

NOVEMBER 11, 1918

Look!
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Because you would not think, we had to die!...
 We died. And there you stand no step advanced!...
 O world, there is another way to serve
 Justice and liberty, than thus to fling
 The glory and the wonder of young lives
 Beneath the hoofs of horses! Send your soul
 Into the earth and through the clouds to find it!
 The way to life

Is not through death, nor the way to law through blood;
Not through the gates of hell is heaven reached!
 There is another way and you shall find it!

Dead eyes keep watch! You shall not sleep nor rest.
 We died. And now you others who must live
 Shall do a harder thing than dying is--
 For you shall think! And ghosts will drive you on!
 -- By Hermann Hagedorn.

Two topics above all others require thinking this month:

DUMBARTON HOAX

"One of the most conspicuous weaknesses of the American people in discussing international affairs," says William Henry Chamberlain, "is the tendency to confuse pleasant words and phrases with hard facts. Any scheme that supposedly advances the cause of peace and international security is eagerly and uncritically accepted . . . without serious investigation. . . .

"What is emerging is not any plan that will promote either the security of the world or the security of the United States. It is a design by three major powers . . . for domination of the world. . . . this unanimity rule is a license to unlimited aggression on the part of three powers. . . . A power politics coalition of the crudest kind. . . .

"It ought to be debated on its merits, or demerits, on this basis without befuddling and misleading phrases. . . ."

As a contribution to that debate we quote from the excellent analysis made by the National Board (W.I.L.) in Chicago, last month.

"The League is gratified that the United States Government has emphasized that the proposals are only tentative and that public discussion and criticism are sought and desired.

"The League recognizes that this wise democratic procedure lays a grave responsibility on the American people and that they are under obligation to respond. We would therefore respectfully submit the following reactions of this body to the Dumbarton Oaks draft, emphasizing that so brief and concise a statement must inevitably appear categorical and dogmatic.

"First: We would point out that the entire structure envisaged in the Dumbarton Oaks proposal is based primarily on the negative premise of 'keeping the Peace' rather than being shaped for the positive achievement of 'making the peace.' Such a premise we believe anchors the central functions of the new organization in the questionable task of maintaining the status quo rather than dealing affirmatively with the political and economic realities of a dynamic world.

"Secondly: While we recognize that coercive measures to prevent war are accepted as a corollary to world order by large sections of present-day society it is, nevertheless, our conviction that the central function of the new organization should be directed toward the development of just and equitable social-economic conditions, out of which alone a lasting peace can grow.

"Thirdly: We are profoundly disturbed by the fact that the new organization is neither international in basic structure, nor truly democratic in function. The overwhelming power lodged in the security council would perpetuate an alliance of the four victorious nations and provides few democratic checks and controls by the assembly of middle and smaller states.

"Fourthly: Moreover, we would point out that no adequate methods are provided for the release of the world 'from the crushing burdens of armaments' as pledged in the Atlantic Charter. We cannot believe that measures recommended by a committee of military staffs will furnish that release. It would appear doubtful that they would seek ways to liquidate themselves. We would therefore urge (1) that a full conference of the United Nations be assembled at the earliest possible moment, (2) that the United States government use its great leadership in cooperation with other nations in striving to remodel the present draft proposals so as to provide for: (a) A world structure which is more truly international in character and democratic in function; (b) a structure flexible and affirmative enough to deal creatively with the economic and political tensions making for war; (c) a serious consideration and review of the memorandum submitted by the Chinese government to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

