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THE TRUE WAY TO PEACE

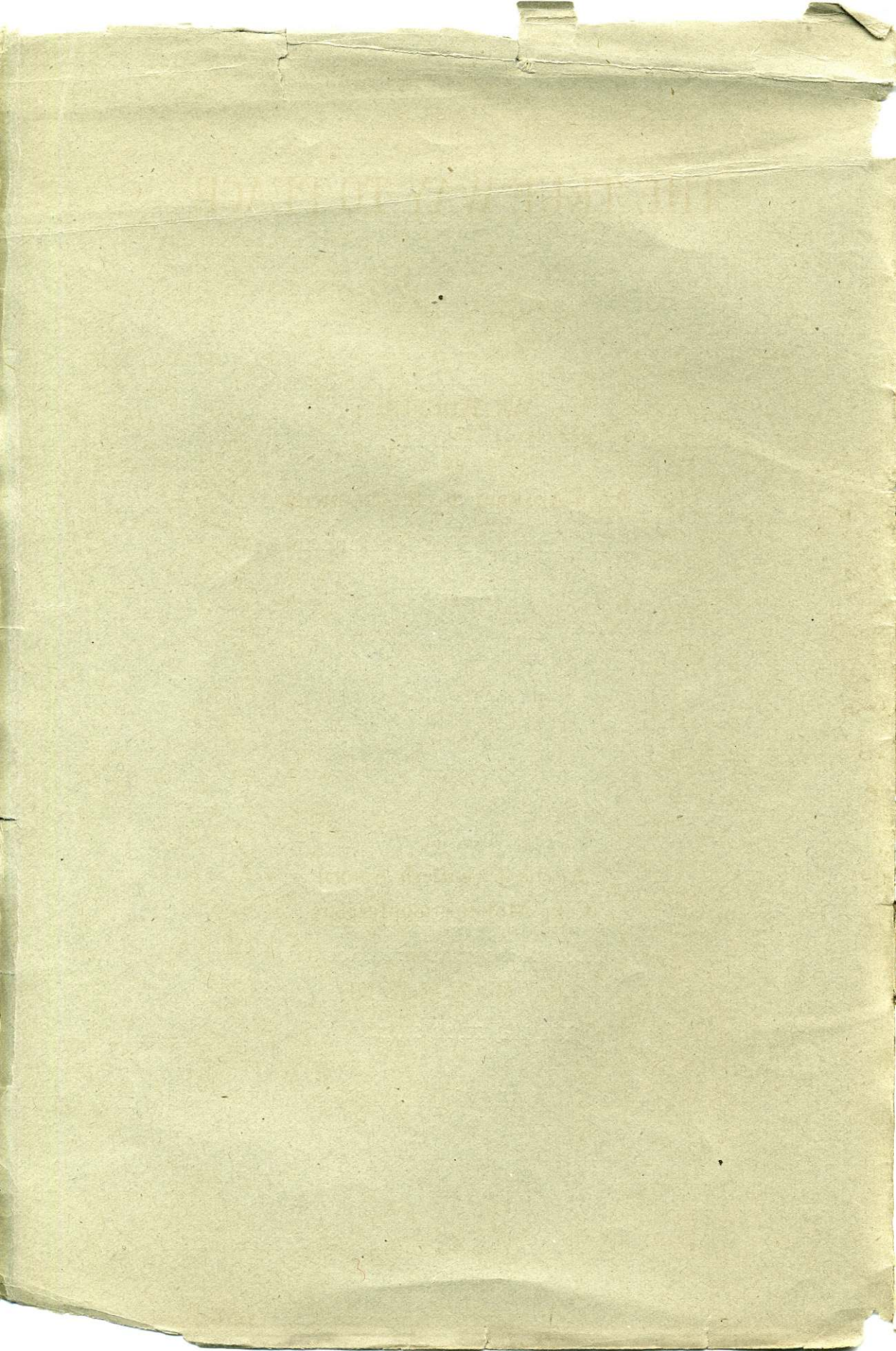
AN ADDRESS

BY

REAR-ADMIRAL F. E. CHADWICK

At the Twentieth Annual
Lake Mohonk Conference

Held May 27, 28, 29, 1914



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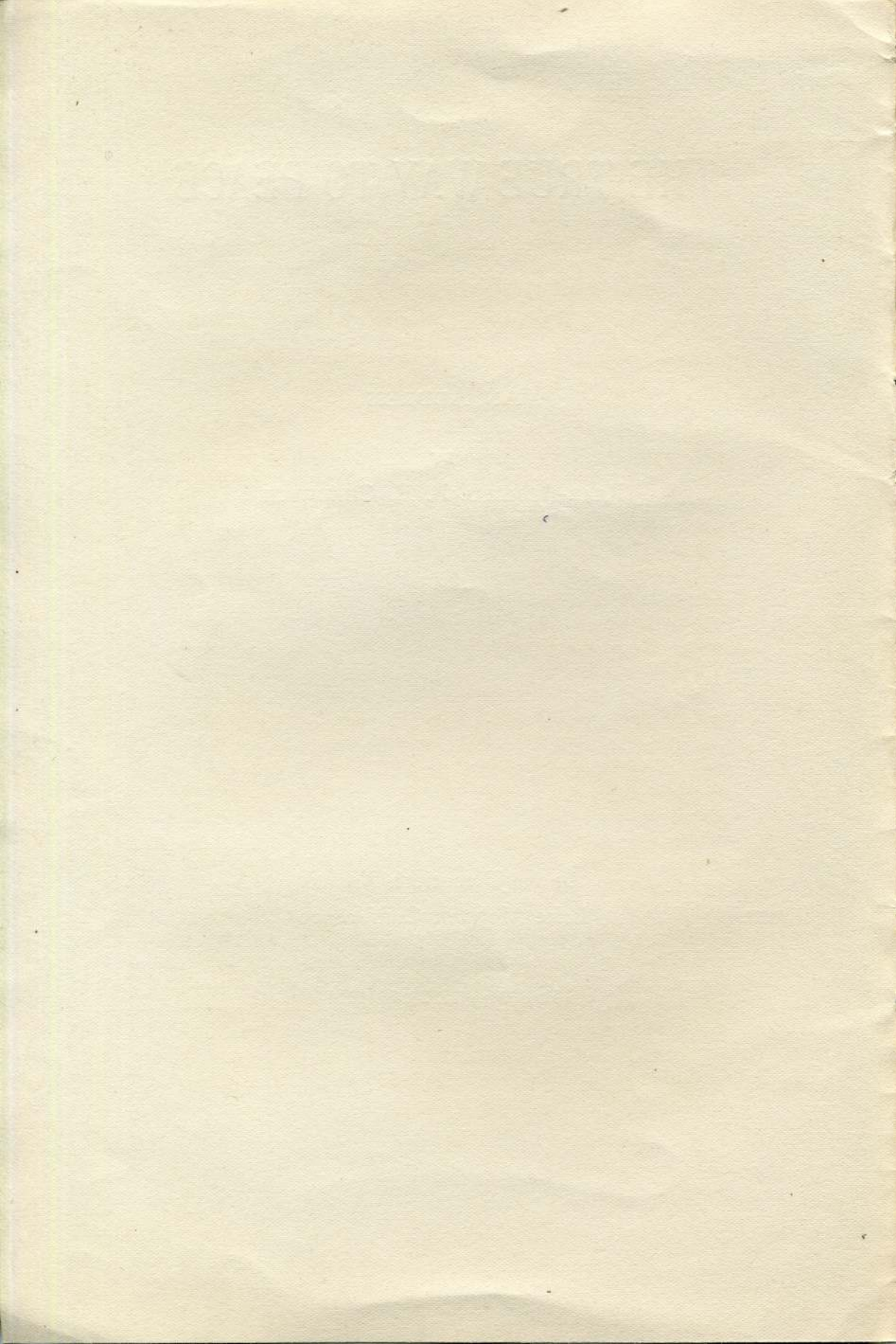
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THE TRUE WAY TO PEACE

ADDRESS BY REAR-ADMIRAL FRENCH E. CHADWICK, U. S. N.

I have always, since I have been a reasoning individual, advocated prevention of disease, instead of cure; hygiene as against medicine. I think that arbitration, once the fires are alight or even well laid, will stop very few wars. It would not have stopped our Revolution, the Mexican War, or our Civil War, the German-French War of 1870, nor the just-finished Balkan War. Human nature is but too often not amenable to a bit. If we really want peace, we must go to the bottom of things and remove the causes of war. Thus the Wilson-Bryan plan is based upon the actual occurrence of difficulty. It begins: "If a disagreement should occur." I propose that we should try and get down to bedrock and prevent even disagreements and I believe that I can suggest at least a step in that direction.

There are, in my belief, only two real causes of war, and one of these we can never arbitrate. These two are trade jealousy and aspiration toward racial solidarity. This latter will ever work for war until it be accomplished. It is an impulse as constant and as irresistible as gravity. It was this which caused the wars in the third quarter of the last century, which made a real Italy and a real Germany. It caused the Balkan conflagration, the embers of which are still smoldering and ready to blaze again. And it is well to recall, not as against arbitration but as against over-optimism, that it was the findings of a Peace Conference, that of Berlin, from which Disraeli claimed to return with "peace with honor," that made this war certain. No arbitration will ever touch such elemental questions. The mighty aspiration for a united Germany which underlay the Franco-German War was too deep in its nature to be touched by any court. Thus in my view it is vain to hope for everlasting peace until racial instincts adjust themselves into real national segregations.

With the other cause—trade jealousy—adjustment is feasible. For this cause we had a direct threat of war by Great Britain against Germany only a little more than two years ago over the Moroccan question. Great Britain at that time certainly would not have gone into arbitration. I think she was all wrong and Germany wholly right in the matter and the latter had the good sense to settle the subject with France to the advantage both of Germany and England though the latter was so blinded by her jealousy that she could not see how right Germany was and how to England's own advantage was Germany's action. The whole was a question of trade advantage.

Man is a trading animal. He has traded ever since he has been man and from very small barter, the exchange of a skin, say, for something to eat, this barter (for this is all that commerce is) has grown to be the greatest of material interests: covering the ocean with steamships, the land with railways, and shuffling humanity to and fro in the search of new ores, new fibres, and new fields of trade. It has caused the development of industrialism until we are mad to make things and to find people who will buy them. This is the interest which dominates the whole world.

In looking over the ways of mankind one will find no altruism in commercial matters. We will sacrifice ourselves individually in many ways, but nations will never sacrifice themselves when it comes to a matter of business. They draw there the line of friendly help. There is no country which does not mulct the products of another in matters of exchange. Great Britain is the only one which is ever spoken of as a free-trade country. It will perhaps surprise some of you to know that the people of the United Kingdom pay more customs duties per head than do we of the United States. Great Britain, however, has been wiser in the adjustment of her duties than we have been and has freed her manufacturing industries from the burdens we laid upon ours.

But England has been a protagonist in commercial war-waging. Her wars with Napoleon were fundamentally trade wars, and very just ones, as Napoleon's avowed determination was to exclude British trade from continental Europe. Britain has so long dominated the world commercially, that any ser-

ious rivalry touches her to the quick, whether it is to her actual injury or not. It is enough to recognize that a rival has appeared to stir her enmity. Thus Germany, which in the present generation has risen from a state of almost peasant type, with a landed aristocracy, to a great industrial state—one of the greatest of the world—is England's present bugbear. And, curious to note, she is but repeating to-day toward Germany what was felt and said in 1859 and 1860 in regard to France, now a bosom friend. Such are the vagaries of nations, as of men and women. This present and prospective rivalry has stirred England to her depths. It is not that she has not increased enormously her trade but that Germany has increased hers in much greater ratio. Naturally Great Britain feels a more kindly sentiment toward the French Republic than toward Germany for boiled down to its essence, the fierce competition of Germany is the cause of Britain's discontent. And herein is one of the world's dangers. Germany is increasing its numbers about 800,000 yearly. She has about reached the limit of her ability to provide food for her population off her own land. Great Britain long since passed this limit and is now importing \$1,500,000,000 worth of food yearly. While, in a way courting war with Germany she fears war deeply, for were her imports seriously interfered with, her population would in a few weeks be at starvation point. Driven by this fear she has increased her naval expenditure to \$250,000,000 to face the fleets of the German-Austrian-Italian alliance, about equal in numbers to her own, and has linked up with her ancient enemies, France and Russia.

Germany has lately stirred the Anglo-French association by an increase of her peace army to 800,000 men. But this was done through Germany's fear of Russia and was in no wise directed against France except that France had to be reckoned with as an ally of Russia. This fact of France's alliance with the latter is, as I see it, the great disturbing factor of the European situation. If France were not bound to a hard and fast alliance with Russia, I feel sure that Germany would reduce her armament. The latter feels that she must be ever ready against Russia, and that she is the only real bulwark against Russia's sweeping over Europe. The question would have been fought out winter before last, when Austria mobil-

ized, had it not been for the German Emperor's unwillingness. For despite the opposite opinion, the Emperor William is strong for peace. I know that he has twice in intimate conversation with two American gentlemen of high standing said, in the same words to each: "The aim of my life is to end my reign without a war." Germany in general in the winter of 1912-1913 disagreed with him. The country, so I was assured by persons of standing in that winter when I was at Berlin, desired war at that moment as being the psychic time for the great venture which it feels must come.

Now how shall such a situation be overcome? I think everyone must sympathize with Russia in her desire to reach the sea. Equally I think that everyone must deplore her constant reaching out over vast spaces of land to do this. Apparently she hopes to absorb Asia Minor with outlets on the Mediterranean, and arrive through Persia at the Indian Sea. If the Sea of Marmora, with its approaches east and west, were neutralized, as is today the Suez Canal, it would seem that Russia would have ample ingress and egress to her sea-borne commerce in summer and winter, having already ample outlet for her northern regions in summer by way of the Baltic. The European world is not cringing to-day before Russian power as it did some few years ago, and there should be a concert of powers which should set a limit to her absorption of countries with races entirely alien to her own both in blood and religion. As matters stand today she is a terror to the Mohammedan world. This setting a limit to Russian expansion cannot, however, come about until there shall be a reasonable feeling of good-neighborhood established in Western Europe, and in this is involved the more serious part of our study.

From the beginning of the world to 1880, Africa, from the point of view of the white man, was in the main a no-man's land. A narrow strip at the extreme northeast had been the cradle of civilization; people of Arab blood had swept over the remains on the northern shore of the ancient Carthaginian and Roman civilizations; the southern end of the continent was in British and Boer possession; certain regions, comparatively mere patches, had long been in possession of the Portuguese, a race itself slightly negroid and very ineffective. France after forty years of warfare had appropriated Algeria and

had gone far in the accomplishment of a civilization which is greatly to her credit. The rest of the outlying world had long before been pretty completely appropriated by Great Britain by force of her energetic merchants. Australia and India were hers, linked to her by the great stepping stones of Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt and Aden, and the isles of the sea were hers in great measure, among them Bermuda and many of the chief islands of the Caribbean. France had appropriated Madagascar with as little show of right as she has lately possessed herself of Morocco. Germany was but finding herself after her victory of 1870 and her unification. The Hanseatic League, but for the devastating wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, might have done for Germany somewhat as their merchant guilds had done for Holland and England. As it was, however, the potential oversea energies of Germany had lain dormant for generations through her disunion. When in 1885 the great scramble for Africa began, Germany, now a solidified nation, hesitated as to any colonial expansion. She was thus last in the running in this final great appropriation, and, so to speak, found herself severely handicapped by the anticipation of England and France. Notwithstanding, she had some success. Today of Africa's 11,500,000 square miles (an area three and a half times that of the United States), a good third, 3,700,000 square miles (including Madagascar), are held by France; 3,623,000 by Great Britain (if the Anglo-Egyptian condominium be included); 570,000 by Italy; 1,000,000 of the less desirable by Germany; 800,000 by Portugal; 910,000 by Belgium. This means that these countries, which in 1880 controlled but in very small degree the lands of this great continent, now control: France and Great Britain each an area an eighth larger than the United States; Germany an area nearly one-third of the United States and Belgium nearly the same. Nearly all of this appropriation has taken place in the last thirty years. In addition to such vast seizures, Great Britain has annexed Burma, 169,000 square miles, France Indo-China, 256,000 square miles; the United States the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, Guam and Puerto Rico. The great island of New Guinea with its 312,000 square miles, a fourth larger than Texas has been divided between Holland, Great Britain and Germany. In no one of these cases except

that of Hawaii has there been any reference to the wishes of the inhabitants. They are not the possessions of the several owners by any inherent right. They have been taken by the rule of might, and with very little regard to the wishes of any other nationality.

Now in 1911 there came a very peculiar case. We all remember the visit of the Emperor William to Tangier in March, 1905, as a protest against the secret convention between Great Britain and France, which came to light that year, by which Morocco was practically turned over, so far as England was concerned, to France. The result was the Algeiras Conference in 1906, in which we took part. The decisions of this conference started with the declaration that it was "based upon the three-fold principle of the sovereignty and independence of his Majesty the Sultan, the integrity of his dominions, and economic liberty without any inequality." This convention naturally set aside the secret arrangements made between England and France and between France and Spain, looking to the occupancy of Morocco by the two latter countries.

The rest of the story which is but a leading up to my peace proposition shall be made as short as possible, those interested in the whole being referred to Mr. E. D. Morel's admirable account in his book, *Morocco in Diplomacy* (Smith Elder & Co., London, 1912), and to my address here two years since, in which I first advanced the idea which I now again bring forward with the hope that it may be developed to a practical working.

To continue: France again announced herself, in a declaration signed at Berlin by Monsieur Jules Cambon and Herr Kinderlen-Waechter, the German Chancellor, on February 8, 1909,

"Firmly attached to the maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Shereefian Empire, being resolved to safeguard the principle of economic equality, and, consequently, not to obstruct German commercial and industrial interests in that country;

And the Imperial German Government pursuing only economic interests in Morocco, recognizing on the other hand that the special political interests of France in that country are closely bound up with the consolidation of order and internal peace and being resolved not to impede these interests;

Declare that they do not pursue nor encourage any measure of a nature to create in their favor or in that of any Power an economic privilege, and that they will endeavor to associate their nationals in affairs for which the latter may obtain a concession."

These are the sentiments which I propose that we shall endeavor to see applied to all such regions. My proposition is that this wise and beneficent stand taken as to Morocco should, if it be possible to bring it about, be taken for all the vast regions which have passed out of native control since 1880. This would bring into accord with the Franco-German Convention of 1911 respecting Morocco, all of Africa excepting Cape Colony to Transvaal, Algeria, Liberia, the Portuguese territories and some minor possessions of some of the Powers on the West Coast; it would throw open to equality of trade nineteen-twentieths of the continent, an area three times that of the United States with a population of about 120,000,000. It would include Manchuria, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, New Guinea and other smaller islands and regions. The opening up of such an area to equality of trade would go an immense way to soothing international jealousies and hatred; it certainly would leave no cause for complaint to Germany, or bring any to Great Britain.

It may be laid down as an irrefutable proposition that no country has a right to seize a region belonging to a people whose only fault is a backwardness in civilization, without making the benefit of such people the first consideration. Thus we have no right to exploit the Philippines as an adjunct to our own fiscal policy; Belgium has no right to exploit the Congo State without making the happiness and well-being of its black inhabitants a first aim. So far was this not so under King Leopold's administration over this vast district, three and a half times the size of Texas, that the best authorities estimate that the population was reduced from twenty to eight millions. Twelve millions of people were thus sacrificed to greed; a greater destruction than that of all the wars in the last two centuries.

I think it also may be laid down as axiomatic that no stronger country has a right to fence in such regions which in a way are the world's commons as their own special com-

mercial reserves. Were the United States, China, Japan, and I think I may add Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Austria, consulted in the partition of Africa? Was any country outside their own conspiracy (for it was a conspiracy) considered by England, France and Spain in the question of the occupancy of Morocco? Can the inherent right of every country to go and trade in such regions on equal terms be taken away by such conspiracies or by any other international arrangements in which all the countries have not a voice? I say No. The logic of the situation is that all such regions equal, as said above, in area to more than two and a half that of the United States (I speak only of seizures since 1880) should be open to all men to trade on a common footing. Such internationalization would take away (I beg to repeat, for it is the *piece de resistance* of my argument) the most potent cause of war. A fundamental cause of complaint in any community of men is disparity of treatment; equally, such disparity is the cause of ill-feeling among nations.

Why, then, if America is a believer in peace, in justice among nations, in doing justice to all people, backward or not, should we not begin with the Philippines and Puerto Rico and show an example to the world of fair and right dealing, to make a reality of that which is so often on our lips,—the Open Door? For our talk of the open door has been mere lip-service, a mere profession; let us make it actuality. We can thus go before the world and ask with reason like treatment, say in Manchuria and in other vast regions now developing into world markets. Such treatment is, as mentioned, an acknowledged right already in two African regions, Morocco and the Congo State; let it be extended to all lately occupied.

I have omitted to say anything about a very special region which is going to be one of the ganglions of the commercial world; the Panama Canal Zone. This, to my mind, should as a matter of our own national self-interest be thrown open to absolute free trade. The effect would be the same as at Hong Kong, only in much greater degree. It has made Hong Kong one of the greatest and richest ports of the world; it will do the like for the Canal Zone. If we know our own interests; if we want to extend our commercial influence in Central and South America, this should be one of our first, as it would

be one of our greatest, steps. I hope we can develop sufficient large-mindedness to compass it.

I recognize that the proposition I bring forward to internationalize trade, to put all nations on a footing of economic equality in the regions mentioned, is a difficult one to bring into actual practice. The Congo State, for instance, so internationalized at the Berlin Congress, is an example, notwithstanding, of its administrators putting difficulties, in the way of equal treatment; but the thing can be done. There will be no difficulty, I believe, with England or Germany; there will be much with France and possibly Italy. France especially has made trade, for any but her own nationals, very difficult; the opening of Morocco after her occupation was forced upon her. There would have to be an international board to which complaints could be carried and in which decided. Such a board, and it should be one of business men preferably to lawyers, should have a general supervision of the whole subject and very large powers. After all, it is but an extension of the "most favored nation" clause which exists in all commercial treaties which can be regarded as applied not by the nominal owners but by the real owners of the country which the former have only seized.

I repeat: let us ourselves take the first step, as mentioned, in the Philippines, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone, and thereby signalize ourselves as real wellwishers to world peace and not as mere theorists; cover ourselves with honor and spread well-being. And as a final proposition; why should not this association take it upon itself to urge such a measure upon the President, upon Congress, and the Department of State?

EPILOGUE (*added Dec. 1914*).

The logical continuation of the foregoing proposition is absolute free-trade. Trade has been and is the great civilizer, humanizer and missionary. For it, every road, every steamship and railway train exists. Being such a beneficent thing, nothing can be more illogical than the putting of any trammels in its way.

I have headed the foregoing: *The True Way to Peace*. But it is but the beginning of the Way. The full accomplish-

ment can only come by the abolition of the custom-house (the very basis of war), and the making of trade between nations as free as it is now between Maine and California.

Until Peace Societies shall take this stand, they are but beating the air.

F. E. CHADWICK.

Twin Oaks,
Newport, R. I.

~~26 December, 1914.~~

