

S. EDGAR NICHOLSON PRAISES ASSOCIATION PROPOSED BY HARDING

S. Edgar Nicholson submits the following discussion of the League of Nations and his views of the presidential candidates:

Editor, The Richmond Palladium:
There are so many cross currents in the present campaign that the necessity for clear thinking seems to exist to an extraordinary degree. It is because I do not believe that the United States can hold aloof from world affairs, and that it is obligated by the highest interests of humanity to associate itself with the other civilized nations in the best agreement obtainable to conserve the peace and safety of the world, that I expect to vote for Senator Harding.

Plainly, the issue is not one between the Wilson League of Nations, even with reservations, and no league at all. He who affirms it is merely throwing dust to blind the public eye for partisan gain. The issue, squarely joined, is between the Wilson League, with interpretive reservations (whatever they may mean), based upon economic or physical force or both, to conserve the peace of the world, on the one hand, and the best form of association or League or covenant of the Nations, which the best minds can devise, based upon the administration of justice and right, judicially determined, as the best guarantee or international stability, on the other hand.

Doubtful At First.
In the early days of the campaign there was a decided question mark after Senator Harding's name so far as my own mind was concerned. It was not until his great speech of August 28, that this was removed. When I read his clear and positive declaration that he did not stand for national isolation, but for association of nations, "animated by considerations of right and justice, instead of might and self-interest," I readily recognized that here was the most statesmanlike utterance of the whole campaign, proposing an international arrangement so superior to the Versailles covenant that in my humble judgment there is no comparison between them, except to the great disadvantage of the latter.

Senator Harding with extraordinary clearness, sets forth in that speech the radical difference between the two sides of the issue, which he styles the "two types of international relationships." The Wilson League is described as "an offensive and defensive alliance of great powers, to impose their will upon the helpless peoples of the world." In so far as their right to seek their political freedom is denied. On the other hand, he believes that "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 both willing and able to withhold."

Defines Issue.
Here is the issue in a nutshell: An offensive and defensive alliance of the nations, or an agreement of the nations by conference and judicial findings to determine international procedure according to considerations of right and justice, rather than of might and selfish interest.

I have seen no indication that Senator Harding has departed in the least degree from this program. He reiterated it in his letter to President Schurman, and it was plainly in the background of his thought in the more recent addresses at Des Moines, St. Joseph and Kansas City. On October 11th he emphasized his position in a signed statement so clearly that no one can mistake his meaning.

Harding Misconstrued.
It is objected that Senator Harding has no detailed program, and he is faulted because he does not produce a ready made draft of the proposed international association. Evidently a statement in his Baltimore speech, to the effect that he was without a single constructive program, has been misinterpreted. The opposition press has construed it to mean that his mind was a blank on the question. To my mind it meant this, and nothing more, that he was not committing himself now to a detailed and complete covenant for which we would demand acceptance on the part of the other nations; but that the exact form should be the result of conference of the wisest statesmen at home and abroad.

As a legislator of wide experience, both in his own state and in the nation, Senator Harding knows only too well the utter folly of demanding acceptance beforehand, without the fullest conference on the part of all persons concerned, of the exact form of any piece of proposed legislation. He shows his statesmanship when he confesses that the association which he idealizes is not yet formulated. Were he to prepare a precise draft as the basis of a partisan campaign, it would be to invite rejection by the other nations involved when their acceptance was sought later on. As parties to the agreement, they should be parties to its preparation and formulation, keeping in mind, however, that our President, as its sponsor would be a leading factor in molding it as far as possible according to his own ideals.

Questions Cox.
Governor Cox is in no position to

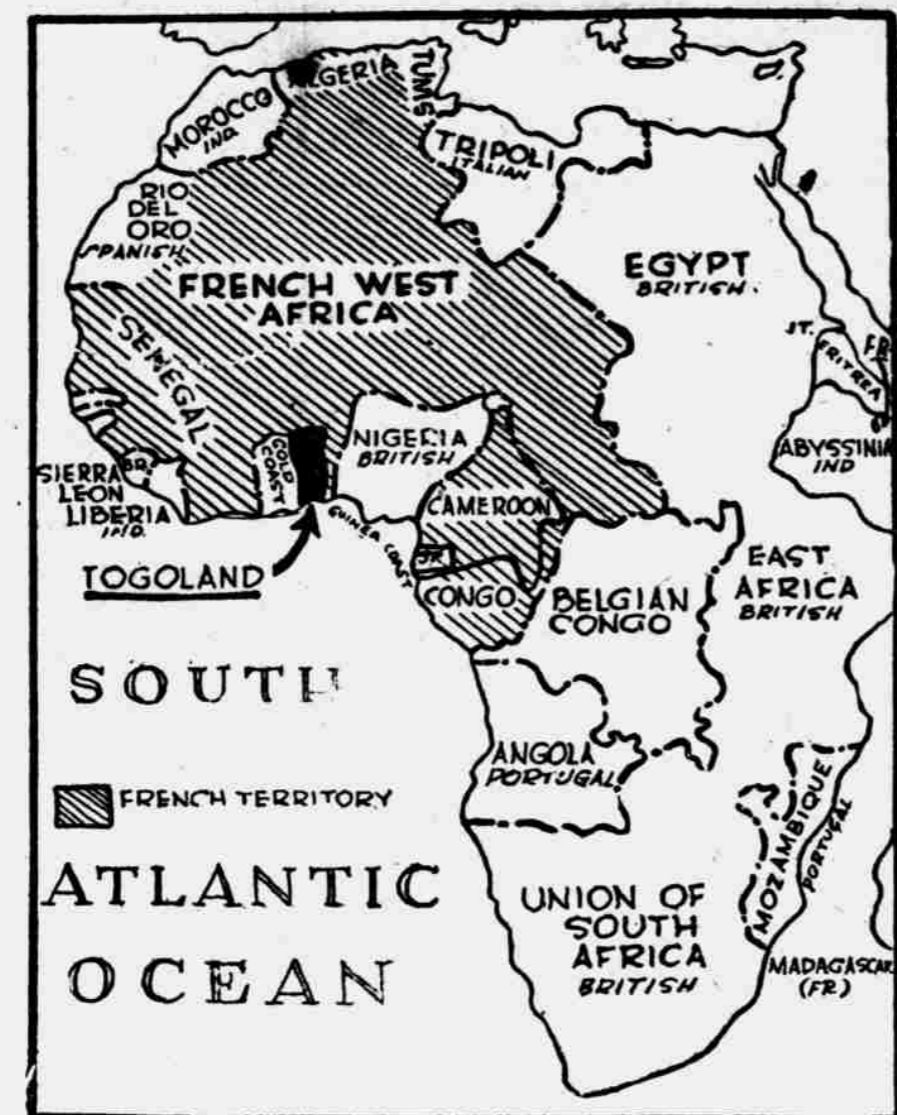
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FRANCE GAINS TOGOLAND, GERMAN POSSESSION IN CENTRAL AFRICA



Togo territory, a former German possession in Central Africa, was turned over to French authorities by the British, Oct. 1, according to a dispatch from Paris. The map shows the division of Africa, including the former German colonies, among the European governments.

charge Senator Harding with indefiniteness on the League issue, for he himself is quite as indefinite. The Governor is for "going in," so far as the Wilson League is concerned, "with reservations." But I have watched in vain to see the announcement of his reservation program. Does he stand merely for "interpretative reservations," or is he willing for additions, eliminations and modifications? Is not the Governor also without a "single constructive program" on reservations? Frankly I do not know what kind of a League he does stand for.

Is he for Article X as written? Few will dispute that under this article as written the constitutional right of Congress alone to declare war would not be disturbed, while most Democrats were ready to have that fact more clearly established by some additional interpretative language if necessary. But therein does not lie the monstrous error of Article X. In the first place it binds the United States as one of the parties to the covenant to stand guard over the "territorial integrity and existing political independence" of members of the League in probably a multitude of instances, in which the United States would have no concern whatever, except as a member of the League, and in which without being a member there would be no question raised of declaring war or furnishing troops.

Assails Article X.
In the second place, what an incongruous position we would be in, if as a member of the League, our Representative should be agreed with the Representatives of other nations that the members of the League must furnish their armies in a given situation and then Congress should refuse to act? Yet that is what the proponents of the Wilson League propose as an answer to the charges against Section X. If Congress at will may repudiate the action of its Representative at one



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apart from the question of whether or not the United States had any legitimate interest in the controversy in question, except as it had obligations, based solely upon its membership in the League. Thus we might easily have the spectacle, again and again, of the United States going to war because it was obligated morally by a binding contract beforehand so to do, although in every case possibly it would have remained out of the war altogether, except for its League membership.

Appeals For Harding.

It will be said that the League is now a fixture, and will not likely be dispensed. But everybody knows that thus far it has assumed only a minimum of responsibility, evidently awaiting the favorable action of the United States. Whether the proposed association of nations shall be built upon the ruins of the League of Versailles or whether it shall be evolved de novo is immaterial. The important thing is that all the world is so eager for the association of the United States in dealing with world affairs, that our government can in large measure determine the manner of that association.

The proposal of Senator Harding is so fruitful of possibilities along the safe and sane lines of preserving the peace of the world upon the basis of right and justice, that it seems to me to be a blunder of the first magnitude for any friend of humanity the world over to fail to follow his leadership in this particular matter.

Richmond, Indiana.
October 16, 1920.

TWO ORGANIZATIONS UNITE
TO DEVELOP MISSISSIPPI
(By Associated Press)
ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 18.—A cam-

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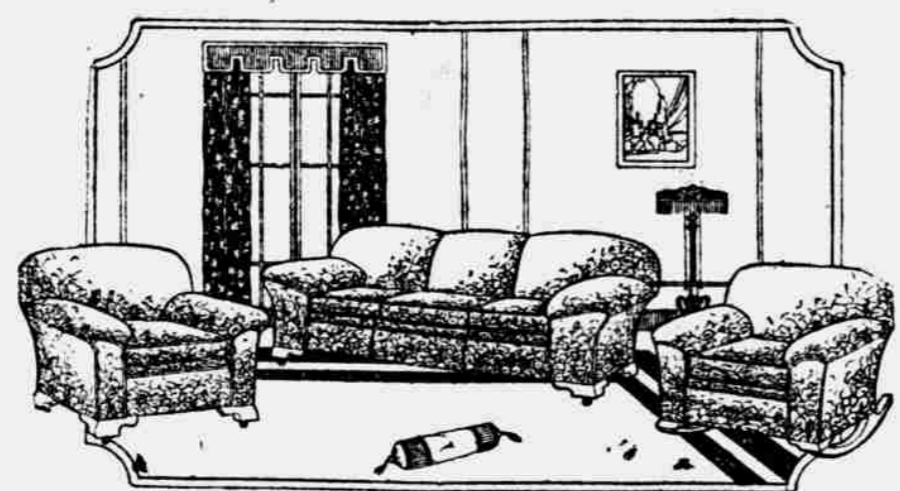
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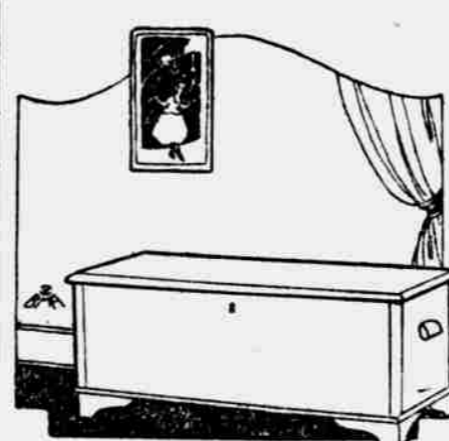
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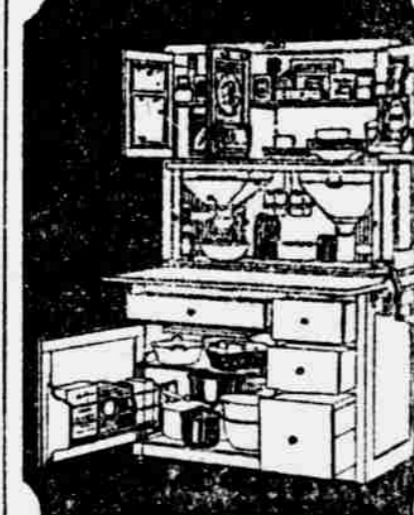


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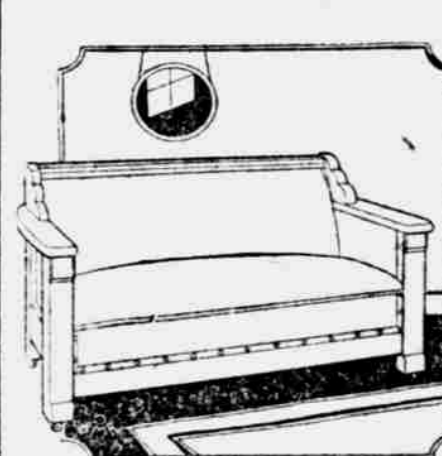
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