HARDING AMPLIFIES HIS LEAGUE VIEWS

Super-Government Declared Aim of Covenant.

REVISION HELD WELCOME

Senator Says He Opposes Dealing With National Problems as Generalities.

The following article by W. H. Crawford in the New York Times contains a more definite statement by Senator Harding of his policy with regard to the league of nations and peace with Germany than had been given by him.

Fully agreeing with Senator Harding as to the wisdom of the statement which he recently made, that: "I desire to deal with all our national problems, not in the twilight of generalities, but in the sunlight of definition and forward marching," but having personally been unable from a perusal of his various speeches to gain this clear insight of definition as to his policies, I submitted to him these questions, the frank answer to which would enable the American people to clearly understand what they might expect from Harding as president:

"With each member of the council of the league possessing the veto power, how could the council compel the government of the United States to take a step in opposition to the judgment of our government?"

"You say that, if The Hague tribunal is not strong enough, 'very well, then, let's put teeth into it.' If you put teeth into it, would you not be giving to the tribunal the force which you object to in the government of the league?"

"Can there be an effective league of nations, association of the nations, or international court without 'teeth'?"

Questions Have Many Angles.

"You say, 'I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference and a world court whose verdicts upon justiciable questions this country in common with all nations would be willing and able to uphold.' Is it not agreed by practically all who have studied the subject that the main cause of war is non-justicable questions?"

"The league purports to provide a way for conference and a verdict on non-justiciable questions. How could this be done by an international court of justice; that is, 'The Hague tribunal modified along the line you propose?'"

"Are there any reservations or interpretations which would make the present covenant of the league of nations satisfactory to the republican party?"

"What are the present indications that the voters of the United States object to the present covenant with reservations?"

"What is the specific answer to the charge that the republican candidate, having voted for the Lodge reservations, now favors a different disposition of the treaty question?"

"The treaty, having been returned to the president by the senate, will be in your hands, if you are elected. What will you do with it?"

"What did you mean by the expression that under your administration the foreign policy of the United States would be 'reversed?'"

Mexican Views Wanted.

"What will be your attitude toward Mexico? You comment on the charge of your opponents that your election is likely to result in intervention.

"What do you think of the proposal that members of the cabinet should be announced before election?"

"In what respect does the republican programme as to taxation differ from that of the democrats?"

"What definite means are proposed by the republicans for lowering the cost of living?"

"What are the most important federal administration reforms contemplated if the republicans come into power?"

"Will the republicans, if victorious, continue what has become a habit with both parties—acquiescence to labor union interference in governmental affairs and legislation?"

Senator Harding's answer to these questions are as follows:

"My position respecting the league of nations is naturally different now, as a candidate, from what it was when I was considering it as a member of the senate. At that time, as a member of the senate, I could only consider what the president placed before us. We had no choice about the matter, except to deal with the covenant which he brought home from Paris.

"If I am elected to the presidency I will become the negotiating agent of the United States, and will have the authority to undertake the negotiation of a new covenant, which I would promptly proceed to do, after first advising with the senate, which has the constitutional power to make any treaty effective. Instead of either going abroad to pursue a course in violation of the judgment of the senate, and presumably the sentiment of the country, I would start with the reasonable assurance that any covenant negotiated would receive the sanction of that body.

National Association Favored.

"I have tried to make it clear that I want America to play its part in creating some new association of nations which shall be concerned with the promotion and preservation of peace. I do not care specifically about The Hague tribunal, any more than I do about the league promulgated at Paris. Nobody disputes that The Hague tribunal has thus far been ineffectual. As a matter of justice to those who formulated its plans, it ought to be said that Germany rendered it more or less non-operative by its failure to join in making it an international institution entirely worth while. I think that out of The Hague negotiation would have come a court of international justice, which might have been made operative long before this, had it not been rejected by the present administration when it came into power.

"I hold the international court to be a creation for one thing, namely, a decision on what we call justiciable questions. It is true, however, that causes which most frequently lead to war do not come under that title. For the consideration of such causes as are not justiciable I would suggest an association, or a society, or a league of nations—it little matters what we call it—which shall constitute an international conference for the free and open discussion of international questions which may lead to conflict. It is not possible to say that this conference always is going to prove effective in the prevention of conflict, but such an association could bring to the world a complete revelation of the questions which are menacing peace and readily bring to bear the opinion of mankind against an offending nation in case it refused to yield to the recommendations of the conference.

"In other words, this co-operative effort of nations to maintain peace and foster friendly relationships could bring nations into understanding or let the world know the reason why, and no one can doubt the effect of world public opinion when based on such an endeavor to reach understanding.

Partisan Prejudice Denied.

"I have no mere partisan prejudices relating to the league negotiated by President Wilson. I said in the senate, and I cling to the opinion now, that the great mistake was in hurrying to Europe (not in the going itself) to create a league of nations upon which to found the treaty of peace, when the practical thing was to work out the treaty of peace and speed the world's return to normal conditions, and then immediately apply the consciences of war-worn nations and war-worn people to the creation of a league in the fullness of reflection, and have it represent the aspirations of all mankind. Thus might have come a practical effort to establish a new order.

"We know now, what we did not know when the treaty was before the senate, that the spokesmen for America thrust upon the nations of Europe the provisions of Article X, so frequently described as the 'heart of the league.' I quite agree that there can be no league which approximates the character of super-government without something akin to Article X. It is impossible to have a council directing the decisions of nations and determining upon their relationship unless there is an armed force to back up the decrees of the council.

"I have never been able to escape the impression that super-government was the thing aimed at, and I am sure that such a creation is a thing to which America will never consent.

"One cannot have much patience with the contention that America will never be endangered because each member of the council of the league has the veto power. If one member of the council of the league has the veto power, if one member of the council can forestall action on the part of that body, it is evident it will never be able to exercise any authority. Moreover, if the cause of America itself were concerned, its member would not have any veto power.

Outside Orders Not Liked.

"When the president gave us his first information concerning the league he very frankly said that manifestly we must not only hold to the majority judgment of the council but we must be prompt in the acceptance of its orders, lest we put ourselves in opposition to that which the president has pronounced 'the opinion of mankind.' I hold that it is better to be protected by American consciences in determining our obligations to humanity and the world.

"The president said: 'It associates the free governments of the world in a permanent league in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice.'

"Further, that the member governments undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the league of nations.

"In the president's address to the senate on July 10, speaking of the league of nations, he said: 'It provided a means of common counsel which all were pledged to accept; a common authority whose decisions would be recognized as decisions which all must respect.'

"In spite of all the fine arguments about it, the simple truth about the league covenant is that either it constitutes world government with power to enforce its decisions or it is going to prove the colossal disappointment of the ages. If it is only an international organization for conference, without power to act unless every member has agreed, then it is only a debating society designed to portray an international situation to all the world.

"If this be true, I think we will be dealing with ourselves and the world more fairly if we understand that fact from the beginning. No one has ever objected to a plan to create an association which is designed to turn the light of worldwide understanding upon threatening relationships and difficult questions and attempt to exhaust the influence of the world's public opinion upon threatening controversies.

Rational Substitute Proposed.

"All this, of course, has nothing to do with the international court. I am talking now about the league as an international political body on the one hand and proposing a rational substitute for it, or an amended form of it, which may reasonably undertake all that it is now said the league is intended to do, and have the purpose of the revised covenant understood from the beginning. No nation wants to surrender its rights of nationality, and no strong nation desires to submit its course to a decision of foreign political powers. Especially must this be true when the decision relates to so serious a matter as going to war.

"We have now fully come to understand that the Versailles league is wholly dependent upon the man power back of the influence of America to make it a workable body. It would be a rare nation in Europe, or elsewhere, which would not wish to be on terms of alliance with this republic. It is especially easy to understand why they wish America to back up the league after the president insisted upon placing article 10 therein. It makes no difference as to the intent of power of article 10 to say that America could not be drawn into an European war without the consent of congress.

"We all understand that a treaty obligation supersedes all other law, and becomes the first obligation of the land. Such ought to be the case. America always means to hold its contracts as solemn obligations. It has always been held that congress in both branches must, in reality, consent to every treaty involving appropriations of funds. Such appropriations must originate in the house, though it is never consulted either in the making or the ratification of a treaty. The house would violate no compact of its own if, in the case of a treaty involving expenditure, it declined to make the appropriation. As a matter of fact, there is no instance in the history of the republic where the house of congress has failed to do its part in carrying out a compact made by the president and the senate, and we would not have it otherwise. We want every American contract faithfully kept.

Binding Tie Is Seen.

"If we enter into the league of nations and consent to the provisions of article ten, and the majority of nations as represented in the council think it to be the duty of the league to use armed force, we would be morally bound to respond with men and treasure. The president has already said to us officially that a moral obligation is the most binding one that we know.

"The reservation programme of the senate was designed to do more than interpret the provisions of the reservations. These reservations were designed to limit our contract so that we could feel we were safeguarding American independence of action. That was the best we could do under the circumstances, but I really do not think that America, in good sportsmanship, should insist upon terms upon which America enters the league, which did not grant the same terms to other member nations. If there were not any other reason, I should be very anxious to amend the covenant so that in whatever relationship we contracted there would not be more required of other nations than we were content to assume for ourselves. I do not think anyone will question the fairness of this proposition, but the practical wisdom of it has been questioned by those who say it is impracticable to revise or amend the covenant.

"The statesmen of Great Britain have frankly said that revision or amendment is not only needed, but is to be commended. It does not seem to me that there will be difficulty in securing the consent of the 28 states which have already signed to any well-thought-out programme — the judgment of greater reflection — to which the principal allied and associated powers are ready to commit themselves. Any other suggestion is a conviction that the five great powers have lost their leadership in the world.

Coercion Scented in South.

"We have been told that some of the South American states entered the league with great misgivings, and did so only on the part of great insistence. I think—indeed, I know—that the nations of the world are going to welcome a revision and are eager to find themselves in a new association, in which we ourselves are chiefly concerned, to promote world understanding rather than world government, and the right of justice rather than force.

"I have already said that in the senate were were dealing with a problem which we could not dispose of in any other way except under the reservation plan or reject altogether. I think it is practical and easy to negotiate a new or amended compact. The world is waiting for it and is eager for America to assume leadership.

"Undoubtedly there is much that is good in the covenant of Versailles. I have no desire to fling that all aside. I said as much in the senate; that under the reservation programme we were still retaining the framework of a position in the international association which might, under deliberation and fuller reflection, serve as a workable agency to further the maintenance of peace. It does not in any way change my estimate of the good in it to recognize that its ratification was prevented by the impracticable and un-American proposals therein. Perhaps the league as negotiated was as good as we could have expected in view of the manner and haste in which it was negotiated. The greatest alteration of all time in international relationship is not to be worked out in a week, or a month, or a year, but ought to command the deliberate attention of the best minds of the greatest men of the time.

American Sentiment Lacking.

"I am not disparaging in any way by thought or suggestion the high standard or the capacity of the members of the Paris conference. I only know that the league formation was unduly hurried with the thought of founding peace upon it, and the whole programme would have been more practical if completely reversed. We knew at the time that the negotiation did not represent the sentiment of America. We know now that article 10 was thrust into the covenant contrary to the judgment of the statesmen of Europe.

"There is a more dependable conscience throughout the world today than there was in the period which immediately followed the war. Humanity had not quite recovered itself then. It did not have the poise which graces a great decision, and the league covenant was marred in haste when it should have been strengthened in ample reflection. We have had some of that reflection now, and the reaction is revealed in the change of American sentiment and that of the world.

"I am in favor of international co-operation and conference.

"I know America wants to play her full part. I know we have no selfish ends to serve, and, best of all, we have no newly acquired territory to protect or to ask any other nations to help us in protecting it. Ours was the one great unselfish part in the world war, and I want America to be just as unselfish in doing its part to further the world's peace. I am sure we can do it.

"No man can tell today the situation which will confront the United States six or seven months hence. If those who speak for the president and for the democratic nominee really want the league covenant ratified with reservations—though twice such an opportunity was declined by direction of the president—it is possible that the ratification may be brought about long before the new administration comes into power.

Reservations Yet Fought.

"Personally, I do not think that the president wants ratifications with reservations any more today than he did three or ten months ago; and, since the democratic nominee has announced his being in perfect accord with the president, it is fair to assume that he does not desire any more than the president does its ratification with reservations. The issue has long since been plainly marked. The president, who has spoken for his party and still speaks for it as far as foreign relations are concerned, insisted from the beginning that we must accept his negotiations without change in any form. I never could consent to that. Here the two parties are in complete and abiding opposition.

"I want those who believe in a new association of nations to feel that the cause is by no means flung aside. I want to approach it with freedom, with eagerness to serve the world, but with a determination that no compact will ever be made to involve this republic in war at the behest of a conference of foreign powers. More than that, I believe in the United States of America rather than in a super-government of the world.

"I have already said publicly what my attitude will be toward Mexico—renewed assurance of hearty readiness in extending a helping hand, but it all must be founded on the absolute assurance that Mexico is going to protect the rights of Americans, the lives and property of Americans lawfully located in that republic.

"I do not think well of announcing a cabinet prior to election. It is not a practical thing under our political system. When a man enters the presidency ambitious to create the strongest administration possible, which I certainly hope to do, I want to be free to choose without pre-election embarrassment.

"I cannot satisfactorily discuss the difference between the taxation programmes of the two parties. No one can understand the programme of the democratic party. The nominee has said that he favors the repeal of the excess profits taxes and to substitute therefor a tax on business, but insists it must not be an offending consumers' tax. I do not understand how we can have a general tax on business without it being a consumers' tax. Nothing more nor less. I am not ready to make a declaration for a consumers' tax.

Profits Tax Held Unfair.

"Frequently I have found the excess profits tax unfair. I think it unjust and probably unnecessary from this time on. Moreover, it is not only a discouragement to business, but it is one of the sources of the high cost of living. We shall work out its early repeal. I wish I were prepared to specify the thing to be taken as a substitute. Frankly, I do not know and would not undertake to pass judgment or offer a recommendation until we can be properly informed as to the necessities of the government and the relation of our tax income to our obligations.

"There is one difference I am sure about, and that is that a republican administration can and will cut the expenses of government, and will do so to such an extent that in all probability we can bring about the relief of a great part of the excesive burdens imposed by the war.

"No man can tell what he is going to do to reduce the cost of living. I have suggested some of the things that will help to reduce it.

"One is deliberate deflation. Another is reduced cost of government. Another is an appeal to the American people to put an end to extravagance. Another is to inspire a higher efficiency of production, so that we may still maintain the highest standards of wages and reduce producing costs. Another is to bring consumer and producer closer together. Another is to make a drive at the profiteering in big operations rather than stage spectacular drives against petty offenders who really do not have much influence. To restore the efficiency of transportation is going to prove helpful. Finally, cost of living is affected as much by wasteful distribution as by constricted production; indeed, I consider that distribution presents the greater world problem."

JAPANESE OWNER SUED

California Suit Seeks to Forfeit Land Worth $500,000.

VISALIA, Cal., Sept. 18.—Applications for receivers for city and agricultural realty in and adjacent to Visalia valued at more than half a million dollars, which is alleged to be controlled by Japanese in violation of the state alien land law, were filed in the superior court here Friday.

Supporting affidavits of the application set forth that S. Sumida was found in possession of a 1500-acre vineyard and orchard property 11 miles south of Visalia; that he was receiving rents, issues and profits thereof, harvesting and selling crops therefrom; that a crop of prunes thereon was now ready for market, with a value of $10,000, and a crop of raisins valued at $20,000, and an olive crop of undeterminable value.

WHITE BABE NOW CHINESE

Chicago's Yellow Smart Set Celebrates Unique Adoption.

CHICAGO, Sept. 18. — (Special.)— The Chinese smart set is celebrating an unusual event today. On September 1, when Mrs. Li wife of a Chinese importer, opened her door she found a basket, and lying in it a golden-haired Caucasian baby girl a few weeks old.

Mrs. Li is crazy about sunshine hair, so she took the baby in, and today formally adopted it in court. Tonight all the Lis and all their friends are celebrating the christening of Miss Lucille Li, the waif. A big dinner and some mysterious Chinese liquids are features of the jollity.

KETCHIKAN CLEANUP IS ON

Drug Peddlers and Liquor Operators Objective of Drive.

KETCHIKAN, Alaska, Sept. 18.—In a cleanup crusade to rid this city of drug peddlers and illicit liquor operators, Mayor Hund and Police Chief Hendrickson, heading the local dry squad, seized opium, morphine and cocaine valued at $5000 and 17 cases of whisky in raids conducted early Friday.

Mrs. William Hudson, who was arrested on the street, was said to have had in her possession a handbag containing a supply of narcotics. The whisky was seized in a local hotel, hidden behind a false partition.

Mayor Hund declared he would continue the raids until the town was "cleaned up."

The peculiarity of the cardinal's hat is that it is not intended to be worn. On one occasion only is it to be seen on the head of a cardinal, and that is when the pope places it there as a symbol of its owner's elevation to the sacred college. When a cardinal dies his hat is placed on his coffin.

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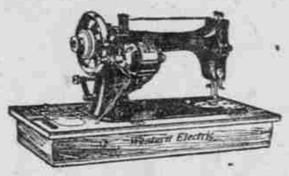

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