

Security then must be found in something more than a treaty. It must be found in something from which no nation can withdraw.

All this leads to the inevitable conclusion that the permanence of peace — the permanence of all anti-war treaties — can be found only in the delegalization of war by an enactment participated in by all the civilized nations that shall make the prohibition of war a basic principle of international law from which no nation can withdraw.

As was said in our multigned letter to you of November 22nd, "Sometime in the future one or more powerful nations may disrupt and destroy even so splendid a structure as the General Pact for the Renunciation of War by withdrawing from it. But no nation, be it ever so powerful, can withdraw from international law. It may violate it and treat it with contempt, as a murderer may violate and scorn the law against murder. But the law will remain, branding the offending nation as a disgraced criminal guilty of the most serious offense against the entire community of nations. From that condemnation a guilty nation cannot escape. It must live among the nations of the earth with the mark of Cain upon it, subject to the contempt of world opinion — a situation in which no nation would willingly put itself or could long endure.

"The only way by which a nation could escape it would be by a repeal or abrogation of the law by the only authority that will have power to abrogate it, the great body of the nations by whom it shall have been enacted. Once the law is enacted it is scarcely conceivable that the nations that put it into law will ever vote to cast it out. Here and there in time of great

excitement and passion a few governments might desire to repeal, but never by any approach to a majority or commanding influence."

With great respect,

(signed) SAMUEL COLCORD.

A Program

Following this up I would urge the following Program for all friends of world peace as the best means I can think of to make the Disarmament Conference a success:

First, adherence to the World Court by the Root formula without further reservation.

Second, the delegalization of war by an enactment of international law that will put outside the pale of law any nation that in violation of its treaty obligations attempts to settle its dispute by war. Distinctly this should be by an enactment and not by a treaty, since our Congress has the power to vote withdrawal from any treaty, but no congress or parliament has the power to vote withdrawal from international law.

Third, the adoption of a general treaty that shall provide for the call of a conference of nations for conciliation, inquiry and report to public opinion in the event of an impending war.

For this proposal it may be said, as was said in our letter to the President, that if the nations entering, or about to enter upon war are brought to conference with other nations there is small probability that they will leave the conference to resume the interrupted war. But if one of them refuses to come to the conference, the refusal will be its public con-