

(The New Republic.)
Conference as a Method of International Legislation.

It is an open secret that in proposing a European Congress in which Germany and Russia would sit as equals among equals, the British Premier was very much influenced by the example and the lessons of the Washington gathering. The performance at Washington confirmed his conviction as to the value and necessity of conference in bringing about international adjustments. For centuries governments had, of course, used conferences as the indispensable method of framing treaties of peace at the end of wars, but in these instances the deciding influence in dictating the terms of the treaty was not a free negotiation among the conferees which ended in general conviction and consent, but the comparative military strength of the several belligerents at the end of the war. The conference translated into political terms the achievements of force. The Washington Conference, on the other hand, was not in a position to register a verdict previously rendered by military victory or stalemate. President Harding called it in order to remove by negotiation causes of international friction which might subsequently develop into war. Its authors hoped to accomplish by public discussion and agreement among the governments with interests in the Far East the kind of political change which had usually needed war for its accomplishment. They attained a measure of success, and their success fired Mr. Lloyd George with the desire to emulate their example. Europe like the Far East was busily accumulating a snarl of animosities, misunderstandings, quarrels and convictions of mutual incompatibility which unless they were disentangled by agreement were certain to provoke a renewed war. Could not Great Britain accomplish in Europe by the method of conference the measure of political readjustment which the American government had begun to accomplish in the Far East?

Considerations of this kind, we have sound reason for believing, persuaded Mr. Lloyd George to propose the Genoa Conference. It was a brave and perhaps a salutary idea; but he encountered one serious difficulty in carrying it out. The American government was in a stronger position to bestow upon a Far Eastern Conference the kind of reality which might enable it to accomplish by discussion and agreement really fruitful political changes than the British government was with respect to Europe. If legislation about the Far Eastern disagreements were left to the verdict of war, victory or defeat would depend upon a preponderance of naval power. The American government occupied with respect to naval power a position more advantageous than either Japan or Great Britain combined, and it had a good chance, if it had preferred and insisted, of dictating by force or by a combination of force or diplomacy the kind of legislation which its rulers preferred. It adopted precisely the opposite course. It not only submitted the disagreements to the verdict of a conference, but it began the conference by renouncing its potential superiority of naval power and by proposing a limitation of naval armaments which prohibited any one member of the naval triumvirate from forcing its will upon the other. This act of military self-denial gave the necessary vitality to the conference as a conference. It extinguished the possibility of obtaining a settlement in the Far East favorable to America as the result of war.

But in the case of the European snarl Great Britain does not occupy a sufficiently strong position to follow the American example with respect to the Far East. Whenever war again overtakes Europe, the most immediately dangerous, if not the ultimately decisive, weapon of victory will be a preponderant army rather than a preponderant navy, and France rather than Great Britain possesses the preponderant army. The British government can not, consequently, begin a European conference with an act of renunciation as edifying as the American prologue to the Washington Conference. It was only France which could start the proceedings at Genoa with an overture of peace, and the French government did not have the remotest intention of surrendering the political preponderance on the European continent which it exercised by virtue of its military supremacy. French foreign policy did not and, unless it were radically changed, could not win confirmation by the free consent of other European nations. It is as much the creature of an apparently irresistible army as was German foreign policy from 1873 until 1914. During those years Germany exercised a power which she had won by military victory and her rulers adapted their political

policy to their expectation that they could if necessary, overcome opposition to their designs. At the Hague Conference her government frankly defended war and armies as agencies of international legislation and its militarism prevented those conferences from moving in the direction of disarmament. France assumes a similarly aggressive attitude in the existing tableau of Europe. Unless she relaxes, the Genoa Conference will fail as a substitute for war as completely as the Hague Conferences. As long as France by virtue of her military superiority, flourishes a foreign policy to which other nations would not submit if it were not for her military superiority, Mr. Lloyd George cannot substitute conference for war as a method of bringing about political readjustments in Europe.

We are calling attention to this characteristic of conference as an agency of international adjustment because, if it is not understood, its prestige as a method which as the only possible substitute for war and revolution it is important to preserve, may suffer from its ill-advised and careless use. Conference is government by unanimous consent. It constitutes, as Mr. Hughes pointed out in his speech at the last plenary session of the Conference, the kind of tribunal session of the Conference, the kind of tribunal in which the dissenting minority opinion prevails. The power which it confers on a minority of insisting on being consulted is its peculiar virtue, but it is a virtue which in the present state of international public opinion brings with it a corresponding weakness. For at present the necessity of unanimity confers more power upon an unscrupulous, self-centered and powerful minority than it does on one which is scrupulous and disinterested. A conference assembles usually under somewhat critical conditions. Decisions are necessary. Every member of the conference exposes himself to moral pressure by the majority not to insist on his own policy at the expense of breaking up the conference. In so far as the conference is composed of members who are honestly seeking a fair adjustment by general consent, such pressure is desirable and useful, but in so far as its less scrupulous members may use it to coerce a reluctant associate to consent to unprincipled decisions, then it becomes a dubious tribunal for a disinterested nation to join. It was a predicament of this kind in which President Wilson found himself in Paris. He was the dissenting minority, but if he pushed his dissent to the point of breaking up the conference, he would expose himself in a weak position to the attack of his American enemies and could be accused with plausibility of instigating European revolution and postponing the much needed peace. His motives for agreeing to decisions of which he did not approve were more powerful than those of his associates, and they naturally took advantage of his weakness. The result was his signature of the unprincipled bargain of the Treaty of Versailles.

In his speech of Jan. 21st Mr. Lloyd George declared with entire truth that the only possible escape from the existing European snarl was conference, and he characterized conference as a method of "bringing the nations to the test of reason and not of force." These assertions are to our mind emphatically and entirely true, but they imply on the part of conference as a method of bringing reason rather than force to bear on international dissensions an infirmity against which the more disinterested nations must guard. If the majority of the members of a conference are seeking an agreement by consent and only one exceptionally powerful nation opposes the general disposition, it is important that conference should provide some expedient to deal with his predicament. Unless conferences are to be blackmailed by intractable and unscrupulous minorities, their members must face the necessity of inventing and sometimes using a non-physical weapon for overcoming the resistance of the offender.

The most available weapon is obviously political and moral isolation. That is the only appropriate and sufficient penalty which a pacific society of nations can inflict on its unscrupulously egotistic and aggressive members. The penalty of isolation, like all other penalties, is liable to abuse. Germany abused it when after the Franco-Prussian war she tried and for many years succeeded in isolating France. But France escaped finally from isolation because not even the political and military preponderance of Germany in Europe was sufficient permanently to deny to France the honorable and important place to which she was entitled in European counsels. France is now trying in turn to isolate Germany and Russia, and the object of the Genoa Conference is fundamentally to bring this deplorable isolation to an end. The Poincare gov-

ernment opposes a conference which by restoring Germany and Russia to an equality with other nations in the counsels of Europe is bound to jeopardize the Treaty of Versailles which was framed without consulting them. If the French government persists in this attitude, there is only one sufficient answer which is to inflict on France the penalty which she wishes to fasten indefinitely on Germany.

Inasmuch as its infliction may provoke the French government into some desperate tour de force of national self-assertion such as the occupation of the Ruhr Basin, isolation is a dangerous weapon. Yet it is a weapon which will, we think, have to be used in the end if the neighbors and associates of France are to root out the militarism and power politics which are destroying the integrity of Europe. They must recognize that the isolation of France is a dangerous penalty to inflict just because it is a terrible penalty. It is tantamount to the outlawing of French national policy at the bar of public opinion. It is the modern equivalent of mediaeval excommunication and its authority will depend upon its employment only on rare occasions and for unexceptional causes. It is, of course, easy enough to invoke isolation against a beaten enemy, as France was in 1871 or Germany in 1918, but wars will continue until the society of nations dare to employ it also against an offender powerful enough to be dangerous and successful enough to blind men's eyes. To use the dangerousness of French militarism as an excuse for buying it off and placating it is only to confirm its authority and to increase its vitality. Public opinion must dare to oppose it and to oppose it not by any counter demonstration of force but by moral coercion isolation of France may result in some years of further disorder, but if the disintegration is to continue it will be salutary in the long run not to confuse the responsibility for it but to place it squarely on the shoulders of M. Poincare & Co. So far as we can see there is no other way of qualifying conference, as the agency of consent and reason and as the enemy of force, to assume the function of legislating for the society of nations.

U. S. Ambassadors Worked For Entire All The Time.

David R. Francis, former American ambassador to Russia, has written a book, "Russia Seen from the American Embassy, which the Scribners are publishing. The Gerards and Francis foolishly imagine that they can contribute to the sum of human knowledge by turning authors. They are right so far only as they unintentionally serve the cause of human education. In a circular letter issued by the publishers of the book, it is stated in bold type: "And it is a story that will thrill American readers. While the United States was still neutral the efforts of Mr. Francis to keep Russia in the war were ceaseless. His direct appeals to the Russian people gained force from the recognition and material aid extended by us to the Provisional Government." So Wilson's ambassador to Russia confessedly was doing what Gerard was doing in Berlin and what Herrick, Bacon and Sharp were doing in Paris, what Walter H. Page was doing in London. What do the American people think of it? In the words of the Irish World, "Wilson, chief of the intrigues, was horrified by the war. He enjoined us to be neutral even in our thoughts; he earnestly strove to bring peace to the contending parties, whose aims looked alike to him; he reluctantly entered the war because of Germany's U-boat campaign! Was there ever a people so misled, befuddled, bamboozled, and rendered as ridiculous as ourselves? And all for the benefit of a foreign power, our consistent and perpetual enemy!" And American citizens for merely sympathizing with Germany were thrown into jail and lynched, and Debs for speaking his mind about this prearranged war, was sent to the Atlanta prison for ten years!—Issues of Today.

It Costs Much To Keep America Wet

When the Volstead law was enacted the prohibitionists declared that it wouldn't take more than a couple of million dollars to enforce it. Then they raised it to \$4,000,000 and the last Congress boosted the amount to \$7,500,000, and now Commissioner Haynes says he will need at least \$10,000,000 for the next fiscal year. That is to say, the longer the Volstead act is in effect the more it costs to try to enforce it. But the cost to the Federal government is by no means the greatest, for the sum total spent by the States, counties and cities to accomplish the impossible totals a much greater amount. And today booze—good, bad and rotten—is more plentiful and more easily obtainable than at any time since the Volstead farce was enacted.

NEW ULM GOES TO NORTFIELD MEET

(Continued from page 1.)

cranny of the Redwood Army were packed for the deciding game. Bets were 5 to 1 in favor of New Ulm and no takers were found. Sleepy Eye lined up with Marshall and Redwood with New Ulm and the enthusiasm of both sides was immense.

Marshall Scores First.
 The game was started by Marshall when Cartier slipped thru and shot a basket. Nelson for New Ulm got a basket and the score balanced from one side to the other, being 9 and 9 at the end of the quarter. Both teams tightened up and the second quarter saw very little basket shooting. New Ulm was the aggressor throughout the entire period. The half ended with Marshall leading by one point score 15 to 14.

In the second half a basket by Schueller rapidly followed up by Nelson gave New Ulm a lead to which they steadily added. Short, snappy passing up to the basket completely broke up the five-man defensive of Marshall. The New Ulm team got their second wind while Marshall was weakening. They put in subs, trying to stem the onslaughts of the husky New Ulm players. After New Ulm had a lead of more than ten points they worked a stall under Marshall's basket which was too much for the Marshall bunch to solve. They were completely lost, with a five-man defense and nothing to defend and the game ended 31 to 22.

New Ulm Amann R F
 Fritsche L F
 Julius C
 Schueller R G
 Nelson L G
Marshall Hammer
 Cartier
 Hoff
 Stone
 Curry
 Baskets—New Ulm, Schueller 6
 Nelson 5, Fritsche 2, Marshall, Cartier 6, Hammer Hoff and Curry 1.
 Referee, Pucket; Umpire, Blakeslee; Scores, Peterson and Herzog; Time keepers, Gloor and Flom.

Summary of Season.

A brief summary of the present basket ball season shows that the New Ulm team has played thirteen games, winning all of them but one. This was the first contest the team was in and they had not struck their gait. The game was played with Nicollet at a time when some of the players were very busy with a home talent production and could not get in enough practice work. Nicollet ran up a score of 20 to New Ulm's 14, but that was the last time any team had any chance against the New Ulm quint. When Nicollet played their return game the focal boys let Nicollet take home the score of 14 and kept for themselves a score which more than doubled the one made by Nicollet in the first game. The Lamberton team came the nearest of any to trimming the victorious quint. This was in the game played on the Lamberton floor when the score was 29-27. New Ulm has a total of 416 points for the season's games and the opposing teams add up only to 219 points. The scores for the different games are given below:

High School Basket Ball Record.

New Ulm	.....14	Nicollet	.....20
New Ulm	.....31	Gibbon	.....23
New Ulm	.....34	Sleepy Eye	.....7
New Ulm	.....38	G Adolphus	.....20
New Ulm	.....30	Sleepy Eye	.....16
New Ulm	.....42	G Adolphus	.....32
New Ulm	.....42	Nicollet	.....14
New Ulm	.....27	Comfrey	.....20
New Ulm	.....45	M Com. Col	.....12
New Ulm	.....43	Lamberton	.....18
New Ulm	.....41	Comfrey	.....10
New Ulm	.....29	Lamberton	.....27
New Ulm	.....416	Opponents	.....219

Off For Northfield

As the New Ulm team has made good its claim to the district championship it is now up to them to go after the state championship. The last year's team came very close to bringing home this honor for New

Ulm high. Whether this year's team can go them one better or not is some thing which only time can tell. The boys are hard fighters and there is no question that they will stand up to their opponents when they meet them tomorrow and Friday at Northfield. It will be chiefly a question of endurance for the boys have been well trained and have the right spirit but a state tournament is quite a strain on the teams. If the boys bring home the bacon New Ulm people will forgive them even if they do parade Minnesota street with the band during the small hours of the night.

Fred Schulke underwent an operation for appendicitis at the Union Hospital yesterday morning.

FIRE IN LAFAYETTE.

The pump house on the Henry Wrede farm in Lafayette Township was burned to the ground last Wednesday. The Lafayette Fire Department responded to the call but by the time they arrived on the scene the shed was destroyed. Fortunately the flames did not spread to a straw pile which was situated only a few feet away from the burning building. If this had caught fire then all the other buildings on the farm place except the house might have been destroyed also. It is believed that the fire originated from the exhaust of the engine.

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NOTICE

The Board of Health requests that where sickness is extant in any family that a receptacle be placed for the receiving of milk, when it is delivered. Parties delivering milk should not leave bottles at homes where there is illness. Precautions of this nature may obviate an epidemic. At this time there are a number of cases of a contagious disease in this city and the board desires to avert an epidemic by taking all the precautionary measures possible.

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