

Tarbell

~~It does something else.~~ War has causes. What are the causes of war we can get at with this great body in which we discuss one another's affairs. One of those causes has always been secret treaties. You have the same thing in towns. Here is a group over here that is devising some kind of a scheme, or at least their neighbors think they are. What do their neighbors do? They send out emissaries to find out what the scheme is and bitterness grows with suspicion. It is much the same way with nations. There grow up from those suspicions secret alliances and intrigues and suddenly you have an explosion and ~~the~~ a war, all because of nations not understanding one another and secret treaties. The League of Nations says that must be eliminated, and in this great document, only one paragraph of which the opposition permits us to think of, there is a provision there shall be no secret treaties between nations that join this League. Right away, if you can bring that about, you have ~~got~~ out one of the fundamental causes of war.

There is another thing sadly overlooked. A very effective clause in Art. 19 which reads something like this, that if at any time the League of Nations shall find that there are treaties in existence between nations that have become inapplicable, that do not work, whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world, it shall be the business of the League to take up those treaties and have them corrected. Can you not see what a wonderful peaceful effect that might have. Here is the trouble about a treaty, and here comes along the League and says you are not getting along well under that arrangement. It is pledged to do

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that. Moreover the nations in the League are pledged to follow the advice of the League in these matters, to correct any kind of misunderstandings, or any treaty that is working for war and not for peace. Is that an arrangement to be feared, my friends?

There are so many more. There is this question of armaments. You know what it is when men build up armaments in a country. There comes a day when they want to use them, to try out those great ships and great engines of destruction. They want to see how it will work. The League says we must have none of these great artificial arrangements for creating the war spirit. All of the armaments of all of the nations must be levelled down to a police basis. Did you realize that there was a great commission today at work in Europe studying the armaments of all countries, studying out how they may be cut down..

The Treaty of Versailles provides for the destruction of the very kingpin of armies. Why was it that France and Italy and the other countries of Europe felt that they had to have all their men in arms, everybody trained, a great burden of taxation on all their people to build more and more machinery of war, to pay more and more millions in fashioning more terrible instruments of war, because there in the center of Europe was that immense war machine that Germany had erected, the most powerful the world had ever seen. It makes your head reel. Germany had built up a kind of religion of war. She wanted that great war machine for something she called her "Day". Thank God that Day has come and has gone!

The Treaty of Versailles says to Germany she can't have more than a police army. That means we won't have to put all our boys into training if we can put the League into effect. That is what the League is working on today and if this League goes through

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it means that America need not have any great standing army, that we need not have any great bond issues and taxation for war. If it doesn't go through we must begin building ships and raising up armies tomorrow. The League is working today on that problem, to take some that great burden away from us.

There are other things. A great deal of trouble has come into the world because nations didn't understand international law. We had great bodies of international law misunderstood by this nation or that nation, not possible to put into effect, and yet the need of a universal understanding of what the laws were was felt. What did the League provide for? It said that one of the very things we must get to work on is the making of a great international court of justice so that it can codify international law. The League of Nations last winter gathered at The Hague some of the greatest international lawyers of the world, who met to carry out this condition in the League of Nations Covenant, which says there must be an international code. Some of the gentlemen in the opposition, the distinguished candidate for the Presidency among them, when Mr. Root was called to help in this great work, said "Look, see what we Republicans have done, we have sent Mr. Root to Europe to work out a substitute for the League of Nations." Mr. Root was called to Europe by the League of Nations. He wasn't sent by the Republicans. He was called there by the League. At The Hague the League was working out one of its articles, this great court of international law, one of the most valuable things in the Covenant.

There are other things. The system of ~~mut~~ mandatories is one of the most remarkable things for cutting out causes of war ever put into execution. You know how it has always been

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between nations, the desire to get more and more territory. They thought it was necessary. Whenever there has been a war there has always been the desire for some particular piece of land. Now, when this war was over, the League of Nations provided that no countries or lands released by this war are to go to any nation. They are to have a chance to set up for themselves. If not ready now, the League of Nations will set up mandatories over them. We in the United States, France, England, Italy, any member of the League can take a mandatory, but mind you it cannot ~~and~~ administer that territory for itself, it must administer for the people who live in that territory. That is what a mandate means. All the territory, and it was an immense amount, released by this war is being gradually put under the care of some nation or other to be administered for its inhabitants, ~~and~~ Oh, some of the pathetic things one heard at the Peace Conference! One of the most pathetic was the prayer of these weak peoples for other ~~nations~~ nations to take ~~their~~ their mandatories. One of the most ^{tragic} ~~and~~ and pathetic things I ever saw in my life was the anxiety of the ~~Armenians~~ Armenians that the United States would get the mandatory for their country. I happened to see a great deal of this and had my heart drawn many a day. I was in the hotel where these Armenians had their headquarters. I remember coming down to breakfast one morning and saw a little ~~group~~ group of dark faces. We saw many groups ~~of~~ from little peoples seeking help from the Peace Conference. There was one woman in Paris from ~~Armenia~~ Armenia who went through all those terrible things that you ~~read~~ read about that happened in Armenia, had been in the middle of the country, and God alone knows how she got out. She was praying that America would take care of her nation and protect them from the Turks and Kurds.

These things went to your heart over there. If you had seen all ~~the weakness of the world there,~~ the weaknesses of the world there, all the corners of the world that came to that conference, and if you had known how they looked above all things to the United States of America to help them on their feet, you wouldn't rest until this League of Nations was in operation because it is the only thing that will help these people. That mandatory proposition was put through over great opposition. Japan had come expecting certain islands in the Pacific and all of the German ~~islands~~ concessions. Japan had the ~~old~~ idea of statesmanship she had learned from other nations. She was trying to become a modern nation. She had seen how the nations of Europe came over to China, took a piece here and there, and she would take a piece out of somebody else's ~~land~~ land, that ~~that~~ that was the modern way of doing things, and she was trying to be modern, and so as her reward for her efforts in the war she asked certain islands and German possessions. She came to Paris and she found that the western world had got a new idea. She heard them say "We are not going to take things from people any more and you can't have anything to do with the German possessions except as a mandatory for them."

One of the things that interested me most at the Peace Conference was the fact that Japan came up for one or another thing she wanted very much that the League of Nations forbade. She didn't say as we have done "We won't play because there is something we want we can't get." She sat in at the great day when the first draft of the Covenant was adopted. Baron Makino sat there. I knew as I looked in those Japs' faces how hard it was for them to swallow that idea of a mandatory, to give up all they had hoped for out of ~~the~~ war, and yet Baron Makino arose that day and said:

"Gentlemen, I ~~think~~ believe this is the greatest document that has ever been compiled by the hand of man." That was an Oriental talking. They sacrificed terribly these Japs, and yet they went in because they went in because they had seen somehow this light of the new world we had talked about. There had come into these Oriental minds the thought that this is the light of the future and we of Japan will follow it. That is one thing this League attempts to do.

There are other things. Another is the number of great commissions the League sets up to handle the international business of the world. Now you know perfectly well how much irritation, how many wars, have been caused in this world by commercial and industrial rivalries, somebody not getting this thing or that thing, a prohibitive ~~prohibitive~~-tariff, holding up goods in somebody's ports or not letting them flow freely when they get there. All sorts of tangles! The League says you must not have any such interference as that in the business of the world. The business of the world must go smoothly around the globe. If you went out here in this city and sent a letter to any town in the world that is civilized and you are not at war, it would go straight there and you would get an answer. You could send a cablegram to any town in the world that has a cable office. ~~What's~~ Why is that? It is because we have an international postal bureau to keep these things going freely. The League of Nations proposes all sorts of international commissions of that kind to handle international business. I don't care what it is, whether it is trade or ideals, it will flow more freely through the League. That is going to cut out many causes of war, isn't it? Obviously it is.

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There are all sorts of these conditions. One of the most important is that in regard to labor. Of course, you all understand what a difficult problem it is for the world to get on and exchange its products nowadays with labor working under such different conditions in the various ~~and~~ countries. We put up great tariff walls because labor over there making the same kind of thing we want to make is paid only a few cents a day and works fourteen or fifteen hours a day. We say we can't compete with them and put up tariff walls. These tariff walls cause wars. The League of Nations said we must settle this labor problem. Somehow we must put labor of the world in just as advantageous a condition in one country as in another. We must standardize hours and wages and protect women and children in industry just as we have been trying to do in the United States. Think of all the workers of the world having all the advantages that the most favored of our workers have! What a different world it would be! How much less reason for war and revolt! The League says we will try to do that, and they established a wonderful Labor Commission. I watched it at work in Paris. The women were taken in this. The result was that they built up one of the most remarkable international programs for labor that you can conceive. They held an international conference last year in Washington. Many nations sent delegates to that conference. It was the most distinguished and important international body that ever gathered in this country. There were over thirty nations represented. Each country sent four representatives of ~~labor~~ its government, two to represent labor and two to represent the employers. All sides were represented. They put through at that meeting a labor program that was unanimously adopted. Most all of

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the countries of the world represented there, and yet the United States scarcely knew that body was meeting. There were Senators of the United States who jeered at that thing. They knew so little about it that they said: "What is this band of radical people doing here?" They didn't realize that there were ~~in~~ representatives of thirty or more governments there with whom we were on friendly terms. One of the most ~~in~~ difficult things we had to ~~was~~ to try and explain to these people who had come here to solve labor's problems the attitude of these men towards them. "What in the world is the matter with the United States?", they said, "We are here and we have received nothing but insults from your Congressmen." Oh my friends, what a pity that partisanship leads ~~a~~ representatives of a great people like ourselves to do things like that! The commission is going on. It has just been ~~held~~ holding its second ~~session~~ annual session. The whole thing is to try to make ~~it~~ the best standards of labor in the world universal.

There are many such commissions as that. Do you think these things mean war? Are you afraid of adopting things of that kind? I would be the last to say that under this League everything is perfect or that there may not be the danger of war. We are what we are, human beings, at the best a quarreling selfish lot. Put us under the best system, the Christian, and see what a mess we often make of it. ~~With~~ With this great League, with all its good ~~and~~ intent we probably will sometimes make a mess of it.

Go and examine the measures the League takes if a quarrel does impend. Suppose two of us in the League have a quarrel. What is done? If it is a justiciable question it goes to the court of international justice. If it is not a justiciable question the agreement is to submit it to arbitration of inquiry

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by the Council, and the Council has six months in which to make its report to all the world, and during this time you will have there to stop the thing the force of public opinion. After this report comes three months intervene before you go to war. If you have to wait nine months before going to war you will cool off. This is what the League believes. If war came to the world the League has a terrible weapon. If a nation refuses to accept its judgment, it says "If you are determined to destroy the people of the world, if you are determined to go to war, why then we won't trade with you, you will be cut off from all intercourse with the world." A terrible weapon! There are no guns in all that, none at all.

I am far from saying though that there might not be a time when you would have to get out a policeman. It can't be any such army as you had to get out in this war. There won't be any such armies anywhere. The armies of all nations would be cut down to a police basis, and guns would be used only as a policeman uses his club on the street. That is vastly different from the conditions we have been witnessing. Do you think for a moment that if we had all that machinery in operation in the years before 1914 that war would have come on? If it had been in operation before the Spanish-American war, it wouldn't have been possible. It cuts out the causes of war or so isolates them that they must be very rare and if we go into a war in the future we go in on our own terms. The machinery of the League makes that possible and that is the purpose of all of it.

People ~~Woodward touched on one point when he spoke of the people~~
say "I don't want to have anything to do with this thing because
it is the product of one man's mind. To hear people talk you
could think that President Wilson alone framed the Covenant.
There is going to come a day when that name is going to receive
all over this land and in every country of the world just the same
applause that the name of Abraham Lincoln receives. They are
afraid to go into it because one man made it? Why my friends,
it takes very little of a historian and I don't claim to be one --
to be able to point to documents three centuries old at least,
peoples praying for a League of Nations. It has been one of the
greatest aspirations of humanity for years. I read only yesterday
the constitution of the Five Tribes of American Indians made in the
16th century, a League of Nations made by five American nations
of Indians, in which they pledged themselves by justice, by
righteousness to prevent all wars in the New World and bring in
as many other nations of the world as they could into their compact.
American ~~Inds~~ Indians in the 16th century! How many of you know
that at the end of the 17th century William Penn wrote a constitution
for a League of Nations which very closely compares with the one
we now have before us. That was put on our desks at the Peace
Conference. For centuries men and women in many countries have
struggled with this idea: "How would it be possible for us somehow
to put ourselves in such relation that we would never again
have this awful, horrible ~~struggle~~ struggle of war, this destruction
of men and of property?" You remember how all through the war
how often you heard boys saying: "I am going to fight to end war."

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They said our boys had a wonderful mission. I don't know whether it is the Monroe Doctrine or President Wilson or God Almighty, but they had something in their eyes that isn't in the eyes of any other man. They had seen something to be done by this war, something that was to come of this dream of peace. The greatness of President Wilson was that he saw that the moment had come that we could rivet into the minds of nations this great idea, it was the moment, the hour to do it, and such moments come once in centuries. He saw the moment had come and whatever its cost, his life, his health (he has given that) his reputation, everything, the sympathy of his own nation, all he was willing sacrifice. God forgive us that we should have made one man suffer as we have made that man suffer! He gave it all in order to rivet into the minds of the world this great idea, the realization of this aspiration of centuries. That was his great service.

As for this Covenant which formulates this great idea, many men have had a part in it. One of the first things the Peace Conference did, the first commission appointed was the commission to work out the plan for a League with fourteen nations represented. How they worked over that thing! After a month they had that first draft ready to present. They presented it to the Council. It was one of the greatest scenes I had ever witnessed, these delegates of all these nations, from the north and the south and the east and the west, black and white and every shade between. One of the blackest men I ever saw was the representative of Liberia. All the nations of the world had come somehow to try to bring about this great dream.

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They adopted that and it was sent out to the world to criticize. ~~It was the first time that the world had ever been consulted~~
The opposition claim they were not consulted. Thirteen neutral nations were asked to criticize it and they sent representatives to Paris, some with elaborate printed plans of their criticisms. All of the countries of the world interested in this idea were represented there. People who were on that commission to qualify it said they said they had to wade through piles of material that high. The opposition says it had no chance. Mr. Sumner has just told you that they had the chance and that their suggestions were put in.

The second draft of the Covenant is a very different document from the first. There is nothing in that one-man idea.

Some say we must not go in because we are great and strong and we don't need to go in. That is childishness. What would become of Connecticut and all her industries if she was cut off from the world?

I dined the other night in the home of a great manufacturer in this state with markers and storehouses and shops in Europe. His European manager was there. They had great investments in Germany. Germany took them as we took her investments here. This man spoke of how much we are losing annually because we are not in the League of Nations. We are tied up with the world morally, commercially and ~~politically~~ politically. We have been prodding the men and women of other countries with our ideas. Half of the unrest in the world today has been because of the ideas of freedom and justice that America has brought. Are you going back on that decide on isolation? You couldn't and you wouldn't, and oh what a

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price you would pay if we made the attempt! They say entering the League means assuming obligations. I don't see how anything important can exist without obligations. "Everything we undertake in this world means obligations. What does your family mean but obligations? Can we conduct our business or trade without obligations? Life is built on obligations. What has made this country great? Because whenever the test has come, she never has refused to accept a great moral obligation. If the day ever comes when America refuses a moral obligation that day marks the beginning of the end for us, for we cannot make any mistake, the great power of this world is moral. The world is built on ideals, not on petroleum fields. The great force of the world is moral force which strives to realize these ideals.

We are very much in the condition that the United States was way back there when the constitution was first placed before us, and there came that great question whether or not it should be accepted. I Do you think there was no obligation involved in simply accepting the constitution of the United States? There were many people then who felt just like the opponents of the League feel. "We must not go in, we can't tell where it will lead us.", they said. "Think what that obligation to sustain the federal constitution means," they said, "perhaps war." And we knew it did lead to war. But does anybody today in this country regret that we formed the union under that constitution or that we sought to preserve that union? Think what this country would be if we had not! Then we would have had the Empire of Connecticut, the Kingdom of Massachusetts and the Republic of Vermont, all these little countries, we would simply have the Balkans over again in America. Now we are what we are and

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because we look upon ourselves the obligation of carrying out the
constitution. Washington said at that time "Anything that is
put in we call on to maintain this, everything that is added,
the League of Nations, the League of Nations, the League of Nations. All our
hopes for the future, and that is looking on back? Nothing in the
world but our fears, our anxieties, our grief, our uncertainties,
that is what is holding us back." We can say a fact that was
thing today. All that is said, and as we call to us to keep
out of the League, all that is said we go in. Can there be
any clearer choice than that?

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