can conjecture the far-reaching effect of the British Empire ranging itself and its colonies in behind one tariff law.

The world has been attempting to stop this drift of higher tariffs through economic conferences, but they, too, have been mere ges-



tures. It is time that the nations of the world, and ourselves in particular, should come together on this great subject of economic disarmament, determined to bring about a gradual scaling down of these destructive walls. We must do so if we are to keep faith with those who lie in Flanders Field.

Some of us here remember the days when those boys, drafted from their homes, came quietly without fanfare of trumpet into this city by the thousands and rode out into the night on their way to the battlefields of war, always singing "It's a long, long trail a winding into the land of my dreams." What were those dreams? Their commander-in-chief told them and us and all the world why they were being thrust upon the battlefield,—to make an end of wars—and when he spoke there was no opposing voice. Have we not, in the face of the record, the right to believe that this covenant, which our President made with them, was one of the things they were dreaming about?

Let us for the moment push aside the veil that stands between us and the Unknown Soldier and his fifty thousand brothers. Let us take our seats in the phantom stand before which that great gray army of ten million spirits who died in the past war has been swinging past. Day after day these soldiers of our Allies have been passing, twenty abreast, line after line, regiment following regiment, division after division, day and night, week after week, for six continuous weeks they have been marching down the avenue that leads to eternity. As they pass this phantom stand their faces have turned in unison toward it. Their lips have seemed to move.

We enter as our troops come down the avenue, we leap to our feet, here they come, twenty abreast, line upon line, regiment after regiment, division upon division. As they too pass the stand, their heads turn in unison toward us. Their lips move, but there is no sound. Their eyes are wide apart with inquiry. Now we spell it from their lips—the question—the question, "Have we too died in vain?" What shall our answer be as they pass out of our vision? Shall it be the vain age-old refuge of isolation, ever-increasing armament, an outburst of anger, another war and universal slaughter, or shall we now substitute cooperation for isolation,



and replace fear with faith through giving universal assurances, supported by physical and economic disarmament? If we make the effort that we are capable of, then future Armistice days will be one of great rejoicing because we will have kept the faith with him who lies in Arlington.



## ADDRESS BY MR. FREDERIC R. COUDERT

At the outbreak of the Great War in France, one everywhere heard the phrase; "*la guerre contre la guerre.*" People actually and naively believed that that war was to be the final struggle against the disruptive forces that brought about international conflict, and that a golden reign of peace was to be established. The belief was held not only by the masses, ignorant of history and more or less blind to the complexities of human nature with its animal inheritance, but also by many intellectuals and idealists.

In the intervening thirteen years since the close of the world conflict, the hope seems as far removed from realization as ever. National hatreds, bitterest controversies and actual hostilities seem to be found in almost every corner of the world. The mental state of mankind seems to be incompatible with any real intention to inaugurate a reign of peace. We appear to be living in a temporary truce dictated by fear and maintained by force.

Through the discoveries of modern science, man no longer lives in terror of nature, but has been largely able to emancipate himself from the dangers and the scourges from which earlier men prayed to be delivered. As a very recent French author has well said:

"Formerly the litanies repeated throughout Europe by the populace enumerated an interminable list of scourges which could be avoided only by the help of God. Here in America the prayer of modern man names but one scourge, war, because the others come only from a nature whose terrors have been dominated by science, while war comes from man."\*

In other words, the safety of our civilization is threatened by man alone and by irrational forces that so largely affect his conduct in defiance of his reason and better feelings. We live in a world that preaches peace while preparing for war. Armaments, at least as great, if not greater than those which afflicted the world in 1913, are in existence today and are crushing the taxpayer, the national Treasury and international commerce with ever-growing burdens.

\*Strowski—*l'Homme Moderne*.



Thirteen years after the world conflict, there is a growing pessimism, a fear that men cannot, through the exercise of mind, and free will, avert the recurrence of conflicts which must result in a carnage far greater even than the last.

It was no graceful idealist or dreamy intellectual but that great master of military science, Marshal Foch, who said:

"The next war will be a world war and will not be localized in any sense of the word for almost every country will take part in it and the conflict will include not only the manhood, but the women and the children of each nation." (*Weekly Dispatch*, July 10, 1927.)

The advocates of a self-contained nationalism, who believe that the world cannot be organized for the prevention of war, but that it must go on as in the past, overlook important fundamental facts. The first is, that with the French Revolution and the coming of democracy, has come universal military service, and today, every adult must take part in war and all property must and will be conscripted. It seems strange to hark back to the words of Gibbon, written only ten years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, that European wars had become "temperate and indecisive contests." At that time armies were so small and the damage done so inconsiderable that the difference from modern warfare is really one in kind. Today, with universal conscription coupled with modern methods of science, war both for the victor and for the vanquished can only bring ruin and bankruptcy. I do feel that there is a growing intellectual comprehension among the mass of our people that these are truisms not to be forgotten.

This, and this alone, gives one a measure of hope for the future. Yet, despite the rather discouraging outlook, much has been done since the Great War to inaugurate another method. Man is not much without institutions; hopes, aspirations and generous sentiments can effectuate little if they do not find at hand a machinery which may make them effective.

The outcome of the war has led to the creation of two great institutions for the settlement of international controversy through pacific method. In the League of Nations we have a cooperative organization composed of fifty-five nations, whose actual working has already brought about a new and a better method of diplo-



macy than any the world has yet seen. Opportunity is given for the venting of grievances and for their redress. Statesmen may meet face to face and discuss their countries' causes and appeal directly to world opinion for the doing of justice.

I realize that the completely successful working of the League must be a long, slow, process. Mankind cannot in one generation be educated away from ideas which have been held for many generations. Jingoism cannot in one generation be displaced by international-mindedness, and chauvinism cannot without long, educational travail be superseded by broader and higher patriotism.

There are two classes of controversy which must find some solution if the resort to force is to be avoided. They are, first, the justiciable and, second, the nonjusticiable. The first class is that which is amenable to treatment by the application of rules of law recognized by the nations and embodied in codes, in treaties or in general custom and which can be determined by the World Court. The second class is that kind of controversy which does not depend upon the rule of law for its solution, but which deals with differences of interests and of sentiments among the nations—rectification of boundaries, rights of minorities, continuance of obligations deemed unjust and treaties imposed by force. Out of these matters wars usually grow. For their solution we have the Council of the League of Nations, now endeavoring to settle the serious differences between China and Japan in the Far East as they have done with less serious differences in nearer lands.

In addition to these two methods, we have a general act of arbitration, already signed by many of the nations, for the submission of practically every dispute to arbitration, whether justiciable or nonjusticiable. How far this latter method may be applicable and what difficulties may arise in connection with it, experience has not yet shown.

I wish to emphasize, however, that the institutional machinery for the maintenance of peace is complete. There is no controversy which cannot either find its forum in the Council of the League of Nations, representing the leading nations of the world, or in the World Court, a great tribunal with fifteen judges chosen from the nations for the purpose of hearing international disputes, as well as in the Pact of Paris, renouncing war and pledging some fifty



nations, including our own, to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

So far, then, the war against war has had a result. Great organizations, heretofore existing only in the dreams of idealists, have for a decade been functioning for the settlement of international controversy through the methods of justice, diplomacy and law.

I believe there is nothing essential to be done as regards the creation of further machinery, and yet, we are perhaps as far from disarmament as we were in 1914, moral or physical. The machinery has been created, but faith in it is lacking. The old methods of force, preponderant power and armament are, at least in the subconsciousness of nations, preferred as guaranteeing security to the new mechanism.

There can be no real disarmament until there is a moral disarmament, and there can be no moral disarmament until the nations feel that they can trust their security to these new institutions.

And yet, throughout the world there is a very real desire for peace. Man now understands that war is not a luxury to be indulged in by the few, but that it means the application of modern science with its untold possibilities for destruction, and that a general war means ruin and bankruptcy to all engaged in it. All this, however, will not prove a deterrent if the mob spirit is once aroused.

The hope for the future lies along educational lines, in insisting that this mechanism for peace be understood, be worked, be perfected and ultimately be trusted. Unless controversies in their inception be subjected to pacific treatment they will grow uncontrollable. Our youth of today must understand that war is no solution, that it is the greatest of all injustices, and that, as did the World War, it can only sow the seeds of future wars.

It has been the habit to assail the Versailles Treaty. It is true that it was effected under the influence of war-psychology and that it dealt with age-long problems of utmost difficulty which Europe had never been able to solve. Yet, it is neither as good nor as bad as painted. It created some situations of extreme difficulty, but it also relieved other situations fraught with dynamic power of destruction. It created the Polish Corridor, but it released the Polish nation from a hideous, unjust, servitude which could not



have been perpetually borne. The problems of reparations and rectifications of frontiers are not insoluble. There is sufficient mechanism in the League and in the Court to deal with them if ordinary diplomacy fails. I do not believe that any of them will necessarily lead to war, but the nations must be assured that by a gradual process of pacific measures that treaty may be modified so that millions of men may not live in bitterness and constant fear of war.

As no nation can live safe and prosperous where a great minority cherish an unredressable grievance, so the nations of the world cannot subsist peacefully together unless they can have faith and assurance that there are institutions which may be invoked to work out just results through peaceful methods.

These institutions now exist. It is the duty, in my opinion, of every patriotic American who desires that war against war shall triumph to understand sympathetically these institutions and to strive that America may lend her great influence to their success.

The coming Disarmament Conference will mark a very real epoch in history. We must go backward or we must go forward. We shall either be committed to the old hopeless theory that man has ever been a man-hunter and will so continue; or we must act in the belief that man will ultimately command his own destiny and freely renounce self-destruction.

Men now preach peace, but they arm to the teeth. The contradiction in the situation is appalling. They speak of security, but they believe that force alone can guarantee security; and yet when did force alone ever guarantee security? Did armaments guarantee security in 1914? Was the world safe because it was armed in 1914? What did ultimately bring about even the security gained by patient and devoted and valorous France in the struggle? The fact that the sympathies of the world were with France and Belgium. In ultimate analysis, it was the sense of justice and right that brought America into the struggle, and finally threw the weight of battalions against the best organized of military despotisms.

Will any nation ever be satisfied with its security because it may be better armed than a powerful neighbor? Can there ever be any security through physical armament without moral disar-



mament? And is moral disarmament possible while physical armament continues?

I realize the inherent difficulties of the situation—the impossibility of rapidly emancipating ourselves from the ideas of an older and different age, the difficulty of bringing the popular point of view into conformity with modern conditions. The process will be slow; the millennium is not at hand. Those who believe like the gentle cynic who was the author of Ecclesiastes that “that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun,” will necessarily command wide credence and exert powerful influence against all attempts to reduce armaments.

Nevertheless, the more discouraging the outlook, the more powerful the inertia and ignorance to be overcome, the more must men of good will strive to work the modern mechanisms of peace and use them for the rectification of injustice. There can be no security where nations feel that an unjust situation is perpetuated by force and can only be obviated by counter-force.

Security that comes through armament is a false security; it is liable to be shattered at any moment when the imprisoned forces of hatred and passion can find means to arm. Admiral Mahan, eminent as an historian and as an advocate of the use of military force, says:

“We bring a world peace nearer when we so educate the individual man as to bring about a common understanding between men and between nations. The first step to individual agreement is individual confidence; the first step to international peace is international confidence and respect for the common motives of nations. And the first step in common confidence and respect is common knowledge and acquaintance. Ignorance of the motives, of the ideals, of the purposes of those with whom we have to do is the author, not only of armies and navies, but of wars and battles.” (*Some Neglected Aspects of War.*)

The advocate of force must yield to the advocate of law and to the advocate of solution through diplomacy and law-like methods. The soldier has had a great place in history; he still holds an honored and a useful role, but that role must be subordinated to that of the lawyer and the statesman. The great controversies, whether justiciable or not, have become amenable to settlement



through the impartial ascertainment of the facts, the appeal to reason and the ultimate settlement through pacific means.

The situation is aptly and tersely summarized by Professor Brierly of Oxford, who says:

"The lawyers have done their part; the mere juridical framework of peace is already constructed and it is good. It may need occasional amendment; it does not need a fundamental reconstruction such as we are asked with wearisome iteration to undertake. The key of the trouble to the problem of security lies elsewhere in policies and not in law—and it would not be difficult to find it. But the lock is not an easy one to turn."

The law has its limitations, but it at least seeks, even though slowly and gropingly, to do justice. Justice can no longer be done by war itself because in itself war is the most flagrant of all injustices. I believe that if we seek peace primarily, justice must necessarily follow. A nation powerful enough to carry on a great war, is powerful enough to influence public opinion to the recognition of a right and the redress of a wrong. President Jackson is believed to have once challenged Chief Justice Marshall to execute a judgment of the Supreme Court, and not many years ago a successor of Marshall told me that he felt great anxiety regarding the possibility of executing a judgment of the court in a controversy then recently decided between sister States of our Union.

Through the mechanisms now operating, public opinion can and will be informed, and justice can be done because the facts can be impartially elicited, the arguments and views of each nation fully set forth and time given for passions to cool and for reason to prevail.

A great blow will be struck for disarmament, security and peace when America realizes that its fortunes for weal or for woe are indissolubly associated with those of the civilized world. We can see this with startling vividness in the Manchurian situation, where we are forced to implement the Pact of Paris by the machinery that exists at Geneva. The logic of necessity is more powerful than that of Aristotle, and, when confronted with a flaunting of the Pact of Paris and the Nine Power Treaty, America could not but use the already existing machinery. By giving its



moral adherence to the Court, and by cooperating with the League to maintain its own Pacts and solemn Treaty professions, America will throw in its irresistible moral influence with the nations of the world to strengthen the existing mechanisms for peace. Then can we hope for justice without war; then automatically must disarmament come and mere truce develop into peace.

This is no time for loss of heart. A courage as high and far more sustained is required to "work" the institutions of Peace as is needed for those of war. The League, the World Court, the Paris Pact are younger even than the machine gun, lethal gas, the bombing plane and national conscription of men and material, but they can, if honestly, patiently and intelligently "worked," supersede these older methods.



## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

International Conciliation appeared under the imprint of the American Association for International Conciliation, No. 1, April, 1907 to No. 199, June 1924. These documents present the views of distinguished leaders of opinion of many countries on vital international problems and reproduce the texts of official treaties, diplomatic correspondence and draft plans for international projects such as the Permanent Court of International Justice. The most recent publications are listed below. A complete list will be sent upon application to International Conciliation, 405 West 117th Street, New York City.

266. Minerals and International Relations: The International Relationship of Minerals and International Movement of Mineral Products in Peace and War, by Sir Thomas H. Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Vice-Chancellor and Principal of Edinburgh University.  
January, 1931.
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