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Victory Democracy Peace

Make them secure by a

LEAGUE OF NATIONS



Christmas this year dawns on a world groping from war toward peace. The world hopes and prays that peace may be established on justice and safeguarded against future wars. The army of occupation that sleeps till the Judgment Day in the graves of France will have fought and died in vain unless such a PEACE is framed. Our Soldiers and Sailors, returning from VICTORY, will have fought and suffered in vain if that VICTORY is not made secure. All the peoples of the free nations will have given in vain billions of their wealth and millions of their own flesh and blood if DEMOCRACY is not established forever.

The only Practical Way

These things which the whole world longs for can be gained only by the creation, right at the Peace Table, of a LEAGUE OF NATIONS. President Wilson has declared for such a League and is in France for the express purpose of guiding its formation. Ex-President Taft believes in it, heart and soul, and is urging his countrymen that a League must be established and that the United States must join.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS is necessary to do the things no one nation can accomplish alone. Victory and Peace have brought a multitude of new problems:—

The New Nations:

We propose to carve out of the Old World a dozen or more Republics based upon the principle of Self-determination. Can we make the world safe for Democracy if we create these new nations and then leave them to shift for themselves? A LEAGUE OF NATIONS will be needed to guide and protect them.

German Colonies:

Germany has proved her unfitness for colonial rule. To return her colonies is unthinkable. They must become the wards of all the free peoples, banded together in a LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Economic Questions:

Access to the sea and access to raw materials are two of the international questions that can be handled only by a LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

It will be possible for the Peace Congress to establish only broad, general rules for the regulation of these problems. No one nation can make safe and effective use of Economic Pressure to prevent war. The right to employ this weapon must reside, as President Wilson has pointed out, with a LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Interpretation of the Peace Treaty:

Without a Supreme Court to interpret its provisions and a national police power to enforce them, the Constitution of the United States would long ago have

become a dead letter. Yet the framers of the world Peace treaty at Paris face difficulties a hundred-fold greater than those which confronted the fathers of our Republic.

It will be impossible to apply the provisions of the Peace treaty without an international court to interpret them. How shall this court be appointed? How shall its decision be enforced? There is but one answer—By a LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Your Responsibility:

This is a movement in which every man and woman in the United States can share. You believe in the principles here set forth. You want to make the world safe against the menace of future wars. You think that the progress of Civilization depends upon the co-operation of all the peoples of the world. You believe that the Team Work which won the war should be continued and utilized for the world's future prosperity. The League to Enforce Peace offers you an opportunity to DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

League to Enforce Peace

Bush Terminal Sales Building, 130 W. 42nd Street, New York. WILLIAM H. TAFT, President; ALTON B. PARKER, Vice President; A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, Chairman Executive Committee; W. H. SHORT, Secretary; HERBERT S. HOUSTON, Treasurer.

Your Christmas Enrollment

You have just answered the Red Cross Christmas Roll Call. Will you enlist to-day with those who believe in a LEAGUE OF NATIONS? This advertisement appears in fifteen of the largest cities in the country, East, West, North and South. It is paid for by a fund to which more than one thousand persons have contributed all over the United States. We want this message to reach every man and woman in America. This advertising campaign will be continued and pushed as far and as long as funds are available. Will you fill in this coupon and mail it with your contribution? Don't wait! Do it to-day as your Christmas gift to Humanity and Civilization.

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, 130 West 42nd Street, New York City. I enclose \$..... Dollars as a contribution to your Advertising Campaign to secure public support of a League of Nations. NAME..... ADDRESS..... Make checks payable to Herbert S. Houston, Treasurer.

Victory Program

Adopted, November 23, 1918, as the Official Platform of the League to Enforce Peace.

THE war now happily brought to a close has been above all a war to end war, but in order to ensure the fruits of victory and to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe there should be formed a League of Free Nations, as universal as possible, based upon treaty and pledged that the security of each state shall rest upon the strength of the whole. The initiating nucleus of the membership of the League should be the nations associated as belligerents in winning the war.

The League should aim at promoting the liberty, progress, and fair economic opportunity of all nations, and the orderly development of the world.

It should ensure peace by eliminating causes of dissension, by deciding controversies by peaceable means, and by uniting the potential force of all the members as a standing menace against any nation that seeks to upset the peace of the world.

The advantages of membership in the League, both economically and from the point of view of security, should be so clear that all nations will desire to be members of it.

For this purpose it is necessary to create— 1. For the decision of justiciable questions, an impartial tribunal whose jurisdiction shall not depend upon the assent of the parties to the controversy; provision to be made for enforcing its decisions.

2. For questions that are not justiciable in their character, a Council of Conciliation, as mediator, which shall hear, consider, and make recommendations; and failing acquiescence by the parties concerned, the League shall determine what action, if any, shall be taken.

3. An administrative organization for the conduct of affairs of common interest, the protection

and care of backward regions and internationalized places, and such matters as have been jointly administered before and during the war. We hold that this object must be attained by methods and through machinery that will ensure both stability and progress; preventing, on the one hand, any crystallization of the status quo that will defeat the forces of healthy growth and change, and providing, on the other hand, a way by which progress can be secured and necessary change effected without recourse to war. 4. A representative Congress to formulate and codify rules of international law, to inspect the work of the administrative bodies and to consider any matter affecting the tranquility of the world or the progress or betterment of human relations. Its deliberations should be public. 5. An Executive Body, able to speak with authority in the name of the nations represented, and to act in case the peace of the world is endangered. The representation of the different nations in the organs of the League should be in proportion to the responsibilities and obligations they assume. The rules of international law should not be defeated for lack of unanimity.

A resort to force by any nation should be prevented by a solemn agreement that any aggression will be met immediately by such an overwhelming economic and military force that it will not be attempted. No member of the League should make any other offensive or defensive treaty or alliance, and all treaties of whatever nature made by any member of the League should at once be made public. Such a League must be formed at the time of the definitive peace, or the opportunity may be lost forever.

Present this platform for discussion and endorsement by your Church, Club, Lodge, and any other organization. It has been approved by thousands of leading Americans