

office-holders muddling along their cut-and-dried lines of label and formula and routine. In a French port, where American engineer companies have been laying down much-needed docks, the country women and boys whose men have long since marched off to the war came crying: "What are you strong young men doing here? Why are you not fighting in the trenches?" So when members of the French Parliament ask the reason why, for the short English line, troops are massed ten to a yard while French soldiers have to hold a line no end longer under worse attacks with only three soldiers to a yard.

Now the Italian disaster has come to startle all into late recognition of the plain truth enounced in questionable form by Marcel Sembat—"Make a King!"—which, being interpreted by French and English and Americans, is, "Cease muddling and overlapping and fight as one!"

A civil and a military American are to be added to the Inter-Ally Council which is shortly to meet under the shadow of unity-loving Louis XIV, who said, "The State?

it is I." Mr. Asquith seems to fear that the new Council, with American disregard of grammar, may declare, "The war? it is me!" The French are willing.

Let us think a little of after-war. What about the Allies and their Inter-Ally Council then? Their moneys will be so mixed and mingled that no separate Parliament or Congress will ever be able to find out which is which—this for French ragout or that for British roast-beef or that for American cornbread and baked beans. Men that eat each will have gone forth to their death with a martial tread by that time.

Shall not the Council continue among Allies who cannot help being such for untold years—unless all are to suffer defeat? Says Professor Seignobos, a pacifist—before the war: "Not this one or that one, but the whole world wishes the end of the war. But to wish the end of the war, is to wish it President-Wilson fashion—such that we can believe it dead for a long, long time."

Paris, November 20

The Monroe Doctrine and a League of Nations

By VISCOUNT BRYCE

[Presiding at a lecture delivered by Professor Pollard on the Monroe Doctrine at King's College, London, on November 7, Lord Bryce gave a crisp definition of the Doctrine and explained how the principle underlying it might be extended to form the basis of a League of Nations. As the speech was informal and received for that reason only fragmentary notice in the British press, Americans will be particularly interested in the following deliberate statement of his views on this question which Lord Bryce has prepared at our request.—ED. THE NATION.]

THE declaration of United States policy associated with the name of President Monroe, but really due to John Quincy Adams, and in some measure also to the suggestions of George Canning (then British Foreign Secretary), was originally delivered as announcing a restriction or limitation which America proposed to place on her own action. She would not interfere in the wars and alliances of the Old World and she expected that in return the states of the Old World would not interfere with the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. If they tried to introduce their political system into the New World they must expect her opposition. This declaration was aimed at the so-called Holy Alliance of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which, having pledged itself to maintain autocratic government in the European continent, was contemplating interference in South America against the insurgent colonies of Spain. Another part of Monroe's declaration which referred to territorial aggression by European powers was apparently meant as a warning to Russia, which had advanced large territorial claims in the far Northwest.

The danger that any European power would try to found a new dominion in the Western Hemisphere has latterly seemed too remote to be worth regarding, but what we have recently learned of the far-reaching plans and hopes of the German Government makes it pretty clear that if they had come victorious out of this war, with a navy able to command the Atlantic, they would have endeavored to set up a dependent German state, or perhaps a province of the German Empire, in southern Brazil. This is a region of superb natural resources containing a very large population sprung from Germany, and still speaking German, though there

is not the slightest reason to suppose that they desired to exchange their present freedom for the rule of the Prussian officer and the Prussian bureaucrat.

The United States, which would then have had to come to the rescue of Brazil, has fortunately already thrown herself into the conflict for justice, liberty, and the rights of the smaller peoples. Monroe's policy, which was also Washington's, of holding aloof from European complications was long maintained, and wisely maintained, by America, but the current of events has been too strong to make it possible to stand apart any longer. The whole world has now become one, and must remain one for the purposes of politics. No great nation can stand out.

Thus the Monroe Doctrine in its old form may seem to have disappeared; for the counterpart to the exclusion of the European Powers from interfering with the freedom of American states was the abstention of America from interference in European affairs. Yet what has really happened may turn out to be not a supersession of the Doctrine, but rather an extension of what was soundest in its principle. The action of the German Government in proclaiming a general submarine warfare was a threat to which no self-respecting nation could have submitted. It was addressed to the western nations as well as to those of Europe. It showed that there were dangers which involved all maritime powers alike and which western nations must join the European allies in combating. The unbridled ambition and the aggressive spirit of the German Government are compelling all the nations which love peace and law and freedom to come together to secure for themselves that which America, in proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine against the Holy Alliance, desired to secure for the western continent.

There is need to-day for a League of Nations which will endeavor to extend its protection to all the world and not to one continent only. In any such combination to secure justice and tranquillity based upon right, the presence of the United States would be invaluable and would indeed be necessary if the combination were to secure those blessings for the world.

New Serbia and Its Problems

By MILIVOY S. STANOYEVICH

SERBIA, by her history and her position, is more than any other Balkan state predestined to take an active part in the collective life of the civilized world. Fate has placed her at the cross-roads of Asia and Europe. She was ruled by the Byzantine emperors and overrun by Tatars and Bulgars. Through the land of Nemanyich passed the crusaders of Frederick Barbarossa, and later on she was subverted and destroyed by the Mohammedan sultans. Since the time of Turkish decadence, she has been involved, directly or indirectly, in all the important events which have distracted the Balkan Peninsula. Her beautiful cities, Belgrade and Nish, are great gates of central Europe which open to the Levant. In consequence, Belgrade ("White Castle"), the capital of Serbia, has seen more battles than have most fortresses in Europe. Nish, the Roman Naissus, where Constantine the Great was born, is also a city of unusual commercial and strategic importance; it lies at the point where several of the Balkan high roads converge, and under its walls were fought innumerable battles by the Huns, Goths, Avars, Bulgars, Greeks, and Serbs.

Due to her geographical position, Serbia is an agricultural country whose soil gives the most unexpected crops, which abundantly supply the neighboring states. Her industry and commerce, though not yet highly developed, have the cool temerity to compete with the most cherished industries of other countries in the Balkan markets. Everywhere in southeastern Europe may be found her engineers, merchants, and travellers. Although narrow of territory and restricted as to population, Serbia has asserted herself in the domain of world relations. She has also distinguished herself by her passionate love of liberty; and her local life is of exceptional intensity. Desire for freedom has enabled Serbia, contrary to the wishes of her multifarious conquerors, to preserve her moral patrimony intact and to retain her individuality, to the great astonishment of those who have denied her independence and autonomy. In spite of what short-sighted Austrian politicians have thought, Serbia, or the newly proclaimed state of Yugoslavia, is not simply a geographical expression. She exists because her life is deeply rooted in the soil, and because of her exceptional position as at the joint meeting-place of three streams deriving from the depths of history—the Serb stream, the Croat stream, and the Slovene stream. Serbia is a microcosm, and must more and more strive to become the point of concentration for the reconciled Yugoslav fractions.

The recent Declaration of Yugoslav Independence issued at Corfu by the Serbian Government and the South Slavic Committee of London, is the first official and public act by which the South Slavic question discloses itself as an entity to the world of diplomacy. In England, France, and Russia this compact found a hearty echo. Premier Lloyd George, eulogizing Serbian heroism, recognizes that British honor is involved in the restoration and unification of the Serb race. "It is not merely a matter of honor, it is a matter of security, of civilization," he said. In fact Serbia is a Paladin at the gate of Mongol invasion. It is not yet the time to specify a definite form for the new state, but the Serbs are right in thinking of a final settlement based upon the principle of natural justice. The above mentioned compact enunciates the national and racial aspirations of the coun-

tries concerned. Like an ancient fresco whose beauty reappears when the panels are cleansed, so shall new Serbia be as described by this declaration.

To the Serbian Government as representative of Serbia proper, and the South Slavic Committee, as representative of Serbia *Irredenta*, the Corfu pact is a prelude to the constitution which will be framed and sanctioned later by the Constituent Assembly. The contractors of the declaration do not impose their will upon the people, but it is their duty, however, to bring Serbian problems before the world of politics. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will be quite a new state, created neither by Serbia nor by the South Slavic Committee, but by the logic of events. It will comprise all the South Slavic provinces as equal units, and its final form of government will depend upon the general will of the people represented by the Constituent Assembly.

One might assert with certainty that the creation of Yugoslavia will be courted by the Entente Allies. Ever since the first Serbian victories the press of each of these powers has betrayed a desire to support their little ally. On the other hand, the Central Empires have irredeemably injured their standing among the Yugoslavs by their systematic opposition, and by the accumulated logic which Germany has exerted against the progress of Slavism. The uselessly exaggerated provocations of the Austrian and Hungarian authorities, in regard to the Serbo-Croats, induced the Serbian Government to adopt more and more easily a policy sympathetic to the Triple Entente, to which it furthermore came to attach its traditions. After the many invasions, devastations, persecutions, and massacres which have been perpetrated upon Slavic territory by the Hapsburg monarchy, there is no doubt that the newly created Yugoslavia will never again place her head upon the executioner's block.

As to Russia, she ought to profit from South Slav unity as a fructification of her own policy. Petrograd has never ceased sustaining its traditional maxim: "The Balkans for the Balkan people." The Slavs of the South ought to be willing to contribute something to the prosperity of great Russia without encroaching upon the rights of other races. It has been recently said that the Yugoslavs should be regarded as vassals of Russia. But to bring to light the bogie of "Panslavism" is to give a touch of fear especially to our English allies. It is absurd to speak of the Russian peril to the Balkans, first, because territorial and ethnic barriers obtrude themselves, and secondly, because the South Slavic states have not looked forward to becoming strong and independent in order to cast themselves anew into the hands of another power.

Finally, the ambition of the Serbs is to make a place for themselves in the West. Their natural rôle throughout history has been to constitute a barricade against the invasions from the Orient. In this connection, it ought to be insisted that Panslavism and Pangermanism are not in any sense comparable. Panslavism demands the emancipation of all the Slavs and those allied with them. Pangermanism means taking into conquest a series of lands which may prove useful to the expansion of political Germany, but which virtually have nothing German about them, viz., Poland, Bohemia, Istria. Panslavism seeks to advance the normal evolution of the people; Pangermanism attempts to strengthen Great Germany, in spite of all laws of evolution, and even in spite of the laws of humanity.