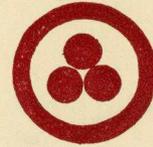


ROERICH
PACT

Banner
of
Peace

II.

New York
1934



THE ROERICH PACT

AND

The Banner of Peace

PROCEEDINGS

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

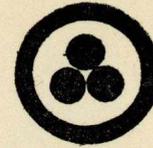
FOR

THE ROERICH PACT AND THE BANNER OF PEACE

NOVEMBER 17th AND 18th, 1933

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Volume II.



ROERICH PACT

Banner of Peace

PROCEEDINGS
THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
FOR THE
ROERICH PACT AND BANNER OF PEACE

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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1934



THE ARCHIVE OF
NICHOLAS
ROERICH
MUSEUM



ROERICH PACT

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VISIT TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THROUGH the gracious offices of the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, United States Secretary of Agriculture, whose acceptance of the Protectorship of the THIRD INTERNATIONAL ROERICH PEACE BANNER CONVENTION signified his own deep sympathy with the project, an appointment was arranged for the official presentation of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace to the President of the United States, The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This presentation was made on November 15, 1933 at the White House, by a special delegation consisting of the following four members:

The Honorable Henry A. Wallace, United States Secretary of Agriculture,

Dr. Esteban Gil Borges, Acting Director General of the Pan-American Union,

Mr. Louis L. Horch, President of the Roerich Museum,

Dr. Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Honorary President of the Archaeological Institute of America.

President Roosevelt received this delegation cordially.

The President accepted a copy of the Pact, together with lists of both American and foreign endorsements, and other documentary evidence of the deep interest that has been taken by prominent individuals in the public and private life of our country. The President also accepted a replica of the Banner of Peace, expressing his sympathy with the purpose of preserving the treasures of human genius—the cultural heritage of all mankind.

The President displayed evidence of his full acquaintance with the project of the Roerich Pact prior to this occasion, and gave assurance of his interest in the furtherance of the movement.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
for the
ROERICH PACT AND BANNER OF PEACE

November 17th and 18th, 1933

Washington, D. C.

Honorary Presidents

PROFESSOR NICHOLAS ROERICH

MME. HELENA ROERICH

Protector

HON. HENRY A. WALLACE
Secretary of Agriculture

Honorary Chairman

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER
United States Senator

Chairman

LOUIS L. HORCH
President, Roerich Museum

Secretary

HENRY JAMES FORMAN

Organizing Committee

Honorary Chairmen

PROFESSOR NICHOLAS ROERICH

MME. HELENA ROERICH

Protector

HON. HENRY A. WALLACE

Secretary of Agriculture

Chairman

LOUIS L. HORCH

President, Roerich Museum

Mrs. Bertha Kunz Baker
Professor Joseph Campbell
K. Spencer Campbell
M. Paul Chabas, France
Dr. Georges G. Chklaver, France
Dr. James H. Cousins, India
Dr. Charles Fleischer
Henry James Forman
Ingeborg Fritschi
Frances R. Grant
Mrs. Nettie S. Horch
Dr. Frederick L. Kettner
Mrs. Emma Kraft
Esther J. Lichtmann
M. M. Lichtmann
Sina Lichtmann
Dr. Felix Lukin, Latvia

Prof. Ralph V. D. Magoffin
Sidney M. Newberger
Ada T. Rainey
Dr. Frederick B. Robinson
Dr. George Roerich
Svetoslav Roerich
Mrs. S. Schafran
Theophile Schneider
J. Earl Schrack
V. A. Shibayev, India
Mary Siegrist
Mrs. Florentine Sutro
Baron Michel A. de Taube, France
M. Camille Tulpinck, Belgium
Mme. M. de Vaux-Phalipau, France
Kathryn Linden, Recording Secretary
Jess O. Snyder, Recording Secretary

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Hon. George Sutherland,
Associate Justice, Supreme Court of
the United States.
- Hon. Henry T. Rainey,
The Speaker, House of Represent-
atives, United States.
- Hon. Nathan L. Bachman,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Arthur Capper,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Bennett Champ Clark,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Edward P. Costigan,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Bronson Cutting,
United States Senator.
- Hon. John E. Erickson,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Duncan U. Fletcher,
United States Senator.
- Hon. William H. King,
United States Senator.
- Hon. M. M. Logan,
United States Senator.
- Hon. P. McCarran,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Gerald P. Nye,
United States Senator.
- Hon. John H. Overton,
United States Senator.
- Hon. J. P. Pope,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Elbert D. Thomas,
United States Senator.
- Hon. Sol Bloom,
Member of Congress.
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- Hon. Tom Berry,
Governor, State of South Dakota.
- Hon. I. C. Blackwood,
Governor, State of South Carolina.
- Hon. William A. Comstock,
Governor, State of Michigan.
- Hon. Miriam A. Ferguson,
Governor, State of Texas.
- Hon. Clyde L. Herring,
Governor, State of Iowa.
- Hon. Lawrence M. Judd,
Governor, Territory of Hawaii.
- Hon. William Langer,
Governor, State of North Dakota.
- Hon. Paul V. McNutt,
Governor, State of Indiana.
- Hon. Benjamin B. Moeur,
Governor, State of Arizona.
- Hon. Floyd B. Olson,
Governor, State of Minnesota.
- Hon. Guy B. Park,
Governor, State of Missouri.
- Hon. Jno. Garland Pollard,
Governor, Commonwealth of Vir-
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Governor, State of California.
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Governor, State of Georgia.
- Hon. George White,
Governor, State of Ohio.
- Hon. J. F. T. O'Connor,
Comptroller of the Currency,
U. S. A.
- Major General William D. Connor,
Supt., United States Military Aca-
demy, West Point, N. Y.
- Rear Admiral J. K. Taussig,
United States Navy.
- Hon. Harry B. Mitchell,
President, United States Civil Serv-
ice Commission.
- Hon. George F. Zook,
Commissioner of Education, U.S.A.
- Hon. J. C. Wright,
Assistant Commissioner of Educa-
tion, U. S. A.
- Hon. Arno B. Cammerer,
Director, Office of National Parks,
Buildings and Reservations.
- Hon. Charles Moore,
Chairman, United States Commis-
sion of Fine Arts.
- Carl W. Ackerman,
Dean, School of Journalism, Colum-
bia University.
- Dr. M. Adatci,
President of the Permanent Court
of International Justice, The Hague.
- Dr. Alejandro Alvarez,
Secretary General, American In-
stitute of International Law.
- His Grace, Archbishop Athenagoras,
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
North and South America.
- Alfred H. Barr, Jr.,
Director, Museum of Modern Art,
New York.
- Dr. Emanuel de Marnay Baruch,
President, Goethe Society of Amer-
ica.
- Hon. George Gordon Battle.
- Ernest P. Bicknell,
Vice-Chairman, American Red
Cross.
- Dr. H. S. Boardman,
President, University of Maine.
- Mabel T. Boardman,
Secretary, American Red Cross.
- Evangeline Booth,
Commander-in-Chief, Salvation
Army.
- Arthur E. Bostwick,
Librarian, St. Louis, Mo., Public
Library.
- Dr. W. Alanson Bryan,
Director, Los Angeles Museum of
History, Science and Art.
- C. L. Burr,
Beloit College Art Hall, Wisconsin.
- Dr. Julian A. Burruss,
President, Virginia Polytechnic In-
stitute.
- Dr. J. A. C. Chandler,
President, College of William and
Mary.
- C. Clanton,
Librarian, Dallas Public Library.
- Dr. Robert C. Clothier,
President, Rutgers University.
- Dr. Karl T. Compton,
President, Massachusetts Institute
of Technology.
- John O'Hara Cosgrave.
- Gratia A. Countryman,
President, American Library As-
sociation.
- Ida Jolly Crawley,
Director, Crawley Museum of Art
and Archaeology.
- Mrs. Chester Dale.
- Dr. Henry Grattan Doyle,
Dean, George Washington Univer-
sity.
- R. Loring Dunn,
Curator, Albany Institute of His-
tory and Art.

- Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild,
New York University.
- Dr. William Preston Few,
President, Duke University.
- Dr. John D. Finlayson,
Chancellor, University of Tulsa.
- Prof. Louis Le Fur,
Professor of International Law,
University of Paris.
- Howard A. Giles, M. A.
- Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Goldenson,
President, Central Conference of
American Rabbis.
- Forest Grant,
Director of Art, Board of Educa-
tion, New York.
- Jessie Gray,
President, National Education As-
sociation.
- Chalmers Hadley,
Librarian, Public Library of Cin-
cinnati.
- Dr. Chauncey J. Hamlin,
President, Buffalo Museum of
Science.
- Dr. R. D. Hetzel,
President, Pennsylvania State Col-
lege.
- Dr. Ernest O. Holland,
President, State College of Wash-
ington.
- Dr. Ales S. Hrdlicka,
Smithsonian Institute.
- Mrs. Clothier Hull,
National President, Women's Inter-
national League for Peace and
Freedom.
- Dr. R. C. Hutchins,
President, Washington and Jeffer-
son College.
- Oscar B. Jacobson,
Director, Art School, University of
Oklahoma.
- Mrs. Percy H. Johnson.
- Dr. H. L. Kent,
President, New Mexico State Col-
lege.
- Dr. J. H. Kirkland,
Chancellor, Vanderbilt University.
- Mrs. Maud Briggs Knowlton,
Director, Currier Gallery of Art.
- Arthur L. Kramer,
President, Dallas Art Association,
Texas.
- Mrs. Adolph Ladenburg.
- H. Spencer Lewis, A.M.O.R.C.
- Emil Lorch,
Director, College of Architecture,
University of Michigan.
- Col. A. E. Mahon,
Distinguished Service Officer.
- His Excellency, M. Zelemir Mazuranic,
Delegate of the Kingdom of Yugo-
slavia to the League of Nations,
Senator.
- Bishop Francis J. McConnell,
Resident Bishop, New York City.
- Bishop Charles L. Mead,
Resident Bishop, Kansas City Area,
Mo.
- His Serene Highness, Prince Bianchi
de Medicis.
- Dr. E. D. Merrill,
Director, New York Botanical Gar-
den.
- William M. Milliken,
Director, Cleveland Museum of
Art.
- C. Powell Minnigerode,
Director, Corcoran Art Gallery,
Washington, D. C.

- Dr. Louis J. Moss,
President, The United Synagogue
of America.
- Dr. William A. Neilson,
President, Smith College.
- Edward A. Parsons,
Librarian, New Orleans Public
Library.
- Mrs. Eleanor Patterson.
- Alfred G. Pelikan,
Director, Milwaukee Art Institute.
- George A. Plimpton.
- Duncan Phillips,
Director, Phillips Memorial Art
Gallery, Washington, D. C.
- Reginald Poland,
Director, Fine Arts Gallery, San
Diego.
- Cordelia Sargent Pond,
Director, Art Museum, Springfield,
Mass.
- Prof. A. Geouffre de la Pradelle,
Professor of International Law,
University of Paris.
- Il Rettore,
R. Università degli Studi di
Bologna.
- Dr. C. R. Richards,
President, Lehigh University.
- Dr. Frederick B. Robinson,
President, College of the City of
New York.
- Hon. Henry L. Roosevelt,
Assistant Secretary of the Navy.
- Mrs. Charles Cary Rumsey.
- A. Bertram Samuels.
Hardinge Scholle,
Director, Museum of the City of
New York.
- Dr. Charles C. Selecman,
President, Southern Methodist Uni-
versity.
- Mrs. E. J. Shepard.
Jouett Shouse.
- William A. Slade,
Director, The Folger Shakespeare
Library.
- Edmund D. Soper,
Association of American Colleges.
- Forrest B. Spaulding,
Librarian, Public Library of Des
Moines.
- Dr. E. L. Stephens,
President, Southwestern Louisiana
Institute.
- J. G. Phelps Stokes.
Adam Strohm,
Librarian, Detroit Public Library.
- Mrs. Mary Cooke Swartout,
Director, Montclair Art Museum.
- Dr. Jno. T. Tigert,
President, University of Florida.
- Ernst Tomel,
Rektor, Universität Wien.
- R. N. Trezise, A.M.O.R.C.
- Dr. R. E. Tulloss,
President, Wittenberg College.
- Dr. Robert Ernest Vinson,
President, Western Reserve Uni-
versity.
- Bishop Raymond J. Wade,
Resident Bishop, Stockholm.
- Mrs. Henry A. Wallace.
- Harry W. Watrous,
President, National Academy of
Design.
- Dr. G. B. Woods,
Dean, American University, Wash-
ington.
- Dr. Mary E. Woolley,
President, Mt. Holyoke College.
- Malcolm G. Wyer,
Librarian, Denver Public Library.

Governmental Delegates and Governmental Observers
Attending The Third International Roerich Peace
Banner Convention, Washington, D. C.,
November 17-18, 1933

Official Delegates

1. Republic of Argentina—The Honorable Señor Don Eduardo L. Vivot,
First Secretary of the Embassy.
2. United States of Brazil—The Honorable E. B. Fraga de Castro,
Second Secretary of the Embassy.
3. Republic of Chile—His Excellency, Señor Don Manuel Trucco,
Ambassador of Chile.
4. Republic of China—The Honorable Tswen-ling Tsui,
Second Secretary of the Legation.
5. Republic of Colombia—The Honorable Señor Don Miguel Lopez-Pumarejo,
Special Appointee.
6. Republic of Costa Rica—The Honorable Señor Don Manuel González-Zeledón,
Chargé d'Affaires, Legation of Costa Rica.
7. Republic of Czechoslovakia—His Excellency, Dr. Ferdinand Veverka,
Minister of Czechoslovakia.
8. Dominican Republic—The Honorable Señor Don Agustín Acevedo Feliu,
First Secretary of the Legation.
9. Republic of Ecuador—His Excellency, Señor Capitán Colón Eloy Alfaro,
Minister of Ecuador.

10. Republic of Greece—His Excellency, Charalambos Simopoulos,
Minister of Greece.
11. Republic of Guatemala—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Don Adrián Recinos,
Minister of Guatemala.
12. Republic of Honduras—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Don Miguel Paz Baraona,
Minister of Honduras.
13. Irish Free State—His Excellency, Michael MacWhite,
Minister of the Irish Free State.
14. Empire of Japan—The Honorable Toshihiko Taketomi,
Counselor, The Japanese Embassy.
15. Republic of Lithuania—The Honorable Dr. Mikas Bagdonas,
Secretary of the Legation.
16. Republic of Nicaragua—The Honorable Señor Dr. Don Henri De Bayle,
Chargé d'Affaires.
17. Republic of Panama—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro,
Minister of Panama.
18. Republic of Paraguay—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Don Enrique Bordenave,
Minister of Paraguay.
19. Kingdom of Persia—His Excellency, Ghaffar Khan Djalal,
Minister of Persia.
20. Republic of Peru—The Honorable Dr. Juan E. Mendoza Almenara,
First Secretary of the Embassy.
21. Republic of Poland—The Honorable Edward Weintal,
Attaché, the Polish Embassy.
22. Republic of Portugal—His Excellency, Dr. João Antonio de Bianchi,
Minister of Portugal.
23. Republic of Spain—The Honorable Señor Don Ramón Padilla y de Satrustegui,
Second Secretary of the Embassy.
24. Confederation of Switzerland—His Excellency, Marc Peter,
Minister of Switzerland.
25. United States of America—The Honorable Henry A. Wallace,
Secretary of Agriculture.

26. Republic of Venezuela—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Don Pedro Manuel Arcaya,
Minister of Venezuela.
27. Kingdom of Yugoslavia—The Honorable Dr. Ivan Frangeš,
Secretary, The Royal Yugoslav Legation.

Official Observers

1. Kingdom of Albania—His Excellency, Faik Konitza,
Minister of Albania.
2. Kingdom of Belgium—The Honorable Gérard Walravens,
Attaché of the Embassy.
3. Republic of France—The Honorable Count Pierre de Leusse,
Attaché of the Embassy.
4. Republic of Germany—The Honorable Werner Schüller,
Second Secretary of the Embassy.
5. Kingdom of Hungary—Represented *in Absentia.*
6. Kingdom of Italy—The Honorable Giuseppe Tommasi,
Secretary of the Embassy.
7. Kingdom of the Netherlands—The Honorable B. van Loen,
First Chancellor of the Legation.
8. Republic of Turkey—The Honorable Ussaki zade Bülent,
Second Secretary of the Embassy.

PROGRAM OF THE CONVENTION

Chairman

LOUIS L. HORCH,
President, Roerich Museum

Secretary

HENRY JAMES FORMAN

International Broadcast: 2:45 P. M.

LOUIS L. HORCH, Chairman
THE HON. HENRY A. WALLACE
PROF. RALPH V. O. MAGOFFIN

SPEAKERS

Afternoon Session, November 17, 3 P. M.

LOUIS L. HORCH, Chairman

Invocation:

RT. REV. BISHOP JAMES E. FREEMAN, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Washington.

THE HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE,
United States Secretary of Agriculture,
Protector of the Convention.

LOUIS L. HORCH,
President, Roerich Museum.

DR. CHARLES FLEISCHER.

RT. REV. BISHOP JAMES E. FREEMAN, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Washington.

- HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DR. DON PEDRO MANUEL ARCAJA,
Minister of the Republic of Venezuela.
- THE HONORABLE SOL BLOOM,
Member of Congress.
- HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DR. RICARDO J. ALFARO,
Minister of the Republic of Panama.
- HIS EXCELLENCY, GHAFFAR KHAN DJALAL,
Minister of the Kingdom of Persia.
- THE HONORABLE SEÑOR DON AGUSTÍN ACEVEDO FELIU,
First Secretary of the Dominican Legation.
- THE HONORABLE TSWEN-LING TSUI,
Second Secretary of the Chinese Legation.
- THE HONORABLE SEÑOR DR. DON HENRI DE BAYLE,
Chargé d'Affaires of the Nicaraguan Legation.
- THE HONORABLE J. P. POPE,
United States Senator.
- DR. ALES HRDLICKA,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
- MR. LEON DABO,
Resolution of MISS ESTHER J. LICHTMANN,
Vice-President of Roerich Museum.
- MRS. SINA LICHTMANN,
Vice-President, Roerich Museum.
- MR. HENRY JAMES FORMAN,
Secretary of the Convention.

Evening Session, November 17, 8:30 P. M.

LOUIS L. HORCH, Chairman

Invocation:

- MOST REVEREND JAMES H. RYAN, S.T.D.,
Bishop of Modra,
Rector, The Catholic University of America.

- THE HONORABLE DR. ESTEBAN GIL BORGES,
Acting Director-General, Pan-American Union.
- HIS EXCELLENCY, DR. FERDINAND VEVERKA,
Minister of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.
- MRS. NETTIE S. HORCH,
President of the Roerich Society.
- REAR ADMIRAL J. K. TAUSSIG,
United States Navy.
- DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT,
Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,
President, American Institute of International Law.
- MISS ESTHER J. LICHTMANN,
Vice-President, Roerich Museum.
- HIS EXCELLENCY, MICHAEL MACWHITE,
Minister of the Irish Free State.
- THE HONORABLE TOSHIHIKO TAKETOMI,
Counselor of the Imperial Japanese Embassy.
- PROFESSOR RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN,
Honorary President of the Archæological Institute of America.
- DR. FREDERICK B. ROBINSON,
President, College of the City of New York.
- MISS FRANCES R. GRANT,
Vice-President, Roerich Museum.
- THE HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE,
United States Secretary of Agriculture,
Protector of the Convention.

Morning Session, November 18, 10:00 A. M.

LOUIS L. HORCH, Chairman

- THE HONORABLE SEÑOR DON EDUARDO L. VIVOT,
First Secretary of the Argentine Embassy.

- MR. GEORGE D. GREBENSTCHIKOFF,
President, Siberian Roerich Association.
- MRS. GRACE MORRISON POOLE,
President, General Federation of Women's Clubs.
- MR. MAURICE M. LICHTMANN,
Vice-President, Roerich Museum.
- GENERAL ALFREDO DE LEON,
President, Colombian Roerich Society.
- Report of the Committee on Resolutions of the Convention,
Presented by ARTHUR E. COOK,
Doctor of International Law.
- Motion of GENERAL ALFREDO DE LEON,
President, Colombia Roerich Society.
- THE VEN. ANAGARIKA LHASHEKANKRAKRYA,
President, Universal Union for the Diffusion of Budhic Philosophy.
- DR. EMANUEL DE MARNEY BARUCH,
President, The Goethe Society.
- Amendment to the Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
Presented by DR. ARTHUR E. COOK.
- MISS IDA JOLLY CRAWLEY,
Director, Crawley Museum of Art and Archæology.
- MR. J. G. PHELPS STOKES,
Vice-President, Roerich Society.
- MRS. RABIA MARTIN,
Representative General of the Sufi Movement in the Western World.
- THE HONORABLE SEÑOR DON MIGUEL LOPEZ-PUMAREJO,
Special Appointee of the Republic of Colombia.
- M. DZAMBULAT DZANTI,
Director of Ossetie, France.

International Broadcast: 11:30 A. M.

Speakers

MISS FRANCES R. GRANT, Chairman
DR. CHARLES FLEISCHER
MR. LEON DABO

- MR. J. EARL SCHRACK,
Director, Academy of Creative Arts of Roerich Society.
- MR. ARTHUR DEERING CALL,
Secretary, The American Peace Society.
- DR. FREDERICK L. KETTNER,
Director, Biosophical Institute of Roerich Society.
- Resolutions of HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DR. RICARDO J. ALFARO,
Minister of the Republic of Panama.
- MRS. E. BRAMHALL CULLIS,
Director, Polish Institute of Arts and Letters.
- MRS. SUNDAR GIFFIN,
President, The New England Roerich Society.
- MRS. MARGARET EYRE ROTHWELL,
President, Roerich Shakespeare Association.
- Motion of MISS ESTHER J. LICHTMANN,
Vice-President, Roerich Museum.

Closing Address:

LOUIS L. HORCH,
President, Roerich Museum.

PROCEEDINGS

PROCEEDINGS

International Broadcast: November 17, 2:45 P. M.

THE Third International Convention for the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace was opened with an international radio program on November 17, 1933, at 2:45 P. M., by Mr. Louis L. Horch, President of Roerich Museum, and Chairman of the Convention. Mr. Horch greeted his unseen audience and introduced the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture and Protector of this Third International Convention, who gave a word of greeting.

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE, United States Secretary of Agriculture:

In fifteen minutes representatives of many nations will gather together to open here in Washington a most significant convention. There has been nothing like it in the world since those early Red Cross meetings held in Europe 70 years ago by Henri Dunant, that great-hearted Swiss who saw the chance to get the nations of the world to sign a pact to respect the Red Cross as a symbol of neutral suffering in time of war. Today we accept the Red Cross as a respectable matter of course, not realizing that this glorious symbol of infinite compassion for human suffering was not adopted until the souls of the great humanitarians from many nations had caught on fire with the possibilities of the numerous protective uses of the symbol of the Red Cross.

The convention which will open in a few minutes deals with the protection of the works of the human spirit and is the result of the genius of the great Russian artist, archæologist and explorer, Professor Nicholas

Roerich. The symbol is three dots in a circle. The purpose is to adopt a pact which will make it possible for the nations to fly this flag of world cultural unity over cathedrals, universities, libraries, and art galleries, so that the treasures of the spirit may be protected from the thoughtless, the ignorant and the barbaric in time of war. Two Roerich Banner of Peace Conventions have already been held, both of them in Belgium, which like Switzerland has long been favorable to encouraging the idea of world cultural unity. The first of these conventions, under the protection of King Albert of Belgium, was held in 1929. Perhaps he thought of Louvain or of Rheims Cathedral, or possibly of the more world wide implications. Since the first of these conventions in 1929 the world has grown progressively sicker with an increase of those economic weapons of tariffs, import quotas, depreciated currencies and disregarded international debts, all of which acting together are heading the world toward disintegration rather than cultural unity. I feel these things with the inmost fiber of my being because I have seen the way in which these disintegrating forces have destroyed the market for surplus American farm products and thus brought want and misery to millions of farm homes. And I have known that the trouble goes far beyond the field of economics into the realm of the spirit. The enlightened men in all nations realize that no system of treaties or tariffs or other economic machinery will be enough by themselves alone to head us up again toward the light. Economic machinery may be necessary but even more important is the earnest desire of sincere human hearts to recognize those things which transcend national boundaries, which have to do with science, art and education.

The heart of the New Deal is to replace the outworn competitive spirit so far as possible with the coöperative ideal. For centuries the profit seeking motive has played its part, but now we know that the gifts of nature and science and art are so abundant that the crying need today is for some striking event to bring home to all men, regardless of nations and classes, the conviction that all that is necessary is changed human

hearts to enable us to live in the most marvelous period of material wealth that the world has yet seen. But before we can enter this Golden Age we must first demonstrate that we are rich enough spiritually to have the right to enjoy material blessings. There is something about the Roerich Banner of Peace, the three dots contained in a circle, which to my mind supplements the Red Cross in an unusual way, suggesting the idea that eventually there will be a New Deal between nations and that the separate nations will follow their own destinies as is suggested by the three dots, but that they will all bow in allegiance before the things of the spirit, the things which have to do with art, with science, with education, with religion, and the beauties of nature. Even if the calamity of war comes, we must have some means of protecting the great spiritual treasures of mankind. That is the reason why I look on the meeting today as more significant in some ways than a disarmament or economic conference. Are we ready to turn from our old ways of narrow selfishness and strive earnestly to develop our own unique national qualities while at the same time we encourage and coöperate with other nations in doing the same thing?

Prof. Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Honorary President of the Archæological Institute of America, also greeted the radio audience.

RADIO ADDRESS BY PROF. RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN, Honorary President of the Archæological Institute of America:

In the wake of War have always stalked Waste, Want, Wantonness, Wreckage, Woe! Much of the destruction of monumental pieces of architecture, of museums, of irreplaceable objects of artistic value, may have come often as an accidental concomitant of military attack or defense, or as a so-called necessary accomplishment of war measures. The very best that the world has ever had, on either account, has been the regret expressed by the War Lords, a regret always expressed, how-

ever, *after* the event. But the irreparable destruction of objects which imaginative and creative genius have produced is none the less a crime of gigantic proportions. Such actions are neither to be deplored nor to be regretted; they are to be outlawed by civilized mankind.

The Roerich Pact has provided a sound basis for international adherence to an edict that vandalism and inexcusable destructiveness must cease. Not only over every building where treasures of art and life are kept, not only over every site where monumental evidence of the culture of the past is preserved, should the Banner of Culture, that inspirational emblem conceived by the master mind of Nicholas Roerich, be displayed, but also on the heart of mankind should it be indelibly graven.

Determination that the Banner of Culture shall obtain the universal respect to which it is entitled, will inevitably succeed in its adoption by the civilized world. Under its waving folds may Righteousness, Truth, and Beauty join in the spread of the Culture of the past, the present, and the future, so that wars may cease, that envy and jealousy, and crime may be brought to heel, and that civilization may take its place on the high eminence of Universal Culture!

At the conclusion of the radio program, the Convention was called to order at 3:00 P. M., Mr. Louis L. Horch presiding as Chairman.

OPENING SESSION

November 17, 1933—3:00 P. M.

Chairman

MR. LOUIS L. HORCH
President of Roerich Museum

Invocation

THE RT. REV. BISHOP J. E. FREEMAN, D.D., LL.D.
Bishop of Washington

CHAIRMAN: The Convention will please come to order.

HONORABLE DELEGATES OF GOVERNMENTS, MEMBERS OF THE
DIPLOMATIC CORPS, HONORED SPEAKERS, DELEGATES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I beg to announce that the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, will give his principal address tonight, when he will also convey the message from the Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, to this Convention,—but it is only fitting that the one who has honored us with his protectorship and who has contributed so much to the cause of culture, should open this historic occasion with the first word of greeting. The speaker hardly needs an introduction, as he is so well known to everyone. I have the honor of presenting to you the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture. (*Applause.*)

THE HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE, United States Secretary of Agriculture, Protector of the Convention:

It is a pleasure, an honor and a privilege to have this part in opening this significant Convention. It is a privilege for a citizen of the United States to take part in a Convention of this sort, because all civilization here on this continent has all too long been called a materialistic combination. But I have this feeling, that out of the suffering and disillusionment which our people have undergone during the past two or three years, will come something which will cause us to express ourselves more perfectly in the realm of art and science, to which it is necessary that we give a supreme allegiance. Now that being the case, I have the faith to believe—a faith I am freely willing to admit—that a Convention such as this, representing as it does people from many lands and dedicated to save those things which unite all mankind, is the thing that can mean much to America and also can in some spiritual way which we do not yet vision, help America to play her part in furnishing the leadership, which, with the rest of the world, will lead us to that time, to that understanding, that peace, to which we all aspire.

OPENING ADDRESS OF LOUIS L. HORCH, President of Roerich Museum and Chairman of the Convention:

In the name of Beauty and Culture, in the name of Constructiveness and Peace, I greet all who have gathered here on this memorable occasion to lend their forces for the preservation of the treasures of mankind. In the name of the absent originator of this noble project, His Excellency Nicholas Roerich, and of the Trustees of the Roerich Museum, I wish to extend a welcome to and salute the nations and their distinguished Delegates who have graciously responded to this call of cultural unity and have come to participate in this Convention. It is indeed significant that so many nations are represented in this assemblage,

thus convened to discuss the means and realization of safeguarding the artistic, educational, scientific and religious treasures of the world. I also wish to express our hearty appreciation to those nations who are honoring this Convention by the presence of their Observers. I feel honored to report that twenty-seven nations have appointed official Delegates and eight nations have appointed Observers to attend these sessions.

It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I wish to express our appreciation to the officials of the United States Government who have endorsed this project and extended their sympathy and support.

I also want to welcome the other Delegates from East and West and those who have come from distant shores to be present at this gathering, as well as to extend a welcome to the Delegates representing the many phases of cultural life and institutions. This is veritably a World League of Culture, and we trust that the results of this Convention will prove to be a potent force towards better world understanding and peace.

The irreparable destruction of libraries, cathedrals and other treasures which occurred in the late World War and in recent civil disturbances are still fresh and poignant in our memories, and it is therefore urgent and incumbent upon us that we devise some measures and means to eliminate any repetition of such atrocities in the future. It is our undeferable duty to preserve the milestones of human achievement and the heritage of the past for posterity.

This could be realized if all countries would pledge themselves to safeguard the shrines of beauty and knowledge. It was this very question of preservation of the world treasures that inspired Prof. Roerich to conceive the noble ideal which is embodied in the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace.

Because of the imperative need of this humanitarian project and the necessity of bringing it to fulfillment, this Convention has been organized. The Roerich Pact as conceived by Prof. Roerich, has been drawn up according to the codes of international law by Dr. Georges Chklaver,

Doctor of International Law, and Prof. Albert Geouffre de La Pradelle, Member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.*

The Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace was created and promulgated by Nicholas Roerich for the protection of the treasures of human genius. Briefly, it provides that educational, artistic and scientific institutions, artistic and scientific missions, works of art, cultural records and all sites and monuments of cultural significance shall be deemed neutral by all nations and as such shall be respected in times of war or peace. To insure this a Banner was created by Nicholas Roerich, by which such museums, universities, churches and libraries, special collections and other cultural monuments may be marked as an emblem of their inviolability. In practice, the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace has for its precedent the Red Cross.

It was obviously destined that Nicholas Roerich, who has consecrated his life to the advancement of cultural values, be the originator of a symbol of world cultural unity, as expressed in the Banner of Peace and supported by a legal Pact to be presented to nations of the world.

In 1930 there were founded the "Committee of the Roerich Banner of Peace" in New York and the "Comité pour le Pacte Roerich" in Paris. The next year saw the foundation of the "Union Internationale pour le Pacte Roerich" under the presidency of M. Camille Tulpinck, with its seat at Bruges, Belgium. Prof. Nicholas Roerich was elected Honorary President of all three bodies, and the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, Dr. M. Adatci, accepted the Protectorship of the Union founded at Bruges.

Two International Conferences dedicated to the promulgation of the Roerich Pact were organized, both in Bruges,—the first in 1931, and the second in 1932.

At the time of the Second International Conference at Bruges, an International Exposition was held under the auspices of the Alliance of

* Draft of the Roerich Pact will be found on page 164.

Ancient Cities of Art, at which cities of twenty-three countries were represented.

At the same time, on the initiative of M. Tulpinck, the "Foundation Roerich pro Pace, Arte, Scientia et Labore" was inaugurated in Bruges.

We have had the pleasure to invite distinguished leaders representing artistic, scientific, cultural and religious bodies, as well as authorities on international law, to address the assemblage and to express their views on this project. As the result of the opinions and sentiments expressed, Resolutions will be presented tomorrow by the Resolutions Committee for approval of the Delegates of this Convention.

Endorsements of this movement and enthusiastic messages have been received from all over the world, wishing success to this Convention; however, as it will not be possible to read all of them, from time to time during the Convention I shall be pleased to read excerpts in order to convey the wide range of nationalities, institutions, statesmen; educational, cultural, scientific and religious leaders, and representatives of other fields, to whom this humanitarian project has so universally appealed. (*Applause.*)

I believe it is but fitting that I read to you at this time the MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY, NICHOLAS ROERICH, the inspirer and creator of this entire movement, which has been sent from the Himalayas for this occasion:

MESSAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY, NICHOLAS ROERICH:

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS: To you, who have gathered in the name of the sacred task of Peace, I send greetings. Not without cause does the world concern itself about peace, because enmity and mutual hatred have truly reached their boundaries. The violations against creative life seduced generations into the abyss of savagery. Nor can the external signs of civilization conceal the savagery of the spirit. In such hostility in the midst of earthly unrest, the true values, the creations of the human spirit, are being destroyed. Let us not look back to those dread precedents, when men were compelled to inscribe upon their tablets the memorable words: "Destroyed by human ignorance—rebuilt by human

hope." But, precisely in the name of humanity's hope for a better future, for true progress of the spirit, it is necessary to preserve these true values.

I will not recount the history of our Pact, the furtherance of which has been actively moved by several Committees,—by the Union Internationale and by two International Conferences. The validity of our ideal for peace is confirmed by the existence of the Red Cross. If the Red Cross cares for the sick and physically wounded, our Pact protects the values of human genius, thus preserving spiritual health.

The world is thinking of peace in many ways. In each proposal for peace is contained the identical aspiration towards world progress and welfare. Each one, in his own tongue, repeats the benevolent formula of goodwill. Thus, we also are convinced that in safeguarding all the creative values of humanity, with a special Banner similar to the Red Cross, we are thus destroying also the very concept of war. If the entire world will be canopied with the Banner for the protection of treasures of true culture, there will be no place for war and hostility. There have been those who have asked why we think of protection, when it would apparently be simpler to stop war completely. But at the very moment when these voices have arisen, new treasures of Humanity were being destroyed and the earth was covered with new marks of shame. Hence, first of all, let us sacredly protect the creative treasures of Humanity. First of all, let us agree on that which is the most simple, so that, as with the Red Cross, the Banner may significantly summon the conscience of men to the protection of that which in essence belongs not to one nation alone, but to the entire world and constitutes the real pride of the human race.

We may be asked why we think of war. But no one has ever stipulated that the Banner was needed only during a formally proclaimed war. As a matter of fact the principle of the protection of human treasures is necessary also in numerous other cases of upheaval. Truly not only war, but many other human calamities and convulsions for some reason are wrathfully thrust against the monuments of culture. One may cite an infinite number of sad examples.

Somebody has mentioned that the Banner could hardly be a protection against the long range guns. But the Red Cross is not visible at long distances, yet no one would deny the great humanitarian expedience of the institution of the Red Cross. Of course, we must not forget that at the inception of the Red Cross, there were many soulless critics who argued against this highly humanitarian idea, but such ignorant condemnation is

characteristic of each innovation. Let us not forget, that Edison's great invention of the phonograph was regarded as charlatany by some academicians.

Thus let us not give importance to such fettering reasoning; for the Red Cross, with its noble benefits, has sufficiently indicated that even with long range guns, air attacks and the inhumanity of gases, the conception of the Red Cross still must be regarded as highly imperative and irrefutable. When a Red Cross ambulance rushes through the streets on its mission of salvation, traffic is arrested because everyone realizes that something extraordinary has occurred which demands urgent measures. And now in the midst of human calamities the S. O. S. signal already resounds. The best minds have arrived at the determination of the necessity of broad measures for pacification and disarmament. But physical disarmament alone will not help. There must be a disarming of heart and spirit. Thus the World Banner of Peace, protector of the true treasures of Humanity, will be a broad reminder of those forces which must be sacredly guarded as the milestones and guaranty of a radiant future. School-children must be firmly reminded from earliest childhood that wherever there flies the Banner, the protector of human treasures, special measures of preservation and special care must be exercised for the dignity and friendly coöperation, in the name of Bliss.

As with the case of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, the International Postal Union, the Red Cross—our Pact and Banner does not represent in its essence any international difficulties. On the contrary, the Pact is a summons to one more step of coöperation; a summons to the appreciation and cataloguing of religious, artistic and scientific treasures and to the establishment of a mutual cultural respect.

We need not fear that military authorities will raise any irresistible difficulties. Strangely enough, it is just from the military milieu that we have had no refutation; quite the contrary, we have constantly heard voices of sympathy and consideration regarding the entire practicability of the Pact. Even such undeniable authority as the Marshall of France, Hubert Lyautey, has expressed himself very definitely in favor of the Pact. It is only necessary to familiarize ourselves with the written opinions of such scholarly military authorities as Baron de Thuen, who has already introduced lectures concerning the Pact into the military schools, to see once again how apparently simple it is to carry out the humanitarian task of the Pact.

It is true that one scientist has expressed the opinion that the Pact might impede military actions. But, if the Pact would not only impede but arrest military actions, then its indubitable merit would lie therein. For the entire world is now concerned only with the renunciation of mortal and fratricidal clashes.

People understand profoundly that no official decrees alone can transform the material crisis into prosperity. For the heart of man must consent to disarmament and coöperation. And this panhuman postulate comprises everything to remind us that the true culture of the spirit, creativeness and constructiveness, must be protected and affirmed.

We have received many thousands of sympathetic opinions regarding the Pact, from high representatives of the cultural world, from governmental and educational institutions. Organizations numbering many millions of members have done honor to the project of the Pact through enthusiastic resolutions. The Museum's Committee of the League of Nations has likewise unanimously endorsed the Pact. The President of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, is the Protector of the International Union of the Pact, founded in Belgium.

Of unusual significance for me now is the Convention in America. Many formulæ of a peaceful social constructiveness have emanated from America. America in her unprecedented composite of all nations has more than once been the champion of peaceful and humanitarian ideas. Hence, I consider that the public masses of America, as well as the Government, which exemplifies the high spirit of the Nation, will actively support the Pact and Banner of Peace, for this agreement will be one added link towards peaceful world prosperity.

I deeply regret that today I cannot be with you. But with the entire power of my heart, with my entire friendship, I invoke you firmly and imperatively to erect one more mighty pillar for the flourishing of creative treasures of the spirit. I am certain that the Government of the United States to which you will transmit your resolution, will respond to it undeniably with its customary cordiality.

If humanity recognized the Red Cross as a protection to the physically wounded and ill, then it will also recognize the Banner of Peace as the symbol of peaceful prosperity and health of spirit. I greet you reverently from the Himalayas and beg you to help this symbol of the health of the human spirit.

I thank you, my Friends. (*Great Applause.*)

DR. CHARLES FLEISCHER:

MR. CHAIRMAN, FRIENDS: When Abraham Lincoln died, the sorrowing statesmen and friends who were gathered in that death chamber were thrilled to hear one of the Secretaries of the Cabinet say: "Now, he belongs to the ages." We are gathered not in the presence of death, but with a sense of pulsating life as we make our appeal to the ages with the presentation of this ideal of the Roerich Peace Pact and Banner of Peace.

Our Secretary of Agriculture has referred to the fact that this is essentially an idealistic civilization. Perhaps he made his statement rather tentatively as though owing therewith an apology to the obviously practical, materialistic, mechanized civilization that represents our daily life and our outward expression.

But that is only one wing of American civilization. I venture to assert more dogmatically what the Secretary of Agriculture presented as an expression of personal faith; namely to this effect, that America has always been an idealistic fact in the life of the human race; that America is essentially, despite the mechanism and the seeming materialism of our life, America is essentially, inwardly what she has always been, an idealistic figure in the life of the human race.

Recall such words as liberty, equality, democracy and you will realize that this nation was born and conceived in ideality. And that golden fact of ideality ran through our whole career. My very good friend of the spirit, Walt Whitman, in a poem whose reading I would like to commend to all of you—"The Song of the Universal"—hails America with these words:

"And thou, America!
For the Scheme's culmination—its Thought and its Reality.
For these, (not for Thyself,) Thou hast arrived."

And that is the deep inner truth of our America, and may I say that I speak not with any sense of chauvinism, not with any sense of

localized love of land and what is known as patriotism, but I speak as the student of the human spirit when I refer to America in these high terms of the spiritual. Therefore I feel that I speak of authentic American traditions and, with this Roerich Pact and with this Banner of Peace, I speak in the name of an America that has evolved spiritually through the generations. Therefore, I say that Prof. Roerich in sending his message from those lofty heights in the Himalayas is observing America as a spiritual civilization, a civilization too that has arrived not for itself, not for selfish interest, but to represent human tendencies and, more, as tending to the ideal. And today I think of her as the sponsor of this great movement.

We have heard today many speakers talk about peace—and other messages dealing with the comparison of the Red Cross and its development and the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace and its symbolic significance.

The Red Cross obviously has brought immunity in war and sympathy in peace to the wounded and the suffering and whenever calamity threatens to overwhelm our community. The Red Cross is a symbol of our humanity in a cause of civilization, just as I am convinced that this Banner of Peace in war and in peace will become a symbol of the humanity of the human race: first of all, by symbolizing the desire to spread immunity just as the Red Cross does; the desire to increase the areas of immunity which war should not invade, because these areas of immunity represent the common wealth of the spirit of the world.

I said with a pause—common and wealth—because I wanted to emphasize all the human race shares in common, and I want that word to suggest still further that the human race tends toward becoming a commonwealth—one people, one family on the face of the earth. . . . Gradually, truly, inevitably, we shall know that we are a commonwealth. Consider, for instance, the British Empire. It changed its name and calls itself the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is no far stretch of the imagination to realize that the entire human race

will gradually come out of the depths and see itself and know itself and we shall indeed become a commonwealth, just a simple organization of the human race. A dream perhaps, but that's life.

But in somewhat this spirit, obviously the spirit of vision, I present to you this symbol of the Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace, standing for the ultimate realization of what many already see—the humanity of the human race. Recall if you will, the destruction of the Alexandria Library. It is simply a tradition to us, but think of the spiritual toll the human race has had to pay and then think of the spiritual toil thereafter to replace some of the things destroyed, and then you will realize the great value of this symbol—a Banner of Peace—that is to fly above buildings containing these things of the spirit.

It is not my thought to tackle the task of bringing peace upon the world. We cannot undertake at this moment to deal with the problem of war itself. And yet after revealing to us the fact of continued war, we may have to take for granted its continuance for a time. Meanwhile, however, we want to lessen the spiritual cost of war and the destruction of cultural treasures. We wish to increase the areas of immunity; above all, we want to deepen the sense of spiritual values and appreciation of all spiritual strivings of peace, and we hope that by these processes in the increased sense of humanity that comes through an organized effort, organized brotherhood of aspiration, the Roerich Pact may become another symbol of the wonders of a humanity that tends and aspires to be at one with the cosmos itself.

In that spirit, a closing word—a word that shall not be mine—the last words of Walt Whitman's—"The Song of the Universal"—

"Is it a dream?

Nay, but the lack of it, the dream,

And, failing it, life's lore and wealth a dream,

And all the world a dream." (*Applause.*)

THE RT. REV. BISHOP J. E. FREEMAN, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Washington:

I am very glad to respond to your appeal and I am very delighted to see personal friends among the representatives of the great sister nations.

A call to such a meeting as this is a summons, for there is no term in the world discussed more in my opinion, privately or in Congress, that would center more importance, than the word "peace." It seems to me, Mr. Chairman and Friends, that you are very happily gathered at Washington. For your memory will carry you back to the days when the War President sat here, and you cannot think of the War President Woodrow Wilson, without thinking of the Herculean struggle he made to bring about a saner understanding among the nations of the world.

However politicians may regard the method, the principle enunciated will live and will ultimately prevail. (*Applause.*) I am reminded of one phrase, and few men were more eloquent than he—I came to know him quite intimately in those last days, for his dust rests in the Cathedral over which I have the honor to preside. Throughout the six or seven months preceding his death, in those closing days of great pain and, aye, mental anguish, as he thought in terms of his great plan for world peace, this greatest of modern phrase-makers, whose lip was touched with gold, as he surveyed what seemed to be a defeated cause said:

"I would rather go down to defeat today," said he, "in a cause that will ultimately triumph than to triumph today in a cause that will ultimately know defeat."

I am bound to believe that the dimming vision of the great President saw on the horizons the first fore-gatherings of what he had fought for, lived for and, aye, died for, a concordat of the nations made in good faith, a concordat so sacred that no nation would break it, and that we would become one great brotherhood.

I am also reminded of his late words—indeed the latest ones he wrote. On the second of February, 1924, he said: "We shall not survive materially unless we be redeemed spiritually." Let the statesmen of the world heed those prophetic words—We shall not survive materially unless we be redeemed spiritually. And then that word, that word of confidence that befits such an occasion as this—it ought to bring a thrill to you—when he said: "The light is shining on the road ahead and it shines nowhere else."

It is such movements as this that seek to maintain the things of the spirit, that have kept men so closely united through these tragic years. After all, we are sober, and reasonable and right-minded. We do realize that there are elements in life that we dare not let perish, else civilization goes out. Think of what the loss of that Library of Alexandria has meant to the world. Think of the upward struggle of the human race, expressed in terms of beauty and of culture and then think of the dire possibility of these things passing away—why it is unthinkable! But let us not forget, the most sacred things in the world are not things in art or literature, but human life; and when this Banner flies above buildings that enshrine things of beauty, things of love, then shall the Banner be extended still wider, until it covers the races of mankind and ushers in that day—that day of peace for which we all hope—when men shall bury their swords and will be united in one great brotherhood.

So may I, in a very humble way, speak of the spirit here in this capital city; may I bring my humble word in the way of a contribution; however poor it may be, it is well worth your while to think in terms of the spirit. And when you think in terms of the spirit, when nations think in terms of the spirit, when the leaders of the world have come to think in terms of the spirit, then we shall bridge the seas, we shall unite the nations and there shall be one great universal brotherhood. We shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. (*Applause.*)

HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DR. DON PEDRO MANUEL ARCAÑA, Minister of the Republic of Venezuela:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The government of Venezuela, which I have the honor of representing here, has welcomed with the liveliest of sympathy the purposes of this Convention and is ready to cooperate in their complete realization, as it has always been ready to cooperate in all labors of peace.

Among the evils incidental to war is the regrettable destruction of works of art. We may well aspire to preventing them, in part at least, by creating a special banner to protect these treasures. The plan outlined to this end by the Roerich Museum deserves the warmest praise.

I think, however, that there will always be a risk that all the works of man may be destroyed as long as there is the fundamental evil of war itself. It brings in its train every disaster; indeed the greatest is the loss of innumerable human lives in the hecatombs on the field of battle and, as this curse is inherent in war, all men must be brought to the conviction that war is a crime; as such, it is to be held in horror. War is justifiable only on the part of peoples seeking to achieve their independence, or to preserve it if a foreign power invades the national territory. Every other international war merits condemnation. As for civil wars, they have no excuse whatever. They have always been the most frightful calamity for the countries which they have afflicted; and with respect to such damage as that now engaging our attention, they have ruined marvelous creations. Suffice it to recall, as an example, the uprising of the Commune in Paris in 1871, which destroyed more works of art than the international war which had just preceded it. In Latin America civil wars have caused incomparably more deaths and devastation than have the few international conflicts which have occurred between some of our Republics. They never solved any problem nor brought forth any progress. All of our peoples need peace as a necessary condition for their happiness and their development.

My country has enjoyed the blessings of this peace since thirty years ago, when there was ended a long period of ruinous and bloody strife during which we were involved also in some international conflicts connected with our troubled internal situation. In the middle of the last century the Venezuelan Courts accorded the benefit of a moratorium on many private debts in compliance with a law enacted in consideration of the economic crisis caused by civil war. A great European nation protested and the Venezuelan Treasury was forced to assume and pay all of these private debts. In 1902 three European Powers blockaded our ports, pressing for the payment of certain private claims and the refunding of our external debt that we had left dormant in the turmoil of our intestine strife. We were determined to fight the blockaders if they landed their troops. A war, terrible for us, was in prospect, but the illustrious American President Roosevelt mediated in our favor, thus ending the conflict. As the fruit of our actual peace we have paid all we owed to foreigners and our external debt was canceled in 1930 as a tribute to the memory of our Liberator Bolivar.

The present crisis has put the greatest part of the world in a situation similar in certain aspects to that of Venezuela in its troubled times. As we were then, so are now many Nations in default of their public debts. According to the so-called doctrines of law once sustained against us, blockades or other means of coercion might be used to compel them to pay. Besides, according to the same precedents innumerable international claims might be filed because of moratoriums granted for the fulfilment of private debts or their reduction by the debasement of currencies. But such doctrines are dead and it is well that they are. Military force could not impose them today. A more powerful force, that of facts uncontrollable by man, counteracts it. The elimination of violence must and doubtless will be final and thus the specter of war shall vanish more and more until it is submerged forever in the caverns of barbarism whence it came. (*Applause.*)

THE HONORABLE SOL BLOOM, Member of Congress:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have a deep and almost reverential interest in all the inspiring activities of Nicholas Roerich. I am influenced somewhat by the fact that the great Roerich Museum in New York is in my Congressional District. And I am proud and happy that it is my privilege to be thus identified with this splendid institution. And it shall always be my pleasure as well as an honor to serve it whenever possible. It is unnecessary for me to pledge further devotion, for my love and sympathetic relationship with the Museum are well known.

Every cultured person, every right-hearted person of every nation, must experience the exaltation of Divine inspiration that originated the thought physically expressed by that Banner. To its idealism there cannot be the slightest rational objection. To its practical value to the world of peace, of humanity, of culture and of common understanding there can be no reasonable opposition.

Yet how difficult it is for the right to triumph. We see evidences of this all about us. Intolerance, oppression and the cruelty of ignorance persists where we should expect enlightenment and progress. Were it not for this moral inertia among mankind the world would be a far happier place in which to live.

But obstacles should not deter us, nor lack of sympathetic coöperation discourage us. Right will prevail, and in God's plan for men, no great movement for our common good can fail. I am as confident that this glorious Banner will triumph, as that peace, mercy and justice will ultimately encompass the earth.

Even the dullest mind must recognize in this wonderful movement a proposal that will benefit all humanity. Who can say what store of knowledge would be ours today had not the ruthless hand of barbarian chieftains destroyed so much of the treasures of the ancient world? Today we are pouring out wealth in efforts to reclaim mere relics of

civilizations that flourished in the youth of mankind. With what joy do we herald the discoveries of the fragments of these civilizations and piece them together into an incomplete but precious mosaic of ancient glories.

Perhaps it were idle to yield to regrets for the devastations of bygone centuries. Yet we must consider this background of cultural destruction if we can appraise the true value of what is now proposed as symbolized by this Banner of Peace. If that Monumental Library at Alexandria, Egypt, had not been destroyed through recurring invasions, what a vista of historical learning it would have preserved for us. Think of the stored knowledge in its thousands of manuscripts that reached back to the limits of recorded history. All are gone, and only the silent desert hills remain, mute in their wisdom of forgotten time.

Where mighty temples loomed against oriental skies, now the winds of the wilderness whisper of ancient glories, of sages and scholars who left nothing, not even their names, for civilizations yet to come.

Crossing and recrossing those dreary wastes of sand went the glittering caravans of the conquerors. Crossing and recrossing they despoiled cities and nations and their laden camels scattered the precious spoils of art and treasure to an ignorant world.

Gone are the causes of those old invasions. Gone are the very names of the warriors who so wantonly destroyed the precious treasures of the past. They may well be forgotten, but the destruction they wrought has robbed us of a marvelous heritage of culture, beauty, and knowledge.

Scholars may dig deep into the sites of ancient cities. There they find only pitiful remains of former grandeur. War is ever destructive but the wars of the barbarians scarcely left one stone upon another. Every article of art, of religious or domestic significance was looted by battle savagery and carried away to be lost or broken. We shudder at such wanton wreckage of such priceless things of beauty.

And yet not all of the spoliation and destruction was of the

remote past. While we, of this generation ever boast of our culture, beautiful Rheims Cathedral is a gaunt skeleton and lovely Louvain is a mutilated testimonial of the heartlessness of war.

And here I am reminded that there are some bright spots—even in war. Some incidents stand out in the glory of higher human understanding that seem to presage a better day—a step toward what we are trying to achieve now.

I have always been deeply impressed by an incident that occurred during our own war of 1812. A British expedition in August, 1814, came up the Potomac River after the capture of the City of Washington. That expedition of hostile naval vessels received the surrender of Alexandria, Virginia. It also fired shells into many of the stately homes along the Potomac River, but when it got to Mount Vernon not an enemy shot disturbed the peace of that sacred spot. Indeed, according to some authorities, the British Captain fired a salute of honor for that courageous man, asleep in the ivy-covered vault, who had defeated the flower of the British Empire in a cause that turned the tide of the world's political thought. There was indeed an example of nobility of character above the passions of war.

Again, in the war between the States, when brother raised sword against brother, though hostile armies marched to and fro about Mount Vernon, not a soldier on either side invaded those sacred precincts, and not even a stray shot awoke the echoes of that haven of peace. Thus we know that higher instincts of honor and humanity can, and occasionally do, rise above the lust of battle. And this thought should give us courage in the noble campaign for human betterment through the preservation of the fruits of culture.

And should we not today in an age of general enlightenment take steps to see that wilful destruction of beauty, of culture, of science and of art should never occur again? Shall we not preserve for future ages the treasures of our churches, our libraries, art galleries and museums, that we may leave a richer legacy to the world of tomorrow?

Take away the love of beauty, the striving for culture, the devotion to science and literature, and mankind will relapse into savagery. Deny to men of soul and intellectual aspirations that hope of human betterment, and the bleak earth will spin on in endless desolation and misery.

All that we have today that makes our lives more secure, more comfortable and more rich in the higher enjoyments than were known by our forefathers, we owe to the steady progress of that stream of cultural efforts that flowed on to us from the past. Destroy them and all progress ceases.

Can there be greater inspiration to intellectual progress than the knowledge that great accomplishments are not merely of today, that they will become part of the better life of the future? Incentive to add to the beauty of the world must have something more than the immediate rewards of popular acclaim. Such rewards are of little consequence measured in terms of cultural attainment. Making the world better is not an idle phrase. The world must be made better or it will become worse, and that is unthinkable.

In every civilized country the flame of cultural aspirations lightens the path of progress. And men and women in positions of influence will join in establishing the Banner of Peace as an eternal sign that the hope of the world is not dead. The Divine spark planted in the hearts of men by the God of Mercy and Hope, will never fail to inspire us to those Divine ideals that lead us on to Him. (*Applause.*)

HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DR. RICARDO J. ALFARO, Minister of the Republic of Panama:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is with genuine pleasure that I have deferred to the wish of the President of the Roerich Museum that I address this meeting.

The idea underlying this Congress cannot but elicit the approbation

and the support of all those who have in their heart the love of peace and the aspiration to diminish in every respect the calamities of war.

I am a firm believer in the theory that peace is the natural state of man on earth. While the primeval instincts of men and the selfishness of nations are the basic causes of war, the human reason is naturally inclined to abominate war and to dread the multifarious horrors which form its wake of death and havoc. Modern science has attained a terrific efficiency in perfecting the machinery and methods of destruction. The power of artillery, explosives, incendiary bombs, liquid fire, asphyxiating gases, has grown to fantastic and gruesome proportions. Man is now able to hurl death and ruin from the surface of the earth, from the bottom of the sea, from the heights of the blue sky. We know, furthermore, that great as were the horrors of yesterday, those of the future would be still greater. A battle of brains is going on in the laboratories of the most civilized nations in a frenzied competition to devise the most rapid and efficacious methods of annihilating a prospective enemy. Guns will have a longer range, shrapnel will have a vaster radius, gases will be more deadly. The sphere of action of the annihilating forces will be so enormous that in comparison individual power will have almost no significance and military glory will be robbed of all its brilliancy. To all appearances in the warfare of tomorrow there will be nothing or very little of the romantic, breath-taking spectacle of the man-to-man fight, the clash of battalions and the dashing charges of cavalry. May God forbid it, but if the world has another war there will be no combat but massacre. The deciding factor will not be heroic bravery but technical efficiency. The field of battle will not be restricted to the area occupied by the contending armies, but entire cities and nations will be subject to attack and death will descend upon the earth like rain endangering every living being and everything existing. If the past was atrocious, the future is appalling with its vision of poison gas, air warfare and unheard of explosives disseminating death and devastation over the surface of the earth.

The atrocities of the bloody strife have lasted for many centuries and they have increased in the same proportion as man has perfected his weapons. But simultaneously with the progress of the military sciences there has been also an improvement of the moral sense of men and peoples. Moral development has been undoubtedly slower than the rapidly increasing advancement of our mechanical and technical civilization, but it is not less evident. The better self of man has asserted itself and in 1864 it obtained a great victory over barbarity and cruelty. In that year the Red Cross came into existence and rules were adopted for the humanization of warfare. The assistance to sick and wounded soldiers in the field of battle, the protection of hospitals and ambulances, the immunity of doctors and nurses, and other similar agreements did a great deal toward diminishing the misery and the sufferings of those who had fallen by their colors. Since that time many other agreements have been made between nations with a view to humanizing war as much as possible.

But the losses and ravages of war do not consist only in the lives of the combatants. There is something else that may be lost and destroyed, something that is dear to humanity, something that is the flower of civilization, the offspring of the spirit, the manifestation of the most beautiful sentiments of the heart, the fruit of the best traits of the soul. That something, which must be intangible to the mailed fist of the warrior is Art and Knowledge, and it must also be saved from the fury of the belligerents.

The treasures of art, knowledge and history accumulated through the centuries are the patrimony of humanity, the friends of all spirits, the enemy of no nation; they bring joy and happiness to all, harm or injury to none. Human eyes will feast upon Beauty whether it be found in the Taj Mahal of India or in the Parthenon of Athens; in the statues of Rome or in the paintings of the Louvre; in the gems of the London galleries or in the manuscripts of the Vatican; in the spire of the Gothic cathedrals or in the pavilions of the great universi-

ties; in the temples of Christendom or in the Mohammedan mosques; in the European museums or in the American collections; in the ruins of extinguished civilizations or in the live splendors of the later ages. Art and Knowledge are universal and being universal must be neutral and being neutral must be protected. Just as we have spared the wounded soldier an atrocious death, we must save the monuments of Art and Science from wanton destruction. No army, no people, no nation can be benefited by laying waste those things by which man can attest the superior gifts with which he has been endowed by God, by which he has become the king of creation.

For this reason the idea of safeguarding those monuments and creating for their protection a Banner of Peace which every combatant shall respect, is one that cannot but deserve the most enthusiastic support from all Governments, from all peoples, from all civilized persons. Speaking in my own name, I offer my warmest congratulations to the originator of this grandiose idea; speaking in behalf of my Government I offer its unqualified endorsement to the project of an international Pact for the protection of historic monuments, of educational, artistic and scientific institutions. If we have a Red Cross for the protection of humanity in distress, let us have this Red Circle for the protection of Art and Science, which are the most noble creation of man, the supreme manifestation of his genius, the loftiest expression of his sentiments.

We all know the beautiful motto of the Red Cross, *Inter armas caritas*: Between enemies, charity. I would suggest that a similar motto be adopted for the Red Circle, to signify that in the midst of war, culture shall be supreme. War may be inevitable for some time to come, but in the meanwhile let us mitigate the realization of its misery and evils with the comforting thought that at least we have succeeded in placing humanity above brutality, and Art and Knowledge above the dreadful possibility of ruin and devastation. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

HIS EXCELLENCY, GHAFFAR KHAN DJALAL, Persian Minister to the United States:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am honored and happy at being chosen to represent my Government at this Third International Roerich Peace Banner Convention. I take this opportunity of thanking you on behalf of the Imperial Persian Government for your kind invitation to participate in the Roerich Plan for the conservation of the objects of art and science which are left to us by our ancestors.

The Roerich Peace Banner will be a haven of refuge in times of war and tumult. I hasten to add my contribution to the great project you are advancing. It commands deep appreciation and the whole-hearted support of mankind because the treasures of the art and science of antiquity are a great factor in human life. Not only do they enlighten our modern civilization on the culture of our ancestors, but they serve at the same time to guide and encourage us in the pursuit of that art and grace which render life gentle and fine. Last but not least, they serve as a living memorial to the genius of those nations and individuals who have lost their existence and keep it alive while they are dust lying under the dust.

The purpose of this Convention is of great importance to Persia because my country is one of the oldest in the world, and is rich in antique and historical relics. But I am not going to inflict a long speech on you. I will conclude by expressing my best wishes for the great success of your Convention, and I assure you, Mr. Chairman, of the whole-hearted support of Persia in your labors. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman here read excerpts from some of the messages received:

The preservation of centers of culture and education is this generation's debt to the future. It is only through the permanent preservation of the best in art, literature and science that man may hope to add to the

happiness of those who create the civilization of tomorrow. The vision that Dr. Roerich is giving this restless world of ours may be the beginnings from which will develop a new era of better international understanding.

HERMANN COOPER,
Director of State College Education
University of State of New York
State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.

Albany, N. Y.
Nov. 11, 1933

I assure you that the organization which you represent has my whole-hearted support. Educational, artistic and scientific institutions such as libraries, museums and magnificent examples of architecture may well be said to be the links between the Ages, and any organization which serves to protect and save them to posterity in time of war, in my opinion, performs an inestimable service to humanity.

BLANTON WINSHIP,
Major General,
The Judge Advocate General, War Department

Washington, D. C.
Nov. 15, 1933

The purpose and object of the Roerich Pact providing for the protection, in times of war, of cultural institutions and monuments, are of the highest character and deserve the support of all good men and women. The Banner of Peace is a noble emblem to mark these institutions. Our great leader, Professor Nicholas Roerich, stands in the forefront of those peace-makers of whom Christ has said that they shall be called the Children of God. I know that the Convention will promote and carry forward those ideals of peace for which Professor Roerich and the Roerich Museum and other institutions inspired by his example have always striven so nobly and so valiantly.

HON. GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

New York, N. Y.
Oct. 31, 1933

I desire to state emphatically my full sympathy with and commendation of the purposes and ideals embodied in the Roerich Pact. In my

opinion there is no surer method of preserving for future civilization the intellectual and spiritual accomplishments of the past.

Washington, D. C.
Oct. 21, 1933

J. F. PRESTON,
Major General,
The Inspector General, War Department

THE HONORABLE SEÑOR DON AGUSTIN ACEVEDO FELIU, First Secretary of the Legation of the Dominican Republic:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The Dominican Republic has received with enthusiasm and sympathy the idea advanced by Professor Nicholas Roerich, of creating a "Banner of Peace" in order to protect, in case of war or civil riots and disturbances, the buildings, works of art, libraries, museums, and other institutions, that because of their nature in the world of art or science, should be respected by belligerents and insurrectionists.

The Dominican people as well as the Dominican Government consider that this is a humanitarian work, consecrated and devoted to art and science and tending to perpetuate, as uplifting realities, these works that in themselves offer no belligerency, but on the contrary are vivid examples to all peoples, of the power of the human genius.

Humanity is now in an era of peace and all mankind is convinced of the futility of war. On all sides an effort is being made to dethrone Mars, the God of War. From this point of view the idea of the "Banner of Peace" must be considered as a forward step, an idealistic and beautiful gesture, an emblem of peace, as indicated by its name, and a sign of peace held out to all humanity.

It is a cause for great sorrow to observe that the strategy of war has not taken into account the safe-guarding of works of art and scientific interest, but destroys them if they impede the advance of infantry or if they obstruct the fire of artillery, or even without reason, as if their destruction would hasten the end of the conflict.

But it is not sufficient only to raise lamentations in the hope that a solution may be reached; some effective measures must be conceived and adopted by all of the nations of the world in order that occurrences abhorrent to all people, of the nature referred to previously, will not re-occur.

The proposed solution offered by the "Banner of Peace" carries us nearer that objective.

The Dominican Republic, which I have the honor to represent at this convention, lends its fullest coöperation to the idea of the "Banner of Peace" and sends through me, a message of enthusiasm and understanding of the high ideals represented and the ends which we desire to accomplish. (*Applause.*)

THE HONORABLE TSWEN-LING TSUI, Second Secretary of the Legation of the Republic of China:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On behalf of the Chinese Minister, I wish to thank the Convention for extending to him an invitation to send a representative to participate in this meeting.

The project of Prof. Roerich to unite all nations under a common banner for guarding cultural treasures against destruction in times of war as well as of peace has a noble purpose and is worthy of the support of every person. Real culture and true science, in their contributions to civilization and the welfare of humanity, know no national boundary lines. Their products and shrines should therefore be immune from injury during times of international strife.

The Roerich Museum deserves the good wishes of all peoples in summoning and sponsoring this Convention. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

THE HONORABLE SEÑOR DR. DON HENRI DE BAYLE, Chargé d'Affaires of the Legation of the Republic of Nicaragua:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is for me a very

special pleasure and privilege to have the honor of addressing you today, in my capacity as the Delegate of the Republic of Nicaragua. I feel, and I know that I am voicing the sentiments of my Government and my people, when I say that the task that we are undertaking is one that is by its very nature not only of paramount importance to the present generation, but also to future generations.

Universal recognition of the Roerich Banner of Peace is a project that should, and does have, I believe, the full-hearted support of all nations and all thinking people. When one considers the irredeemable losses to human knowledge and advancement, that have been caused by the thoughtless and worse yet, the pointless destruction of art and scientific treasures by warring nations, it is a real cause of sincere and heart-rending anguish.

Regret alone for past errors is not sufficient, however. We must take definite steps that will assure real protection for the existing art and scientific treasures in order to safeguard them for posterity. They cannot be said to be imbued with the national character of their location; they are international, and all people derive benefit and pleasure from them, either directly or indirectly.

The plan by which to achieve the end we have in mind, has been conceived and presented to all the Governments of the world by the Roerich Museum.

The plan is essentially simple, and one wonders why it was not thought of years and years ago. Perhaps because of its very obviousness and simplicity, it was not until recent years that it was given serious consideration. That the plan is practical is evidenced by the fact that the Red Cross flag, that glorious banner of humanitarianism, is respected by all nations and all people. The object of the Red Cross flag is to alleviate human suffering to as great an extent as is possible, in time of armed conflict and other catastrophes of a similar nature. The object of the Roerich Banner of Peace is comparable; it is to avoid the loss of the very foundations of our civilization by preventing the destruction

of irreplaceable art and scientific treasures through the workings of that greatest enemy of mankind—war.

Such art and scientific treasures as we have in mind are ageless and priceless and we are duty bound to protect them as a heritage for posterity, to the best of our ability. Let us all, individually and as nations, do our part in the consummation of this great ideal, be our part large or small, be the nation we represent strong or weak.

I thank you. (*Applause.*)

At this time the Chairman read a MESSAGE FROM THE HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER, United States Senator and Honorary Chairman of the Convention:

After its tragic human cost, the greatest evil of war is its destruction of the precious storehouses of culture and art which have been handed down reverently from one generation to another.

The Roerich Pact and Peace Banner is a simple practical method of protecting these treasures which should appeal even to those nations which are not yet ready to lay aside their swords.

Therefore I want to extend my sympathetic greetings and best wishes to the delegates and officials of the nations who are assembled at the Third International Roerich Peace Banner Convention. I want to congratulate these representatives upon its undertaking which touches the heart of anyone who loves the humanities and which will be one of the great forces combining with many others to outlaw war entirely. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN: I also wish to state that the Roerich Museum has received letters from the Legation of the Republic of Finland and from the Legation of the Kingdom of Netherlands, in which they pledge their support to this project and send their best wishes for the success of this Convention.

THE HONORABLE J. P. POPE, United States Senator:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Contrary to my usual custom of speaking without a manuscript, by reason of the privilege afforded me, may I read what I have written?

A simple statement of the plan of Dr. Roerich to preserve the treasures of art and culture during war should be sufficient to enlist the support of the representatives of every civilized nation. Whatever philosophy one may hold as to war—whether it be regarded as inevitable or even desirable, or be regarded as a scourge to mankind and can be eliminated by coöperative effort—certainly no one will be found who will seriously contend that the choice fruits of the strivings of humanity as represented by educational, artistic and scientific institutions be not protected during war between nations.

As for me, I am convinced that war is a curse and crime against mankind, that it is not inherent in human nature, and that it is an archaic institution and has no place in a civilized world. I regard this proposal to preserve the best things that humanity has produced as a simple step, not only wise and humane from any point of view, but in harmony with the instincts of peace loving people everywhere.

And such a proposal is especially timely. The great nations of the world are in a period of economic and political unrest. They are harried with domestic problems. They are laboring under burdens of debts, taxes, unemployment, monetary difficulties, low prices of commodities and lack of markets. Foreign and domestic trade is at a low ebb. Large surpluses of agricultural and manufactured products are in the hands of producers along with unemployment and want among millions of people in every nation. To meet these domestic problems in an attempt to restore normal prosperity the nations have adopted measures of national economy.

In the United States measures have been adopted to put "our own national house in order." This program emphasizes the interdependence of elements and parts of the United States and the necessity for co-

operative effort among such elements and among units of industry. The program seeks to eliminate the large surpluses of agricultural products by cutting down acreage. It is dealing with our monetary system in such a way as to increase the commodity price level in this country. It involves a public works program to relieve unemployment and restore purchasing power to the masses of our people. It includes the loaning of large sums of money by the government to refinance and relieve industry and agriculture. All in the interest of our national economy.

This is the practical policy frankly announced in the inaugural address of the President of "putting first things first." Such a policy it seems to me, is justified. It is necessary under existing conditions, but it should not be forgotten that the President also said in the same address that he would "spare no effort to restore world trade by economic readjustment" and that the policy of "the good neighbor" would be the policy of our government in foreign affairs. The two policies are not necessarily inconsistent. The one is a more or less temporary policy to meet the present emergency, the other a permanent policy in foreign affairs, which, for the time being, is secondary to our national policy. The interdependence of elements and parts of this country does not deny the interdependence of nations.

It is true that a certain school of thought in our country, taking advantage of the sentiment behind our national program, is now urging upon the country a policy of almost complete economic and political isolation. In effect, it is opposing international coöperation along all lines; it is opposing coöperation in settlement of international problems; it is even opposing means and instrumentalities for the peaceful settlement of disputes among the nations that might lead to war.

The very fact that nations are compelled to adopt measures for their national economy lends support to nationalistic tendencies and encourages those who believe in isolationist policies. I am profoundly convinced that permanent peace can only come through a solution of international problems by conference in a spirit of sympathetic understanding and co-

operation. This must include debts, tariffs, monetary stability and all other questions that disturb the amicable relations of the nations of the world. (*Applause.*)

At this time and for some time past the nations have been depreciating their currencies for self-protection. This amounts to a currency war. As national temporary expedients, such action may be justified. But it must be clear that eventually the great nations must get together and stabilize their currencies. This is a difficult and delicate international problem and must be solved by conference.

Such a policy is not new. Questions arising as to many different subjects have in the past been settled in this way. For more than 100 years, not only have conferences been repeatedly held dealing with important national questions, but permanent organizations have been established to deal with such questions. For instance, there exists the International Telegraph Union of which all the great nations are members, for dealing with questions on that subject. The International Postal Union, the International Union of Weights and Measures, the International Union for the protection of industrial property, one for the protection of literary property and the Pan-American Union have been organized to deal with the matters indicated. These organizations have been functioning so effectively and quietly upon the subjects with which they deal that the public hardly knows of most of them and of the questions they settle.

Other international problems must be settled in a similar way. The development of this method of dealing with our international problems must go on to the time when instrumentalities for peace and amicable relations between the nations will be firmly established as a part of the processes of civilization. Then—and only then—can the nations of the world rest in security and permanent peace be assured. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

DR. ALES HRDLICKA, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You have heard this afternoon a number of remarkable and inspiring addresses which constitute an excellent atmosphere for a convention of this nature. But the project which your convention approaches is a practical one—one of great importance, and if you will pardon me, I will discuss this more practical part rather than the more idealistic. The world, ladies and gentlemen, is far yet from being safe for democracy and far yet from being safe from war. But war has assumed, and is assuming still, almost yearly, a far greater importance than it has had before. It is assuming this because war nowadays cannot be waged without affecting profoundly the interests of humanity as a whole. In wars of the past—even as near as our Civil War—problems which confront us today did not exist or, if they did exist, they were only in their beginning. There were art museums, there were libraries and all that, but nothing to compare with the art and libraries and especially, perhaps, the scientific colleges which exist today. There is hardly a civilized city of large size today which does not, aside from the art and libraries, have scientific colleges that, if destroyed, may never be replaced for human kind and which contain also materials from many and many parts of the world. These colleges are not nationalistic, nay—nor local. The French Museum, the great colleges in Mexico, Ecuador, Africa and in different parts of Asia, and so I could take up one after one—the British Museum—and everyone is very largely an international depository of scientific treasures, the very foundations of human culture, and not culture of any particular country. And these objects—certainly it is obvious, it is inevitable, that they in future wars, against future wars—may we hope that it may never come—be protected.

It is splendid to create an ideal such as the Roerich Foundation has created and to propagate and disseminate it. But after all, in the present conditions of the world, while I think with respect to all this Foundation has done, I think that it will not suffice alone to realize everything that

it has in its flag. I think that an international agreement can only be realized by the establishment of a special body to assume the tremendous, vast amount of labor, vast amount of expense—such a special body under the guidance of the League of Nations, which body be entirely devoted—directed to be devoted—to the practical parts of this question, transmitted to different conventions for action and adoption. This is the little message which I would have for you. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Dr. Hrdlicka. I shall be pleased to give you an outline and draft of the Pact, where the practical issues are foreseen and in which there is a provision whereby every nation enrolled under the Pact will register its treasures of art at designated centers recognized by the government. Further agencies will be designated with the progress of the movement.

MR. LEON DABO:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: After the many thrilling thoughts beautifully and forcefully expressed by those who have voiced here not only their own sentiments, but the anticipations, desires, hopes of their respective governments—this is hardly the time—the afternoon is waning—to hold you long for the few remarks I wish to make.

One of the great stupidities of mankind is a belief that civilization is the normal aspiration of man. It is not so at all. Some of the speakers here this afternoon have very idealistically assumed that man has already reached a step where, ipso facto, the aspirations, the ideals, of humanity are ready to be concretised.

Civilization, as we know it, is the result of an occasional great soul that has appeared in the course of history—sometimes this great soul was Plato; sometimes Thomas Aquinas; sometimes Confucius; Raphael; Velasquez; sometimes Dante. Now, when the conditions were favorable, when there was already a certain aroma, so that this particular soul could

breathe its own essence, when in other words, there were not necessarily a group of men of genius, but a group of men of talent who in turn were fortified and surrounded by men of exquisite taste, then the spirit of Velasquez was fortified and it grew and it blossomed like the lotus flower. And if not, if the spiritual conditions were not favorable, well, the lotus bud decayed on the plant. Civilization is a process of slow growth which has been built up by that type of soul—slowly, down through the ages.

It is something that must be most preciously guarded, because the barbarian is about and always has been about, and this barbarian has practically no conscience and if we don't watch him, he will destroy.

This morning, in the Freer Museum, I saw what your nation (*pointing to the Delegate from China*) has created—little cups, more precious than all the art of the present day, representing the aspiration of another civilization, a civilization so much farther advanced than ours, where artists created things of art and of utility, when our forebears lived in caves, and disputed with the beasts of the forest.

And the thought came to me, knowing from practical experience, what one eight-inch shell would do to the Freer Gallery. And, ladies and gentlemen, all the wealth, speaking in a material sense, all the projects of the so-called captains of industry whom we tolerate, are not worthy that one of these little cups made by those Chinese artists shall be destroyed.

I was honored by being consulted by government officials,—I was aide-de-camp to the Commanding Officer—of the advisability of taking out the windows from one of the famous cathedrals and sending them away for safe-keeping. This was the Chartres Cathedral, and it was decided to take them out—those immortal masterpieces of the 13th century were sent to Scotland and buried until the barbarian danger had been eliminated. That is no guarantee but what they again will have to be packed away with other priceless evidences of the power and beauty and the capacity of the human soul to rise and in creating beauty, proclaim the immortality of the soul.

That is why we are here today. We are here to formulate the plan

of that great soul, Nicholas Roerich, whose heart bleeds at the possibility that a holocaust such as was referred to by four or five gentlemen here today—that of the Library of Alexandria—should be repeated. We should concentrate today on the one important fact that we are not immune from war. We are not, particularly when we view the disturbed condition of economics, in finance and in politics. There have been developments, Mr. Senator, which you are very well aware of, which cause us to tremble as to whether humanity has learned any lessons as a result of this last bloody and disastrous—disastrous for vanquished and victor alike—of this great war. Humanity after a few years of peace seems again to feel that urge to go out and destroy, utilizing any unpleasant, emotional disturbance in the body political and social as an excuse for tearing up a piece of paper, denying sacred treaties solemnly entered into, and then attempting to justify that brutality afterwards, over the claim victims.

This Roerich Banner of Peace—it will not guarantee that another war will not occur. It is a symbol which is to be developed—a symbol like the symbol of the Red Cross—but a symbol that presents to our imagination the possibility that the treasures of the spirit of man may be preserved for future generations.

I make the assertion that all we know about history is what a Beethoven, a Leonardo da Vinci, a Velasquez, or a Dante has said, or done. What do you hear about Philip of Spain today? What has Philip's reign really accomplished in the realms of philosophy or ethics or finance or even conquest? But when we say Philip we mean Velasquez, or when we say Julius the Second, or Leo the Tenth, we mean Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci,—and that is what this flag must say to us for the future, that the supreme achievements of genius shall be considered *sacro-sanct*, held inviolate as an inspiration and a lode star for the as yet unborn generations.

We all know the power of the people with Congress and what protests will do. If we as individuals subscribe to this Pact then the repre-

sentatives of nations will have to listen to us. We can put into practice a law respecting the inviolability of the products of the human soul and of the human mind; then we shall have made real progress toward civilization.

I thank you. (*Applause.*)

RESOLUTION OF MISS ESTHER J. LICHTMANN, Vice-President of Roerich Museum:

CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes Miss Esther J. Lichtmann, Vice-President of Roerich Museum.

MISS LICHTMANN: I move that a Resolution of thanks be adopted by the Convention to be sent to His Excellency, Professor Nicholas Roerich, for his address to the Third International Roerich Peace Banner Convention.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

CHAIRMAN: I shall indeed take great pleasure in communicating to His Excellency, Prof. Nicholas Roerich, this Resolution, which voices so unanimously the profound sentiment of this Body with respect to the Originator of the Banner of Peace, whose efforts have ever been consecrated to great humanitarian principles, the enlightenment of mankind and the beautification of life.

SINA LICHTMANN, Vice-President, Roerich Museum:

MR. CHAIRMAN, HONORED SPEAKERS, GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: During the stay of Professor Roerich's expedition in Mongolia, a very remarkable episode took place. One of the great counselors of the government came to Professor Roerich in our presence and said to him: A few months before you came, one of our great Lamas, a hermit who lives high up in the mountains, came to see us and told us the following

vision which he had had: A Khuruldan was held, (meaning the yearly Assembly in Mongolia). Suddenly above appeared a great Rider and pointed out to those who gathered, the direction of the East. The gathering was very perplexed because their idea was to direct their eyes to the West, but the great Rider pointed out the destiny. He ended the story by turning to Professor Roerich, "and then you came and painted your superb painting, the Great Rider, which you presented to our government and when we saw it, we understood the significant message of the painting which you gave us. Now we wish to build a special shrine for your painting because you pointed out the way, according to the Prophecy."

This unforgettable occurrence in the solemn atmosphere of the vast lands of Mongolia gives us in the West a very significant fact to ponder upon. Pointing to the East, means pointing to Shamballa, according to the Eastern belief, the country of the New Era, the land of all achievements which come through humanity's regeneration, through spiritual rebirth.

Nicholas Roerich, untiringly working in quest of culture and unity of mankind for 45 years, harkened to all the silent corners of Asia and heard the voice of the spirit of the future. The talks about the marvelous America, the admiration of the cities with great towers, meaning our skyscrapers, made those in Asia exclaim "this is the promised land, the land of Shamballa." And because of Roerich, who everywhere in remote parts of the East has strengthened and proclaimed the spiritual heritage and vitality of America's destiny for the future, did the East regard America as the country of Shamballa and him as the Great Guardian.

Our Great Guardians, how few we have of them today, these great leaders of humanity who regard Culture and Peace as the only solvent for the New Era! Only firm, invincible faith in the vital needs of preserving beauty, art, science, furthering the call for more knowledge along the ways of the greater education of the masses, awakening of the consciousness, can uplift the drooping spirit of humanity.

The significance of the Symbol of Peace and Culture, which is proclaimed by this Banner speaks this very language—That the fiery stronghold of Knowledge, Labor and Creation guards treasures of Mankind above petty divisions and boundaries of enmity and hatred. “No obstacles, no convulsions of hatred and falsehood can impede humanity from aspiring towards the veneration of true values,” said Professor Roerich.

In one of his recent broadcasts, President Roosevelt said, “The danger to world peace certainly does not come from the United States of America. As a nation we are overwhelmingly against engaging in war.” And later he said, “It seems clear to me that it is only through constant education and the stressing of the ideals of peace and advantages of peace that those who still seek imperialism can be brought in line with the majority of the peoples of the world.” This strong message, proclaimed in so timely a manner, brings to our realization the fact that we must use wise measures to safeguard culture. Nicholas Roerich said long ago that “Wars cannot be stopped by interdiction, any more than malice or falsehood can be prohibited. We do not need new laws, but we need a *New Deal* along spiritual expansion as well as along physical well-being.” This Banner is, and shall always be, a living reminder of our duty to safeguard the achievements of Mankind. Symbols from time immemorial have served us and helped to be enthusiastic bearers of their inner messages. Thus, the Banner of Peace and Culture, will through its three spheres proclaiming unity and universality, call out flamingly the message of sacred trust in a united humanity. It is not pacifism, but invincible faith in these inspired leaders of World Culture who will say with Roerich: “If, with the entire power of our spirit, we will affirm the Banner for the protection of the treasures of humanity, we know fully that the unseen friends of the future will dedicate to us their thanks. They will thank us because even during the most difficult hours, we nevertheless carried high the Banner of Unity, Beauty and Knowledge, and sought to safeguard the treasure troves, not for ourselves, but for those who after us will come to this plowland of labor!”

The great Project of Nicholas Roerich was sent out from America into all spaces of the world. Thus America can and should become the Protector of this Banner so as to proclaim the great justice of serving ideals of Culture.

Let the Banner become the symbol of America's Spirit in the eyes of other nations. And the enlightened Leaders who are gathered here today will carry this call through all lands into the masses of people. And the value of true labor will be hailed. And the creativeness of spirit will be venerated and safeguarded by all ages and for ages to come. We live during a great Epoch and must exercise a fiery vigil. And only through fire of the spirit and safeguarding of Beauty and Knowledge can we build the cornerstones of the New Era. Let us prepare the festivals of future humanity through the invincibility of *Peace Through Culture*, as proclaimed by Nicholas Roerich. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman here read a message received from DR. GEORGES G. CHKLAVER, Doctor of International Law, and Secretary-General of the European Center of Roerich Museum, Paris:

The movement in favor of the Roerich Pact is reaching a decisive stage of its development. Several years have elapsed since the voice of our Beloved Master, Nicholas de Roerich, has called upon the Nations of the World to unite in a common endeavor to protect the treasures of Beauty and Knowledge. The appeal of the great Artist and Leader of Culture has struck many millions of generous hearts and from all countries have resounded echoes of sympathetic response. The Banner of Peace raised by Nicholas de Roerich, has been hailed in every center of Culture and is regarded as the very symbol of the highest aspirations of Human Spirit.

In this atmosphere of general enthusiasm for the ideals and purposes of the Roerich Pact, it has been possible to promote the Pact also

in the diplomatic field. Statesmen of many countries have supported the proposal of Nicholas de Roerich. The Museum's Office of the League of Nations in 1930 and the two Roerich Pact Conventions held in 1931 and 1932 in Bruges have voiced their approval of Professor de Roerich's project for the protection of Historical Monuments and of Artistic and Scientific Institutions, thus preparing the way for the present Convention of Washington.

I am particularly happy to convey my cordial greetings to the Delegates assembled in Washington, for it has been my privilege to be associated from the outset with the movement in favor of the Roerich Pact.

In the midst of this fight which we have had to sustain against those who have not yet realized in a sufficient measure the great boon which the Roerich Pact brings into the World, I have always felt in my inmost consciousness that the Roerich Pact is more than a judicial and diplomatic instrument, that verily it is a momentous step in the spiritual ascent of Humanity, a solemn homage rendered to Culture. But in the course of our work on behalf of the Pact, we have had to face objections and obstacles which we have strived to transmute into new possibilities, following the lofty teachings of the Master.

Therefore it has been necessary to emphasize some technical and legal points pertaining the Roerich Pact.

In the first place it has been said by some that the Roerich Pact was useless because the Kellogg Pact and other treaties, such as the Locarno agreements and the Four Powers Treaty, have banned the recourse to arms in international disputes.

The strange thing is that often these objections have been formulated by the same persons who held rather sceptical views as to the efficiency of International Law in general. Indeed ever since the signing of the Pact for the outlawing of war we have witnessed, alas! more than one bloody contest and upheaval. The Powers continue to draft and to fulfil new programs of formidable armaments, and preparations for national defence are pushed forward in every country. In these circum-

stances the Roerich Pact is as timely as for instance the new Geneva Agreement of 1929 concerning the Red Cross activities on the theater of military operations. However, the Roerich Pact, precisely because it is the embodiment of the World's feelings of Reverence towards the achievements of culture, has an important part to play not only in times of war, but also in times of Peace whenever a Nation is disturbed by internal convulsions without even any foreign war or invasion.

Some say again that international rules are indeed of little importance as they are so often broken. But as I have had already the occasion to remark "even the commands of Divinity are violated. So much worse for the violators. In the end—although it may be so far distant that human eye and intellect fail to perceive it—justice will always prevail, because justice is nothing but an aspect of the general balance of the world, of the equilibrium and the harmony of the universe. Should the Divine Commands be abolished because of the existence of sinners, or all human laws because of the existence of criminals or all international covenants because of the forces of evils which from time to time seem to overpower a nation?"

Others still have alleged that the Roerich Pact was superfluous as the Hague Peace Conference of 1907 had already devised some measures for the protection of monuments dedicated to Religion, Education, Charity, Art and Science.

The supporters of this opinion have probably in view art. 27 of the IVth Convention and art. 5 of the IXth Convention, both signed at the Hague in 1907.

In these articles, which I have quoted in one of my articles in the *International Law Review of Paris* (Nr. 4, 1930) there is nothing but a vague reference to the obligation incumbent to assailants to spare as far as possible the monuments in question. No measures are indicated as to the registration and classification *in advance* of the buildings and institutions to be protected. Likewise no sanctions are foreseen in case of unwarranted attacks upon the said buildings and institutions.

Without even entering into a discussion of the legal technicalities of the Hague Rules on the one hand and of the Roerich Pact on the other hand it is easy to realize that the latter is a highly progressive achievement of International Law. It is indeed imperative to develop the Hague Rules, to make them more precise and complete.

This is exactly the very aim of the new International Law Rules embodied in the Roerich Pact.

Lastly some objections have been advanced from the military viewpoint.

It has been said that it will be extremely difficult to correct the fire of artillery, especially of long range guns, so as to avoid damage to the buildings protected by the Roerich Banner. This difficulty would, it is said be still greater in the case of a bombardment from the air. Again when a city is attacked in the night, luminous signals on the protected buildings would, say our critics, only serve to guide the assailants.

High military authorities, such as for instance Marshal Lyautey, former French Minister of War, Major General W. Conner, Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, etc., have unconditionally supported the Roerich Pact.

This is a proof that the objections raised from the technical viewpoint of artillery and aviation specialists are not so formidable as they appear at first glance.

The fire of light and heavy guns can be in fact efficiently directed so as to avoid impacts in the protected areas. The problem is exactly the same as for the protection of Hospitals and Field Ambulances. If the Red Cross Ensign can be respected—and even the most ruthless War Lord will recognize that the Red Cross should be preserved in the interest of every belligerent—then the Roerich Banner can be respected as well.

Professor de Roerich himself has often emphasized the parallelism between his proposal and the Red Cross. The Roerich Banner has been called the "Red Cross of Culture." Even the Hague Rules to which

we refer, foresaw the possibility of controlling the fire of assailing forces and undoubtedly, since 1907 the technique of ballistics has been in constant progress. . . .

As to the question of nightly attacks we are of the opinion that purposeful bombings from the air of buildings protected by luminous signals and devoid of any military importance will not generally take place, simply because of the possibility of immediate retaliation on the part of the injured party. The night after such an unwarranted destruction, the cities of the barbarous assailants and their own monuments could be bombed in their turn. Nowhere can sanctions be applied in so rapid and efficient a manner as in the war in the air. The culprit can speedily be brought to resipiscence.

However it is not a discussion of technical points which can instill enthusiasm in the hearts of the masses. And we need wide popular approval to make the Roerich Pact triumph against prejudice and fear, against all the dark forces. The Roerich Banner of Peace must become the flowing emblem of *ralliment* to all those who following the lead of the Master are striving to secure the advancement of Culture and the cause of Humanity. We must regard the Banner of Peace as the highest symbol of Unity and of Spiritual Achievement. Therefore let all our thoughts be concentrated on the victorious progress of the Sacred Sign and let us hail the great American people on whose soil the Banner of Peace has been conceived and proclaimed, let us hail the Washington Convention, the Members of this noble Assembly, its Honored Officers and the Glorious Initiator of the Pact, the Master Nicholas de Roerich, World Leader of Culture, and of the Powers of Light." (*Applause.*)

MR. HENRY JAMES FORMAN, Secretary of the Convention:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The fact that I am the last speaker should be cheering to you and the fact that I shall

be exceedingly brief should cheer you still more; so I will ask you if possible not to walk out during the next four or five minutes, not for my sake but for the sake of this Convention, which has been such a stirring and thrilling one.

You have heard a number of speakers here refer first to the Red Cross and you have also heard Dr. Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution mention some of the difficulties of bringing such a Convention into being; and I do not doubt but that there will be difficulties. And yet, since the Red Cross was mentioned, I want to recall this fact very briefly, as to how that wonderful symbol came into being as a part of the international law and international comity of nations.

Secretary Wallace has told you who was really responsible for the birth of the Red Cross,—that great-hearted man, Henri Dunant, from that great-hearted Republic of Switzerland, who, in 1859, before there was any Red Cross, saw the dead and the dying and particularly the very terribly wounded, lying by the thousands on the battlefield after the Battle of Solferino. That seemed to him such a horror that when he came back he published a small booklet, "Souvenir de Solferino," and urged that something be done about it; that some permanent society be organized and that such a tragic blot upon civilization should cease to exist. After much difficulty, finally a conference was arranged in Geneva by an organization there and then known as the Society of Public Utilities and Commerce, in 1863.

Now, I am bound to tell you that I was not present at that conference. It happened seventy years ago almost to the day—October 26; I believe it was called in 1863.

But, knowing something of human nature, and you people being imaginative and I being by profession a sort of writer, I take the liberty of giving a very brief resumé of some of that Convention.

Sixteen nations were represented and they responded with considerable enthusiasm, but they were hard-hearted diplomats and they were not at all sure that anything of the sort could be done. Now one of

the men present was in favor of doing something to take care of the wounded; another voiced his opinion that so long as humanity is not made up of angels, he felt there was very little that could be done.—Of course they all spoke in French.—The third one said it was all very interesting, but that civilization had to go a long way before such a proposal could be accomplished. There was still a fourth one who raised some cynical objection and quoted Talleyrand.

Then there arose a fifth one—he was a gentleman who resembled in feature something of a cross between President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia and perhaps Aristide Briand. He said: "How much longer shall we go on being savage children? Are we civilized or are we not civilized? If we are civilized, let us at least agree to make a beginning. Difficulties and obstacles? Of course there will be difficulties and obstacles, and of course we shall encounter a great many. If there were no difficulties or obstacles there would be no reason for our existence here. Let us make a beginning; let us hope that we shall encounter no more obstacles than we can overcome."

And for some reason, the men appeared impressed by his words and in August 1864 the agreement was signed at a Geneva Convention and quickly ratified by 14 nations.

Now, some would say that this should be left to the League of Nations. The League of Nations has done a great deal, but you will all agree that it has plenty to do and that if we leave everything to the League of Nations, it is possible that nothing will be done.

I say the same thing as was said before those statesmen and conferees in 1864 by that fifth speaker: In God's Name, let us make a beginning and when the difficulties come we will meet them as they come along.

This would not be a speech by an American citizen if it did not conclude with some sort of story. A small English boy of about ten years was given a lesson in Scripture to learn. It was that well-known

part about rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, etc., and if I remember correctly, it ran something like this:

"Show me a penny and they brought him a penny—and he looked at the penny and said:

'And whose image and superscription are these?'"

The small boy had learned his lesson fairly well but by no means perfectly. He gave it in this way: "He said—'Show me a penny' and they did, and he looked at the penny and said,—'Whose miserable subscription is this?'"

And I say the same thing; when we begin to talk about obstacles and difficulties whenever a glorious idea is presented to mankind, instead of embracing it and proceeding to work on it, if we bring up the difficulties, we are bringing forth a very miserable subscription at the beginning, and we are not behaving like civilized men. I thank you.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN: Again may I express my most sincere thanks to all of the distinguished speakers who have graced this occasion by their addresses and inspiring thoughts, and to the delegates and guests who have participated at this meeting.

The Chair is ready, if there is no other business, to entertain a motion to adjourn.

Motion presented, seconded and carried and meeting adjourned at 5:45 P. M.

EVENING SESSION

November 17, 1933—8:30 P. M.

Chairman

MR. LOUIS L. HORCH
President of Roerich Museum

Invocation

THE MOST REVEREND JAMES H. RYAN, S.T.D.
Bishop of Modra, Rector, Catholic University of America

LET us pray—Heavenly Father, Lord God of Lights, look down with favor upon this assemblage gathered to the honor and glory of Thy holy name. Give us, we beseech Thee, the wisdom to see and the courage to do Thy will in all things. Guide, we pray Thee, the deliberations of this Congress called to make more effective Thy command that we should love one another as Thy only begotten Son has loved us. Bless our country, our President, and all who have been elected to rule over us. Bless, too, each one of us that having done Thy will upon earth we may share with Thee the blessings of an everlasting peace in heaven through Thy Son, Our Lord, Jesus Christ, who livest and reignest world without end. Amen.

The Chairman called the Meeting to order.

CHAIRMAN: It is indeed a very great honor for me to greet this distinguished audience at this second session of the Third International Convention for the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace. Honorable Dele-

gates who are assembled here this evening, representing the great nations of the world, Honored Speakers, Honored Guests, Representatives of Organizations and Institutions, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I heartily welcome you in behalf of the Trustees of the Roerich Museum. It is most gratifying to be able to inform you that at this afternoon's session the Honorable Delegates of a number of foreign nations expressed their admiration for and endorsement of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace.

We have had the privilege of hearing brilliant speeches delivered by the distinguished Delegates, and it was most encouraging and inspiring to hear the enthusiastic support from so many eminent leaders, representing diversified fields of life.

Understanding between nations is the most vital need of the day and any step which leads to this note of understanding should be hailed as a significant milestone in the history of nations. The humanitarian project represented in the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace provides a means towards world cultural unity, and to this Cause the Convention is dedicated.

THE HONORABLE DR. ESTEBAN GIL BORGES, Acting Director General,
Pan-American Union:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There is a deep and beautiful significance in the emblem you have chosen for your flag of peace. This symbol embodies the idea that culture arises out of the contributions of all peoples, that it is created by the contributions of the past and the present, and that it is a common heritage of mankind, and its preservation a common responsibility.

Very often a book is the only remaining link between the past and the present, and these fragile threads of thought have preserved the continuity of history, the unity of the human spirit, and around them humanity has often constructed the fabric of a new culture. Unfor-

tunately, these luminous threads of thought have frequently been broken in the great historical cataclysms which have overwhelmed civilizations in the past.

We cannot measure the cost in thought and progress which the loss of these cultures represent. We can only guess what we have lost from the little we know of them. Many lights of thought enkindled by these civilizations have been forever extinguished; many trails they opened to more remote and higher fields of truth, have been forever closed. Of Egyptian civilization and its endeavors to unravel the enigma of life and death we know very little; we know more of Greek civilization, and yet, what we know only suggests how near they came to turning into the realities of form and substance the dreams of perfect and eternal beauty; we know only a little of the positive science of Alexandrian civilization, and nothing of the secrets which had been revealed by its long search into the mysteries of the infinite; we know only in a fragmentary way of the wealth of scientific experience gathered by Arabian civilization in the library of Cordova, in the observatories of Samarcanda, in the laboratories of Bagdad, and by the mathematicians of the school of Cairo and the cosmographers of the academy of Bassora; we know very little of the inspiration of its mystics, of the charm of its literature, of the ideas of its thinkers.

We can understand now why our civilization, which started on its march forward during the Renaissance, with only the meagre fragments of the Greco-Roman culture, has had a wonderful development in certain directions and is so incomplete in others. Had we come into the possession of the whole heritage of culture accumulated by the civilizations of the past, we would not be feeling at this moment the emptiness that is in our souls. We would have a clearer vision of the truths that lie beyond the boundaries of physical realities; we would be within the reach of higher forms of wisdom which transcend the limitations of time and space; we would be nearer the fulfillment of the mission assigned by God to man.

When we remember that these civilizations, some of them as great as ours in scientific and philosophical achievements, some of them greater than ours in spiritual and aesthetical achievements, have vanished without leaving other signs of their existence than the evidence of their fall, and their names, to remind us of their glory—when we remember this, we cannot be certain that one day a similar fate will not overtake our civilization, and that of all the ideas we have treasured, of all the beauty we have loved, our only legacy to posterity will be remains such as were left by the civilization of Egypt, a sphinx on the sands of the desert, or of Greece, broken marble in the dust of ruins, or of Alexandria, a handful of ashes.

This evening we are to sign a pact of truce between culture and force. We are asking peace for the sake of culture, but we are also asking that culture serve the ends of peace. We want science to lift the minds of men to higher planes of knowledge, art to move the hearts of men with nobler feelings, and religion and philosophy to awaken ideals of justice and charity in the conscience of men. We hope that these lights of thought, sheltered from the blows of storm and strife, will guide mankind over a safer road to peace.

One of the distressing paradoxes of our civilization is that science is serving as an accomplice of force, art is glorifying hate, and philosophy is developing the ideology of war.

At this moment, the sciences of engineering, chemistry, electricity, all the discoveries which should redeem humanity, are preparing its destruction. At this moment in laboratories and in factories, science is sharpening the nails and fastening the planks of the scaffold for the crucifixion of our civilization.

Without the complicity of science, the more tragic forms of war would be impossible, the forms of war which wound the woman in the home, the child in the school, the worker in his shop, the priest at the altar, the thinker in the university; the forms of war which kill the human spirit, destroy libraries, churches, museums, which poison the

heart of civilization, destroy faith in the charity of man and all hope in the future.

Let us hope that science will no longer fashion weapons to the hand of hatred, that science will collaborate with force only when force defends the country and the ideal, when force is the shield which protects the moral and spiritual heritage of mankind.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is highly encouraging that in a moment when there is so much anxiety in our hearts, so many doubts in our minds, so many clouds over the future, you have gathered here to perform a great duty of preserving the heritage of thought which we have received from the past and which constitutes our common patrimony today and a sacred debt to posterity.

I fervently hope that this flag above every monument of science, art, and religion, will be the banner of a crusade which will remind every man that in these places they may be made aware more strongly of the ties of brotherhood, through the love of beauty and the peace which comes from the possession of truth and faith in God. (*Applause.*)

At the conclusion of his address Dr. Gil Borges asked permission of the Chairman to read the following MESSAGE FROM THE HON. DR. LEO S. ROWE, Director General of the Pan-American Union, then attending the Seventh International American Conference in Montevideo: "It is a source of keen regret to me that absence from the country makes it impossible for me to attend the Conference. I desire, however, to avail myself of the opportunity graciously given to me by the Acting Director of the Pan-American Union, Dr. Esteban Gil Borges, to send a warm word of greeting to the members of the Conference and to wish you the fullest measure of success in the great purpose which you are pursuing. In conserving and protecting the cultural achievements of mankind, you are performing a world service of the first magnitude." (*Applause.*)

HIS EXCELLENCY, DR. FERDINAND VEVERKA, Minister of the Republic of Czechoslovakia:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I consider it a great privilege to be among those who bring their admiration and homage to the great idea we are here today to honor. My presence here is the token that Czechoslovakia wholeheartedly supports the noble aim of the International Roerich Peace Banner Convention. In declaring this full support, may I add my sincere wish and hope that it may never be necessary to use it. There could be no better end to the noble intentions of this convention than that there would be no occasion in our civilized mankind to use this peace banner ever again. This seems to me to be the highest ideal of the promoters themselves.

To attain this ideal, it is necessary in my humble opinion that we must first change ourselves entirely, our mentality, our conceptions, and our notions of peace.

Let me analyze briefly what was, and what is, this old conception of peace. In the last ten years, we have all spoken about peace and peaceful aims. However, if we wonder sociologically about the character of this "peace" as a social state, we must admit that we have always thought of peace in terms of war really and in terms of prevention of war. We wanted peace as the antithesis of war. The war determined in a negative way the peace. Peace, not as an *a priori* positive term, but peace as the non-existence of war.

All this our thinking took for its basis the probability of war as the fundamental hypothesis and not the probability of peace, as once stated on behalf of the British thinkers, by Mr. Wickham Steed.

Also, all the aims and intentions of the League of Nations, as I had opportunity to observe, were directed against war and not for the organization of peace conceived as a permanent positive and constant state of human society.

This conception was best illustrated by the consternation by which

the IXth Assembly of the League accepted the Kellogg Peace Pact with its "renunciation of war." Everyone asked himself in surprise how it would be possible to organize peace if there is no intermittent war. This was for me the best proof of a negative basis on which international thinking of peace was hitherto based.

It was since then that a change came in the whole conception of peace. The renunciation of war compels us to think about peace in a positive way, not to think about it as of non-existence of war. This change is something fundamental, something revolutionary in the sphere of thinking and something antiatavistic. This means that we are revising and changing our basic conception of what we call today "civilization."

Since times immemorial, prehistoric perhaps, the human society and its units were being established so that they could partly face and oppose war, partly to take an active part in it. A number of social virtues have their origin in war, in the abilities of attack, and these virtues were elevated as high moral qualities. All these of course, presupposed a war, carried on among individuals—in its fundamental basis at least.

The World War brought about a fundamental change in this respect. It is clear that war has become mechanized. It has become scientific and somehow anonymous. It does not presuppose any longer the spirit of sacrifice on which the primitive human society was founded. The individual becomes worthless.

The main reason then why nations are renouncing war is not only its frightfulness, but its stupidity, its ineffectiveness, and its unproductivity in the economic and political sense. The war changed from the most profitable into a most unprofitable enterprise. The renunciation of war as a means to the solution of world's conflicts, this new hypothesis bringing into the world's politics the conception of peace as a positive *a priori* social state compels us of course to a complete revision and change in our conception of civilization.

Peace is a state of mind, peace is a primary state of things, not a reverse of war, not a breathing spell between struggles. When this

recognition dawns upon us as a reality, then the time will come when the harassed and tried humanity will conceive and embrace the real peace,—the evangelic peace, the peace on earth to all men and nations of good will. (*Applause.*)

MRS. NETTIE S. HORCH, President of the Roerich Society:

FRIENDS AND DEFENDERS OF CULTURE: It is my great pleasure and honor to greet you here this evening, and, in behalf of the Roerich Society which I have the privilege of representing, I wish to extend salutations to this distinguished assemblage.

The Roerich Society is an international society devoted to the ideals of brotherhood and culture, as expressed in the paintings and teachings of Nicholas Roerich.

Branches and groups of the Roerich Society, which now number sixty-eight and are spread over twenty-five countries, have been organized in Europe, Asia, South and Central America, and throughout the United States. The purpose of these organizations is to promote artistic, intellectual and spiritual understanding between men and nations, and to encourage all endeavors in the cause of human progress.

These organizations carry on their activities through the promotion and encouragement of the arts, science, and all phases of knowledge and culture, covering a diversity of subjects including national cultures and traditions.

If one would mark on a map the places where these societies function and extend their influence, we would see an astonishing design of interweavings, exchange and coöperation between nations and peoples in the name of Culture.

In this very design a seer would undoubtedly discern luminous threads running through the web of the world, and above them glowing the Banner of Peace. This Banner of Peace and Cultural Unity, conceived by that great spirit, Nicholas Roerich, we hail and salute, and as a body

of sixty-eight organizations spread all over the world, we wish hereby not only to endorse this project, but to lend our wholehearted support to this humanitarian movement, and to express our readiness to serve this noble cause until every nation, understanding its true significance, will adopt this Banner,—and we shall continue to serve this Cause until the Banner will be broadly unfurled, as a reminder of the world's destiny—that of Cultural Unity, Understanding and Peace.

REAR ADMIRAL J. K. TAUSSIG, United States Navy:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I wish to assure you that it is a great honor and a privilege for me as a military man to come before this distinguished assemblage and to be able to say that I heartily endorse this wonderful movement which has been started by Mr. Roerich in creating the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace. It is a great pleasure to be a naval man and to come here and see so many people from different countries because we of the Navy more than most people have a very warm and cordial feeling for the peoples throughout the earth.

Some people think that all of us naval and military men think of nothing but war. The truth of the matter is we are chiefly concerned with how to prevent war. We are really pacifists. We do not want war and those of us who have been through the horrors of war and understand it, desire chiefly a way to see that they will not recur again.

Now, I am a practical man and I am apt to look, I think, at the aims and desires of the Roerich Pact a little differently, maybe, and in a little more practical way than most of the delegates and the representatives here, because I still can visualize—although I hope it will not occur—a war in the future.

Now, in peacetimes, you will not have much difficulty in taking care of the treasures of art and science, but when war does come people begin

to think differently, they do not act naturally. We have seen it in every war that has occurred. The leaders in war do not desire to destroy the treasures of art and science, etc., which have been stored up for generations, but we know in every war it has occurred. In the last great war,—you are all familiar with its accomplishments—but in the last war we had a new element which came in—the submarine. That is something we must think about in a practical way. It is not like an army or a ship that sails on the surface of the ocean. The submarine cannot capture anything; therefore the only way it can accomplish anything is by destroying. Now that is a very important thing to remember. A submarine accomplishes its mission by destroying. It destroys ships and human lives contrary to all the rules of international law.

We are going to have the airplane in the next war. You are interested, in case war should come, to have the treasures preserved. How are we going to go about protecting the treasures from airplane attacks?

We hear it said that the next war will be controlled from the air. The next war can only be controlled from the air if the generally recognized rules of warfare and civilization are thrown aside and they proceed on a method which we could not really tolerate, if there was any way of preventing it. The airplane is like the submarine, it cannot capture—it can only destroy. The great danger in the next war to these treasures is going to be from the airplane dropping bombs on unfortified cities. The operators on the planes may not even care. If they do care they may not determine whether bombs are going to fall on churches, art museums or homes.

So I have the viewpoint that perhaps in connection with this movement to preserve the treasures of art and science of both peace and war, we look into the international aspect of getting some pact by which we can insure that if a war should come the operators of aircraft are going to operate in accordance with the generally recognized rules of humanity and civilization.

We must realize that the airplanes, which are new instruments, are all operated by youth. We see nothing but youth in the airplanes and they have an idea that they can go out and predominate in the war. They only predominate if they are permitted to destroy; so in connection with your plan of preserving these treasures it is worth while to see if we can insure, through international agreements, that the airplanes and submarines will adhere to the already agreed upon rules of war that unfortified cities, women and children shall not be attacked. That is a thought I have in connection with this movement.

I speak for myself and not with the sanction or knowledge of the Navy Department, but I am sure the officials and officers of the Army and Navy are in accord and will do everything they can to assist.

(Applause.)

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; President, American Institute of International Law:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It would be permissible, I believe, to say that we all have pity for ourselves; and it would be none the less correct to observe that in times past, at least, nations have not taken pity on others unless they felt that their own interests were in some degree involved. What the members of this association want, what the audience here tonight wants, what I myself devoutly desire, is that large sympathy which shall make one of the many and merge us all in a common humanity.

The purpose of this meeting is to endorse “an international covenant for the protection of artistic and scientific institutions, missions and collections,” proposed by Nicholas Roerich, Russian by birth and by preference a citizen of the world, in order that the culture of the past, the culture of the present and the culture of the future may stand as monuments and as an expression of the universality of culture,—for

things material, are they not national?—and that the imponderables, the things which, once conceived and executed, are our common treasure, may not, as in the past, perish in armed conflict as have so often those who have created them. Our poet Lowell, has he not said, and in two perfect lines:

“That love of one from which there doth not spring
Wide love for all, is but a worthless thing.”

We all know from a recent and tragic experience, which, like all tragic experiences, is in danger of being forgotten in the scramble for the material pleasures and comforts of life in a civilization which the French describe as *la civilisation du confortable*, that war is destructive not only of human life but of the highest achievements of life in art and in science and the things of the spirit which, taken together, we call our culture. The mere taking of life is not the worst of war. We know that our days are numbered—although, fortunately for most of us, we do not have the numbers—and therefore war may be said, from this point of view, merely to accelerate a natural process. Yet in this acceleration how many Platos, how many Tullys,—to use the name by which Cicero was intimately and affectionately known to our fathers—how many Dantes, Shakespeares and Molières, how many Velasquez and Cervantes, how many Pascals, how many Beethovens and Goethes; in a word, how many Leonardos, have passed through the ages without a record of their passing?

Again, war has no appreciable relation to justice; the genius of a commander, the strength of battalions, will cause force to triumph at the expense of right and justice. What we wish, and what we must have, is a single standard for men and for nations:—that the rights and duties of the individual may be the rights and duties of nations, composed of individuals; and that the disputes between nations, as well as individuals, shall be settled by judicial tribunals. The first great and epoch-making step, has it not been taken? Is not a Permanent Inter-

national Court of Justice established at The Hague and is it not today, this very day, in session, busied with disputes between nations as our national courts are busied with the disputes of individuals, each tribunal, whether national or international, applying the same standard of law, of justice and of morality.

We do not wish—indeed, we dare not—to revert to the days of which M. Jusserand spoke, when he honored us by his presence as Ambassador of France to the United States—days which we might think of as “long ago,” were it not for that Greatest of Wars, whose fateful consequences both vex and plague us still. “Former-day chroniclers,” M. Jusserand said some twenty-three years ago before the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, “are wont to mention, as a matter of course, that ‘the king went to the wars in the season,’ as he would have gone a-fishing. People at large saw not only beauty in war . . . but they saw in it an unmixed beauty . . . Such were,” he added in justification—and I pause to say that history is greatly in need of justification—“the feelings of the day. To none of the master artists who represented the day of judgment on the walls of Rome, Orvieto or Padua, or on the porches of our Northern cathedrals, did the thought occur to place among his fierce angels driving the guilty to their doom, one with a tear on his face: a tear that would have made the artist more famous than all his art; a tear not because the tortures could be supposed to be unjust or the men sinless, but because they were tortures and because the men had been sinful. *Dies irae!*”

What does this our organization stand for, and what is its symbol? From Mr. Roerich’s proposed international covenant I lift two phrases from the preamble and two short paragraphs pregnant with hope—and indeed of an assured fulfilment, if not today, in the days to come:

“WHEREAS the Institutions dedicated to the education of Youth, to Arts and to Sciences, constitute a common treasure of all the Nations of the World—

“(The High Contracting Parties)

“Have resolved to conclude a solemn covenant for perfecting the protection enjoyed in all civilized Countries by Institutions and Missions dedicated to Arts and Sciences and by artistic and scientific collections.”

To realize this cultural and humanitarian purpose, Article I of the Pact proposes that

“Educational, artistic and scientific institutions, artistic and scientific missions, the personnel, the property and collections of such institutions and missions shall be deemed neutral and as such, shall be protected and respected by belligerents.”

And the second and concluding paragraph of the article provides that

“Protection and respect shall be due to the aforesaid institutions and missions in all places subject to the sovereignty of the High Contracting Parties, without any discrimination as to the State allegiance of any particular institution or mission.”

In addition to the obligation created by the international agreement, there is both a procedure and a remedy. The procedure consists in registration of the institution, collections and missions with the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, the Institute of Intellectual Coöperation at Paris or the Pan-American Union in Washington, according to the desire of each of the high contracting parties involved. This registration entitles the various institutions to display the distinctive flag of the international covenant, and to have special protection and respect of their neutral rights on the part of belligerents; and, in case of complaint due to violation of the covenant, any one of the artistic and scientific institutions, collections and missions shall possess the right, through the intervention of its government, to have the complaint passed upon by an international commission of inquiry, to be established under a special agreement. The three-fold spheres on the distinctive flag thus

imply the three-fold nature of the pact,—obligation, procedure and remedy.

Drafted by one Georges Chklaver, the project bears incontrovertible evidence of the deft hand of Albert de La Pradelle, the friend of every worthy international cause and the successor of the incomparable Louis Renault in the chair of international law in the University of Paris.

So much for this cultural and humanitarian pact!

But what of the symbol? The Good Book says that “an evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas.”* Therefore I have chosen the more neutral—and, I hope, acceptable—term of symbol. It is a banner, a flag, a piece of bunting, if you will,—three magenta spheres within a magenta circle on a white ground, symbol of eternity and unity, a symbol of culture and humanity, past, present and future. Mr. Roerich—sponsor of the pact as well as artist of the banner—holds that it is “imperative to take immediate measures to preserve the noble heritage of our past for a glorious posterity,” adding that “the creations of culture . . . belong to no one nation but to the world.”

It is, as I have said, a banner, a flag, a bit of bunting, with an inscription indicative of a great idea, and, like all great ideas, it is international without mention of any one nation or a suggestion of the intervention of any one person. It is culture, humanity at its highest, past, present and future.

When Mr. Roerich’s idea is incorporated in an international agreement, it will share the fate of all international agreements. The names of those who have stood for it and defended it, and of those to whose efforts it is due, will be merged in the great achievement.

We have recently had an example of this: in the United States we generally speak of the “Kellogg Peace Pact,” because of its connection with Secretary of State Kellogg; in France it is often called the “Briand

* King James’ version of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the 12th Chapter, 39th Verse.

Pact," because of Mr. Briand's connection with it as Minister of Foreign Affairs; then at times the names of the two are united, as becomes true brothers of peace, and we speak of it indifferently as the "Kellogg-Briand Pact," or the "Briand-Kellogg Pact." But the document signed by some fifteen nations in the Quai d'Orsay on the 27th day of August, 1928—and adhered to by the civilized world—was the "Pact of Paris." And when and if, through Mr. Roerich's initiative, his pact shall be signed and ratified by the civilized nations, the document drafted by the individual will become the pact of the nations for the preservation of their culture from the destruction which inevitably follows in the wake of any war, whether it be large or small, civil or international.

* * *

Possessors of the culture of the past, trustees of the culture of the present for the future, we shall, by the signature of a universal pact, set up a universal standard for culture and humanity, past, present and future, and at the same time a universal standard for nations and their international relations. (*Applause.*)

MISS ESTHER J. LICHTMANN, Vice-President, Roerich Museum:

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, DELEGATES AND FRIENDS: Since it is my privilege to be next on the Program, following our distinguished authority on international law, Dr. James Brown Scott, it is befitting that I read a message we have received from a colleague of his, M. de Geouffre de La Pradelle, Professor of International Law, University of Paris. Inasmuch as the message was written in French I will read it in that language.

MESSAGE OF PROFESSOR DE LA PRADELLE, Professor of International Law, University of Paris:

En Octobre 1929, s'ouvrait à New York, pour réaliser l'idéal artistique du Professeur Nicolas de Roerich, l'Institut qui, sur la Rive Gauche du Fleuve Hudson, porte son nom et ses couleurs.

En Novembre 1933, s'ouvre à Washington, une Conférence Internationale, en vue d'examiner et d'adopter le projet définitif d'un Pacte pour la protection des Oeuvres d'Art, dont Nicolas de Roerich est l'initiateur.

Ainsi, de New York à Washington, se complète l'Oeuvre. Il importe en effet de donner à l'Art par une diffusion de plus en plus étendue dans tous les esprits, aux plus humbles foyers, la place éminente et bienfaisante à laquelle il a droit. Mais ce n'est pas assez, il faut encore le défendre dans ses réalisations, contre les dangers qui menacent sa manifestation sensible. Les uns viennent du temps, les autres, plus redoutables, viennent du désordre des passions individuelles ou collectives, et des dérèglements de la force emportée par l'ardeur des partis ou des peuples dans la fureur des guerres.

Pour préserver les édifices consacrés à la charité, les Conventions de Genève et de La Haye les plaçaient sous la parole: *Inter arma caritas*, et l'emblème des couleurs protectrices: croix rouge sur fond blanc. Pour les édifices consacrés aux Arts, que le droit de La Haye leur assimilait sans préciser d'emblème, le grand Artiste, si profondément humain qu'est le Professeur NICOLAS DE ROERICH, demande des garanties spéciales et propose un signe particulier. C'est une bannière de la paix rappelant les couleurs de Genève: elle porte un cercle, image du monde, à l'intérieur duquel sont placés trois besants qui, pris à l'armure des chevaliers revenant de Palestine, évoquent le souvenir des anciennes croisades pour la religion, au seuil de cette moderne croisade pour la civilisation.

La Revue de Droit International a, comme il convenait, applaudi à la nouvelle entreprise de Monsieur de Roerich, aidé, dans la circonstance des précieux conseils d'un technicien de haute valeur, Georges Chklaver.

Au moment où s'inaugurait à New York, à l'automne 1929, l'Institut Roerich, j'eus l'honneur, en une inoubliable soirée, d'adresser au Maître entouré, acclamé, l'hommage de ses disciples et admirateurs français.

Au moment où s'ouvre à Washington une Conférence Internationale, en vue d'adopter officiellement le projet qui, dès 1930 avait été approuvé par l'Office International des Musées de la Société des Nations, et qui depuis fut mis au point par les Conférences de Bruges, ce m'est, comme ancien Président à New York de l'Institut de Droit International, un

devoir de rendre hommage non seulement aux principes dont ce texte s'inspire, mais à l'expression qui, dès maintenant, leur est donnée.

C'est une heureuse idée que d'avoir prévu l'enregistrement préalable des Monuments qui jouiront de la protection, et dont la liste sera fournie par chacun des Etats signataires à une Institution Internationale de leur choix. C'est une sage prévision que d'avoir posé, pour assurer le respect du Pacte Roerich, le principe d'une dénonciation à cette Institution et, par elle, aux Hautes Etudes contractantes, en vue de la formation d'une Commission d'Enquête, dont le rapport sera publié.

Au cas où le Pacte Briand-Kellogg, qui prohibe la guerre comme instrument de politique nationale ne serait pas respecté, aux cas prévus par lui-même, où, en dehors de cette prohibition, l'emploi de la force deviendrait légitime, le Pacte Roerich se dresserait pour rappeler aux armes qu'elles doivent se discipliner, à la violence, que les trésors de l'Art sont un patrimoine commun auquel nul ne saurait porter atteinte.

Comme le Pacte Briand-Kellogg, le Pacte Roerich repose sur la sanction de l'opinion publique. Il fait appel aux sentiments les plus élevés de la moralité internationale.

Dans ces conditions, nul scrupule ne pourrait retenir aucun gouvernement de lui donner le sceau des signatures officielles.

Plus encore que la richesse, fruit du travail, presque autant peut-être plus que la vie, l'Art, pour lequel souvent tant de vies se sont données, et qui, à tant d'égards, est pour tant d'hommes la suprême fin de la vie, mérite que dans ses oeuvres il soit respecté. Sauvegarder l'Oeuvre, c'est sauver le génie humain; action civilisatrice qui mérite bien, en effet que pour convaincre les gouvernements, et s'il le faut, le gouvernement suprême, l'Opinion, moralistes et techniciens, artistes et juristes s'enrôlent sous la Bannière aux trois Besants.

A New York, en 1929, je me félicitais d'applaudir à la diffusion de l'Idéal; à Washington en 1933, je suis heureux de saluer, avec la protection de l'Oeuvre, la défense de l'Art, source de Paix, Foyer de Vie.

In addition to this message, other messages have been received from outstanding authorities on International Law in Europe, which include those which I shall now read.

MESSAGE OF ALEJANDRO ALVAREZ, Membre Associé de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques; Secrétaire Général de l'Institut Améri-

cain de Droit International; Co-Directeur de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales. Dated Paris, October 22, 1933:

A l'occasion de l'inauguration de la troisième Conférence pour le Pacte Roerich, je tiens à exprimer toute ma sympathie pour l'initiative du Maître Nicolas de Roerich tendant à protéger les biens les plus sacrés de l'humanité—les chefs-d'oeuvre de l'Art et de la Science. L'adoption du Pacte Roerich et de la Bannière pour la protection des monuments permettra d'accomplir un nouveau progrès au droit international et sera une victoire de la Culture humaine. Je souhaite donc plein succès à la Conférence de Washington et j'adresse mon salut à votre Président d'Honneur, Nicolas de Roerich, et aux Membres de la Conférence.

MESSAGE OF LOUIS LE FUR, Professeur de Droit International à l'Université de Paris:

Invité à participer à la Troisième Conférence Internationale organisée à Washington par le Roerich Museum en vue de la protection des monuments historiques et des oeuvres d'art en temps de guerre, je vous exprime mon vif regret de ne pouvoir y assister, ne pouvant quitter Paris en novembre, moment où les cours viennent de reprendre.

Mais je tiens à vous dire combien je serai de coeur avec la Conférence dans son travail si utile pour sauvegarder les trésors d'art ou de science que nous ont légués les siècles précédents. On comprend certes que les accords internationaux se soient d'abord préoccupés de la personne humaine, la première valeur essentielle à protéger contre l'indifférence, les abus et les cruautés du temps de guerre; et c'est pour cela que la Convention de Genève pour l'amélioration du sort des blessés militaires a précédé de beaucoup les premières mesures de protection des monuments et des oeuvres d'art. Il a fallu attendre près d'un demi-siècle plus tard pour voir édicter par les Conférences de La Haye certaines mesures de protection relatives à la sécurité des monuments historiques et des édifices consacrés aux cultes, aux arts, aux sciences ou à la bienfaisance. Encore n'ont-elles fait que poser le principe; il est très désirable de le voir préciser, développer et sanctionner. Ce sera l'oeuvre de la Conférence et je souhaite de tout coeur le succès d'efforts qui ont pour but de sauvegarder des monuments et des oeuvres d'art qui sont le patrimoine commun de l'humanité.

Quant aux sanctions, le projet de Pacte international préparé à Bruges en 1931 par le Roerich Museum s'arrêtait sagement à une simple sanction morale, la publicité des constatations de la Commission d'enquête. Je n'hésite pas à dire que plus tard, si jamais les pays civilisés peuvent s'élever à une organisation juridique commune, il faudrait appliquer en ce cas les principes généraux du droit qui impliquent la responsabilité pour toute destruction coupable et l'obligation de la réparer autant que faire se peut.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

MESSAGE OF BARON MICHEL DE TAUBE, Ancien Professeur à l'Université de Saint Pétersbourg; Ancien Sénateur et Membre du Conseil de l'Empire de Russie; Membre de l'Institut de Droit International et de l'American Institute of International Law; Membre du Curatorium de l'Académie (Carnegie) de Droit International de La Haye. Dated Paris, November, 1933:

L'Amérique, la libre et généreuse Amérique, a pris l'initiative d'une grande oeuvre humanitaire d'envergure vraiment mondiale:

Il y a plus de dix ans, elle a commencé par accueillir à bras ouverts, sur son sol hospitalier, un grand artiste et penseur russe, le Professeur Nicolas de Roerich, ce semeur d'idées et d'oeuvres d'art,—que l'on peut admirer aujourd'hui dans les musées du monde entier.

Elle a continué—en appréciant, à sa juste valeur, toute la portée et de son talent d'artiste, plein d'un charme incomparable à la fois réaliste et mystique, et la grandeur de ses conceptions morales et sociales tendant à unir toutes les nations du monde par les liens indissolubles de l'Art et de la Science, cet héritage inestimable de toute l'Humanité civilisée. C'est aussi à ces idées que l'Amérique a érigé, à New York, un édifice digne des énergies américaines, le grandiose Roerich Museum, ce château-fort du Beau et du Vrai, avec toutes les institutions qui en dépendent aujourd'hui: telles les nombreuses Associations du nom de Nicolas de Roerich dans tous les principaux pays d'Amérique, d'Europe et d'Asie,—tel aussi cet Institut des recherches scientifiques, créé comme par enchantement dans l'Himalaya, aux confins de l'empire brahmanique et musulman de l'Inde et de la terre mystérieuse du Tibet, que le Maître aime tant et qu'il a parcourue plusieurs fois. . . .

Et enfin, aujourd'hui, cette généreuse Amérique, avec ses vues larges

et pratiques, a voulu parachever un des nombreux projets humanitaires du Professeur, projet d'ordre international. Dans ce domaine, son idée—simple comme toutes les grandes découvertes consistait à doter la vie internationale d'un signe distinctif, d'une nouvelle "Croix Rouge,"—d'une "Bannière de Paix," appuyée juridiquement sur un Pacte spécial,—en vue de protéger contre la barbarie des guerres (guerres internationales comme guerres civiles) l'existence de tout ce que le genre humain a consacré, au cours des siècles, à l'Art, à la Science et à la Religion.

Comme toujours, on a cru pouvoir y opposer des objections. On a prétendu que tels paragraphes de deux Conventions de La Haye de 1907 (IV-e et IX-e) recommandaient déjà à l'assiégeant d'épargner "autant que possible," dans les bombardements, les édifices consacrés aux cultes, aux arts, aux sciences et à la bienfaisance, ainsi que les monuments historiques,—désignés par certains signes distinctifs. On oubliait que cette faible ébauche d'une règle internationale manquait de toute précision, qu'elle n'introduisait aucun signe généralement connu et obligatoire pour tous, qu'elle ne songeait même pas à l'établissement préalable, pourtant nécessaire, d'une liste de ces édifices protégés, approuvée par tous les Etats. On oubliait surtout que les deux conventions de 1907 avaient suffisamment démontré leur inefficacité lors de la guerre mondiale.

Bref, la généreuse idée du Professeur de Roerich, nouveau Dr. Dunant (initiateur de la Croix Rouge), restait entière et, comme telle, continuait à enrôler de nouveaux et toujours plus nombreux partisans en Amérique, comme en Europe. Aussi les premières démarches pratiques dans cet ordre d'idées, faites en Europe,—les deux Conférences de Bruges, de 1931 et 1932, organisées sur l'initiative du Centre Européen des Associations Roerich à Paris—furent-elles des preuves éclatantes du fait que les sympathies pour cette oeuvre étaient grandes dans la société civilisée du monde entier.

Toutefois, l'ambiance internationale de l'Europe d'après-guerre, pleine d'hésitations et d'empêchements de toute sorte, risquait de ralentir le développement normal de ces grandes idées. C'est donc encore l'Amérique qui prend actuellement en mains la tâche de leur réalisation pratique en réunissant à Washington une grande conférence internationale consacrée au problème ci-dessus énoncé.

Cette Conférence, due à l'initiative privée, n'est aussi, sans doute,—au point de vue juridique—qu'une manifestation d'ordre privé; mais une série de Gouvernements n'ayant pas refusé d'y déléguer leurs représentants,

un trait d'union se trouve ainsi établi, d'ores et déjà, entre cette initiative privée et le vouloir et pouvoir de ceux à qui les peuples ont confié le soin de veiller à tout ce qui contribue à leur bien-être et progrès.

Aussi est-il permis d'espérer que, sous l'égide du Gouvernement Américain, de son grand Président actuel, des éminents Protecteurs, Chairman et Président de la Conférence, les idées et suggestions de son premier Initiateur et Président d'honneur—Nicolas de Roerich—prendront enfin corps et âme dans la vie internationale pratique. Puisse la "Bannière de Paix," enfant spirituel du Maître russo-américain, hissée une fois sur terre américaine, se répandre, avec toutes les idées qui s'y rattachent, dans le monde entier—gage idéal de Paix et d'Union entre les peuples, réalisées enfin sur la base inébranlable d'une vraie civilisation, synthèse de l'Art, de la Science et de la Religion.

Though numerous other messages have been received, particularly in the French tongue, of which, to my regret, time is too short to permit reading,—I should nevertheless like to convey lastly the message of Madame de Vaux Phalipau, President of the European Center of the Roerich Museum:

MESSAGE OF MME. M. DE VAUX PHALIPAU, Presidente, Association Française Nicolas de Roerich. Dated Paris, October 7, 1933:

Dès la fondation de l'Association Française Nicolas de Roerich, celle-ci s'est attachée à la diffusion du Pacte Roerich.

La France qui est la Patrie de tant d'oeuvres d'art et où les monuments historiques sont si nombreux, la France qui, à plusieurs reprises au cours de son Histoire deux fois millénaire, a eu à souffrir cruellement de destructions barbares, est particulièrement disposée à accueillir la noble idée de protéger le patrimoine sacré de l'Art et de la Science.

Le Gouvernement français s'est fait représenter aux deux Conférences Internationales pour le Pacte Roerich tenues en 1931 et en 1932, et l'opinion publique française a manifesté son intérêt pour le Pacte.

L'Association Française Nicolas de Roerich a le ferme espoir que la Conférence de Washington hâtera le jour où la Bannière de la Paix, dessinée par le Maître Nicolas de Roerich flottera au faite des édifices qui abritent les trésors artistiques et scientifiques de l'Humanité.

Animés de l'idéal d'humanité, de Paix universelle que le Maître a

affirmé dans ses oeuvres picturales et dans ses écrits, nous saluons la Conférence de Washington, nous saluons la grande Nation américaine, et nous souhaitons qu'un succès triomphal vienne couronner les travaux de ceux qui se sont réunis dans la Capitale des Etats-Unis sous les plis de la Bannière de la Paix de Nicolas de Roerich.

At this time I should like also to add my own voice to the voices of those who have expressed today their faith in the human race,—for to say that it is impossible that such a Banner should be realized for the protection of the world's treasures would be to admit hopelessness. And we cannot construct and build through hopelessness. We must have faith in human ability and in the elevation of the human spirit. That thirty-five nations have gathered today shows that this great project can be realized, in other words, our imagination does not exceed reality. In fact, reality surpasses our imagination, and we hope indeed that the result will be the early adoption of the Banner by the nations of the world.

That we have gathered at this Convention shows a very great step forward has been made. The Roerich Pact and Banner of Culture will bring about a higher and better understanding between the nations because the language of art, science and religion is one, and I wish to add my voice to all those who are forerunners of the great era when the Banner of Culture shall be raised in time of war and peace as our greatest contribution to the future generations. (*Applause.*)

HIS EXCELLENCY, MICHAEL MACWHITE, Minister of the Irish Free State:

CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In 1929 Professor Nicholas Roerich proposed to the nations the establishment of a pact for the preservation of treasures of Art and Science. It was to be expected that this timely proposal would meet with a full response. And so it was not long before Governments, scientific institutions and statesmen, not to

mention leaders in all fields of culture, received this worthwhile idea with full enthusiasm.

It is a unique pleasure for me to contribute all the support that I command to this pact. In fact a brief recital of the fate of most of the historical monuments of my own country may be taken as a solid argument for the existence of the Roerich Pact. Had such an agreement existed centuries ago one cannot but feel that amid the ravages of war and invasion valuable treasures of art and science would have escaped the sad fate that otherwise met them and in many instances utterly destroyed them for all time. The monuments of a people or nation are the lasting revelation to posterity of the culture, progress and achievement of a particular age or period. They send down the ages a message of encouragement and a lesson that is important and their destruction is a fatal loss to human heritage. In the resuscitated nation of the Gael away across the Atlantic there still remain proud monuments, most of them in sad ruin however, as a result of the ravages of invasion that lasted for well nigh seven centuries. These treasures of our past proclaim distinctly that our people down through the centuries were skilled enough to raise in stone some of the finest buildings artistically adorned that Europe had then seen. Irish art with its beauty and distinction, shrines, crosses, and bells, and other objects of cultural interest show that Ireland held from the earliest times its place preëminent in this broad field. Invaders swept across the land and in the course of centuries many monuments of great value were destroyed forever. But despite all this, more ancient gold art treasures of pre-Christian times remain to this day than in any other country. Imbued with instinct and training for the beautiful and strong and lasting, Irish builders erected great stone circular walls enclosing large sections of land. These walls were of considerable thickness, unmortared and most of those remaining to the present day, consisting of vast quantities of masonry. Around the summit of these walls a chariot could be driven while inside, horse racing might take place. The earliest famous Churches of the land were built in stone, with great sloping walls.

Examples of these still remain. Elaborate carvings on door and arch and window show the same distinct skill which distinguished the innumerable hand-written books of parchment, illuminated with beautiful colors proper to the time, and many of the latter, we may state in passing, are treasured in every important library on the continent of Europe. The round towers, the glory of Erin, were built too. As Christian monuments from which bells might send their ringing message to the countryside, and as places of strength for the preservation of valued articles used in Christian worship, or as welcome havens of refuge from invasion they still tell a great deal of the history of those times and those who built them and lived in them 1,000 years ago. Records of the construction of these towers are still extant and today you can count at least seventy of them which have survived the destruction of foreign invasions. Would that some such pact as the Roerich Pact might have preserved from the ravages of war all the precious monuments that the conqueror thought fit to destroy forever in our land and in other lands likewise. Civilization would be the gainer and the peoples might be encouraged to continue efforts in skill and artistry. But it is better late than never, and the more scholars ponder on the meaning of this convention today in this great free republic, the better will future generations be spared the losses that more than one great nation has suffered in the loss of precious and valuable mementoes of the past.

It is worth noting that in the Middle Ages high Crosses of great skill and artistic carving as well as symbolic design were erected in Ireland. These sermons in stone reminded a suffering people of past glories and many a mutilated cross has been reërected in Ireland to encourage the wounded heart of our nation. With the advent of the great abbeys by "winding rivers, on rich meadows, in glens and glades, by the sea margin or on the slopes of the rugged mountain" a new era of historic monument building took place. Today their crumbling walls and broken windows still can be seen in many a peaceful Irish town. I might continue endlessly about the abbeys describing their cultural art and workmanship,

but permit me to limit myself to one in particular. Cashel is called one of the wonders of the world and is built on a great high rock. The Abbey, built in the 10th century, dominates the country round about and still contains Cormac's Chapel, a carved gem of a stone roofed Church. The Round Tower and Cross are still there. The sculptured tombs alone are of great interest.

All these monuments have a charm that appeals to the heart and even dims the eye. Food for thought and an impulse to delve into the historic records of the past receive their stimulation at such scenes. Many castles and strongholds thro'out the country tell their tale too, built as they are on jutting rocks overlooking the sea or in places of vantage. Famed walled cities like Kilkenny and Kells are unique. Each encloses an abbey, many towers, gates and stone bastions. The great Keeps of the midlands and the traders towns on the east coast tell in their ruins a remarkable tale of great ages gone by forever. But the big tragedy is that every portion of Ireland has its ruins—earthworks, stone forts, pre-historic monuments, circular stone huts, early churches, abbeys, crosses, round towers and castles of all sizes and shapes. The dolmens, stone circles, and like monuments of the megalithic age and civilization, as well as the antiquities of the Bronze Age and objects in gold, are truly astonishing. You can see the story of our struggle written in their ruins and the proof of our culture in their remains. Perhaps the day has come at last that similar tragedies in other nations like the destruction of so much that was valuable to us may be prevented in future conflicts in modern civilization.

History tells us of ancient civilizations that have disappeared, of records that have been effaced, of monuments that have crumbled into dust with scarcely a stone remaining to attest their ancient glory. *Perierunt etiam ruinae.* Their very ruins have perished. And without appealing to history, are there not some amongst us who have witnessed the destruction that followed in the wake of the great war when ancient cathedral piles were irreparably damaged and priceless works of art and

literature were devoured by fire and flame? Fortunately, every civilized nation can still boast of proud monuments and of glorious artistic and cultural achievements. It is to preserve these works in which so much history is enshrined that the Roerich Pact has been submitted to us and I trust that the intellectual forces of the world today will see to its general adoption. (*Applause.*)

THE HONORABLE TOSHIHIKO TAKETOMI, Counselor, The Imperial Japanese Embassy:

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Ambassador Debuchi greatly regrets that he is not able to be with you tonight, and I have been called upon to act in his stead.

As I sat here with you tonight, I could not help wishing that I could transport you across the Pacific Ocean to the ancient Japanese capital of Nara which was founded in the early part of the eighth century. Especially I would like to conduct you to the Shosoin, the Imperial Repository, with its numerous art relics of ancient Japan. The simple wooden building with its tiled roof was built in the year seven hundred and fifty-one A. D., and there it stands today, in the midst of peaceful surroundings with wooded hills as the background. Indeed it is well-nigh miraculous that such a mere wooden structure exposed to rain and wind as well as every kind of natural calamity should have withstood the vicissitudes of nearly twelve hundred years and should still remain intact.

With such a vital example of a historical monument as the Shosoin in mind, we can appreciate the full significance of Professor Roerich's proposal for an international peace pact which would put under a protecting flag all treasures of art and science. The Shosoin which I have just mentioned, is only one of countless important examples. From time immemorial man's creative activities and intellectual aspirations have never ceased to leave their tangible marks, and they are the common

heritage of mankind. However, when we reflect what we have done to preserve such precious milestones of human achievement, we are appalled to find that, through carelessness, and neglect many such treasures have already been irreparably lost. Now Professor Roerich will fulfill the obligation of the Western world through his great humanitarian interest to preserve such monuments.

Fortunately in Japan where age and beauty are forever held in utmost veneration, art treasures and historic monuments have fared well. However, in the face of a rapid development of industrial civilization, the people of Japan conceived a plan whereby all the natural and historic monuments could be clearly designated and protected from any form of violation. In 1911 such a resolution was introduced to the Imperial Diet and was enacted as law in 1919. The Government under the direct supervision of the Departments of Home Affairs and Education at once began the work, and today all significant treasures of art and science either in public or private possession in Japan enjoy the special protection of the state.

As the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, United States Secretary of Agriculture, has pointed out in one of his lectures, the nations in recent years have been taking steps against each other in the form of economic warfares and other intensely nationalistic devices, but I trust and hope that these are only temporary measures on the highway of peace, for in the course of national as well as individual life, a state of peace is the rule, and war the exception. Peace is the normal condition of existence, and war is but a passing phenomenon. Today we are striving to build up a durable structure of international peace. Moreover the seriousness of the economic situation of the world makes us further realize how interdependent the nations are, and I trust that the friendly cultural relations existing between the Occident and the Orient may be a major contribution toward the solution of the universal problem.

Thus, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is as a tangible evidence of our sincerity and coöperation that this very day, November the seventeenth,

the Roerich Banner of Peace may be seen displayed over the Museum of the Department of Education in Tokyo. This symbol, then, in behalf of beauty and knowledge brings together again the East and the West. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN: We feel deeply honored at this evidence of appreciation and response on the part of the Imperial Japanese Government, and we beg you, Mr. Taketomi, to convey to your esteemed Government our sincere feelings of gratitude for their expression of interest and recognition, in unfurling the Roerich Banner of Peace over the Museum of the Department of Education in Tokyo.

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The Chairman here read excerpts from some of the messages received:

Je m'honore de témoigner ma bien vive sympathie pour les travaux de la Conférence se réunissant à Washington, en vue de l'adoption par toutes les puissances du Pacte Roerich.

La mission qu'elle s'est donnée pour la protection effective des Monuments Historiques et des Oeuvres d'Art en temps de guerre offre, pour la sauvegarde de la Civilisation et de la Tradition, un tel intérêt! Mais, aujourd'hui, plus que jamais, il est non moins désirable de s'élever contre la guerre elle-même, fléau dont nous devons tous, à tout prix, nous efforcer de conjurer le retour.

Paris, France
Nov. 15, 1933

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LYAUTEY,
Le Maréchal
(Marshal of France)

I want to take this opportunity of extending my best wishes and sincere hopes that you will have a most successful and inspiring meeting. I also wish to take this opportunity of commending the splendid work in which your organization is engaged. The preservation of educational, artistic, scientific and religious institutions and monuments is of fundamental importance to the continuity and development of culture. Your work has, not only a historical significance, but it should

also serve to call to men's minds the futility of settling international misunderstandings and disputes through the instrument of war. All of these monuments are milestones in the history of human progress and any endeavor to clothe them with an emblem of neutrality should be of inestimable value in further promoting the cause of peace. Even though you are interested in an international adoption of the Roerich Banner as emblem of inviolability during war, I know it is your hope that the banners of war may not make it necessary to utilize your significant emblem.

Washington, D. C.
Nov. 11, 1933

DANIEL C. ROPER,
Secretary of Commerce

The world has suffered more from war than from any other calamity. Any effort to instill the sentiments of peace in the hearts of the people is of inestimable value. Protection of all centers of art and science, religious monuments and all the world's cultural values should be agreed to by all governments.

Washington, D. C.
Oct. 19, 1933

KEY PITTMAN, *Chairman*,
Foreign Relations Committee
United States Senate

Your highly praiseworthy efforts to protect against the ravages of war the educational, artistic and scientific institutions, and monuments, as well as all sites of cultural significance, meets with my entire sympathy and approbation. On behalf of both myself and the American Navy I am very glad to send you the most cordial greetings and to wish you very success in such commendable endeavors.

Washington, D. C.
Nov. 16, 1933

HENRY L. ROOSEVELT,
The Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Par une lettre datée du 6 octobre, vous avez bien voulu me faire connaître que la 3ème Conférence pour le Pacte Roerich se réunira à Washington le 17 novembre prochain. En même temps, vous avez eu l'amabilité de me transmettre des brochures contenant des renseigne-

ments plus détaillés sur votre oeuvre, renseignements dont j'ai pris connaissance avec un vif intérêt. En souhaitant à votre 3ième Conférence un plein succès je vous prie de bien vouloir me tenir au courant de ses décisions ainsi que des travaux futurs de votre Organisation. Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Secrétaire général, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

Genève
Oct. 16, 1933

SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS
Pour le Secrétaire général
Le Secrétaire général-adjoint
Signé: PILOTTI

J'ai pris connaissance avec un vif intérêt de votre lettre du 9 octobre 1933, par laquelle vous avez bien voulu me faire connaître que le 17 novembre prochain se réunira à Washington, la troisième Conférence Internationale pour le Pacte Roerich, en vue de l'adoption par les Puissances participantes, du projet élaboré par Monsieur le Professeur Nicolas de Roerich, et dont l'objet est la sauvegarde des monuments historiques et des oeuvres d'art en temps de guerre. Je tiens à vous assurer de toute ma sympathie et de celle de la Croix-Rouge Française, en faveur de l'oeuvre de la Conférence de Washington à laquelle nous souhaitons de tout coeur le plus grand succès.

Paris, France
Oct. 16, 1933

LILLERS,
Le Président, Comité Central
de la Croix-Rouge Française

PROFESSOR RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN, Honorary President of the
Archæological Institute of America:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I take this occasion to thank you for the honor of asking me to come to address this momentous convention. I think, because I have heard it expressed, that this Third International Convention has already taken on somewhat the form of an historic occasion and I fancifully believe that within a few years we shall look back upon and talk about it as an historic event.

Mr. Chairman: I should like to congratulate the Roerich Museum

upon your outstanding adherence to one of its projects which, in my mind, is one of the utmost importance in connection with the culture and advancement of mankind throughout the world. Dr. Scott, foremost United States proponent and exponent of legal, political and cultural aspects of international law; Your Excellencies—to you the thirty-four duly accredited representatives of your respective governments, I think it is without question to those governments of yours, and to you as well as to a great number of the official representatives—some here present, others who have given their adherence to the Pact, to you I believe will in the future redound the glory of the history of this particular Convention.

Ladies and Gentlemen: War, I think it may firmly be said, war has been the chief occupation of mankind for 6,000 years. Is it not strange that the malign forces which, in specious masks, have always initiated and controlled wars, have been so long in being found out? War today stands convicted quite universally as the true child of selfish class interests and crass mass ignorance.

There is no doubt but that war has been always destructive. There is equally no doubt that it has been fought always under flaring banners of a claimed constructiveness, with blares of righteousness, under slogans of imperative necessity, self defense, or wounded prerogatives. Has not one fact alone convicted the culprit—alas, not the prisoner—before the bar of human opinion? That fact is this: Every nation after every war has made statements or issued documents to prove that it had entered the war against its will, and that the other party had begun the war, and always with some evil motive.

Peace is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." But there is no general agreement as to what Peace is. To some, Peace means cessation from war. The Roman historian Tacitus was a philosopher. He tells of the creation of a bare, uncultivated, uninhabited, no-man's land many miles wide, dividing one country from another, and then adds sarcastically, "And *they* call *that* Peace." But his *Pax Romana* has at

least the honest admission of Roman self-sufficiency: *Fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam*, "Fortune can guarantee us nothing better than discord among our foes."

To others, Peace means the unfettered opportunity to increase material wealth. But the jealous competitor, the envious racketeer, the plausible salesman of roseate-hued investments, to say nothing of the plain, unvarnished thug, are likely to be with us for a long time yet.

Peace to yet others means the untrammelled opportunity to enjoy individual moral enthusiasms. But religion has nearly always controlled morals, and there have been always widely differing religions.

But Peace through culture to the thus far chosen Few has come to mean a state of international existence in which there is opportunity to save and to preserve the irreplaceable achievements of mankind.

There are, however, still many persons who believe, or who profess to believe, that war is a glorious affair, that both nations and individuals are reborn in such a baptism of blood and fire, that new ideals are thus created, that new morale is thereby gained, that wrongs are righted, and that human rights are restored.

Now, human beings as individuals would not think alike even if it were possible to introduce the use of one, and only one, language in the whole world. Nations, composed of individuals, have never yet, in the six millenia of recorded history, been in anything that resembled complete agreement, because philosophies, literatures, religions, trade, and commerce, are all based on different ideals, on varying environments, and on local historical experiences.

Only two human activities speak the same language throughout all the world. They are Art and Science. Both are built on facts fundamentally urgent in human nature, namely, Truth and Beauty, and the correct understanding and recognition of them both.

Science is a fact-finding process in which ascertainable results occur, and then only where and when observation and experimentation are

conducted with exactitude and under unobstructed conditions. Facts speak everywhere the same language.

Art and Music also speak the same language. It is a language that satisfies and pleases the inner consciousness of those persons—really the only ones who in the long run, count—who have and who practice a mental and a moral equilibrium.

It will not be possible to arrive at a peaceful millenium in the twinkling of an eye. But the moral sanction of peoples all over the world can be secured for progress toward the appreciation of Knowledge, Beauty, and Culture, toward the realization of another Renascence, Renaissance, Rinascimento, Wiedergeburt der Wissenschaften, as you prefer, of the too long forgotten Greek ideal of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful.

To stop the waste of vandalism, to outlaw the destruction of objects of artistic imagination and production, to cast a lasting ostracism against the wilful, the ignorant, or the vicious, who destroy, or who would destroy, the "frozen music of architecture," the magnificent structures of engineering science, the wondrous creations of the sculptor, the painter, the lapidary, the musician, the poet, who has translated the ideals and imageries of his exalted mind into something good, something true, something beautiful; there is a consummation not only to be desired, but it is an ideal that now can be, and that must be, reached.

Is it not both sensible and wise therefore to begin in the smaller way that has gained already such wide recognition of its universally acceptive value? The Roerich Pact has met, it can meet, no honest opposition. Another Wise Man of the East has ridden into the conscious ken of mankind.

We need not think that we are in a New Era. New eras have often waxed and waned. But Professor Nicholas Roerich has sensed that an international spread of Culture must go along the paths recognizable as strait, even if narrow, as walkable, if perchance long, as clear, not dubious, and which have an attainable goal in sight. The Paths

which the Master has first blazed, and then leveled, will grow wider until round the globe can go, exultingly and peacefully, the proponents of a great idea, and of a greater ideal, under the graciously waving emblem, the Roerich Banner of Peace and of Culture. (*Applause.*)

DR. FREDERICK B. ROBINSON, President, College of the City of New York:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. SECRETARY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On a subject like this, it is not strange that you find one speaker is echoing sentiments already expressed by the other and it is not at all uncomplimentary to one's intelligence when he finds himself in the sorry position of repeating ideas expressed by Prof. Magoffin, and I am wondering just what our very distinguished Secretary will say about echoing what everybody else has said. However, I must cease this delightful pastime of being a college professor and undertake to read what I have written on this subject.

The noblest objective of the peoples of the earth is the establishment of a basis for permanent international peace. Attempts have been made by separate treaties and general conventions, such as the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Locarno Agreement and the Kellogg Pact, to limit or even abolish wars. However, the motives of those entering into such agreements have varied. There have been the fear of conquest by an armed foe, horror at the loss of lives among their own nationals and the destruction of their own property, and also consciousness of the fact that not even victory can compensate for the economic waste of war. Sometimes abhorrence of the brutality inherent in war has been uppermost in mind; but all too seldom has sublime love of humanity or the sincere desire to forego benefits rather than harm a brother been the guiding spirit of peace agreements. Until that spirit truly animates most men, lasting peace will not be assured.

Toward the goal of general spiritual good-will with consequent abandonment of all contention and conflict, we have made pitifully small progress. Since misunderstanding, jealousy, fear, greed and hate still find lodgment in the minds of men, war persists; nevertheless, advances have been made in men's views of war and in the practical measures of warfare sanctioned by the principal nations. There was a time when it was deemed virtuous and heroic to wage a frank war of conquest, to slaughter all inhabitants, whether combatant or non-combatant, of a vanquished people, to destroy their habitations and take away all movable objects of value. Now nations openly justify only wars of self-defense and insist that the contest is an official one between organized, armed forces only. Considerable care is taken to inconvenience neutrals as little as possible and to protect from direct violence residents of the enemy country who are not bearing arms, and especially those whose activities are of humanitarian character. The proposal covered by the Roerich Pact is not entirely new. Articles one to six of the Convention concerning the Bombardment of undefended Towns provides that great care must be exercised not to injure buildings devoted to science, charity, hospital and similar purposes. The Pact we are discussing goes further, not so much in principle, but in establishing means of carrying the principle into more effective practice. It gives such places neutral status, provides them a means of identification and sets up a procedure whereby violations may be branded as such before all men. Our ideals are always nobler than our conduct. Without diminishing in the slightest, efforts to keep alive and to spread the loftiest ideals, we may well take steps to codify practices in keeping with them.

The time is ripe for the Roerich Pact, for there is now fairly general agreement that during a war historic monuments and educational, artistic and scientific institutions have no considerable value to those directly concerned with military operations. The destruction of their personnel, property and collections can do little to insure the success of armed forces. On the other hand, their preservation is of lasting benefit to

those on both sides of the contest and to all other nations. Even if the reasoning were put upon no more altruistic basis than that of expediency, rational beings should be ready to declare them neutral and hold them inviolable.

The destruction of the great Alexandrian Library and Museum in the days of Roman conquests and of strife between Christians and Mohammedans was unnecessary from a military viewpoint, and it inflicted an irreparable loss upon victor and vanquished alike. Their destruction by fire and plunder wiped out in a few hours of blind frenzy the results of centuries of patient toil by devoted scholars, scientists and artists. We could go down through the centuries, from the ravages of Rome, the wreck of the Parthenon and the spoliations of invaders in all ages, to the destruction of priceless treasures of art and science in the World War, to demonstrate the futility and wickedness of each act of vandalism; but it is not necessary to amplify a proposition that is accepted as soon as stated.

During their brief sojourn on earth most human beings are engaged largely in activities needed to sustain existence and provide transitory enjoyments; the thoughts they think and the goods they produce pass away with them. But out of the ferment of life there come a few rare treasures which live long after their creators have passed away. These are of eternal value and their slow accumulation contributes to the ideal resources of mankind. They are the records of scientific discoveries, of technical procedures, of philosophical generalizations, of moral precepts, of religious inspiration, and other fragments of truth slowly revealed to mankind as it moves toward some distant day of light when all truth will be clear and known as a whole. So also we have things of beauty in architecture, sculpture and painting, the winged words of poets and the burning phrases of orators which are so perfect as to command universal respect. These objects of art constitute concrete representations of the highest achievements of human thought and imagination.

Ideal wealth of this sort, whether it be represented in art or set forth

in records and also preserved by living men whose duty it is to transmit the experience of past ages to rising generations and reach out for new treasures of the mind, belong to no particular land or people. They are without any limitation of race or country. They belong to humanity as a whole. This has always been true, even in ages when means of communication were few and imperfect. But now that we have vanquished time and space by railroad and steamship, by airplane and dirigible, by cable and radio, knowledge and ideals conceived and expressed in one place swiftly and surely become the possessions of all places and all peoples.

It has been said that the modern world is so linked together in economic interest that damage to industry in one country affects all; but far more true is the proposition that cultural ties are stronger and cultural influences are swifter in action. Without a single exception, damage to any cultural influence in the world immediately harms all who dwell upon the globe. For these reasons I favor an international agreement to declare repositories of ideal wealth and the servitors of learning neutral in times of conflict, and, to facilitate the practice of neutrality, the recognition of a flag similar to the Red Cross, which identifies hospitals. It may be, indeed, that some minor military officer, in the heat of battle, will knowingly or unwittingly disregard the banner of cultural peace; but such breaches would be diminished in number because of the symbol, and the acts would be condemned because of the agreement in advance that such acts are not to be tolerated.

Indeed, I would suggest that the banner of cultural peace be kept flying over places dedicated to the advancement of the good life even in times of peace. It would habituate people to the thought that in common intellectual and moral coöperation lies the real hope of humanity. Constant absorption in intellectual coöperation and reverence for the enrichment of the fine arts, the sciences and social improvement will crowd out thoughts of dissension. Therefore, let the banner of the good, the true and the beautiful fly at all times as a symbol of our devotion to that

which is spiritual rather than material, to that which is not transitory but eternal. (*Applause.*)

FRANCES R. GRANT, Vice-President, Roerich Museum:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. SECRETARY, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, AND FRIENDS, or may I better say—Kin, in a common love for the things of the spirit—we greet you!

We are met here tonight to consider the ideal embodied in the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace. Or, perhaps I may more fittingly say that, united in its belief, we are met to consecrate ourselves to the thought that the fruits of men's minds, men's hearts and men's spirits shall no longer be subject to the annihilation and corrosion of human hate and human passion. We are met in the realization that as individuals, as groups and as nations, we may no longer evade our responsibility of standing vigil against the assaults upon that heritage of beauty and knowledge which alone dignifies and ennobles mankind.

In the sad light of humanity's yesterdays, and, alas, of its today, this meeting is Imperative and Inevitable. *Imperative* because—as Nicholas Roerich has said—each hour, without the roar of cannon, assaults are made against the things of culture. *Inevitable*—because as the processes of evolution brought the nations to realize the necessity of the Red Cross, so also it is inevitable that now they be brought to realize the necessity of this Banner of Peace. And, ere the nations may come together in common understanding and unity, it is necessary that they make this step of mutual respect for the fruits of their spiritual creations.

Before I speak further of the Message of the Roerich Pact—I feel it my great privilege to speak of the Messenger. All great ideals emanate from the thought and the spirit of an individual—only in a universal heart such ideals gestate and are born. In honoring the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace we must honor its creator, Nicholas Roerich.

Since 1904, this ideal for the preservation and protection of the things of culture dwelt with Roerich constantly—whether in his archaeological researches, his stupendous artistic achievements, his writings or his explorations, this concern for culture continuously animated him. During the years of his historic Asiatic Expeditions it remained for him a living principle because for him, it was as potent a necessity in the Caves of Tourfan as in the marts of our cities. Hence, emerging from Asia in 1929, one of his first acts was to promulgate this plan. And apparently the hour was ripe for its fulfillment, because it immediately won the endorsement of governmental and cultural leaders, and was hailed at two successive conferences in the city of Bruges, and by official and cultural bodies throughout the world.

Roerich has been a preserver, a restorer, a creator of beauty. Thus, as the creator of this doctrine for the preservation of the creations of all men and all nations, he comes to it by the path, not of theorist, but of Toiler, propounding an ideal glorified and envisioned before him through years of ardent labor.

Let us then give honor to one to whom honor is due. This also is growth in a growing world—that the creator be regarded with veneration. We honor the creator not as the individual but as the instrument, the vessel within the cup of whose spirit dwells the thought of service to the whole of mankind.

Thus, this is called the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, because the Man and the Message are one. Hence tonight we give honor to Roerich, as one who saw the wound within the cause of men's relationship and offered the balm to heal it and make it whole.

And now for his Message. The time has come for a reëxamination of our allegiances. Without lessening the devotion to the ideals and causes of our groups and nations, we may nevertheless realize our responsibility before the whole of mankind. A new pattern of life is emerging in the world—the world has become smaller; with each new scientific discovery the peripheries of earth move closer together. Our

neighbor is no longer only our fellow clansman, or our compatriot; but even, truly, the dweller of another hemisphere. In a changing world, we need a changing spirit. Prejudices, intolerances, should hold no place in a world of neighbors. Respecting our neighbor, we must learn to respect his ideals, and give veneration to the fruits of his spirit.

And this respect, this sweetness of spirit among men, is no abstract principle but an absolute and real force. We have learned to think of the contagion only of hate, but there is a far greater contagion in love and understanding. The love and understanding of one man alone—Francis of Assisi, that morning star of the Renaissance as he has been called—mellowed the entire world of his time, assuaged it and sped the harmonious emergence of the Renaissance. And what irresistible force could be forged by men and nations united in this one determination: that Culture must have our common vigilance and protection!

Thus we must especially emphasize that this Banner must not fly alone in time of war—it must fly more often and especially in times of peace, as its great symbol. And when men come to realize that the site canopied by this Banner is inviolate—then this symbol shall come to canopy those true Temples, which can alone make for peace—the hearts and the spirits of men.

Recognizing the principle of this Banner—one glowing with vital implications—let us here determine that this meeting to which we have come, shall send forth a common call to all the world. Realizing the inevitable challenge of posterity, let us with courage and determination face the need of understanding between nations. I call upon this gathering to ask the nations to unite as one in the respect of the artistic, scientific, religious and educational sites, and in their common preservation and protection under this Sign. Let us together call for a restatement among men of the principle that the things of culture and spirit are forever sanctuary.

In this light, only, may our epoch be recorded as a brave one! It was Walt Whitman, that Voice in the Wilderness, who said:

“Towards you all, in America’s name,
I raise my perpendicular hand,
I make the sign to remain after me in sight
And sound forever, before all the haunts and
Homes of Men.”

And today the prophecy is fulfilled—this is the Sign—the Banner of Peace—which must remain forever before the haunts and homes of men, in witness of its healing principle.

As a final word—I would like to turn to the East, whose lyric heart spins beauty about its ideals. In Asia there is a word made luminous by the hopes, the ideals, the aspirations of millions of souls. The word is Shambhala—which represents a synthesis of a new advent of Light and Spirit when man may be united and illumined in the common force of Truth. We of the West also know this thought—save that we speak of it as a New Deal, a New Dawn—embodying the hope of a new renaissance when men will be animated by new principles of understanding and coöperation. What more natural, then, that we should find the way to this apotheosis through a common vigilance of Light and Culture. Thus, under this Banner of cultural unity, East, West, North, and South may become as One.

The East has said that when the Banner of Shambhala would encircle the world, verily the New Dawn would follow. Borrowing this Legend of Asia, let us determine that the Banner of Peace shall encircle the world, carrying its word of Light, and presaging a New Morning of human brotherhood.

Thus, let us unitedly consecrate ourselves to the thought that this age shall not betray the things of the spirit. That we shall dedicate ourselves to the protection of the patrimony of humanity, as set forth in this ideal, created by Nicholas Roerich. For only in this light, unashamed and proudly, may we dare to face the Inevitable Tribunals of *Posterity* and of *The Supreme*. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN: The Roerich Museum has long been proud to have the Honorable Henry A. Wallace a friend of its services in the cause of human knowledge. We feel the deep privilege and honor in having him as the Protector of this Convention—one of America’s greatest sons, a self-less worker for the happiness of his people, and an illumined devotee of culture—of all that is noblest and best. I introduce the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, and Protector of the Third International Convention for the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, to whom we are so deeply indebted for his great assistance and sympathetic understanding of this Cause.

We are deeply appreciative of his Protectorship and his enlightened support of this movement.

THE HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE, United States Secretary of Agriculture, Protector of the Convention:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, from many walks of life and from many Nations: One of the most enjoyable of my experiences in connection with my contact with the Roerich Peace Pact has been the deeper acquaintance it has brought me with the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull. I have in the course of certain conversations with him become even better acquainted with his very deep desire to realize the economic machinery in the way of appropriate tariffs necessary to enable the heart of the people of the entire world to manifest itself more appropriately in the deeper manifestations which we all so much love, and it gives me a very great pleasure at this time to read to you the MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE which he anticipated that I would read to you:

“Dear Secretary Wallace: This is not a time for the United States even to seem to withhold its approval from such a plan for the preservation of the accomplishments and results of civilization in its intellectual and cultural domain.

“As I understand that you are planning to attend this Convention

yourself, it would seem entirely appropriate and I would be grateful to you if you would be good enough to represent me on this occasion for the purpose of conveying to the assembly a message along the following lines:

"I have learned with interest and personal satisfaction of the efforts now being made for the protection and preservation of the educational, artistic, and scientific works in every country during any period of hostilities in which they might be subject to destruction or injury. While there are in existence certain agencies for the protection of such works, I am in entire sympathy with the objects for which the meeting you are now attending was called, and I would be gratified if these aims could be accomplished." (*Applause.*)

It has been most interesting to me this afternoon after listening to the various speakers representing several different nations to catch the aroma, if you please, that comes from these separate nations—the breath of Ireland coming out—reverberating out of the past, and looking toward the future with increasing hope; that touch of artistic genius of Japan;—all different thoughts and methods of expressing the innate genius of people of different inheritance, many with different governmental organizations, yet through those differences running the common aspirations of humanity. Now, as the distinguished Dr. Robinson has suggested, we do find it necessary to make our remarks for the record and by a strange fatality it will be discovered Dr. Robinson and I, in one case, have used the same illustration.

In these days of great discord it is well for those who have faith in our common humanity, regardless of nation or class, to meet together. Those terrible forces unleashed by the World War have too long caused the nations to fight each other with the deadly economic weapons of tariffs, quotas, and speculative currencies. This economic warfare has, by throwing men out of work on a world-wide scale, caused more impoverishment than the actual physical warfare from 1914 to 1918. Unfortunately we have no machinery for declaring an Economic Peace. As we look at the complexities of the tariffs, the quotas, the currencies, and

the International debts we see possibilities for endless strife. Here in the United States we have bound the world to us by loaning billions and billions of dollars and at the same time have thrust the world away by our tariff policy. Many European nations have striven desperately to keep out American products by tariffs, quotas and currency manipulations. In this way, with everyone to blame or no one to blame, as you please, the world has arrived at its stage of greatest heartsickness.

In such a time the opportunities are great for those in position to hold up before the eyes of the world the idea of the Unity of the Human Heart regardless of Nation, in the worship of beauty, of culture, of science, and of education. Hatred, prejudice, fear and greed have acted as the virus of a dread disease to make the whole world sick, but fortunately the world like the human body builds up resistance. The anti-bodies, the white blood corpuscles which restore health to a sick world, have to do with those things which transcend national boundaries. These finer, broader, human aspirations which are so important are often intangible to many people unless materialized by symbols, pacts and organizations.

Many symbols have been used for broadening the human mind. One of the most ancient and useful of these has been the cross, symbolic of infinite sympathy with suffering. A modern adaptation is the Red Cross, conceived and promoted originally by Henri Dunant, a Swiss who witnessed the terrible suffering of the wounded at the Battle of Solferino, in Italy, in 1859. Conventions were called in Switzerland and finally in the late sixties most of the European nations had signed the agreement, establishing the Red Cross as the International symbol for the alleviation of physical suffering. For many years Clara Barton and other humanitarians strove to get the United States to adhere to the Convention of Geneva but it was not until sixteen years had elapsed and thirty-one other nations had signed that Clara Barton, by making a direct appeal to President Garfield, was able to cut the red tape which

had kept the idealistic heart of the United States from manifesting itself in its true light.

Tonight we are concerned with another symbol strangely like the Red Cross in many ways. The Red Cross is concerned with the healing of wounded physical bodies—the Banner of Peace is concerned with the healing of hurt souls, spiritual bodies wounded by international discord, fear, hatred, greed, and ugliness. The cross suggests the Trinity, unity in diversity and finally infinite compassion, however great the misunderstanding. The Banner of Peace with its three spheres enclosed in a circle tells the same story but here we are dealing with the spirit rather than the body.

The Roerich Peace Pact, of which the Banner is the symbol, aims to protect in time of war the cultural body of mankind, the Universities, the Libraries, the Art Galleries, the Cathedrals and the other treasures of the spirit. If they are registered as institutions of culture and fly the Banner of Peace, they thereby become recognized as neutral territory by the signatory nations. Would that the nations of old had flown the banner of cultural unity in the midst of national diversity and that we might have preserved the Alexandrian Library to this day. And while we today still retain a considerable amount of our pre-war optimistic confidence in endless progress, there are many who now shudder at the thought that the barbaric, disintegrating, hateful forces may finally reduce some of our most precious treasures to the status of the Alexandrian Library.

It is to the manifold genius of Nicholas Roerich that we owe this plan. For thirty years, since he first pronounced his concern for the preservation of the world's cultural treasures, he has dedicated himself tirelessly to this ideal. And tonight, when the end seems so close of fulfillment, we may send to Nicholas Roerich our tribute as a creator and as an indefatigable leader in the cause of world cultural unity.

The World War wounded and killed millions of physical bodies—the Post-war has maimed hundreds of millions of spiritual bodies. We

have all seen friends and relatives whose inmost being has been twisted by the hatreds and prejudices of these terrible times. Whole nations, writhing in their pain, have practically gone insane. The terror created by the world-wide depression of the past three years has been almost equal to that of the World War itself. And the end is not yet. The nations are still shrinking fearfully away from each other, erecting barriers against each other, using tariffs and depreciated currencies to harm each other at the expense of the general good.

We in the United States during the past four months have plowed under ten million acres of cotton and slaughtered six million little pigs in a desperate attempt to behave as a creditor nation must behave when it has destroyed the foreign markets for its surplus by high tariffs. As we contemplate further acts of nationalistic contraction, we perceive an infinite number of readjustments and we wonder more and more how far we should travel the path of national self-sufficiency. It is urged that we should recognize that we are a part of humanity—a part of the community of nations by reducing our tariffs as a creditor nation sooner or later must and by furnishing leadership to bring order out of the international monetary chaos.

But behind all economic forces and all International Conferences are the simple things which have to do with the attitude of the human heart. The universal appeal of the Red Cross is based on this simple fact. The Banner of Peace comes to the attention of Americans today at a time when it seems all mankind has lost faith in International Economic Conferences and Disarmament Conferences, when it seems that the nations were never more suspicious of each other. I am not one to urge an idealistic symbol such as the Banner of Peace as a substitute for effective action in the world of hard economic facts. But I do say that it is high time for the idealists who make the reality of tomorrow to rally around an International Flag of Cultural Unity. This is no narrow proletarian Bolshevism that I am preaching but an appeal to that appreciation of Beauty, of Science, of Education which runs across

all national boundaries to strengthen all that we hold dear in our own particular governments and customs. If this Cultural Flag, this Banner of Peace, this symbol of International Unity is lifted up in these dark days by the stronger nations, we may speedily realize the vision of Isaiah when all the nations will come to the mountain of the Lord and Universal Peace will descend.

Strikingly enough the flag of the United States is very similar in its concept to the Banner of Peace. Our flag is a symbol of the Unity of 48 diverse states. The Banner of Peace represents diversity by three dots and Unity by the enclosing circle. I trust that the time may come when this symbol will be held dear by all who truly love their own nation and in addition appreciate the unique contributions of other nations and also are prepared to do reverence to that common spiritual enterprise of mankind which draws together in one fellowship all artists, scientists, educators and the truly religious of whatever faith. These men of good-will have been scattered and discouraged. Let them lift up their hearts unto the Lord of the Unity of the fundamentally worthwhile things of the spirit and it will not be so long before the International Economic and Disarmament Conferences will be a success.

In the world of practical affairs, many of the leaders, whether in business or in politics, tend to lay their emphasis on legislation and the social machinery which is built therefrom. All this is important and I would be the last to decry the work which has been done by the emergency organizations working out from Washington during the past six months. Yet as I have watched these efforts representing literally hundreds of millions of human contacts, I have reached the conclusion that social machinery, no matter how intelligently constructed and sympathetically administered, cannot by itself be enough. I believe wholeheartedly in the New Deal but it is absolutely essential as every responsible person in the nation wrestles with the problems precipitated by the New Deal that all of us become imbued with the concept that our efforts are directed beyond benefit to a particular class or region or even the nation itself.

To make us feel truly at home in this universe, all of us are helped by the thought that our efforts are ministering to the long time good of mankind. Such concepts are necessarily vague. They have to do with the emotions of the human heart and cannot be set down in words. But after all is said and done, these things which have to do with the attitude of man toward the universe are the fundamental realities, and the handicraft of man that we see about us is the shadow.

In this connection, I like to think of the concept of Spengler who finds all civilizations going through spring, summer, fall and winter. In the spring time, he finds the spirits of men bursting with the importance of their attitude toward the universe. At first this attitude has no very tangible method of manifestation but shortly it pushes forth in the region of cathedrals, painting, literature and music. Then finally the intellect comes to triumph over the heart, science brings control over nature, and there comes a period when the abundance of material things first gives man great pride of conquest and finally demonstrates the inadequacies of the purely intellectual approach. Then comes the time of great danger when men tend to lose faith and question whether anything is really worthwhile after all. This in paraphrase is the scheme of civilization as set forth by Spengler, the German philosopher, and Petrie, the great Egyptologist. This outline of the rise and fall of the human spirit is truly suggestive, but, in my opinion, only very partially true. But undoubtedly the supremely important thing in all civilization is the faith which animates myriads of human hearts simultaneously by some divine contagion of the spirit.

History repeats itself but always in a new way, and I trust against an ever larger background. This would seem to be especially true at the present time. The extraordinary faith in the sacredness of the individual which has served the world so well for so many centuries is now apparently about to be merged into a larger concept, a striking symbol of which is the Banner of Peace with its crimson circle enclosing the three smaller spheres. As this concept more and more pervades

the world, we can have the individual person and the individual nation each striving to attain his own unique destiny and his own type of perfection with a simultaneous respect for the strivings of others and a recognition that all such efforts are comprised in the larger whole. This dream which is essentially the same as that of Micah and Isaiah of more than 2,000 years ago can be fulfilled in considerable measure during the next century.

I am here tonight because I believe that it is this dream which gives reality to all our efforts to create material wealth and work out an improved social machinery for distributing that wealth. We must have a unifying principle to which all our hearts can give supreme allegiance while we work out in the sweat of daily effort the millions of difficult details. In this way we can work with faith and joy anticipating the spiritual reality of which the Banner of Peace is the symbol. (*Applause.*)

At this point the Chair recognized HIS EXCELLENCY, DR. FERDINAND VEVERKA, Minister of Czechoslovakia, who rose as a point of order and re-read the following from his address, in reply to a reference made thereto by a previous speaker. "Peace is a state of mind, peace is a primary state of things, not a reverse of war, not a breathing spell between struggles."

The Chairman announced that at 11:30 the following morning the report of the RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE would be submitted for a vote of the Delegates in attendance.

CHAIRMAN: If there is no further business the Chair is willing to recognize a motion to adjourn.

Motion made, seconded and carried that the meeting adjourn until Saturday morning at 10:30.

MORNING SESSION *

November 18, 1933—10:30 A. M.

Chairman

MR. LOUIS L. HORCH,
President of Roerich Museum.

CHAIRMAN: The Convention will please come to order.

HONORABLE DELEGATES OF GOVERNMENTS, MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS, HONORED SPEAKERS, DELEGATES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

For those who were not here at the previous sessions, I wish to state that it has been highly gratifying to witness the enthusiastic responses from Delegates of Governments and from many cultural leaders who have wholeheartedly endorsed Professor Roerich's great project—The Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace. Messages from all over the world endorsing this movement have been received, and I regret that time does not permit to read the many interesting and inspiring thoughts expressed on this subject.

It also gives me great pleasure to state, for the benefit of those who were not present at last evening's session, that the Honorable Toshihiko Taketomi, official Delegate of the Imperial Japanese Govern-

* The Organizing Committee regrets that it is unable to publish in complete form all the splendid messages of greeting delivered personally as well as those sent to the Convention, but hopes to do so in a subsequent volume covering the progress of the Roerich Pact.

ment, announced that his Government unfurled the Banner of Peace on November 17th over the Museum of the Department of Education in Tokyo. We have been pleased to receive a congratulatory letter from the Honorable Y. Ishimaru, Director of the Bureau of Arts and Cultures, Department of Education, Imperial Japanese Government, Tokyo, expressing his pleasure in hoisting the Banner of Peace over the Museum, and wishing success to the Convention.

It would be interesting at this time to point out some of the diverse sites over which the Banner has been unfurled:

Union International Pour le Pacte Roerich, Bruges, Belgium
 European Center of Roerich Museum, Paris, France
 Latvian Roerich Society, Riga, Latvia
 Madanapalle College, Madanapalle, India
 Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, Nagar, India
 Roerich Museum, New York
 Crawley Museum of Art and Archæology, Asheville, North Carolina
 A.M.O.R.C., San Jose, California
 National Highways Association, Cape Cod, Massachusetts

THE HONORABLE SEÑOR DON EDUARDO L. VIVOT, First Secretary
 of the Embassy of the Republic of Argentina:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In doing me the honor of appointing me its Delegate to the Third International Convention for the promotion of the world wide adoption of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, the Government of the Argentine Republic has especially recommended that I emphasize the satisfaction with which it participates in and adheres to its lofty principles.

These very principles have always been sustained by my country and

its people as much by the words and acts of its rulers as well as those of its statesmen and professors of international law.

My country is typically a peace loving country as it has shown throughout its history, not only in theory but in facts, upholding the utility of obligatory arbitration, submitting also to this method of justice its differences with other nations.

The most recent ratification of these principles has been manifested by the Argentine Government in its proclaiming an Anti-War Pact of Non-aggression and Conciliation to which several American nations have already adhered, and through which is "organized a permanent system of conciliation in international disputes as the most effective means of insuring the moral and material benefits the world derives from peace."

A logical consequence of this conduct is the sympathy with which my country looks upon any idea tending to reduce the dire consequences of war, when this means has been found inevitable.

This is why Argentina has observed with keen interest, from its very outset, the commendable idea of Nicholas Roerich and has followed the progress of its development.

Nothing is more precious and intangible for all the nations of the world, without any race distinction, than its cultural treasures. Works of art, monuments and edifices, dedicated to sciences and letters are beyond any political conflicts and must be protected against armed attack. They are the patrimony of humanity and therefore, in time of peace as well as in time of war, they must be inviolable.

The aim pursued by the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace is none other than to insure this inviolability, within the limits of possibility, and my country warmly applauds this idea and adheres to its aims.

I thank you. (*Applause.*)

MR. GEORGE D. GREBENSTCHIKOFF, President, Siberian Roerich Association:

MR. CHAIRMAN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I think there is nothing to add to those brilliant greetings, messages and speeches, which we heard here.

The only word I would like to say is a quotation from one of the Siberian legends. There we have the beautiful rocky mountains of Altai, and some of them are resembling the faces and the bodies of human beings. According to one of the legends those mountains were a long time ago real giant valiant knights and the most unconquerable warriors. They were fighting dreadful fire dragons, eating the people, and they couldn't eat and drink until the victory. But one of them met a beautiful girl and she gave him some good wine and he gave the wine to others. And all the valiant knights fell down asleep, because the wine was poisonous and the girl was a witch. So they are destined to sleep for centuries until one wise and holy man will come and will pray for them, also for centuries. And if the holy and wise man will stand by during the centuries, only then the valiant knights will rise again and will conquer the evil.

The people, telling this legend, sometimes point to the sleeping giants, dressed in rock chain-mail, calmly crossing their arms upon the chest and looking with wide open eyes somewhere very far over the earth.

In one of the paintings of Nicholas Roerich named "Ecstasy," we know such a mountain and even we know the holy man, who is standing there as an eternal, never sleeping warrior, praying to the sky and with inexpressible calmness waiting for awakening of those giants.

Maybe my comparison is unsuccessful, but in looking at the work of Prof. Roerich and his great idea to awaken the world through the safeguarding of the treasures of Culture, I can compare it only with that holy man in the painting "Ecstasy." Incomparable is his endurance and incomparable is the work of his collaborators and followers, to

whom I shall give the most sincere tribute and admiration. My admiration for the collaborators of Prof. Roerich is growing more when I witness the modesty of those co-workers.

Sometimes they create real miracles in their achievements for Prof. Roerich's ideas. So, besides that holy man in Ecstasy, we see other holy men and women in Ecstasy and there is no doubt that the sleepy giants will awaken and will conquer.

But I shall extend my comparisons.

If we will establish the fact that the world and individual countries are asleep and may be blind, so they cannot see and protect their own treasures and creative intellects, we must realize that there shall be the contemporary witch, too, who is giving the poisonous wine to our giants, so they fall down asleep. So, in my opinion, one of the first aims of this Convention is to find out the address of that destructive witch. Who or what is she? Somebody might answer that she is ignorance. I shall say: No! Because ignorance cannot have a chemical kitchen to produce such a poison, from which the whole world is now in trouble. The contemporary witch is too wise and even too educated, so she has become a power of darkness. Sometimes this darkness is so powerful that the light of the Sun cannot be seen. I dare to think that there are not enough compliments given to great men and warriors, but we shall get together with the aim to help them and help quickly so that the witch doesn't become a world dictator.

Most honest and most cultural people of this century are under oppression of this witch, who destroys not only the treasures of Culture and Art and Religion, but the most brilliant representatives of those classes. The foremost spiritual geniuses are under the yoke of that witch. But who is she? I believe there is no necessity to search for her very long. Just to have an honest look around and you will see her shameless cynicism on every step of our life. You will see her even on the tribunes of art and literature, destroying the highest and the most spiritual traditions of the true Culture. Who is she? She is—atheism! . . .

Godlessness—is her name. This is why she wants to destroy Raphael and Rubleff and demolish most historic temples and the most worshipful articles of religion. In his last letter Prof. Roerich writes me: "By this line of godlessness you first of all will recognize darkness." So it is not difficult to recognize who she is and where she is doing her destructive work. She is everywhere and she is very often in our neighborhood.

So, besides my deepest admiration for this Banner and my best wishes for the success of this great movement in the name of a real (I repeat this word—a real,—it means spiritual) a real Culture, I would like to express my most profound appeal before this exclusive audience as follows: Let us be united not only in the promotion of the Roerich Pact, but for a world united spiritual battle against all sorts of vandalism, against atheism and against godlessness, as the most dangerous evil of last decades. (*Applause.*)

MRS. GRACE MORRISON POOLE, President, General Federation of Women's Clubs:

MRS. POOLE: Thank you very much indeed, Mr. Chairman. I just want to make a little correction in the title. We are not simply the General Federation of Women's Clubs—but the General Federation of Women's Clubs of the World, for the sun never sets upon the organization. We have 76 clubs outside of the boundaries of the United States.

I am wondering if you ever played the game described as "If." I imagine we all played it more when we were children than when we were grown up. When we grow up we become somewhat self-conscious and lose the simplicity of a child.

Sometimes I play that game of If, and I think back over the history of my own country. I wonder If George Washington had been on the other side of the fence in the Revolutionary War, whether today we would have been the United States of America or whether we might not have been the Great Commonwealth of the British Empire.

And to go back again, I wonder If my own State of Massachusetts had not been so dictatorial and South Carolina had not been so quick at the trigger, would we have had that war—that Civil War—that divided the North from the South. And then I wonder again about the sinking of the Maine—that incident that threw us into the wholly unnecessary war with Spain.

And again, I wonder If the great countries of Central Europe and of Britain had sat down and cooled off for a minute, whether we would have had to see the disastrous War of 1914. And I usually come back to this thought about all mankind. If we could keep our faith and our purity of thought which came to us as children, I wonder if we would need all these Pacts, all these Banners of Peace, to try to protect our treasures against the awfulness of man when he runs amuck.

It seems to me the head of this great organization, Nicholas Roerich, has kept that idealism of a child. I have been interested the last week in reading a great deal about him, and his organization built upon light, upon beauty, which we need so much at this present time to help us bear this drab, everyday life we are enduring. And so, if that faith and idealism of light, and beauty which we find generally in the mind of a child could come to us at this time, oh, what it would do for the world.

And then I think a little farther—when man runs amuck and war strides through this world and takes not only human lives but destroys the beauty that has been built and created for us by men and women down through the years; if we try in those days when we are invaded to protect the lives of those who are wounded,—can we not find some way to protect the man-made beauties of the world?

And so the General Federation of Women's Clubs two years ago, in Phoenix, Arizona, endorsed a peace banner—not necessarily your peace banner, because you know women have always got to make the decisions as they come along, and therefore, there might be 100 peace banners. We endorsed a peace banner, but no other peace banner has come along.

Therefore, I have every reason to believe we are heart and soul back of your banner and are most sympathetic in what you are trying to do.

I have been reading over your list of sponsors—my it is a very wonderful list, it really goes all over the world, and I thought we were doing a fine piece of work—this is a fine piece of constructive work, but, oh, just think, we are protecting man-made things: beauty, of course, but man-made things, and we still fail to protect that which God made a little lower than the angels. And I find though this is a great step, that you and I must never relax until we may be assured that that which God made a little lower than the angels, shall not be subject to annihilation.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs of the World is very happy to bring its good wishes and greetings and congratulations to this Convention. (*Applause.*)

Miss Esther J. Lichtmann here read a MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM M. C. TULPINCK, President of the Union Internationale Pour Le Pacte Roerich, dated Bruges, Belgium, October 23, 1933:

Lors de la fondation à Bruges, en 1931, de "l'Union pour la protection, en temps de guerre, des institutions, missions, collections artistiques, scientifiques, monuments historiques et beautés de la nature," M. de Roerich, notre éminent Président d'honneur, nous faisait parvenir un flatteur message dans lequel *"du fond du coeur, il exprimait son admiration pour la noble idée de réunir à Bruges, ce joyau légué par les siècles, une conférence qui va donner une réalité tangible à notre Pacte de Paix."*

Il m'est doux de reprendre, en ce jour, dont j'apprécie tout le poids, ces prophétiques appréciations, en rendant grâce à celui dont l'oeuvre d'intellectualité et d'humanité a permis de susciter ce vaste mouvement qui, par la 3ième Assemblée générale de l'Union étend sa lumineuse activité sur le sol des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Il m'est agréable de vous dire que le pays des Pharaons, berceau de la civilisation, par une assemblée de l'Union, associera la terre d'Afrique à nos efforts et à nos buts de culture.

J'émetts le voeu, auquel je vous prie de vous unir, que les Indes, dans l'orgueil de leurs millénaires splendeurs asiatiques se lèvent également, sous l'égide de l'Union, pour l'honneur et la gloire du monde.

Dans les temps à venir, la reconnaissance des peuples restera acquise à celui qui, guidé par un puissant idéal et une profonde pensée, poursuit le bien de l'humanité tout entière.

Je m'autorise du présent message pour adresser à MM. les Trustees du Roerich Museum tous mes sentiments affectueux pour l'appui qu'ils ont bien voulu accorder à notre initiative. Je me plais à comprendre dans ces sentiments les membres du Centre Européen de Paris. Nulle peine ne leur fut trop lourde, nulle joie ne doit leur être mesurée.

Je me sentirais bien ingrat si je n'offrais dans le respect et le charme du coeur, aux nobles Représentants des Etats-Unis et des Nations représentés l'affirmation de mes profonds et respectueux hommages.

A vous tous, Mesdames et Messieurs, j'adresse la chaleureuse expression de ma gratitude et, laissez-moi ajouter ici mon admiration, car, oubliant vos soucis présents vous avez voulu tendre la main à ceux qui luttent pour l'idéal et pour la paix.

Dans l'hommage de nos profonds respects, rendons grâce à S. S. le Pape, à S. M. le Roi des Belges qui daignèrent, par des lettres qui resteront dans les fastes de l'Union, encourager nos premiers pas. A la Société des Nations, à la Conférence du Désarmement, à l'Académie Française, à ces corps savants, à ces innombrables personnalités qui, des confins du monde, nous firent parvenir l'expression de leur intérêt, s'adresse notre souvenir ému.

L'Europe, en ses civilisations diverses crie ses alarmes, la nation américaine dans son élite et dans ses masses, percevant le bruit des chevauchées infernales, veut participer pratiquement à nos efforts, et aussi, je le proclame dans la ferveur d'une inébranlable conviction, dans la victoire dont je salue à ce moment sur la libre terre de Washington, la brillante aurore.

La grande nation américaine sera le guide qui éclaire et la main qui protège.

Les beautés naturelles de votre admirable pays ne connaîtront pas les ravages de la guerre; les oeuvres d'art qui enrichissent vos musées et vos demeures, les travaux de science de vos savants, resplendiront toujours intangibles dans un ciel qui n'aura point connu la sinistre lueur des obus.

Cette situation privilégiée confère à votre intervention, un caractère de noblesse dont toutes les nations doivent bénéficier.

Je me complais à cette vision qu'il y a trois ans à peine, nous étions un enfantelet, chancelant sur ses faibles jambes, étendant au sein d'une foule indifférente ou sceptique ses menottes se fermant, dans le vide et, cherchant vainement, dans le flot mouvant des passions déchaînées l'ancre de salut.

A l'heure qui sonne la voix de l'enfantelet, dont les boucles d'or ont blanchi sous le travail et les soucis, retentit haute et claire, sous tous les cieux.

Au mois de Juin dernier, l'Union après avoir saisi la conférence du désarmement a remis à tous les Gouvernements une note sollicitant leur intervention. A la date du 16 Août l'Ambassade des Etats-Unis en Belgique voulut bien m'accuser réception de notre requête et de l'exemplaire du Pacte Roerich.

Le "Semeur" ayant ainsi jeté sa graine dans le sillon, il faut qu'elle germe et fructifie.

J'adresse à tous cet appel que je voudrais émouvant comme l'ultime regard dont l'oeil scrute le sombre avenir.

Hommes d'Etat songez à vos responsabilités, honorez vos Pays en provoquant des initiatives salvatrices, prêtres de toutes les croyances, que dans les temples votre parole retentisse comme l'appel divin. Et vous, femmes de toutes les nations, criez votre volonté de ne point voir abandonner à la barbarie l'oeuvre dont vos fils doivent s'enorgueillir comme d'un bien sacré.

Mais, il appartient aux travailleurs intellectuels du nouveau monde, de nous accorder leur concours le plus actif, le plus persévérant, car si l'heure consolatrice doit sonner la tâche ne sera point complètement achevée.

Il nous faudra par une collaboration universelle rendre la jeunesse de tous les pays apte à goûter les bienfaits de la culture.

C'est à ces préoccupations que, répondant avec une générosité à laquelle nous nous plaisons à rendre un solennel hommage, M. de Roerich accueille nos propositions de créer à Bruges, centre de l'Union Internationale, la "Fondation de Roerich, Musée Pro Pace, Arte, Scientia et Labore."

Cette oeuvre, sans pareille, suite de "l'Exposition des Villes d' Art Ancien, Châteaux Historiques et Palais Seigneuriaux de 1932," à Bruges, est appelée à commémorer, à travers les âges sur le sol d'Europe, son nom et son enseignement.

Déjà son exemple a porté des fruits,—la ville de Bruges nous a

accordé un immeuble pour l'installation des oeuvres de M. de Roerich; aussi, sont nombreuses les nations et les villes qui ont répondu à notre appel en faisant don de photographies, documents, objets d'art et des collections que nous désirons, divers, variés, nombreux.

Temple de Paix, d'Art, de Science et de Travail, tel est le sanctuaire où dorénavant brillera, au milieu de la gratitude du monde, le nom, l'oeuvre et la mémoire du promoteur du Pacte.

Daignent les illustres, Représentants des Nations provoquer les libéralités de leurs pays respectifs.

Il appartiendra aux Etats fédéraux, aux Universités, aux Bibliothèques, aux Musées, aux savants et hautes personnalités de cette grande terre d'Amérique de coopérer généreusement, sous toutes les formes, à l'enrichissement de ce musée symbole de culture universelle, gage de vos sentiments humanitaires, témoignage de votre admiration.

J'ai la crainte d'avoir abusé de votre patience mais, il m'est si doux de penser que cette grande assemblée agit sous l'empire des plus nobles sentiments que je veux vous annoncer que le conseil d'Administration du Musée, ému de la détresse de tant de praticiens, a fondé "L'Assistance des Chômeurs Artisans d'Art" par la restauration des monuments, au moyen d'une coopération financière susceptible d'intéresser les éléments internationaux.

Plaise au Dieu clément que notre initiative soit suivie.

Sous l'empire de ces espoirs, je désire vous affirmer mon inébranlable dévouement à la cause qui nous unit.

Permettez-moi d'y ajouter un souhait; qu'il me soit donné de recevoir, à la Fondation Roerich, dans les sentiments de la plus vive cordialité et déférence vos hommes politiques, vos savants, vos artistes, vos philanthropes comme aussi vos Ligues de femmes dont la multiplicité et la valeur constituent pour les Etats-Unis une couronne dont j'apprécie toute la beauté de Paix, de culture et d'Amour. (*Applause.*)

MR. MAURICE M. LICHTMANN, Vice-President of the Roerich Museum:

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, AND FRIENDS: The entire world is facing at present, a situation unprecedented in the history of mankind.

On one side have gathered the Forces of Light, guided by the Blessed Hierarchy, to save humanity from utter destruction. On the other side have gathered the forces of darkness for the purpose of destroying mankind and to plunge the world into chaos and anarchy.

The battle of Armageddon ceased to be a legendary fancy, but became to an enlightened and unprejudiced mind the very reality of life.

Lincoln—the Martyr—President of America, just before his assassination, wrote to a friend of his the following prophetic lines: "Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing its close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. But I see in the near future, a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country . . . I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country, than ever before, even in the midst of war."

Great Prophets of all times, and of all religions, spoke of this "Time of Trouble," and their mission was to prepare mankind to face this Age with an enlightened consciousness and a readiness to join the Forces of Light in their eternal struggle against the forces of evil.

It is most significant that in a time like this, a great cultural leader should be destined to head a movement which will strengthen mankind in its fight for its cultural and spiritual treasures.

And this man is Nicholas Roerich, the Forerunner of Culture and Peace to come, the great Prophet of our age, the true Parsifal and bearer of the Holy Grail. For the last forty years, Roerich, in flaming proclamations, prepared our generation for the great changes which have already come, and are yet to come. And for the last 30 years, Roerich worked unceasingly for the great cause of Peace through Culture. His Banner of Peace is a fiery call to all mankind to preserve in these turbulent times, above all, the results of human genius. Verily, the time has come for the world to accept the Banner of Roerich, as a living symbol of Culture and Peace. And the time is not far off when this Banner will be unfurled over all the Houses of God and over the buildings which house the results of achievements of human genius and thought. It will

be of historical significance for the future generations to know who were the first to adhere to and support this panhuman idea of Nicholas Roerich! It will be of still greater importance to record the names of those who actively participated in unfurling the Banner of Peace. Because these enlightened minds shall go down into the records of history as pioneers of a movement which will burn much of the darkness prevailing, at present, throughout the world.

Like his ancestors—the Viking Roerich sets up the Banner of Peace on the soil of America, for a peaceful conquest in the great cause of Culture and for the general good of all mankind.

The Fiery Chalice of Roerich's creativeness summons mankind to be "afame in heart and create in love."

And Roerich's Banner of Peace will before long become a meeting place for all those who are striving to build, out of the present chaos, a new and better humanity.

The reconstruction of the world is about to begin. And it is due time to begin to build, as Roerich says, "from the ancient wondrous stones, the steps of the future." Our first duty is thus to preserve these wondrous stones of the past achievements of men, so that they may become the rightful heritage of our present and future generations.

It is our joyous duty and privilege to gather under this Banner of true Culture to discuss the active participation in the reconstruction of the world. Above all, it is our happy duty to set up this Banner of Light as a beacon to guide humanity in these days of stress, so that a new consciousness may be advanced in the hearts of our fellow-men, while the New Deal takes root in the "Novus Ordo Seclorum," which is inscribed upon the reverse side of the Great Seal of the Government of the United States.

The history of America points out some remarkable incidents, which prove the theory, that this country was established under the direct Guidance of the Hierarchy of Light. The builders of this nation accepted this Guidance with their hearts, and accomplished, therefore, in little

more than one and a half centuries, the most remarkable things ever accomplished by any nation in the history of mankind.

The very Seal of the Government of the United States of America proves that this country has been established upon the highest principles of true spirituality. The unfinished Pyramid upon the reverse side of the Seal means that some day, the Master Builder shall Himself guide the destiny of this country and it is therefore, that the Apex Stone with the All-seeing Eye is suspended over the unfinished Pyramid, awaiting the time when it will rejoin the entire structure.

Verily, the time has come for this country to see, that the Head Stone should not be rejected by the builders. Only then, the prophetic inscription under the unfinished Pyramid, "Novus Ordo Seclorum," shall be fulfilled in all its beauty and grandeur.

The phenomenal growth of the United States of America is but a short prelude to the coming development of this country, when the Apex Stone will be set to crown the, as yet, unfinished Pyramid, which stands in the chaos of the bewildered nations of the world. The New Jerusalem is being established on earth, in our present time, and America's destiny is to help the construction of this Universal Kingdom.

Again the Blessed Hierarchy of Light is guiding the first steps of the reconstruction of the Pyramid. Again, as in 1776, the Blessed Hierarchy of Light directs the good fortune of this country to be used for the General Good of mankind. Again under the guidance of the Hierarchy, the impossible shall become gloriously possible, and accomplished.

Verily, from all the nations of the earth, America deserves to reap this rich harvest, because since its foundation, it never ceased to serve as a refuge for those in trouble, and it never ceased to speak the fiery language of the heart. America is the veritable melting-pot of the universal family of men, a veritable fiery furnace, wherein the polluted stream of mankind is purified by the flame of Liberty, and where all the centuries-old prejudices are burned to ashes, out of which, the free American rises like a phoenix. A new race is being forged out of the exiles of all

nations, creeds, and races, upon the free soil of America. May it help to carry the Banner of Hierarchy throughout the world!

And free men and women, risen from the ashes of yesterday, shall unfurl Roerich's Banner of Peace, as a true Symbol of Brotherhood of Man and Fatherhood of God. (*Applause.*)

GENERAL ALFREDO DE LEON, President of the Colombian Cultural Roerich Association:

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It has been a great privilege for me and one of the best and most pleasant recollections of my life, my association with the Roerich organizations, which has given me the opportunity to bring my small grain of sand to the magnificent spiritual fabric that the zeal and devotion of Nicholas de Roerich and his gallant coworkers have put up for the refuge of humanity, the encouragement of hope, and the preservation of faith in human goodness.

On these splendid gatherings made possible by the tenacity which crusaders always display for a great cause I have been thrilled and touched with the great response that various Governments have given to the summons issued in the name of art and science, and by authority of the spirit, by a private institution whose aims are so lofty, so noble and so powerful that it has dared to call the powers of the World as its Peers and treat with them as Power to Power.

It is remarkable, Ladies and Gentlemen, that in this time of mistrust and suspicion the voice of the spirit, like a bugle call to battle, summons the Nations, and they come to pay homage to the great immortal force that always is creating and never perishes.

Just a week ago was commemorated all over this Nation Armistice Day, and on that occasion we all thought with horror and misgivings of the dreadful ruins which like an accusing finger are pointed out for

the eternal shame of this materialistic civilization of greedy money lenders and merciless manufacturers of ammunitions. What a pain to the soul when we behold what is left of the majestic cathedrals that were the pride of former generations and that, stone by stone were built through the centuries of painstaking toil, laid to waste by cannon or completely obliterated by the torch.

After fire ceased in the battlefield, after the maimed were put out of sight, and the wounded healed, the genius of Professor Roerich unfurled the Banner of Peace as a balm for the wounds of the soul and as a prayer for forgiveness for the felonies committed against the fruits of the spirit in the pitiful moment of human error and blinding fury.

Today we are here reunited with the Diplomatic representatives of foreign powers to pay homage to the Creator and to uphold the symbol by which we all hope to appease the fury and to learn not to repeat the errors for which we are so ashamed.

It is imperative to bring this movement to full realization now that the past horrors are fresh in the mind and that black and menacing clouds gather over the whole world with the same tragic appearance that those which preceded the tempest of fire and death, misery and suffering in 1914.

The time is ripe and we must act. I would dare to propose that since the Governments have given such a warm reception to this magnanimous and altruistic movement; and since the Roerich Cultural Flag is already since yesterday flying over the Museum of Tokyo; it is now to the citizens of the various countries to jump over the Chanceries and its traditions and request the Parliaments of their Countries to take legislative measures by means of which the Roerich Covenant and its flag should become a Law of the Country. By this third Convention it is easy to see the universal support and approval that the Roerich Covenant and the Banner of Peace have received that it would not be difficult to predict that at the coming Convention it would be announced that this great conception is a Law of all the civilized Nations.

The Red Cross drive is in full swing and this let us hope will be as successful a drive as the previous ones because there is in the people a Red Cross consciousness. Let us create a Banner of Peace consciousness, since both ideas are kin to each other and are also the offspring of compassion.

Let us pray that the spiritual forces which are showing more clearly every day their strength help us to carry out this undertaking for the glory of the spirit, and the spiritual victory of man over hate and ignorance; and that the precious spiritual heritage received from the past generations will be handed out to posterity complete and unmarred. Let us resolve that the great mistakes of Alexandria and Louvain shall not happen again. (*Applause.*)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Chair is ready to recognize the report of the COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS of the Convention.

DR. ARTHUR E. COOK, Member of the Committee on Resolutions:

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, DELEGATES AND FRIENDS: The Committee on Resolutions has considered and now presents the three following Resolutions, which have been submitted, and, believing that they crystallize the sentiment and desires of this Convention, recommends their adoption:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

WHEREAS the World's cultural achievements constitute the greatest treasures of the human race, and are the common heritage of all humanity,

AND WHEREAS injury to these treasures is a violence against the common benefits of mankind and of the future,

AND WHEREAS the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace have

been created by Nicholas Roerich, internationally renowned artist and cultural leader, for the protection of churches,* museums, libraries, universities, and other monuments and treasures of culture and all natural sites and their designation by the Banner of Peace as inviolable and neutral at all times,

AND WHEREAS the Roerich Pact has been unanimously endorsed by the International Museums' Committee of the League of Nations as well as by numerous governmental and learned bodies and numerous leaders in the world of culture,

AND WHEREAS the efficacy of this cause depends upon its adoption and application by the nations,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that the Third International Convention for the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace recommend the adoption of this humanitarian measure by the nations, and implore Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, again to demonstrate his noble attitude towards the cause of cultural protection, by adopting this measure and sponsoring its adoption by the other nations of the world.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

WHEREAS the World's cultural achievements constitute the greatest treasures of the human race, and are the common heritage of all humanity,

AND WHEREAS injury to these treasures is a violence against the common benefits of mankind and of the future,

AND WHEREAS the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace have been created by Nicholas Roerich, internationally renowned artist and cultural leader, for the protection of churches,* museums, libraries, universities, and other monuments and treasures of culture and all natural sites and their designation by the Banner of Peace as inviolable and neutral at all times,

* "and all religious monuments, temples and shrines"

AND WHEREAS the Roerich Pact has been unanimously endorsed by the International Museums' Committee of the League of Nations as well as by numerous governmental and learned bodies and numerous leaders in the world of culture,

AND WHEREAS the efficacy of this cause depends upon its adoption and application by the nations,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Third International Convention for the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace recommend the adoption of this humanitarian measure by the governments of all nations as a demonstration of the noble attitude of their people towards the cause of cultural protection and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the appropriate representative of each nation.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

WHEREAS the principles embodied in the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace lend themselves to adoption or adhesion by unilateral action through proclamations of the executive, by bilateral action, through international agreements, and by multilateral action through declarations of international conferences,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Chairman of this Convention be directed to transmit copies of the Resolution recommending the adoption of this measure by all nations, through the proper channels to the Governments, to international conferences, and to international organizations working for peace and culture, for such action as they may consider appropriate.

MOTION: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this Report.

CHAIRMAN: Is this motion seconded?

Motion seconded and the Resolutions unanimously carried.

MOTION OF GENERAL DE LEON, President of Colombian Roerich Society:

GENERAL DE LEON: Mr. Chairman, may I in support of these Resolutions and in order to carry out this work, introduce this Motion:

It is highly desirable that the work and accomplishments of this Convention rapidly be carried forward to the end that the fulfillment of our ideals may be realized as quickly as possible.

I therefore move that the Chairman be directed to appoint a PERMANENT COMMITTEE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE ADOPTION OF THE ROERICH PACT AND BANNER OF PEACE.

Motion seconded and unanimously carried.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you, General Alfredo de Leon, and as Honorary Chairman of this Committee I herewith appoint the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, and also the following to serve on this Committee: Hon. E. Gil Borges, Acting Director of the Pan-American Union, Prof. Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Mr. Henry James Forman, Dr. Charles Fleischer, as well as the Trustees of the Roerich Museum.

This Committee will continue the path already blazed by other bodies and carry on the general promulgation of the Pact and Banner of Peace. Every means and measure will be considered and employed to bring the realization and fulfillment of the aims of the Pact and its recognition by the nations of the world.

I am happy to have the opportunity to express a special word of thanks and deep appreciation to Miss Esther J. Lichtmann, Vice President of the Roerich Museum, through whose vision a Meeting dedicated to the Banner of Peace was called together in New York, at which the idea of this Convention was first conceived.

I wish at this time also to express our gratitude to the members of the Organizing Committee of this Convention, as well as the chairmen and members of the other committees, and friends, who have contributed so generously of their time and services in this Cause.

It is my pleasure also to mention a word of gratitude to the Trustees of the Roerich Museum, who have untiringly devoted their efforts to this project.

THE VEN. ANAGARIKA LHASHEKANKRAKRYA, President of the Universal Union for the Diffusion of Budhic Philosophy, brought a greeting expressing his endorsement of the Convention and its purposes in the name of Buddhism.

DR. EMANUEL DE MARNAY BARUCH, the eminent President of the Goethe Society, in his greeting touched on the great peace message in Goethe's philosophy.

The Chairman here read a message received from the European Center of Roerich Museum, dated Paris, France, October 7, 1933:

Le Centre Européen du Roerich Museum adresse son salut à la Troisième Conférence Internationale pour le Pacte Roerich, qui conformément à l'idée du Maître Nicolas de Roerich, doit servir à protéger les trésors sacrés de l'Humanité.

Nous sommes heureux de penser que cette nouvelle Assemblée Internationale se réunit sur le sol des Etats-Unis qui ont si souvent donné des preuves de leur dévouement à la noble cause de la Civilisation Universelle.

Le fait que le Gouvernement de Washington a accordé, en la personne de l'Honorable Henry A. Wallace, son haut patronage à la Conférence, renforce encore nos sentiments de gratitude et d'admiration envers la grande Nation américaine.

Le Centre Européen s'est efforcé, de toutes ces dernières années de promouvoir l'idéal du Maître sur ce continent. Lors des deux premières Conférences, tenues à Bruges, nous avons pu constater déjà combien vaste était le mouvement d'opinion en faveur d'une protection efficace des monuments historiques et des oeuvres d'art.

Les actes de vandalisme, qui, à maintes reprises ont causé la perte de tant de trésors artistiques inestimables—y compris, hélas, tout récemment encore, des oeuvres du Maître Nicolas de Roerich lui-même—démontrent l'urgence de sauvegarder les créations de l'esprit humain.

Aussi croyons-nous que la Conférence de Washington, avec la collaboration de toutes les Nations qui y sont représentées et avec l'appui des grandes Institutions américaines, réussira à faire adopter le Pacte Roerich, permettant ainsi au Droit International d'accomplir un nouveau progrès.

Tous ceux qui ont à cœur l'idéal élevé de Civilisation, de Lumière et de Paix dont le Maître Nicolas de Roerich s'est fait l'ardent apôtre, ne manqueront pas de s'unir pour souhaiter à la Conférence de Washington de faire triompher le Pacte et la Bannière Roerich dans le monde. (*Applause.*)

AMENDMENT TO THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS:

DR. ARTHUR E. COOK: Mr. Chairman, a suggestion has been made since the adoption of the Report of the Resolutions Committee that certain of the nations had no churches but had religious shrines and monuments which they believed were not adequately covered in the Resolutions, and if by unanimous consent we can revert back to that report, I suggest adding the following words after the word "churches" in the first and second Resolutions: "and all religious monuments, temples and shrines." If there be no objection, these words will be inserted as indicated.

CHAIRMAN: If there be no objection, we will revert back to the Resolutions.

Motion made, seconded and carried that the additional words be inserted in Resolutions Nos. 1 and 2.

CHAIRMAN: All those in favor please signify by saying aye. Response: AYE. The suggestion was unanimously carried.

IDA JOLLY CRAWLEY, Director, Crawley Museum of Art and Archæology, in expressing the greetings of the South, hailed the Convention as a memorable beacon-light in international relations.

MR. J. G. PHELPS STOKES, Vice-President of the Roerich Society:

MR. CHAIRMAN, GUESTS: One of our speakers a little while ago, in endorsing wholeheartedly the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, expressed the hope that some day a still greater Pact would be advanced looking not merely to the protection of human works, but to the protection of those human lives "whom God made but little lower than the angels."

I am sure, Mr. Chairman, I will be permitted to say that there is nothing known to man higher than those expressions of the human soul that the Roerich Pact seeks to protect; for the human soul is divine, and its expressions embody the visions, the aspirations, the attainments of life divine incarnate in man! It would not be true to say that the Roerich Pact seeks to protect mere works of man. The Roerich Pact seeks to protect, wherever possible, the works of the human soul, and the human soul is no lower than the angels!

For the human soul is an awakening expression of the Life that is One, that is Infinite, that men call God; and its works are beacons set up through the ages for the inspiration and guidance of man.

From the very earliest days there has been veneration, adoration, for the expressions of the human soul. And throughout the ages those who have truly expressed the ideals of the soul have been light-bearers, living as gods among men. Through the harmony of their souls within the Soul Divine, through the harmony of their music, their sculpture, their painting, their art in whatever manner expressed, they have led men to ever higher attunement with one another within the Life Divine. We are told that God sent His Son to shed Light that all might live more abundantly. Throughout the ages, light-bearers have arisen who, similarly, though varyingly, have shed light for the guidance and illumination of mankind.

Today, in the western Himalayas there dwells such a Light-Bearer, seeking to lead men's steps through the harmonies of culture to and along the paths of peace. He and his co-workers offer to the world the Roerich Pact for the international protection of the cultural monuments of man. Culture—the Cult of Ur—means nothing more nor less than the spreading of Light, and devotion to Light, in the highest sense. The works of

culture are the works of the illumined human soul; and he who asks our aid for their world-wide protection is a herald of the dawn of a new day in which true Light shall replace darkness, and men shall dwell in the peace of that Light.

Let us then hail Professor Roerich, and those wonderful coadjutors of his, and wish them all that can possibly be meant by the words: God speed! (*Applause.*)

MRS. RABIA MARTIN, Representative General of the Sufi Movement in the Western World, outlined the great contribution to human unity in the work of Nicholas Roerich and promised the full support of the Pacific Coast.

THE HONORABLE MIGUEL LOPEZ-PUMAREJO, Special Appointee of the Government of the Republic of Colombia:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am very happy indeed of this opportunity to bring a cordial message of good-will and the greetings of the Government of the Republic of Colombia, and to express on their behalf their wholehearted support and endorsement of the Roerich Pact. (*Applause.*) The people of Colombia have maintained an unbroken tradition of respect and admiration for all creative efforts and accomplishments of humanity, and they will stand in readiness at all times to support enthusiastically all such endeavors and movements as the Roerich Pact which mark decided and definite advancement in human relations in the universe, and also promotion and preservation of cultural achievements. I would be happy, therefore, if I could interpret these sentiments by subscribing, before this gathering is over, some tangible and positive resolution that we sponsor the Roerich Pact. (*Applause.*)

M. DZAMBULAT DZANTI, Director of Ossetia, France:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It gives me great spiritual joy to have the honor to greet this Convention in the name of the European Center of the Roerich Museum, Paris, and in the name of my

country, Ossetia, through the gates of which the nations of Asia migrated to Europe.

The Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace calls the nations of the world to protect the monuments of Art, which represent the source of civilization and human genius.

To destroy a temple of Culture is equal to the destruction of entire mankind. I, as a warrior of the last world's war, who have witnessed this vandalism, call on you, delegates of this Convention, to grasp strongly Roerich's Banner of Peace and raise it higher than the black clouds which are hanging over the entire world, as an ominous sign of our present time.

I speak as a son of Ossetia, which during thousands of years, has seen horrors of war, which garbed us in this military garment so that we, her sons, may defend not so much our lives, or our homes, but the results of the creative efforts of our ancestors, about which Herodotus mentions in his writings.

As a representative of the European Center of the Roerich Museum, I came specially from Paris to read my paper "The Banner of War and the Banner of Peace." In view of the fact that the time for each speaker is limited, because of the great amount of delegates, who ardently desire to voice their adherence to the Roerich Pact, I shall read my message at the Roerich Museum very shortly.

I hope that the efforts of this Convention will bear fruit and the future generations will appreciate the labor of all those, who participated in this work and their names will be recorded in the history as a shining example of our present era.

With great joy, I hail our Leader, Prof. Nicholas Roerich, and wish him and his followers, in the name of suffering humanity, complete victory in his noble ideas of bringing Peace and Good-Will to the entire World. And may his Banner of Peace be unfurled over all the cultural hearths of all nations. Hail Roerich—the symbol of Peace. (*Applause.*)

International Broadcast

CHAIRMAN: We will now hear an international broadcast, whereby this noble project will be broadly sent into space for listeners throughout the entire world.

MISS FRANCES R. GRANT, Vice-President of Roerich Museum, gave greetings to the unseen audience, and introduced in turn the speakers, Dr. Charles Fleischer and Mr. Leon Dabo.

RADIO ADDRESS BY MR. LEON DABO (*Excerpt*)

Consciously or unconsciously the quest of beauty is the great aim of all life, in all the universe.

All that we have in life which distinguishes us from the lower brute creation we owe to this urge for beauty and perfection. It is the driving force back of human laws as it is the elemental principle of higher laws. The visible expressions of this aspiration of man are preserved to some extent in museums under the care of the state or of municipalities. The object is twofold. First—to hold before us examples of the life and the aspirations of entire peoples who have disappeared. Secondly, to stimulate and encourage humanity.

So man, intent on creating as much beauty as he can in his life and in the world, is in reality aiming at that perfection which is the crowning characteristic of life in higher worlds. This is the meaning of the quest, the quest that began when he became a living soul, that will end only when the work of time is done.

Each people, every nation has expressed the aspiration for the divine in the arts. Wars, as well as ignorance have destroyed much. Such fragments as are found among the ruins of buried cities are tenderly cared for by the State and by municipalities so that coming generations may profit by the ladder on which the spirit of man has climbed from the lower brute toward not only beauty but toward the principle of higher laws.

The Roerich Banner of Peace is designed to act as a protection

against further senseless and criminal destruction of these expressions of the divine in man. Professor Roerich, appalled by the destruction of churches, public and private edifices with their often priceless contents, proposes that Governments shall agree to respect buildings protected by the Banner as Governments agreed to avoid shelling of hospitals flying the Red Cross.

In itself, this is a beautiful thought, and to think beautiful thoughts is to cultivate beauty in all its forms. Such thought is necessary if the end in view is no more than the growing of beautiful flowers. And the great works of art are the flowers of the Soul.

RADIO ADDRESS BY DR. CHARLES FLEISCHER (*Excerpt*)

Many have spoken here—on behalf of Nations, on behalf of Religion, on behalf of Science and Art and Literature, on behalf of the organization of the Human Race on the basis of Peace and Culture. Many have spoken—and yet, it seems as though One Illumined Spirit has spoken again and again, from the heights of the Himalayas—sending his light-bringing voice through the infinite ether, and speaking his habitual universal word of aspiration.

Obviously, I refer to our beloved and revered Leader, Nicholas Roerich!

I am sure that he would wish me to say, in closing, that it is fitting that this Convention (which represents practically the whole of Humanity) has been held in the United States of America; so that our Banner of Peace and Culture, here unfurled, becomes easily a prophetic symbol of the United States of the World.

Following these addresses, MISS FRANCES R. GRANT concluded the Broadcast by summing up the action of the Convention and paying tribute to Nicholas Roerich, as creator of the Roerich Pact. In the name of those assembled, she made a strong plea, calling on all nations to adopt this

ideal for the preservation of the world's culture, thus consecrating themselves to a new humanity based upon the principle that knowledge and spirit must prevail, serving to bring closer the ideal of brotherhood among men.

CHAIRMAN: Permit me to take this moment to extend our most sincere thanks to the officers of the National Broadcasting Company for their splendid coöperation in making these broadcasts possible.

MR. J. EARL SCHRACK, Director of the Academy of Creative Arts of Roerich Society, promised active coöperation in spreading the principles and ideals of the Roerich Pact towards its realization.

The Chairman here read a MESSAGE FROM THE MAHA BODHI SOCIETY, dated Calcutta, India, September 11, 1933:

On behalf of the Buddhists and on behalf of the Maha Bodhi Society in particular, we wish to convey our fraternal greetings to the delegates assembled in Washington for the purpose of taking a further step in the noble work of preserving the treasures of art, religion, and science, in the event of another world conflagration. Buddhists of India in particular feel the necessity of such a Pact as they have suffered most terribly by the numerous invasions of India. No Buddhist can witness without feelings of profound sorrow and indignation, the images of the Blessed One, the Lord Buddha, the magnificent University buildings of Taxila, Nalanda, etc., in utter ruin and the innumerable Viharas scattered all over India, completely destroyed by the insensate folly of India's invaders. Wave after wave of destructive forces have passed over the magnificent art treasures of Buddhism, and the Buddhists had to look on with tears in their eyes as their priceless treasures were being reduced to ashes.

The news of the noble efforts of Professor Roerich, therefore, came to them as the beginning of a new era. It is the wonderful genius of

Professor Roerich which has conceived the most practical method of preserving the Art Treasures in this splendid way. He has conceived the idea and has formulated the scheme in its fullness and it is now up to the peoples of the world to heartily support it and get their respective Governments to place their seals of approval on it. That every nation will finally accept the Pact, we have not the least doubt, for the most advanced nations of Europe had the painful experience of witnessing the destruction of some of their invaluable treasures during the last war. They cannot be so callous and devoid of every sense of aesthetic feeling as to remain unmoved while the beautiful creations of the master minds of their nations are being destroyed by human folly. But it may take some time yet before they fully realize the necessity for this Pact and therefore, the duty of those who believe in the future of mankind is to carry on the great struggle till they achieve success. As it has been rightly pointed out by Prof. Roerich, the idea of the Red Cross took a long time for the nations to adopt but today it is the one redeeming feature in the fields of human slaughter. Preservation and protection of art treasures are not less important than the work of the Red Cross Society as man minus the achievements of the best of his family can boast of nothing great. Therefore all honor to Professor Roerich for his wonderful conceptions and every success to the efforts of the Convention! We have no doubt that the Buddhist countries are entirely in sympathy with the movement, and if proper representations are made to their Governments they will be among the first to sign the Pact.

In conclusion we wish to add one more word. By placing the idea of the Pact before the world, Professor Roerich has made the greatest contribution to the peace of the world in recent times and the fact should be fully recognized by all the nations of the world. If there is any person who deserves the Nobel Prize for peace it is Professor Roerich who is undoubtedly one of the greatest promoters of peace and good-will among the warring nations of the world.

May every success attend the deliberations of the Convention.

On behalf of the Maha Bodhi Society,

(Signed) DEVAPRIYA VALISINKA,
"General Secretary.

MR. ARTHUR DEERING CALL, the distinguished Secretary of the American Peace Society, in his message of greeting to the Convention, called on America for a new coöperation with the nations and a new reign of Peace and Justice among men.

The Chairman here read a MESSAGE FROM MR. V. A. SHIBAYEV, Secretary of Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, Naggar, India:

It is announced that on November 17th, in Washington shall take place the Third International Convention of the Roerich Banner of Peace. After two successful Conferences in Belgium, now the capital of the United States responds to the panhuman idea propounded by Prof. Nicholas Roerich.

Instead of glorifying shells and cannons, this great artist proposes one World Banner which will be used as a symbol of protection over all cultural treasures of humanity. As a guardian of high Culture, this Banner shall warn every assailant: "*Noli me tangere*—here are real values of humanity." May there, during our civilization, be no such vulgar barbarian hand which would dare to commit vandalism, although, to our sorrow, such vandalism takes place even now, not only during wars, but also through rudeness and gross ignorance!

Already around this Peace Movement a large and significant literature has accumulated. 'Peace through Culture'—such is the motto of Roerich, and this remedy for peace kindled legions of hearts throughout the world.

Let us see how prominent personalities resound to Peace through Culture with the special World Banner, which according to the words of the Founder, Professor Roerich himself, "should protect the spiritual health of humanity just as the Red Cross flag protects physical health."

Before me are several books and pamphlets and articles dedicated to the Roerich Pact. Here is an article from the *New York Times*, headed "Roerich is hailed as Peace Leader." In it opinions of several outstanding personalities are quoted: Prof. Albert Einstein in his message expresses admiration for the founder and his cultural work and wishes the under-

taking "continuous development." The Consul-General of Germany in the U. S. A., Dr. Paul Schwartz, brings the congratulations of President von Hindenburg. Admiration for the activities is expressed on behalf of King Alexander of Yugo-Slavia by Dr. Radoye Yankovitch, Consul-General.

H. M. King Albert of Belgium sends his message of greetings to the Peace Conference. H. H. Pope Pious XI also sends his appreciation of the work of the Conference. President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, as well as the President of Mexico, express their sympathy for the Pact. L'Academie de France, as well as the City of Paris, add their vote to the choir of other academies, cities and universities.

Let me quote from the book *The Roerich Pact*:

"Dr. Rabindranath Tagore writes to Prof. Roerich: 'I have keenly followed your most remarkable achievements in the realm of Arts and also your great humanitarian work for the welfare of nations of which your Peace Pact idea with a special banner for the protection of cultural treasures is a singularly effective symbol.'

"Maurice Maeterlinck writes: 'I am at full heart in accord with the signatories of the Roerich Pact. Let us group around this noble ideal all moral forces at our disposal.'

"Sir C. V. Raman writes: 'Your idea of a Banner of Peace is truly a great one. I am not surprised that it is receiving both approval and practical adoption. I wish it all success!'

"The following are further quoted at random:

"The President of Kyushu Imperial University, Dr. Chinjiro Matsuura wrote: 'I take pleasure to agree with you on this idea.'

"Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose announces: 'Regarding your excellent suggestions for the preservation of valuable objects and scientific works, I have every sympathy.'

"The Poet-Laureate of England, Gordon Bottomley, exclaims: 'I need not say that it has my complete and earnest sympathy and that I believe every means ought to be taken to secure its universal adoption.'

"Claude Bragdon 'approves of the Pact most heartily.'

"Members of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, M. Adatci, Dr. Antonio de Bustamente, Dr. Rafael Altamira and Dr. Loder have also recorded their sincere adherence.

"The President of the National Arts Club of New York, *John Agar*, expressed 'readiness to assist this worthy endeavor.'

"The world-famous conductor, *Leopold Stokowski* of the Philadelphia Philharmonic Orchestra, affirms: 'I am wholeheartedly in sympathy with Prof. de Roerich's ideas and ideals for the International Pact to protect artistic and scientific treasures. It is a noble project!'

"*Prof. Edgar Hewett*, eminent American archæologist, greets the Banner: 'Assuredly the spirit of this proposal must commend itself to all right-thinking people of the world.'

"*Prof. Anesaki of the Tokyo Imperial University* 'has the pleasure of expressing warmest endorsement of the project.'

"*Japan's Prime Minister, M. Hamaguchi*, states that 'the Pact will make a signal contribution towards promoting the Culture of Mankind.'

"The *Minister of Education, of Nanking, M. Chiang*, finds that 'the Pact is of immeasurable humanitarian value, since art treasures are universal property and belong to no one nation or nations. I regret only that it has not been thought of earlier.'

This is but a mere fragment of literally thousands of appreciative endorsements received continuously from cultural leaders of the world. And I cannot omit adding the following most significant messages:

The First Lady of America, *Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt*, writes: "I think the ideals represented by the Roerich Pact cannot help but appeal to all those, who hope that the best in the past may be preserved to guide and serve future generations."

Mrs. William Dick Sporborg, as *President of the New York Federation of Women's Clubs*, on behalf of 400,000 members writes: "We are going to lend our spirits and all of our influence to such movements as this very great man Nicholas Roerich initiated. . . . I want you to know that we stand foursquare back of your organization, and we feel it a great honor to be permitted to add our great tribute to Nicholas Roerich."

I quoted these competent opinions not merely because of the November Washington Convention. Besides this special occasion, it is always uplifting to hear how great men think of Peace and of the protection of true human achievements. I not only rejoice myself in recollecting these benevolent humanitarian messages, but I know that such joy is not egotistic—for all will enjoy sharing in it. (*Applause.*)

DR. FREDERICK L. KETTNER, Director, Biosophical Institute of Roerich Society:

History does not lack geniuses and leaders who inspired humanity with their visions of a new society. It is encouraging that today again humanity has an opportunity to fulfill a great mission. In the Banner of Peace of the great Nicholas Roerich we see the desire for the realization of that for which man has long striven—world peace.

But can world peace be realized if the youth is not properly educated in special schools for character culture? And who else but the peace-loving leaders can be their teachers?

The advance under the Banner of Peace has become a reality for the young men and women of the Spinoza Center of Roerich Society and the members of the Biosophical Institute of Roerich Society in whose name I bring greetings to this Convention.

Although we are living in a period of storm and stress there is no real cause for pessimism as long as educators and leaders of the world will be interested in preparing the youth for a new future on the basis of character and peace education.

In this regard it is encouraging to read the enlightening thoughts expressed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Third Annual Women's Conference: "Youth has to change politics. It has to change business ethics. It has to change the theories of economics, and above everything else, it has to change—well, its own weaknesses."

Is not this the most important problem with which we are confronted today—to help the youth "change its own weaknesses" so that the history of the future will not be a repetition of the errors of the past?

President Roosevelt in his radio address of October 13th expressed similar convictions. "It seems to me," the President said, "that it is only through constant education and the stressing of the ideals of peace

that those who still seek imperialism can be brought in line with the majority of the people of the world."

Since our educational systems, as they function today, do not include in their curricula real character improvement and peace education, we need a new type of institution in which the youth will be trained for an unselfish life of service to the individual, the state, the nation, and the world.

The world is in great need of a new kind of school—a school of life or "biosophicum"—where young men and women can learn to improve their characters on the basis of unselfish thinking and so help in the upbuilding of a better society based on culture and peace.

We are fortunate, however, in already having great leaders and practical idealists in the cause of peace. Professor Roerich is a mighty pioneer in this beautiful venture. It is to the Banner of Peace, of which he is the founder and for which this Convention stands, that the special Peace Issue of the Biosophical Review has been dedicated. By using the Banner of Peace as a symbol of the deepest sentiments the youth would learn to understand that important as the national flags are, such a cultural flag as the Banner of Peace is not less important. Let us therefore add to the national flag the Banner of Peace. And no doubt youth and humanity will profit by that.

RESOLUTIONS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, DR. RICARDO J. ALFARO, MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes His Excellency, Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Minister of the Republic of Panama.

DR. ALFARO: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before this Convention adjourns I desire to introduce two resolutions which I am sure

are the sense of all those who have attended this Convention. The first resolution is this:

"WHEREAS this Convention was called together for the high purpose of endorsing the high cultural achievements and ideals for the preservation of the priceless treasures of art, education and science advocated by Professor Nicholas Roerich,

"AND WHEREAS this Convention has endorsed these ideals,

"THEREFORE, be it resolved that this Third International Convention for the World Wide Adoption of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, recognizes, applauds and commends the high purpose of character and unceasing efforts with which PROFESSOR NICHOLAS ROERICH has carried on his great humanitarian work in the promotion of Peace and Culture.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Chairman be instructed to send a copy of this Resolution to Professor Roerich."

And the other resolution is:

"I wish to commend the ability and the very fine manner and spirit in which this Convention has been conducted and presided over by our Chairman. I therefore move that a vote of thanks be extended by the Convention to MR. LOUIS L. HORCH on behalf of those participating here, and on behalf of all those who are interested in the promotion of this great cause."

The Resolutions were seconded and unanimously carried. The Chairman expressed his deepest appreciation to His Excellency, Dr. Alfaro, Minister of Panama.

MRS. E. BRAMHALL CULLIS, Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Letters, in her message pointed out the great meaning to Poland of the preservation of cultural monuments, as embodied in the Roerich Pact.

At the conclusion of her address Mrs. Cullis brought greetings from leading cultural societies in Poland, wishing success to the Convention.

MRS. SUNDAR GIFFIN, well-known poet and President of the New England Roerich Society, brought the expression of warm support from the New England friends of the Roerich Museum.

The Chairman here read a MESSAGE FROM LAMA LOBZANG MINGYUR DORJE, distinguished Tibetan scholar:

On receiving the news that a great assembly will be held at the capital for the sake of the Banner of Peace promulgated by Prof. Nicholas Roerich, we were filled with immeasurable joy.

Even here in this country of Tibet in former times during the war with the Hor the destructions that took place at that time are even now not reconstructed.

In recent times during the Sino-Tibetan war many monasteries and priceless sacred objects have been destroyed in the districts of Eastern Tibet. Grave harm was done and until now it could not be reconstructed. Some were rebuilt, but nothing similar to the old ones and this is a matter of great grief.

The Banner of Peace created by Prof. Nicholas Roerich should receive attention from all Governments. All should think over it that this Banner should be recognized and made law by all the countries.

(Signed) LAMA LOBZANG MINGYUR DORJE.

Presented on the auspicious date of the 22nd of the fifth month of the female-water-bird year.

MRS. MARGARET EYRE ROTHWELL, distinguished Shakespearean authority, and President of the Roerich-Shakespeare Association, highly endorsed the principles of cultural protection as created by Nicholas Roerich in the name of the Roerich-Shakespeare Association.

MOTION OF MISS ESTHER J. LICHTMANN, Vice-President of Roerich Museum:

CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes Miss Esther J. Lichtmann, Vice-President of Roerich Museum.

MISS LICHTMANN: I would like to move that a vote of thanks be extended to all the Delegates of nations who have coöperated so splendidly in this great cause of Culture.

Motion seconded and unanimously carried.

Closing Address of Louis L. Horch, Chairman:

It is with the very deepest sense of gratitude that I extend our appreciation and thanks to the Delegates who have convened on this occasion, and who have endorsed the aims of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace by passing the Resolutions to further its course for universal adoption.

I hereby beg the honored Delegates officially representing their countries here, as well as those Observers who have been appointed by Governments, to submit these Resolutions, together with the Roerich Pact—copies of which will be sent to them—to their respective Governments, with their highest recommendations for adoption and adhesion to the Pact.

It has been most gratifying for us to hear the expressions of sympathy and the endorsements rendered by the distinguished Delegates in behalf of their Governments. As it has been mentioned by some speakers that this is veritably a great and historic assemblage, it is then also destined that those Governments which have expressed their sympathy and endorsement of this Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace at this Convention will adorn the pages of history as the defenders and pro-

tectors of Culture and the guardians of the spiritual treasures of mankind.

Through the Resolutions which have been passed today, it will be possible for nations to fulfill the purposes of the Roerich Pact and to adopt the Banner of Peace either by unilateral action through proclamations of the executive, by bilateral action through international agreements, or by multilateral action through declarations of international conferences, thus hastening the adoption of this humanitarian project and aiding in the prevention of any further destruction of humanity's treasures.

Let us hope and trust that the results of this Convention will prove to be a vital impetus to nations to adopt this project, as well as a significant milestone in the broadening of people's consciousness toward the evaluation of Culture and the creative treasures of all nations. May this Banner of Peace be unfurled over the cultural centers of the world as a symbol of protection of the spiritual health of mankind.

It was destined that Nicholas Roerich, who has consecrated his life to the advancement of cultural values, be the originator of a symbol of world cultural unity as expressed in the Banner of Peace, and supported by a legal Pact to be presented for adoption to the nations of the world.

In recognition of the one who has conceived this great ideal, and who has tirelessly devoted his endeavors for over a period of forty years to the cause of Art, Science, and Peace, let us hail and pay tribute to this great Leader of Culture, Nicholas Roerich, who is now in the Himalayas, but whose thought and spirit are with us on this occasion.

When the leaders of nations will take appropriate measures to respect the cultural shrines of the world as inviolable and preserve them against desecration as provided for in the Roerich Pact, then will the consciousness of the people be elevated and directed along channels of understanding and ultimate peace. (*Applause.*)

Are there any other delegates present who wish to address the Convention?

If there is no further business, the Chairman will entertain a motion to adjourn the Convention.

Motion to adjourn made, seconded and carried.

Convention adjourned at 1:45 P. M.

DRAFT

PRESENTED BY THE ROERICH MUSEUM OF NEW YORK
Prepared at the request of the Roerich Museum of New York, by Dr.
Georges Chklaver, Doctor of Law of the Paris University, Honorary
Adviser of the Roerich Museum, New York.

INTERNATIONAL PACT FOR THE PROTECTION OF
ARTISTIC AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS, HISTORIC
MONUMENTS, MISSIONS AND COLLECTIONS
ORIGINATED BY NICHOLAS ROERICH

BETWEEN THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

The President of the United States of America.
The President of the German Republic.
His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions
beyond the seas, Emperor of India.
The President of the French Republic.
His Majesty, the King of Italy.
His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan.
Etc., Etc., Etc.

Whereas their high offices impart on them the sacred obligation to promote
the moral welfare of their respective Nations and the advancement of Arts and
Sciences in the common interest of Humanity,

Whereas the Institutions dedicated to the education of youth, to Arts and
Sciences, constitute a common treasure of all the Nations of the World,

Recalling the ideas sponsored by a wise and generous foresight which have
guided the High Contracting Parties in framing the Geneva Convention of
August 22nd, 1864, for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded,

The General Act of the Conference of Berlin of February 26th, 1885, which
provides for a special protection to be accorded to scientific Expeditions,

The Final Acts of the Hague Conference of July 29th, 1899, and of October
18th, 1907, and especially Article 27 of the Annex of the IVth Convention of the
Second Conference relative to the safety of buildings consecrated to Religion,

to Arts, to Sciences and to Charity as well as to historic Monuments, in case
of siege and bombardment,

Article II of the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye of September 10th,
1919, confirming the above mentioned provisions of the General Act of Berlin of
1885, concerning the special solicitude to be granted by the High Contracting
Parties to scientific Missions, to their equipment and to their Collections,

The Pact for the renunciation of War as an instrument of national policy
signed at Paris on the 28th of August, 1928;

Adopting the propositions of Professor Nicholas Roerich tending to create
an efficient protection for all centers of Culture,

Have resolved to conclude a solemn Pact with the aim of perfecting the
protection enjoyed by all civilized countries by Institutions and Missions dedicated
to Arts and Sciences, as well as by artistic and scientific Collections, and historic
Monuments,

And have nominated for this purpose their respective Plenipotentiaries, to
wit:

.....
.....
.....
who, after having respectively presented their full powers in due and proper
form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The historic Monuments, educational, artistic and scientific Institutions,
artistic and scientific Missions, the personnel, the property and collections of
such Institutions and Missions above mentioned shall be deemed neutral and,
as such, shall be protected and respected by belligerents.

Protection and respect shall be due to the aforesaid Institutions and Missions
in the entire expanse of territories subject to the sovereignty of the High Con-
tracting Parties, without any discrimination as to the State allegiance of any
particular Institution or Mission.

ARTICLE II

Each of the High Contracting Parties may furnish to the Registrar of the
Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague, to the International
Institute of Intellectual Coöperation at Paris or to the Educational Department
of the Pan-American Union of the City of Washington, as it may choose, a list
of Monuments, Institutions, Collections and Missions, either public or private,
which it desires to place under the special protection provided for by the present
Pact.

The Monuments, Institutions, Collections and Missions thus registered may
display a distinctive flag (red circle with a triple red sphere in the circle on a
white background) which will entitle them to the special protection and respect

on the part of the belligerents, of Governments and Peoples of all the High Contracting Parties.

The aforesaid Monuments, Institutions, Collections and Missions shall cease to enjoy the privileges of neutrality in case they are made use of for military purposes.

ARTICLE III

In case of any act alleged to be in contradiction to the protection and respect due to artistic and scientific Institutions, Monuments, Collections and Missions, as stipulated in the present Pact, the complaining Institutions or Missions shall have the right to appeal, through the intermediary of its Government, to the International Institution with which it has been registered. The International Institution concerned shall then bring the complaint to the cognizance of all the High Contracting Parties who may decide to constitute an International Committee of Inquiry on the case. The findings of such an International Committee of Inquiry may be rendered public. The details regarding the constitution and functioning of the above mentioned Committee of Inquiry shall be regulated by a special agreement.

ARTICLE IV

The High Contracting Parties declare that it is their intention to provide by appropriated measures of internal legislation the enforcement of the protection enjoyed in their respective territories by artistic and scientific Institutions, Monuments, Collections and Missions, either National or Foreign.

The present Pact shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional methods.

The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the State Department of the United States of America.

The present Pact shall go into force as soon as it has been ratified by the majority of the original signatories thereof.

The Powers who are not signatories to the present Pact shall have the right to join it, by means of a notification addressed to the Government of the United States of America.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Pact and affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate (one copy in the English language and the other in the French language) both of which to be regarded as being equally authentic in the city of Washington, on the.....day of.....of the year.....

Signatures.

AMONG THE DELEGATES AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES ATTENDING THE CONVENTION WERE THE FOLLOWING:

Miss Ida Jolly Crawley, Director of the Crawley Museum of Art and Archæology; Mrs. E. Bramhall Cullis, Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Letters; Dr. Emanuel de Marnay Baruch, President of the Goethe Society; Leon Dabo, representing the French Roerich Society; General Alfredo de Leon, President of the Colombian Roerich Society; M. Dzambulac Dzanti, representing the European Center of Roerich Museum, Director of the Ossetie Association, France; Mrs. Sundar Giffin, representing the New England Sufi Society; George Grebenstchikoff, President, Siberian Roerich Association; Mrs. Malcolm V. Beattie, Mrs. Mary Hanenfeldt and Miss Ada T. Rainey, representing the Washington Roerich Society; Mrs. Nettie S. Horch, representing the Roerich Society, and Poetry and Drama Guild; Dr. Frederick L. Kettner, Director, Spinoza Center of Roerich Society, and also representing the Biosophical Institute of Roerich Society; Sra. Carlos A. Lee, representing the Pan-American Women's Association; Ven. Anagarika Lhashekankrakrya, President, Universal Union for the Diffusion of Budhic Philosophy; Miss Esther J. Lichtmann, representing the Himalayan Roerich Society and Woman's Unity of Roerich Museum, also l'Association des Amis de la Lusace de France, l'Association Polonaise des Amis de la Nation Lusacienne, and Cercle Leonard de Vinci; Mrs. Sina Lichtmann, Director, Master Institute of United Arts, representing also the Origen Roerich Association; Professor John A. McIntire, representing Wittenberg College; Dr. George E. MacLean, represent-

ing the State University of Iowa; Delegate from the American University, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Rabia Martin, Representative General of the Sufi Movement in the Western World; Mrs. Jessie Newberger, representing the Finnish Roerich Association and the German Roerich Association; Rev. John Papanicolaou, Rector of St. Sophia Greek Orthodox Church, representing the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America; Mrs. Margaret Eyre Rothwell, President, Roerich-Shakespeare Association; J. Earl Schrack, Director, Academy of Creative Arts of Roerich Society; Mrs. Arthur J. Seaton, representing the Twentieth Century Club, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Helen Seidel, representing the Chinese Roerich Association; Mrs. Lionel Sutro, representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Committee for Blind and Physically Handicapped of Roerich Museum; Mr. R. N. Trezise, Mrs. Lucy E. Dawson, Mrs. Agnes M. Hoppe, Mr. Thomas W. Kuhn, representing A. M. O. R. C.; Mr. Jess O. Snyder, representing the League of New Humanity.

AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE SENT MESSAGES TO THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE
ROERICH PACT AND BANNER OF PEACE
ARE THE FOLLOWING:

Hon. Cordell C. Hull, Secretary of State (Published on page 117); Hon. Daniel C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce (Published on page 104); Hon. Arthur Capper, United States Senator; Hon. Bennett Champ Clark, United States Senator; Hon. Edward P. Costigan, United States Senator; Hon. Bronson Cutting, United States Senator; Hon. Key Pittman, United States Senator, Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee; Hon. J. P. Pope, United States Senator; Hon. Robert F. Wagner, United States Senator, Honorary Chairman of the Convention (Published on page 56); Hon. C. M. Bakewell, Member of Congress; Hon.

James M. Beck, Member of Congress; Hon. Alfred F. Beiter, Member of Congress; Hon. John T. Buckbee, Member of Congress; Hon. Thos. H. Cullen, Member of Congress; Hon. Virginia E. Jenckes, Member of Congress; Hon. Kathryn O'Loughlin McCarthy, Member of Congress; Hon. Clarence J. McLeod, Member of Congress; Hon. Jas. M. Mead, Member of Congress; Hon. Mary T. Norton, Member of Congress; Hon. Homer C. Parker, Member of Congress; Hon. Theodore A. Peyser, Member of Congress; Hon. William E. Richardson, Member of Congress; Hon. Otha D. Wearin, Member of Congress; Hon. J. F. T. O'Connor, United States Comptroller of Currency; Hon. George F. Zook, United States Commissioner of Education; Hon. J. C. Wright, United States Assistant Commissioner of Education; Hon. Harry B. Mitchell, President, United States Civil Service Commission; Hon. Charles Moore, Chairman, United States Commission of Fine Arts; Hon. Arno B. Cammerer, Director, Office of National Parks, Buildings and Reservations, U. S. Department of the Interior; Hon. Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director General, Pan-American Union (Published on page 79); Hon. F. B. Balzar, Governor, State of Nevada; Hon. Tom Berry, Governor, State of South Dakota; Hon. William A. Comstock, Governor, State of Michigan; Hon. Miriam A. Ferguson, Governor, State of Texas; Hon. Clyde L. Herring, Governor, State of Iowa; Hon. Lawrence M. Judd, Governor, Territory of Hawaii; Hon. William Langer, Governor, State of North Carolina; Hon. Guy B. Park, Governor, State of Missouri; Hon. Jno. Garland Pollard, Governor, Commonwealth of Virginia; Hon. James Rolph, Jr., Governor, State of California; Hon. David Sholtz, Governor, State of Florida; Hon. Eugene Talmadge, Governor, State of Georgia; Hon. George White, Governor, State of Ohio; Alejandro Alvarez, Membre Associé de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Secrétaire Général de l'Institut Américain de Droit International, Co-Directeur de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales (Published on page 92); Georges Chklaver, LL. D., Doctor of International Law (Published on page

67); A. G. de La Pradelle, Professor of International Law, University of Paris (Published on page 90); Prince Bianchi de Médicis, l'Académie Diplomatique Internationale; Baron Michel de Taube, Member, l'Institut de Droit International and the American Institute of International Law, Member, Curatorium de l'Académie (Carnegie) de Droit International de la Haye (Published on page 94); Louis Le Fur, Professor of International Law, University of Paris (Published on page 93); Jose Jacinto Rada, Doctor en Ciencias Politicas y Economica, Miembro de la Asociacion Francesa Nicolas de Roerich; League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, Signed: Pour le Secrétaire général: Le Secrétaire général-adjoint,—Pilotti. Published on page 105); M. Lillers, Le Président, Comité Central de la Croix-Rouge Française, Paris, France (Published on page 105); His Excellency, Le Maréchal Lyautey, Marshal of France (Published on page 103); His Excellency, Louis Marin, Former Minister, Paris, France; His Excellency, General Gouraud, Military Governor of Paris, France; Hon. Henry L. Roosevelt, The Assistant Secretary of the United States Navy (Published on page 104); Major General Hugh A. Drum, Deputy Chief of Staff, War Department, U. S. A.; Major General John W. Gulick, Chief of Coast Artillery, War Department, U. S. A.; Chaplain J. E. Yates, Chief of Chaplains, War Department, U. S. A.; Major General J. F. Preston, The Inspector General, War Department, U. S. A. (Published on page 53); Major General Blanton Winship, The Judge Advocate General, War Department, U. S. A. (Published on page 52); Major General Wm. D. Connor, Superintendent, United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.; Rear Admiral A. L. Parsons, Chief of Civil Engineers of the Navy, U. S. A.; Rear Admiral J. K. Taussig, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, U. S. A.; Rear Admiral H. L. Brinser, Director of Navy Yards, U. S. A.; Lieut. Colonel Erle M. Wilson, Executive Officer, General Staff, War Department, U. S. A.; Lieut. Colonel Robert C. McDonald, Executive Officer, Medical Corps, War Department, U. S. A.; C. G. Abbott, Secretary, Smithsonian

Institution, Washington, D. C.; Alexis Achair, Harbin Cultural Group, Harbin, Manchuria; Carl W. Ackerman, Dean, School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; American Library Association; America Nueva Comision Roerich (Paz y Cultura), South America; Amigos Del Museo Roerich, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Art Club of St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Florida; Association of Brazilian Artists, Brazil, South America; Association des Amis de la Lusace de France, Paris, France; Association Française Nicolas de Roerich, Paris, France (Published on page 145); Association Polonaise des Amis de la Nation Lusacienne; Charles H. Bailey, Supervisor, Department of Art and Manuel Arts, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Bertha Kunz Baker, Director, Poetry and Drama Guild of Roerich Museum, New York City; General Baranoff, Union Des Aviateurs Combattants Russes, Paris, France; Dr. Emanuel de Marnay Baruch, President, Goethe Society, New York City; Hon. George Gordon Battle, New York; Harold Bauer, Honorary President, Beethoven Association, New York City; General Lieutenant Bogaevsky, Cossacks of Don, Paris, France; Evangeline Booth, Commander-in-Chief of the Salvation Army in the United States; Anna Hempsted Branch, New York City; Brazilian Association of Roerich Society; Brazilian Society of Fine Arts; Brazilian Society of International Laws; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Arthur Brin, President, National Council of Jewish Women, Atlanta, Georgia; William Alan-son Bryan, Director, Los Angeles Museum, Los Angeles, California; Caroline L. Burr, Art Hall, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin; Julian A. Burruss, President, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia; Joseph Campbell, Director, Irish Foundation of the Roerich Museum, New York City; Arturo Capdevila, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Sabha Rai Krishnadasa, Director, Siva Kumar Simla, General Secretary, Nagar; Pracharini (Indian Literary Society), Benares, India; Central Institute of Brazilian Architects, Brazil, South America; Centre Européen de Roerich Museum, Paris, France; Cercle Leonard

de Vinci, Varsovie; Cleora Clanton, Librarian, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas; Mrs. Emory Ellsworth Cochran, President, German Roerich Association, New York City; Hermann Cooper, Director, State College Education, University of the State of New York, State Department of Education, Albany, New York; Gratia A. Countryman, Librarian, Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota; James H. Cousins, Principal, Madanapalle College, Madanapalle, S. India; Ida Jolly Crawley, Director, Crawley Museum of Art and Archæology, Asheville, North Carolina; Charles Davis, President, National Highways Association, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Dower, The Temple of the People, Halcyon, California; A. Drennan, New York City; Loring C. Dunn, Curator, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, New York; Dzambulat Dzanty, Ossetian Committee of the European Center of Roerich Museum, Paris, France; Professor Albert Einstein, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey; Morris L. Ernst, New York City; Esthonian Roerich Society, Tallinn, Esthonia; Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology, New York University, New York City; Valerie Farrington, Director, Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee; John D. Finlayson, Chancellor, The University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Page Früs, Recteur de l'Université de Copenhague, Copenhague, Denmark; S. H. Golden-son, President, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Manindra Gupta, Professor, Government School of Art, Calcutta, India; Vladimir Gustchik, Esthonian Roerich Society, Tallinn, Esthonia; Chalmers Hadley, Librarian, Public Library of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio; Emily O. Hammond, President, Three Arts Club of New York, New York City; Mary Mertvago Hanenfeldt, Secretary, Washington Roerich Society, Washington, D. C.; P. M. Hari, India; Alexandrina R. Harris, President, National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, New York City; R. D. Hetzel, President, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania; Alejandro Hidalgo, Amigos del Museo Roerich; J. E. Higgins, Director, Canal

Zone Experiment Gardens, Summit, Panama Canal Zone; Dr. Jan Hofman, Lecturer at the University of Bratislava, Czechoslovakia; Ernest O. Holland, President, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington; Edward J. Holmes, Director, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts; John Haynes Holmes, Minister, Community Church of New York, New York City; Hannah Clothier Hull, National President, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; I. Illinskaya, Editor, "Savtra," Seine, France; Il Rettore, R. Università degli Studi di Bologna, Bologna, Italy; The Honorable Y. Ishimaru, Director, Bureau of Arts and Cultures, Department of Education, Imperial Japanese Government, Tokyo, Japan; Oscar B. Jacobson, Director, Art School, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; Swami Jagadiswarananda, India; Mme. Laura Kahn-Weil, President, French Association of Roerich Museum, New York City; Alexander Kaun, University of California, Berkeley, California; H. L. Kent, President, New Mexico State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, State College, New Mexico; V. G. Ketkar, Poona Students Home, Poona, India; Ellen E. Kettunen, President, Finnish Roerich Association, New York City; Jean Kiriloff, President, Association Amicale de la Sibirie et de L'Extrême Orient Russe, Paris, France; Maud Briggs Knowlton, Director, Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire; Arthur L. Kramer, President, Dallas Art Association, Dallas, Texas; Rev. John Krashkevich, Editor, "The Svet," Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; H. Spencer Lewis, Imperator, A. M. O. R. C., San Jose, California; Esther J. Lichtmann, President, Himalayan Roerich Society, Naggar, India; Sina Lichtmann, Director, Master Institute of Roerich Museum, New York City; C. C. Little, Managing Director, American Society for the Control of Cancer, New York City; Emil Lorch, Director, College of Architecture, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Dr. Felix Lukin, President of the Roerich Society in Latvia, Riga, Latvia; Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta, India (Published on page 152); Col. A. E. Mahon, D. S. O., Naggar, India; Rosalie J.

Marks, Peace Chairman, Women's Organization of Central Synagogue, New York City; Charles L. Mead, Resident Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Missouri; E. D. Merrill, Director, New York Botanical Garden, New York City; Lama Lobzang Mingyur Dorje, Naggar, India (Published on page 160); Metropolitan Platon, The Most Reverend Lord Archbishop, Russian Orthodox Church in America; Louis J. Moss, President, The United Synagogue of America, New York City; Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Indian Literary Society, Benares, India; Lillian S. Navarre, Librarian, Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan; Thurlow C. Nelson, Professor of Zoology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey; D. Nimbushoff, In the name of The Kalmycks Residing in Western Europe, Paris, France; I. M. Nobel, New York City; President, Novitsky Post Revolutionary Club, Paris, France; A. Kenny C. Palmer, Director, Chile-American Association, New York City; N. B. Parulekar, Director, International Institute of India, Sadashiv, India; Alfred George Pelikan, Director, Milwaukee Art Institute, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Charles H. Pepper, Boston; Duncan Phillips, Director, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D. C.; Cordelia Sargent Pond, Curator, The Art Museum, Springfield, Massachusetts; Pro Arte, Society of Artists and Friends of Fine Arts, Brazil; Jose Jacinto Rada, Miembro de la Asociacion Francesa Nicolas de Roerich, Madrid, Spain; Paul C. Radosavljevich, Professor, School of Experimental Education, New York University, New York City; Retrospective Museum of Arts, Brazil, South America; C. R. Richards, President, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Mary Fanton Roberts, "Arts and Decoration," New York City; Thomas S. Roberts, Director, University of Minnesota Museum of Natural History, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Roerich Society, New York; Georges de Roerich, Director, Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, Naggar, India; Joseph C. Rovensky, New York City; Dagobert Runes, Director, Institute for Advanced Education, New York City; The Russian Branch

of the European Center of Roerich Museum, Paris, France; The Russian Historical and Genealogical Society, Paris, France; Palmer Sabin, Secretary, Southern California Chapter, American Institute of Architects, Pasadena, California; G. Schirinsey Schikhmatoff, Editor, "Affirmation," Issy-les-Molineaux, France; Dr. Bruno Schonfeld, Chairman, Osterreichische Friedensgesellschaft, Vienna, Austria; Samuel J. Schur, New York City; Alphonse Séché, Le President, Societé des Orateurs et Conférenciers, Paris, France; Mme. Suad Sefa, President, Turkish Circle of Art and Literature of Roerich Museum, New York City; Shyama Shankar, Hindu philosopher, New York City; V. A. Shibayev, Secretary, Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, Naggar, India (Published on page 154); Jouett Shouse, Washington, D. C.; Mary Siegrist, Founder, League of Poets of New Humanity, New York City; William A. Slade, Director, The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.; Society of Diffusion of Fine Arts, Brazil, South America; Edmund D. Soper, President, Association of American Colleges, New York City; Forrest B. Spaulding, Librarian, Public Library of Des Moines, Des Moines, Iowa; Albert W. Staub, American Director, Near East College Association, New York City; Edwin L. Stephens, President, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana; Adam Strohm, Librarian, The Public Library of Detroit, Michigan; Mrs. Mary Cooke Swartwout, Director, Montclair Art Museum, Montclair, New Jersey; Homer F. Swift, Hospital of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, New York City; Baron M. A. de Taube, Paris, France (Published on page 94); Ernst Tomel, Dzt. Rektor der Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria; Reverend Father D. Troitzky, Church of the Blessed Seraphim of Saroff, Paris, France; C. Tulpinck, President, Union Internationale Pour Le Pacte Roerich, Bruges, Belgium (Published on page 132); Clifford M. Ulp, Director, Mechanics Institute, School of Applied Art, Rochester, New York; Helen Vacaresco, Comité International de la Parole, Paris, France; Devapriya Valisinka, General Secretary, The Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta, India; Mme. M. de Vaux-Phalipau, President, Associa-

tion Française Nicolas de Roerich (Published on page 96); Raymond J. Wade, Resident Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Stockholm, Sweden; Alexander J. Wall, Librarian, The New York Historical Society, New York City; Mrs. Henry A. Wallace, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. William J. Wilson, President, Municipal Art Commission, Los Angeles, California; M. W. Winternitz, Dean, School of Medicine, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; G. B. Woods, Dean, College of Liberal Arts, American University, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Mary E. Woolley, President, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts; Malcolm G. Wyer, Librarian, Public Library of the City and County of Denver, Colorado; Armando Zegri, President, Grupo Interamericano de la Sociedad Roerich, New York City.

AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE SENT RESOLUTIONS ENDORSING THE ROERICH PACT ARE THE FOLLOWING:

Wayman Adams; Art Club of St. Petersburg, Florida; Associacao dos Artistas Brasileiros; Biospohical Institute, New York; Brazilian Association of Roerich Society; Center Young Women's Association, Stamford, Conn.; Chinese Roerich Association, New York; Henry S. Coffin, President of the Faculty, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Committee for the Blind and Physically Handicapped, Roerich Museum, New York; Craftsmen's Guild of the Master Institute of Roerich Museum, New York; Harriet Peck Crine; District of Columbia Federation of Women's Clubs; Educational Campaign Committee of Roerich Museum, New York; Esthonian Roerich Society; Fortnightly Book Club, Tacoma Park, D. C., Circles No. 1, 3, 4; French Roerich Association, New York; General Josiah Lockhart Chapter D. 1812, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Mrs. A. L. Giebeler-Wanke and Miss Hildegarde Giebeler-Wanke; Grupo Artistico Cervantes, New York; Professor

Patty Hill, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York; Himalayan Roerich Society, Naggar, India; Philip Houghton; Instituto Central de Arquitetos do Brasil; International Convention of the Disciples of Christ; Ixia Society, New York; Jewish Community Center of Washington, D. C.; Anna M. Johnston, Art Director, Munhall Public Schools, Pa.; Junior League of Tulsa, Oklahoma; MacDowell Junior Club of Stamford, Conn.; Master Institute of United Arts, New York; Blagoï Mavrov, Professeur à l'Académie de Musique, Sofia, Bulgaria; Museu de Arte Retrospectivo do Brasil; National Academy of Design, New York; National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, New York; National Council of Jewish Juniors, Passaic Section, New Jersey; New Civilization Pioneers Society, New York; New York State Association of Occupational Therapists; Stoyan Omarchevsky, Ex-Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Sofia, Bulgaria; Origen Roerich Society; Oswego High School Student Chamber of Commerce, New York; Polish Institute of Arts and Letters; Pro Arte, Sociedade de Artistas e Amigos das Bellas Artes, Brasil; Nicolai Rainov, Professeur à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, Sofia, Bulgaria; Roerich-Shakespeare Association, New York; Roerich Society in Uruguay; Sandusky Federation of Women's Clubs, Ohio; Sociedade Brasileira de Bellas Artes; Sociedade Brasileira de Directo Internacional; Sociedade Propagadora dos Bellas Artes, Brasil; Society of Russian Journalists, Esthonia; Society Vityaz, Tallinn, Esthonia; Spinoza Center of Roerich Society; Tulsa Art Association, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Twentieth Century Club, Washington, D. C.; Henry W. Watrous, President, National Academy of Design, New York; Walter F. Weaver, Art Director, Public High Schools, Munhall, Pa.; Woman's Club of Decatur, Ill.; Woman's Unity of Roerich Museum; Yankton College, Yankton, South Dakota; Young Idealist Club, New York; Young Peoples Fellowship, St. Andrews' Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.

THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE WISHES TO EXPRESS
ITS APPRECIATION TO THE FOLLOWING FRIENDS,
WHO HAVE GENEROUSLY GIVEN FINAN-
CIAL SUPPORT TO THIS CON-
VENTION:

Mr. Carl W. Ackerman, Dean of the School of Journalism, Columbia University; His Highness, the Raja Sahib Bahadur, Mandi State, India; Mrs. Bertha Kunz Baker; Mrs. Malcolm V. Beattie, President of the Washington Roerich Society; Mrs. K. Spencer Campbell; Mrs. Emory Ellsworth Cochran, President, German Roerich Society; Miss Muriel Collins; Mrs. E. Bramhall Cullis, Director, Polish Institute of Arts and Letters; Mrs. Chester Dale; Miss Katherine Jewell Everts; Miss Ingeborg Fritschi; Mr. Aaron J. Funk; Mrs. Clyde Gartner; Mrs. Sundar Giffin; Miss Frances R. Grant; Mrs. Sophie Himmell; Miss Dorothe Holland; Mr. and Mrs. Louis L. Horch; Miss Mabel G. Hunt; Mrs. Belle Rogers Johnston; Mr. Henry Lebest; Miss Esther J. Lichtmann; Mr. and Mrs. Maurice M. Lichtmann; Col. A. E. Mahon, India; Master Institute of Roerich Museum; Mrs. N. Nadelbach; Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, President, College of the City of New York; Mme. Helena Roerich; Professor Nicholas Roerich; Dr. Dagobert D. Runes; Mr. Shardaprasad Satna, India; Mrs. Sophie Schafran; Mrs. Loretta V. Shepard; Mr. V. A. Shibayev, India; Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes; Twentieth Century Club, Washington, D. C.; Mr. and Mrs. Francis M. von Ardyn; Dr. and Mrs. Christos Vrionides; Woman's Art Club of Cincinnati, Ohio; Woman's Unity of Roerich Museum; Mrs. L. Wood; Mrs. H. G. Zimmerman.

PAN AMERICAN ENDORSEMENT
INTER-AMERICAN TREATY FOR THE ROERICH PACT

PAN AMERICAN ENDORSEMENT
INTER-AMERICAN TREATY FOR THE ROERICH PACT

Among the distinguished accomplishments of the Seventh International Conference of the American States in Montevideo, in December, 1933, the Trustees of the Roerich Museum, point with sincere gratification to the Resolution passed unanimously at the plenary session on December sixteenth, recommending the adherence to the Roerich Pact by the governments of the Americas.

In this act, the Seventh Pan-American Conference once again identified itself as a body which sought the unification of the Americas on the principles of humanity, and on a new inter-American relationship based upon mutual respect among the nations for the cultural accomplishments of their sister-republics of America. As Dr. Esteban Gil Borges so beautifully expressed it in speaking of the Resolution, it designated the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere behind the Roerich Pact and its ideal that the cultural heritage of the nations should forever remain inviolable.

The official notification, as received from H. E. Enrique E. Buero, Ministro Plenipotenciario, Secretario General de la VII Conferencia Internacional Americana, was as follows:

Me apresuro a poner en su conocimiento que la Resolución del Pacto Roerich y la Bandera de la Paz fué presentada por la Delegación de Chile ante la VI Comisión (Cooperación intelectual—Tema 24) y aprobada en la Sesión Plenaria de la Conferencia el 16 de Diciembre de 1933.

La Resolución número XIII dice así: Recomendar a los gobiernos de América que aún no lo han hecho, la suscripción del Pacto Roerich, iniciado por el Roerich Museum de los Estados Unidos y que tiene por

objeto la adopción universal de una bandera, ya creada y difundida, para preservar con ella, en cualquiera época de peligro todos los monumentos inmuebles de propiedad nacional y particular que forman el tesoro cultural de los pueblos.

News of the passage of this resolution was also graciously transmitted to the Roerich Museum by the Hon. Benjamin Cohen, member of the Chilean Delegation, and the Hon. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union, to whom the Trustees of the Roerich Museum wish to express a deep appreciation for their constant understanding and sympathy with this measure.

With the aim of consummating the noble purposes expressed in the Resolution of the Montevideo Conference, the Pan-American Union, at the meeting of its Governing Board on Feb. 21, 1934, took up this question of the Roerich Pact and adopted a Resolution appointing a committee of members of the Board to advise on its further action.

Information to this effect reached the Roerich Museum on Feb. 22, in a letter from Dr. Esteban Gil Borges, Assistant Director of the Pan-American Union, in which he stated, "I am happy to inform you that the Governing Board adopted at its meeting this afternoon a resolution appointing a committee of members of the Board to advise the Board on the manner in which the Pan-American Union may cooperate to the high-minded purpose and noble ideals represented by the Roerich Pact. I take pleasure in sending you a copy of the Resolution in this letter.

"May I assure you again of my profound interest in cooperating with you in furthering these great humanitarian ideals."

The Resolution as adopted was as follows:

"WHEREAS, the Seventh International Conference of American States by resolution of December 16, 1933, recommended to the Governments of America that have not yet signed the 'Roerich Pact' to adhere to this instrument, which proposes the adoption of a flag for the preservation of cultural monuments; and

"WHEREAS the Pact attributes certain functions to the Pan-American Union,

"The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union
RESOLVES:

"To appoint a Committee which shall inform the Board on the manner in which the Pan-American Union may cooperate in the realization of the thought that inspired the Pact, and to which the Seventh Conference recommended that the Governments, members of the Union, adhere."

Cognizant of this Resolution and in line with the Resolution of the Montevideo Conference, Professor Nicholas Roerich, creator of the Pact and Honorary President of the Roerich Museum, on March 19, transmitted the following letter to Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union:

"Sir,

"The Seventh International Conference of American States held at Montevideo, Uruguay, adopted on December 16th, 1933, a resolution recommending to the Governments of America, their adherence to the Roerich Pact, formulated by the Roerich Museum,

"In accordance with that resolution I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a copy of the Roerich Pact, formulated by the Roerich Museum, for deposit in the Pan-American Union.

"May I express the hope that it will be possible to deposit the original instrument with the Pan-American Union, to be kept open by that Institution to the adherence of the Governments, members of the Union,

"I am, sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"(Signed) NICHOLAS ROERICH,
"Honorary President."

"Hon. Leo S. Rowe,

"Director General,

"Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C."

Dr. Rowe's letter of acknowledgement on March 22, 1934, was as follows:

"My dear Professor Roerich,

"This will acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 19th, with which you transmitted the instrument of the Roerich International

Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions, Historic Monuments, Missions and Collections, with the request that the Instrument be kept open to the adhesion of the Governments, members of the Union.

"The Special Committee of the Governing Board appointed to inform the Board on the steps to be taken to give effect to the Resolution of the Seventh International Conference of American States recommending that the Governments of America sign the Roerich Pact will hold a meeting this week, and it will give me much pleasure to submit your letter to the consideration of the members of the Committee.

"Believe me, my dear Professor Roerich, I am,

"Yours very sincerely

"(Signed) LEO S. ROWE,
"Director General"

"Professor Nicholas Roerich,
"Honorary President,
"The Roerich Museum,
"New York City, N. Y."

The Report of the Committee on the Roerich Pact was made on April 4, 1934, notification thus reaching the Roerich Museum:

"April 6, 1934.

"Dear Professor Roerich:

"I am happy to transmit to you the enclosed copies of the report of the Special Committee of the Governing Board appointed to report on the Roerich Pact, to which is attached a draft of the Inter-American Convention on the Roerich Pact formulated by the Committee. The Convention and the report were approved by the Governing Board in its meeting of April 4, 1934.

"We are now engaged in transmitting to the Governments members of the Union certified copies of the Convention.

"Very cordially yours,

"(Signed) E. GIL BORGES,
"Assistant Director."

"Professor Nicholas Roerich,
"Roerich Museum,
"New York, N. Y."

Report of the Special Committee of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union on the Roerich Pact

The Committee appointed by the Governing Board to report on the steps that might be taken by the Pan-American Union to contribute to the realization of the idea originally expressed by Professor Nicholas Roerich and incorporated in the Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments, the adoption of which was recommended to the nations of America by the Seventh International Conference of American States, has the honor to report as follows:

The Committee has taken the fundamental principles of the instrument originally proposed by Professor Roerich as a universal pact and given them the form of an Inter-American draft convention, which is herewith submitted to the consideration of the Board.

The Committee recommends that the Governments, members of the Union, be asked to grant their Representatives on the Board plenary powers to subscribe to the pact, which is to be signed on April 14th, 1935, or at an earlier date to be determined by the Board if all its members have received plenary powers before April 14th, 1935.

After April 14th, 1935, the pact will be open to accession by non-signatory states.

(Signed) PEDRO M. ARCAÑA,
Minister of Venezuela.

(Signed) R. J. ALFARO,
Minister of Panama.
Washington, D. C.
April 4, 1934.

(Signed) ROBERTO D. MELÉNDEZ,
Chargé d'Affaires of El Salvador.

**International Pact (Roerich Pact) for the Protection of
Artistic and Scientific Institutions and
Historic Monuments**

The Governments of.....
.....

Convinced of the desirability and necessity of adopting measures for the protection during times of danger of all movable and immovable property, nationally or privately owned, which constitutes the cultural treasure of the world;

In accordance with the desire unanimously expressed by all the American States by means of the Resolution approved on December 16, 1933, at the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo; and

For the purpose of giving conventional expression to the principles expressed in the above-mentioned Resolution, have resolved to conclude the present treaty and have nominated for this purpose their respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit:

.....
.....

Who, after having respectively presented their full powers found to be in due and proper form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions shall be considered as neutral and as such respected and protected by belligerents.

The same respect and protection shall be due to the personnel of the institutions mentioned above.

ARTICLE II

The neutrality of, and protection and respect due to, the monuments and institutions mentioned in the preceding article, shall be recognized in

the entire expanse of territories subject to the sovereignty of each of the signatory and acceding States, without any discrimination as to the State allegiance of said monuments and institutions. The respective Governments agree to adopt the measures of internal legislation necessary to insure said protection and respect.

ARTICLE III

In order to identify the monuments and institutions mentioned in article I, use may be made of a distinctive flag (red circle with a triple red sphere in the circle on a white background) in accordance with the model attached to this convention.

ARTICLE IV

The signatory Governments and those who accede to this convention, shall send to the Pan-American Union, at the time of signature or accession, or at any time thereafter, a list of the monuments and institutions for which they desire the protection agreed to in this convention.

The Pan-American Union, when notifying the Governments of signatures or accessions, shall also send the list of monuments and institutions mentioned in this article, and shall inform the other Governments of any changes in said list.

ARTICLE V

The monuments and institutions mentioned in article I shall cease to enjoy the privileges recognized in the present convention in case they are made use of for military purposes.

ARTICLE VI

The States, members of the Pan-American Union, which are not signatories to the present convention shall have the right to accede to it at any time.

ARTICLE VII

The instruments of accession, as well as those of ratification and denunciation of the present convention, shall be deposited with the Pan-American Union, which shall communicate notice of the act of deposit to the other signatory or acceding States.

ARTICLE VIII

The present convention may be denounced at any time by any of the signatory or acceding States, and the denunciation shall go into effect three months after notice of it has been given to the other signatory or acceding States.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PANAMA, HONDURAS,
BRAZIL, URUGUAY, ECUADOR AND GUATEMALA
OFFICIALLY EMPOWER PLENIPOTENTIARIES
TO SIGN ROERICH PACT

As this volume goes to Press, the Trustees of the Roerich Museum are happy to announce that seven Governments of the Americas have already indicated their intention to sign the Inter-American Treaty on the Roerich Pact: United States, Panama, Honduras, Brazil, Uruguay, Ecuador and Guatemala. President Roosevelt has designated the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Henry A. Wallace, as Plenipotentiary to sign for the United States. The Government of Panama has granted full powers to His Excellency Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Minister of Panama, to sign the Roerich Pact, these powers having been deposited with the Pan American Union. The Governments of Honduras, Brazil, Uruguay, Ecuador and Guatemala have also notified the Pan American Union of their adherence to the Roerich Pact, and have empowered their respective Ministers at Washington to sign the instrument.

With this truly noble and enlightened act, the Pan-American Union

has expressed once again its consecration to a new unity among the Americas, founded upon a mutual vigilance for treasures of culture. And those, who regard as inevitable the ideal of international understanding founded upon the principles of culture, as set forth by Nicholas Roerich in the Roerich Pact, will look forward to the Pan-American Day, April 14th, 1935, when we may salute a Greater America united in spirit and celebrating the acceptance of its common Cause—the protection of man's creative and spiritual heritage.

As Nicholas Roerich has expressed it so universally in his own writings, "If humanity recognized the Red Cross as a protection to the physically wounded and ill, then it will also recognize the Banner of Peace as the Symbol of peaceful prosperity and health of spirit."

PERMANENT COMMITTEE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF THE ADOPTION OF THE ROERICH PACT AND
THE BANNER OF PEACE. A DEPOSITARY FOR
RATIFICATIONS OF ROERICH PACT.

The Permanent Committee for the Advancement of the Adoption of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace—appointed by unanimous Resolution of the Third International Convention for the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace held at Washington, D. C., with the participation of thirty-five nations—is acting as a depositary for the Ratifications of the Roerich Pact by the Governments. For this purpose it retains an Instrument of the Roerich Pact open to such ratifications and will administer all negotiations relative to the same.

It is the hope of the Permanent Committee for the Advancement of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, that the nations of the world will soon accede to the Pact and that its beneficent protection may be extended to the cultural heritage of all the world.

For any further information in regard to the Roerich Pact and its ratification, all inquiries may be addressed to the Chairman, Permanent Committee for the Advancement of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, at its headquarters, Roerich Museum, 310 Riverside Drive, New York.

