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A table of contents for *Bibliotheca Sacra* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bib-sacra_01.php

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA

ARTICLE I.

A BUREAU OF NATIONAL ASSISTANCE.

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THE existence of revolutions and rebellions in Mexico and other countries, with their evils, suggests the proposition here advanced for the establishment of a permanent world bureau of national assistance, whose reasons, purpose, and method are set forth.

We are apparently at the beginning of a revolutionary era for international relations. Its chief truth and its dominant force promises to be the absolute sovereignty of the united and organized political body of all mankind. In reconstructing force the new truth may be, to the present order of international politics, as revolutionary as the true theory of the solar system, putting the sun at the center, was to the old theories of cycles and epicycles of the heavenly bodies around the earth as center. It seems probable that the next few years will see so much distinct development of this new force that all the world will recognize it. When that stage shall be reached, the movement will advance with a better defined purpose and a more systematic method.

In this place the subject will be considered only in relation to the political revolutions and rebellions referred to, in view of the urgent need of promoting the progress of the nations without the slaughter, widespread suffering, commercial and

industrial disaster, international suspicion, apprehension and hate and the general hindrance to civilization which they cause. It is hoped to be demonstrated that the times are ripe for the promotion of this world revolution by the creation of a world organ to take cognizance of the evils noted and to formulate and apply remedies.

Though a majority of our people may not now realize it, yet the genuine government of all the world is in visible progress of development. Executive offices, officially established by representatives of all the world, are already serving all the world at the expense of all the world. Best of all these instances is that of the Universal Postal Union, which regulates, under powers conferred by all the world, the postal business of all the world, and the cost is shared according to proportions established by representatives of all the world, ratified by the governments of all the world. Other illustrations include the International Bureau of Weights and Measures, the bureau connected with the Hague Court of Arbitration, the sanitary bureaus at Vienna and Havana, the Wireless Telegraphy Bureau, the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, and others.

The legislative department of the world seems to be developing through the Hague Conferences; for what they have done at their sessions of 1899 and 1907, so far as it has been ratified by the nations, is true world statute. Events are already in progress for the third session of this series at The Hague, and the preparatory committee on the part of the United States is already at work.

Regarding the world judicial department, the International Prize Court, which was arranged by the Hague Conference of 1907, seems to be the germ out of which the true world judiciary will grow.

For the present purpose, the great Powers of the world may be passed by, for their governments, for the most part, seem to be firmly established. These nations have passed through their eras of civil war and have come up to a higher stage. They are not a part of the present problem. But there are many lands where rebellion either now exists or has prevailed so recently that permanent government is not assured, or revolution is visibly threatening, even now, to attempt to subvert the existing administration, strewing the land with dead and lighting it by the flames of burning homes.

Note, also, another contemporary development of the world, a well-known and often noted fact which has its logical position here. Transportation and intercommunication have so changed former conditions that all the world is brought into much closer touch than was possible only a short time ago. Each part has a more direct and vital concern with every other part than ever before. The prosperity and the losses of each part bring prosperity and losses respectively to every other part more than ever before, and the right of all mankind to the highest and the best conditions of all mankind is beginning to have a world-wide recognition.

Out of this changed status, in connection with the new truth of world sovereignty which is yet to be developed from a nebulous theory to a working political system with adequate organs, comes the truth that the world and its contents are to be used for the benefit of all the world. No longer will it be tenable to hold that separate portions of the earth are the exclusive property of separate peoples who occupy them, to be administered regardless of the peoples who occupy other portions, but every portion must be held subservient to the welfare of the whole. Any policy which prevents any portion of the earth from being contributory to the welfare of all the

nations, to a reasonable fullness of its capacity, is contrary to sound world policy. It is to be condemned and prevented on that ground, just as any internal policy of one of our states or of our nation is condemned and prevented by our courts on the broad ground, without giving specific reasons in detail, that it is contrary to public policy. World sovereignty will affirm the soundness of enforcing this theory in regulating the conduct of the occupants of any particular part of the earth's surface.

At this point the great practical difficulties begin. Two mountain peaks of truth stand out above the sea of all other considerations.

The first mountain peak of truth is that the rebellions and revolutions in the countries in mind are the cause of an immense drain upon the entire human race, which ought to be stopped. This is taking the losses on their financial side. In the recent report of the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living there are quoted certain figures of Professor Irving Fisher, working out tables of William Farr, which fix the average economic value of the life of every person in the United States at \$2,900. Continuing the Commission's computation by use of the figures of the national census of 1910, it appears that "the minimum estimate of the vital assets of Massachusetts" was \$9,762,606,400, in that year, or more than the total wealth of the State in property. For the year 1908 this Commission reported that the yearly loss to the State from preventable deaths and illness was \$52,137,112, as a minimum estimate.

Whether or not the average life in the countries harassed by civil wars is as valuable as it is in the United States, it is evident that the deaths and incapacity caused by war are an exceedingly heavy financial loss, and cause great delay in

national progress and prosperity. Human lives, by endless thousands, as the years roll on, are destroyed in these civil wars. Many more persons are totally or partially impaired in productive capacity by the casualties of war. Such a drain upon the prosperity of mankind ought to be stopped. The race is not rich enough to stand such losses lightly. All the men on earth do not number enough for the work of the human race to subdue wild nature and to make it productive for the common welfare. Property actually destroyed and the absence of property which would otherwise be created make an incalculable total of prodigious amount chargeable to the needless wreck and ruin of civil strife. All this is in addition to the horrors, the suffering, and the bereavements of mutual slaughter.

The second mountain peak of truth is that to-day there is no power which can assert itself to stop these immense losses without an assumption of virtue and superiority which exposes it to criticism and antagonism, and which cannot be justified save as humanity demands that the destruction of life and property cease. Every nation is slow to intervene, save in cases where an excuse is apparently wanted for conquest or exploitation. No one is charged with the duty of taking the initiative and bringing the civil war to a close. The nations wait, and the victims suffer, till the total of misery and death moves the sluggish emotions of the spectators.

A further pertinent consideration, even admitting that in certain cases there is self-sacrificing patriotism on the part of one side in the contest, is that in other cases neither side seems worthy of such credit, but both are led by ambitious, selfish, and brutal demagogues, who are not much above the plane of brutes while they sacrifice the lives and property of

the people to their passions. Neither side in such a contest can justly claim a moral right to be let alone. The welfare of the nation and the private rights of the helpless victims demand that a forcible stop be put to the needless destruction of human life and resources.

Still further, there is weight in the truth that present fighting is the seed of a fearful crop of consequences. It is a fact of demonstrated occurrence that children born during wars are of a tougher disposition, and are less desirable as citizens, than those born during peace. They are more rebellious, lawless, and combative, less inclined to follow the ways of order and industry. Such is a part of the inheritance to be handed down by the present combatants. A further fact is the growth of mutual hate between classes of the people who ought to be united by the strong bonds of a common patriotic devotion. That hate will color all the lives of the present generation, and they will transmit a part of its malignity to their children. It is a terrible curse to any country, and it ought to be prevented, if possible.

Here, then, we have urgent reasons why the whole world should assert its right to its own peace and prosperity, why it should demand that nations cease to wrong themselves and all the others of mankind, and why it is at last imperative upon all the world to take active measures for the relief of all the world.

Here, then, the proposition is that the people of all the world have a right to say to the people of a part of the world that they must not settle their political quarrels by arms, but that they must settle them through the courts. The practical problem is how to provide means of enforcing the command to stop fighting and, at the same time, prevent the continuance of injustice and the supremacy of bad govern-

ment; also, to sustain a tolerable government against corrupt and dangerous rebels; also, to promote such conditions as will tend to remove occasions of rebellion and revolution.

For the first part of the program, it is clear that emergencies may demand the use of military force. So the methods proposed must provide for support of the demands in the name of world sovereignty by arms. For the other part of the program, other equally practical and powerful methods are imperative, even if not military.

In order to meet the emergencies adequately, there is proposed the creation of a new organ of the executive department of the world government, which shall serve as a bureau of national assistance to all peoples that are not capable of maintaining stable government, and for the relief of citizens who are so oppressed by their governments that they will rebel unless relief is secured.

This bureau of national assistance must be composed of representatives of all the so-called sovereign Powers of the world. Manifestly, since the bureau affects the Powers which may become beneficiaries of the new organ of service, they are entitled to a voice in the deliberations and to a vote in the conclusions. At the outset we confront the difficulty of proportional representation in a world bureau which shall have oversight of the questions mentioned. That bureau would have to pass upon the fact whether or not a case existed for joint action by all the world officially, and upon the method by which the end was to be accomplished. We have the precedents of the Hague Conferences that the Powers sent such a number of delegates respectively as they chose. But in the case of an executive function of this kind, where the responsibility would fall, in the main, upon the larger Powers, it would be only reasonable that they should have

larger representations in the voting. Certainly it would be a reasonable and a practical proposition, if every small Power were accorded one representative in the bureau, that Powers of a higher grade should have two each, and that Powers of the first class, as the common sense of the majority would agree regarding classification, should have three each. A rough classification of the nations into these three groups would give a working approximation to equal representation. Further refinements could be worked out by experience and at leisure.

Now, regarding the method by which the bureau would be created and appointed, it would be a fitting way that it should be proposed to the nations among the recommendations made by the next Hague Conference. It would then be for the nations to ratify the recommendation, the same as in other cases. Then it would remain for the appointing power in each nation severally to designate the representatives of that nation to be members of the bureau, and to supply them with their credentials. The bureau would be called in a way to be provided in the recommendation, and it would organize by the election of its officers at a meeting to be duly called after a given number of nations had ratified the recommendation. It would be well to provide that the system should become operative as soon as a majority in number of the nations had ratified it, in order that action might be had in the name of the people of the organized body of mankind. Due provision would have to be made by the bureau, at the time of organization, for permanent headquarters, with officials in charge to receive communications and to attend to the business in the absence of the bureau itself; and an executive committee, sitting permanently or to be quickly called together, would presumably be a desirable provision.

As a vital part of the plan is the enforcement of public order, based upon the laws of the country, there must be provision, in those countries where the government is too weak to maintain order, for the employment of force. This force would be raised, presumably, by apportionment among the Powers, and the necessary detail could be requisitioned by the bureau from those nearest to the scene of action or best able to send relief promptly and in sufficient strength. For the most of the time, while the present armaments of nations continue, there would not be, probably, need of a direct world force, either of military or of police. Regard would wisely be had to the sympathies of the force to be sent, in relation to the race and religion of the people to be aided, in order that there might not be caused any friction arising from those sources. Men of most similarity in race and religion would understand best the national and personal traits of the people to be helped.

In every case where it was possible, the assisting force should be no more armed than is customary for the usual police force of a civilized nation; but it is quite probable that, at times, a military force would be indispensable, and the bureau should have power to make requisition upon the nations for military support of its authority, always having regard to the use of military force and to the use of rigorous measures to as small an extent as would be consistent with the attainment and maintenance of public order.

In case of either military or police service, if the people of the country resisted both the government and the revolutionists, it would doubtless be found sufficient to occupy the seat of government and to exercise, under the laws of the country, the administrative powers which the government was unable to exercise unaided. But the presumption is that

the government would be glad of the police or military support of the official representatives of all the world, and that there would be the utmost harmony and coöperation between the government and the officers of the police or military force during the period of assistance.

If, however, all of the people of the disturbed country were to resist the world force, it would remain for the bureau to send sufficient military or police strength to hold the seat of government and to protect the courts, always acting under the laws of the country as far as practicable, until there should be some restoration of order sufficient to warrant the bureau in withdrawing its force and trusting the home government once more to preserve the peace and to dispense justice according to the forms of the laws of the land.

These would be the extreme cases requiring the service of the bureau. In practice, it may well be doubted whether any such cases would arise as would call for military service for protracted campaign. Probably the nature and the service of the interference would be welcome. One very material fact which would assure the absence of opposition and the welcoming of the assistance of the bureau would be the certainty that there would not be possible any thought of conquest on the part of the intervening force. That would be a supreme truth which would differentiate the intervention of the bureau from any possible intervention on the part of any of the great Powers.

Take the case of the relation of the United States to Mexico, or to any of the nations of Central America, or even to those of South America. Unfortunately for us, our annexation of the Hawaiian Islands as a military proposition, our conquest of the Philippines, and the very narrow margin by which Cuba has recently escaped from possible annexation to

the United States, with the present fact that a material number of our people still believe that we ought to annex it, even by force,— these facts so fill all the nations mentioned with reasonable suspicion of our motives that we cannot tender the most sincere and disinterested service without causing such an apprehension of conquest that the people concerned would doubtless sink all their differences in order to resist, to the utmost of their military strength, any intervention which we might attempt, even in the name of law and humanity.

It would be liable to be so in the case of any single nation in the Old World, if it were to attempt to interfere in any country where the government could not maintain order. It is true that we have the illustration of England in Egypt; but Egypt was already a conquered country, and the arrangement was made with Turkey, the conqueror. The experience of France in Morocco, of Italy in Abyssinia, and of Great Britain in Tibet illustrates what would probably be the effect if any single Power should interfere in order to correct the administration of a weak government of a backward people.

In the case of a tender of help from the world bureau of national assistance, there would be total absence of suspicion of a purpose of conquest. On the contrary, there would be, from the outset, absolute certainty that the movement would be one of genuine sympathy and true helpfulness, and that the assisting force would be withdrawn as soon as it was no longer necessary to sustain nominal government. No attack would be threatened upon national integrity. There would be no peril of absorption by a more powerful political body. There would be no subversion of national laws and court procedure. But there would be help of the most sincere na-

ture, such as could be tendered and be accepted without loss of self-respect on the part of the recipient.

In order to enter the field when necessary and to take the initiative promptly, it would be necessary for the bureau to have officers charged with the duty of watching the conditions in nations liable to disturbances and to be ready, at all times, to take immediate action to call the bureau together in order to give the needed assistance.

As a practical matter, the place of meeting of the bureau should be in such city as would enable the delegates from the most distant part of the earth to reach it in the shortest time by the quickest route. It is to be supposed that in emergencies there would be free use of electric communication in calling the bureau together.

At the meetings of the bureau it is to be presumed that the facts, both those making for and those making against intervention, would be thoroughly presented and weighed. and no tender of aid would be made until the given proportional vote, a majority or a larger fraction, had been secured on the merits of the case. If intervention were desirable, then, at first, if the case were one of government struggling to maintain itself against rebellion, there should be a tender of service in way of force coupled with an assurance that the bureau would, as soon as the conditions permitted, take up an investigation of the causes of the rebellion in order that justice might be done to rebels who had a really worthy cause for demanding relief from the government's policy.

Proclamation of this offer of intervention and purpose of investigation should be made to the world by the bureau at the time of taking action, especially for effect upon the revolutionists. With due skill it is altogether probable that the

effect would be to cause the rebels to cease military operations and to put their case before the competent and disinterested tribunal which the bureau would set at work to investigate the administration for the purpose of learning what abuses must be reformed and of actually putting the reforms into operation.

Regarding expense, the maintenance of the permanent office would doubtless be apportioned among the nations as the expense of present world executive offices is apportioned. Expense of temporary attention to a single case might well be left to the bureau to determine how it should be settled. While the nations continue to be armed, the service would require only a detailing of existing force. After armaments cease on the part of the great nations against each other and when the world force has to be maintained for its own sake, the expense of a particular assistance would be levied according to circumstances. It might be apportioned among all, or it might be put wholly upon the assisted people, or divided in any way midway between these. It might be expedient not to put upon the assisted people all the cost of the force furnished. But, as a general rule, the patient pays his own doctor's bills.

By various methods the bureau of national assistance would secure its object. Not only might the initiative come from its side, but it might come from either of the two parties contending for the mastery of the disturbed country. Conscious of weakness in the face of impending revolution, an honest government might request outside intervention in order to increase its power to resist possible rebels. On the other hand, a rebellious organization, conscious of justice on its side, might invoke the intervention of the bureau with all the police and military force at its disposal.

In every instance of disturbance, no matter from what source the initiative for intervention might come, the official representative of the country who is a member of the bureau would have his opportunity to present the side of the administration and to vote upon the policy to be adopted. As a matter of fairness, in the case of rebels asking for intervention, they should have a free and full opportunity to state to the bureau their reasons for rebelling and for asking intervention. They should state the facts which constitute their grievance. They should set forth the reforms which they demand. They should establish a case of good faith and good judgment before they receive favorable attention, proving to the satisfaction of the decisive proportion of the bureau that it would be for the welfare of the country and of mankind that they should win over their opponents.

Such presentations by the rebels would give the existing government an opportunity to guarantee reforms, to make concessions, and to remove misunderstandings, thus tending to secure national peace and an efficient government. It would tend to prevent civil war, with its terribly destructive consequences to life and to property and to the peace of future years,—consequences which the United States knows well how to appreciate, with the burden of debt of disturbed politics, of delayed progress and other great evils which are destined to affect us for an indefinite future, and which are distinct consequences of our civil strife, throwing their shadow upon unborn generations.

It is worth while to note in more detail the changed conditions which will affect the practical operation of the proposed bureau of national assistance. The world will enjoy the effect of the mighty forces of publicity and the consequent public opinion. Causes of bad government and of rebellions

must be brought out into the open. Sore spots will receive attention. Honest governments and honest rebels will be only too glad to put their cases and their evidence before the world. Thus there would be focused upon the evils the light of experience, while fair play for both parties would be demanded. Public opinion, in and out of the disturbed country, would shape itself so as to compel justice. Most political leaders everywhere are susceptible to public opinion. In practical operation the bureau would tend, in its very nature and by its appeal to other than the military side of human nature, to the direct establishment of both peace and justice, with full regard to the honor of all whose honor might be considered at stake.

One function of the bureau might properly be to assist any nation which might apply to it for the selection of expert advisers in different departments of administration. It is true that any nation is now free to take whatever action it pleases in this respect, but it is quite probable that better information would be given to it through the bureau than it could obtain through its own unaided efforts. The engagement of Mr. Shuster to aid in the Persian administration is an illustration of the kind of service which certain nations might secure from foreign countries. It would be a most commendable policy for any nation which could better itself by using the facilities of the bureau.

By that uniformity of policy which might be originated and promoted by the bureau through such advisers, as well as by its own administration, when in temporary control, there might be secured in different countries uniform legislation regarding business methods, marriage, inheritance, and other family matters, and, in brief, a large body of legisla-

tion which would promote greatly the mutual sympathy and the working coöperation of the nations.

It is quite probable that it would be necessary for the bureau to remain in existence for many years. In the evolution of the most backward peoples to the stage where they can govern themselves successfully, with full national sovereignty under world sovereignty, much time may be necessary. Not till all of mankind are brought under the authority of some controlling nation or are developed to the stage of adequate self-control will there cease to be the need of a world organ of assistance to the peoples who are not able to stand alone and preserve law and order.

It seems quite certain that the progress of the work of the bureau must be accompanied by a more and more general acceptance of the theory upon which it would be based and of the methods by which it would administer its trust. Doubtless its methods would be improved by experience, but the fundamental proposition that all the world has a right to compel any part of the world to cease conditions which injure the peace and prosperity of all the world would be established beyond dispute. Thus the dangers from backward peoples and the risks of demagogues and despots would be minimized and the rights of honest people and of helpless subjects would be protected.

Efficiency of the bureau would be promoted by requiring an annual report to be made by the permanent officer in charge, which would be addressed collectively to the executives of the nations which were represented in the bureau. Such a report would presumably state in as clear and brief form as possible, consistent with an adequate presentation of the facts, the origin of each case severally, the action by the bureau upon it, the result of the action up to the date of the

report, and the recommendations for the future. This would be an official record of large value, to be published to all the world, affording ample means for that publicity which is coming to be so essential a condition of successful government and a promise of larger success hereafter. It is to be expected that many public libraries all over the world, many statesmen in their private capacity, and many of the influential newspapers of the world would request to be supplied regularly with these reports. Thus their practical distribution for the information of all the world officially would be secured. It is probable, also, that most of the newspapers would make sufficient publication of the facts to give all the world information upon the main issues in each case.

Here seems to be a possibility and an opportunity for the establishment of a new political institution for all the world which will be of large assistance in promoting peace and prosperity and prevent much destruction of human life and of property, with avoidance of great evils following civil wars. In conclusion, if the case of Mexico continues acute, or another acute case arises soon, it would be possible to establish the proposed bureau without waiting for the next session of the Hague Conference.