

THE PROPOSED LEAGUE OF NATIONS*)

The fourteenth and last of President Wilson's famous "fourteen points" reads as follows: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Mr. Wilson, it will be noted, does not use the term "a League of Nations to Enforce Peace". He speaks of "a general association of nations." In the second place, the purpose of an international association in Mr. Wilson's thought should be to afford "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." The purpose of the international association, then, would be the protection of all nations in the enjoyment of political independence and in securing their territorial integrity. The actualization of Mr. Wilson's plan would mean the break-up of imperialism and conquest, since it would guarantee to every nation liberty, independence and self-government. The purpose of the association would be limited to guaranteeing to every nation its political independence and its territory.

Ex-President Taft, in a recently published statement explains that the original platform of the proposed League of Nations to Enforce Peace contains four planks. One is the submission of all issues between nations that can be decided on principles of law to an international court. The second is the submission of all such issues not capable of settlement on principles of law to a commission of conciliation and compromise. The third is a covenant between the nations constituting the league, that if any member of the league begins a war before resorting to the methods of adjudication or compromise thus provided, the remainder of the league will unite their economic and military forces to suppress the recalcitrant member. The fourth calls for an international congress from time to time to settle definitely and enlarge the application of the principles of international law.

"A league of similar purpose has been formed in England," writes Mr. Taft, "with provisions a little more ambitious, in that it proposes to enforce the judgments and recommendations of the court and of the commission of conciliation. A similar society has been formed in France." Mr. Taft further explains that while the President, in some of his utterances, has approved the principles of a league to enforce peace, the fourteenth point of his message of January 8 "does not expressly do it." Mr. Taft further points out that there is doubt in many minds as to the possibility of forming a league of Nations to Enforce Peace, involving, as it does, the abdication of sovereignty on the part of every nation joining the league and the transference of a united sovereignty to an international tribunal or committee. The fact, he says, that the former peace alliances have failed

Meget er der allerede sagt og skrevet om denne Sag, og meget mere vil vi faa at hore og se deraf. Det er kun en ringe Del deraf, Dsk. kan give Plads for; men den fglgende Artikel af G. T. Rygh i „American Lutheran Survey" finder vi vel vrd at overveje. Vi meddeler den paa Engelsk, som den er skrevet, dels fordi der forekommer Udtryk, som er vanskelige at oversette nvgjagtig, og saa mener vi, at de Lsere, der er interesserede i dette Sprgsmaal, nok kan faa fat paa Mening, som den er udtrykt her paa Engelsk. Red.

led is no reason why the attempt should not be made once more, in order to make peace permanent throughout the world.

Now that the United States and the Allies are victorious over the Central Powers, another aspect is given to the proposed plan for a League of Nations to enforce Peace by the fact that Great Britain and the United States together exert a dominating influence in the world. With eighty per cent of the merchant shipping and a preponderance of the fighting naval power of the world in their possession, it is clear that the United States and Great Britain are the unquestionably supreme powers in the world. They are strong enough to compel the submission of any other nation or any possible alliance of other nations. They are strong enough to compel all nations to render obedience to their will and submit to their dictation. There is no question as to the compelling authority and power of the Anglo-Saxon race as represented by England and the United States.

A League of Nations to Enforce Peace would then simply be the organization of these two Powers, together with weaker nations who might join them, for the formal and judicial governance of the rest of the world. No nation would dare for a moment question the authority of these two Powers combined. Hence, whether the League of Nations to Enforce Peace is organized or not, there will be peace in the world so long as the United States and Great Britain agree that there shall be peace. Their preponderance in military and naval power, in wealth and man-power and in all the engineering of warfare on land and sea, renders these two nations combined paramount and their dictates authoritative for all other nations. Their particular construction of international ethics would be determinative in spite of anything that might be opposed by any other nation or combination of nations. In the final analysis, the world would have to submit to their decrees regarding international adjustments and accept their rulings in matters of international friction and controversy.

Whether the world at large is ready and willing to accept Anglo-Saxon paramountcy is not the question. It has got to accept it. For it is supreme over the earth, so long as these two powers stand together. Naturally, then, for the sake of good order and the good opinion of mankind, a League of Nations to Enforce Peace would serve as an instrumentality through which these two nations could exercise their preponderance of power. Possibly such a league to enforce peace, the fourteenth point of his message of January 8 "does not expressly do it." Mr. Taft further points out that there is doubt in many minds as to the possibility of forming a league of Nations to Enforce Peace, involving, as it does, the abdication of sovereignty on the part of every nation joining the league and the transference of a united sovereignty to an international tribunal or committee. The fact, he says, that the former peace alliances have failed

The over-shadowing historical fact resultant from the great war is the establishment of England and the United States as the two dominant Powers of the world. These two nations are now in a position to impose their will upon all other nations and exact obedience to their decrees. They are in a position to place their interpretation upon the issues in controversy between nations, pass judgment and enforce obedience to their joint decrees. Napoleon tried to break the dominating power of England and failed. William II attempted the same task and has failed. It matters little whether a League of Nations for the Enforcement of Peace is established or not — league or no league, the will of America and England will prevail. The issue of the war is but another illustration of the biological—the prin-

ciple of the survival of the strongest. As the eleven sheaves in Joseph's dream bowed to his sheaf, so the nations of the world from this day on will bow in obedience to the Anglo-Saxons.

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J. K. Jensen.

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