DEEM it an honor and a high privilege to address you on this occasion. Only ten years ago I stood before the president and faculty of this institution to receive the degree of bachelor of laws. Ten years ago I was filled with a feeling of trepidation as I wondered whether the faculty in all honesty had recommended me for the degree. In those days a degree was not yours until after it had been conferred, even though it had been earned. Today, I experience the same sense of trepidation as I rise to speak to a more critical faculty and a more enlightened graduating class. I sincerely trust that you will be as charitable as was Dr. Kulp, whom I still remember with the highest affection, when he placed a mark in Oil and Gas Law opposite my name on his grade sheet. After graduation, he advised me that my final examination paper was poor and that he had expressed both hope and charity in entering a passing mark for me.

Mr. President, I marvel at the progress which has been made by this institution during the past ten years—the rise in standards, the expansion of curricula, the new buildings, the increase in campus area, and the additions to your distinguished faculty. Notwithstanding these shifts in the academic life of our University, somehow, I sense that the all-pervasive purpose of President Bizzell and his faculty has not been to build a great University: rather, it has been to build men and women who pass through this institution, to show them the way to a more noble, a more wholesome, and a fuller life, and thereby contribute to the solution of the manifold problems which now confront our state and society. As I glance over the list of graduates and note the positions of trust and leadership in the business and political life of this state and nation, which they now hold, I am moved to tender my heartiest congratulations to those entrusted with the conduct of this institution, and I am indeed proud that I am an alumnus of the University of Oklahoma. This is indeed “a day for the gods to stoop and men to soar.”

I entered this University just at the close of the World war. We who struggled through together witnessed the efforts of Woodrow Wilson to lock the Temple of Janus forever. We thought that we saw in the League of Nations a cooling-off chamber for the disputes between nations. We welcomed the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice as a tribunal to which countries might resort for the pacific adjudication of international controversies. The Kellogg Peace Pact, and the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, was received with like approbation. The world had been knit into a single economic unit: isolation was at an end. Foreign markets would absorb our agricultural and industrial surpluses, and satisfied masses would dwell together in peace. It was no longer necessary to tighten our belts and endure the old order of things. Domestic security and world peace were at hand: the reign of the international game-cocks was over.

Today, as we contrast the ideal that then seemed possible, with the reality which now confronts us, we realize only too well that we saw only what we hoped for. International understanding and cooperation and the exalted life within our nation, are as far removed as at any time since the establishment of the states-system or the fall of the Holy Roman Empire. Isolation is again the order of the day. Self-sufficiency is to be attained by all nations at any cost: it is the altar at which all nations
worption. At the very moment when eco-
nomic forces would satisfy every desire of 
man and would again knit the nations of 
the world into a single unit, in a day 
when one’s voice may enucleate the globe 
by telephone in one-quarter of a second, 
we are driven farther apart by nationalistic 
forces at work in all nations. At a time 
when democratic institutions, individual 
liberty, and domestic freedom, should be 
most secure, we find them nodding to 
their fall. To what force or forces may one 
attribute these things? Is the responsibil-
ity ours to shoulder and yours to counter-
act and correct? What does it imply as re-
gards the state, the nation, the society in 
which you must this day commence your 
careers? What does it mean to you and 
to me? These are the matters to which I 
direct your attention, and that of your 
guests, on this commencement day.

I bear no message from Garcia. Like 
Emerson, only so much do I know as I 
have lived or observed. I do not believe 
that beyond the Alps of difficulty lie the 
green pastures of opportunity which await 
your arrival after the receipt of diplomas 
from this school. I did not find it so; nei-
ther will you. Opportunities are not be-
stowed by an Omnipotent Creator for the 
enjoyment of his creations, nor are they 
to be snatched full-bloom from the lap of 
a beneficent Providence. Opportunities are 
man made. They are yours to create. They 
are yours to grasp. But the character of 
your creation and the import of your 
grasp depend, in a large measure, upon 
the understanding of facts which exist, 
and tendencies which play upon them. 
Facts are stubborn things. Tendencies are 
the magnets which move them. As to both, 
man is a bundle of relations, a knot of 
roots, as it were. But it is not of man alone 
that I desire to speak; rather it is of a 
tendency, a nationalistic magnet, to which 
I direct your attention and invite your 
thoughts to follow it.

Now I am not so sophomoric as to be-
lieve that the present plight of civilized 
man is congenital, or that pathologically it 
may be attributed to any single causation 
alone. I do believe, however, that any diag-
nosis will attribute certain conditions in 
the world to a habit of thought—a moré 
if you choose to follow the terminology of 
Sumner—represented in the term “na-
tionalism.” This habit of thought and action 
to change, and change, if wrought, will be the handbook 
of this and other graduating classes of 
our colleges and universities.

Nationalism is the order of the day, 
whether it be in Russia, Germany, Italy, 
Japan, France or the United States. Eco-
nomic self-sufficiency is the dominant 
obsession of leaders everywhere and more 
recently it has joined the herd of sacred 
cows of some of our leading thinkers. I 
ned mention only the two recent vol-
umes of Charles A. Beard entitled The 
Idea of National Interest and the Open 
Door at Home. Perhaps, we were the orig-
inators of the nationalistic movement; 
other nations so charge. True it is that we 
refused to cooperate by entering the 
League of Nations, that we cast the World 
Court Protocol into the scrap heap after 
having advocated such a tribunal for more 
than a generation, that we erected tariff 
hurdles which render impossible the pay-
ment of foreign obligations, and that we 
have restricted production of economic 
necessities the world would have suffered 
and even the Chinese men, during the 
past winter have killed their wives and 
children and lived off the blood which 
flowed from their veins. Be that as it may, 
we are in a morbid state which flows 
from economic disturbances, the total im-
plications of which we are not yet fully 
conscious.

Exploded nationalism, in my judgment, 
was and is inevitable under the states-
system as it developed from the Battle of 
Waterloo to the Battle of the Marne. The 
English, American and French revolutions 
paved the way for sovereign states in 
which equality in political rights are as-
sured to all irrespective of class distinc-
tions. Aristocracy has been stripped of its 
inherent political power and that power 
has been entrusted to the masses in vir-
tually all nations irrespective of any in-
nate or acquired ability for self-govern-
ment. The inevitable result of this shift 
in power has been to vest the control of 
political institutions, together with the 
property and personal rights to which they 
relate, in those least concerned. Concomit-
ant with the rise of the national state, the 
Industrial Revolution worked a transfor-
mation in the ownership of property. Land 
gave way to factories as the vital element 
in production and the peasant toilers of 
the soil were supplanted by urban popula-
tions dependent upon continued industrial 
activity. The mercantilist class evolved in-
to a capitalist class—the owners of the 
new instruments of production—and the 
forging of the class struggle was set in. Al-
though open breaks between classes were 
unusual before the World war, the indus-
trial peace of former days seems to be 
passing into oblivion. Threatened breaks 
between classes over the distribution of in-
come, and the abolition of a propertied 
middle class, are in the offing.

Following the World war, and more 
especially in recent years, class struggles 
have threatened us. The Russian revolu-
tion undertook to abolish the whole demo-
cratic state organization. It sought to sup-
plant the national state by a state 
which effaced social classes.

The Russian revolution was a direct 
challenge to the owners of property in all 
nations. The challenge was not without its 
effects. In Italy, the strain of the war and 
the unsatisfied demands at the Peace Con-
ference, produced genuine unrest. There 
was a decided drift to the Left, and, in the 
face of parliamentary instability, the capi-
talistic class cast its lot with Mussolini, 
and the middle classes. Fascism triumphed and, as Garibaldi had been the 
symbol of Italian unification, Mussolini 
became and remains the incarnation of 
Italian greatness. But with what results? 
Mussolini, like Napoleon a century before 
him, proceeded to sweep away the demo-
cratic institutions which threatened his re-
gime. Parliament was abolished, free 
speech ended, the press regimented, and 
workers disenfranchised. All was done in 
the name of a frenzied and volatile na-
tionalism which continues down to the 
present moment. For a second time, demo-
cratic institutions were flouted—the Rus-
sian revolution destroyed them to retain 
power. Fascism demolished them to pre-
vent Communist triumph in the Penin-
sula.

But Fascism, like Communism, did not 
spread to Western democracies and the 
effect upon republican institutions was 
practically nil. Ten years ago it seemed 
that Communism in Russia and Fascism 
in Italy had come and gone without any 
serious impairment of democratic institu-
tions in the world at large. We looked 
upon them as domestic experiments with-
out exportable value. Russia was advanc-
ing under the Five-Year plan and seem-
ingly away from the program of world 
revolution. Fascism was concentrating its 
attention upon domestic reorganization. 
When, in 1925, Germany signed the Pacts 
of Locarno and entered the League of 
Nations, it seemed. This furnished the 
pretext for a German reaction conducted 
under the tyrannical and merciless guidance of Herr 
Adolph Hitler, and for an overthrow of 
the stable, pacific policies of Stresemann. 
He followed the examples of Napoleon 
and Mussolini and swept away a repre-
sentative parliament, free speech, and an 
unshackled press. Political parties, other 
than the National Socialist, were abolished 
and republicans and communists alike met 
in the same concentration camps. A prece-
tory. All plans were drafted to that end. 
A world revolution was in order and was 
openly incubated and financed from Mos-
cow.

The Russian revolution was a direct 
challenge to the owners of property in all 
nations. The challenge was not without its 
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dent embalms a principle and democratic institutions in Germany, as in Italy, have ceased to exist. Patriotic emotions are exploited by Hitler in imitation of Mussolini and as the latter revives the memory of ancient Rome in the name of Fascism, in like manner Hitler recalls the greatness of the First Reich in his attempt to establish the Third Reich. Even now he exalts unity and self-sufficiency above everything else and upsets all his predecessors who ordered the Nazis ranks with blood and executes religious adherents with a vengeance which would put Pontius Pilate to shame.

The economic blizzard also cast its spell over the Orient. Nationalism, which had been brewing in China since 1895, struck with full force when the elevation of Sun-Yat Sen to power and has run rampant ever since. Chinese emotions have been transferred from stable patterns to unfamiliar values; the philosophy of Confucius, along with the controls which it nurtured for untold generations, have been overboard and disintegration has set in. The Filipinos boldly assert their inherent right to contract a nationalistic fever uncontrolled by a distant people who cannot conceal their racial and political superiority. Nor is it possible to overestimate the implications of the revolution now going on in India. India is religion, but swaraj—independence—is now the watchword of all India. In order to attain it, there is the same exaggeration of emotions, the same appeal to prejudices and passions, which occurs in Italy and Germany. When the Indians succeed and the nationalistic fever is in full bloom there, as will occur during our generation, not only the British Empire, but your and my positions will be measurably altered, dependent upon what we propose to do about it.

And Japan? Need I dwell upon the craze which pervades that Empire, which carries a chip on its shoulder, and creates an international situation every time an American tourist photographs an object of interest within the Empire or American warships ply the waters of the Pacific? Suffice it to say that Japan has adopted a program which cannot be distinguished either from that of Hitler or Mussolini. National interest has been set above international law and specific treaty obligations. She gazes upon other powers with envy and suspicion, and develops anti-social temper, flits with the theory that might makes right.

But what of America? Why dwell upon the situation of foreign powers? It has been done to show exactly what has happened to democratic institutions elsewhere, and to incline your thoughts to what may occur in our own land should the present tendencies continue unarrested. The years from 1930 to 1932 constituted a period of political upheaval which was accompanied by economic stresses no less acute. Although the economic strains did not disturb our political institutions at the moment, the latter are supple, and the upheaval has circumscribed a transformation in economic practices which now threatens our political institutions unless it is proscribed. Faced with the economic evils of idle factories, surplus agricultural products, vanishing foreign trade, and delinquent foreign obligations, which have accompanied the blizzard of depression, we broke with the traditions of laissez-faire, and launched upon a program of controlled economy, restricted production, currency manipulation—nationalistic self-sufficiency, if you please—which rivals the combined mechanisms of foreign powers. The primary difference lies in the fact that class controversies have not necessitated the abolition of democratic institutions, but the changes have been wrought by appeals to the passions, the prejudices, and the non-enlightened judgments of the masses, just as in Italy and in Russia. The drum beatings of the New Dealers, anti-New Dealers, and clerics alike, bear witness that the germ of abolition is present in our system, and should we lose our Anglo-Saxon temper, our sense of balance, democratic institutions may perish in the United States in a bloody purge under some Other Deal and prelates and anti-administrationists may meet in the same concentration camps.

In the sketchy recital of the world trend toward nationalism, I have indicated its meaning as applied to the peoples of particular countries and by implication what it may mean to you and your generation. Permit me, however, to set forth a bill of particulars on four counts. Unless it is terminated, growing nationalism has four definite implications which may mar opportunities you create or strive to grasp. In the first place, it destroys freedom of conscience, together with all which that implies. It thrives on propaganda rather than upon intelligent information: experience shows that no claims are too exaggerated so long as they are effective. Blood, history, and religion are magnified into universals. The nation supplants God and freedom of conscience. Economic organization is offered as a substitute for ecclesiastical systems and all the psychological processes of fanatical religion are attuned to the worship of the state. Such is nationalism.

It is quite obvious that this entails a controlled press, a shackled educational system, and the subversion of the church by the state to its own ends. On the other hand, the tendency of Christianity and freedom of conscience has been to perpetuate democratic institutions, to break down national barriers, and to erect universals in their stead. Extreme nationalism is now moving civilization in the opposite direction. The world was most nationalistic in the time of Christ and normally Christ would have been expected to be a nationalist. Actually, however, every word he spoke lifted the values developed within nationalistic states to the universal plane.
At the very center of one of his most appealing parables, he, though a Jew, chose to make the hero one taken from the despised race of Samaritans. The length to which Russia has gone in attempting to stamp out freedom of conscience and religious worship is a matter of record upon which I will not dwell. Chancellor Hitler is determined to make the church a part of a totalitarian state: to compel regeneration of the church by the state, with complete dictation as to its precepts and absolute control of conscience. Less than two months ago the Reich decreed the death penalty for pacifists. Only a year ago Hitler personally conducted a blood purge which eliminated by the firing squad method dozens of his old companions who fought with him to the peak of power, merely because the companions dared to oppose the Chancellor.

There is a tendency in America, also, to assert the supremacy of the state in the conscience of the individual as regards certain matters, which is yours to continue or to relegate to the scrap-heap. Many of us, for example, believe that wars seldom settle international disputes and in good conscience, that war should be resorted to only after attempts at settlement have failed. Nevertheless, the dictates of conscience over power in the foreseen American citizenship must, under the present decisions of the courts, yield to the fiat of the state. In the selective draft cases the Supreme Court of the United States made it quite plain that exemption from military service is a matter of grace and not of constitutional right. In the Macintosh case the same court affirmed the denial of citizenship to a distinguished faculty member of the Divinity School of Yale University because he would not swear to the Bible. In the case of Quirino v. United States, the United States Supreme Court held that the process of loyalty oath was constitutional and, in the matter of the case, the oath was necessary to exclude from service those who, in times of national emergency, would少爷 the right of the many, the Vanities.

Standing armies have been increased, compulsory military training has been re-established, and each nation increases its naval and air forces under the pretext of their being for peace. Italy want France to keep Germany out of Austria; France wants Russia to keep Germany out of France; Russia wants France to keep Germany and Poland out of the Ukranie; England wants France to keep Russia out of India; and Austria wants all of them to keep out of Austria.

If you concede momentarily that we may not be strengthening our military and that no trouble may develop from that source, I would remind you that we have plenty of share-the-wealth radicals and capital-hating demagogues whose leadership may prove most difficult to combat in time of crisis. God forbid that we ever should fall a prey to such leaders. They would create conflicts between groups for purposes of ulterior gain, and would surrender the good of all to group ambitions. They cannot be, from the history of the nations shows that democracy, in the face of their ailments, nay government, cannot long survive when the interests of a favored few are placed above the desperate need of the many. When Rome became corrupt and luxurious and a small group trampled underfoot the rights of the many, the Vandals ranamcked the Eternal City. When the royalty court laughed at the sufferings of the masses, aesign" of Attila brought the royal favorites to the guillotine. Such history will repeat itself whenever the opportunity presents itself. It now appears that we are on the road away from such a leadership, but the germ is still present within the body politic. Whether any such state of affairs shall beset us, depends on you and others like you. May we have a good deliverance?

In the third place, nationalism, whether in the United States or elsewhere, means unprecluded regimentation of the faculties and resources of our peoples. Already
we have developed a limited planned economy, with the AAA and the NRA, heading the list of alphabetical groups, and even though the Supreme Court of the United States may have held that the standards of action were not sufficiently definite to sustain the NRA statute, such regimentation will continue, either under governmental supervision or voluntary action, if nationalism prevails in future years. I might say in passing that nationalism raised to the nth power would mean the destruction of jurisdiction of the courts of the land to declare acts of legislative bodies to be unconstitutional. No court in Italy, for instance, would dare to refuse to enforce or uphold a statute promulgated by Il Duce, and if nationalism means any one thing, it means the termination of an independent judiciary in the end. Foreign markets are gone, so we are told, and production must be limited to domestic consumption. If we are to continue along the chosen path, then escape from further regimentation is impossible. Frankly, I view it as a dangerous policy, because planners who possess the abilities of a Plato, a Socrates, or Solomon are not to be had, nor is the economic counterpart of an Einstein abroad in our land. In addition, forces of nature must be reckoned with and Nature has a method, sometimes mystic, for taking care of surpluses, which method usually is far more effective than man-made schemes. It will also mean arbitrary limitation as to the number who may enter a given trade or profession. Such is the logical conclusion of economic planning. Already there are those in our midst who tell us that there are too many lawyers, doctors, ministers, etc. Who am I to say, "Thou shalt not enter here," or, "Enough have entered already?" Who is to be the judge? By what standards are selections to be made? Frankly I do not know: the choice of alternatives is yours to make.

The fourth and final implication of the nationalist trend in America to which I invite attention is the acid test to which we leave behind, is not to die. Acts which we leave behind, is not to die. Mortality will be yours. For after all, the chosen path, then escape from further regimentation is impossible. Frankly, I view it as a dangerous policy, because planners who possess the abilities of a Plato, a Socrates, or Solomon are not to be had, nor is the economic counterpart of an Einstein abroad in our land. In addition, forces of nature must be reckoned with and Nature has a method, sometimes mystic, for taking care of surpluses, which method usually is far more effective than man-made schemes. It will also mean arbitrary limitation as to the number who may enter a given trade or profession. Such is the logical conclusion of economic planning. Already there are those in our midst who tell us that there are too many lawyers, doctors, ministers, etc. Who am I to say, "Thou shalt not enter here," or, "Enough have entered already?" Who is to be the judge? By what standards are selections to be made? Frankly I do not know: the choice of alternatives is yours to make.

Sooner Roll Call

Directory Changes

George E. Bertholf, '28bus, care of Pickwick Bus Company, Dallas, Texas
Harry Marks Buchner, '34gedl, Box 416, Medicine Lodge, Kansas
R. R. Burns, '53s, 5524 Raywood, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Cecil A. Darnall, '33s, 336 West Brooklyn Street, Dallas, Texas
Harry Winfield Day, '30s, 525 North Detroit Street, Los Angeles, California
J. Minor Durrett, '23as, 1605 A Taylor Street, Amarillo, Texas
H. Wendell Ford, '34as, '34law, Johnson Hotel, Shamrock, Texas
Frank F. Gillam, '23as, 1108 East 11th, Oklahoma City
Cecil A. Darnall, '33s, 336 West Brooklyn Street, Dallas, Texas
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H. Wendell Ford, '34as, '34law, Johnson Hotel, Shamrock, Texas
Frank F. Gillam, '23as, 1108 East 11th, Oklahoma City
Visian Estelle Howell, '34ms, 400 Northwest 10th Street, Oklahoma City
Kermit McKinney, '30s, 310 North 3rd Street, Okemah
John Louis Mulhall, '34law, 1524 Grandview Boulevard, Sioux City, Iowa
Mrs. Dora Childress Newman, '24as, 128 Eighth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee
Mrs. Elizabeth Ozment Van Dusen, 428 Virginia Street, Mercedes, Texas
Robert Rex Reed, '34eng, Kelly Field, Texas
Dr. Joseph F. Frigo, '28as, Missouri Baptist Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri
Mrs. Florence Williams Feuston, '29M.A., 504 West 16th Street, Austin, Texas

Deaths

Roy A. Mahaffy, '24ex, died May 3 in St. Anthony Hospital, Oklahoma City, following a mastoid operation. At the time of his death Mr. Mahaffy was secretary of the Local Building and Loan Association of Oklahoma City. He was a member of the Phi Gamma Delta fraternity.

Year by Year

1906

Dr. Guy Y. Williams, '06as, '10M.A., colorful head of the University department of chemistry, has completed a year as chief executive of the Sooner athletic council. Doctor Williams, voted into the presidency of the council a year ago, became chief of the five-man executive committee that took over the duties of the athletic director. Many improvements on the stadium and an unusually successful season so far as sports championships were concerned are written in the athletic association's book for the 1934-35 school year.

1910

Had there been a prize for the largest number in one family returning for the commencement-homecoming celebration on the campus, the Wantlands of Edmond would have been unopposed for the honor. Charles W. Wantland, '15as, director of athletics at the Central State Teachers college, Edmond, had his wife and five children and a daughter-in-law with him when he returned to the class reunion—eight Wantlands and all from Edmond. Mrs. Wantland is the former Agnes Lindsey. Their children are Mary Agnes, David, John L., Charles P., and William L., and the daughter-in-law is Mrs. W. L. Wantland.

1915

John P. Tebberman, '15law, Buffalo, New York, has received a two-year appointment as arts and