

Hughes's Speech of Acceptance

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much "by way of preparation for defense" seemed to the President to be "absolutely imperative now." He said, "We can not do less."

But within two months this program was abandoned and the able secretary of war, who had devoted himself persistently to this important question, felt so keenly the change in policy that he resigned from the cabinet. Now, the army organization bill provides for an army on paper of 178,000, but in fact it provides for only 105,000 enlisted men for the line of the regular army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and I am informed that for the next fiscal year there will be an increase of only 15,000. The plan for the supplemental federal army completely under federal control was given up.

We are told that the defects revealed by the present mobilization are due to the "system." But it was precisely such plain defects that under the constant warnings of recent years, with the whole world intent on military concerns, should have been studied and rectified. The administration has failed to discharge its responsibilities. Apparently it is now seeking to meet political exigencies by its naval program; but it has imposed upon the country an incompetent naval administration.

We demand adequate national defense, adequate protection on both western and eastern coasts. We demand thoroughness and efficiency in both arms of the service. It seems to be plain that our regular army is too small. We are too great a country to require of our citizens who are engaged in peaceful vocation the sort of military service to which they are now called. As well insist that our citizens in this metropolis be summoned to put out fires and police the

streets. We do not count it inconsistent with our liberties or with our democratic ideals to have an adequate police force. With a population of nearly 100,000,000 we need to be surer of ourselves than to become alarmed at the prospect of having a regular army which can reasonably protect our border and perform such other military service as may be required in the absence of a grave emergency. I believe, further, that there should be not only a reasonable increase in the regular army, but that the first citizen reserve subject to call should be enlisted as a federal army and trained under federal authority.

NATION WANTS MODERN METHODS

The country demands that our military and naval programs shall be carried out in a businesslike manner under the most competent administrative heads; that we shall have an up-to-date preparation; that the moneys appropriated shall be properly expended. We should also have careful plans for mobilizing our industrial resources; for promoting research and utilizing the investigations of science. And a policy of adequate preparedness must constantly have in view the necessity of conserving our fundamental human interests; of promoting the physical well-being of our population, as well as education and training; of developing to the utmost our economic strength and independence.

It must be based upon a profound sense of our unity and democratic obligation. It must not mean the abandonment of other essential governmental work, but that we shall have in both efficiency and in neither waste or extravagance. We should also be solicitous, by wise prevision and conference, to remove so far as possible the causes of irritation which may in any degree threaten friendly relations. In our proposals there is, I repeat, no militarism. There is simple insistence upon common sense in providing reasonable measures of security and avoiding

the perils of neglect. We must have the strength of self-respect; a strength which contains no threat, but assures our defense, safeguards our rights, and conserves our peace.

We are deeply interested in what I may term the organization of peace. We cherish no illusions. We know that the recurrence of war is not to be prevented by pious wishes. If the conflict of national interests is not to be brought to the final test of force, there must be the development of international organization in order to provide international justice and to safeguard, so far as practicable, the peace of the world.

FAVORS A WORLD COURT

Arbitration treaties are useful within their proper sphere, but it is worse than folly to ignore the limitations of this remedy or to regard such treaties as an adequate means of preventing war. There should be an international tribunal to decide controversies susceptible of judicial determination, thus affording the advantage of judicial standards in the settlement of particular disputes and of the gradual growth of a body of judicial precedents. In emphasizing the desirability of such a tribunal for the disposition of controversies of a justifiable sort it must not be overlooked that there are also legislative needs.

We need conferences of the nations to formulate international rules, to establish principles, to modify and extend international law so as to adapt it to new conditions, to remove causes of international differences. We need to develop the instrumentalities of conciliation. And behind this international organization, if it is to be effective, must be the co-operation of the nations to prevent resort to hostilities before the appropriate agencies of peaceful settlement have been utilized. If the peace of the world is to be maintained, it must be through the preventive power of a common purpose.

Without this, it will still remain not only possible but practicable to disregard international obligations, to override the rights of states, particularly of small states, to ignore principles, to violate rules. And it is only through international co-operation giving a reasonable assurance of peace that we may hope for the limitation of armaments. It is to be expected that nations will continue to arm in defense of their respective interests as they are conceived, and nothing will avail to diminish this burden save some practical guaranty of international order. We in this country can, and should, maintain our fortunate freedom from entanglements with interests and policies which do not concern us. But there is no national isolation in the world of the twentieth century.

OUR INTERNATIONAL DUTY

If at the close of the present war the nations are ready to undertake practicable measures in the common interest in order to secure international justice, we can not fail to recognize our international duty. The peace of the world is our interest as well as the interest of others, and in developing the necessary agencies for the prevention of war we shall be glad to have an appropriate share. And our preparedness will have proper relations to this end as well as to our own immediate security.

When we contemplate industrial and commercial conditions we see that we are living in a fool's paradise. The temporary prosperity to which our opponents point has been created by the abnormal conditions incident to the war. With the end of the war there will be the new conditions determined by a new Europe. Millions of men in the trenches will then return to work. The energies of each of the now belligerent nations, highly trained, will then be

turned to production. These are days of terrible discipline for the nations at war, but it must not be forgotten that each is developing a national solidarity, a knowledge of method, a realization of capacity, hitherto unapproached. In each the lessons of co-operation now being learned will never be forgotten. Friction and waste have been reduced to a minimum; labor and capital have a better understanding, business organization is more highly developed and more intelligently directed than ever before. We see in each of these nations a marvelous national efficiency. Let it not be supposed that this efficiency will not count when Europe, once more at peace, pushes its productive powers to the utmost limit.

On the other hand, in this country, with the stoppage of the manufacture of munitions, a host of men will be turned out of employment. We must meet the most severe competition in industry. We are undisciplined, defective in organization, loosely knit, industrially unprepared.

THE CONDITION OF LABOR

Our opponents promised to reduce the cost of living. This they have failed to do; but they did reduce the opportunities of making a living. Let us not forget the conditions that existed in this country under the new tariff prior to the outbreak of the war. Production had decreased, business was languishing, new enterprises were not undertaken; instead of expansion there was curtailment, and our streets were filled with unemployed. It was estimated that in the city of New York over 300,000 were out of work. Throughout the country the jobless demanded relief. The labor commissioners of many states and our municipal administrations devoted themselves to the problem of unemployment, while the re-

CONCENTRATION SPELLS SUCCESS

when rightly used, but when wrongly used it is sure to bring failure. Most persons concentrate on that which annoys, irritates and makes for failure and loss of memory. When we are sick it is hard to concentrate on the thought of being well. When we are despondent from any cause it is difficult to concentrate on the idea of our ever being happy again.



When we have lost money it is easy to concentrate on our loss, but almost impossible to concentrate on our having an abundance again.

We all lock the doors and windows of our home to keep out intruders, but do you lock the doors and windows of your thought world and so keep out the thoughts which take away one's strength, hope, faith, courage, memory, ambition, power and ability? Do you belong to the class of people who have used their CONCENTRATION rightly or wrongly? Do you own your own mind? Has your CONCENTRATION brought you success or failure; happiness or sorrow; health or sickness; brilliancy of mind or loss of memory? Can you concentrate for five minutes on any one thing you want, shutting out entirely every random, stray, tramp thought? Try it.

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