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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

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National Council for the Prevention of War, 1930-1938.

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## National Council for Prevention of War

532 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 25, 1930

Dear Friend:

The enclosed cable message has just been  
received from Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, our representative  
at the Naval Conference in London, and we are passing it  
on to you for your interest and action.

Sincerely,

GLADYS K. GOULD MACKENZIE

Office Secretary.

GKGM:B

*Ziegler*



## WHAT IT'S REALLY ABOUT

Surely no intelligent person can be in any doubt as to the real issue in the fight over the Naval treaty. It is not whether the treaty is good or bad. It is not whether the treaty preserves an adequate force for national defense or dangerously exposes our people to some enemy somewhere. The issue is simply whether there shall be agreed limitation for the principal navies of the world or whether there shall be a revival of the unrestrained competitive building which prevailed up to the time when the Washington Conference put up the first barriers--those against battleships and aircraft carriers.

\* \* \* \* \*

And this does not tell the whole story. If Johnson, Moses and Freddy Hale have their way, we do not merely abandon our long-continued efforts to end competitive naval building and revert to the policy of unrestrained races. On top of that we place the actual control of our foreign policy in the hands of professional warriors in the Navy Department whose training and whose habit of mind make them search for war instead of peace. Make no mistake. That question whether actual control of foreign policy shall be in the hands of statesmen or professional warriors lies directly behind this treaty fight. Johnson, Moses and Freddy Hale would be no more impressive than three barkers at a street corner if it were not for the admirals. It is true that David Reed made most of the Johnson-Moses-Hale admirals look like fools in the hearings on the treaty. He showed that they were vacant-minded in matters of naval technique and strategy of which they are supposed to be masters. He also showed that in a few months' study he could gather more knowledge of really important items in their own subjects than they had assembled with nothing else to do in their whole career. Nevertheless, the admirals opposing this treaty furnish the source of strength on which the Johnson party relies. The public may forget the spectacle the admirals made



when Reed examined them. Johnson and his anti-treaty party will not let the public forget that these so-called experts, ballyhooed as "the nation's devoted defenders," think the treaty evil and dangerous. The opposing admirals are the heart and soul and body of the fight on this treaty. And if they win, there is nothing for the civilian heads of the Government to do but to conform the naval policy, with all its dominant influences upon the general foreign policy, to the will of the admirals.

\* \* \* \* \*

As against Great Britain, all the furor boils down to the contention that three of the cruisers allowed us should have eight-inch guns instead of six-inch. As against Japan all the furor boils down to the statement that we shall not be able to attack Japan in her own waters. Both are idiotic if we are trying as practical people to consummate a treaty of limitation. Both are doubly idiotic if we are serious as practical people about having a navy solely for defense. Neither would be urged by anyone honestly interested in control of naval armaments. Neither is urged by anyone interested in control of naval armaments. They are urged by men who do not want control of armaments, by men who wish to escape all restriction in our naval building regardless of whether such an escape causes a world-wide naval race, but who dare not disclose their true sentiments to the nation, which, they well know, demands the economies and securities of naval limitation.

From Editorial in the Baltimore Sun, July 7, 1930.



From:

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

National Council for Prevention of War,  
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.  
October 30, 1931.

"Mr. William Howard Gardiner of the Navy League is fighting with his back against the wall," says Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, Associate Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, commenting upon Mr. Gardiner's attack upon the President in a statement which the National Council for Prevention of War issued today.

Mrs. Morgan maintains that the fact that the United States is allowed 303,100 tons while the British are allowed 309,488 tons in replacements and new construction indicates that Mr. Gardiner is not giving all the facts in his picture of the relations between the two fleets. Moreover, the British, according to the latest figures available, Mrs. Morgan says, are building only 72,520 tons as against our 87,610 tons. The British are spending for new construction only approximately \$15,000,000 (less than \$20,000,000) a year while we are spending approximately \$70,000,000 a year for new construction; and President Hoover has approved for the next fiscal year \$65,000,000, the huge figure to which the "big navy" group is objecting as inadequate.

Mrs. Morgan's statement follows:

"Mr. William Howard Gardiner is fighting with his back against the wall. No other explanation could account for his astounding attack upon President Hoover, issued in the name of the Navy League. He refuses to recognize that the functions and purposes of a navy have changed since nearly all the civilized nations of the world have accepted the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact as international law. When the Council of the League can invoke the Pact for Renunciation of War in its dealing with one of the three great naval Powers, as it did recently, the Pact can no longer be ignored as a scrap of paper.



"Mr. Gardiner attacks the policy of the Administration in accepting the one year's Armaments Truce on the ground that it will leave our navy in a disadvantageous position compared with that of the British Empire and Japan. Without going into Mr. Gardiner's misinterpretation of the Armaments Truce, it is easy to give a very simple picture of the actual building situation in the United States and Great Britain. The American public is interested in knowing just how much the United States is building at the present time and how much this building means in taxes. The facts are these:

"The London Naval Treaty set a maximum tonnage limit for the British and American fleets of 1,125,000 tons which shall not be exceeded on December 31st, 1936. The present tonnage of the two countries, as reported last summer to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in the memoranda prepared for the Disarmament Conference, is 1,251,840 tons for the United States and 1,250,247 tons for the United Kingdom. These totals will have to be reduced by scrapping of ships within the five years that the treaty has still to run. While providing for this slight reduction in tonnage the treaty also allows the construction of additional tonnage in certain categories and replacement of over-age ships in other categories. The United States is allowed to build 55,200 tons in aircraft carriers, while the British can build 90,000 tons. In cruisers the allowed tonnage is 73,000 tons of new ships for the United States, for the British 91,000 in replacements; in destroyers, 150,000 tons in replacements for the United States, 110,838 for the British; in submarines, 25,100 tons in replacement for the United States, 17,650 for the British; in all, 303,100 tons for the United States and 309,488 for the British.

"In the auxiliary classes of ship, that is, cruisers, destroyers and submarines, in which Mr. Gardiner claims that we lag so far behind, the United States is allowed 175,100 tons for replacement, while the British are allowed 219,488 tons.



This is direct evidence that the British fleet in these categories of ships is less up to date than our own. In fact, under the terms of the treaty, the British will not be permitted to replace all of the cruisers that become over-age during that period. On the other hand, we are allowed to replace 150,000 tons of destroyers, many of which are almost as good as new. The picture as a whole is very different from the side presented by Mr. Gardiner.

"The next question that arises is with regard to the amount of building now being carried on by the two Powers. The United States is at present building seven 8-inch gun cruisers, 3 submarines and one aircraft carrier, in all, 87,610 tons. Eleven destroyers have been appropriated for, and for five of these contracts have been let and it is planned to proceed with their construction. Mr. Hugh Wilson, representing the United States in the Disarmament Committee of the League Assembly made a special reservation that the truce should not apply to these destroyers.

"It should be explained that although a substantial proportion of these ships were not actually started building until the present year, this tonnage, except for the eleven destroyers, is not included in the 303,000 tons cited above for the reason that the cruisers, submarines and aircraft carrier were already provided for before the London Conference met. However, we still have 126,000 tons in excess of treaty allowance of ships still under-age.

"The British Government has begun the replacement of some of her cruisers, destroyers and submarines, of which the average age, as has been stated, is older than ours. These replacement ships, the construction of which has already begun, are three 6-inch gun cruisers, 9 destroyers and 3 submarines, with a total tonnage of 36,185 tons. This was the 1930-31 British program. These ships are included in the tonnage of 309,488, because the British Government, pursuing an opposite policy from our own postponed all consideration of its 1930 program, which normally would have been provided in February or March, 1930, until after the conference should be held. These ships were, therefore, voted in July of that year. The 1931-32 program, consisting of the same number of ships, was announced by ...



Mr. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons last March, but at the same time Mr. Alexander said that these ships would not be ordered until the latter part of the fiscal year, - that is, after the beginning of the calendar year 1932, - and that if satisfactory progress was being made at the General Disarmament Conference, which opens on February 2nd, 1932, the ships in this program might be cancelled or postponed. They should, therefore, not have been counted in the current British naval construction. In addition to these ships started since the London Treaty, the British are also building, according to the British memorandum, one 8-inch gun cruiser, one 6-inch gun cruiser, 12 destroyers and 4 submarines, with a tonnage of 36,335 tons.

"To sum up, according to the latest figures available, the British are building 72,520 tons, as against our 87,610 tons plus the 5 destroyers contracted for.

"A more striking comparison of the amount of naval building being carried on in the two countries and its burden upon the taxpayers is shown by the amount of money being spent for new construction. The British official "Naval Estimates" for 1931 shows £5,533,727 for new construction for the year 1930 - 31, and £5,293,606 estimated for the year 1931 - 32. On the other hand, the amount made available for new construction for the year 1931 - 32 in the United States Navy by action of the last Congress was \$73,033,258. The naval estimates for the next fiscal year, over which such a protest is being made by "big navy" proponents, allow \$65,000,000 for new construction, the figure approved by President Hoover."



## National Council for Prevention of War

532 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 31, 1931.

Dear Friend:

The controversy between the President and the Navy League head is one that vitally concerns us all as citizens of a republic. The fundamental issue is this:

Shall a navy clique run our government?

William Howard Gardiner, President of the Navy League, is circulating a pamphlet of extraordinary insolence charging President Hoover with "abysmal ignorance" regarding naval matters and attacking the President's command that the Navy Department shall effect economies in keeping with the Government's present program.

President Hoover, with full knowledge of the facts, proposes an investigation "to establish the untruths promulgated" by the president of the Navy League. Secretary of State Stimson in a formal statement has branded as "entirely false" Gardiner's statement in the same pamphlet concerning the Rapidan conversations. A committee will be appointed by the President which will include members of the Navy League to investigate and make a report.

It is not difficult to find "distortions of fact" and "untruths" in the Gardiner pamphlet. By failure to give complete statistics, Mr. Gardiner has presented a substantially false picture of the United States Navy in relation to the British Navy. The enclosed release throws important light on this. Further points will come out in the investigation of efforts calculated to wreck the approaching Disarmament Conference, just as Shearer's work did much to wreck the Coolidge Conference.

It is highly important that the facts become immediately known through your local press and all other possible agencies. Will you take them to the editor and ask him whether he will use them himself or whether he prefers that you write them in a letter to the paper?

Will you write or wire the President your emphatic support in this fight? Will you see your Senators and Congressmen if possible at once before they return to Washington? Tell them that you are with the President both in this controversy and in all his efforts for the success of the Disarmament Conference.

Sincerely yours,  
*Frederick J. Libby*  
Executive Secretary.



To the President of the United States:

The undersigned, \_\_\_\_\_ organizations, vitally interested in the future of Latin-American relations, wish to commend the steps taken on October First, 1931, towards the restoration of sovereignty to the Republic of Haiti through the return to Haitian control of the Departments of Industrial and Agricultural Education, of Public Health and of Public Works.

We also commend the steps taken by you to end the American occupation through sending the Forbes and Moton commissions to Haiti, with the resultant election by the Haitian people of a President, and the restoration of the three technical services.

But we believe that you will agree that further steps remain to be taken to end the occupation. Most important is withdrawing financial control and the armed forces of the United States. It is obvious that no genuine sovereignty can be exercised by Haiti as long as these two most vital functions of government are in American hands.

#### Financial Control

At present the Haitian government cannot appropriate a dollar for any purpose without the consent of our financial adviser. On October 26, 1931, the Financial Adviser in conjunction with the United States Minister even dared to try to force the government of Haiti to accept their dictation by withholding all Haitian salaries. We urge that control of the finances of the Republic of Haiti, including the customs, be restored without delay to the Haitian government. In all her history, Haiti has a splendid record of punctuality and fairness in paying her foreign obligations. The only excuse offered to justify our continued control is to insure repayment of a loan made to the Republic of Haiti by the National City Bank of New York City. That loan now amounts to but fifteen million dollars. All interest payments have been promptly made and a large sum of money is now on deposit in the National City Bank of New York to cover future amortisements. Haiti is entirely able and anxious to pay off this



comparatively small debt. The arrangement under which financial supervision must continue until the loan's expiration in 1952, was forced upon Haiti by the occupation. It should be abolished on political and moral grounds.

#### Control of the Garde de'Haiti

We urge also the immediate and complete restoration of control of the armed forces of Haiti to Haiti and the withdrawal of all United States marines. The argument that it is necessary to continue American control of Haiti's army because Haitians have not been sufficiently trained to assume control is either weak or an admission of American incompetency, for we have been in Haiti sixteen years. Only four years are required to train American officers at West Point and Annapolis.

Another reason advanced for the military occupation of Haiti in 1915 was to protect the Panama Canal during the war. Even if that questionable contention was valid in 1915, it is no longer true. The best assurance of protection of the Panama Canal in the event of war is the friendship of the nations of Central and South America and the Caribbean. The Republic of Haiti has repeatedly given assurances to the American government that in the event of war no foreign power would be permitted to establish air or naval bases or coaling stations in Haiti.

#### A New Treaty

A third step we urge is the drafting of a new treaty to replace the treaty admittedly forced upon Haiti in 1916 and renewed under compulsion to run until 1936. The new Haitian Congress has unanimously repudiated this treaty under which the American Occupation has continued, on the ground that it was never ratified by the congresses of the United States and of Haiti. Only a new treaty under which full sovereignty will be restored to Haiti prior to the expiration of the present treaty in 1936, will either satisfy the Haitians, or square with your announced policy.

Such a treaty will do more than anything else to re-establish confidence in the friendly motives of the United States government, both in Haiti and throughout Central and South America. The Occupation of Haiti is charged against us as the chief evidence of the imperialistic purposes of the United States in



the sense that our armed forces are used to aid in collecting debts to private citizens. To end that occupation would be the only effective answer to such a charge which impairs greatly our relations with all Latin-America.

Conclusion

In conclusion, may we not urge upon you the prompt adoption of the three steps recommended, namely: 1. Complete restoration of financial and political autonomy to Haiti; 2. Withdrawal of the U. S. Marines now stationed in Haiti; 3. Negotiation of a new treaty constitutionally negotiated with the consent of the legislatures of both nations.

We are, Sir,

Respectfully yours,





## National Council for Prevention of War

532 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 28, 1931.

Dear Friend:

At our annual meeting in October, the following findings dealing with the crisis in Manchuria were unanimously adopted:

We are watching with grave concern the struggle in Manchuria and we urge that public opinion in Japan and China as well as in our own country and throughout the world rally to the support of the Council of the League of Nations in seeking a just and peaceful settlement, to which the nations are already committed by the Kellogg Pact.

We express our deep gratification over the action taken by the Secretary of State in accepting the invitation of the League ..... to appoint a representative to consult with the League Council in seeking a peaceful solution of the Manchurian crisis.

Although the situation changes from day to day and it is impossible to obtain all the facts, yet we believe that an expression of public opinion at this time on the three following points will be helpful to this government in its efforts to bring present hostilities to an end, and will show the people of China and Japan that the people of America insist upon the recognition of existing treaties as a basis of international relations.

Will you not therefore write to the President requesting him

1. To effect closer cooperation with the Council of the League of Nations by instructing our representative to sit with the Council in working out a peaceful solution of the present controversy;
2. In his annual message to ask Congress to enact legislation forbidding the shipment of arms, munitions, and implements of war to belligerent nations;
3. To declare loans to Japan and China contrary to public policy so long as hostilities continue.

Will you also send to your Senators and Congressman a copy of the letter you send to the President?

Very sincerely yours,

*Frederick J. Lohy*  
Executive Secretary.



## National Council for Prevention of War

532 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 24, 1934.

### U R G E N T

TO WORKERS FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT.

Dear Friends:

The Vinson naval building program which is being rushed through Congress this week is the most formidable threat to enduring peace on the Pacific that has occurred in many years.

You have read in the January News Bulletin which was sent out on January 17th the open letter to the President protesting against this billion-dollar naval program and urging him to adhere to his "good neighbor" policy in our relations with Japan. I enclose a reprint of this letter.

A comparison of our navy with those of Great Britain and Japan shows that the big navy advocates are grossly misrepresenting the situation. The following figures have been compiled by William T. Stone of the Foreign Policy Association from Navy Department statements. First, the United States fleet today is not inferior to the British fleet and is considerably above that of Japan. On January 1, 1934, on the basis of ships actually built, the comparative strength of the three great navies was as follows:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Total ships built</u>	
	No.	Tons
United States	372	1,038,660
British Empire	293	1,174,339
Japan	221	758,261

Secondly, a larger proportion of the American fleet is made up of technically over-age vessels, especially in the categories of destroyers and submarines. To improve our relative position by 1936 the United States is now building, partly from the regular appropriations and partly with \$238,000,000 borrowed from the Public Works Fund, 52 ships totaling 222,060 tons as compared with 47 ships of 123,785 tons for Great Britain, and 47 ships of 123,372 tons for Japan. You will observe that we are building big ships while the other nations are building small ones. The results are shown by the following table, compiled by the United States Navy Department, showing ships now built and projected that will be under-age in 1936:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Ships under-age in 1936</u>	
	No.	Tons
United States	113	988,520
British Empire	161	999,398
Japan	183	775,370



The Vinson bill authorizes the construction in addition of 100,000 tons of destroyers, 35,000 tons of submarines and an aircraft carrier; and in addition to that, replacement of all the battleships under a general clause which says:

"Provided, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to replace, by vessels of modern design and construction, vessels in the Navy in the categories limited by the treaties signed at Washington, February 6, 1922, and at London, April 22, 1930, when their replacement is permitted by the said treaties."

This would add approximately one thousand million dollars (\$1,000,000,000) to the navy bill and give the United States a navy, the upkeep and maintenance of which will, according to the Navy Department spokesmen, cost approximately \$500,000,000 annually.

It will also give the United States the greatest fleet in the world, stimulate naval building in Japan and Great Britain and increase the tension on the Pacific to a highly dangerous point. Moreover, with such fat contracts awaiting them if the 1935 Naval Conference fails, is there any doubt as to the efforts that the shipbuilders with their Shearers will make to wreck that Conference?

These are the essential facts with respect to the Vinson naval bill. Its magnitude is out of all reason. It is being rushed through Congress before the hard-pressed taxpayers, the educators who are seeing our schools close from lack of funds, the churches and the organized peace forces can express the tremendous opposition that exists in this country to so outrageous a measure.

Regardless of what happens to this bill this week, will you express to the President immediately your opposition to it? Will you ask your friends who agree with you to do the same? Will you get a resolution adopted in your club protesting against the whole spirit and purpose of the bill? Will you urge upon the President that he carry the "good neighbor" policy through the whole field of our foreign relations? It is not for our country, which initiated the Kellogg Pact, to return to the fatal era of the "big stick."

Don't delay! Don't be content with securing just one letter. Pay no attention to what Congress may have already done with this atrocious bill. Tell the President how you feel in order that he may know that there are millions of Americans that support the policy of goodwill.

Sincerely yours,

*Frederick J. Libby*

Frederick J. Libby  
Executive Secretary.

FJL:T



TO ALL THE  
*People of Today*  
AND TO ALL THE  
*Children of Tomorrow*

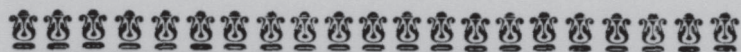


# THE HUMAN MESSAGE



The Declaration of Human Interde-  
pendence and World Peace—for  
Prosperity and Happiness  
FOR ALL





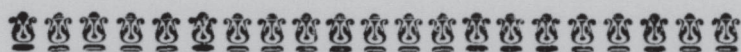
We are nearing great changes and facing great problems. "The Regeneration", 1930 to 1970, will change human nature and change the history of the human race, as it was taught from father to son, from generation to generation for 3,000 years, to disclose to the hearts and minds of all people that in the years past we changed our material conditions—scientifically and mechanically—and have civilized. In this forty years, conditions—the forces of nature—will change us and humanize us.

Let us not fear the Truth; the time is nearing that we will feel and understand that the "Truth" is a friend to all.

We are subject to the laws of God and the forces of nature. Nature is serving us. The Creative Power gave us the free will to reason, and is providing us with all the necessities and comforts of life, but we cling to our ancient inherited defects and false traditions of greed, suspicion and fear. We disregard the teachings of the law of human relations, to uphold the laws of God, man and nature, to have faith in the laws of human rights; to distinguish truth from falsehood, and good from evil; to reason about justice and understanding, to free ourselves from the accumulated weaknesses, that we see right, and exercise the will to do right; that we do







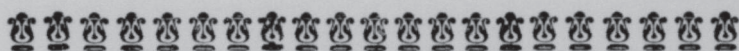
not suffer in the midst of plenty, and not blame one another for the moral and civil evils, and for the world's ills and sorrows that are besetting us.

Life is giving us what we put into it. The bee gets its honey from the same flower from which the spider gets its poison. The difference between honey and poison is in the acid that the bee and the spider is mixing with that which each one takes from the flower. The world is a garden with flowers full of goodness of the soil; to mix human love, justice and understanding with that which this God's great wonderful world is giving us is to reap the harvest of the blessings of world's peace, prosperity, and happiness (pure honey). But what are we mixing with our earthly products, nature's gifts? The more we have, the more we suffer and destroy, and the less we use to enjoy.

Nothing is permanent. The truth will prevail. The time has come. The Supreme Power is balancing the books and adjusting the differences. We will benefit by our good deeds and we will pay the price for our misdeeds in our own selfish ways. Then by its own laws selfishness and falseness will defeat itself. We cannot evade the law of Compensation nor the Destiny that is shaping our ends.







We are at the brink of great discoveries. The forces of nature are revealing themselves. The mysteries of life are disclosing themselves. History is repeating itself. The calendar will change. A new world is in the making. We are sailing over a sea of new experiences and new problems that have never been sailed over by any generation before.

Everything that exists is alive, and is a force in itself. The existing natural energies are changing matter from one state and form into another. There are forces on hand to serve and benefit humanity, but the same forces do not know distances nor fortifications. They will destroy cities, annihilate armies thousands of miles away if used for the purposes of destruction. With the energies of that Almighty Force we will converse with the living of other planets, with the souls of the departed, and will turn the wheels of the world's industry.

There is a great amount of gold and silver stored in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, that will change the monetary system of the world. It will teach us that human life is above material value, and that gold and silver is only a commodity of exchange to be used for the common good to benefit all; in making life a happy responsibility and not to be worshipped; that would make life a suffering burden; to destroy the comforts for today and undermine the hopes for tomorrow.







Every movement has a meaning and an educational effect. The one that is not a help is a warning. God is good to us; reason is telling us and nature is warning us that we master ourselves and provide ourselves with the necessities of life for that time and through that period of seven seasons when insects will infest all lands, devour the crops and leave very little to harvest—when we will learn that all countries are one land—all people are one people—and our lives are interdependent, and that everyone depends on the other for his peace and happiness; that this God's great wonderful world is offering to all and has in store plenty for all.

We will feel and understand the changing conditions. Great problems to solve and great difficulties to overcome are confronting everybody. The experience of the past is no guide for the future. The impossibilities of today will be the facts of tomorrow. **A new era will begin—the Epoch of the Regeneration.**

Human life and love is appealing to our better selves to establish human justice and understanding, and to eliminate the forces of great suffering and destruction that are nearing us. Think—reason—and learn that the truth is a friend to all. Righteousness will help to solve the problems for all and establish peace on earth, prosperity and happiness for all.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR  
532 SEVENTEENTH STREET N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



February 2, 1938.

Rabbi Hillel Silver,  
Cleveland,  
Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

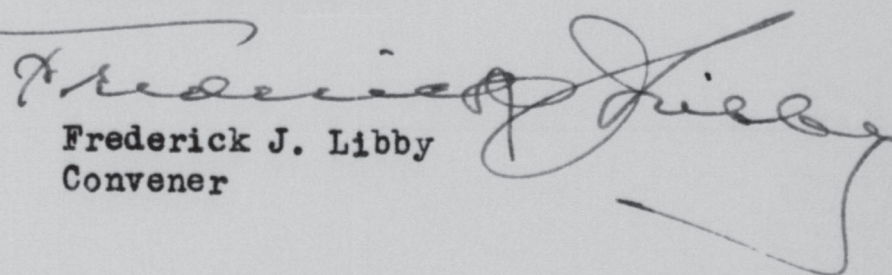
The drift of our country towards war has become so ominous that a conference luncheon is to be held at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City, next Monday, February 7, at 1:00 o'clock, to consider plans for meeting this growing danger. Please notify John Nevin Sayre, care of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York City, before 10:00 o'clock that morning whether or not you can be present. The luncheon will cost, including tips and the charge for a private room, \$1.00 each.

The following four organizations are sponsoring the conference:

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom  
The Fellowship of Reconciliation  
World Peaceways  
National Council for Prevention of War

The object of this conference is not to debate policy but to counsel together on immediate measures of action to stop this trend of the Administration.

Sincerely yours,

  
Frederick J. Libby  
Convener

FJL:dw