

He Has Had His Day



LEAGUE FULFILS AMERICAN IDEAL

Herbert Hoover Says Democracies Replaced Autocracies at Our Bidding.

FOOD ADMINISTRATION CHIEF.

Urges Ratification on Ground That Peace Treaty Will Collapse Without League of Nations.

Herbert Hoover is so deeply concerned over the opposition to the League of Nations in the United States that he has let himself be interviewed at length on the League situation. In a talk with the New York Times correspondent in Paris, the Food Administration Chief asserts that having caused the League idea to prevail America cannot abandon it. We cannot withdraw, he says, and leave Europe to chaos. "By abandoning the League Covenant now means that the treaty itself will collapse."

Mr. Hoover's wide acquaintance with conditions both here and abroad, his reputation as an administrator, a man of great affairs who deals with facts, not theories, make his statement one of the most important contributions to the recent League discussions.

"There are one or two points in connection with the present treaty," said Mr. Hoover, "that need careful consideration by the American public. We need to digest the fact that we have for a century and a half been advocating democracy not only as a remedy for the internal ills of all societies, but also as the only real safeguard against war. We have believed and proclaimed, in season and out, that a world in which there was a free expression and enforcement of the will of the majority was the real basis of government, was essential for the advancement of civilization, and that we have proved its enormous human benefits in our country."

American Ideas Have Prevailed. "We went into the war to destroy autocracy as a menace to our own and all other democracies. If we had not come into the war every inch of European soil today would be under autocratic government. We have imposed our will on the world. Out of this victory has come the destruction of the four great autocracies. In Germany, Russia, Turkey and Austria and the little autocracy in Greece. New democracies have sprung into being in Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Greater Serbia, Greece, Siberia, and even Germany and Austria have established democratic governments. Beyond these a host of small republics, such as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and others, have sprung up, and again as a result of this great world movement the constitutions of Spain, Rumania, and even England, have made a final accent to complete franchise and democracy, although they still maintain a symbol of royalty.

"We have been the living spring for this last century and half from which these ideas have sprung, and we have triumphed. The world today, except for a comparatively few reactionary and communistic autocracies, is democratic, and we did it."

"A man who takes a wife and blesses the world with several infants cannot go away and leave them on the claim that there was no legal marriage.

"These infant democracies all have political, social and economic problems involving their neighbors that are fraught with the most intense friction. There are no natural boundaries in Europe. Rivers are not compact, they bleed at every border. They need railway communication and sea outlets through their neighbors' territory.

"Many of these states must for the next few years struggle almost for bare bones to maintain their very existence. Every one of them is going to do its best; to protect its own interests, even to the prejudice of its neighbors.

democracy, as a stable form of government as we know it, is possible only with highly educated populations and a large force of men who are capable of government. Few of the men who compose these governments have had any actual experience at governing and their populations are woefully illiterate.

"They will require a generation of actual national life in peace to develop free education and skill in government.

"Unless these countries have a guiding hand and referee in their quarrels, a court of appeals for their wrongs, this Europe will go back to chaos. If there is such an institution, representing the public opinion of the world, and able to exert its authority, they will grow into stability. We cannot turn back now.

"There is another point which also needs emphasis. World treaties hitherto have always been based on the theory of a balance of power. Stronger races have been set up to dominate the weaker, partly with a view to maintaining stability and to a greater degree with a view to maintaining occupations and positions for the reactionaries of the world.

"The balance of power is born of armies and navies, aristocracies, autocracies, and reactionaries generally, who can find employment and domination in these institutions, and treaties founded on this basis have established stability after each great war for a shorter or longer time, but never more than a generation.

"America came forward with a new idea, and we insisted upon its injection into this peace conference. We claimed that it was possible to set up such a piece of machinery with such authority that the balance of power could be abandoned as a relic of the middle ages. We compelled an entire construction of this treaty and every word and line in it to bend to this idea.

"Outside of the League of Nations the treaty itself has many deficiencies. It represents compromises between many men and between many selfish interests, and these very compromises and deficiencies are multiplied by the many new nations that have entered upon its signature, and the very safety of the treaty itself lies in a court of appeal for the remedy of wrongs in the treaty.

Benefits of the League. "One thing is certain. There is no body of human beings so wise that a treaty could be made that would not develop injustice and prove to have been wrong in some particulars. As the covenant stands today there is a place at which redress can be found and through which the good-will of the world can be enforced. The very machinery by which the treaty is to be executed, and scores of points yet to be solved, which have been referred to the League of Nations as a method of securing more mature judgment in a less heated atmosphere, justifies the creation of the League.

"To abandon the covenant now means that the treaty itself will collapse.

"It would take the exposure of but a few documents at my hand to prove that I had been the most reluctant of Americans to become involved in this situation in Europe. But having gone in with our eyes open and with a determination to free ourselves and the rest of the world from the dangers that surrounded us, we cannot now pull back from the job. It is no use to hold a great revival and then go away leaving a church for continued services half done.

"We have succeeded in a most extraordinary degree in imposing upon Europe the complete conviction that we are absolutely disinterested. The consequence is that there is scarcely a man, woman or child who can read in Europe that does not look to the United States as the ultimate source from which they must receive assurances and guardianship in the liberties which they have now secured after so many generations of struggle.

"This is not a problem of protecting the big nations, for the few that remain can well look after themselves. What we have done is to set up a score of little democracies, and if the American people could visualize their handiwork they would insist with the same determination that they did in 1917 that our government proceed."

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THE A B C OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By Dr. FRANK CRANE.

1. What is the League of Nations?
A. A union of the strongest civilized nations formed at the conclusion of the great war.

2. What is its object?
A. First, to promote the Peace of the World by agreeing not to resort to war. Second, to deal openly with each other, not by secret treaties. Third, to improve international law. Fourth, to co-operate in all matters of common concern.

3. Does it presume to end war?
A. No more than any government can end crime. It claims to reduce the liability of war.

4. What will be done to any nation that makes war?
A. It will be boycotted and otherwise penalized.

5. How else will the probability of war be lessened?
A. By voluntary, mutual and proportionate disarmament; by exchanging military information; by providing for arbitration, by protecting each nation's territorial integrity and by educating public opinion to see the folly of war.

6. What else does the League propose to do for Mankind?
A. (1) Secure fair treatment for labor, (2) suppress the White Slave Traffic, the sale of dangerous Drugs, and the traffic in War Munitions, (3) control and prevent Disease, (4) promote the work of the Red Cross, and (5) establish International Bureaus for other Causes that concern the human race.

7. Who are to be Charter Members of the League?
A. The United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Uruguay and the following states which are invited to accede to the covenant: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

8. What other nations may join?
A. Any self-governing State which will agree to the rules of the League, provided the League accepts it.

9. What Agencies will the League have?
A. (1) An Assembly, composed of representatives of all the member Nations, (2) a Council of Nine, (3) a Secretary-General, (4) a Mandatory Commission, to look after colonies, etc., (5) a Permanent Commission, for military questions, (6) various International Bureaus; such as the Postal Union, etc., (7) Mandatories.

10. What is a Mandatory?
A. Some one nation designated by the League to attend to the welfare of "backward peoples residing in colonies of the Central Empire, or in territories taken from them." This is to be a "sacred trust," and in selecting a mandatory the wishes of the people of the area in question shall be the principal consideration.

11. Does the League mean a Supremacy?
A. No. It interferes in no way with any Nation's Sovereignty, except to limit its power to attack other nations.

12. Can any Nation withdraw when it wishes?
A. Yes. The League is Advisory and Co-operative, not coercive.

13. Does the League put Peace above Justice and National Honor?
A. No. It puts Reason before Violence.

14. Does not the League take away the Constitutional right of Congress to declare war?
A. No. The League can advise war; Congress alone can declare war.

15. Does it destroy the Monroe Doctrine?
A. Exactly the contrary. For the first time in history the other nations recognize the Monroe Doctrine; and extend it to all the world.

16. Does it not interfere with Treaty Making Powers of the United States?
A. No. It is a Treaty. We can make any Treaty we please.

17. Would we have had the Great War if we had had this League?
A. No. That War cost the world over 7,000,000 lives and 200,000,000,000 dollars.

18. Of what importance is the League?
A. It is the greatest deed of mankind in the history of the world.

19. Has not anyone a right to object to the League?
A. Yes. This is a free country. Any one has a right to any opinion he chooses.

20. Why is the League so bitterly opposed by a few?
A. Because, unfortunately, any Treaty or League must be made by the President, and a President is chosen by a political party and many members of the opposite Party think they must deny whatever he does.

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