



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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The United States of the world, 1931.

- Age-old - Isaias - best minds - here as in last 15 yrs -
 - you listened - expect -
1. A bit of hist. - Facing effort of race towards peace @ Machinery of arbitration (b) disarmament.
 2. "Machinery" may be divided into attempt (a) to establish World Court (b) Treaty League, Nations (c) Treaties (d) Outlawing, War.
 3. World Court
 - (1) In 1899, a Peace Conf. convoked at suggestion of Czar "examine question of ending progressive devel. of existing armament in order to assure to all nations the benefits of a real and lasting peace" -
 - (2) 126 delegates - 26 nations - no reduction. But
 - (3) Amer. delegates - Secy of State John Hay - instructed - proposed - establishment of permanent international court. Significant!
 - (4) Modified into "Permanent Court of Arbitration" - panel of arbiters - to which each nation appoints 4 rep. chosen for a period of 6 years - States may select from this panel 5 judges.
 - (5) This P.C. of Ar. still exists - not superseded by World Court.
 4. Following World War - Peace Conf. made provisions in Covenant for the estab. of a perm. court of inter. justice
 An intern. Comm. of jurists was appointed by the Council of League in 1920 to draw up plan.

The plan of jurists was in Nov. 1920 submitted to Council & Assembly + then transmitted to nation members of League for ratification.

The Court was officially opened in 1922. and

The Judges - 15 in number - ^{54 nations are members of} ~~Frank B. Kellogg~~ are nominated by the national groups in the Hague Tribunal and elected by majority votes of Council + Assembly. Hold office for 9 years - and may be re-elected. - Meets at least once a year - Sessions held in the Peace Palace at The Hague

Decisions of Court are by majority vote, and reasons must be made public -

There are no means of enforcing its decisions. - public opinion - Best plans depend not on force

The Court has competence to decide any international dispute submitted to it - and to give an advisory opinion on any question which the Council or Assembly refers to it -

5. U.S. has not yet joined World Court. - Urged by every Pres. On Mar. 3-1925 House approved of Am. membership by 301 to 28. On Jan. 27-1926 Senate, too, by vote of 76 to 17. but with 5 reservations. - Involve U.S. in League - Election of judges - may withdraw at any time - amendment of protocol. Shall not entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any question in which U.S. has no claim ~~to~~ an interest.

All the resolutions have been accepted -
with slight emendations - Horver - submitted
protocol to Senate Dec. 10-1930 - and it is now
in hands of Senate Foreign Affairs Com

4. League of Nations - Dream - child of World War.

Wilson - First large-scale effort nation at
permanent org. for mutual interest + peace -

(1) Concerns itself primarily with peace - but also
with many social, econ, human projects -

Change here, pol. that - Foot-binding, research
body. Opium - White Slave - Labour - Health

(2) 54 nations members -

(3) Two bodies. Council; Assembly

Council, exec. body, 14 members - 5 permanent -

Assembly

3 land a year - Each nation one vote - 3 delegates
- Permanent work of Council - finance -

(4) Under terms of Covenant nations agree

(a) to Secret Treaties - Registered - published
by Secretariat.

(b) Submit disputes to arbitration or
judicial settlement, or to mediation by
Council -

(c) Not to resort to war for 3 months
after conclusion of these proceedings

(d) If member resorts to war in disregard
of agreements - committed act of war

against all members - severance of Econ.
relations and even use of armed force may
be recommended by Council -

(2). No ^{certain} safeguard here against war: gaps -
Hope in conference, publicity, and delay.

(4) Has taken part in settlements some 30
disputes.

Active - vital body -

5. Treaties. To supplement League and to create
security, inter security Organism to disarm
ment was found necessary.

(a) Locarno. ¹⁹²⁵ France + Germany - here to
go to war - Resort to Arms Com. of Conciliators
provided for in treaty; or to an arbitral
tribunal - or Court of Int. Justice.

(b) St. Germain + Italy agreed in case
of war bet. Fr. + Ger. or Ger. + Bel. to
take up arms against the aggressor
nation. League will deter who is aggr.

(c) Aggressor nation defined - one
which having agreed to submit inter.
diff. to conciliation, arb. or judicial
settlement, begins hostilities without
delay does so.

6. Outlawing War

(a) War still recognized in all the Treaties & Con.
(b) Salomon O. Levinson - outlaw public
war as private war - delegated it -
"a crime". War has been a big trouble,
~~set~~ and moral activity & spirit -

(c) M. Briand, Foreign Minister, Apr. 1927
- mutual agreement with U.S. -
U.S. suggests instead of Bilateral
pact - a multilateral - of all prin.
powers -

(d) Much Negotiations - Finally, Aug. 27, 1928
The Pact Plans - 15 nations - 48
other invited. (Read p. 181)

(e) Nothing said about disarmament,
arbitration, and covering note
of Kellogg recognizes right of
self-defence.

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1. League
 2. Per. Court of Int. Justice
 3. Locarno Treaties
 4. Pact of Paris

7. Disarmament

(a) Considerable in way of machinery.
little in way of actual disarm.

(b). U.S. 1913.
Navy. 129 m.
Army 160 m.

1930
375 m. -
453 m. -

- (c) Other nations - proportionately. 1st. in Navies
- (d) US law disarmament, no air, no submarines
- (e) Naval limitations. 3 Conferences - all more or less failures -
- (1) Washington, 1921. (2) Geneva, 1927
 - (3) London, 1930.

(f). Since Washington Conf. - nations signatory
1 1/2 m. tons, new warships -

Eng.	72	new ships
U.S.	69	"
Japan	116	"
France	112	"
Italy	68	"



- (g) - In 1916 - new naval program - began
rivalry with GB - War - after
war - resumed our building program -
- Bet. 1918-1921, spent 1/2 billion, Recked
 - Spain - inferior - uninterested -
 - Eng. tried to discredit us -
 - Harding summons Conf. - (defeated by us)
 - the abs. parity - scrapped 14 cap.
ships -
 - want to hunt all ships - cruisers
destroyers, subm. - only capital.
 - Eng. emerged inferior - Balfour
wade East -

- Eng. proceeds to build cruisers - "doubt-
crossed -
- Cardage - 2nd Conf. ⁽¹⁹²⁷⁾ to limit aux ships.
71. v Italy declined - Eng. accepted
with reservation - Wanted list -
- U.S. offers same ratio to all ships -
- Tonnage - & to minimum. Eng.
objects. limit aux up to Class H
Cruiser -
- 6 months later - on Naval Appr.
Com. - new naval program - build
up - cruiser - party - 725 m.
would show Eng - modified
to 15 cruisers - Proviso
Suspend work -
- Labour Party - Macdonald - Dawson.
visits U.S. - Joint Statement -
"agree on party of fleets category
by category"
- Conference. Eng. must reduce
cruisers or U.S. build up -

- 1 Billion dollars -

- Treaty signed Apr. 22-1930, ~~Warren, U.S. 9 B. J.~~
limited no reduction.

8. League of Nations - has made no machinery to secure

- disarmament -

- Preparatory Commission for the disarmament conf.
meeting since 1925. still no results

- Recently submitted a draft - basis for
Conf. in 1932

9. Slow - laborious - But, progress!

(1) no such machinery as Conf. before 1914

(2) Aroused public opinion, Education

(3) Cost of War.

(1) 186 Billion in direct cost

337 " indirect - property loss -

- loss of production -

(2) 10 million ~~de~~ Killed.
wounded

(3) 20 " " "

(4) 9 " " "

was orphans.

(4) The next war - Horrible

(5) Heavy Taxation

10. Task 9200

10- Revision of Versailles Treaty

- Ways Reparations
~~insufficient debt~~
- Tariff Barrier
- U.S. & Europe

11- Dispute will always
be -  -  must they
had to war?
- Private