VENCE, March 2nd 1922.

My dear Friend,

I did thoroughly appreciate your splendid letter from Washington all the more so that I knew how busy you were. All you say was particularly interesting to me. You were in the whirlpool and I was on the shore so to speak, and that makes a difference in our ways of looking at and sizing up the big things that were happening. All such questions are so infinitely complicated! They have many sides and no one knows but a few of them upon whom one reasons as if one was in possession of the whole range of facts and of all that really happens.

I am sending you copy of part of a letter I was writing to a friend in America at the time of the Conference. Of course, it is only one of the many factors of the equation but on re-reading it I feel that it is basic and true as far as it goes. The general attitude of the American mind in relation to questions affecting affairs of the world outside of America is, I believe, generally inconsiderate and injust to others. Not knowing much about international questions we have decided opinions about them based largely upon our newspapers articles and even upon their headlines. Not only do we know what is best for others but we have no doubts whatsoever that they do not know themselves. And yet in the affairs between nations it is the same as between individuals. Infinitely more important and necessary is it, and usually more difficult, to attend to our own business, develop our own selves, fulfill our own obligations to ourselves and others near us than it is to find fault with the ways of others. Either a nation or an individual can do no better for the rest of the world and the community in which he

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lives than to lead the best life he can, to study, to think, striving to learn and develop himself and, above all, to have charity for others and sympathy for their problems and difficulties. From the attitude of mind thus created comes the capacity to tackle questions affecting others and such wisdom as we are capable of, born of humility. If only we could realize that " the world is so full of a number of things " that we can never know but a limited number of them and at the cost of hard work and experiences!

All this is terribly distressing to one who loves his country and know that au fond it means all that is just and best. When beloved America with its big heart, its high moral standards, its splendid ideals, does itself so little justice it is a great pity, for, at its best, it is worthy to and should lead the world to better things, to constantly better and more humane conditions .....

I am looking eagerly forward to coming in May for a couple of months. I hope I shall see much of you - as much as you will permit me - and this time visit your Connecticut home which I imagine I have pretty clearly in mind from hearing you speak of it. It will be a great adventure du coeur to see again my old friends. Do remember me to those we have in common and to your family -

And believe me, with increasing gratefulness for your friendship ,

Affectionately yours.

Ernest L. Bauer

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Many of the conferences, of the talks of Public men, knowing ones, politicians, experts, have, it seems to me, little if any permanent value. They are like bubbles, some brighter than others, which we take for realities and are enthusiastic about or opposed to for a time.

Lincoln said that you could fool some of the people some of the time but not all of the people all the time. Inefficient leadership confuses the popular mind for a time but not for ever. It is a painful process, a waste of precious time and not very intelligent, but it seems inevitable. In the end people at large come to their senses and see the light. I believe that when leaders do not show absolute ignorance, which is too often the case, they nowdays have infinitely too big a job for the caliber of any of them and perhaps of any human being. Do you know of any great man of the past who would have been able to do justice to it? When tackling international problems, a really bright thought, a good idea, comes to the men temporarily in power, they take fire of a sudden and proclaim to the world that they have found the way to settle all the difficulties not only of the present but of the future. None of them that I can see have the capacity, the humility to look at and study their good idea and see it in relation to all the other factors of the complex problem. The place paved with good intention must be growing enormously larger these days!

Disregarding Wells and Curzon and looking as simply as possible at the Washington Conference in trying to account for the general attitude of America towards France, what strikes me first is that there is a possibility of communicating through the same language and culture between English and Americans which does not exist with the French, and is largely responsible for the misunderstandings that have arisen. The difference of language, of culture, of habits is a great barrier. It is not so much what one has to say that makes an impression on others, it is infinitely more than we realize the manner of saying it, the way we present our case. We do not understand the French manner and often find it ridiculous. If that is not just, it naturally is to be expected on the score of the difference of life, language, conditions etc... it is nothing against the French, is it?

After all, we same as the French, have our good and bad points, our qualities and defects, our ridicules, ways of doing things and expressing ourselves, of being sentimental, of hiding our selfishness and what our interest demands under certain formulas which we have in the mouth constantly

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and which we naively and firmly believe stand on unimpeachable moral grounds. But other peoples do not accept those ways of ours because first of all they either do not know or else do not understand themaand the conditions that have created them, and also because these particular ways are not the product of the thousand experiences of their races throughout the ages, of their milieu, conditions, etc.... No matter how much we may travel we remain, generally speaking, as ignorant of the French as they are of us. Even English ways seem strange to us and ours to the English. Moreover if we lack something at present it is what may be called the international sense and yet we want the whole world to think and act like us.

Naturally superior men like Mr. Balfour take advantage of that basic difficulty whenever France desires something which does not agree with their idea of what France should have. They know how to,put their argument with consumate ability before the American public. That is easy for them. They know what to say and how to say it, in conferences as well as to the representatives of the American press. In all this the French delegation is bound to be sadly deficient even when, what is not common, some of their members happen to know English after a fashion, they are misunderstood and their motives misconstrued. This does not mean that France did not have the handicap of inferior men representing her. This added misfortune was the fault of her government.

Tom Reed used to say that in all human communications it requires intelligence and sympathy at both ends of the line, otherwise communication is impossible. That is true as far as it goes but he should have added language, the mother tongue which we learn as a child and which is an all pervading and absolutely essential part of oursleves.

Therefore I am not surprised at the misunderstandings which are singularly magnified in our press after its exagerated fashion of making the biggest sensation possible out of anything. Our people are the victims of it for the time, but the pendulum always swings back and good sense is sure to have its day. Lincoln was right.

As to the undoubted influence of Well's writings it is a sad commentary on the lack of intelligence humanity displays in such matters. Everything printed seems to have a strange value and is taken most seriously. It is as bad elsewhere and perhaps worse in France. But think of taking seriously the opinion of a man who like Wells has had every day of his life

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emphatic opinion on everything on earth, divine and profane, british and foreign, who has changed them often and continues to do so. While making his own education, he is all the time cocksure, at each moment, at each stage of his progress, declaring that what he says is the only possible truth. After all there is some difference between the capacity of writing voluminously and serious thinking.

I believe the point of view of France to be right on the main. France being essentially pacific and not in the slightest way militaristic, wishes only to be saved from further agression and wants to make sure that if one should come she shall not be taken unawares. Before long this will be recognized and appreciated in America, I feel sure. Meanwhile, and this is a marvellous thing of which no one speaks, the people of France are winning this terrible after war as they won the war. Everyone is working hard. There are but verbal complaints, sort of exhaust pipes, against the weight of taxation, but everyone pays and everyone works and saves. Indeed we have every reason to continue admiring and respecting France and her people.

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