DR. BUTLER SEES U. S. MENACED BY SOCIALIST PLOT

Fraud and Viciousness Used to Make Bolshevism Supreme Here, Shown.

WORLD PEACE DWINDLING

Educator Appeals to Americans to Save Nation From Evils of Europe.

Special Despatch to THE SUN.

CINCINNATI, April 19.—Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, speaking before the Commercial Club in this city to-night, delivered the strongest indictment against socialism and its resultant Bolshevism that has ever been heard in the Middle West.

Speaking on the topic, "Is America Worth Saving?" Dr. Butler discussed the main tremendous happenings of the times with their influence on civilization and especially their effect on American political and industrial life. After pointing out the fraud and the viciousness of Socialism, he made his main argument that the intelligence of the American people will save them from the evils now sweeping over Europe.

"There is turbulence not only in the world of events but in the world of ideas," said Dr. Butler. "Loud and angry voices are raised on every hand, urging the overthrow of the foundations of society and of the marvellous civilization it has taken 3,000 years to build. Thinking accompanies unconsidered and hysterical action. Force, either military, economic or political, and not reasonableness or justice, is everywhere appealed to as the arbiter of differences. It is probable that the world is now further removed from peace and order than it was on November 11 when hostilities ceased."

Victims of Tricky Talk.

The president of Columbia aroused hearty applause and also caused a good deal of laughter when he said that we are victims of an orgy of crooked thinking and of the false and tricky use of language, words being twisted from their true meanings and used to mislead the public.

"It is now the fashion," said Dr. Butler, "to describe a doctrinaire as an idealist; to call a Liberal a Tory; and to steal the splendid term Liberal to cover the nakedness of the Revolutionist. It is high time to attempt to dissipate the fog in which we are living and to get back to first principles and straight thinking along the lines of hard and practical common sense and human experience."

All American life, Dr. Butler said, is based on the civil liberty of the individual. Under this system the country has prospered mightily. While there has been and is inequality, it is also true, he argued, that where there is individual opportunity there is always inequality. It can only be prevented by substituting tyranny for liberty. He continued:

"Men of Ohio, this is the first long and dangerous step on the path back toward autocracy and militarism. Once a State becomes all powerful it easily thinks of itself as unable to do wrong, and so becomes the unmoral state of which Prussia and the German Empire have been the most perfect types. The all powerful and immoral state can see nothing higher than itself; it admits no principle of right or justice to which it must give heed; such a state is an end in itself and what is chooses to do is necessarily right.

Question Confronting U. S.

"The most pressing question that now confronts the American people, the question that underlies and conditions all problems of reconstruction and of advance as we pass from war conditions to the normal times of peace, is whether we shall go forward by preserving those American principles and American traditions that have already served us so well, or whether we shall abandon those principles and traditions and substitute for them a state built not upon the civil liberty of the individual but upon the plenary power of organized government.

"Those whose eyes are turned toward a government of the latter type are designated in a general way as socialists. The words socialism and socialist, though less than a century old, have lately become very common among us and are so loosely and so variously used as to make it difficult to think clearly regarding the ideas for which they stand. Socialism, in the large, general and vague sense of the word, means simply social reform. In that sense, every intelligent and forward-stepping man or woman is a socialist.

All of us who are in our right minds are anxious to improve social conditions, to better the public health, to decrease the hours and the severity of labor, to increase the rewards and to add to the satisfactions of those who do the hard manual work of the world, to increase and make secure provision against illness, unemployment and indigent old age, to use the power of public taxation to build roads, to multiply schoolhouses, to aid with information and guidance those who farm and those who mine, to bring together collections of books, of objects of beauty and of art for the information and the pleasure of the great body of the people, to improve the conditions of housing in large cities, and to see to it that such essentials of life as water, light and transportation are furnished of the best quality and at the lowest practicable cost. If by socialism be meant that the individual must not live for himself alone, but must use his powers, his capacities, and his gains for the benefit of his community and his fellows, then every American and every Christian is a socialist, for these are fundamental to American life and to Christian teaching. All this, however, is social reform, not socialism.

False Traits in Socialism.

"Socialism, in the strict and scientific sense of the word, is, however, something quite different from this. Socialism involves not social reform but political and social revolution. It is the name for a definite public policy which rests upon certain historical and economic assumptions, all of which have been proved to be false, and it proceeds to very drastic and far-reaching conclusions, all of which are in flat contradiction to American policy and American faith. The assumptions of socialism are these:

"First, that all of man's efforts, both past and present, are to be interpreted and explained in terms of his desire for wealth and of the processes which lead to the satisfaction of that desire. This assumption excludes at once all moral, religious, and unselfish considerations from history and from life and makes of man nothing but a gain-seeking animal preying upon his kind wherever he can lay hands upon him. There have been, and there doubtless are, many individuals of this type; but to suppose that the whole human race can be brought under such a description is an outrageous travesty on history, on morals and on religion. This assumption would reduce all human history to the product of blind gain-seeking forces and would exclude from it both moral effort and moral purpose. Under such a theory no man would make any sacrifice for liberty or for love, but only for gain. All human experience contradicts so cruel and so heartless an assumption.

"Second, that in the struggle for wealth men are divided into permanent classes—those who employ and those who labor—and that between these classes there is and should be a class struggle or class war to be carried on to the itter end.

Assets of Democracy.

"It is the extreme form of the doctrines of Karl Marx which Lenine and Trotzky have been applying in Russia for a year and a half past with such terrible results. In consequence, that once great country of boundless possibilities is now as helpless as a child, and it lies, for the moment, in social, economic and moral ruin, and is relapsing into barbarism. Its reorganized schools now devote part of each day to instruction in atheism and to removing any lingering traces of what used to be proudly called civilization."

Thereupon, turning to a survey of the great assets acquired by America under democracy, to an enumeration of the details of prosperity, Dr. Butler named these items:

"Ours is a land in which more than twenty millions of men, women and children have just now subscribed to Liberty Bonds.

"It is a land with more than 18,000,000 dwellings occupied by about 21,000,000 families.

"It is a land in which fully 9,000,000 families own their own homes without encumbrance, while 3,000,000 own their homes subject to mortgage.

"It is a land in which more than 12,000,000 persons are depositors in mutual, stock or postal savings banks, with total deposits amounting to more than $6,500,000,000.

"It is a land in which there are nearly 6,500,000 farms having a value, including their buildings and equipment, of more than $41,000,000,000, and yielding an annual product of a value of more than $8,500,000,000.

"It is a land with more than 266,000 miles of railway in operation, carrying in a year more than 1,000,000,000 individual passengers and more than 2,225,000,000 tons of freight.

"It is a land in which schools for the people are maintained at a total expenditure of nearly $650,000,000 with an attendance of more than 20,000,000 children.

"It is a land in which there are more than 3,000 public libraries, having on their shelves more than 75,000,000 volumes for the instruction and inspiration of the people.

"It is a land whose total wealth is now not less than $225,000,000,000."

He asked if a people as intelligent as ours would be likely to ruin this prosperity by turning the country over to Socialist revolutionists, especially after the example Russia has furnished to the world. He contended that the Socialist party, always in particular antagonism to the courts, is of necessity unpatriotic and un-American. He stated that it definitely challenges the very existence of the republic.

Recognition Plan Uncovered.

He complimented such Socialists as Russell, Spargo, Walling and Montague for denouncing the unpatriotic character of their former associates and for remaining good Americans themselves. Then Dr. Butler pronounced this significant idea:

"Signs are not wanting that the advocates of Socialism think it will be easier and quicker to gain ground in the United States by the indirect method of involving us in a false international policy than by the direct method of attempting to secure control of the machinery of Government through the suffrage. This explains why Socialists and those who at heart sympathize with them without openly assuming their name, are so anxious that Lenine and Trotzky shall be formally recognized as heads of a Government with which civilized and honorable men may have relations, and that the German people should, so far as possible, be saved from the consequences of their public crime and their military defeat. If Americans could only be led to give up their historic patriotism for a sentimental humanitarianism the battle of the Socialists would be half won. This is why it behooves us to watch with anxious care each step that our Government proposes to take in relation to international policy.

"If it is proposed to build a world of strong, independent, self-conscious nations with close and friendly international relations for the preservation of the world's peace, well and good. But if it is proposed to weaken or destroy nations in order to build a world in which historic nations shall play but an insignificant part, and in which patriotism and love of country shall disappear, then Americans should oppose such a policy at every step and with the utmost vigor.

"Upon all this the progressive builds a new and consistent structure to meet the needs of to-day in the light of the experience of yesterday. He does not find it necessary to burn his own fingers in order to ascertain whether fire is hot.

"America will be saved, not by those who have only contempt and despite for her founders and her history, but by those who look with respect and reverence upon the great series of happenings extending from the voyage of the Mayflower to the achievements of the American armies on the soil of France, and upon that long succession of statesmen, orators, men of letters and men of affairs who have themselves been both the product and the highest promise of American life and American opportunity. The Declaration of Independence rings as true to-day as it did in 1776. The Constitution remains the surest and safest foundation for a free Government that the wit of man has yet devised. Faithful adherence to these strong and enduring foundations and a high purpose to apply the fundamental principles of American life with sympathy and open mindedness to each new problem that presents itself, will give us a people increasingly prosperous, increasingly happy and increasingly secure.

"Just so soon as the American people, with their quick intelligence and alert apprehension, understand the difference between social reform and political socialism, and the distinction between an internationalism that is false and destructive of patriotism and an internationalism that is true and full of appeal to every patriot, they will stamp political socialism, together with all its subtle and half conscious approximations and imitations, under foot as something abhorrent to our free American life. They will prefer to save America."

Issue of Campaign in 1920.

In an interview here this evening before making the address to the Commercial Club, Dr. Butler declared that a considerable number of those who have access to the President and the high officials of the Administration were openly contemptuous of our Constitution and the characteristic forms of our American life. He said, further, that "it will be the privilege of the Republican party, as it was in 1860, to lead in the fight for the protection and preservation of our form of government. The present Administration, partly through the stress of war and partly through preference has given the greatest aid to socialist and semi-socialist movements of all kinds."

Dr. Butler remarked that it seemed certain that the issue of the 1920 political campaign would be whether the form of government established under the Constitution shall be preserved or displaced by an entirely different form of government which would result in the establishment of a socialist autocracy.

He criticised the appointment by the President of George Herron as American representative to the Prinkepo conference and the sending of Lincoln Steffens to Russia as a startling procedure. He said he believed that the issues will change the attitude of many party organizations, and cited that this was particularly noticeable in the South, where he said, there were many prominent Democrats who feared that the old Democratic party of Jefferson, Jackson, Tilden, and Cleveland, was dead, and that the party as constituted now was one-half Socialist and one-half Populist.

Easter Dainties for Wounded.

Easter arrived early yesterday at General Hospital No. 1, Gun Hill road, The Bronx, with the delivery of 2,300 Easter baskets containing candy of egg shapes and other varieties. Easter plants and lilies were also sent, the distribution being made by Capt. Emma L. Oeder for The Bronx county chapter of the American Red Cross. The Messiah Home in Andrews avenue and the Pelham Bay naval station shared in the gifts.

FRANCE IS PUZZLED BY LLOYD GEORGE

Paris Editor Mystified by His Trip to London to Attack "Bad" Press.

TOO LATE FOR EDUCATION

Only Way to Make Germans Obey Terms Is to Have Troops on Ground.

By G. S. ADAM.

Special Cable Despatch to THE SUN *from the London Times Service.*

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PARIS, April 19.—If the goodness of Premier Lloyd George's peace is to be measured by the badness of his press the Allies will have full cause for congratulations. The Prime Minister's performance at Westminster has completely puzzled the French, who are at a loss to understand why the chief of the British delegates should have gone to England apparently with the main purpose of trying to discredit in French eyes the personality of the English papers, which have long been held in great regard in France as being stanch friends of the Entente and of intervention in the war at a moment when Lloyd George's own mind upon the subject was undecided. The French press recently had occasion to measure Lloyd George's extreme irritability under criticism, and although it is puzzled and disappointed by this fresh outburst it is not altogether surprised.

Mr Lloyd George would be far from finding unanimous support for his condemnation of the press, a condemnation in which the British and French press are now equally involved, nor would he find many persons to agree with his description of the beautiful harmony which has presided over the labors of the peace delegates.

Regarding that experience M. Gauvin, foreign editor of the *Journal*, in an article criticising severely the Peace Conference methods and the necessity there has been of educating the Big Four upon the questions they have been called upon to deal with, says:

"Lloyd George said he preferred to have a good peace to having a good press. But each sentence of his speech shows how upset he is at having a bad press. He gives the lively impression of a man who has got an immense task in front of him and who is delighted at having accomplished a part of it. Without doubt in his eyes several more months will not be too much to complete the studies he has now in hand. Perhaps he is right.

"But that is precisely what is terrifying in the situation. Men who ought to have come here in December or January ready to settle questions submitted to their judgment only then began to study them. Each day they discover a new world. Lloyd George calls that gaining time. The public has the impression that time is being lost and that it is really a little late for the Big Four to start their education.

"Lloyd George made some pleasant remarks about France, for which we thank him. We are sure his words are in accordance with his intention, but in practice he shows consideration for the Germans, which is unreasonable. He seems to believe prohibitions inscribed upon the parchment constitute an adequate guarantee. All conditions registered in the documents are like the wills of the most powerful sovereigns. Scarcely has a monarch breathed his last breath than his last wishes are forgotten, misunderstood, transgressed, without any one complaining.

"In this matter of Germany, the same thing will happen if military occupation does not ensue in carrying out certain undertakings. If troops are not there to take immediate measures all breaches will pass with impunity. No Power will put new armies in the field in order to recover a debt or force Germany to bring her military establishment down to a prescribed figure.

"Groupings will be formed under the influence of commercialism, which already is showing itself in a disturbing manner. Written precautions will be as though they were not in existence. Lloyd George should be persuaded that the criticisms aimed at what is known of some of his suggestions were inspired not by bad will toward him but by a conviction that he was travelling along the wrong road in the bargaining with some countries about effective guarantees which they demanded in the common interests of the Allies and general peace."

GERMAN GUNS ON TRANSPORT.

Dufree, Shifted to Boston Instead of N. Y., Carries 36 Soldiers.

BOSTON, April 19.—The transport West Durfee, from St. Nazaire, docked here to-day with two officers and thirty-four men, all casuals. Private William M. Langler of Middletown, Conn., was the only New Englander in the party.

The steamship's cargo included forty-five German cannon and a number of wagons, automobiles and other materials turned over to the Allies after the signing of the armistice. The West Durfee originally sailed for New York, but a few days ago was ordered to proceed to this port.

U. S. RAIL MEN WON WAR, SAYS M'ADOO

Besides, Workers' Zeal and Efficiency Speeded the End by Six Months.

TO TALK FOR LOAN HERE

Ex-Secretary, Back From West, Calls Victory Notes Best Investment in World.

The zeal and efficiency of American railway executives and employees brought the war to an end six months earlier than would have been possible had the railroads here failed to "function properly" in the transportation of troops and supplies, so William G. McAdoo, former Railroad Administrator and Secretary of the Treasury, declared yesterday in the Hotel Plaza upon his return to New York after a three months' holiday on the Pacific coast. The need for a spring drive against the German lines this year was obviated by the wonders accomplished by American railway systems and had they failed in their task the war would have been lost, he said.

Future economic and industrial conditions would gradually adjust themselves, he thought, but he could see no immediate prospect of a marked reduction in the cost of living. He predicted that the ending of the war would bring no decrease in the wages now paid railroad workers, adding that he had established the wage scales, not with the idea that they were to be in effect during the period of hostilities only, but that they would be permanent.

Mr. McAdoo, who was bronzed and healthy as the result of his vacation near Santa Barbara, Cal., said he had spent most of his time in riding a cow pony over mountain trails and that tomorrow he would resume his law practice here. He is to speak at Forty-seventh street and Park avenue at 2 o'clock to-morrow afternoon at the opening of the Victory Loan campaign, which is to be held at the Forum in "Victory Way" there. Mr. McAdoo said he had promised to make two other speeches during the drive here—one from the steps of the Sub-Treasury and the other in the Metropolitan Opera House. He will speak in Chicago April 29 and in Cincinnati the following day.

On his way East Mr. McAdoo made twenty speeches in support of the Victory Loan between the coast and the Missouri River.

"In all of my speeches I referred to the League of Nations," said he. "I found everywhere, especially on the Pacific coast, overwhelming sentiment in favor of it. There is no doubt of a desire for some organization to prevent war and the last draft of the proposed league, cabled here from Paris, is approved by an overwhelming majority of the American people.

"In a talk to a dozen persons at a little railroad station in Idaho I said, 'I hope my friend Senator Borah hasn't set you against a League of Nations,' and they answered, 'He has not.' I met and talked to many returned soldiers who favored the league and they told me they reflected the feeling of a majority of the men who had been overseas."

After he had attributed the early ending of the war to the efficiency of American railways, Mr. McAdoo said:

"The whole criticism of the Railroad Administration has been based on the deficit of over $1,000,000,000. I could just as easily have made the railroads show a surplus by simply putting the increased freight and passenger rates into effect six months earlier than I did. I am not making a defence of the Railroad Administration because I don't think it needs any."

Mr. McAdoo declared that he had not raised the pay of railroad employees hastily or until after the matter had been gone into thoroughly by a wage commission. He said that 50 per cent. of the men and women employed by the roads were being paid less than $75 a month and that it was "preposterous" to expect them to live upon that amount with the rapidly mounting cost of necessities.

He explained that, between the draft and the high wages being paid by war industries, the railroads had a hard time keeping their workers. Had the railroad systems broken down under the strain, Mr. McAdoo said he knew the war would have been won by Germany. The increase in pay was an absolute necessity, if this were not to happen, he explained.

Mr. McAdoo gave high praise to the railroad executives he placed in control of the various systems after federalization and said they had all done the best they could under difficult circumstances. Even with Government backing, the roads had lost over $1,000,000 in the first three months, he said, which was far less than undoubtedly would have been the case if they had remained under private ownership.

"I didn't know what the politics of any of the executives was and I didn't give a damn," Mr. McAdoo declared. "I was looking for efficiency."

The fact that the new Government notes would form the last war time loan would have a more important effect in maintaining Victory notes at par than the rate of interest offered, Mr. McAdoo thought. He said it had been a great advantage to the United States to have had the war financed at a low interest rate and that, otherwise, the country's whole business foundation would have been upset. He predicted the success of the Victory Loan drive and declared that no one with "any money at all" could possibly find a better investment.

SOVIET AGENTS ARE ARRESTED IN VIENNA

Wealth Found on Agitators Sent From Budapest.

BERLIN, April 19.—The atmosphere in Vienna is still extremely electrical, according to despatches to the Berlin newspapers. The *Vossische Zeitung's* Vienna correspondent says the danger of trouble has by no means passed, as the National Guard, except for a few battalions, appears to be unreliable, while the demonstration of Thursday against the Parliament Building gave clear evidence of cooperation by the Hungarian Communists. On Thursday night the marine section of the War Ministry was broken into and plundered.

The Vienna Government on Friday had all the known emissaries of the Budapest Soviet Government arrested. Gold, bank notes and precious stones to a total value of 2,500,000 crowns were found in their possession and confiscated. The banishment of all revolutionary agitators is said to be imminent.

Count Ottokar Czernin, former Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, was arrested Wednesday by the German-Austrian authorities when he attempted to cross the Swiss frontier. The arrest was made in Feldkirch, a few miles east of the Swiss frontier at Buchs.

HUNGARIANS REPORT VICTORY.

COPENHAGEN, April 19.—Rumanian forces have attacked Hungarian troops, according to a despatch from Budapest, which fails to tell where the engagement occurred.

The Rumanians, says the message, "suffered tremendous losses."

¶ They are not digging gardens this Easter in the Near East,—they are digging graves for the victims of starvation. In the day of resurrection—in the very season of new life—4,000,000 human beings are perishing from starvation. Please answer the appeal sent to you by mail.

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