

HOW TO GET A WORTHWHILE MEASURE OF DISARMAMENT AT THE 1932 CONFERENCE

By SAMUEL COLCORD

The following letter by me to President Hoover is the beginning of the answer.

The President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.
Sir:

Since the entire peace loving world is looking forward eagerly and rightly to the World Disarmament Conference, expected to convene in February, 1932, I am venturing a few practical and constructive suggestions as to what advance measures may be taken to make the disarmament or arms limitation effort a success.

It will, I assume, be generally admitted that there can be no large measure of disarmament until there is world security. The inevitable question then is what will give the sense of security required? These measures must be not merely the measures we would most approve and desire, but measures that we may reasonably hope to realize. No measure, however important or praiseworthy in itself, can be realized unless it is one that will be ratified by the Senate of the United States and the parliaments of the world.

The League of Nations might have given the needed security if the United States had been in it. But whatever view

may be taken of it, our adherence is not an early probability, and the League will not have full power until joined by the great Republic of the West. The Permanent Court of International Justice will probably be adhered to by the United States, and will then be an important aid. But alone it will not give the desired security. The Pacts of Locarno were intended to be the outlawing of war as respects Germany and the former allied nations that border on her territory. But none of the nations accept them as affording the security that will justify them in disarming. The General Pact for the Renunciation of War, with the United States and all the civilized nations joined in it, ought, one would suppose, with the support of the other treaties named, be accepted as all the security needed. But it is not.

Why are all these great treaties not accepted by either France, Great Britain, Germany, or the United States as affording the security necessary to justify a large measure of disarmament? There can be only one explanation. The history of all the past teaches that no treaty is safe against repeal and abandonment when one or more powerful nations think it to their advantage to withdraw from it.