

WHY PRESIDENT WILSON SHOULD PRESIDE AT PEACE CONGRESS

Broad Powers Already Given Him and the United Nation at His Back Make Mr. Wilson's Position Unique Among Rulers of the World.

By F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

Although Col. Edward M. House, at the instance of the president, is now busily engaged in gathering political and economic data for use at the international congress, which will meet after the conclusion of the war for the purpose of determining the conditions of permanent peace and for the rearrangement of the map of the world, it is a mistake to assume that he will be entrusted with the principal care of the interests of the United States at that epoch-making council.

Ever since last spring, when the matter was first privately and unofficially broached to certain members of the British cabinet in London, it has been understood in Downing street and also at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris that the United States would be represented on that occasion by its chief magistrate, who, since it has now been definitely shown that there is no constitutional obstacle in the way, would visit Europe for the purpose.

No one is better qualified for the task. By international consent Woodrow Wilson is the one great master statesman produced by the present war. That his own countrymen recognize this, irrespective of political parties, is shown by the extraordinarily extensive powers—greater than those enjoyed by any constitutional monarch or even autocrat in the old world—which they have, almost without dissent, placed in his capable hands. In his hands are concentrated all the intricate and delicate threads of the foreign policies of the United States, and it is a departure from popular tradition that both houses of congress have abandoned for the nonce to Woodrow Wilson some of their most cherished prerogatives, patriotically anxious, save in a few belated instances, to refrain from anything that might hamper or embarrass his course of action.

Nation Back of President.

Never before in all the history of the nation has any president been called to quite the same degree, its unquestioning confidence. As the helmsman who has so skillfully piloted the American ship of state through all the storms and tempests of the last three years and more he has established a claim to the unquestioning confidence of his fellow citizens.

The very privacy accorded to him at the white house is eloquent of his feeling, a privacy never tolerated by a people who always seemed to imagine that they had a share in the proprietorship of the executive mansion and a right of access to all its printed notices on board the principal occupant. Now any attempt to intrude upon his isolation is resented by the public. Indeed, the almost touching manifestations of a popular desire to protect him in the stirring times from every annoyance and from anything calculated to disturb the concentration of his mind upon the all-absorbing cares of the nation recall to mind the printed notices on board ocean liners requesting passengers to refrain from talking to "the man at the wheel."

No one, therefore, is so well qualified to represent this great republic at the next peace congress as its chief magistrate. Any other delegate would be compelled to refer for instructions to the white house when confronted by unforeseen difficulties and problems requiring well nigh instant solution. President Wilson could depend on these on the spot, thanks to the powers vested in him by the constitution as well as those conferred or abandoned to him by congress; thanks also to the knowledge that in making his decision he would have the entire American nation at his back.

May Preside at Peace Congress.

If Great Britain was able, in spite of her then military weakness, to impose her will upon the congress of Berlin in 1878, upon Russia, who, victorious in the war of 1877-1878, had beaten back the Turks to the very walls of Constantinople, and even upon Bismarck, it was because she was represented there by her all-powerful prime minister, Lord Beaconsfield, who at a given moment was able then and there to throw down the gauntlet to Russia without receiving some for authority and instructions and thus to carry the day. It was all a question of a few hours, but one demanding quick decision. Had there been any delay on the part of England she would have been ignominiously defeated in the stand which she had taken up at the congress.

By virtue of his rank as chief magistrate of the United States, and also by reason of his acknowledged eminence as the master statesman of the present war, Woodrow Wilson would naturally be called upon to assume the presidency of the congress of peace. This is already recognized in government circles in London, in Paris, in Rome and in Tokio.

In the early stages of the conflict there would have been much opposition abroad, more or less open, to any such proposal. But now it is considered as preeminently desirable, in England as well as in France. For it is felt that in the discussions that will take place differences are well nigh certain to arise between the numerous powers now comprised in the entente and that the presence of a man of the commanding qualities of Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States, will go far to exercise a steady influence upon the deliberations and to smooth away dissensions.

Every one of the allied nations will go to the congress bent on championing its own particular pretensions and aspirations. It stands to reason that the entire fulfillment thereof will be a matter of impossibility. Rivalries and even disputes are bound to ensue and unless there is a presiding officer such as Woodrow Wilson to act in the role of mediator and arbitrator, a president of sufficient weight and authority to cause his awards to be accepted with respect, the gathering will be a chaotic and unproductive one in another way. Indeed, it has sometimes been said that peace congresses were particularly prolific in engendering international strife.

With regard to the other powers of the entente they will undoubtedly be represented at the next international congress by their respective premiers and foreign secretaries instead of by their rulers. For in France, Italy, in Belgium, in Greece, and indeed among all the other allies, the direction and control of the foreign policies is vested in the cabinet, that is to say, in the hands of the premier and the minister of foreign affairs. The ruler, be he monarch or president, is merely the executive of the government and of the will of the people as expressed by the legislature.

True, in England the direction of foreign affairs is vested by the constitution in the sovereign. But this is only in theory. In practice the control remains, as elsewhere in Europe, with the premier and foreign minister. It is they who will be called upon to make decisions, sometimes quick decisions, at the congress, in the name of their nation, without wasting time in referring home for instructions.

Great Britain therefore will, according to present appearances, be represented at the congress by her premier, Lloyd George, who does not talk one word of French, and by Arthur Balfour, her secretary of state for foreign affairs, who is a French scholar, with a rare knowledge of French literature. Possibly the premiers of the Dominion of Canada, of the Commonwealth of Australia and of the South African Union would be associated in the British representation.

France's delegates would be headed by her premier, now Prof. Painleve, and by her foreign minister and former premier Alexandre Ribot, who has an American wife.

The spokesman of Italy would be undoubtedly her veteran foreign minister, Baron Sydney Sonnino, whose mother is an Englishwoman and who received a portion of his education in England, and his colleague premier, old Signor Boselli. Japan would probably send Field Marshal Count Terauchi, who is not only her premier but also her minister of foreign affairs, and who would in all likelihood be accompanied by Viscount Montono, negotiator of the Russo-Japanese alliance, and by Viscount Ishii, who recently headed the Mikado's war mission to the United States.

Serbia, who has fought so bravely and suffered so much, would be represented at the council board by her aged but still vigorous and most alert premier and foreign minister, Nicholas Pashitch.

Spain's Reward.

That the principal neutral powers will be admitted to the congress is a foregone conclusion and in accordance with precedent. Spain, at any rate, deserves a place at the board, if for no other reason than by way of recognition of the unselfish and devoted services rendered by her young monarch to the cause of humanity in connection with the relief of the sufferings of the prisoners of war and of the anxiety of their relatives.

Many hundreds of lives have been spared through his personal intercession with the emperors of Germany and of Austria, many thousands of prisoners have been restored through him to freedom, while hundreds of thousands of captives have been placed through him in communication with those dear to them whom they had left at home. Whenever a soldier was announced as missing, his kinfolk would send an appeal to King Alfonso at his palace in Madrid, the huge edifice being almost entirely given up to a war relief bureau maintained entirely at his expense. And he and the members of his staff of assistants would thereupon never rest until they had ascertained whether or not the missing man was lying wounded in some German hospital or was interned in some remote German or Austrian prison camp.

Moreover, all the powers of the entente appreciate the unceasing efforts of King Alfonso during the past three years to maintain an attitude of friendly neutrality toward them and to defeat the intrigues throughout the peninsula of Germany, who has ever sought to commit Spain to the cause of the two kaisers, or at any rate to a policy of unfriendly neutrality toward the allies. But Spain would be represented at the congress in accordance with the requirements of her constitution, not by her sovereign, but by her premier, Senor Escalera, and by her minister of foreign affairs. And the same rule would apply to those other neutral powers admitted to the congress.

One of the chief reasons, however, for the presence of the principal neutral powers at the council is the fact that the scope of its operations will necessarily go beyond deciding the mere conditions of peace imposed upon the defeated central powers. The congress will be called upon to determine the rearrangement of the map of the entire world. Congresses for this latter purpose seem to come round about every hundred years.

Rearranging World Map.

Some two centuries ago the leading statesmen of Europe were assembled at Utrecht, in Holland, for the purpose of negotiating in behalf of their respective governments the whole series of treaties by the terms of which the many wars that had been raging until then, including that of the Spanish succession, were brought to a close and the entire map of the world reconstituted.

The so-called peace of Utrecht was followed a hundred years later by the international congress of Vienna, where, after the destruction of the military territorial divisions of Napoleon, the leading statesmen of Europe once again reshaped the map of the whole world, the changes of a very radical character affecting both hemispheres.

And now, after the lapse of another century, we are within measurable distance of the gathering of another of these centennial international congresses somewhere in Europe, presumably in Paris, at which the plenipotentiaries of the Powers will determine the conditions under which a lasting peace may be secured at the close of the present war, and where also the map of the world will be subjected to alterations quite as far reaching and momentous as those effected by the peace of Utrecht in 1713 and by the congress of Vienna in 1815.

On the occasion of the congress of Utrecht the United States was not yet in existence as an independent nation, and not even dreamed of as such. At the time of the congress of Vienna this great American republic was only forty years old, and was regarded with a considerable amount of ill will by all the rulers and statesmen present there, as the nation primarily responsible for those subversive doctrines which, according to them, had precipitated the great revolution in France that had ended by plunging all Europe into wars extending over a period of twenty years. The presence, therefore, of the United States at the congress was neither invited nor desired.

The United States was similarly absent from the congress of Paris in 1856, at the close of the Crimean war, when the situation in the near east was subjected to very radical modifications; and also from the congress of Berlin in 1878, after the Russo-Turkish war, which resulted in the organization of Bulgaria into an independent state and in the emancipation of Serbia and Roumania from their vassalage to the suzerainty of the sublime porte.

The congress of Algeiras in 1908 for the settlement of the international difficulties in connection with Morocco was the first international council of this kind in which the United States took part—the so-called peace congresses of The Hague were of an entirely different character—and the influential role played at Algeiras by the American plenipotentiary, former Ambassador Henry White, the most experienced and carefully trained diplomat of the diplomatic service of this country, constitutes a happy augury for the commanding place which the United States is destined to fill at the international congress which will signalize the close of the present war.

At this congress the presence of the United States is not only invited and earnestly desired, but moreover seems so natural and indispensable that its decisions would appear inconclusive were this nation absent from the board.

President Wilson's Aim.

It is not only the map of the world that will be rearranged by the congress. It will determine more or less indirectly the destinies and the future policies of this nation, both in domestic matters and in foreign affairs, for a hundred years to come.

The man who represents this country will in this way be in a position to exercise a greater amount of influence upon the history of this nation than any former statesman or president, with the exception of Washington, who won its independence, and Abraham Lincoln, who saved it from disintegration. From an American point of view much indeed everything depends on the president assuming the care of the interests of the United States at the congress, not by deputy but in person.

It is no secret among his friends that ever since the beginning of the present war he has entertained the very laudable ambition to be called upon to act, not only as the chief mediator between the various belligerents but also as the prime arbitrator in determining the conditions of peace. He believed that as the

chief magistrate of what was until last winter the greatest of all neutral powers he was well fitted for the task, and there is no doubt that while his personal sympathies have all along been with the allies he sought to conceal them and to maintain in his official capacity an attitude of unswerving neutrality, so that nothing might interfere with his selection by all the belligerents as the mediator.

It was not a selfish ambition. For, like all level-headed statesmen imbued with a proper sense of the responsibilities of their office, he was anxious to preserve his country from the horrors of the present war. He realized the advantages which would accrue to the United States if it were instrumental in bringing the conflict to a close, and he entertained a very natural yearning for the blessings which are pledged by scripture to those who act as peacemakers.

When last winter war was forced upon the United States by the intolerable affronts and indignities of which Germany had rendered herself guilty toward this country it seemed for a brief moment as if the prospects of Woodrow Wilson being called upon to act as a mediator were at an end. He was no longer the head of the greatest of all neutral powers but had become a belligerent.

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distance of a victorious peace. It is therefore eminently fitting that Woodrow Wilson, who has as chief magistrate of this republic played so determining a part in the fortunes of the war since last spring, should likewise be permitted to play a determining role in the negotiations of the conditions of peace as presiding officer of the international congress which will be assembled for the purpose.

In fact, as the popularly elected ruler of one of the principal belligerent powers his voice will carry far more weight at the council board than if he had remained in the position of the executive of a neutral nation. For when he does speak it will be with all the prestige and authority derived from the knowledge that he has behind him ready to back his words the united will of a nation of over a hundred million population, a navy now second only to that of Great Britain, an army in the course of expansion to a force of several million men and the virtually inexhaustible resources of the United States.

FARM MANAGEMENT IN A NUTSHELL

We may not know just what is meant by the subject of "Farm Management" but we all know the meaning of the statements "It's all in the management" and "He is no manager."

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2. Crops in the rotation to transfer nitrogen from the air to the soil to be used by succeeding crops.
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4. Mares engaged in farm work and colt production. This will save the money paid out for mules and horses, but the greatest profit will come from securing in this way sufficient work stock for economical crop production.
5. The most prolific seed for planting purposes.
6. Acid phosphate for soils deficient in phosphorus and lime for soils needing lime.
7. Labor-saving farm implements and machinery for the most economical production of crops.—The Progressive Farmer.

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