

PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649171354

Problems of the international settlement by Various

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Cover @ 2017

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NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.

1919

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INTRODUCTION

BY

G. LOWES DICKINSON

THE papers included in the present volume (with the exception of the last three) are reproduced, and (where the original is not in English) translated, from the *Recueil de Rapports* published by the "Central Organization for a Durable Peace." This is an international association, founded at The Hague in 1915, to study and advocate such a settlement at the conclusion of the war as will guarantee a durable peace. Its programme is as follows :

1. No annexation or transfer of territory shall be made contrary to the interests and wishes of the population concerned. Where possible their consent shall be obtained by plébiscite or otherwise.

2. The States shall guarantee to the various nationalities, included in their boundaries, equality before the law, religious liberty and the free use of their native languages.

3. The States shall agree to introduce in their colonies, protectorates and spheres of influence, liberty of commerce, or at least equal treatment for all nations.

4. The work of the Hague Conferences with a view to the peaceful organization of the Society of Nations shall be developed.

The Hague Conference shall be given a permanent organization and meet at regular intervals.

5. The States shall agree to submit all their disputes to peaceful settlement. For this purpose there shall be created, in addition to the existent Hague Court of Arbitration, (a) a permanent Court of International Justice, (b) a permanent international Council of Investigation and Conciliation.

6. The States shall bind themselves to take concerted action, diplomatic, economic or military, in case any State should resort to military measures instead of submitting the dispute to judicial decision or to the mediation of the Council of Investigation and Conciliation.

7. The States shall agree to reduce their armaments.

8. In order to facilitate the reduction of naval armaments, the right of capture shall be abolished and the freedom of the seas assured.

9. Foreign policy shall be under the effective control of the parliaments of the respective nations.

Secret treaties shall be void.

With this programme may be compared that of the French *Association de la Paix par le Droit*, given on p. 200 below.

The circumstances of the war having prevented the meeting of international conferences to discuss and elaborate this programme, the method was adopted of appointing committees to collect information and draw up reports on the various topics involved. Hence the *Recueil de Rapports*, of which four large volumes have now been published, and from which the present selection has been made.

Almost all the papers here included were published in

1916, and therefore before the Russian revolution, the entry of the United States into the war, and the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Some statements, therefore, will be found to be out of date, and some comments which might otherwise have been expected will be missed. But inasmuch as the papers deal, not with the specific terms on which the present war can be ended, but with the principles which must govern the settlement, if it is to be durable, their value is not affected by this circumstance. That value, for English readers, consists perhaps mainly in the presentation of the views of continental thinkers, and especially of representatives of the small neutral States, upon some of the questions with which English and American writers have been prominently concerning themselves. It would seem, from these specimens, that while there is a remarkable general agreement as to the lines upon which international reconstruction should proceed, continental writers are, on the whole, more conservative than Anglo-Saxon, and more desirous to avoid a sharp breach with the past. It may be questioned whether this caution is really as prudent as it appears. For a disease as fatal and as violent as the international anarchy mere palliatives may be of little use. There must be drastic change, first in the spirit animating nations, and then, as a consequence, in institutions, if civilization is to be saved from the menace with which it is threatened. Such changes must derive their impulse not from Governments and Foreign Offices, but from the people. And an appeal to the people must be bold and uncompromising, in the manner of Mr. H. G. Wells, if it is to be effective. It is not, therefore, as popular propaganda that these papers are put forward. But they will be interesting to students, and to all who desire to come into contact

with continental views, and to estimate the degree and character of their divergence from those of Englishmen or Americans.

It will be seen that some of the papers are by Germans or Austrians. The fact that we are at war with these nations should not blind us to the fact—which is indeed the principal hope for the world—that the same desire for a durable peace which is felt among ourselves is felt also among the enemy peoples; that there too, even during the war, they have been pondering the problems and suggesting solutions; and that no final conclusions can be drawn, from the actions and aims of the militarist faction now in power, to the general character and purpose of the nations thus controlled.

The following notes on some of the authors may be of interest to the reader:—

Bernstein, Edward, is the well-known leader amongst the Minority Socialists in Germany. He is well acquainted with this country, having lived here for some years.

de Jong van Beek en Donk, Jongheer Dr. B., is the Secretary of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace at The Hague, the body responsible for the publication *Recueil de Rapports*, from which most of the papers in this volume have been taken.

Fried, Dr. Alfred Hermann, born in Vienna in 1864, is the editor of *Friedenswarte*. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911, and is one of the most active workers in the International Movement. He established the *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale* in 1895, and has written voluminously upon questions of peace and war. Since the beginning of the present war he has resided in Switzerland.

Gide, Professor Charles, is the well-known Professor in the Faculty of Law in the University of Paris.

Hull, Professor William I., Professor of Law in Swarthmore College, U.S.A. Author of *The Two Hague Conferences and their Contribution to International Law*, 1908; *The New Peace Movement*, 1909; *The United States and the Hague Conferences*, 1910.

Lammasch, Dr. Heinrich, is a member of the Austrian Upper House, and one of the most prominent jurists in Europe. He is a member of the Hague Court, acting as one of the judges in four