

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

The first authoritative and detailed statement of the work to be undertaken and the method to be pursued by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was made by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, a member of the board of trustees and of the executive committee, at his opening address as president of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration held on May 24, 1911. Mr. Butler said:

Fortunately, by reason of the great benefaction of Mr. Carnegie, the world now has in its possession a powerful engine for the accomplishment of precisely this end. The establishment of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace marks an epoch, in that it furnishes the organization and the means for a sustained and systematic effort to reach and to convince the public opinion of the world by scientific argument and exposition. Talk about the evils of war there has been in plenty; we are now ready and anxious for something more constructive.

The Division of International Law will be under the direction of Professor James Brown Scott, whose services at the Department of State, at the second Hague Conference, and in connection with the American Society and Journal of International Law, are too well known to need specific enumeration. This division will promote the development of international law, and by study, by conferences, by aiding negotiations, and by publication, and will assist in bringing about such a progressive development of the rules of international law as will enable them to meet with constantly growing adequacy the needs of the nations of the world in their juristic relations toward each other. It will not be sufficient, however, to bring the principles and rules of international law to the notice of the people of various nations; the rights and duties that are implied in these principles and rules, and that follow from them, must also be clearly and effectively taught. Furthermore, this division of the Endowment will aim constantly to inculcate the belief that intercourse between nations should be based upon a correct and definite idea of international justice. To the perfecting and clarifying of the fundamental conception of international justice, this division will assiduously devote itself.

All this study and activity have for their object to hasten the day when the principles and rules of international law will be so clearly apprehended and so satisfactory that the settlement of international differences and disputes in accordance with their terms will become the unvarying practice of civilized nations.

For this purpose the Endowment will associate with Dr. Scott a consultative board composed of some of the most distinguished international lawyers in the world. The point of view of each great nation will be represented in their councils, and the results to be arrived at will be the joint work of jurists of every school and of every language. It is not too much to hope that by the influence of these scholars the international law of the future will prove to be without the division between the law of peace and the law of war which is now charac-

teristic of it. The method which obtains in the domain of municipal law affords a model and an example for the method to be applied in the field of international law. We need, first, an agreement as to the fundamental principles which should regulate the rights and duties of nations in their mutual intercourse, which principles would then form the substantive law of nations. The means and instrumentalities provided to enforce a right or to redress a wrong would indicate the natural and normal procedure to be followed in international discussion and litigation. It would then appear that for the maintenance of rights and for the redress of wrongs between nations there are, first, the legal remedies, and, secondly, the resort to violence and force. In this way the rules of war would cease to form a part of the substantive law of nations; they would be classed, together with the peaceable remedies and after them, as one of the possible means of enforcing rights and redressing wrongs. The text-books of international law would no longer put war on an equality with peace, but would relegate it to its appropriately subordinate place in the consideration of questions of procedure.

The Hague Conference has solemnly declared that the maintenance of peace is the supreme duty of nations. For the execution of this supreme duty adequate means must be provided. If they are at hand they should be strengthened; if they are not at hand, they must be brought into existence. A study of the struggle in the history of Europe between self-redress and the judicial settlement of private disputes, and of the steps by which private warfare was abolished and civil actions were made determinable by courts of law, will help to convince the nations of the world that the very measures which they have taken within their several borders to do away with self-redress and to establish domestic peace and order, are precisely those which will establish order and justice and assure peace between the nations themselves. This whole process is one of legal evolution.

The second division of the work of the Carnegie Endowment will be the Division of Economics and History. It will be under the direction of Professor John Bates Clark, of Columbia University, whose foremost place among English-speaking economists is gladly recognized everywhere. The work of this division, like that of the Division of International Law, will be scientific and scholarly in character, in organization, and in method. Like the Division of International Law, the Division of Economics and History will aim at the education of public opinion and at the formulation of conclusions that may serve for the guidance of governmental policy. With Professor Clark will be associated a score of the world's leading economists. England, Germany, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Japan, the Argentine Republic, and other nations will have a voice and a part in formulating the problems to whose solution this division will address itself, and in working out the solutions of those problems. The results arrived at in this case, as in the case of the Division of International Law, will not be those imposed upon the judgment of one people by the scholars and economists of another, but they will be those that are reached by coöperation between economists of a dozen nations.

It will be the business of this division of the work of the Endowment to study the economic causes and effects of war; the effect upon the public opinion of

nations and upon international good will, of retaliatory, discriminatory, and preferential tariffs; the economic aspects of the present huge expenditures for military purposes; and the relation between military expenditures and international well-being and the world-wide program for social improvement and reform which is held in waiting through lack of means for its execution.

The highest expectations may confidently be entertained as to the practical results to follow from the successful prosecution of economic studies such as these. Mankind has never yet learned to appreciate the dislocation which war necessarily produces in the economic processes of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption all over the world. A war between two nations is not confined in its effect to the combatants. The interests of neutral powers are involved in some degree. Articles for which there is no market in time of peace are called for in large amounts in time of war; the processes of production are diverted from their normal channels or are artificially stimulated in abnormal ways; exchange is alternately diminished and accelerated; the markets of the world are disarranged; and in every direction are to be found evidences of war's ravages and evil consequences. Mankind must be taught to look upon war as a pathological phenomenon; to seek in the economic and social life of men and nations for its most active causes; and to look farther and deeper in that same economic and social life for modes of preventing war and for allowing the economic activities of mankind to go forward unhindered and unhampered in their mighty task of laying the basis for an increasingly higher and nobler civilization.

The work of this division of the Endowment may well result, within a measurable period, in broadening the study and the teaching of political economy everywhere. Moreover, it will help to bring about a new conception of history, and to establish new tests of effectiveness in the teaching of it. We shall gain from these studies a new standard in the measurement of human values, and the children of the generations that are to come will have an opportunity to learn more fully than has yet been possible of the high significance of the scientific and philosophic development of mankind, of his artistic and literary achievements, of his moral and social advances, of his industrial and commercial undertakings; in fact, of all those things which we justly think of as entering into a true conception of civilization.

In these two divisions — those of International Law and of Economics and History — the Endowment will, under the leadership and guidance of trained scholars of the first rank, seek to make constant and influential contributions to human knowledge with a view to so instructing public opinion as to hasten the day when judicial process will everywhere be substituted for force in the settlement of international differences and misunderstandings.

There remains a third and important division of the work of the Endowment — the Division of Intercourse and Education — the director for which has not yet been announced. It will be the function of this division to supplement the work of the two divisions, which may be called, perhaps, the scientific ones, by carrying forward vigorously, and in coöperation with existing agencies, the educational work of propaganda, of international hospitality, and of promoting

international friendship. Among the tasks of this division will be to diffuse information and to educate public opinion regarding the causes, nature and effects of war, and the means for its prevention and avoidance; to establish a better understanding of international rights and duties and a more perfect sense of international justice among the inhabitants of civilized nations; to cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other of the several nations; to promote a general acceptance of peaceable methods in the settlement of international disputes, and to maintain, promote, and assist such establishments, organizations, associations and agencies as shall be deemed necessary or useful in the accomplishment of the purposes for which the Endowment exists. In other words, this division will make practical application of the teachings and findings of the Divisions of International Law and of Economics and History.

It can hardly be doubted that the men at the head of these three important divisions of the work of the Endowment, with their immediate associates and colleagues in this and other countries, will speedily come to form a veritable faculty of peace, and that the world will look to them more and more for instruction and for inspiration alike. No such broad and philosophic conception of international relations has ever before been put forward as that which the trustees of the Endowment have formulated and made their own. The conception itself and the admirable plans made for its development and application open a new era in the history of the world.

To such great and nobly conceived tasks as these the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have set their hands. Every true lover of his kind will wish them success in their stupendous undertaking, and will offer them earnest and hearty support toward its accomplishment.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The American Society of International Law held its fifth annual meeting at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., April 27-29, 1911, and the program, as outlined in the April number of the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*, was strictly adhered to. The meeting was in a way supplementary to the proceedings of 1910. In this meeting, the principles were expounded which, it is believed, control the whole country in extending protection to its citizens or subjects residing in foreign countries, that is to say, the question was considered in its international aspect. At the meeting of 1911 the attempt was made to examine and to formulate those principles which should guide and control foreign countries in their treatment of aliens residing or domiciled within them; that is to say, the subject was treated from the standpoint of constitutional law with reference, however, to the principles of