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[Peace Talk]

① I have been wondering why I was
so careless of my reputation as to
promise to speak to you on so
enormous a subject as Peace. Once
it might have been possible to nibble
around the subject and do something
with it. But today when every magazine
has some important article relating
to the subject, when every daily paper
chronicles some new and important
development, when one important book
follows another on the same topic, when
peaceful moves, when peace organizations
are pointing tons of important information,
one feels swamped in the effort to present
any kind of an outlook over so vast
a field and so deeply important a subject.
For I am convinced that there is
no subject in the world more
important to nations and for that
matter to civilization, than the conclusion
of peace, permanent peace between nations,
built on a foundation of justice and goodwill.

So whether ^{or not} I can give you any adequate survey of conditions as they are today, or the peace machinery that has been set up to bring peace it is valuable for us to think about peace; to talk peace everywhere, to make people peace-minded.

Talking recently to some one about the peace movement now going on, he said but hasn't there always been a lot of stir for peace after every war. Yes there has been; after the terrible Napoleonic wars, the world's first peace societies were formed, all with a deep passion for the abolition of war. This was early in the 19th century and in 1828, these various societies amalgamated to make the American Peace Society, our first National Peace Society. There has been a constantly growing sentiment and an increasing number of organizations with such institutions as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

③ But what happened when the Great War came. Men and Women who firmly believe that war was futile and never settled any dispute, were ashamed to be called pacifists, and were gradually swept into the excitement of war under the accusation that it was unpatriotic not to do otherwise.

But since the war, the movement for peace has flamed up ~~now~~ everywhere. It was reported recently that there are over 400 peace organizations in the world, 200 of which are in the U.S. Both the Methodist and Baptist Churches in their National Assemblies have declared ~~for~~ for pacifism, the refusal to fight no matter what the cause. They have taken a complete anti-war position. Prof Einstein with his trained scientific mind when asked what he would do in case of an outbreak of war replied "I should unconditionally

(4)

~~Swiss among the masses.~~

refuse every direct or indirect war service and try to introduce my friends to take the same attitude, and that regardless of the general opinion of the causes of the war. And Mrs Einstein has said that if 2% of the people could be enlisted who would stand firm in such refusal there would never be another war. Mr Toddick in a recent radio address took the same stand. Mr H. G. Wells has gone so far as to say that "There is a plain present need for the organization now, before war comes again of an open and explicit refusal to perish in any war".

In 1927 Lord Ponsonby, a member of the English Labor Cabinet offered the following document to the Prime Minister:—

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"We the undersigned convinced
that all disputes between nations
are capable of settlement either
by diplomatic negotiation or by
some form of International Arbitration
hereby solemnly declare that we
shall refuse to support or
render war service to any
government which resorts to arms."

This document was signed by
128,770 persons, with the explanation
that they were these signatures
representing those whom a single
individual has been ^{able} to approach.
This Peace Letter has resulted in
similar declarations in other
countries. In Germany upwards
of 250,000 signed after a brief
campaign.

So it is apparent that

⑥ outside the Peace movement
the idea of war resistance is
gaining ground. It is a
vigorous, ~~positive~~ alert movement
which is taking root everywhere.
It has already grown into an
Internationale Association of affiliated
societies in twenty one countries
called the War Resisters
Internationale. It is gaining adherents
among the labor leaders & workmen
but also among ~~such~~ distinguished
authorities on international law. From
one of them I quote. "The conviction
that in a war which is illegal
according to international law,
individuals have the right and duty
to refuse war service is growing
everywhere". Another eminent professor
from Hamburg has also said "after
the ratification of the Paris Pact, governments

⑦ will no longer be able to impose
war service on their citizens.
On still other groups apart from
Labor groups. In 1926 the ^{International} Peace
Congress at Berlin voted in favor
of protection for war resisters
(Pacifists, as we previously called them).
In 1926 also the French National
Peace Congress endorsed war
resistance as did the German
National Peace Kartell of Berlin.

So it can be seen that the
world is ringed by this new
phase of peace. We now know
successfully Gandhi has used
the non-resistance method, as he
is now the sole figure who
has done this with marked success.
The idea is spreading throughout

⑧

the word, except in the U. S.
which is almost alone in its
impeccability to the idea.

But in many countries, the
movement is a youth movement
In India Gandhi is Young India
In Lord Ponsonby's group was the
youth British workman or sixteen.
In Germany it is essentially a
youth movement and there is
evidence that the movement will
grow here in the U. S. through the
young people. (Last week in
the War, strong movement of students
against compulsory drill, Editorial in
the Minnesota Daily) But if we are ^{backward}
in the Pacific movement we can claim ~~that~~
~~But~~ the movement for the outlawry
of war began here. Mr Levinson
of Chicago states the movement which

9
looked food of our imagination like
methane, and culminated with
unusual rapidity in Mr Kellogg's
proposition for a multilateral treaty
and fulfilled itself in the Pact of Paris.
to outlaw war.

Now I have gone with some detail
into the importance and rapid
spread of the Peace Movement with
its more radical side of war resistance
because it gives us courage to
feel that we are traveling along a
highway with many fellow travelers
who do not intend to turn back.

I have been indebted for much
of the information to a very fine book
by De Vere Allen, The Fight for Peace
which by its very title. The Fight for
Peace makes us pause to realize
that the way to peace is a way of
resolute courage and undaunted determination
against militarism in all its forms.

(10)

But while we survey this great
Sweeping movement for peace, we
must realize that the militaristic
spirit is very much alive. Keen
observers have told us that during
this past month we have been nearer
to war than at any time since the
great war to end war. How can
it be when most of the nations have
peace, when for the first time in
history the nations met this year to
consider disarmament and will convene
again in January.

How can it be, that we are so near
war, when every nation knows ~~what~~
~~another~~ it would face possible
annihilation in another way, when
every nation knows, its statesmen know
that another great war would practically
destroy civilization. When every nation
knows the inventions and chemical
poisons that have developed since the

(11)

war. It makes us shudder to think of the poisonous gas developed in our nation, so fatal that it seeps down into every crevice, reaches our benches, so fatal to cell life that if it even touches the skin it is permanent & destroys.

It seems absolutely unthinkable that statesmen would dare to allow political or economic differences to grow to such a point that war must rush in to settle the matter.

But what is the situation today. First we have all the machinery for peace. When this last war to end war was finished it brought into existence through the dream of our own idealist President the greatest institution for Peace that the world has ever known The League of Nations. An agency

(12)

through which all the Nations
may Co-operate to work out their
Common or conflicting problems.
An agency to which nearly every
Nation belongs, and pray the Lord,
to which America may soon belong.
The League through fourteen hard
years has bound the Nations together
during these trying days of
rehabilitation. It has before it
the hardest task in its history
~~in the~~ which if it solves will place
it in an invincible position.

Then it has established the
World Court. We had had the
Hague Tribunal for some years
in which the U. S. took an active part
An American was the presiding
Judge for many years. But to the
World Court America will not
subscribe. Yet this Court to which
all disputes between members

(13)

of the League must be referred
for settlement, has had before it
many delicate cases, all of which
have been settled legally instead of
by war (German-Austrian Customs Union)

(Norman Angell's illustration of
3rd party decision instead of litigants.)

Then we have the Kellogg Pact, the
Contribution of America, which outlaws
war and which practically every nation
has signed as a solemn pledge
not to resort to war for the settlement
of disputes. Regarded as a
magnificent first step toward real
outlawry if lived up to sincerely, it
opens the way for a peace program
impossible before. No document
of such a character has ever before
been agreed to in all history.
But to offer this pledge to settle
all disputes of whatever origin or nature

By Pacific means, some Nations
 made reservations for defensive wars.
 Whatever nation ever allowed that
 its wars were not for defense only.
 Have not all nations gone to war
 in defense of what it called its rights.
 (Norman Angell. Britain gone to
 war in every century but one - Greenland)

But we must agree that we have
 all the machinery for peace.
 Why then must we talk and talk
 and keep on talking and organizing
 for peace. Why must we still
fear war, ~~when the greatest part~~
~~of every nation wants peace.~~

There are still grave menaces
The greatest one is in the minds of people
 Because a great terror like the
 last war which is not yet over and
settled breeds fear and distrust

and a feeling of insecurity which
 keeps the nations still in arms,
 ready to take alarm. The frightful
 propaganda much of it untrue,
 still remains in the mind of people.
 Probably the Treaty which was signed
 at the close of the war was
 written too soon after the close
 to see the outcome. A temporary
 agreement would have been better.
 The victorious nations still feel too
 revengeful and too bitter to write
 a just settlement. Into the Treaty
 of Versailles were written ~~permanent~~
~~condition~~ clauses which were meant to
 permanently humiliate and to permanently
 keep in subjection the enemy nations.
 Especially Germany - one of the great
 and proud nations of the world.
 The Treaty put terrible burdens
 of reparation upon Germany which would
 keep her from recovery for generations.
 The League of Nations was established

And carried on without her.

It all seemed a just retribution at the time, so deep was the injury which the German armies had inflicted, and so great was the feeling of insecurity which Germany could be seen to have lost. But now

we know that peace does not grow out of revenge and injustice. And retaliation. Peace and the

promise of permanent peace has not come to Europe because the machinery of peace was set up.

Peace cannot come to two individuals who have quarrelled unless they mutually make concessions and resolve to do justly each to the other.

No more can nations. Nor the League of Nations, nor the World Court, nor the Kellogg Pact nor any other peace machinery can bring

(17)

Peace or take the place of Confidence
in each other and a will to be just
toward each other. That is the greatest
murder - we have not yet disarmed
the mind of the masses.

Against this murder, why haven't
we had a huge propaganda for
peace as we had for war.
A splendid article appeared in
the May American by Bruce Barton.
On the outside of the Magazine it was
called "Let us know about war",
but Mr Barton calls it on the inside
"Let's advertise this hell". Mr Barton
is an advertising man, so he
recommends a huge advertising
campaign to awaken people to the
nature of war as the absolute
necessity for peace. He would have
posters and everywhere and articles
in Daily Papers. The output of time

Material which is issued by peace
 Organization does not reach the
 great masses of people. He
 suggests that if Congress would
 appropriate ~~the~~ 5% of the cost
 of our Army & Navy departments
 to reach people the nature & cause
 of war and the way to peace, that
 there could be columns every month
 in all the magazines and pages
 in every issue of the daily 1800
 daily papers and 12000 country
 papers. He believes that advertising
 is our American way of doing things
 and that the subject is more vital
 than anything that could be placed
 before us. — His object would be
 to make pacifists — war resisters,
 to disarm our minds.

Then there is a proposition by
 Kirby Page to make a

Peace Department in the Cabinet
 of the U.S. with \$100,000,000 per
 year to carry on branches in
 every state and stations in every city
 to broadcast and to distribute
 material, all with the same idea
 of disarming our minds. Which
 would be our greatest hindrance until
 they are disarmed.

Another menace Debts + Reparations

This menace was created by the
 Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty provisions
 have had to be modified, and
reparation from Germany has had
 to be greatly reduced. Here is where
 the U.S. has chiefly figured, sending
 Mr. Mr. Dawes and later Mr. Young
 to make a workable plan of
 German reparations. This is too

big a subject to discuss here,
 but perhaps you have noticed
 a growing realization among
 thinking people that this debt
 and reparation business is the major
 factor in the continuing demoralization
 of the world's finances. And that it is
 strictly up to the United States as the
 creditor nation to make a
 satisfactory solution. There is
 a growing suspicion that our
 possession of the creditor end
 of this stupendous obligation has
 cost us much more in the loss
 of trade and outlets for raw material
 and the cramping of the purchasing
 power of the debtor nation, than
 the whole amount of the debt.

The U.S. has been receiving
 notes from many of its debtors
 especially England and France,

stating that it cannot ~~pay~~ make these payments this fall. So important is it to make a settlement on some practicable basis, that Mr Hoover is calling Mr Roosevelt into Conference, presumably to form some continuing policy.

Mr Borah came out immediately after the election with his opinion that the only way to settle the debts is to forgive them on the condition that nations disarm.

Mr Borah said in this article, "I do not question Britain's inability to pay the \$950,000,000, due on Dec 15, ~~1919~~ as she says, but the fact that Great Britain feels unable to pay is of little moment compared with the question of why she and the other nations feel unable to pay. What is it, he asks, that has brought about this situation. Fourteen years have passed since the war and such has been the effect

of the policies pursued that proud
 Britain feels she cannot pay
 this ~~small~~ obligation without
 imperiling the wool's economic
 structure". He goes on "If the
 policies which have been pursued
 are to continue then postponement
 of payments is another name for
 cancellation. If Great Britain
 cannot as she says, pay at this
 time without imperiling the economic
 fabric of the wool, she will be
 less able in the future, unless
 the whole international fabric is
 changed". Mr Borah has said
 last summer that cancellation of
 the debts as a part of a general
 program of reconciliation + economic
 recovery would be to the advantage
 of the American people.
 It is a problem most complex.

Mr Borah's proposition of
 cancelling debts on condition
 of disarmament brings us to
 the next measure

The increasing burden of war preparation

of what are arms with
 the World Court and the Kellogg
 Pact. In spite of horror of
 the uselessness of armaments
 the world spent more than
 5 billion in 1931 for armaments.
 In that very year governments
 were bankrupt, millions of men
 and women unemployed and
 children starving. The amount
 was sheer waste and worse
 it was a distinct barrier to the
 success of peaceful settlements
 causing fear & insecurity.

We have had one session of
 a great disarmament conference
 (the first attempt in all history to
 come together to plan disarmament)
 Propositions of various sorts are
 still before it, but all attempts
 to decide upon anything was
 interrupted by the disastrous
 move of Japan against China.
 Another session of the Disarmament
 Conference is now convening which
 faces most vital issues.
~~Germany has withdrawn from the~~
~~Conference.~~ Germany has withdrawn
 from the Conference. France still
 stands on her contention that
 security must come before disarmament,
 while other nations believe that
 disarmament is the only way to
 provide security. The French
 plan changes almost every day.

25
but seems to be coming nearer
to the idea which Germany insists
upon - that of equality.

Today the General Commission
of the Conference is expected
to consider the Hoover plan
of $\frac{1}{3}$ reduction, the French plan
and the German demand for Equality.
An excellent article in the

New York Times of Nov. 5, brings
out all conflicting points. He
says that in the opinion of people
generally that the League of
Nations is at the crossroads
The writer himself thinks that
the Nations are facing a choice
between a return to force
and the pursuit of the ideals
of the League of Nations.

26
Here is another menace in
this connection.

The power of Munition
Manufacturers. In Littell's
Living Age for October there
is an article called "A British
Expose". Another article appeared
in November. The author claims
that Munition manufacturers have
a strong trust, that they form
a trust, and each one benefits by a
war anywhere. He says that
the British factories furnished the
Boers in the Boer war with
arms to use against the British
soldiers, that Chinese factories
in this last war furnished Japan,
that both the U.S. and Great Britain
American & English factories
furnished Japan. There is

21
Evidently no patriotism among
them.

The cure for this menace is
recommended by nationalizing
war munitions.

When Jane Addams met before the
Resolutions Committee of coal
Party this summer, she recommended
~~several~~ ① that we increase our
participation in the League, ② that
we urge disarmament through inter-
national agreements ③ the lowering
of the tariff walls ④ the cancellation
of the war debts, ⑤ the participation
in international conferences ⑥ and
the nationalization of munitions.

What a splendid program, if
either party had accepted it.

And now we have before us this winter three most important events. The failure of any one of them in Mr Kirby Page's opinion, would be disastrous to peace.

1- The extraordinary session of the League to consider the Lytton report regarding the Manchurian matter. The Lytton Commission was appointed by the League and it seems likely that the League will accept the report in which case Japan may withdraw. If the League allows Japan to succeed then Germany would surely be encouraged to seek equality by tearing up the

29
Versailles Treaty and Peace.

A swifter way back to the old
order could hardly be devised.

The Second Great Conference
is the Disarmament Conference.

The desperate thing is that
the very gravity of the situation
will cause more sober thought.

The very gravity has brought
immense pressure on France
to accept disarmament terms
thanks to Germany, and pressure
on the U. S. thanks to the Japanese.

The old issues of security first
or disarmament first, have
come together simultaneously.
The Third Great Conference
The Economic Monetary

And here we run upon the
 same hindrances, Nationalism
 Imperialism, Rivalry in Commerce
 And personal greed. But
 Commerce & Trade seem to be
 at a standstill until self-
 interest itself compels a readjust-
 ment based on justice.

Yes that is the word. Peace
 with justice for justice is
 essential to the settlement
 of all disputes. And peace
 when it comes will be based
 on justice.

And so may I close with
 something which Teddy Roosevelt
 wrote! "First and foremost
 I beseech you to remember
 that although it is our

bounden duty to work for peace,
 yet it is even more our duty
 to work for righteousness and
justice.

And finally the prophet Micah
 sums it up - "What does the
 Lord require of thee, but to do
 justly, and to love mercy and
 to walk humbly with thy God."