

SENATE RECORDS
WORLD COVENANT

Plan and President's Address Made Part of Congressional Document

HOT SHOT IN RESERVE

Nation's Lawmakers Prepare to Voice Opinions on League Structure

Washington, Feb. 15.—Upon request of Minority Leader Lodge, the proposed constitution of the league of nations was put into the congressional record today and ordered printed as a Senate document.

Senator Pittman, of Nevada, Democrat, asked and Senator Lodge agreed that President Wilson's address in presenting the constitution be included.

The members of Congress, and particularly the Senators, read the plans of the league of nations with great interest and then declined to comment on it until after they had studied it carefully.

The only Senator who discussed it was Senator Hitchcock, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to which the official draft of the plan will be referred before it is sent to the United States Senate for ratification.

Senator Hitchcock praised the plan. It is not the monster that its opponents predicted it would be, he said. He was favorably impressed with the covenants providing a guarantee against sudden war, for the reduction of national armaments, the guarantee to the small nations and the disposition of the German colonies.

A prolonged and thorough airing of views on the plan will occupy most of the time of the Senate until adjournment on March 4. Nearly every Senator is preparing a speech on the subject and virtually every Senator wants to deliver his speech today.

Copies of the plan were eagerly read by the Senators and Representatives whom the newspapers reached the Capitol. The Republicans in the Senate and the Republican leaders of the House held in speech on the subject upon a plan of action. They agreed not to comment on or discuss the plan, except on the floor, until the official plan as adopted by the Peace Conference is received by the Senate.

The Democratic Senate leaders also conferred. They want to have the covenant existing in all its provisions, the Senate on the earliest possible date. They decided to await President Wilson's return before making any definite plans however.

The plan to have the league ratified as soon as possible will force the convening of the incoming Congress immediately after March 4. The President is due to arrive on February 27 or 28. Should he place the draft of the plan of the league before the Senate immediately all appropriation bills and other pending legislation will have to be sidetracked, for the Senate will not ratify the covenant without prolonged discussion on every phase of its provisions. In that event a special session of the new Congress would have to be called immediately to pass the necessary appropriation measures.

PROSSIMA AMNISTIA
MILITARE E POLITICA

Re Vittorio Firmeria' il Decreto Quando Sara' Proclamata la Societa' Delle Nazioni

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Roma, 15 febbraio.—E' stato annunciato che Re Vittorio Emanuele, in occasione della proclamazione per la costituzione della Societa' tra le Nazioni, firmera' un largo decreto di amnistia militare e politica.

Roma, 14 febbraio.—In ammirabile lavoro, superiore a qualsiasi elogio, e' stato compiuto dalla Croce Rossa Americana nell'assistenza ai feriti, ai soccorsi ed assistenza tra le popolazioni delle regioni devastate dal nemico e farle tornare alla vita normale. La Croce Rossa Americana, stabilì dieci principali centri di distribuzione e 225 sub-centri, che forniscono al popolo vestimenta, viveri, medicine, utensili di casa ecc. Approssimati vanno 500.000 persone riceverono dei soccorsi. Le cantine provvedevano a dar la mangiare ad oltre 3000 persone giornalmente.

Parigi, 14 febbraio.—Il Presidente del Gabinetto Italiano, On. Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, ha avuto un altro colloquio con il Presidente Wilson, il quale, dopo essersi consultato con i suoi colleghi alla conferenza della pace, rimaneva impossibile prendere una decisione sulla proposta dell'arbitrato fatta dal jugo-slavo e su quella di nominare arbitro il Presidente Wilson, senza prima consultare al riguardo il Re d'Italia ed il Presidente del Ministri e magari il Parlamento.

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Physical Force as Last Resort, Wilson Declares

President, in Presenting Constitution of World League, Says That Union of Wills Cannot Be Resisted

Paris, Feb. 15.—In presenting the constitution for a league of nations to the Peace Congress yesterday, President Wilson made the following address:

"Mr. Chairman: I have the honor, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this conference on the formulation of a plan for the league of nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania and Serbia.

"I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make."

The President then read the draft. When he reached Article XV and read through the second paragraph the President paused and said:

"I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read—if any party shall refuse to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations."

Hypothetical Case Stated
"A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular Power a piece of territory or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the executive council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter in dispute."

"Then, if the party in possession of the subject matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the council in the sense that it makes no resistance; but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject matter in dispute."

"In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the executive council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decision of the council."

Common Aim Evident
After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows:

"It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the resolution of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were individual differences of judgment with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there were virtually at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking."

"Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiments, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do which was heartening throughout every meeting."

"Because we felt that in a way this conference did intrust to us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty; that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations."

"The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously."

"Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those Powers which for convenience we have called the Great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist."

Simple in Structure
"Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a league of nations—a body of delegates, an executive council and a permanent secretariat."

"When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. 'Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the league of nations was merely to be a

body of officials representing the various governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated.

"It was impossible to conceive of an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world because I roughly reckon it we represent as we sit around this table more than twelve hundred million people."

1,300,000,000 People
"You cannot have a representative assembly of 1,300,000,000 people, but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time not only but it may originate the choice of its several representatives."

(Without here intelligible.)
"Therefore we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the virtually universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation. Instead of being confined to a single official body, with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy."

"And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings or anything that may lead to friction or trouble is every body's business, because it may affect the peace of the world."

"And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the executive council. It can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute be drawn out of the executive council on the larger form of the general body of delegates; because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity; so that intrigues can no longer have their covert, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world."

"Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background; and if the moral force of the world will not suffice the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war."

Document "Vehicle of Life"
"The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which the league would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I would say of this document that it is not a straight-jacket, but a vehicle of life."

"A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it now. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in its guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the league of nations was merely to be a

guarantee against the things which have just gone near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

"Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for cooperation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a great usefulness in the bureau of which it is contemplated shall be set up by the league. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the maneuvers of one another, while the thought of statecraft has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and of finance."

"Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world rests. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—the human impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples are yet at a low stage of civilization."

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parisons of recent years that the great Power which has just been, happily, defeated, put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself; that its interest was rather their extermination than their development; that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

"Now the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that; that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope."

"So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that so far as my observations permit, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—the human impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples are yet at a low stage of civilization."

"Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the league can claim any agreement valid which it has not in the presence of the secretary general, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination by anybody representing a member of the league. And the duty is laid upon the secretary general to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time."

"I suppose most persons who have not conversed with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in single year and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately. How uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the secretary general to publish them."

Helpless to Be Assisted
"Then there is a feature about this covenant, which to my mind is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that has been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation."

"We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests; and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the league to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself."

"There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to Powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing re-

marks of recent years that the great Power which has just been, happily, defeated, put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself; that its interest was rather their extermination than their development; that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

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"Now the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that; that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope."

"So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that so far as my observations permit, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—the human impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples are yet at a low stage of civilization."

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