In the Second of a Series of Articles on the European War He Discusses the Difficult Task of Securing Peace Without the Sacrifice of Righteousness.

In Lewiston, but it never for one moment entered the heads of our people to destroy Vera Cruz. In the same way, when we were making up our minds to keep our promise and after establishing an orderly Government in General MacArthur’s army and left her as an independent treaty or agreement at the very time when by our conduct we were showing that in actual fact we had not the slightest intention of applying them with the sweeping universality we promised. In these cases we were usually and, although not always, right in our refusal to apply the treatise, or rather the principle set forth in the treaties, to the concrete case at issue; but we were utterly wrong, we were, although unintentionally, both insincere and hypocritical, when at the same time we made it appear that we intended to universal arbitration treaties which we would have been wise to confess, although we have nothing to confess.

The subject in question is the subject of the Philippine Islands. We have shown above that there are many excellent reasons for holding the Filipinos to the same standards of justice and mercy which we hold for the other nationalities under our Government. We have shown that the Filipinos are capable of self-government and that they are entitled to the same privileges and rights as the other nationalities under our Government. We have shown that the Filipinos are entitled to the same protection and security as the other nationalities under our Government. We have shown that the Filipinos are entitled to the same justice and mercy as the other nationalities under our Government.

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Theodore Roosevelt on Unwise Peace Treaties

(Continued from Page 1.)

to planned and exercised have exerted or could exert the very smallest influence in maintaining peace when great conflicting international passions are aroused and great conflicting national interests are at stake.

It happens that wars have been more numerous in the fifteen years since the first Hague conference than in the fifteen years prior to it. It was Russia that called the first and second Hague conferences, and in the interval she fought the war with Japan, and is now fighting a far greater war. We bore a prominent part at The Hague Conference; but if The Hague Court had been in existence in 1898 it could not have had the smallest effect upon our war with Spain; and neither would any possible arbitration treaty or peace treaty have had any effect.

At the present moment Great Britain owes its immunity from invasion purely to its navy and to the fact that that navy has been sedulously exercised in time of peace so as to prepare it for war. Great Britain has always been willing to enter into any reasonable—and into some unreasonable—peace and arbitration treaties; but her fate now would have been the fate of Belgium and would not have been hindered in the smallest degree by these treaties if she had not possessed a first-class navy. The navy has done a thousand times more for her peace than all the arbitration treaties and peace treaties of the type now existing that the wit of man could invent. I believe that national agreement in the future can do much toward minimizing the chance for war; but it must be by proceeding along different lines from those hitherto followed and in an entirely different spirit from the ultra-pacificist or professional peace-at-any-price spirit. The Hague Court has served a very limited, but a useful, purpose. Some, although only a small number, of the existing peace and arbitration treaties have served a useful purpose. But the purpose and the service have been strictly limited. Issues often arise between nations which are not of first-class importance, which do not affect their vital honor and interest, but which, if left unsettled, may eventually cause irritation that will have the worst possible results. The Hague Court and the different treaties in question provide instrumentalities for settling such disputes where the nations involved really wish to settle them, but might be unable to do so if means were not supplied. This is a real service and one well worth rendering. These treaties and The Hague Court have rendered such service again and again in time past.

It has been a misfortune that some worthy people have anticipated too much and claimed too much in reference to them, for the failure of the excessive claims has blinded men to what they really have accomplished. To expect from them what they cannot give is merely shortsighted. To assert that they will give what they cannot give is mischievous. To promise that they will give what they cannot give is not only mischievous but hypocritical; and it is for this reason that such treaties like the nineteen or twenty-one all-inclusive arbitration or peace treaties recently negotiated at Washington, although unimportant, are slightly harmful.

The Hague Court has proved worthless in the present gigantic crisis. There is hardly a Hague treaty which has not in some respect been violated. However, a step toward the peaceful settlement of questions at issue between nations which are not vital has been accomplished by The Hague Court and by rational and limited peace or arbitration treaties in the past. Our business is to try to make this court of more effect and to enlarge the class of cases where its actions will be valuable. In order to do this, we must endeavor to put an international police force behind this international judiciary. At the same time we must refuse to do or say anything insincere. Above all, we must refuse to be misled into abandoning the policy of efficient self-defense, by any unfounded trust that The Hague Court as now constituted, and peace or arbitration treaties of the existing type, can in the smallest degree accomplish what they never have accomplished and never can accomplish. Neither the existing Hague Court, nor any peace treaties of the existing type, will exert even the slightest influence in saving from disaster any nation that does not preserve the virile virtues and the long-sightedness that will enable it by its own might to guard its own honor, interest, and national life.

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