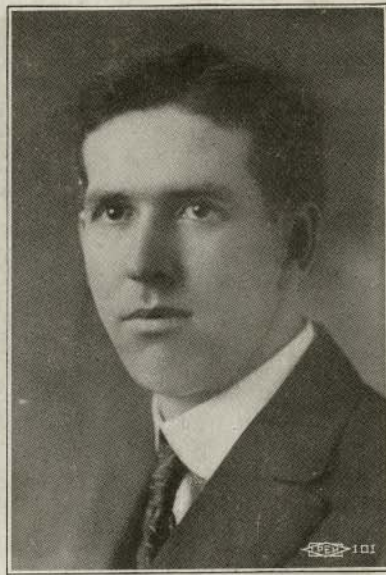




CLARENCE S. DARROW



PROF. JOHN C. KENNEDY

*The*  
Darrow-Kennedy  
Debate

— on —

*“Are Internationalism and the  
League of Nations Practical  
and Desirable Schemes  
for Ending War?”*

**“Are Internationalism and the  
League of Nations Practical  
and Desirable Schemes  
for Ending War”**

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**AFFIRMATIVE:**

**Professor John C. Kennedy**

**NEGATIVE:**

**Mr. Clarence S. Darrow**

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**Chairman: Mr. Arthur M. Lewis**

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**AT THE**

**GARRICK THEATRE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 8, 1918**

**MACLASKY & MACLASKY, COURT REPORTERS  
CHICAGO**

JOHN F. HIGGINS, PRINTER



376-380 WEST MONROE ST.

## *Are Internationalism and the League of Nations Practical and Desirable Schemes for Ending War?*

Mr. Lewis:

I take considerable pride in being able to bring together two such masters of the platform and forensic experts as the distinguished opponents in this debate.

Mr. Kennedy has the 27th Ward in his vest pocket. The people of that ward have discovered that while the other wards of the city have politicians for aldermen, they have secured the services of a statesman.

It may interest you to know that Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, who is to take the negative today, has been the most valuable friend our educational society has ever had. His many services have always been given without charge. He has never required urging, but has given generously and without stint. As the one chiefly responsible for the success of our society, I cannot command any language with which to express my gratitude.

(Mr. Lewis then read the question and introduced Mr. Kennedy.)

### PROFESSOR KENNEDY'S FIRST SPEECH.

Professor Kennedy said: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Darrow, Comrades and Friends: During the course of the recent world war, the spokesmen for the allied nations did everything within their power to maintain the morale not only of the military forces in the field, but of the civilians at home. In order to do this, they emphasized the ideals for which they claimed the allied forces were fighting, and the principal emphasis was placed upon what they claimed to be a fact, i. e., that this was a war to end wars; that it was a war against militarism; that those who fought on the allied side were really fighting to make this the last war. That was not only implied in speech after speech made by President Wilson, but it was emphasized also in France and in Great Britain and the other allied countries. It seemed to be the corner stone upon which was built the morale of the fighting forces and the civilians behind the front lines.

Now, we have come to the time to test the sincerity of those statements. Did they really mean them? Were they

honest statements? Did President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and the others who were spokesmen for the allied nations mean it when they said this was a war to end wars? Did they mean it when they said this was a war to end militarism? Did they mean it when they said this was a war to establish a lasting peace among men through the entire world? That is the real question, it seems to me, with which the people of the world are concerned at the present time. It is the real question that will be involved in the making of the peace. Are we going on along the same old lines of imperialism, militarism and war, or are we going to establish a world-wide democracy, which will guarantee the security, peace and freedom of peoples in all parts of the world?

The premonitions which we get now of what is going to happen in the Peace Congress are not very encouraging, at least not to those who took seriously the statements made by some of those in the foreground of the allied nations. When we read about heavy indemnities—when we read about annexations of territory—when we read about a colossal navy on the part of Great Britain and an appropriation of six hundred million dollars a year by the United States to increase and enlarge our navy, it is very difficult to square these events of the day with what was promised during the last three or four years; it is very difficult for the people who have sustained the forces during the three or four years to see where their interests are going to be protected by any such arrangement.

Now, the question arises whether it is possible—whether it is feasible and practical, through any arrangement that may be made at this Peace Conference, or subsequently, to abolish militarism and to so organize the world in a Federation of Nations that war can be eliminated. I believe it is possible if those who are in control of the various governments which will there be represented, sincerely desire to carry out such a program. If they are honest and sincere; if they are willing to reflect the wishes of the masses of the people; if they really believe in democracy, the time is here to organize such a world federation! The peoples of the world are heartily sick of militarism and imperialism and the policies of secret diplomacy which have prevailed in the past. It will not be the people of the world—and in using that term I am speaking of the working people, the people who do something useful in the world—who will stand in the way of a permanent peace. If we do not get the right sort of a peace or a permanent peace it will be because special interests, financial interests, plutocratic interests, aristocratic interests, so scheme and maneuver



as to cheat the people of the world out of what they really want.

The question is, is it practical? Can it be done? I believe that a Federation of Nations of the World can be built somewhat along the same lines as the United States government was built at the time the colonies federated, over a century ago. I do not mean to say that exactly the same forms need to be followed, that exactly the same regulations need to be laid down; but the general principles which underlaid the federation of the thirteen colonies—those same principles could be applied today in a federation of the nations of the world. All the forces of social development have been working in that direction, particularly in recent years. Internationalism has grown in leaps and bounds. Today, as everybody knows, commerce and trade is international. It is not a national proposition at all. The national state does not correspond to the industrial state at all. The industrial state is a world state and not a national state. Armour & Company, Swift & Company, the International Harvester Company—all of those great corporations which are producing goods right here in Chicago, for example, have their markets in all parts of the world, have their agencies in all parts of the world, have their connections in all parts of the world. They are not engaged in producing merely for the people of the United States. And the same thing is true of the commerce and trade and industry of every other nation in the world. Their connections spread out and extend all over the civilized world.

Likewise, with finance. Every important bank has its connections all over the world. It is not an American, British, French or German banking system; it is a world banking system today. It has entirely gone beyond the confines of the national state. The same way with investments. The dollars know no flag; they go wherever they can make the greatest profit; there is no question at all about that! If a capitalist can make more money in Mexico than in the United States, he will invest his money in Mexico, as we all know; or if he can make more money in South Africa than in the United States, he will invest his money in South Africa.

So it is all over the world, whether it is a Chinese loan, or an investment in Mexico, wherever it is, it is entirely on an impersonal, international basis and has nothing to do with national boundaries at all. That is not only true of trade, industry and commerce and investment, but it is equally true of labor. Workers are emigrating and immigrating from one country to another, going east, west, north and south, following their jobs, following their economic opportunities, follow-

ing their chance to get a living and perhaps a better living than where they were before; that is their ideal. So, labor is likewise international, passing back and forth from one country to another, as we here in the United States know very well!

Then, again, not only are labor and industry international, but likewise we find that science is international. Is there such a thing as American, French, British or German science? Is chemistry the science of any particular nation? Is physics the science of any particular nation, or astronomy, or biology the science of any particular nation? Science has been built up by the contributions of all people of all countries on the face of the earth and it is international, as everybody knows. And the same is true of art. Go over to the Art Institute and will you find it is an American Art Institute? Not at all. The paintings and sculpture represent contributions from all peoples of the earth; they have no restricted or national boundary lines at all. And, no matter what field of human activity or endeavor you enter into or consult, you will find that the world is united today, and that it is only in the political world—political, mind you—that we are separate. It is only there that nationalism prevails, and in industry, in labor, in art, in science, in literature, in music—in all the great human interests—we are internationalists, whether we know it or not!

And, is it not true, that when you pick up your morning newspaper you consider yourself a citizen of the world? You want to know what the Bolsheviki are doing. That is generally the first thing you look at! Then you ask yourself how the German revolution is progressing! Then you are interested to notice how many Sinn Feiners are going to be elected to Parliament without a contest. So it goes, whether in Great Britain, Germany, China or Japan, we are following very closely and intently what is happening in every country on the face of the earth. Why? Because in fact we are citizens of the world! We are interested in what is going on in every country on the face of the earth! And, consciously or unconsciously, we take sides in these contests; we want to help one side or the other; we want to have something to say about it; something to do in this great struggle going on all over the world; we want to have a hand in it. Which again shows that we are internationalists. Some are on the capitalist side; some on the other side, but all internationalists just the same. International capitalists or international working class; some of us have not found our situation, but we will sooner or later in this great struggle. The cables, telegraph, telephone, wireless and all those other instrumentalities for keeping us in close touch with one another, have facilitated this—the printing

press, the steamships and all the various instrumentalities of modern science have brought the world closely together; it has made us much nearer neighbors than the peoples of the various countries were a century ago.

Such being the case, the fact is we have the social and economic foundations of a world federation that did not exist two or three centuries ago. The foundations were not there. But the foundations are there today, there is no question about it. In fact, the conditions are much more favorable to the formation of a world government today than were the conditions for the formation of the United States of America one hundred and fifty years ago. We are nearer to the people of England, to the people of Germany, France and Italy today in point of time and thought, than were the people of the various colonies a century and a half ago in the United States! Every argument that could be raised now against a world federation was raised against the federation of all the various colonies at the time that federation was formed. So that it is a question now whether we are ready as a people—and whether the statesmen for the American people and other peoples are ready to seize this opportunity to move forward to a higher organization of the peoples of the world.

How can it be done? Is it practical? I said a few moments ago I believed we have the fundamental principles in the form of federation upon which the United States has been built. Let us say that each and every nation in the world would have one or two, or a certain number of representatives in a world senate. That was the basis on which it was possible to get the thirteen colonies united. Some were larger; some were smaller, but they were all entitled to two representatives in the senate. The senators would represent the various nationalities. Then, have a House of Representatives which would represent the people in proportion to the various members of the nations—one representative for every five million people, elected directly by the people. Then you would have an international parliament consisting of a senate in which would be two representatives from every nation—two from Holland, as well as two from the United States—to give you extreme differences in size—and one representative for each five million voters in each and every country.

There would be your parliament. Then there should also be an international court to settle disputes, because disputes will arise—even the Socialist Party has to have a grievance committee. We realize that disputes will arise and there should be a court. The method by which those judges should be selected, of course, is something about which there may



well be a difference of opinion. Whether they would be selected by this parliament, one or more from each nation, and then a selected number to pass upon each case, or whether each nation directly pick a judge to sit on this international court, could easily be worked out. But, in any event, there must be such a court:

An international court, an international parliament and also an international executive would be necessary to see that the decisions of the court and parliament or legislation there announced are carried out and adhered to. What would be some of the functions of such an international government? What sort of business should it handle? First of all, we have an international postal system right now. There is a headquarters in Berne, Switzerland. We have that system because representatives of the various nations of the world have come together and agreed upon a basis whereby the mails can be carried from one country to another, including not only the letters, but also the parcels. So we have an international postal and express system already, an international government so far as that is concerned, and all governments have agreed to that and support it. Has anybody said that was a bad thing or that we were going in the wrong direction by establishing the international postal system? That is one of the things about which an international government should concern itself. Another is the question of the control of the seas. Who is going to control the Panama Canal; who is going to control the Suez Canal; who is going to control the Kiel Canal or other waterways? Is any one nation to control them or are they to be open highways for the ships of all nations to pass through, freely, in the conduct of their trade? The highways, the waterways, that are a basis of communication between the various peoples of the world should be absolutely free and open, and we can get that only through an international government which will protect the rights of all and not merely the rights of some particular nationality!

Then, we have the international fishery question all the time, about whether the people of Norway, Alaska, Siberia or some other country have the right to fish in certain waters. It is a question which would well come under the jurisdiction of an international government. Also, the question of the rights of citizens in foreign countries. If an American is in Russia, let us say, what shall be his rights? If a Russian is in America, what shall be his rights? That should not be settled merely by the Russian or American governments. You will get a much more disinterested decision on the proposition, and more justice if it is a group of neutrals that decide upon the

rights of citizenship in the various countries. So that, as a citizen of the world, you would be guaranteed your rights in all the countries, no matter which country you happened to be in. The rights of international citizenship and all similar rights could come under the jurisdiction of an international government.

The control of industries can no longer be left entirely in the hands of single nationalities, because we all know that in certain locations they have a monopoly on certain things essential to the peoples of the entire world, and nobody can say that it is just for anybody who discovers raw material in the bowels of the earth to think it belongs to him and that all the rest have to come to him and pay his price. That is not right or just. That is something to be settled on an international basis before you will have a stable basis for peace among men. The question of raw material and foodstuffs will have to come under the jurisdiction of an international government in the long run.

These are just illustrations of the questions with which an international government would concern itself. There are some people thinking of such a League of Nations in negative terms; that its only purpose will be to use police power, or a big stick. They do not think about the development of raw material, food stuffs, agriculture, freedom of the seas—they do not think about these things at all. But, this government must be a positive government to build up and to assist the various peoples of the world; that will help them all to attain their full development instead of being a great, big club, to repress certain nationalities or groups of nationalities. Such a government would naturally grow in strength and function as time went on. More and more it would find ways to serve the various peoples of the world.

Incidental to the formation of this government—as soon as you have a method provided for the adjudication and settlement of disputes among peoples, it then becomes possible to insist upon international disarmament. As long as each and every nation must depend upon its own military power and force to protect its rights, you are going to have militarism and war; there is no question at all about that! And, until some international government can be set up to which the peoples of the world are willing to give their support, and whose decision they are willing to accept—until some such government can be established, we are going to have the same thing in the future that we have had in the past; we are going to have competitive militarism; we are going to have competitive economic wars; wars which grow out of militarism and economic strug-

gles. There is no question about it; we are going to have it unless we are willing to accept the jurisdiction of an international government.

I realize there are certain objections to be raised to such a government, and it will be the business of Mr. Darrow to point those objections out. I have merely aimed to set forth the positive or optimistic side of the question, and my friend, Mr. Darrow, will show the negative or pessimistic side of the question; therefore, I am omitting the discussion of that side of the question at this time!

## MR. DARROW'S FIRST SPEECH.

Mr. Darrow said: I do not think I will need to be pessimistic; my friend's ideal state is quite pessimistic enough even for me. I am willing to say that I sympathize with most of the dreams that our friend has, but I am discussing this question as applied to a practical world—I would not say a practical world, I would say a crazy world.

And the real question is: What do we want to do and can we do it now? And when I say now I mean any time before the earth freezes up. I was for this war, but I had no delusions. I never believed it was a war to end all wars. That idea was old in the days of Alexander. Every war ever fought was supposed to be the last, and the last war will be when the last man is dead! In order to add to the gaiety of the occasion, I might say I trust the last war will be when the last man is dead, for when people stop fighting it is time to stop living, and they will stop living, because they cannot stop fighting until they stop living, for all life is a fight. There are a good many ways to fight. Some fight with guns and swords, and some do it in a far more barbarous way, and a far more annoying way by fighting with jails and lawyers and newspapers and slander. We think that this world would be all right if they would quit using guns. But, guns and swords are to my mind the most heroic, and in some ways the least painful way that men have to inflict nuisances on their fellowman. A large part of the world's work is bothering other people. It has been so ever since one man tried to get another to worship and believe his way and to act his way, and it looks as if it would be so for a long, long time to come.

Now, I would not object to the world getting rid of war. I would not object to a man getting rid of typhoid fever, but if he had to get the tuberculosis in place of it, he would better stick to the fever, for he would get rid of it quicker. If a man gives me a recipe for getting rid of something, I want to know what the recipe is going to do besides getting rid of something. Mr. Kennedy tells us how you could make an international government, what it should do and how it would do it. I would not object so much to it if Mr. Kennedy could make it, but he cannot. On second thought, I think there is only one person in the world I would trust to make it, and that of course, is myself! But Mr. Kennedy and I will not make it. We will kick about it after somebody else makes it, just as we always have done.

An international government will be made just as every other government—it will grow and be molded and controlled

by the strongest interests in the community; which is not Mr. Kennedy, and it is not I. We will be in the minority then just as we are in the minority today. And if we are not in the minority, we will want to die, for there will be nothing left for us to do. You cannot imagine how lonely a socialist would be if we ever had socialism! Think of a prohibitionist in a land where there was no whisky! The first thing in life is to express yourself, to be doing something, and when a thing is finished and there is nothing to do, that is all! Now, Mr. Kennedy will not make this government; I will not make it; you will not make it; the people will not make it. They never did anything excepting to themselves and they never will. This great mass of people in this world have no influence in the affairs of life; they never did have any and I am inclined to think they never will have any! They do not have any in the Socialist party, although they have a referendum—a referendum that does not referend! The world is ruled by leaders; and it is mighty lucky for the world, too, for the other fellows cannot do it. The leaders might be wise, or otherwise, generally otherwise! But all the same, the world is controlled by leaders, and it will not be done according to Mr. Kennedy's idea of what the functions of this great universal state will be; it will be done according to the interests and the inclinations of the powers that do it, just the same as any state on earth is governed in that way.

Neither am I satisfied when Mr. Kennedy says we can well build an international state on the theory of our United States government. First of all, I want him to prove that our government is right! I am one of those that believe there is a great deal that needs remedying with our national government! I have no delusions on that question. I wish I had! But I have not. Mr. Kennedy tells us when we organized the thirteen colonies into one great national government many people said that there were seeds of evil contained in it, and that it would not work. That is true. Thomas Jefferson said so; Patrick Henry said so; many others pointed out the dangers in a great centralized government, and I am inclined to think that experience has shown that they were right and that the Federalists were wrong. I am inclined to think that it has not been best for the United States; that we have gone on, year after year, until we have practically wiped out state lines and local self-government and made a great, centralized government of the United States! I am one who views with alarm the tendency to make one government extend over a large area covering great masses of people that are not homogeneous—that have not the same ideas. I do not believe that you can fit one government to great masses of men; but the more



you can localize government, the better chance there is for all to be free. We have wandered far from what we thought this government should be. Our fathers' ideal was a combination of independent states. This we are fast wiping out for one great uniform government which controls the largest and smallest alike, and of course which means such a strong, centralized power that individualism is almost paralyzed in its grasp. And now we are asked to have a government of all the world. Well, let us see about it.

I have nothing to criticize in the general statement that commerce is international. It is. We send our railroad trains, our telegrams, our steamboats, from one nation to another. That it all right. Literature is more or less international. Art and science are more or less international. I have nothing to complain about in that. Neither do I find any fault with any general natural movement which gradually brings men together. I find no fault with a dream of internationalism which means that there will be a time when a man will love the world as much as the community in which he lives. Patriotism has no doubt been overdone in the past and in the present, and as an ideal, to be a citizen of the world, is perhaps the highest that we can have! Indeed, that naturally and inevitably works to make men broader and more sympathetic toward their fellowmen, and is no doubt good for men and for the world, but this has nothing to do with political states. There have been political states almost from the beginning of human life, and there will be political states until this world has reached the point where men can live without government, which is very, very far away! But with an internationalism—by idealism—by commerce, by science—an internationalism that will break down all barriers until the world can live without government, I find no fault, but it is a long way off and I cannot wait. But, until that time comes, there will be political states; and whether those states should be large or small; whether there should be a combination of all states, that is the only practical question that we can discuss at this time.

Now, men may be bound together by commerce, but that does not make them friends; men may live close together, but that does not take out the seeds of war. Communities quarrel; individuals in the community quarrel; men quarrel with the people they like the best. I have often known Socialists to fight! Fight amongst themselves—forget the common enemy, and fight amongst themselves. The person a man knows best is probably his wife, and there is perhaps more fighting there than anywhere else! Just because they are closer together. You cannot say that because people trade together, because

they mix, or even because they have the same religion, that they will not fight. Fighting is right down in the nature of man and it is necessary to the life of man—not fighting, but the instincts of hate and fear which preserve life, and when they take a certain form, it means war. Capitalism is not the prime cause of war. The prime cause lies in the constitution of man himself! It lies fundamentally in all life. No doubt capitalism is one of the chief inducing causes! But it is not the only inducing cause, as this world has shown over and over again. Men fight on account of religion; they fight on account of idealism; they fight for social customs and social institutions; they fight against the old and for the new.

Do you think you can get rid of capitalism or get rid of war by forming a League of Nations? Why, today, in all the structure of society are infinite causes that will lead to strife. The great labor movement of the world; the socialist movement; the aspiration of man for better conditions, for greater equality, for freedom—all of these things have in them the germ of war. And, most of them will never come excepting with physical force. You see, you do not have elections often enough. If a Socialist could vote every other day you might win by the ballot, but when you have to wait four years it is too long! Then, you know, the machinery for ascertaining the public opinion is clumsy; you have to count everybody to find out where the majority is! Then, when you have the majority, you know which is right! In this new scheme my friend is going to get up, there ought to be a simpler way; we ought to prepare great weighing scales so that we could drive a whole community on it at once and weigh them, just as Thoreau proposed, for you would get at it just as well as by counting. Find out which party was heavier, instead of which party has the most, because it comes to the same thing. Neither gives any measure of intelligence, of brains, of character, or of what is more than all, of real imagination and idealism that makes for the general good of man. You cannot get it that way.

How is this state to be built and what is it to do? Well, Mr. Kennedy says we will appoint maybe one judge from Zanzibar! And then we will appoint one Fiji Islander and maybe two judges from England and two from America. I do not know what you want with so many judges in an ideal state, and what will they do when you appoint them? Nobody has such confidence in judges as the people who do not know them! That is one of the many anomalies that I see everywhere. Ex-President Taft is at the head of some organization for the League of Nations. They have gone so far as to find out how many judges they will need and what their sal-

aries will be for a League of Nations. Now, what do we want with them? Well, of course, that implies there will be something to settle, because that is where a judge comes in—when people are wanting to settle something, when they have trouble. Then, the question is, whether it would be easier or better to settle it by the court or fight it out, which is an open question I have not the time to discuss. But, anyway, we must have judges, and an international court.

Well, what are they going to do? A judge sits in a case to determine whether this strike was right, which of course it was not! And, whether the workingman should be enjoined. And, he listens to it and of course he enjoins the workingman. That is because the workingmen have so many votes that the judge doesn't need! He issues an injunction. That injunction would be of no value if it was just a question with the judge, but it is not. Back of the judge is a sheriff and a policeman, and if need be a standing army—the whole machinery of the state—to carry into effect his decree. Without it, you do not need the judge! He has got the force; he has the machinery that set all these forces in motion and all these forces are physical forces. There are no other kind for controlling men. If you can control them by intellectual force or by what may be called moral force, then you need no League of Nations.

Now, we will have an international organization, as my friend says; we will have some judges. And if Bulgaria and Turkey want to fight we will refer it to the judges. Of course if they make the decision while Bulgaria and Turkey are still nations—which they probably will not—then they will say just how much of Turkey Bulgaria should take, or how much of Bulgaria Turkey should have; they will settle that. And then if Bulgaria and Turkey want to fight they will call out the whole police force of the world. If France and Germany want to fight, they will say: No, you cannot fight; we will issue an injunction! If this court had been formed before 1914 they would have issued an injunction against the Kaiser from sending his troops across Belgium, and the Kaiser wouldn't have done a thing to the men who served the injunction! The injunction would be good, under one condition—my friend has practically said that—and that condition is that back of the injunction of this court is an army and a navy which is strong enough to put down any one, two or three of the great nations of the world. It is of no value whatever until you can do that, and that is the scheme; that there shall be an international army and an international navy, under the beck and call of an international court, and if any nations determine

to fight, the international army and the international navy will be sent to shoot peace into them!

Now, if we are practical, does it mean anything else? Of course I do not blame you people for being sympathetic with the other side on this question; you do not know any better! You have not thought about it. We are all of us more or less emotional lunatics or we would not be fighting the things that be. We grab at any scheme, as the fish grabs at bait, without stopping to think what would be the shape or condition of the world after we got through with it. There are a great many things that it is a mighty good idea to help along, when you see clearly that you are getting something better. Because while things are bad, they might be worse! And, it is not so much a question in this world as to which is the best, as it is which is the worst!

I tell you that whatever scheme my brother here may lay out for a League of Nations, I would probably vote for, but that would be about the only vote he would have! For by that time probably the Socialists would be against him; they can change quick, too—but, whatever scheme he can lay out, or anybody else can lay out, if you stop to think of it, you will see that instead of trusting yourself in the hands of a majority to make an instrument of power and force for a control of the world, you had better let the "blooming" old world wag along just as it is, trusting to luck, to chance, to yourself and the infinite forces that after all are harmonizing men, and perhaps doing it as fast as we can possibly change them. We want to look out for these new-fangled schemes that are handed down upon man without any regard to the fitness of time and place—paper constitutions and paper schemes which cannot work until the human race has got to that point where they will work. The best thing about the League of Nations is that it will not work! If it would work it would be too frightful to think of!

Let us see what it would mean. Now, we will not dream; let us see what it is. It would be some central body with an army and navy strong enough so that you could not start anything in any part of the world. My brother may say we would not let them interfere with any internal disturbances. Why wouldn't we? Is he going to run it? Before you support it, you better get a guarantee that he is going to run it or that I am! It would then be still safer! If we made a solemn declaration to these courts that they are not permitted to interfere in domestic wars, but would allow you to fight all you wanted to, so long as you kept within your own boundaries, how long would it last? It would not last long enough

to pay for writing it down. It is idle and it is silly. You cannot in any manner bind them. There can in this day and generation be no substantial, internal revolution which does not involve other nations. And, here I will call your attention to his own idea of internationalism as it is growing up in the world which involves property, commerce, life, every matter inside of the lines of a nation, and indirectly involves every nation in the world, or at least those nearest to it.

Given an army and a navy strong enough, in the hands of an irresponsible power—of course you save the situation by saying it will be controlled by judges—divinely annointed—of course God Almighty is going to appoint the judges, nobody else could. Judges are human, although sometimes they do not act as if they were! They have all the emotions and feelings, inclinations and opinions of every other man. But, given a tribunal of this kind; given an army and a navy that they can control; and an army and navy that can destroy any two or three nations on earth, and you have clamped the lid on the world! There ought to be a good many more of you than that that see the point! But there are not! There is only just one way you will see it, and that is if there are enough trusting, confiding insane people in the world to try it; then you will see it. Given an army and a navy that can control the world, and it would be the end of progress; and, what is more, it would be the end of change! Think you that if such a tribunal would have the power to prevent France fighting with Germany, it would not likewise have the power to prevent Germany from fighting within itself? And, if it has the power to prevent Germany, as a nation, from making war on France, it would have the power to prevent German Socialists from making war on German autocracy!

To me it is simply madness that we should undertake to build up a force like this in the name of democracy. It is not democracy; it is autocracy! Autocracy more powerful than any autocracy the world has ever yet dreamed of. And, it is an autocracy in whose grasp democracy could not live. Where would our country have been had there been a League of Nations in 1776! Why, it is a simple question. Anybody can see it. Some of you may think it would have been just as well had we been a part of the British government. Those are questions we cannot answer. We at least wanted to be independent; we fought for it and we got it! If there had been an international court it would have determined that George Washington and all the rest of them were rebels and should be hanged by the neck until dead, unless they were killed quicker. What would have happened in this country



in the great rebellion? And while one may always discuss that question, as they can all others, I have no doubt that it was better for the progress of the world that African slavery should be wiped out, even through war; I have no doubt about it, yet it could not have been done. Think what you people would do and what all the thinking, moving, acting class of people in the world are doing. There is a spirit abroad on this earth today which is standing for greater freedom and for greater prosperity, for a better chance for the common man. This spirit is not alone in America; it is in England; it is in France; it is in Italy; in Germany. Think you that a new civilization will be born and an old one will die and no drop of blood be spilled? It cannot be done! You may vote until the cows come home; you may vote every day as regularly as you say your prayers, and more regularly! But no great social change ever did come to this world excepting there was spilling of blood! It is absolutely idle to ask the question whether it comes because of bloodshed or whether bloodshed is incident to it; that makes no difference; it is a fact. And, if you had any such League of Nations as is proposed here and is more or less seriously proposed by various statesmen in the world—if you have any such League of Nations and that League of Nations works, then you place fetters upon the human mind; you make change almost impossible and you have raised in this world a despotism and an autocracy which even the people cannot overthrow!

Now, war is not the greatest evil in the world. I am not in love with war, but there are lots of things that are worse, and peace is one of them. War comes in the natural evolution and change of things; however grim and horrible it may be, it is not all evil. The horrors of peace are greater compared with it, because peace lasts longer, unfortunately—when you are in the graveyard and at peace it will last forever!

I, like my brother, would be glad to see every standing army in the world abolished. Why? Because it makes wars too hard, that is why. He wants them abolished so we cannot have war; I want them abolished so we can; you see? No, you do not see. Well, all right! Now, let me tell you—seeing that you do not see—if it had not been for the Prussian standing army, there would have been a revolution in Germany thirty or forty years ago, wouldn't there? Let me quote your patron saints Babel and Lieb knecht. They said that the people in Germany have been held down. And, mind, I am not one of those who say Germany is the only country that is wrong, not for a moment; I am using that as an illustration because that country has had the strongest military power and

after all the most intelligent working class! The progressive people of Germany have been held down for forty years by a military power that they could not overthrow, an, excepting for that, Germany long ago would have been one of the most progressive nations on the earth! We deliberately propose to do today for all this world what Prussia has done for Germany—put ourselves in the hands of a navy and an army so all-powerful that it stifles all aspiration and hope for human liberty that the common man has ever felt!

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#### PROFESSOR KENNEDY'S SECOND SPEECH.

Professor Kennedy said: Mr. Darrow has spent a great deal of time describing the League of Nations which now exists! To hear him speak, you would think there was no League of Nations invading Russia now! You would think all you needed to do is to refrain from doing anything and there would not be any vast military power; there would not be any concerted action on the part of the capitalists to hold the workers in subjection. Anybody who believes that the capitalists of the world, the financiers of the world, the imperialists of the world, are not already organized and do not already control the major part of the military and naval forces of the world is very simple minded indeed. That sort of a League of Nations is already in existence; that is the kind we want to get rid of! If we follow the position taken by Mr. Darrow we will never get rid of it, because we will stand for things just as they are and have been. He does not offer a single suggestion or any way of making any human progress in any direction whatever. If that is the stand we are to take, of course, we will have a vast standing army in various capitalistic countries; we will have the British navy just as large as it is! We will have the American navy made three times as large as it is; we will have the Japanese navy three times as large as it is; we will have each army and navy increased in size year after year because that is the program. And who will command those armies and navies? If the Russians, Americans or Japanese workers, or anybody else attempted to form a soviet republic or any other sort of a republic, those combined armies and navies would be used against that revolutionary government.

Now, then, the question is how can that situation be changed? I think it can be changed only by the establishment openly—**openly**, of a new international government to take the place of the one which now **secretly** exists. Do you think the American troops went to Russia without the Ameri-

can government first consulting Great Britain, Japan, France and the others? Don't you think there is a secret understanding among all those powers? Now, if we are going to have this thing, let us have it in the open!

Voices: Sure, sure.

Professor Kennedy (continuing): But with the sort of an internationalism, organized along the lines which I have suggested here, with all nations represented, for the first time you are able to put before the people of the various nations a real basis upon which you can ask them to disarm—to abandon their armies and navies. You cannot ask them today and get any support. The people of no major country are willing to see their armies and navies disbanded as long as their neighbors go on increasing in size. But, if you can come forward with the proposition, say, that we all disarm simultaneously, even if you should establish an international police force, or an international army and navy, let us say you had one strong enough to compel the various nations to abide by the decisions of your international court, that army and navy would not need to be one-tenth in size of the combined armies and navies already in existence. And, it will be used against the workers whether you have your league or not!!

So, you would get two things you do not have now; you would get a reduction in the combined armies and navies; that is one decided thing. You might still have an army and navy but it would be smaller than you are getting in this scheme. Secondly, you would have your decision arrived at publicly through your international parliament where the people have representation which they do not have in these secret conclaves being held now behind closed doors and of which we know nothing. All we get now are the results. We do not know how they come to their conclusions. Who knows who is behind the invasion of Russia? We cannot tell how they flopped around back and forth. This sort of international government at least would put things in the open and make it possible to get rid of the army and navy, or at least a portion of them.

There is no scheme of government which will take the place of the spirit and the understanding; I know that. What do I mean by that? Until the people are real internationalists; until the people of the entire world are internationalists, no scheme of a League of Nations would last in the long run because if they are willing to respond to the call of the jingo, you will have wars whether you have a League of Nations or not. Internationalism, an important word in this debate, is fundamental. You have to start with the children and educate

them in internationalism. Not in nationalism—not in patriotism, but internationalism. Instead of telling the little children their nation is always right and the most glorious, wonderful people on the face of the earth, and all other peoples on the earth are wrong on the other side of every question, tell them the truth—tell them the truth! That is a part of internationalism. And, it is fundamental; it is absolutely essential. If you start with the children and build up from there, then you will have the people in the various countries ready for internationalism. They are ready for it in Russia, the real thing!

What is the difference between a capitalistic League of Nations and real internationalism? What is the difference? In Russia they printed the secret treaties, and they said: We find by these secret treaties that Russia is to get Constantinople; we don't want Constantinople; we, the Russian workers, do not intend to take Constantinople; we are not going to grab anything from anybody. When the Finnish workers came to the soviet government there and said: We want to set up a government of our own. They said: All right, set it up. That is self-determination. The same way among the other nationalities in Russia; but when they found they could set up their own government, they said: Well, we guess we don't want it after all, we will come into the general federation. Real internationalists and proved it by their deeds. The Russians have done so. The British Labor party have done so. What did they say? Self-determination for India; self-determination for Ireland. That is bringing it home.

My friend Darrow says the people never knew anything; never do anything; never stood for anything; never can. But, when you look around and read the programs and see the forces at work to build a real world, worth living in, where you will have peace, security and liberty, you will find it is the working class, the plain people who are standing for those things, and not the upper four hundred that are standing for the great ideals and working for human progress; it is the mass of the people today. I was thinking, as Mr. Darrow was portraying the incapacity of the working class, of the great British co-operatives I visited over there; of what was started by twenty-eight humble working men, weavers on a strike, in Rochdale, in 1883. They built up one industry after another and they have extended until last year these co-operatives owned, controlled and managed by the working class, did a business of six hundred and fifty million dollars. And Mr. Darrow tells you they can do absolutely nothing. It is so ridiculous in the face of what has been done in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Russia, Germany and other countries that it

ought to raise a doubt in your mind as to whether he is right on anything.

Another equally absurd statement is that when people stop fighting human progress will stop. That might appeal very well to the aboriginal Indians as an argument—it might seem a good argument to them, for they only fought, which is the reason they never got very far—but civilized human beings have a different idea of getting human progress than through fighting armies marching back and forth against each other. During the past century we have built up a great public school system. Was it by militarism and warfare? We have had a system of railroads built up all over the country. Darrow will tell you that is not progress. We have scientific agricultural experiment stations; we have electricity; the telegraph and the telephone; we have many wonderful devices; the sewing machine, the harvester machinery and so on. Those things were not built by militarists, by warriors, but by working people; the peaceful working class built those things up and we are told that is not progress; but that when we are disemboweling one another in war, carving one another up, then we are making progress for civilization!!

Now, the real argument against the League of Nations, the strongest argument save one, has not been advanced. There are a lot of ammunition factories and steel plants and powder factories that make money out of war. The owners of these industries will do everything they can to prevent the success of a League of Nations—do everything they can to stop it from being organized, because it will tend to reduce their business. They will do everything to make it a failure. That is one group. Then, the professional soldier group, the military caste who control the soldiery on the battlefield, will do everything they can to prevent the establishment of a League of Nations. Then, those dominant, imperialistic statesmen who want to rule the world—and there are some of them still left—will want to prevent the establishment of a League of Nations because they believe the great army and navy will be able to dominate everything else. Then the powerful business interests making foreign investments may not have much faith in a League of Nations. In fact, the only ones who will be for the League of Nations will be the useful people of the world, the producing class, who are against war. The ruling class are almost invariably in favor of militarism and war.

Now, the question is whether the people are going to be able to get control of their government; whether they are going to be able to establish the kind of internationalism I want to see, which is a working class internationalism. The



kind I want to see established is the kind that will be controlled by the workers of the various nations. The kind of a League of Nations which may be formed by so-called statesmen representing capitalistic interests may be a sort of a transitional state, something like the trust is in industry. Competition gives away before the trust. I do not feel it is any wiser to fight this sort of a League of Nations than it would be to fight the formation of a trust. The real fight is to be over the control of that League of Nations; is it to be controlled by the working class or the capitalistic class?

Internationalism is here; there is no question about that. The real question is whether you are going to have working class internationalism or capitalist class internationalism? And, I hold that every intelligent worker should support the idea of internationalism; should try to impart the idea to others who stand for the organization of the nations and all the time be doing everything in his power to see that the producing class gets control of their industries at home—for that is essential to true internationalism.

I do not have much fear of an army, because this army that the League of Nations will have will be much smaller than the combined armies now in existence. The navy of the League of Nations will probably be much smaller than the ones already in existence. There you have something better rather than something worse; and even if it should be used against a working class revolution it will fail, as it is going to fail in Russia. You cannot hold an enlightened working class in subjection with armies and navies; it cannot be done. When the people rise by the hundreds or millions, federate and organize, stand for the ideals of democracy, there is no reactionary power on earth that can hold them in subjection. The armies and navies go over to the workers instead of fighting the workers. They have done it in Russia; they have done it in Germany, and they will do it in other countries when the hour comes!

And, the larger that army is the more certain it will go over to the working class, because there will be more workers in it that have gotten the working class education. Remember, we have to make a choice between things as they are, things as they may develop in the immediate future, and keep in mind our ultimate object. Our friend Darrow stands for things as they are and as they were; no line of progress whatever. No wonder he is a pessimist. We recognize that the steps that may be taken in the immediate future will not bring everything we want; that you have to develop the spirit of internationalism among the masses of the people more strongly

than it is at the present time. We know that. We are going to wait for it and develop it and then establish a really, truly representative organization of the masses of the people throughout the world. That does not mean that home rule will be wiped out; that everybody will be ruled by some central group; but it means that when international matters are concerned, you will have an international government and when local matters are concerned, you will have a local government.

It seems to me that this is a rational organization of society. One word in conclusion: what is at the bottom of this debate and all similar debates is really the clash between the ideals of warfare and co-operation. We stand for the ideas and ideals of co-operation. Mr. Darrow and those who think like him have the ideals, and ideas of warfare, the primitive forms of warfare; they think these ideals never will be forgotten and we never can outgrow that state; that we must always be savages. But, I believe that the events happening in the world demonstrates that the human race does progress. We can abolish the duel—we can abolish warfare between the states; we can have some sort of order and still have progress.

There is no question in my mind we are at the beginning of a great era of human progress now; that the workers are awakening to their power; they are going to take control of their governments, going to build the new state, not on the ideal of warfare, but on the ideal of co-operating with their fellowman, saying:

“We are going to work together for the benefit of all.”  
We will achieve freedom, not by killing and destroying one another, but through joining hands all over the world, and co-operating for the common good!

## MR. DARROW'S SECOND SPEECH.

Mr. Darrow said: Well, are you for a League of Nations? If you are, what kind of a league? My friend Kennedy says we cannot have a League of Nations until we have internationalism; and we have to begin to teach the children internationalism. Well, I am for that! Is that what you are talking about? you are not talking; you are just crazy. Do you know what you are thinking about? Are you thinking of teaching human beings as they grow up, and possibly develop, that a world conception of man is better than a national conception of man? Or, are you thinking of some machine to keep the world in order? Mr. Kennedy says you cannot have a League of Nations until you have internationalism and you have to begin teaching children. Of course, if that is true, we cannot have a League of Nations. But, he says we are going to have it and that it is dangerous. That is what I told you.

As near as I can find, there is only one ideal that this audience has, and that is the Bolsheviki! And love for Bolshevism looks back to love for Germanism. Everyone—practically everyone that is so crazy in applause for Bolshevism—was for Germany!

Voice: Oh, oh, no, no.

Mr. Darrow (continuing): Do not fool yourselves; I know.

(Shouts from the audience.)

Mr. Darow (continuing): I don't care; anybody has a right to be for either side they want to; but I want to say it was no secret agreement by which the United States sent troops into Russia! They were sent into Russia by the combined allied forces, after Russia had turned its back upon its liberators and had struck them with a poisoned dagger; and I, for one, say that we would have been untrue to our cause had we not sent them there while we were at war with Germany! So, when you say we should not have sent them there, you mean you wish Germany could win, and that is all you mean!

Voices: That is another thing.

Mr. Darow: While we were at war with them. I understand that.

Whether allied troops should stay there now, that is another question! And I think they should not! But, the man or woman who says they should not have gone, when we were

at war, and when Russia had turned her back on us and was feeding the German army, it shows what your sympathies are—and you have a right to your sympathies if you have them; I am not complaining of that, but it gets back to another question, that is all.

I do not accept the general feeling of what kind of a government Russia has, but you cannot make me believe that a lot of uneducated, childish peasants are going to long rule Russia! And, if you want to have any respect for your own intelligence, don't you bet on it, for they will not long rule Russia. If Russia is left alone, it will fight; it will be one revolution after another for twenty-five years. I am in favor of letting it alone; let it work itself out. And he talks about schoolhouses. Well, Russia is your ideal, and Russian Bolshevism. There is not one out of five that can read or write.

A Voice: Give them a chance.

Mr. Darow (continuing): Certainly, I say give them a chance; I wouldn't interfere with them one minute beyond the time it was necessary to whip the common enemy, and that day has gone; certainly. Why can't you look at those things rationally? While we were at war with Germany we had to win, if we believed in our side, which I did. That danger has gone, and I believe in leaving every nation in this world to work out its own salvation.

He tells you in one breath the common soldiers—if you get this international army big enough—will not fight, and in the next breath he says there would be fewer soldiers than in the armies we have now. What do you make of it? In another he brings up the question of whether the international army would be bigger than the combined armies of the world. But that is only a question of whether there will be an international army that can keep peace in the world and put the lid on the human race.

I did not mean to say I believed in war. What I meant was this: I believe in the power to make war. You take it away from the people, the power to fight, and they are dead. What do you think about it yourself? There is not a man, woman or child but does not know that is true, and yet you will applaud something you do not think about; that is what everybody does. What is a strike but war? You know it. And you believe in it. Has the progress of the workingman come through the common schools and through the Sunday schools, or has it come by their organization and their willingness to fight for what they believe? You know. And you take that away and substitute a Sunday school and you are gone!

Now, he says it is not a question of whether we will have a League of Nations; we are going to have it; but it is a question of whether it will be a rich man's league or a poor man's league. If that is the question, you are beaten before you start; you had better fight against a league, because you know you are beaten. Is history going to reverse itself just because there are a few crazy Bolsheviki in Russia? Not on your life. Is a party which did its best and could not get a million votes at any election in the United States going to suddenly triumph over the world? It is absolute insanity. I do not care if you succeed. I am glad of it. But, you are not going to do it. And, therefore, I am a pessimist. Well, now, if you are an optimist, of course, you are hoping for something. Why not swallow something worth while—why not take Christian Science? Or, why not smoke real dope? Instead of believing that the Socialist commonwealth is suddenly coming to the front to control this international army and this international navy? If you believe it, all right; I wish I could. You will never need any money if you can believe that; you can live on dope. He says we now have a League of Nations and we want to get rid of what we have. Do we? We have no League of Nations. When these fighting communities came together, they arranged themselves on the different sides, that is all. If there had been a League of Nations composed of Germany, Austria, France, England and the United States before this war began, that League of Nations would not have held together, or else they would have clamped the lid on, one or the other; and if it was strong enough to clamp the lid on, it would have been strong enough to have prevented all political change in the world; and your beloved Bolshevik in Russia would never have been in Russia today, and you could not have shouted for something you knew nothing about. You couldn't have shouted for some crazy scheme of crazy people. Whatever you may say of war, out of the ruins of this war we will no doubt get something. Whether the war was best or wise, no human being can tell; it was necessary or it wouldn't have happened, that is all. But, if you get a system whereby men are held so they cannot revolt, then, good-bye. It may be that a strike is not necessary. But, suppose you take away the possibility of a strike. Then, where are you? Suppose some power provides that there can be no more strikes in America?

A voice: They are trying to do it!

Mr. Darow (continuing): Suppose there could be no more strikes in America, what chances has the common man? I wish the common people were stronger and smarter; I wish



they were. I have no high ideals as to what they are going to do. Now, I could paint you a rosy picture of a co-operative commonwealth, where the poor were going to be rich and the rich were going to be poor, and I think you would shout if I did it; a grand scheme where everybody loved his fellowman and forgot himself, but human nature is not made that way, and if I could make it that way by making a speech I would probably do it. I do not object to idealism, and I believe in co-operation, but even that does not stop war. We have been told of the wonderful things that have been done by co-operation in England because some sixty billion dollars, or million dollars—I don't care how much—worth of business has been done by them. They have absolutely done nothing, and I think my friend Kennedy would agree with me after he gets away. Because a million working men have ten cents' interest apiece in a co-operative store means nothing. As well might you have a penny's worth of interest in Marshall Field's, and everybody knows it. They are simply helping do business and helping exploit their fellowmen, according to the Bolshevik doctrine, which is more or less correct, and nothing else.

Talk about controlling a League of Nations. Brother Kennedy says it will be an unmitigated evil unless the working men do it; yet you have not been able in the City of Chicago to elect even a judge, or keep a judge out of office that sends you to jail! The working men, I say again, so far as looking after their own interests politically, have done nothing; yet so that you may be idealists and believe in something, whether it is true or not, you are going to say you will enter a contest with organized society for working people to control a League or Nations! You will not control it. The only thing to do is to prevent centralization of power wherever you can; is to leave people as free as you can. The world is not ideal; perhaps never will be. But, you take away the possibility of freedom, the possibility of individual liberty, you trust yourselves in the hands of the great majority, which means and always means the powerful interests of society, then you are gone. And the only practical thing we can do today is to be for or against it. And, Mr. Kennedy agrees with me that we should be against it unless we can control it! If you think the working men can control it, well and good. If they could I would be for it. But, I have lived too long in this world to believe in any such foolishness as that. I know better and so do you. It would be organized by the powers which today organize nations and states. We had better leave the people independent than to form one nation which would hold in its sway the destinies of all the peoples of the world!

## PROFESSOR KENNEDY'S LAST SPEECH.

Professor Kennedy said: Our friend Darrow has presented what is probably the main argument that could be used against the League of Nations, that it might use a great force to hold a revolutionary working class in subjection, and to illustrate his point he said: Suppose the United States government should forbid you to strike? Well, now, is there anybody here who thinks that a League of Nations will be any more capitalistic than the United States government is at the present time? Is there any country in the world where capitalism is more powerful than right here in the United States? If it were expedient to use military power to suppress strikes—if the capitalists thought it would be wise, from their standpoint, to say no more strikes, that legislation would be on the books now and the army would be ready to enforce it. But they know the quickest way to bring a revolution about in the United States would be to pass such an act and to attempt to enforce it, so they do not. The issue would be so clear, the revolution would come so fast that they do not attempt it. So, it would be with your League of Nations, which could not conceivably be any more capitalistic than our own national government.

Now, because the United States government happens to be capitalistic, do I, as a citizen of the United States, want to see that government disorganized, to see in its place forty-eight separate governments set up, each with its own army and attempting to get its own navy? Do you think strikers would have a better chance with the state militia than with the regular army? To my mind we have more advantages with the federal government than we would with forty-eight separate governments. We have less arms and more order. Every time you go into Canada they have to inspect your baggage but if you go into Indiana, you do not have to have your baggage inspected. And, I might enumerate a thousand advantages by having a central government instead of having forty-eight separate governments. Does anybody doubt there would be quarrels and friction between different states in America if each one had an entirely separate government? They would be quarreling about access to the seas and lakes, they would want ports here and there; there would be local monies of states, and all sorts of difficulties which we have eliminated by having a federal government.

I am not satisfied with the federal government; I think it would be far better if the working class were in control. But it is far better to have a federal government than no cen-

tral government at all. It makes for peaceful progress rather than continual warfare among ourselves at home. The same thing is true with your world government. It may not be quite right to start with; it may be controlled by reactionary elements, but at any rate it offers an opportunity to get control of part of the forces that make for war. It will put the relationships between nations on a more stable basis; give you a form of court to thrash things out in without resorting to arms every time; it gives us a start. If it is at all flexible, as the working class gets more power in the various countries that power will be reflected on your international government. It may be that the world can be transformed without an enormous amount of bloodshed every time there is a change. I realize violence is necessary sometimes. Revolution at times must be resorted to, but I do not think you have to resort to revolution all the time to get anything at all. There are some things that can be gotten peaceably. I differ from Mr. Darrow, who seems to think you must have a violent revolution any time you make any progress in any direction; I think it is possible to make some progress sometimes without resorting to force! Now, if this is our difference, well and good.

In conclusion, I simply want to say again that I look upon the League of Nations which may be formed in the near future as a trust, not something either to fight or wholly approve of, but as a transitional stage, something that will lead to a better form of society and a higher social order. For that reason I do not oppose it. Mr. Darrow mis-stated the position I take a little in his last speech, when he said I am opposed to a League of Nations by the present powers. I do not oppose it. I would welcome it as a step in advance, although not everything desirable. I would then continue the work of educating the children and the rank and file of the working class, so that in the end the League of Nations would be controlled by the people of the world!