

OUR SCHOOLS AND PEACE IS SUBJECT OF AN ADDRESS

H. H. Stuart Talks to Women's Institute at Fredericton Junction on League Matters and Peace

Henry Harvey Stuart who has achieved considerable of a reputation as a writer and a lecturer recently addressed the Women's Institute of Fredericton Junction, dealing with our schools and world peace.

Mr. Stuart said: Madame Chairman, Members of the Women's Institute, Fellow Members of the School Board, Fellow Teachers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Institution known as Education Week seems to be rapidly increasing in popularity, which is a good sign.

From the Speech from the Throne to the opening Legislature we learn that New Brunswick intends this year to take serious action towards the further improvement of rural schools and of education generally, especially in the direction of making more easy the consolidation of small schools into graded schools, enlarging, to that end, the school district. As many speakers have been heard on this matter this week and you have heard me speak on Consolidation of Schools several times in the past, I shall pursue this subject no further at present.

I purpose speaking tonight on what I consider to be also a very vital matter — Peace Education — which is being sponsored by the Canadian Branch of the League of Nations Society as, no doubt, many have noticed in the press and over the radio.

Now, as Canada is a charter member of the League, to say nothing of the fact, except merely to mention it, that she has also definitely renounced war as an instrument of national policy by her signature, along with that of the United States of America and of all other nations excepting two or three of the smaller and less important, of the Pact of Paris in 1928, the League Covenant and Principles have been a matter of study for all Canadian schools just as much as the constitution of the British Empire and British Commonwealth of Nations, the constitution of Canada and the provinces, and history and civics in general.

By our membership in the League we have entered into certain serious relationships with other nations, which we should understand thoroughly in order to be in a position to carry out our obligations honorably and successfully.

The Covenant

Article I admits to membership in the League the 33 voluntary signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, among which were all the then existing British Dominions except Little Newfoundland, and 13 states that had been neutral. The enemy states were kept out for a time for discipline; Russia and Mexico, ostensibly because of their unsettled condition; and several were apparently overlooked. But provision was made for admission of all unnamed but fully self-governing states, on their providing satisfactory guarantees and on a two-thirds vote of the League Assembly. Sooner or later, nearly all states became members, with the notable exception of the U. S. A., which, although unanimously offered the leadership of the League and of the world, failed to realize her opportunity and let the prize go by Japan, Germany and Paraguay, irksome under attempted discipline, have along with Brazil and several smaller nations withdrawn after the required two years notice, and Italy refuses to act with the League until the latter condones her recent robbery in Africa. Since the Treaty, Great Britain has, by formal agreement released from dependence upon her the following: the Irish Free State, which remains a Dominion, Afghanistan, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and, very lately, Egypt, of which the Free State, Afghanistan and Iraq have been admitted to the League with Egypt soon to follow. Similarly, France is releasing Syria and Lebanon, which will also be eligible for League membership.

Articles 2, 3 and 4 establish an Assembly, in which each member nation has an equal vote; a Council, in which the more powerful members have permanent seats, the remaining places being periodically distributed among the weaker. The total number of Council seats, counting Italy's, is now 14. The Council may, in emergencies invite interested members, or even non-members, to sit with it. Either Council or Assembly may consider any question affecting world peace.

Article 5, which needs amendment, requires in serious issues the unanimity of all members but the parties to the dispute.

Article 7 names Geneva as the League capital.

Article 8 favors the reduction of

national armaments to the lowest point consistent with safety.

By Article 10, the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of members.

Article 11 declares that any war or threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole League, and that the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

By Article 12, the members agree to refer to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council any dispute likely to lead to a rupture and in no case to resort to war until three months after the award is given.

By Article 13 and 15 the members so agree to submit disputes to arbitration or consideration by the Council as practically to bind them to accept a peaceful solution of all difficulties. And Article 14 establishes a World Court of Justice.

Article 16 declares that any member of the League resorting to war in defiance of Articles 12, 13 or 15 shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members; that it shall be the duty of the Council to recommend to the members what forces they shall contribute to protect the Covenants; and that all members agree to support each other in financial and economic measures necessary and to facilitate passage of League forces across their territories.

Article 17 admits non-members to League privileges for settlement of a dispute between a League member and a non-member or between two non-members.

By Article 18 every member is to register with the League any treaty it signs.

By Article 19 the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions the continuance of which might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 20 cancels all past forbids all future agreements contrary to the League Covenant.

Article 21 declares that nothing in the Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article 22 authorizes temporary mandates for backward territories taken over from the defeated enemy states.

Article 23, under which much good has been accomplished, deals with conditions of labor; treatment of subject peoples; the traffic in women, children and drugs; necessary supervision of trade in arms and ammunition; freedom of transit of goods and equitable terms of commerce; prevention and control of disease, etc.

Article 24 provides for international bureaux.

Article 25 promotes international Red Cross work.

Article 26 provides for Amendment of the Covenant by consent of all the members represented on the Council and of a majority of all the members. No such amendment binds a dissenting member, but the latter by dissenting ceases to be a member.

Such a Covenant as this should be workable.

Difficulties

The League met with difficulties from the start. The United States' abstention and her refusal to guarantee France from a new German attack caused that nation to keep herself armed to the limit and made Britain hesitate to commit herself to full acceptance of the programme of the League. As the United States had cited Article 10 as one of the excuses for her not joining the League, so Britain, though she had subscribed to the whole Covenant, balked at giving Article 10 and certain others their full and logical meaning, alleging that, should she do so, she would be called upon to do, at her own expense, most of the policing of refractory members—a very erroneous idea, but one that appeared very convincing to many at the time. Another ground for dissatisfaction was the fear that Britain and her Dominions might have to surrender their vacant spaces to foreigners for settlement.

At last, in 1924, to set all members right on this point, the League, at the instance of the French and British Premiers, Briand and MacDonald, adopted the Geneva Protocol, which defined Articles 10, 12, 13, 15 and 16 clearly and, subject to ratification by enough members within two years, provided for their enforcement. France and some dozen of the smaller states ratified without delay, but the new British government, led by Premier Baldwin, which had displaced the MacDonald ministry, refused to consent, the Dominions followed the Imperial lead, and the other great powers made no move. When, during the Italo-Ethiopian war, the majority of the League wished to restore to the repudiated Articles their true meaning, France, for reasons of her own, blocked the way, and Italy escaped the full mea-

sure of punishment due her.

The first great strain on the League Covenant came in 1931, when China appealed to the League against Japanese aggression, putting her case entirely in the League's hands and guaranteeing to abide by its decision. But while China received plenty of sympathy and Japan much admonishment from both the League and the U. S. A., nothing was done to prevent Japan taking Manchuria illegally and keeping it. But Japan has taken a prize of doubtful value. Had she submitted to arbitrate with China, as Britain did with the U. S. A., in the Venezuelan dispute of 1896, she might have fared as well. Britain by peaceful arbitration was awarded five-sixth of what she had claimed, and not a shot was fired. Besides, Venezuela's case was settled for all time. But wait until China becomes fully awakened and fully armed!

Germany was kept out of the League too long, and when she was admitted and began to be used fairly, she felt so aggrieved that she fell an easy prey to Hitler and was ill-advised enough to leave the only organization that was able, and rapidly becoming willing, to meet all her just demands.

Upset by fear of the evil possibilities of the National Socialist revolution in Germany, France and Britain turned towards Russia to fill the gap left by the desertion of Japan and Germany and Russia, with Canada as her Godmother, entered the League without opposition and without being asked to change her laws against freedom of worship and her practice of controlling the Press in the sole interest of the dominant party!

In the case of Italy versus Ethiopia, the League took some action—maintained an economic blockade, but the blockade was only partial, no military sanctions were ordered, and all effort was too feeble and faint-hearted to have the desired effect. Ethiopia went under, deserted by her associates, and all small nations trembled lest a similar fate should be hovering over them.

Even little Paraguay was allowed to defy the League and ceased chasing the Bolivians out of a disputed territory only when she had driven them so far back that it was too dangerous to advance further.

While the illegal acts of Japan and

Italy have not been formally recognized, yet both nations are now treated by their neighbors as if nothing wrong had ever happened.

Causes of Failure

Why did the League fail in these instances? Doubtless for the same reasons as all good causes have failed from time to time. If the League had functioned as intended, there would have been little call for munitions of war and, consequently, less opportunities for the making of corrupt profits out of war scares. There would have been necessary readjustments of trade and territory, which the satiated nations were evidently not prepared to accept. The members would have had to give up a portion of their individual independence, as the Provinces of Canada did when they united into a Dominion, which some members of the League were loath to do. They would have had to exercise more of the Christian principle of co-operation and less of the heathen rule of unrestricted competition, for which the majority of the members were not ready.

Failure Not Necessarily Permanent

The League has failed on occasions, but only in so far as its principles were not observed and enforced — the fault was not in the League's Covenant and ideals. And these partial failures do not prove that it cannot be made a grand and glorious success. All of our local and national laws have been broken many times, but we are not because of that repealing all laws. Rather are we examining the causes of such failure with a view to eliminate the evils and provide the proper remedies. All religious, even Christianity, have failed to function fully in great crises, but we are not throwing away our faith because of its having been disgraced by the faint-hearted support or treacherous desertion of some of its supposed friends.

No Practical Alternative

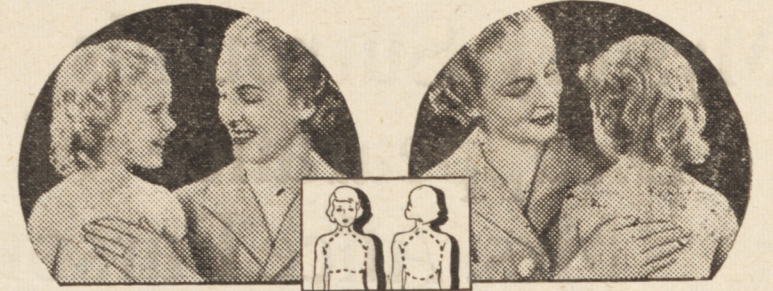
If we drop the League, what is the alternative? Only one of two things. First, the conversion of the WHOLE world to the idea of peace and co-operation, so that no nation will desire to do any wrong to another or neglect any opportunity of helping

factory state of mind for the whole world is a long way off. There are few, if any, communities of any size any in need. Such a perfectly satisfied that could afford to take chances by dismissing all policemen and doing away with all law. For one criminal, whether lunatic or sane, could do a lot of damage if undeterred by force or the knowledge that force would be employed if necessary. The world will need some police protection for some time to come. The second alternative to the League is that which, evidently, is being rapidly prepared for—war—war to the bitter end until only one nation or group of nations emerges as conqueror! And what guarantee have we that we or our group will be the victor? And

what satisfaction in sitting supreme on the summit of a pyramid of corpses?

The Covenant of the League, however, subject to reasonable amendments, that can be made whenever the time is ripe, affords an almost perfect plan for the keeping of peace between all nations and the fostering of the principles of co-operation and good will among all peoples. Let us give it an honest trial. It can do its work if given a fair chance. Let us give it a chance so far as Canada and Canada's influence are concerned. Let us make it work! Let us think the matter over and act before it be too late. I thank you,

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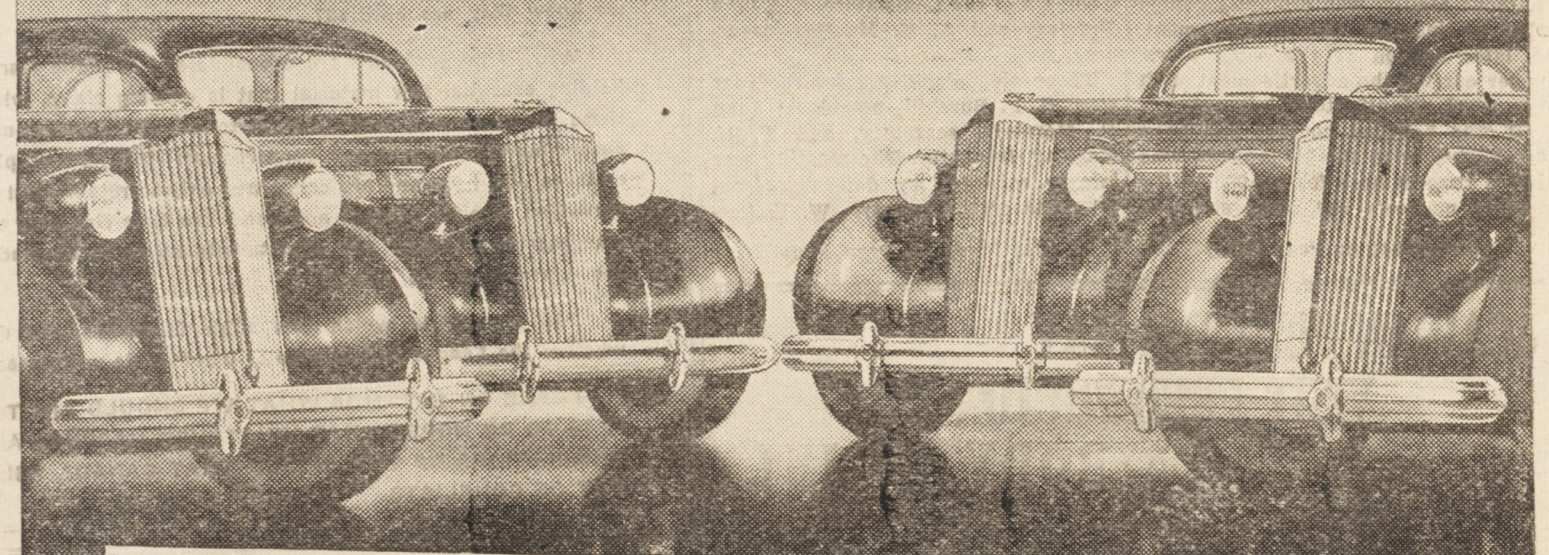
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