

TWO GREAT REASONS WHY WE MUST KEEP OUT OF THE WAR

Herbert Hoover in a recent public address named "Nine Horsemen" on the march in the world. Liberty Magazine asked him to amplify discussion of that subject, and in the article below he has done so. It is republished by permission of Liberty Magazine. Copyright, 1940, by Macfadden Publications, Inc.

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse are on the march: War, Death, Famine, and Pestilence. Two thirds of the people in the world are at war. But coming before these old destroyers of mankind are five new Horsemen.

The new cavalry are: Imperialism, the destroyer of the independence of nations; Intolerance, the destroyer of minorities; State-ism, the destroyer of personal liberty; Atheism, the destroyer of faith; Hate, the destroyer of the unity of mankind.

These are the Horsemen of the advance, preparing the way for War and Death. After War and Death sweep Famine and Pestilence.

And their camp follower is Revolution.

Imperialism has already trampled down the independence of Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania, and Denmark. We have witnessed attacks upon China, Finland, and Norway, unable to defend themselves. And now the invasion of Belgium and Holland. And there seems more to come.

We have seen Intolerance destroy Jews, Christians, and racial minorities.

We have seen State-ism, expressed by the despots of Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and Socialism, destroy liberty in Russia, in Germany, in Italy, and in a half dozen other countries. We have seen its infiltration through the world — including the United States.

Atheism has greatly shattered religious worship in Russia and Germany and weakened beliefs in a score of others.

Hate has grown fiercely since before the First World War began, and its ravages are not alone between races but between classes and religious faiths.

And all the Nine Horsemen have new weapons of destruction. Imperialism has become more dreadful by threat of destruction from the air. Propaganda, the weapon of Intolerance, of State-ism, of Atheism, of rapidity of communication. It now moves through the air over all borders and seas. It comes disguised in the home tongue. Hate has increased its voltage through cruelty of attack upon civilian men, women, and children by food blockade and death by the air. War is more destructive by our chemistry and our machines. Famine is more terrible by the growth of great cities. Pestilence strikes right and left through the close net of our communications.

Only the Western Hemisphere is free of the full violence of these Horsemen. But they affect us. Our emotions are aroused. The attacks upon helpless small nations raise the indignation of all decent men and women. Our economic life is dislocated. The shadow of war hangs over all our decisions.

And from our emotions there are Americans who sincerely believe that we ourselves should go to war. They feel we should be willing to sacrifice our youth and our future to restore liberty against aggression, to assure the recognition of law and human rights.

Reason calls to us not to send our sons into this war. Reason dictates that if we join the military operations of this war, it means the abdication of the remaining seat of liberty in the world. Reason insists the Western Hemisphere should give sanctuary for peace in her flight from all the rest of the world. Reason is final in its demands that we prepare ourselves so that we may defend the Western Hemisphere.

To those who feel that we are not doing our part if we stay out, I may suggest that we look ahead to the end of this war — examine a possibly greater service to mankind. This war will end some time, either in victory or exhaustion. And in that relation we may well explore the grim work of the Horsemen Famine, Pestilence, and Hate.

Famine and Pestilence Western Europe for a hundred years, even in peacetimes, has not produced sufficient food supplies for its own population. It has bought its food by the export of manufactured

goods. But on top of this peacetime shortage of supplies, war at once diminishes the food production of every combatant nation. The imports of fodder are cut off or slackened, and the herds must be diminished. The drafting of man power instantly diminishes the production of milk and of butter and of meat. The people eat into their animals and, when war ends, their brood stock is depleted. Beyond this, planting of ground crops must be skipped. The harvesting is imperfect. And, above all, the nitrate fertilizers must be diverted to explosives.

It is true that each nation in modern war rations its population in hope of reducing its food consumption. Scarcity always raises prices and the food goes to those who have the most money. Rationing does secure more equality in distribution and control of prices. It thrusts the hunger upon the civil population. Soldiers, munition workers, and government officials are always well fed. The hunger in the people falls hardest upon the women and children. But rationing has little effect on the total consumption. War experience has proved that armies consume about twice as much food as the same men do when they are at peace. That is partly due to the greater physical need. It is partly due to the inevitable waste and destruction of food in camp, or by invasion, and at sea.

Beyond all this, the food production of the countries free of actual war is also demoralized, for the normal markets are interfered with by blockades and difficulties of credit to war purchasers. Prices are erratic and the farmer is uncertain. Some countries are wholly isolated. Thus production diminishes among neutrals, especially at the beginning of war.

By the necessity of directing food supplies through the whole of the last war I watched these forces unfold with their millions of tragedies.

The food situation in the present war is already more desperate than at the same stage in the World War. Then, except for Belgium, there was no rationing of civil populations until the second or third year. In the present war every combatant country was on bread and meat cards within ninety days. In 1914 Russia was full of food; for years it has been in a state of semifamine. Moreover, today every neutral country in Europe, out of fear, has already mobilized almost its full man power. The Balkan States, Holland, Belgium, Scandinavia, and Italy will therefore also diminish in food production. The harvest of the Balkan States this year will be reduced. Denmark, now unable to import fodder, must needs

kill many of her animals. Many of these smaller nations are already on rations. And in invaded countries there is already famine. It sweeps over Poland.

Out of all these forces, if this war is long continued, there is but one implacable end. That end is the greatest famine in history. And from lowered vitality by famine comes Pestilence. There was a great famine at the end of the World War. The dramatic events of peace-making obscured it. And as the people, after the armistice, were mostly fed by American action, there was no major tragedy to attract headlines.

During the twenty-four months after the armistice in 1918 we sent something over eighty billion pounds of concentrated foodstuffs from America to Europe. That was more food than we have exported to Europe in the whole of the last ten years combined. And this food went not only to our allies but to our former enemies. And of pestilence, an army of typhus came down from Russia on a front a thousand miles long. At its height a million cases raged, with a death rate of a quarter of those stricken. Americans fought that battle and won.

Without all this service, famine, pestilence, and their end in Communism would have engulfed Europe. There would have been no peace of any sort.

After the Thirty Years' War a peace was made, and then it is said that one half of the population proceeded to die from famine and pestilence.

There was no America then. The conclusion of this observation is "Who will stop the famine after the present war?"

The Sixth Horseman—Hate And now let us examine the destroyer Hate. He will have something to do with the American people. In his modern visage he is probably the greatest of all destroyers.

Racial hates developed to an intensity and over more people in the World War than ever before. From the miseries which followed it came another unparalleled development. That was class hate. Both of them have played a great part in this cataclysm of today.

Hate becomes completely inflamed in modern war. Nowadays fighting quickly flashes from wars between soldiers in wars against civilians. It was not so long ago that wars were fought entirely between soldiers. They had elements of chivalry and sportsmanship. When such was over, hates did not remain long in courageous men who fought against courageous men.

But where war is made against helpless civilians, an implacable hate comes. Do we need be reminded of the seventy years of hate that survived in our country from Sherman's March to the Sea?

As this war goes on, the blockade of food supplies, the attacks on civilians from the air will take more toll from women and children. As action between armies becomes more violent the long lists of dead stream back from the front into the homes. From these wrongs and sufferings imperishable hates will sink into every household.

And do not let us think that we had not in some lesser degree built up hates in the United States during the last war, although our losses had been much less bitter. We cannot forget the hideous attitudes toward loyal Americans of German descent.

Well do I remember that some days after the armistice I announced that the food blockade against Germany should be removed at once. That was imperative for reasons of humanity and for the self-interest of the Allies, that Bolshevism could be stopped in starving Germany, and that peace could be made. Despite these obvious reasons, the reaction in every part of the Allied world and the United States was one of indignant opposition and denunciation of any mercy. It took us months to secure so simple an act.

In the end from this furnace fire of hate statesmen no longer are free agents. The bitterness makes sane peace almost impossible. Those of us who observe the making of the Treaty of Versailles knew that the leaders there were consciously or unconsciously dominated by the fires of hate still burning. They had to get their acts approved at home. The sufferings of their people had been too great for rational action.

And one of the consequences of those hates was a treaty which sowed the dragon's teeth of the present war.

In the present war the forces making for hate are even more violent. If this war continues long enough, these hates will sit again at the peace table. Unless there be some allaying force, some entry of reason and compassion, there will be a Carthaginian peace.

The conclusion of this observation is "What powerful nation will still retain good will and reason?"

And the Camp Follower—Revolution Hate, this Sixth Horseman, continues to ride after so-called peace is made. Famine and Pestilence, together with the aftermaths of war's destruction—Malnutrition, unemployment, and poverty—furnish the fuel to class hate. It is hungry people who revolt in violence. Civilians with filled stomachs do not face machine guns. Helpless, distraught, frustrated peoples accept the leadership of Hate, who mobilize them into Revolution. The end is dictatorship and the advance Horsemen start on the march again.

An American Role Now America has a role to perform. It can be a great role in our

history. There is no such thing as isolation for the United States. The Monroe Doctrine itself is denial of that. And there can be no such thing as economic or intellectual or moral or spiritual isolation.

There can be no isolation from world effort to allay misery, to save human life, to bring peace, disarmament, reconstruction, and renewed hope from this catastrophe.

There can be military isolation. When I speak of joining in these wars, I mean joining in the military side—sending our sons into it.

If we join in these wars we will start with the already great exhaustion of ten years of our depression. Then we will further exhaust our already weakened economic strength. And that exhaustion will be in a far greater degree than in the few months we participated in the last war.

And when the war is over we shall need devote our remaining resources to support our wounded, our maimed, our orphaned, and our destitute. We shall need every resource to rebuild our farmers and workers from our own misery and impoverishment. And our sympathies will be justly limited to suffering at home.

If we join in this war, the last great remaining reservoir of economic strength will have been exhausted. And hope of world recuperation will have been delayed while Revolution marches unimpeded over the earth.

If we join in this war, we ourselves will develop all the hates that are inevitable from war. We shall have lost the voice of reason in the making of the peace.

And, though we stay out, in our indignation at wrong and aggression

we must not be led into blind hates against whole peoples. The great masses of the German people and the Russian people did not wish for the wars now going on. The vast majority of both these nations are gentle decent people who prayed for peace even as did you and I.

And ours is a doubly difficult position. In our emotions we have a different scene from Europe fighting race against race. We have the heritage of every European race. Our war hates are not alone against the enemy. They cruelly divide our own people, not alone for the war but long after.

But if we remain out of war we might, if we have the will to do so, use our unimpaired resources, our courage, our moral strength to do mankind infinite service.

By that service we could allay the destruction of war and the ravages of Famine and Pestilence. That service of compassion could go far to save civilization and restore hopes to men. Free of Hate we could exert an insistent voice of reason in the making of peace.

And if we are again called upon for service, we have a right to demand that Reason and Hope sit at the peace table. Reason and hope for the world call for the restoration of those nations who have lost their freedom.

Calling cards, 50 for \$1.00.

Chadwick Lodge No. 68
A. F. & A. M.
Stated Communication
Tuesday, June 11, 8 p. m.
Work in E. A.

Special—Father's Day
1---8x10 Portrait 85c

CURTIS STUDIO Across the street from City Building

Gravel Your Road....

and pay for it by the month.



BENHAM TRANSFER

Phone 86L 270 South Taylor

PONTIAC BUILDS ANOTHER MILLION CARS!



NO WONDER PONTIAC IS HAVING THE BIGGEST YEAR IN ITS HISTORY!

 <p>THE FIRST PONTIAC (1936) Base price, \$299. Wheelbase, 110 inches. Horsepower, 36. Weight, 2320 lbs. Price per H. P., \$24.57. Price per lb., 37 1/2 cents.</p>	 <p>THE 1936 PONTIAC Base price, \$783. Wheelbase, 117 inches. Horsepower, 57. Weight, 3195 pounds. Price per H. P., \$9.00. Price per pound, 23 cents.</p>
---	--

PONTIAC is built to order for people who want to make a change from small cars! That's why Pontiac, which passed the 2,000,000-car mark this week, is having the greatest year in its history!

He'll say, first, that Pontiac is a big car, with all the advantages only big cars can offer. Big-car size—a big-car ride—big-car luxury and performance. But most important of all, he'll say that Pontiac, in spite of its extra size and value, is just as easy to buy and just as economical to operate as his former small car!

Ask any one of the thousands of small car owners who have changed over to Pontiac this year why he did so and he'll tell you plenty!

Come in today and let us prove to you that, if you can afford to own and operate any new car, you can afford a Pontiac!

CITY MOTORS 355 Front St. Coquille, Ore.