

The policies of the present administration have been, on the whole, satisfactory to the pacifists, though the wisdom of some of them from the point of view of the preserving of peace is perhaps questionable. To renounce the right of American intervention in Cuba for the preservation of peace and order seems very much like licensing in that revolution-racked island, free indulgence in a chaos of throat cutting, with no certainty that we shall not be driven into intervention in the end, lest anarchy supervene. There is no doubt, too, that in offering the right hand of recognition to that Moscow murder gang whose government is the negation of God on Earth, President Roosevelt, as he has said repeatedly, was largely actuated by the belief "that through the resumption of normal relations with Russia, the prospects of peace over all the world are greatly strengthened." The endorsement of the President's recognition of Russia by the mass of the American people was based, however, not on their love of peace, but on the widely accepted principles of economic nationalism, so dear to every Isolationist. "This buy American movement would be a great thing if only somebody would start it abroad," said Judge. And Russia, ever ready with promises to pay if only the credits be long, seemed made to fill this role.

But to the internationalist who cannot accept without at least a mental reservation the saying of President Roosevelt, "the maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation devolving upon the United States alone," the recognition of Russia is the saddest incident in world history since the triumph of Hitler. It blots out in the United States foreign policy the last trace of the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, the one vestige of it respected by even the Republicans. It was still as true in November 1933 as it was in August 1920 when Woodrow Wilson through his Secretary of State gave his reasons for non-recognition of the Soviet Government, that "Russia is helpless in the grip of a non-representative government whose only sanction is brute force".

In securing the passage of the bill granting independence to the Philippines, President Roosevelt has lessened greatly the risks of complications in the Pacific. But there are still possibilities of trouble with foreign powers in the clause reserving to the United States the option of retaining naval bases in the islands, even after independence has become an actual fact. It would probably be more prudent for the United States to disinterest itself completely in the little brown brother after granting him the right of self-misgovernment. If the American people are to delude themselves into the belief that the national prestige is bound up with protecting permanently the independence of the Philippines against other powers, the danger of foreign complications will be far greater than if the islands remain directly under American rule. In the last days of July, 1914, before the rape of Belgium had united all Englishmen in determined opposition to Germany, the newspaper John Bull placarded London with posters bearing the legend "To Hell with Servia." If in ten or twenty years from now the Philippines appeal for aid against the imperialism of Japan, Americans would do well to revive that doughboy ditty of the naughty nineties with its refrain "Damn, damn, damn, the Filipino!"

Though I realize that the path of pacifism to the point of peace at any price is an impracticable one, I should not like it to be thought that I am destitute of all sympathy for the pacifists ideals. It must be admitted that from the point of view of the world, even an