

ARBITRATION-PEACE CONGRESS

President Hopes it Will Result in Adoption of International Arbitration Treaty.

CARNEGIE PRAISES KAISER.

Editor Stood Scarcely Idea of Disarmament—Prof. Munsterberg Says Description is No Burden.

New York, April 15.—The national arbitration and peace conference today began its real activities.

Secy. Root in a speech pointed out the propositions which the United States government will have to make at the coming conference at The Hague. He wanted his hearers not to expect too much at this second conference.

GOV. HUGHES ON WAR.

Gov. Hughes declared that war is barbarous and had been robbed of its individual heroism and much of its valor.

The speaker tonight included Baron D'Estournelles de Constant, member of the French senate and head of the international conciliatory committee and Secy. Oscar S. Straus of the department of commerce and labor, who spoke on "The Peace of Nations and Justice Within Nations."

Prof. Munsterberg declared that war is not a burden in Germany, and thereby called down upon himself the emphatic criticism of Mr. Carnegie, who said:

"That statement is one of the greatest surprises I ever have heard of, and which would go to our mills at Pittsburgh and ask the thousands of men why they came here."

Dr. Ernest Richard, president of the German American Peace society of New York, also spoke for Germany.

STAND ON DISARMAMENT.

"There has been all sorts of talk about disarmament. I have heard it in every country in Europe and I have come to hate it as the devil hates holy water. No government in the world is going to propose any such thing at The

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Hague conference or anywhere else. What probably will be broached is a bill in this regard to increase armaments and still agree to increase them in a non-military degree.

Mr. Stead declared the spirit of arbitration prevented a war between Germany and France at the time of the Moroccan difficulty.

William J. Bryan, who was on the platform, was called for by the audience. I am on the program for Wednesday afternoon," he said, "and then I will be able to say to you what I desire to say. Tonight I wish to have the pleasure of hearing those who have come from foreign lands to talk to us. All I wish to say is that we are drawing arguments from unexpected quarters. I have often heard that there should be universal peace because man was made in the image of God, but this is the first time I have heard it argued that peace should result from his being made in the image of an ape."

Mayor McClellan delivered the address of welcome. His subject was "The Spirit of Nationality."

MAYOR McCLELLAN.

"I am one of those who believe that the day before yesterday that the discussion of the subject of the limitation of the armaments of the nations on land and sea and the abolition of the practice of using force in the collection of debts owed by one nation to the citizens of another. Mr. Carnegie in an address paid a tribute to President Roosevelt and expressed the wish that Mr. Roosevelt might be the peacemaker of the future. He declared, however, that Emile Zola was the man among all men who holds the peace of the nations in his power. Mr. Carnegie said it was unjust to speak of the emperor as a traitor to the peace of Europe, adding that in 20 years on the throne the German ruler had spilled no blood nor called an international war.

Other speakers today were Gov. Charles E. Hughes of New York, and Mayor George B. McClellan of New York City.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

President Roosevelt's letter read before the congress was as follows: "My Dear Mr. Carnegie, I much regret my inability to be present with you. Mr. Root will speak to you at length, and no man in the country is better qualified to take advice of you on the subject you have so much at heart. In this letter I can do little more than wish you and your association God-speed in your efforts. My sympathy with the purpose you have at heart is both strong and real, and by right of it I shall make to you some suggestions as to the means and methods of accomplishing the ends we all of us have in view. First and foremost, I beseech you to remember that it is our bounden duty to work for peace. It is even more our duty to work for

righteousness and justice. It is righteousness that exalted a nation, and though it may be the handmaid of righteousness, yet if they are ever at odds, it is righteousness whose cause we must espouse. In the second place, I again earnestly ask that all good and earnest men believe strongly in the cause, but who have not the resolves to bear the responsibility of upholding the nation's honor, shall not, by their inaction, make it impossible, put off the day when the possible can be accomplished. The peoples of the world have advanced unceasingly along the road that leads to justice and fair dealing, but the road stretches far ahead even of the most advanced. Harm and not good would result if such a course were followed, but by agreement disarm and place themselves at the mercy of other peoples less advanced.

Finally, it behooves all of us to remember, and especially those of us who either make or listen to speeches, that there are few more mischievous things than the making of a list of or applauding sentiments which represent mere oratory, and which are not, and cannot be, and have not been translated from the realm of the ideal to the realm of the actual. An impassioned oration about peace, which includes an impassioned demand for something which the man who makes the demand either is not or ought to be done, cannot as a matter of fact, be done, represents not gain, but loss, for the cause of peace, for so long as the noblest of us are not advocates which is either insincere or foolish.

"These warnings that I have uttered do not mean that I believe we can do nothing to advance the cause of international peace. On the other hand, I believe we can do much to advance it, provided only we act with sincerity, with self-restraint, and with wisdom. It must be the prime qualities in the achievement of any reform. The nineteenth century saw, on the whole, a real and great advance in the cause of international conduct, both among civilized nations and by strong nations toward weaker and more backward peoples. The twentieth century, I believe, witness a much greater advance in the same direction. The United States has a right to speak on behalf of such a cause, and its duty is to do so during the half-dozen opening years of the century be accepted as a guaranty of the truth of its professions.

"During the six years we can conscientiously say that, without sacrificing our own rights, we have yet scrupulously respected the rights of all other peoples. We have not sought to impose our will upon any other nation of the world, alike in Europe and in that newest Asia which is also the oldest, we have preserved a mutually self-respecting and friendly relationship. In the Philippine Islands we are training a people in the difficult art of self-government with more interest and sincerity than any other nation has shown in the world. We are doing this because we have acted in a spirit of genuine disinterestedness, genuine and single-minded purpose to benefit the islands. In Panama we are successfully performing what is to the greatest engineering feat of the age, and which we are assuming the whole burden of the work, we have explicitly pledged ourselves that the use is to be free for all mankind. In the islands of the Caribbean we have intervened not as conquerors, but solely to avoid the need of conquest. The United States army is at this moment in Cuba not as an act of war, but to restore Cuba to the position of a self-governing republic. With Santo Domingo we have just negotiated a treaty especially designed to prevent the possibility of interference either by us or by any foreign nation with the internal affairs of the island, while at the same time assuring to honest, patriotic, and law-abiding citizens of that island the right to govern themselves and to give the islands a secured income and giving the islands themselves the chance, if only they will take advantage of it, to achieve the international peace they so sorely need.

"Mr. Root's trip through South America marked the knitting together in the bonds of self-respect and friendship of all republics of this continent. A marked step toward the creation among them of a community of feeling which will tell for justice and peace throughout the western hemisphere. By the joint good offices of Mexico and ourselves we averted one war in Central America, and did what we could to avert another, although

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Gov. Hughes' ADDRESS. Speaking of the expected era of peace, the government said: "The necessity of war as a last defense of liberty and honor is admitted only to be deprecated, and the desire for peace is almost universal. We rejoice that the time is sure to come when war will be unthinkable. We can no longer look for the devastation of either national or individual character. If war was ever anything else, it is now unmitigated horror, exhibiting chiefly fiendish aspects of cruelty and savagery. Under our modern conditions of civilization the supposed beneficial results of war in the development of courage and stamina in any event be shared by so few of our teeming populations that even the most sanguinary must realize that the time has gone by when by any means it can be prepared as a general disciplinary agent.

"We note with satisfaction the fact that war can now be waged only under conditions of increasing and increasing pressure of economic considerations for the recognition of the fundamental directness of the Christian faith."

MR. CARNEGIE'S ADDRESS. Andrew Carnegie said in his opening address: "We are met to urge the speedy removal of the foulest stain that remains to disgrace humanity, since slavery was abolished—the killing of man by man in battle as a mode of settling international disputes.

"This society welcomes to membership advocates of all forms of opposition to war. Through the instrumentality of him who believes, as many of us do, that it would be our duty to fight when necessary for the enforcement of arbitration. We favor the program of the interparliamentary union and wish that the organization be independent of every proposal that makes for peace. "We believe the psychological moment approaches when a decided step forward can be made. I am a convert to the league of peace idea—the formation of an international peace, never for aggression, always for protection. It is the only way to go. "Before resorting to force it would be well to begin by proclaiming non-intercourse with the offending nation. No exchange of profits, no military or naval supplies, no mails—these restrictions would serve as a solemn warning and probably prove effective. Force should always be the last resort, but it should be the last. "Such nations as supply funds and materials of war to others might complain that their interests were unduly favored. The matter is not so. It is, however, always the greatest interest of nations, because for the thousands gained from foreign wars, millions are lost. Peace is the handmaid of progress. "Let us hope this plan will be submitted to the Hague conference by the delegates of our republic. Then we will know that America stands for peace through a league of powers pledged to maintain it. "Let us determine how the nations

HUSLER'S FLOUR! Sure, you can do without. But you can't do so well.

"We have more than once, while avoiding officious international meddling, shown our readiness to help other nations secure peace among themselves. A difficulty which we had with our friendly neighbor to the east of us was solved by referring it to arbitration at The Hague. A difficulty which we had with our friendly neighbor to the north was solved by a joint commission composed of representatives of the two peoples interested. We try to avoid meddling in affairs that are not our concern, and yet to our own credit where they will avail on behalf of fair dealing and against cruelty and oppression.

"We have concluded certain arbitration treaties. I only regret that we have not concluded a larger number. "Our representatives will go to the second peace conference at The Hague in August. In every particular way to bring some steps nearer completion the great work which the first conference began. It is idle to expect that a task so tremendous can be solved by one or two conferences. It is not possible that the conference should go more than a certain distance further in the right direction. Yet I believe that the Hague program will lead toward international justice, peace and fair dealing. One of the questions, although not to my mind one of the most important, which will be brought before the congress, will be that of the limitation of armaments. The United States, owing to its peculiar position, has a regular army so small as to be insignificant when compared to that of any other first-class power. We are no longer enlarging our navy; we are simply keeping up its strength, very moderate indeed when compared with that of the other nations. The addition of one battleship a year barely enables us to make good the units which become obsolete. The most practical way of reducing the burden of expense caused by the increasing size of naval armaments would, I believe, be an agreement limiting the size of all ships hereafter to be built, but there it has not proved possible to get other nations to agree with us on this point.

"More important than reducing the expense of the implements of war is the question of reducing the possible cause of war, which can more effectively be done by substituting other methods than war for the settling of disputes. Of these methods, the most important which is now attainable is arbitration. I do not believe that in the world as it actually is, it is possible for any nation to stand away from itself and other nations, but I do believe there can be at this time a very large increase in the chances of cases which it is necessary to arbitrate, and that provision can be made for greater facility and certainty of arbitration. I hope to see adopted a general arbitration treaty among the nations, and I trust to see The Hague court greatly increased in power and permanency, and the judges in particular made permanent and given adequate salaries so as to make it certain that in each case that may come before them they will decide between the nations, great or small, exactly as a judge within our own country decides between the individuals. Doubtless many other matters will be taken up at The Hague; but it seems to me that this matter of a general arbitration treaty needs the most important. Sincerely yours, "THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

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stand in regard to this; who are for effective peace measures, who are opposed to them, and who are indifferent. "So holy is our cause that no avowed opponent of peace can be found, but who will fight for it if it be broken. "A dream, a fond dream, exclaims the pessimist. Not so fast. Not so fast. Consider for a moment the first Hague conference. This proved to be a dream, but what was it that came as a reality? The appointment of a permanent international tribunal, a high court of humanity, to judge between nations and to settle their disputes peacefully—the most unexpected and the most notable of all unlooked-for advances in the history of man, a creation typified by Minerva when she sprang full armed from the brow of Jupiter. 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