

HOOVER SCORES DEMOCRATS' RULE

Continued from First Page.

Here, I believe, lies the beginning of its failure in statesmanship.

"By our Government alone, of all of the great governments engaged upon the allied side, was it insisted that a single party should dominate the issues in making peace. Finally, in the bitterness of the quarrel which has arisen over the peace, the Democratic Administration has so disintegrated as to be incapable of developed programme for the great measures of reconstruction which must follow from the war. We have simply drifted for the past two years. In political leadership this party has, at least, for the present, ceased to function.

"I have no doubt our Democratic friends will argue that they are martyrs to adherence to the great principle of the unmodified covenant of the League of Nations. This is seeking martyrdom on a false premise. There is but one principle involved, and that is the preservation of peace by organized international action. "All else merely involves methods of reaching this great object, and some of the methods proposed are to-day regarded by the majority of our people as being dangerous methods. Compromise on method is the essence of a statesmanship that would plant the foundations of principle solidly upon the rock of public support. The dispute has not been one of principle, for the Republican party has supported and does support the principle. The contention has been over methods, and on methods men must divide and a good statesmanship will compromise.

Need Support of the People.

"The most important thing in the consummation of our relation to this great world aspiration is to have the good will of the majority of our people, for without such general support any league will fail. It cannot have the good will if in its method it is to override our national institutions and our sense of proper national obligation. It cannot hold the good will of the world if its method is founded on either threat or obligation to use military force. Its methods must be the processes of peace, not the processes of war.

"To have obstinately held up the peace of the world for eighteen months, with its fearful cost to ourselves and millions of helpless people; to have rejected the opportunity of amicable adjustment of differences as to methods; to have projected the issue, which, with intelligent cooperation, never would have existed,

into the Presidential election, is the greatest failure of American statesmanship since the civil war. Real regard for the welfare of our people and the world would have accepted the treaty with reservations and then if they thought it so vital a matter have gone to the country on the political issue of correcting the reservations alone. The solemn referendum is not on the league, it is on the failure of the Democratic party. Inasmuch as forty nations, comprising three-quarters of the people of the globe, have embraced the League of Nations as a term expressing certain ideas, I prefer that term, but I care little for terminology. The essential thing is that the Republican party has pledged itself by platform, by the actions of its majority in the Senate, by the repeated statements of Senator Harding, that they undertake the fundamental mission to put into living being the principle of an organized association of nations for the preservation of peace. The carrying out of that promise is the test of the entire sincerity, integrity and statesmanship of the Republican party.

Pledges of the G. O. P.

"The Republican party has indeed pledged itself against the unmodified covenant, and those who support the party are indeed voting against some of the methods of the covenant in pursuing this great principle into action. But this position of the party is as far as daylight from dark from the attitude of those who wish no league or no association for these purposes. If there be persons supporting the Republican party to-day on the belief or hope that this party is the avenue to destruction of this great principle, that the party will not with sincerity and statesmanship carry out their pledges to bring it into effect, then they are counting on the insincerity and the infidelity of the Republican party and its nominees for the Presidency.

"I do not believe it would fall or I would not be here at this moment. If by any chance it should fall it will have made a deeper wound in the American people than the temporary delay in our adherence to a League of Nations. It will have destroyed the confidence of our people in party government; it will have projected us into the dangerous path of party realignment. Out of these paths grow radicalism, reaction and the domination of extremists in government.

"My personal view with regard to the practical development of a league is that some articles in the present treaty must be abandoned and some modified. But a great many parts of the present treaty are good and are intertwined with the stability of the world. They offer opportunity to secure cooperation of the great majority of nations who

have joined it. Therefore I believe that in keeping faith with the promise to use all that is good in the covenant for the development of the great principle to which it has pledged itself practical Republican statesmanship must build upon the foundations of the existing treaty and include in it the great step forward in international justice now settled by Senator Root.

Many Things to Remember.

"Men will not forget the 50,000,000 human beings who have died because of this war, or the death roll which will stream from it for many years to come. They will not forget the social revolution that has followed from the collapse of government, the dangers that these revolutions have presented and continue to present to our civilization. They know that every social student realizes that another great war will further loosen social forces that would destroy our civilization and its foundations in individualism. They will not forget that it is impossible with our modern world communication and dependency on commerce to maintain the isolation of individualism. They will not forget that the march of dreadful inventions in the future will make the next great war a war of soldiers against civilians, even to a greater extent than the latter part of the past war. They know that the world has a larger offensive armament to-day than before the war, and that it is daily endangered by the irresponsible men in control of those forces. They will not forget that the world, including ourselves, is groaning to-day under taxes imposed by those armaments and that international association is the only way out.

"The issue of this principle of proper organized action of nations to prevent war will not be down. It belongs to no party and no creed. It will be the critical issue, of forward looking men in all nations until it succeeds in finally overthrowing militarism as a basis of world relations.

Responsibilities of Government.

"The responsibilities of Government should, in my view, be transferred. The Republican party has the skill and constructive ability in its membership to meet them. "If it fails to provide peace on terms that establish organized international association to prevent war, if it fails to attain it by methods which secure the good will of the entire world; if it fails to provide those great measures of internal progress and reconstruction that we require in the next four years, it should and must pay to public opinion the same penalty for that failure which we demand should be paid by the Democratic party. I have no hesitation in saying that the successful conduct of this Government and the consummation of the pledges entered upon is of far more import than the preservation of a party in office, and no real citizen will maintain the contrary.

"There are other great issues that have insistently demanded solution ever

since the armistice. They are predominantly of an economic character. They are not solely of war origin; some have cumulated over years. The readjustment of war taxation and debt, the high cost of living, transportation, agricultural readjustment, the development of our industrial employment relations, the wise guidance in the provision of our deficient housing, the reorganization of the business administration of the Federal Government and a host of other domestic questions demand constructive handling.

"The Democratic party claims that it could not secure legislation from an antagonistic Congress. I wish to point out that even if this were true, it was the business of the party in power to have assembled the best brains in the United States to each of these problems and to have laid before Congress and the American people some sort of a well rounded programme that could have had public discussion. This was not done.

"We have since the armistice gone through a period of unexampled speculation and profligate and, with all the legislative powers which the Government asked for, we have seen nothing but the spectacular attempts of politicians to arrest economic forces. There is no better example of the total futility of the methods employed than in the handling of the sugar problem. Here is a commodity in which the Administration could have continued a well established organization, the sugar equalization board, could have purchased through the Cuban crop, could have supplied the American people with full and ample supplies at a retail price of not more than 12 cents a pound.

"As a result of their failure in this single item our people have paid as high as 30 cents a pound for sugar, representing 18 cents a pound contribution to speculators of the world. Eighteen cents is a small sum, but when it is applied to our monthly consumption of sugar it is over \$100,000,000 a month charge upon the American consumer. The price of sugar has recently fallen, the inevitable result of a fearful speculation, but what about the train of preventive charges upon the community it has left behind.

Hard Problems Ahead.

"Destructive criticism is a role I intensely dislike. To me its use to-day has warranty in proof only of two things; first, the necessity of retirement of the Democratic party in this Administration, and second, of equal importance, the responsibilities of the Republican party in the next four years. "We have to look forward to the necessities of these next four years and

the burden that will be imposed upon the Republican party if it is to make good its promises. Never before in our history have we been faced with so many and so difficult a series of problems. I would make no pretension of being able to outline the solution to them. There are two or three that I should like to touch upon. The first is the need of the reorganization of the business machinery of our Federal Government. The second is the wider vision we must have in the constructive handling of great industrial issues in the United States.

"Our Federal machinery is the result of a hundred years of patchwork and has lagged lamentably behind the skill of organization and administration of our people. The strain of war gave daily vivid exhibitions of its weakness, its inability to cope with great emergency, and displayed the tremendous wastes that flowed from faulty organization. "Some of its weakness has been pointed out consistently for many years. President Taft guided the preparation of sound recommendations during the last Republican administration. Nothing has been done.

"The first necessity is a proper executive budget. To minds charged with the primary necessity of advance planning, coordination, provision of synchronizing parts in organization, the whole notion of our hit-or-miss system of Federal finance is wholly repugnant. A proper executive budget system provides a basis of organization that at least does not paralyze administrative efficiency as our committee system does to-day.

An Example of Waste.

"Through the coordination of expenditure in government departments, the prevention of waste and overlapping in government bureaus, the exposure of the pork barrel and the balancing of the relative importance of different national activities in the allocation of our national income can all be greatly promoted. Necessary as the budget is, it is not the solution of all ills. It is, at best, merely a limelight upon some of them.

"I may recite one example as an indication of the reorganization of deeper character that a budget which must be effected if we are to have capable government. We have six different departments actively engaged in engineering and construction work, spending collectively on a peace basis from \$200,000,000 to \$300,000,000 annually. These different departments do not cooperate, they compete for power, for material, for labor and for skill. There is profound waste by overlap. There is an infinite

opportunity for log rolling, pork barrel and waste through the lack of cohesion. There is no conception of our policy of public works as a whole. No properly organized and directed saving in public works can be made until a regrouping and consolidation is carried out. "All of the chattering that normally goes on now in the honest effort of Congressional committees to control departmental expenditure is but a tithes of that which could be effected if there were some concentration of administration along the lines long since demonstrated as necessary to the success of private business. The engineers' associations of the United States, representing 100,000 skilled professional men, have pleaded over years for the erection of a department of public works out of the old Interior Department as the first step of Federal reorganization. These are but single instances. The organization of the whole Federal administration needs to come under reury, not piecemeal attack on certain bureaus.

"There is a wider problem of governmental action for which the Republican party must find solution than any question of departmental reorganization, and this is the profound question of the relationship of the Government to industry. I regard it as the greatest internal problem facing our nation. For many years the development of our transportation, fuel, power, water, &c. by private initiative has been one of the stimuli that has created the greatness of our country. This was accomplished with great rapidity and little need of Government intervention when the problems were local and when they were filled with speculative profits.

Private Initiative Hurt.

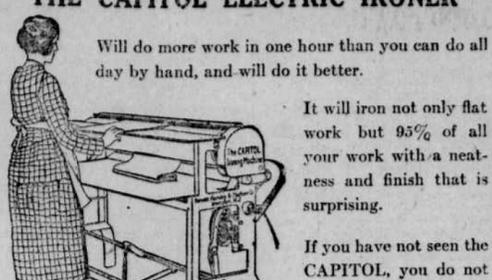
"The moment, however, that we decided as a nation (and rightly decided) that we must control rates and combinations and therefore limit profits to be earned in the operation of such utilities, at that very moment we started to undermine private initiative in the development of these essential tools of production and service. Our national action in relation to these matters during the last quarter of a century has been devoted almost entirely to providing a vast series of negative checks against misuse of economic power. We are now face to face with a great social and economic problem as to how we are to produce initiative that will secure broad economic development of our tools of production and service and at the same time protect the public from unlimited power in operation.

We need no more profound example.

"Continued on Following Page.

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—cherished by the few living people who heard her sing seventy years ago

But the Voice of Frieda Hempel Will Live Forever

—RE-CREATED in all its exquisite beauty by the magic of Thomas A. Edison's art

SEVENTY years from to-day new singers will be striving for the heights now held by Frieda Hempel. Younger artists will stretch eager fingers for the laurels so easily and so unquestionably hers.

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In selecting the impersonators of Jenny Lind and her assisting baritone, Signor Belletti, the most famous artists in the world were considered. The choice finally fell upon Frieda Hempel and Arthur Middleton, two famous Edison artists and opera stars.

If you will call at any one of the shops listed below we shall be glad to let you hear the RE-CREATION of Frieda Hempel's voice exactly as it sounded at Carnegie Hall.

May we present you with a complimentary copy of "Edison and Music," a handsomely illustrated brochure, which tells the history of this wonderful invention—THE NEW EDISON—"The Phonograph with a Soul."

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