

IMPORTANCE OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS EXPLAINED

tion of international anarchy out of which the world has never emerged will continue until justice prevails and that justice cannot triumph until the world is united for justice. As Russia is an example of what happens within a state without organization, so this Great War is an example of what happens between states without organization. Since justice is the central aim among social organizations it must be made the most important consideration in the new international order. Society implies not only self restraint but group restraint where self restraint fails. Peace, happiness and liberty in the society of nations are as dependent on the surrender of license as they are with a state. A people without justice, as the American people are, should not be afraid to assume their share of responsibility in a League of Nations in order to lighten the curse of war in the world.

League of Nations Advocated Before The plan for the establishment of a League of Nations is not a new one. It is in fact at least three hundred years old and in one form or another has been advocated by such men as Henry IV of France, William Penn, Benjamin Kant and numerous others. As the horrors of war have always led those who have suffered to desire the establishment of a new international system that would make their recurrence impossible, so the present war with all its atrocities and its total disregard of international covenants has as one of its redeeming features the creation of a new public sentiment throughout the world for the creation of a League of Nations to maintain the peace of the world. Our own President Wilson has written his name indelibly on the pages of history by his advocacy and leadership in the present movement. By his determination and his ability in placing the question forcefully and convincingly before the people he has won to its support the least of the statesmen of the world. In his Fourteen Points, which constitute the preliminary peace program agreed upon by the Central Powers and the Allies, references to the League of Nations and its guarantees are made in seven of the high seas may be closed only "by international action for the enforcement of international covenants;" that equality of trade conditions should be established "among all nations contracting with peace and associating themselves for its maintenance;" that guarantees are to be given "and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety;" that "international law and its jurisdiction should be extended over all justiciable cases, that is those cases which are settled according to the principles of law and equity; it may also grant injunctions in both justiciable and non-justiciable cases.

plans suggested to it first consideration. It is too early to determine the scope or the constitution of such a league. Nevertheless, from the published proposed constitutions and from utterances of the advocates of the League of Nations the general framework for the international government offers some definite possibilities. For example many are advocating a plan similar to the following:

1. International Council. (Legislature). The creation of a representative council to formulate and codify the rules of international law, to make rules for the functioning of the League, to examine social, economic and other conditions that concern the nations of the world, to inspect this work of the administrative bodies, to legislate for the League and to recommend changes in the constitution. The International Council is to be composed of three members from each of the Great Powers represented in the League and one or two from each of the smaller powers. The members are to be appointed by the state governments or in any way that the respective governments may desire and subject to the recall of the appointing power. Each member is to receive a salary of not less than \$25,000 per year.

2. International Conferences. The International Council is to call at stated intervals an International Conference composed of representatives of all the nations of the world including those that are and those that are not members of the League of Nations. The work of this body is to formulate rules of international law. Its acts are to be subject to veto by the states participating.

3. The Ministry. (Executive). The law enforcing or the executive department of the League is to consist of a ministry of five selected from and by the International Council. No state is to be represented with more than one member. The tenure of office will depend upon the wishes of the International Council. The ministry is to sit continuously at The Hague. It may apply to the International Council for injunctions against states, call special sessions of the International Council and in case of war select a war council. The members are to receive salaries of not less than \$50,000 per year.

4. The International Court. The International Court is to be composed of ten or possibly fifteen judges, not more than two of whom are to be citizens of any one state. The judges are to be elected by judicial electors. The appointments are to be for life or during good behavior. The compensation shall not be less than \$50,000 per year. No judge is permitted to sit in any case that concerns his state. Verdicts are to be rendered by a majority vote. The court is to apply and interpret international law and its jurisdiction extends over all justiciable cases, that is those cases which are settled according to the principles of law and equity. It may also grant injunctions in both justiciable and non-justiciable cases.

5. The Council of Conciliation. The Council of Conciliation is to be composed of one member of the International Council from each state in the League of Nations. This body has jurisdiction over non-justiciable cases. Non-justiciable cases are those which cannot be settled according to law and equity. They are questions of governmental policy. Our situation with respect to China and Japan affords an excellent illustration. We prohibit

Chinese and Japanese from becoming citizens and our immigration laws prohibit the admission of the Chinese and Japanese. We have a right to pass such laws but such action may very well lead to friction and even war. Discriminatory commercial legislation is another type of non-justiciable case.

General Provisions of Plan There are a number of general provisions that concern the government as a whole. The permanent seat of government is to be at The Hague. The members of the government are privileged to hold no other governmental positions. Any department of the international government may call upon individual states for information and compel the attendance of witnesses. The expenses of the international government are to be borne by individual states in proportion to their social incomes. The new government is to go into effect when a majority of the Great Powers and ten of the small powers have ratified the constitution. (This suggested constitution is taken largely from Marburg's, "The League of Nations"). Most advocates of the League of Nations would confer the power of declaring war upon either the International Council or the Council of Conciliation. Upon this question, however, there is a great diversity of opinion. Many would have one of the Councils determine when the occasion for war arises and reserve for the individual states the right to determine whether or not it should participate. Others would merely compel arbitration and the postponement of war for a stated period of time. Still others would first employ economic boycott, by which the nations of the world would be prohibited from having any commercial intercourse whatever with the nation or nations that refused to abide by the decisions of the international government; and, in case the boycott failed, would then compel submission by a combined military force. It appears that the French and English commissioners at Versailles support this plan. Some of the delegates favor a division of the world into zones in which the respective Great Powers shall undertake

the responsibility of seeing to it that members of the League conform to the rules laid down by the government. It would be unnecessary for any nation to send forces to a distant quarter. The United States could properly take care of the Western Hemisphere and need not maintain in normal times an extensive military establishment. This plan of policing the world for the League of Nations seems to be gaining advocates every day and stands a good chance of being adopted in one form or another. It appears that this constitution or a modification of it would be a great improvement over the old system that prevailed previous to the outbreak of the Great War. It does and should provide a definite permanent government with rather large powers over international relations. While the creation of such a super-state might not in all probability would not prevent all future wars; it is certainly a step in the right direction. The world is probably not ready for the creation of a powerful super-state; and should such a state be created prematurely a civil war similar to our civil war might have to be fought to establish international sovereignty and international citizenship. We are ready for the creation of an international state that is much stronger than any international state that has existed previously. Should this experiment prove successful, and we have every reason for believing it will, the powers of the government could be enlarged and extended from time to time as occasions demand.

League of Nations Essential To the United States the establishment of a League of Nations, as President Wilson has said repeatedly, is an essential consideration in the Peace Conference. We have reached a point in our history when we are so closely associated with the peoples of the world, so dependent upon them and they in turn upon us for the very necessities of life that isolation is an utter impossibility. Therefore, our choice lies between a world balance of power based on two or more great alliances, in one of which we shall take our place, or

some form of world confederation; in other words between two leagues or one. If the former policy is adopted we must become a militaristic country and assume the inevitable accompanying economic burdens. The naval program of Secretary Daniels, which would give us a navy larger than that of any other nation in the world by 1925, must be adopted in the event of the failure of the Wilson's peace program or we must form an alliance, preferably with England, to protect our numerous detached possessions, our two great coast lines and our enormous foreign trade, at present more than one-fifth that of the entire world. With enemies in the Orient and in Europe we must maintain a navy large enough to protect both our coasts in case of simultaneous attack. Our difficulty in uniting our Pacific and Atlantic fleets in the Spanish American war to meet the attack of the Spanish Fleet which had been dispatched to American waters brought this need home to us as never before. Furthermore, by the transfer of more than 2,000,000 soldiers to France in the present war in a remarkably short period of time we have ourselves demonstrated to the world the fact that we are not immune from attack or even from an invasion by a foreign army. For these and other reasons we must have either a League of Nations and partial or total disarmament or greatly increased armaments and alliances.

Though the chief advocate of the League of Nations is President Wilson, the United States is less apt to ratify the league of nations project than most of the other Great Powers. Millions of Americans are ignorant of the present status of the Monroe Doctrine, as well as the abandonment of our policy of isolation and impossibility of adhering to it in the future; hence they would oppose the establishment of the League of Nations. Furthermore we have a growing self-consciousness as a nation and thousands will hesitate to sur-

render any of their sovereignty to a super-state. Again, President Wilson, by his lack of tact in ignoring the Senate and Republican party in the selection of peace commissioners has invited much hostility to any action his commissioners may take. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the Peace Conference will establish a League of Nations and that the American people will give the new international government their hearty support for in that direction lies the future peace and happiness of the world.

Saturday, January 25, the Peace Conference by a unanimous vote decreed that "it is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement which the associated nations now are met to establish, that a League of Nations be created to promote international obligations and to provide safeguards against war. This league should be created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied upon to promote its objects. The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and secretaries to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between conferences." A

commission composed of two members from each of the five Great Powers and five from the smaller powers was appointed to work out the details for the organization and establishment of this League.

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