AMERICA MUST BACK PRESIDENT, OR LOSE WAR, SAYS HAPGOOD

"Wilson Policies, Accepted by European Peoples, Need More Vigorous Support Here."

"President Wilson could bring revolution to any country in a week if he undertook an attitude of open hostility to the rulers of that country."

In these words Norman Hapgood, president of the League of Free Nations Association, brought home to the members of the Chamber of Commerce yesterday his idea of the remarkable power now in the hands of President Wilson.

"And yet," said Mr. Hapgood, "unless the American nation wakes the President will be beaten out in his fight to eliminate the international struggle for loot and will have to pack his bag and come home defeated."

Mr. Hapgood was the speaker yesterday at the regular forum meeting of the organization and succeeded in holding the interest of the members for nearly an hour.

In introducing the speaker, H. V. Kaltenborn outlined the change in attitude of the people of the United States from one of isolation to a broader spirit of co-operation with the other great nations of the world, which has finally made this country a power at the peace table.

Hapgood Answers Questions.

At the conclusion of his talk Mr. Hapgood answered questions put to him by the members. One of these dealt with the closed door policy adopted by the Peace Conference.

"Does it not embarrass the President and make his work more difficult?" Hapgood was asked.

"There is something to be said on both sides," he responded. "I can easily see how it has hurt over here, but on the other hand, the job would not have been possible if every time the President had a talk with Lloyd-George at a dinner table, he should have six or seven reporters at his heels who would write sensational stories about the incident."

When questioned regarding the Russian situation, he replied:

"I think we are getting over our passions quickly. There is probably only one crowd in France that does not recognize the Bolsheviki and want to make an understanding with them possible."

In his address Mr. Hapgood said in part:

"The practical aspect of things today is in Washington. On the other side of the water the President has been having a series of tremendous victories. He had these victories for several reasons. Whatever one thinks about him he is a fighter.

"He went over to Europe feeling that the biggest thing he had to accomplish was to put over a co-operative piece. He went over there with several obstacles to overcome. In France he had M. Clemenceau against him; in England, also, he had to meet with opposition. He went with a queer vision, he realized, as few people on this side realize, what a volcano these rulers were sitting on.

"I have been over a good deal, and I always try to get out among the people, and the French peasant, the French workingman, is a peculiarly accessible animal. You cannot be with that man very long without knowing how utterly out of sympathy the fellow is with his government. He doesn't care very much whether the glory of his country is increased by getting a certain piece of territory or not. He knows he has had a very rough deal and he doesn't want it again. You can hardly find an ordinary Frenchman that gives a rap about Alsace-Lorraine, except that it shouldn't be turned the other way round. They want the intellectuality of Europe put on it to solve it.

Populations with President.

"The President knew then that the populations were with him. He has had two victories that I think myself are the solution of everything. The first great victory of the President was on this point, which he has been working at for at least two years, and Col. House, in his work on the other side, has driven and driven this point, namely, that the League of Nations must precede any other decision. Why? If you have all your decisions made first you divide up the world to suit yourself, and then found a League of Nations, it is simply another Holy Alliance. It is getting a matter arranged to suit yourself and then putting a watch on any rearrangement of it.

"The method should be a most intense effffort by everybody to have the rearrangement something for the general good, so he stood absolutly on that. The League first—and he was opposed by the nations. But he won. These things have not yet been enacted, but as far as the preliminaries go, he has won.

"In making clear what he meant when he said that we must have a League of Nations that was to settle all other questions, there were a good many noises around, one of them was that we had a league already. 'What is the use of bothering about a League,' was asked. That made it necessary to make a very sharp distinction between a league and an alliance. An alliance is an agreement to fight on the side of certain countries in the future. Nobody can guess whether those countries will be right or wrong. You enter into an alliance and you bind yourself potentially to perpetrate a right or a wrong.

"The League is a term that has come into universal use, and the definition the President is standing on is in no sense an alliance; it is the grouping of all the powerful nations—all the other nations, too, for that matter—to leave their affairs to consultation just like a city or a State or a country. He made a speech in Manchester which I think marks an era in which he stopped all talk about an alliance and concentrated it on the universal nature of the League.

Wins on Colonies.

"The next step that he won was the colonies. While he won it over there, it roused a series of criticisms here. What was this war brought about by? The struggle between the Slavs and the Teutons was primarily the cause of it; a business struggle. Every single war of any moment that has happened in the world since 1871 has been because of a struggle of the great countries to get at the more natural sources; they are struggling for economic power.

"Now are you going to prevent that? There is obviously only one way. You can't get series of international treaties which would work unless you arrange the fundamental relations of Europe better than they have been done.

"The President comes along then and says we must start right now a new principle about colonies, about the control of raw material. Here are the German colonies; the situation doesn't allow us to give them back to Germany, so we will put them under the League, and there is a big howl. Australia can give you good reasons why she should have part; Japan and South Africa also can give you good reason why they should have part. But the President's business is to look beyond sentiment, and beyond popular clamor, to what he conceives to be the essential part. I think he will fight to the limit on what is absolutely essential. If you can't free these colonies under your control, if you can't free them in the modern way, and use this not only to give the League of Nations some new material, but to eliminate the struggle for loot—if you can't do that, you might as well come home, and, personally, I think, if the President is beaten out on that, and the other fundamental, he will have to pack his bag and come home. And he will be beaten out, I am afraid, unless the country wakes up.

Politics Endanger Victory.

"You would think that victories big enough to make a promise to give back the world's losses would make people of all parties rise above party considerations. It is supposed to stop at the water's edge, but at any rate it has nothing to do with the solution of this unprecedented situation. And yet what do you see—a man like Johnson, talking himself to death about 'sovereignity.'

"I take it sovereignity is to the nation what freedom is to the individual. I consider myself infinitely more free than the savage. The word is nothing, the fact is everything, and the kind of a life that he puts me into is infinitely more interesting than his.

"Lodge is going on the Monroe Doctrine. There is an incident about the Monroe Doctrine—a man was very much insulted because he had heard it said that he had denied a belief in the Monroe Doctrine. He said: 'I never did anything of the kind; I believe in it, and I would die for it. What I did say was that I did not know what it meant.' Mr. Lodge's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine would leave out steamships. The Monroe Doctrine was this: the American statesmen saw that if European countries came over and grabbed land in South America, their safety was in danger, and they said so. This hemisphere was not the only thing that concerned us—all we had to do was to extend the Monroe Doctrine up to 1919, and say the Monroe Doctrine applies to the whole world.

"This is beyond me. I haven't heard one single, reasonable, impressive argument brought out to justify what is going on. In Washington that group of men are endangering the efforts of the nations to get rid of a system that has brought them where they are. Twenty-three men can do it. We cannot make a treaty by a majority of our legislature unless we get two-thirds. It means that 23 men could block the whole thing. There is only one thing that will prevent them bolcking it, and that is the public. Unless the United States does get waked up this magnificent structure in Paris will be entirely destroyed."

Amng thos present at the forum meeting were:

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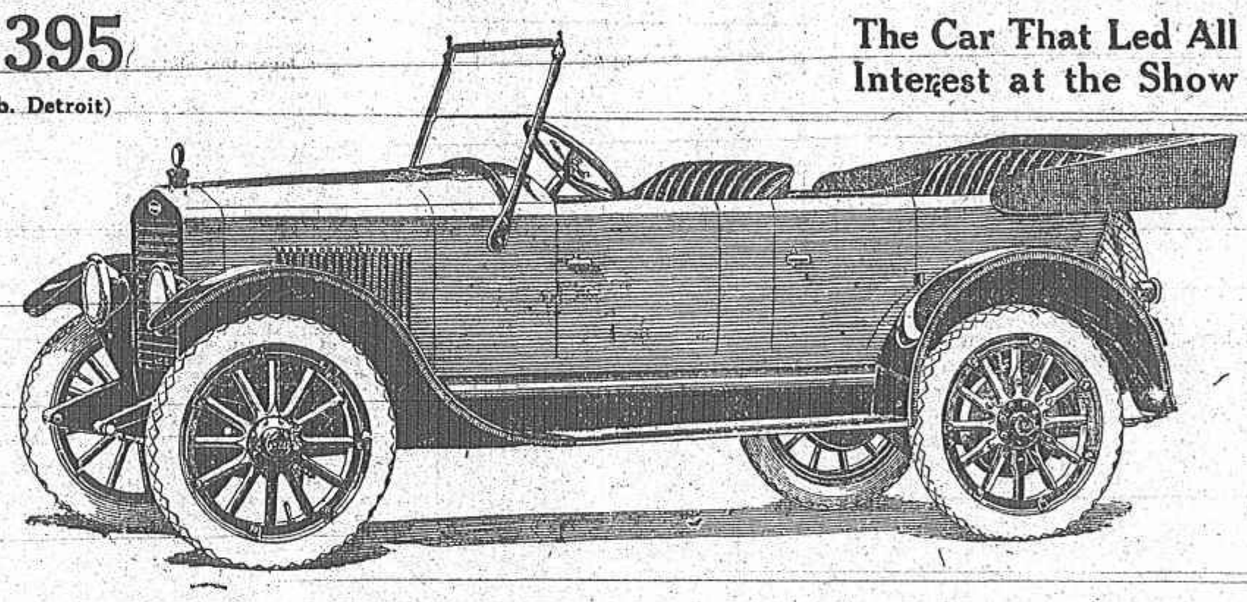

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