

1920

# Harding Bows to the Irreconcilables

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## Recommended Citation

Plantz, Samuel, "Harding Bows to the Irreconcilables" (1920). *Presidential Addresses*. 35.  
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Published in Milwaukee Journal  
about Oct. 15, 1920

Harding Bows to the Inconciliables

Pres. Samuel Planty, Lawrence College

Mr. Harding has had a hard  
time finding where to light on  
the League of Nations problem. He  
has wobbled this way and that  
trying to carry a jug on <sup>each</sup> ~~both~~  
shoulders, in order that he might  
not antagonize <sup>the two conflicting</sup>  
~~positions of the great Republican~~  
<sup>elements of his party, namely</sup>  
~~leaders of the reservationists and~~  
the ~~inconciliables~~, <sup>but he</sup> has  
finally <sup>bowd (submitting) to the</sup> ~~gone over~~ ~~head and~~  
~~horns~~ bulldozers ~~who~~ of the  
Chicago Convention, Borah,  
Johnson and their followers,  
declaring flatly that the League  
of Nations is to be scrapped and  
that he will have none of it.  
To note the ~~mountain~~ ~~summit~~

Submissively

which he has turned in the  
 last few weeks, compare his  
 statement of Sept. 5th, ~~with~~  
 "Undoubtedly there is much that  
 is good in the covenant of  
 Versailles. I have no desire to  
 fling that all aside," with his  
 deliverance in Des Moines on Oct.  
 7th, "I don't want to clarify  
 those obligations. I want to turn  
 my back on them. It is not  
 interpretation but rejection that  
 I am seeking." The wobbling  
 is over. The flat-footed state-  
 ment has come, and it is  
 this: "He (Cox) favors going with the  
 Paris League and I favor staying  
 out."

~~One of the arguments~~ It is not  
 our purpose to consider all

the reason for Mr. Harding's <sup>gives for his</sup> final  
~~deliberate~~ decision, but merely  
 to discuss one which he has re-  
 peated in several of his speeches.  
 "Our opponents," he said at Des  
 Moines, "are persistently curious &  
 know whether, y - or, perhaps I  
 might better say, when - I am  
 elected, I intend to scrap the  
 League. It might be suffic-  
 ient in reply to suggest the  
 futility of 'scrapping' something which  
 is already scrapped." In an  
 earlier speech <sup>of Aug. 25</sup> Mr. Harding affirmed  
 that the League was dead, and  
 indicated that ~~if~~ he would not have  
 removed his hat if he had been  
 at the funeral. The Versailles League

~~It is very easy for the  
 people to fall into the~~

4. "has passed beyond the possibility of restoration": "It has already been abandoned in Europe."

The question Mr. Harding has raised is purely one of fact; and the ~~quick~~ purpose of this article is to show that his statements are calculated to deceive the people, ~~as~~ rather than state the truth.

The principal argument which Mr. Harding and others who vinticate his position rely upon for proof that Europe has scrapped the League is that it has not functioned to stop all the wars which have occurred since the armistice. They seem to think that the League should have sprung full orb'd into existence on the day of its birth in Paris and at once taken control of the affairs of the world. Much wiser is

The question Mr. Harding here  
raises is purely one of fact, and  
since many people may be de-  
ceived by

the statement of Mr. Lloyd George:  
 "We must not imagine that  
 the League is dead because it  
 has not in its infancy sud-  
 denly become a full-armed  
 giant, holding down all the  
 forces of disorder and the won-  
 der of militarism. To attempt  
 now to force it into the full  
 fruition of all its hopes might  
 destroy it." The League did not  
 stop the war between Poland  
 and Russia, and there are several  
 other things it has ~~not~~ not done  
 that some might have expected  
 of it, but what are the reasons?

1. It took time to get ~~the~~  
 favorable action <sup>on the part of the</sup> of parliaments and congresses  
 of the nations to join ~~the~~ the  
 League.

2. The prolonged debate of the Senate of the United States and its long delayed action deferred organization, since, being one of the greatest of the powers, and having a place on the Council, it was thought inadvisable to proceed too far without its ~~consent~~ decision, <sup>having been</sup> ~~being~~ reached.

3. The League was not organized to settle conditions growing out of the war, except in relation to some matters committed to it by the treaty; and it could not be expected to still the storm which developed out of and ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> really a part of <sup>the world struggle</sup> it.

4. The League, ~~has not~~ <sup>has not</sup> in the treaty of Versailles, <sup>has not</sup> been given a fair chance to function in the present conditions of



Europe, for a Supreme Council  
 was constituted at Paris to  
 which was largely committed  
 the work of settling the great  
 political problems of Europe  
 which were the necessary after-  
 math of the war. It was  
 realized that it would take a good  
 deal of time for the League to organ-  
 ize and get it working again, so  
 the Supreme Council was constituted  
 to act ~~on~~ immediately <sup>on</sup> important  
 questions which were sure to arise.  
 It has acted at Hythe, San  
 Remo and Spa, and been  
 the real force in carrying on  
 the negotiations following the  
 signing of the treaty. Of course,  
 this has hindered the League  
 from energetically taking hold

of the affairs arising out of the recent conflict and fully explains why it did not function in the war between Poland and Russia.

5. Besides the Supreme Council other bodies ~~have been set up~~ ~~and set up by the~~ ~~treaty~~ which have had charge of some of these after war matters and also limited the action of the League. There is a Reparation Commission to which France especially has appealed when certain matters have been taken up affecting the treaty.

6. The League has been embarrassed by the imperialistic ambitions and materialistic spirit of some of the European leaders, such as Millerand and Foch of France, who have been quite naturally more moved

by the desire for punishment  
rather than <sup>by the spirit of</sup> reconciliation.

Again and again the League  
has had to resist the effort  
to make it the instrument of  
reaction rather than of progress.  
~~It has been~~ The Supreme Council  
and other agencies have re-  
frained to make it the means  
of enforcing the treaty of Versailles,  
~~thus it has had to~~ assume respon-  
sibility for managing the Rep-  
arations Commission, ~~to~~ try the  
war criminals, ~~to~~ fix the boundaries  
of conquered territories &c. It has  
refused to function in these di-  
rections, and ~~to~~ <sup>kept</sup> ~~keep~~ free from  
entanglements which would pre-  
vent its fulfilling its larger  
purpose of preserving the peace

of the world.

7. The real difficulty with the League functioning properly in present European conditions is that it was bound up with a treaty which has many unwise provisions, which it has no power to revise since they are specifically excluded from ~~the~~ its jurisdiction ~~of the League~~. We shall have to wait until ~~the~~ time and the agencies which have been created by the treaty settle certain problems before the League can have a free hand to show its full, beneficent provisions.

But ~~the~~ <sup>has</sup> the League because of the unfortunate conditions which have attended its origin

been "already abandoned in Europe" and has it "passed beyond the possibility of restoration"? Any one who knows anything about the League can but be surprised that, ~~at~~ hindered as it has been, it has accomplished ~~the~~ such remarkable results. The following are some of the ~~results~~ <sup>things</sup> ~~as far~~ <sup>to be</sup> accomplished & its credit:

1. It has set up its machinery, practically completed its organization, and secured acceptance by forty two of the nations of the earth.
2. It has established a permanent Secretariat with temporary headquarters at London whose office is a

center of international activity on the part of many peoples.

3. It has established a political section, an economic section, an international bureau, an administrative commission, a registry of treaties, a financial bureau, an international court and other sub-administrative bodies ~~not~~ with able representatives of their heads which are actively engaged <sup>in</sup> studying the question of the natural resources of the world and their better distribution, the question of <sup>better</sup> means of international communication, the question of mandates by which colonies taken in war are to be governed, the question of cooperating in diminishing the

opium traffic, <sup>and</sup> the white slave  
 trade, the ~~question~~ question of  
 the improvement of conditions of  
 labor, the ~~matter of~~ matter of registering  
 treaties and covenants thus  
 doing away with secret diplomacy  
 etc, and especially <sup>the question of how</sup> trying to  
 discover and apply "the re-  
 medial ~~agency~~ measures  
 necessary to keep a shattered  
 world alive." Not only has the  
 League done a ~~great~~ notable  
 work in helping save millions  
 from starvation, but it <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ ~~organ-~~  
<sup>organized</sup> ~~ing~~ an International Health  
 Office for the "prevention and  
 control of disease" which will  
 have ~~the~~ remarkably beneficial  
 results in staying the ravages  
 of epidemics and ~~preventing~~

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bettering the sanitary and general health conditions of the world

4. The League has begun to fulfill the duties placed upon it by the treaty of Versailles. It established successful administrative <sup>commissions</sup> has ~~taken over the Control~~ of <sup>commissions</sup> at Danzig and <sup>in</sup> the Saar Valley Basin, and is engaged in other activities imposed upon it by the treaty.

5. The Council of the League has been formed and has had several meetings at which much business in the way of organization has been transacted and a meeting of the ~~board~~ <sup>general</sup> Assembly is to be held within a few weeks.

6. An armaments <sup>commission</sup> ~~committee~~



has been established which has begun a study of the world's armaments and is preparing to lay before the Council a recommendation of limitation of armaments which if adopted will do much to lift a vast military burden from the shoulders of the nations and help make war more improbable.

7. It has decided that the economic blockade shall be the principal weapon to be used in stopping future wars.

8. It has established an International Court ~~and determines~~ for settling judiciable disputes between nations, and worked out in detail a system of procedure. It is in this

Commission that Mr. Rook has served ~~as~~ by invitation of the League Council.

9. It has held at Brussels an international conference, including representatives of the Central Powers, "to study the financial crisis and to look for means <sup>of remedying</sup> ~~to remedy~~ it, and of mitigating the dangerous consequences arising from it."

Forty nations were represented, an immense amount of information having been submitted in advance, and the results of the deliberations are apt to have great influence ~~on~~ in bettering the financial condition of the nations.

10. It has held an Inter-

national Labor Conference in which ~~the~~ questions affecting the ~~good~~ welfare of the laboring classes and the principles which <sup>should</sup> ~~could~~ control labor conditions and disputes have been thoughtfully considered.

11. It has undertaken the repatriation of ~~100,000~~ hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war who have not yet been returned to their ~~home~~ <sup>own</sup> countries. It has hired ships and it is stated that by the end of the present year more than 100,000 men will have been clothed, fed and ~~so~~ brought to their home lands by the League.

12. It has ordered the publication of all existing treaties

of the forty two nations which have joined the League, thus striking its first blow at those secret covenants which have been such a productive source of international distrust and of war. The Constitution of the League provides that unless these treaties are submitted for publication these agreements cannot be held binding under international law.

13. The League has already begun to function in its principal work of avoiding war by settling the disputes of nations by arbitration. Recently Finland and Sweden have agreed to submit to the Council of the League their dispute concerning the

possession of the Aaland islands. Poland and Lithuania have likewise recently appeared to the League to arbitrate their differences. We see, therefore, that in the direct matter of settling the disputes of nations without war the League is already in beneficial operation.

We have only touched on the work the League is doing, but we have said enough to show the absurdity and misrepresentation of Mr. Harding's statement that the League "has passed beyond the possibility of restoration." There are some Americans with such national conceit, that they think the <sup>earth</sup> ~~world~~ will stand

still, if the United States does not say, "So round!" Let all such read the following statement of an ~~prominent~~ eminent European official at the recent meeting of the League Council in Spain: "The vital fact is that the League of Nations is in existence and is organizing rapidly regardless of America's defection. It is the sheerest cant to say that the other nations cannot organize a society for peace and cooperation without America. Every day disproves it. The League is going on courageously. Thirty-nine nations are bound by its provisions which they cannot ignore without violating their signed word. The United States cannot destroy the the present League; it cannot build up a wholly new league. It

must either stay out of a community of nations organized for cooperation and for peace or come into that League with such reservations as it thinks necessary.