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NEWS LETTER

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SHALL AMERICA DESERT NOW?

WILL THE LAWYERS LEAD?

It pleases us exceedingly to find that the most informing document afloat on the Peace League plan to put an end to war in the world or to reduce the chances of war to a minimum, comes from the pen of a North Carolinian. It is an address by Honorable A. W. McLean, of Lumberton, before the North Carolina Bar Association in 1918.

It ought to be in the hands of every man and woman in this state who is capable of reading, thinking, and leading at this critical moment in the world's history.

Mazzini was right when he said, The morrow of victory is more perilous than the eve. America played a heroic part in winning the war and played it grandly; but if America now chooses to follow the lead of Senator Reed, then she is likely to play a coward's part.

We believe with President Wilson that the heart of the people beats true upon the issue that now hangs trembling in the balance. But the people must be reached and informed and aroused down to the last household, and it must be done with dispatch and thoroughness.

The lawyers of the state are trained in the niceties of interpretation. They are in a position of leadership at a critical time. We sincerely hope that they will step into leadership in a thousand communities in North Carolina, and hold the thousand Peace League congresses that are needed to reach and stir the popular mind to prompt and intelligent utterance on this matter.

The party that supposes that it can safely oppose a peace-league plan to end war will be wise to consider the congressional election in the twenty-second district of Pennsylvania the other day. For the first time in fifty years complete party reversal was effected. The successful contestant ran on a platform of support for the Peace League Covenant. That's why.

THE WAR AGAINST WAR

The Peace League Covenant against War unanimously agreed upon at Paris is now being debated in the parliaments of one billion two hundred million people in fourteen countries of the world. The document under review is submitted not for adoption at present but for review, discussion, critical analysis, and amendment wherever necessary. When finally reshaped and embodied in the Peace Treaty, it will be returned to these fourteen national legislatures for ratification.

Ratification by the United States will require sixty-seven votes in our Federal Senate. Which is to say, thirty-four votes in the negative will defeat the treaty of peace. The Associated Press reports today that thirty-three senators of the new congress are already signed against the Peace League Covenant in its present form and that four more senators have declared against it.

It is time for the country to wake up to the mighty issues involved in the debate that has just ended in the Senate of the United States, and that will be hotly renewed in the next congress. Especially is it necessary in the 25 states in which three-fifths or more of the voters are rural. So far, the 54 million country people of the United States know little about the Peace League Covenant against War. They are uninformed and unaroused. They need to be thoroughly instructed, and they must speak out in thunder tones. The need is urgent.

Communities in North Carolina that want light on this vital issue can call on Governor T. W. Bickett, state chairman of the League to Enforce Peace, or on the University Bureau of Extension. Speakers will be promptly supplied and the cost of a usual will cover traveling expenses and nothing more.

Peace League Congresses

There have been nine great regional congresses held in the United States during the last month by the League of Nations to Enforce Peace, under the leadership of Mr. Taft—the last in Atlanta the other day.

Elsewhere we are giving the resolutions adopted by the Atlanta Congress and signed for North Carolina by Judge R. W.

Winston, General J. S. Carr, Bishop T. C. Darst and Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington. These resolutions represent the convictions of a thousand or more delegates from eight Southern states and of audiences that four times filled the vast auditorium of Atlanta—which means seven or eight thousand people. They are the convictions that come out of a thorough discussion and understanding of the twenty-six articles of the proposed Constitution of the League of Nations against War.

But we need multiplied thousands of little congresses on this subject—one in every community—while this vital issue hangs trembling in the balance. Surely we can have them everywhere in North Carolina.

The Objections Urged

Every objection to the proposed peace-league plan, heard of late in our Federal Senate, was passed under review, calmly and competently by ex-president William Howard Taft, Dr. George Grafton Wilson of the Harvard Law School, Dr. Charles E. Brown of Yale, Edward E. Filene of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, Bishop Warren A. Candler of the Methodist Church, Bishop Benjamin J. Keiley of the Catholic Church, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Philip North Moore, president of the National Council of Women, and Messrs. John P. Frey and Jerome Jones representing organized labor, and others.

Not one word of abuse or bitterness was heard, although the audience smiled with the speaker who referred to certain of the senate debaters as aspiring to be "Last in war, last in peace, and last in the hearts of their countrymen."

In the Peace League document itself the speakers found convincing answers to the inquiries that have been urged in Congress and the opposition press, as follows:

Does the proposed plan of the League of Nations mean:

1. The surrender of our national sovereignty to the Executive Council of the League of Nations?
2. The abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine?
3. An increased rather than a decreased probability of war in the future?
4. Our liability to be called upon to govern former German colonies in Africa or former Turkish territories in Asia?
5. Compulsory arbitration of questions affecting our most intimate interests and national honor?
6. The breaking down of our immigration barriers?
7. The relinquishment of our right to maintain our tariff laws at the orders of foreign nations, each of which must be swayed by its own commercial interests?
8. The reduction of American armaments to a point satisfactory to Europe?
9. The practical impossibility of our ever withdrawing from the League?

And the answer is No—in every instance. No. President Wilson says No. Ex-president Taft says No. Dr. George Grafton Wilson says No. And no men in America are more intimately acquainted than they with the conditions under which this unanimous peace-league plan was hammered out in Paris. Nobody in the United States is better able to interpret the language of the document now under discussion. Their utterances have nothing to do with party advantages or class interests. They know the constitution and the genius of American institutions quite as well as the senators who are signed up to defeat the proposed peace-league plan and to postpone till the last minute the consideration of every other plan to league the nations of the world against war and in favor of enduring peace.

The voting constituencies of the United States need light. Two things must be done and speedily done: (1) the Peace-League document of the Paris Conference must be gotten into the hands of every thoughtful man and woman, and it must be read intelligently and thoroughly. The very best answers to the objections that have been urged are to be found in the language of the document itself. Any high school boy would easily find in it an answer to the amazing nonsense that Sen-

HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE

Gov. T. W. Bickett

No nation can now live to itself alone. The discoveries of science and the advance of civilization have made nations as well as individuals their brothers' keepers. The nation that dreams that it can live in security and peace while half the world welters in blood or anarchy is living in a fool's paradise.

The League of Nations is a frank recognition of this fundamental truth. Moreover, the league guarantees to this nation precisely what we fought for—a world forever free from the menace of militarism. Repudiate the league, and our dead will have died in vain. The league advances rather than abandons the Monroe Doctrine. Thirteen other nations come into a world court and solemnly swear to maintain this doctrine.

The hearts of the people are in favor of the league. In North Carolina all classes of people regardless of politics, religion, race, color, or previous condition of servitude, believe that the league is the surest guarantee to the future peace of the ninety and nine. The men who oppose it will be swept into oblivion, and if they doubt this let them accept the challenge of the President to submit the issue to all the people.

ator Reed is talking in his round of speech-making. It is high time the folks read the document itself. (2) The issues involved must be discussed and debated in every community in America. The burden of responsibility on local leadership is tremendous because no question of greater importance has challenged humanity in two thousand years of history.

Our Leaders Must Lead

The time has come for our leaders to lead. If America fails, there can be no League of Nations. If there be no League of Nations, Europe falls into irretrievable chaos, and if Europe falls into chaos, America is inescapably involved. It was impossible for the United States to keep out of the war just ended—a war that has cost us fifty billion dollars all told and fifty thousand of our boys dead on the battle field. If we let things drift it will be just as impossible to keep out of the next war, and every other till the end of recorded time. It is childish to think that America can ever again play Puss-in-a-corner, and leave the big wide world to wag as it will. We can elect to steer clear of what Jefferson—not Washington by the way—called "entangling alliances". We can wave Europe aside and wash our hands of it, Pilate-fashion. We can leave the world to drift into war and then go in with a big stick to club disturbing nations into peace.

We can choose a childish policy of that sort, or we can put away childish things and step out into the open like men and say to the universe, "We stand for the Bethlehem peace-message to men. We bid wars to cease and, so far as it is humanly possible, we mean to have it so. We mean to make an end to war in the world or to reduce the chances of war to a minimum."

Four years ago Winston Churchill said, "This war is a race against revolution". The war has been won but the world is still running a race with revolution. Without a League of Nations anarchy seems to be inevitable in Europe, and with Europe ablaze America would be a sorry insurance risk.

Frank Simonds Says

I cannot adequately describe the degree of apprehension and dismay which recent political events in the United States have occasioned. And this dismay arises primarily out of a feeling that America as a whole may desert Europe, may leave to permanent misery the millions it has temporarily saved. The attack upon President Wilson's league of nations' formula seems to these peoples in Europe an at-

tack upon all that America means to them.

If the league of nations and the idea of the league of nations collapses, the elements of hope will be withdrawn from the European situation and the people that have the great task of reconstruction to undertake may yield to despair.

In sum, the simple fact is that Europe has accepted Mr. Wilson as the spokesman of America. It has welcomed him as no other public man has ever been welcomed here before. He was the delegate of that America whose services were in the minds and hearts of millions of people. It has, to an incredible extent, risked all its future hope upon Mr. Wilson, not as an individual, but as President of the United States; and if the country repudiates what Mr. Wilson has done here for domestic or political reasons, which are wholly comprehensible to every American, the European tragedy will be stupendous.

The European has known no other American view than that of President Wilson. It has accepted his view because it believed it to be the American view, and today it stands literally aghast in the presence of the possibility, at least suggested by fragmentary dispatches, that the real view of America is something entirely different from the President's.

I have talked with many republicans who are here, all of whom see the situation clearly, substantially as I have presented it here.

Without exception, they recognize the greatness of the American opportunity and duty in Europe; with no dissenting voice they assert that to abandon the league of nations with its European responsibilities now will be little less than the abandonment of those who died in Europe to establish American ideals in the world.

No country could deserve the admiration America receives in Europe today, and no country could afford to surrender that position in the world which had been won for it by devotion and achievement, by unselfishness unparalleled in world history; and to withdraw from Europe now would be to sacrifice what seems to be the greatest opportunity for human service that has ever come to any single people.—Syndicated Press Letter.

GETTING BEHIND CONGRESS

Affirming that the league of nations is in accord with American ideals and essential for the welfare of the United States, yet cannot be formed unless the United States is a party, resolutions were adopted by the 1000 and more delegates to the recent Atlanta Peace League Congress and by the hundreds of others present, pledging the active support of the body to securing the approval by the Senate of the tentative draft of the Paris covenant.

The document was prepared by the platform committee, composed of representatives from every state in the southeast, and was enthusiastically received.

The text of the resolutions reads as follows:

The defeat of German militarism by the united power of the free nations has opened the way for the triumph of the ideals of popular government in the world. The will of free people is that there shall be no more war and that the rule of justice shall prevail among nations.

The league of nations plans to secure justice between the nations, preserve their independence, and by peaceably settling differences between them, prevent needless resort to war. Such a league, powerful enough for the purpose, cannot be formed unless the United States is a party.

The constitution or covenant for the establishment of such a league drawn up by the delegates of the United States and the allied nations at Paris, is the first instance in which a proposal of such far-reaching significance for the well-being of mankind has, before adoption, been submitted to the people for consideration, and it may well prove to be the most important act of human history.

We, the delegates constituting the Southern Congress of the League to Enforce Peace, assembled at Atlanta from the states of Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida, hereby declare our belief that the establishment of a league of

nations is in accord with American ideals and is essential for the welfare of the United States and of all mankind.

We pledge our active support to secure the approval of the tentative draft of the Paris covenant for a League of Nations and call upon our fellow-citizens throughout the country to organize to this end, and upon our representatives in the United States senate to maintain American traditions among the nations by its prompt ratification when finally submitted.

Our Silent Multitudes.

A glowing tribute to the people who live in the rural sections of the United States was paid by E. C. Branson, professor of rural economics and sociology, University of North Carolina, in his address at the Friday afternoon session of the Atlanta congress for a league of nations.

The country people, he said, number fifty-four millions, nearly exactly half of the total population of the country. He pointed out that of these fifty-four millions more than 50 percent live in the sixteen states of the south.

The speaker paid them tribute as being "sound in wind and limb, body and brain, fine and wholesome through and through. The record of our sixteen hundred thousand farmer-soldiers in the war zone and on the battle front is ample proof of it.

"In humanity's self-defensive war against the Teuton they fired a shot heard round the world and the silence of their countryside homes must now be broken if the world's constructive war against war is to be won in these perilous times of peace."

They Are Half Our Jury

The country people, declared Mr. Branson, are important because they are half the American jury that is now making up a verdict upon the peace league covenant of nations. They are important because the faintest growl of country democracy sounds like thunder in our legislative halls. And—save for the lonely call of faithful sentinels here and there—our country multitudes are silent. The full cry of the pack needs to rise on the air.

"It will not be safe to leave the country people of America uninformed, indifferent, and silent about the most momentous issue that humanity has faced in two thousand years of history. They need to think straight. They need to find a voice, and it needs to be heard in Washington like the roar of a rushing mighty wind.

"The social insulation of the country people of America is unique. There is nothing else like it in Christendom. The country people of Europe dwell in farm villages; in America our country multitudes dwell in solitary homes. They are hard to reach; how hard we never realized until we tried to get to them with our great war campaigns of organization and support—our Liberty loan, our Red Cross campaigns and the like.

"And they never were reached down to the last household, except by the army draft and the food-production drive. Then they responded—responded silently, grimly and grandly. Silently they fed the world, silently they moved into the front-line trenches and over into No Man's Land, silently they fought and silently they died the death of heroes. In silence they played their great part in the fields of war, and the country people of America must now play an equally great part in the peace-time struggle to make an end of war in the world.

Shall They Die in Vain?

"But it is a part that cannot be played in silence. The victory to be won will be won by sixteen-inch opinions and not by sixteen-inch guns. Whatever the bores, the peace-time weapons of democracy must be vocal in our country regions. Silence in the countryside is a sign of defeat. Our country multitudes must speak out, or the chances are their boys will have died in vain across the seas.

"It will be stupid to allow them to be ill-informed, or mis-informed, and misled for purposes of party advantage or class-interest," said the speaker. "The fateful choice we are making is the choice between the end of war or the end of civilization. War must be outlawed or civilization is on its way to the scrap pile. Futile or not, the heart of humanity is passionately set upon peace on earth and good will among men. What men have called an iridescent dream is now a consuming desire that will brook no denial.

"Our country people must be fully informed and thoroughly aroused. They must be led to think wisely, to feel deeply, and to speak out with mighty unmistakable emphasis on the most momentous issue since Calvary. It will be fatal, said the speaker, to overlook them or neglect them.—The Atlanta Journal.