

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND ITS PROJECTS

Comments in the *JOURNAL* during the preceding year have called attention to the creation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the progress made in its organization. On December 14, 1911, the Board of Trustees assembled at the headquarters of the Endowment in Washington, and approved the recommendations of the Executive Committee regarding the work to be undertaken in the near future, and made the necessary appropriations to carry it on.

The statement of the principles which should guide the Endowment in outlining and executing its work, and the enumeration and description of the projects approved by the Board of Trustees, are based upon the report of the Executive Committee, from which, in appropriate instances, direct quotations are made.

In the first place, the principles which should guide the Endowment in prosecuting its work are stated by the Executive Committee as follows:

(1) That it will not be wise for the Endowment to enter into competition with existing agencies or to seek to supplant them by its own direct action or by the creation of new organizations to cover the same field, but rather

(a) to give greater strength and activity to the existing organizations and agencies which are found to be capable of doing good work;

(b) to produce better organization by bringing about union in systematic relations of scattered organizations and eliminating duplication of effort and conflict of interest; and,

(c) to cause the creation of new organizations only in those parts of the field which are not now effectively covered.

The successful conduct of a work of this kind requires the voluntary cooperation of great numbers of people who are moved by their interest in the cause of peace. Such cooperation can not be bought with money, and it can not be controlled by money. It can be greatly aided and made more effective by the judicious use of money. It would be impossible to duplicate the personnel now engaged in peace work in many directions. The continued activity of the workers depends upon the continuance of their interest, and that is largely enlisted in the organizations which they have built up, often with much labor and sacrifice. It would be an enormous waste of power to attempt to substitute new and different organizations.

(2) That a considerable part of the work of the Endowment must be prosecuted in countries other than the United States. There are many countries in which the problem presented by the proposal to substitute peace for war as the normal condition of mankind is much more complicated and difficult than it is with us at home, and there are many countries in which the ideas that we have come to regard as fundamental and indisputable have made but little progress. All true advance towards a stable condition of peace in the world must be a general advance. The chief barrier to warlike aggression is the

general adverse opinion of mankind and the reluctance of nations to incur the condemnation of the civilized world by conduct which, in that opinion, is discreditable.

To render our work most effective it must accordingly be carried on in many different countries.

(3) That in carrying on our work in other countries, and especially in those countries of Europe with which questions of peace and war are much more pressing and difficult than with us, it is of vital importance that we should not present ourselves as American missionaries undertaking to teach the people of other countries how they should conduct their affairs, but that we should rather aid the citizens of those other countries who are interested in the work which tends to promote peace to carry on that work among their own countrymen, and that to all such work the first conclusion above stated applies with special force.

(4) That one direction in which work for general peace especially needs strengthening is along the line where the sentiment for peace comes into immediate contact with the difficulties and exigencies of practical international affairs. The reconciliation of those two requires knowledge of the practical side, not so much of specific international difficulties as of the underlying forces which move nations, the development of their methods and motives of action and the historical development of their relations. To make progress in this it is necessary to enlist the services of men competent to carry on thorough, scientific inquiry and to produce definite, certain, and authoritative conclusions which may be made the competent basis of education and argument, appealing to practical men conducting affairs.

The following projects, calculated to carry out the purposes of the Division of International Law, were authorized:

1. The collection and publication of all known international arbitrations upon a plan similar to that furnished by the series of law reports of English and American courts. The decisions of the permanent court of the Hague will be included in this collection, and will, in addition, be separately published so as to form an independent series. The entire work will be so arranged that it can be continued indefinitely by the publication of further volumes containing future cases and decisions as they are submitted to, and decided by, arbitral tribunals. It is estimated that this monumental work, whose usefulness it is impossible to overestimate, will require at least twenty-five volumes.

2. The separate collection and publication of all known arbitration treaties and of special clauses of arbitration to be found in general treaties. This work, which is already under preparation, will probably appear in the course of a year or two.

3. The establishment in the Peace Palace at The Hague of an international academy for theoretical and scientific instruction in the various branches of international law and cognate subjects, so that "teachers and students of international law of all countries may have an opportunity to learn to reconcile their views and to cooperate in a regular and systematic way toward a better mutual understanding of differing opinions, and towards progress in reaching mutual agreements about what the law is and ought to be."

The advisability of the establishment of such an institution was discussed at the Second Hague Peace Conference, upon the recommendation of M. Sturdsa, then Prime Minister of Roumania, and warmly recommended by M. Nelidow, President of the Conference. The project has, since then, been the subject of much general discussion, and great interest has been manifested in the plan and its realization.

The academy is not to compete with existing institutions, for its sessions are to be held in the months of August, September and October, when European institutions are not in session. It will differ from existing schools of political science by having its small and changing faculty chosen from the leading teachers of international law selected from the world at large, and the international element will be accentuated by the fact that no more than one professor will be chosen from any country at any one time. In this way the teaching will be international in fact as well as in theory. In addition, eminent lecturers will be invited to deliver courses upon important and timely topics, which will be published in the form of monographs. In this way international law will be enriched by a series of special studies by those most competent to express matured opinions.

4. For the purpose of popularizing international law and its application to concrete problems, the Board of Trustees voted, upon recommendation of the Executive Committee, an appropriation to a selected list of journals of international law.

5. In order to secure the best available advice and counsel in the projects to be undertaken by the Division of International Law, and if possible, cooperation in its actual work, it was recommended by the Executive Committee and approved by the Board of Trustees "that the Institute of International Law be invited to act, by committee or otherwise, as adviser to the Division of International Law of the Endowment, regarding the course and development of its work." On this point the report of the Executive Committee says: "To promote the usefulness

and activity of this organization, and at the same time secure the benefit of its experience and wisdom in shaping our own course, seems most desirable.”

The following quotation from the report of the Executive Committee regarding the origin and rôle which the Institute has played in the development of international law, will be of general interest:

The Institute of International Law is an organization established at Ghent in 1873 and includes among its members the most distinguished living authorities in that science. It is a small body of sixty members and sixty associate members. It fills the vacancies in its own numbers and makes its selections entirely upon the basis of qualification demonstrated by the individual writings of the candidates. It has now for nearly forty years held annual or biennial meetings in which it has drafted and adopted, after full discussion and mature deliberation, model codes upon a great number of subjects, and it has rendered very great service in the systematic development of the science of international law. It is distinctly the leader of modern thought in the study of international law from the philosophical and historical point of view. It was due to the work of this body that the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were able to accomplish the results with which we are familiar. The Conferences took the work already done by the Institute and considered it as the basis of their deliberation and action very much as a legislative body bases its discussion and action upon the reports of its own committees. Further development along the lines followed by the Hague Conferences will be impossible without a great amount of preliminary and preparatory work such as the Institute does. As the Institute includes a great part of the most distinguished international lawyers of all civilized countries and a great part of the advisers of the various governments upon questions of international law, it is especially adapted to the discussion and working out of conclusions which are likely to be adopted by formal international action.

The last number of the *JOURNAL*¹ contains a complete statement of the purpose, assembly, participants and results, including the final program, of the conference of economists and publicists held at Berne in August last, under the auspices of the Endowment, in order to determine the method and scope of the inquiries to be conducted in the Division of Economics and History into the economic and historical aspects of war. The Board of Trustees voted appropriations to carry on researches, in line with the recommendations of the Conference, in Europe, Asia, North and South America.

In the Division of Intercourse and Education the following projects, quoted from the report of the Executive Committee, were authorized and the sums necessary to put them into operation provided:

¹ October, 1911, p. 1037.

(1) Promoting in the United States the strength and efficiency of the American Peace Society, including the establishment of satisfactory relations between that society and the numerous scattered local peace societies throughout the United States, so that the whole sum of activity may be brought into co-ordination, and duplication and waste of energy may be prevented.

(2) The establishment of a Secretariat and Bureau of the Division in Paris, through which the relations of the endowment with European societies and agencies may be maintained. With this Secretariat it is proposed to associate an advisory council of representative European statesmen and publicists prominently identified with the cause of peace and international arbitration. The duties of this council are to be purely advisory. It is proposed also to establish correspondents through which the Secretariat can communicate with all the different countries upon matters of interest to the work of the Endowment whenever occasion arises.

(3) Promoting the strength and activity of the American Association for International Conciliation, and, through that organization, the Conciliation Internationale, of Paris.

(4) Promoting the strength and efficiency of the Bureau Internationale Permanent de la Paix, at Berne, and the Office Central des Associations Internationales, at Brussels. Through these two general organizations it is proposed to render such aid to particular associations and agencies in Europe as may be found desirable. These are great central organizations the constituents of which are in one case the peace societies of Europe, and in the other international societies generally. Both are laboring at a disadvantage with absurdly insufficient funds and they are capable of a vast extension of usefulness.

(5) Promoting the value and circulation of a selected list of the leading periodicals devoted to the movement for peace and arbitration.

(6) Making it possible for a small number of selected and especially effective workers in the field of peace effort to devote their entire time to the work and relieving them from the necessity of turning aside to devote themselves to self-support.

(7) Establishing a more complete system of educational exchanges between Latin America and the United States and between Japan and the United States.

(8) Providing, as special opportunity and occasion may from time to time arise, for visits of leaders of opinion to foreign countries to interchange and stimulate the growth of, opinion upon subjects involved in the peace propaganda. Along the same line of occasional but useful action to be taken whenever the opportunity presents itself will come assisting the circulation in different countries of particular publications tending to stimulate thought and correct errors regarding matters which concern the maintenance of peace.

Under the same head comes the annual meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, in which the Committee would be glad to see a more active representation from the United States than practicable heretofore.

Upon the announcement, on December 14, 1910, of Mr. Carnegie's munificent endowment of the peace cause, doubt was expressed in various

quarters as to the possibility of wisely expending the income of such a large sum. The Executive Committee finds, however, as the result of the year's study, that there is a surprising scope and variety of things which may be done with advantage to promote peace, that the more the subject is studied the wider becomes the horizon which bounds the Endowment's field of usefulness, and doubt is expressed as to the sufficiency of the income to accomplish the things which ought to be undertaken.