

# How the United States Has Kept the Peace for 20 Years

An Article for Armistice Day  
By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

WHEN the last gun sounded on the morning of Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, the civilized world drew a long breath, satisfied that "the war to end wars" had come to a close and that war was ended for all time. Thoughtful men realized, however, that the idea of using war to settle disputes between nations was buried deep in the consciousness of men, and that it was doubtful if the lessons of the World War would be sufficiently clear to a newer and more intelligent course of action.

What were the lessons of the World War?  
First—that 10,000,000 lives were sacrificed in the war that was fought to end all wars.

Second—the loss in money was equally staggering. In 1920, the Carnegie Endowment published Ernest L. Bogart's book "The Direct and Indirect Cost of the Great War." He stated that the direct money cost was \$186,233,637,097, and the indirect cost \$151,812,352,560, a total of \$338,045,989,657. These figures do not include the cost of human lives and vitality.

Third—that war engendered gigantic economic problems which affect the conquerors as adversely as the vanquished.

The history of the past 20 years of attempts to keep the peace among the nations of the world is



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known to all adults. The inception of the League of Nations and the difficulties which befell it are a matter of record.

The Pact of Paris.  
One of the most vital actions taken by the United States in behalf of world peace and international law and order was the signing of the Pact of Paris by some 62 nations. The pact "abolishing the conception of war as a legitimate means of exercising pressure on another state in the pursuit of national policy, and removing all recourse to armed force for the solution of international disputes and conflicts," is a significant milestone in the slow and halting course of human progress. Public opinion in this country should demand that the United States never repudiate the principles of this pact.

The world, particularly the American world, is slowly awakening to the fact that under these Twentieth-century conditions nothing of importance can happen to any people on any continent without having some effect, and often very great effect, on every other people on earth. Early in June, 1938, in speaking to the State Bar association at Nashville, Tenn., Mr. Secretary Cordell Hull made the most significant and the most constructive speech which has been made by any public officer in the United States since 1920. It may well be that that speech is to mark a turning-point in this epoch of world history.

Mr. Hull said:  
"It is my firm conviction that national isolation is not a means to security, but rather a fruitful source of insecurity. For while we may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs, we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Attempts to achieve national isolation would not merely deprive us of any influence in the councils of nations, but would impair our ability to control our own affairs."  
"Business contractual obliga-

tions are brushed aside with a light heart and a contemptuous gesture. Respect for law and observance of the pledged word have sunk to an inconceivably low level. The outworn slogans of the glorification of war are again resounding in many portions of the globe. Armed force, naked and unashamed, is again being used as an instrument of policy and a means of attaining national ends through aggression and aggrandizement. It is being employed with brutality and savagery that outrage and shock every humane instinct.

"There is desperate need in our country, and in every country, of a strong and united public opinion in support of such a renewal and demonstration of faith in the possibility of a world order based on law and international co-operative effort."

Thus spoke the statesman looking facts in the face, turning his back upon empty and meaningless formulas and facing the future with insight and with courage. But there is no time to be lost. The familiar public policy of "Wait and See" will not do. The time has come for quick, courageous and constructive leadership, and it is possible now for the American people, in the spirit of that declaration, to offer it, both to their own advantage and for the rebuilding of the broken foundations of world prosperity and world peace.

## Isolation Not an American Policy.

The superstition that our traditional policy is one of isolation is contradicted by every fact in American history from the time of Benjamin Franklin to the present day. We have not only never been isolated but we have sought every opportunity to explain our life, our institutions, our ideals to peoples in other parts of the world, and particularly to the peoples of France and of Great Britain. What was Benjamin Franklin doing while spending 22 years of his life in Paris and in London? What was Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, doing when sitting in the gallery of Versailles yonder and listening to the debate on the Declaration of the Rights of Man? What was John Adams doing, living in London and explaining the new Federal Constitution to the British people? What was being done by our great constructive secretaries of state from that time almost to this—John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, Elihu Root, every one of them a powerful force in the affairs of the whole world, every one of them offering helpful co-operation, constructive criticism and guidance on behalf of the American people?

If by a policy of isolation is meant that our people intend at every possible cost to refrain from war, well and good; but that is not isolation: it is something quite different. We are now dealing with the real underlying forces, forces of thought, forces of opinion—the forces which move men in their social, economic and political life.

It is habitual with certain of our public men who hail isolation as a policy to quote a sentence from President Washington's farewell address and another sentence from Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural. Indeed, what they usually do is to quote the sentence from Jefferson's first inaugural and ascribe it to Washington's farewell address. Both men were effective exponents of the policy of international collaboration and co-operation, and what those two sentences meant was a warning not to become involved in the Napoleonic wars, which some years later we managed to do in the form of the War of 1812. We do not realize how powerful has been the movement among our people not only to co-operate in maintaining prosperity and peace, but in offering leadership and guidance and counsel to that end.

Run your eye back over the history of the last 40 years.

## The Czar's Appeal.

It is a little more than 40 years since there was issued in the name of the Czar of All the Russias the most extraordinary appeal to other governments that the world has ever heard. It is a classic document entitled to rank with the very highest, inviting those governments to come forth and counsel together as to ways and means of collaborating to preserve the peace of the world. The result was the First Hague conference of 1899. President McKinley rejoiced at the possibility of accepting this invitation and sent to that conference a delegation of outstanding Americans, at whose head was Andrew D. White, statesman and educator. It was the American delegation which saved that conference from hopeless failure, because, when the governments could not agree upon some of the largest phases of the questions submitted to them, it was the American delegation which pro-

Few men are better equipped to write of world affairs than Nicholas Murray Butler, the president of Columbia

university, who is also the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr. Butler has been awarded the Nobel Peace prize, has been given degrees by universities the world over. He has had an inside view of all of the steps in foreign affairs taken by the United States and other nations since the Armistice of November 11, 1918. His library at 60 Morningside Drive, New York, contains a valuable collection of books by the leading statesmen of all nations, many of whom are his personal friends. The adviser of Presidents and Prime Ministers, Dr. Butler is as optimistic today as when he counseled with Andrew Carnegie on the problems of educating public opinion for world peace more than a quarter of a century ago.



NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

posed that they should agree upon bringing into existence a Permanent Court of Arbitration. That was done. The court was set up and in a year or two it began to function. Next came the invitation of 1908.

There is hardly an American who knows how far our public opinion went at that fortunate time, almost exactly 30 years ago. It was on June 4, 1910, that this joint resolution was on the calendar of the house of representatives at Washington.

## A Real Program for Peace.

The resolution was to authorize the appointment of a commission in relation to universal peace:

"Resolved—that a commission of five members be appointed by the President of the United States to consider the experience of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to diminish the expenditures of government for military purposes and to lessen the probabilities of war."

What happened to that remarkable resolution? It passed the house of representatives by unanimous consent. It went to the senate on June 20, and four days following, it passed the senate also by unanimous consent, and was signed by the President of the United States. So the government of the United States was then proposing to lead the way to



the establishment of an international police force for the protection of international law and international morality. Was that isolation?

It is vitally important, not only for America but for the whole civilized world to realize what our people and our government were unanimously prepared to do then, and to bring them back to be prepared to do it now.

## Strides Toward Peace.

Great progress was made, although by different methods and in various directions, between 1919 and 1929. Steps were taken now here, now there, to improve international relations and international conditions. I shall always believe the untimely death, first of Dr. Stresemann and, then of M. Briand to be largely responsible for checking the constructive movement which was then going forward. Immediately thereafter came the world economic and monetary crisis in which we still live and which holds every nation in its grasp. It is a complete illusion to think that there is a French crisis and a German crisis and an English crisis and an American crisis and an Argentine crisis. There is a world crisis, which expresses itself under different conditions and limitations in each country, but at bottom the causes and their effects are absolutely one and the same.

Understanding those facts and looking them in the face, why have we not been able to make

progress in solving these questions? Why is it that the world is going on using up the savings of a thousand years and borrowing against the possible savings of generations to come? Why is it that we have been unable thus far in any considerable degree to co-operate to check the growth of these destructive forces, economic and social, every one of which makes for the undermining of prosperity and for temptation to destroy peace? Why is it?

There met in London, at Chatham house, in March, 1935, 61 of the leading personalities of the world, statesmen, economists, bankers, industrialists, diplomats, coming from a dozen countries. They spent days in intimate consultation as to how to answer the question which I am now asking. To the great surprise of themselves as well as of everyone else, those 61 men, with different backgrounds and different points of view, agreed unanimously upon a program of economic and monetary reform. That program, simple and easily understood, has been enthusiastically accepted by the International Chamber of Commerce and by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and those two bodies are now working day and night in their quiet way to press it upon the attention of the public and of the governments in order to stop the policy of "Wait and See" and to get something done. Any observer of human nature and of government must know that the longer we "Wait and See," the more ammunition we present to dictatorship in whatever form it may show itself.

## An Age-Old Problem.

We permit these forces to repeat themselves generation after generation, century after century. We look at them as if they were utterly new, as if the world had never heard of them before; and yet in one way or another, from the time of ancient Egypt, man has had to deal with this problem in some one of its forms.

We are face to face with that and it can only be solved in one or two ways. If I may contradict myself, the first way will not solve it. It may be solved by force, which means a temporary solution only, or it may be solved by reason. The minorities problem is not new. Fortunately, France has been very little troubled with it. But look at Great Britain: Angles, Saxons, Danes, Normans, Scots, Celts. War after war for 500 years and then finally they found a solution. They can all live in peace and quiet and order together.

We in America have had a very grave minorities problem with our colored people. It led to a vast civil war which almost disrupted the nation, and it took 70 years before it came to a climax. So, when you see these minorities problems elsewhere, in Asia, in Africa, in Eastern Europe, do not forget that we have had no end of experience with that problem and that there are only the two ways of dealing with it: by force, which does not settle it, and by reason, which will settle it. Time, good order, kindly feeling, high-mindedness, moral standards and faith in human nature are necessary.

As one goes about the world today, he must be impressed with the discouragement which is felt everywhere. That is not the way to solve anything. Pessimism is the last resource of the coward. Optimism, faith in mankind, belief in ideas, courage and willingness to call upon your fellow-men to come up out of their little narrow personal environments and to show themselves citizens of their nations and of the world, to constitute a constructive force that, instead of making this Twentieth century of ours the end of an era, will show that we have been able to make it the beginning of a new order in a peaceful and a prosperous world.

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# Navy Plans Big Base in Pacific

Pearl Harbor in Hawaii to Be Impregnable Inside Six Years.

WASHINGTON.—The United States' "Singapore of the Pacific" at Pearl Harbor will be developed to provide anchorage for any fleet that might be needed for future emergency in the Pacific.

Plans are moving forward rapidly to eliminate the great present deficiencies of the great naval base on the island of Oahu, Hawaii, and make it adequate to any naval need that might arise in war or peacetime. Pearl Harbor, 2,100 miles from California, is regarded as the strategic center of defense for western America.

One of the most pressing needs at Pearl Harbor has been the deepening of the harbor to make room for more fighting ships. This improvement is now projected, and bids on extensive operations were opened at the navy department this month.

## Funds for Improvements.

A total of \$1,500,000 was provided by the last congress for channel dredging and harbor improvements in the Hawaiian islands. It is not known how much of this will be used for Pearl Harbor, but it is known the main share will be allocated for the base.

A total of \$16,000,000 has been spent for dredging operations alone since the United States took over the islands. In requesting the new funds, high naval officials asserted the deepening of the harbor was absolutely essential to the security of the fleet.

When the dredging operations are completed and a few other deficiencies remedied, officials say Pearl Harbor will be as great as any United States fleet anchorage. In addition to the dredging appropriation about \$2,750,000 has been provided for new power facilities and \$325,000 for mooring facilities.

## Present Limits of Harbor.

In its present condition experts contend the harbor would not be able to accommodate all vessels satisfactorily in a time of crisis. It is said, for example, that a battleship which had been struck and weighed down with water probably would be unable to enter the harbor in its present relatively shallow condition.

Officials say the conditions in the Far East will not cause the navy to push its improvement program ahead of schedule. They point out that Japan, for example, appears to have her hands full at present and probably will continue to be occupied for some time to come.

"As a matter of fact," one official said, "we probably could suspend our operations out there for some time and feel pretty safe. We have no present plans to speed up the work and will go on as scheduled." According to unofficial reports, the base probably will not be fully ready, from the navy's viewpoint, until 1944. By that time, however, many competent observers feel Pearl Harbor will be impregnable.

## Girls' Teeth Worn More Than Boys' at Same Age

WASHINGTON.—Age for age, girls have more teeth missing, filled or decayed than boys, it was concluded today in a report on a United States public health service study.

This is not simply because they are girls, according to Dr. Henry Klein and Dr. Carroll E. Palmer, who made the study, but rather because a girl's teeth are cut earlier in life than a boy's and have, therefore, been exposed longer at the same age to wear, tear and germs. In the last analysis, however, the girls show no greater susceptibility to dental decay than boys.

Continuing their dental studies with students attending the municipal elementary schools of the small urban community of Hagerstown, Md., the doctors gathered the present data from examinations of 2,232 boys and 2,184 girls. All examinations were made with plain mirrors and fine-pointed "pig-tail" explorers under favorable lighting conditions.

## Drive-In Movie Theater Has Room for 500 Autos

CLEVELAND, OHIO.—An outdoor "drive-in theater" has been opened here.

The movie occupies 10 acres of land, has the "world's largest screen," and will accommodate 500 automobiles, according to the owner.

Semi-circular graded ramps permit unobstructed view of the screen, which measures 50 by 60 feet.

## Apple Tree Controls Own Crop Rotation

KENTON, OHIO.—An apple tree, owned by William Woods, controls its own crop rotation by alternating its production between the east and west branches.

This year the east branch was in bloom; last year, the west. This alternation has occurred as far back as Woods can remember.

No solution has been offered for the strange behavior of the tree.



By L. L. STEVENSON

Fog is one enemy of navigators about which man has been able to do comparatively little. So when heavy fog descends on New York harbor, loss due to shipping delays runs into many thousands of dollars. One day last spring, fog held up 50 outgoing ships, headed by the giant Normandie, and 60 incoming vessels, headed by the great Bremen. The Normandie and the others were forced to lie at their piers and the Bremen and her companions were forced to anchor at the entrance to the harbor almost 24 hours. Every hour a liner is delayed it runs into real money. As a matter of fact, every hour any ship is delayed costs money. But New York harbor is crowded. Certain channels must be followed or the pilot will find his ship on a mud bank. Hence there are so many risks that idleness is forced. Nowadays ships at sea can be kept on their courses without the touch of human hand. But man has yet to invent an eye that will pierce fog.

Although liners remain at their piers or at anchor while a fog blankets the two bays that make up the harbor of New York, ferries attempt to hold their schedules. Bells, horns and sirens aid masters in keeping their course. But it takes something else to enable a man in the wheelhouse to bring a big boat, perhaps with thousands of passengers, safely into a small slip. That something is largely a thorough knowledge of the harbor and a feeling for location. But fog is deceptive in many ways. So on occasions there are accidents. At the time the 110 ships were idle, a big city ferry nudged a government cutter lying at its pier at the Battery. The ferry was moving slowly. But the steel superstructure of the cutter was bent as if it were cardboard.

Fogs are infrequent at this season. But the other night coming home from Staten island, a gray mist hung low over the bay. As the big ferry slipped along slowly, there was an eerie sensation of unreality—as if the steel vessel had no substance. But there was plenty of noise. On the seaward side of Governor's island is a siren with a screech that can be heard for miles. In contrast was the bell buoy marking Robbins reef. To me that warning always sounds lonely. But the fog increased the melancholiness of its note until it sounded like a lost child crying in the dark. The familiar rattle of chains announcing that the ferry was safe in its slip, was a welcome sound.

At Coney island is an amusement enterprise known as Steeplechase park. It covers 12 acres and is assessed at \$3,000,000. It had its beginning back in 1890, when George Tilyou put up signs, "See the Famous Red Bats." Those who paid their dimes looked on two baseball bats painted red. It was a good joke and Tilyou prospered. As he did so, he expanded and by 1907 had a large amusement enterprise. Then came fire. But as the firemen were still working, he put up signs, "See the Ruins—10 Cents" and money rolled into the till. The present head of the park is George C. Tilyou, son of the founder.

Another Coney island business that grew from a small start is the huge restaurant conducted by 34-year-old Charles Feltman. Two hundred waiters, 70 cooks and 30 porters are employed, and in the course of a year 7,000,000 customers are served. The property is assessed at \$3,000,000. Feltman rides to and from business in a limousine with a chauffeur. His father started the business with a hot-dog stand.

Thirty million people visit Coney each year. Any hot Sunday will bring out a million. To the vast majority of the visitors, Coney is merely a place of amusement or access to the sea. But Coney island is really a city of considerable size. It has a population of 90,000.

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## Botanist Pricks Theory Of Lucky 4-Leaf Clover

OTTAWA.—The theory that four-leafed clovers are rare and "lucky" is exploded by Dr. H. T. Gussow, dominion botanist.

Doctor Gussow said that four-leaf clovers were abundant this summer and clovers have been found which had as many as 13 leaves on the stem.

Anyone who takes the trouble to look long and hard enough he said, should have no difficulty in picking a bouquet of four-leaf clovers in a short time.

## Ancient Perfume Potent

ATHENS.—The fragrance of flowers picked more than 2,300 years ago was still retained in small jars of perfume found in the tomb of a two-year-old girl, who was buried in the Third century B. C., at Seden, Macedonia.

# Hard Wood Floors For Every Home

SINCE time immemorial nothing has ever been able to replace satisfactorily a good wood floor for human habitation. From the time man merged from the cave and built his first crude house or log cabin, he fished rough boards and laid them on the ground to serve as a floor. As time went on, refinements and artistry in floor laying developed, culminating in that exquisite form of flooring called parquetry or "wood inlay," the most notable example of which may be found in the famous palace of Versailles.

This parquetry, as developed and utilized by the French, consisted of cutting small pieces of wood into different sizes and shapes and laying them as a floor in all sorts of pleasing patterns. This was a tedious process and an expensive one, even in those days. Even after advent of the machine age, it was and still is necessary for the pieces to be selected for color and fitted piece by piece on the floor so as to make a tight, even, satisfactory job.

Recently a machine has been invented which produces these fine floors in blocks so they are now available for the most modest homes. A firm in quaint McGaheysville, Va., by use of this machine takes the Appalachian hardwoods, principally red and white oaks, and from them makes most of the beautiful patterns known to parquetry. These are shipped in blocks, and where formerly it took one as skilled as a cabinet maker to lay the floors, these can now be fitted perfectly by even the most humble carpenter. These floors are inexpensive and can be adapted to new house construction or can even satisfactorily be laid over old floors, for casein glue is used to cement spliced blocks into strong integral units.

The machine turns out a block made up of many narrow strips of carefully selected wood with a unique provision for solid interlocking with all joined blocks. Because they are made of hard wood, these blocks can be sawed in any direction—and they cannot warp.

## Modern Bethlehem

Bethlehem in Judea today has a mayor and a fine police station. A road sign at its city limit warns chauffeurs to "drive slowly," and the girls who used to carry classic pottery to the well now arrive there with an old gasoline can to carry the water.

This is the time of year when town and rural folk are getting ready for winter. Your car is as important then as now. Give it a thought. Be forehanded. Stop at your favorite dealer and let him drain the Summer-worn oil and put in Acid-Free Quaker State Winter Oil. You'll be thankful the first cold morning.—Adv.

## Awake at Day

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Let it rain and snow and sleet; It can't hurt me anyhow. When it pours it makes me glad I've a new umbrella.

