
THEODORE E. BURTON IN THE ORIENT

Source: *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)*, Vol. 81, No. 11 (NOVEMBER, 1919), pp. 312-313

Published by: Sage Publications, Inc.

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20668400>

Accessed: 11-11-2023 16:44 +00:00

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We regret the inclusion of this last item in an otherwise excellent platform. We suspect its insertion after considerable manipulation of opinion by the professional and war-seeking group. Left to themselves, the rank and file would not have assumed to set up compulsory schooling in war in a land that is set as this one in its opposition to war *per se*. We doubt whether a referendum of the membership of the Legion, taken by secret ballot, would sustain the act of the convention. It runs counter to the privately expressed and publicly disclosed opinions of the "doughboys."

Re-enforced by this formal declaration of the Legion at its Minneapolis meeting, there will be an effort at the December session of Congress to get federal sanction for the plan. Then it must be thoroughly debated, and lawmakers must be forced to go on record *pro* or *con*. Congress may order it, but a national referendum would not. Time is on the side of opponents of the measure; for every week adds to the deepening distrust of the masses for any scheme that stresses resort to force or puts trust in diplomacy as a way out for humanity to the land of peace. The era of disillusionment has come. The direct and indirect costs of the war are proving to be staggering. The secret motives and ambitions of men and nations are being made apparent by extraordinary loquacity of public men and unprecedented quick access to the national archives of Russia and Germany. Last, but not least, communism's challenge to the established order of society in western Europe and America is forcing peoples to forget the issue of adequate or inadequate preparation for war in defense of country. Rather must they think of how to defend home possessions, how to hold society together, how to protect the family, and guard legitimate savings.

Surprising as are the lengths to which budding militarists in the United States would go in their efforts to foist military training upon pupils in the schools of the country, it is gratifying to note how quickly they are thwarted when appeal is made to the law. Apropos action taken by the board of education of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, the State superintendent of education recently applied to the Attorney-General of the State to know whether there was any authority in law for the school board's course.

The answer was that boards of education may not legally set up military training in schools by resting their case on the physical education section of the existing school law; nor can a pupil be discriminated against in his general standing because he does not join a school military unit. Neither has a board of education the right to purchase military ordnance or to pay the expenses of physical training teachers at military camps. So much for the Attorney-General's formal opinion. He also let it be known that school boards may not con-

dition graduation of pupils on their sharing or not sharing in military courses. He ruled against forcing parents to disclose their attitude toward war *per se* or a given war in particular. As for requiring parents and pupils to acquire military millinery, lacking which the children might not become pupils, he kicked that proposition out the back door.

The scotching of this Cleveland snake's head has done good in the Buckeye State and beyond. Vigilance in such matters is the price of peace and of keeping this country in its wealth, power, and accentuated nationalism from getting in the way of moral decline and looking for causes of war.

THEODORE E. BURTON IN THE ORIENT

FORMER Senator Theodore E. Burton, for a number of years President of the American Peace Society, is now in the Orient. Of his visit to Japan, Baron Sakatani, referring to Mr. Burton's efforts in behalf of friendship between America and Japan, and welcoming him to a joint meeting of the American Peace Society of Japan and the Japan Peace Society, held at the Imperial Hotel, Tokio, October 1, said:

"This is a time of disturbance and misunderstanding in all countries which have intimate relations with the Orient. Senator Burton is cordially welcomed by us at such a period of great trouble. We believe his coming will be helpful in removing many of the misunderstandings which exist.

"We are very glad to hear that Mr. Burton intends to visit China and Korea. We believe the message which he will take back to America, based, as we believe it will be, upon thorough investigation of facts, will help to solve some of the difficulties."

Mr. Burton has taken the position in a number of his speeches in Japan that the objections raised in California to the Japanese are not founded primarily in racial differences. The real reason is the demand of a powerful element to monopolize the labor of the State, and that for purposes of political expediency. He has characterized the California land laws as "political war cries."

In referring to peace and the peace treaty, Mr. Burton has said:

"It is but a short time ago that world peace was but an aspiration and a hope. The sufferings of the recent terrible war have wrought great changes in the attitude of the world toward war and today peace is nearer realization. The war was not so much a war against Germany as a contest between the idea that might makes right and the ideals of law and justice. War between nations must cease, as it has in the case of individuals."

Other points in Mr. Burton's message are the establishment of a court of justice for the settlement of international disputes, the limitation of armaments, delay where diplomacy has failed, the abolition of furtive and secret diplomacy, and a new era where the prestige of nations will be determined not by their military prowess, but by their achievements in trade, by their success in

improving the social and living conditions of the people. He defines the Monroe Doctrine as a means for protection only. Recognizing the untold wrongs during the past few years suffered by the people of the United States at the hands of Mexico, he pointed out that the United States has patiently tried to avoid armed intervention. No nation, he has said, will profit by endeavoring to grasp the economic resources of the country by means of spheres of influence or any other means. "All must have an equal chance." Recognizing the difficulties due to differences of race, language, and customs, he advises Japan to avoid excitement over California, and not to take too seriously the loud talk and attitude of American jingoes. We are able to quote from one of his speeches the following:

"The talk of war between Japan and the United States is futile and absurd. The mutual advantages of trade make war impossible. Imagine the difficulties in the path of a Japanese army in the event of an attempt to penetrate the interior of the United States. The difficulty would be as great for an American army to attempt the invasion of Japan. Differences must be considered in the spirit of concession. Neither social nor economic progress can ever be made without concessions.

"I hope that the relations between the two nations on either side of the Pacific, representing the highest development of Occidental and Oriental civilization, will continue peaceful, and that the peculiar conditions that brought the two nations together 50 years ago will continue a long and lasting friendship."

Mr. Burton is rendering a service to the cause of right-thinking in a field sorely in need of just that kind of thinking. If only Japan and America can know the essential facts, there can arise no irremediable differences between them.

THE COSTS OF THE WAR

THE volume on "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War," by Professor Bogart, just published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is one of much value, an arsenal of dreadful facts with which to arm combatants in "the war against war," and a collection of data upon which philosopher and economist, king and peasant, tax-paying bourgeoisie and power-coveting proletariat, all may concentrate thought to their profit. For its swift marshaling of these facts and wide dissemination of them the Endowment deserves more adequate recognition than it is likely to get.

Keeping in mind the fact that post-armistice national expenditures in some countries have nearly equaled those of the war period, and that this volume's data cover a period up to, but not beyond, the militant period in the Entente-German war, what are some of the conclusions of the compiler? It is shown that the real economic direct cost was \$244,000,000,000. The total death roll

for all belligerent countries approximated 10,000,000, whereas the total losses of the nineteenth century's wars was but 4,449,300. If to the known killed there be added 50 per cent of those officially listed as "prisoners or missing," but fairly presumed to be dead, the total death roll of the late conflict reaches the terrible total of 12,991,000. Of seriously wounded there have not been less than 6,000,000, and of persons suffering lesser casualties a sufficient number to make the total 20,297,551, of whom nearly 45 per cent have had normality restored and 52 per cent their ability reduced. Using standards of economic valuation of life that have been agreed upon with some degree of unanimity by experts, Professor Bogart estimates that the soldiers lost in the war were worth, in the economic sense, \$33,551,276,280. Add to this an equal sum, the capitalized value of civilian life lost by disease, malnutrition, massacre, etc., and in addition a property loss of \$29,960,000,000, and it begins to appear why the masses who furnish the fighters are in revolt and why old systems of tenure of property rights are passing, new systems of taxation are emerging, and the best-informed students of the situation are predicting that this winter for Europe and the Near East will be worse in human suffering, famine, and revolt than any they endured during the war. The wind has been sown. The whirlwind is being reaped, and innocent non-belligerent nations and peoples are victims as well as those directly responsible. Man cannot pile up the "incomprehensible and appalling" total of direct and indirect cost of war to the sum of \$337,946,179,657 and lose, approximately, 13,000,000 lives without treading the edge of a moral and economic abyss and without facing political hurricanes.

Yet such is the record of history, past and near, that when certain passions are aroused, certain loyalties appealed to, certain memories of aboriginal customs recalled, certain ambitions for power and dominion stimulated either by pride or land hunger, nations do not allow the "costs" of war to deter them from waging it. Apparently Europe and the world are not to be checked by the size of the bill noted above from proceeding along the old lines. The year since the armistice was signed indicates no adequate moral revulsion by humanity against the record of 1914-19, no sincere determination of peoples who have lost millions of men and billions of wealth to quit relying on force or to quit coveting territory. It is this reaction upon the awful array of facts amassed by Professor Bogart that makes idealists despair and breeds the temper among worldings, reflected in the orgies of Berlin, Paris, London, and New York, who first profiteer and then plunge hellward, saying, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die"—or go to the poor-house.