

Next on the President's Address at Indianapolis

FOUR TREATY RESERVATIONS ADOPTED BY SENATE COMMITTEE

Washington, Sept. 5.—The text of the resolution, containing the reservations to the treaty adopted yesterday by the Senate committee on foreign relations, follows:

Resolved (two-thirds of the senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of a treaty of peace with Germany signed by the plenipotentiaries of the twenty-seven Allied and associated powers at Versailles on June 28, 1919, with the following reservations and understandings to be made a part and a condition of such ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said following reservations and understandings have been accepted as a part of and a condition of said instrument of ratification by at least three of the four principal Allied and associated powers, to wit: Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan:

First. The United States reserves to itself the unconditional right to withdraw from the league of nations upon the notice provided in Article I of said treaty of peace with Germany.

Second. That the United States declines to assume, under the provisions of Article X or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between other nations, members of the league or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the league or not, against external aggression, or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII, Part I, of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

Third. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the league of nations or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

Fourth. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the assembly or the council of the league of nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said league of nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

—engage to resist and to preserve against any aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of the nations concerned. That promise is necessary in order to prevent this sort of a recurring promise, and we are absolutely disgraced if we fought this war and then neglect the essential safeguard against it.

You have heard it said, my fellow citizens, that we are robbed of some degree of our sovereign independence and choice by articles of that sort. Every man who makes a choice to respect the rights of his neighbors respects the rights of his neighbors, but he does it by promising never to do wrong, and I cannot, for one, see anything that robs us of any liberty that we are not already losing when I promise that I will do right.

We engage, in the first sentence of Article X, to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of the nations concerned, not only of the other member states, but of all states, and if any member of the league of nations discards that promise, then that member is sitting at Paris presented Poland with a unit she could not have won and an independence which she cannot have unless the world guarantees it to her.

Opponents Ignorant of Treaty

"I am arguing this thing with you, my fellow citizens, as if I had any doubt of what the verdict of the American people would be. I haven't the slightest doubt, I am sure, that you would be glad to point out to you how absolutely ignorant of the treaty, and of the covenant, some of the men are, who have been opposing. If they do not know the English language they do not understand the English language as I understand it. If they have really read this treaty and this covenant they only can be stupid, or they are unable to understand what is plainly expressed. So that my errand upon this journey is not to argue these matters, but to reiterate to the real issues which are involved.

"And one of the things that I have most at heart in this report to my fellow citizens is that they should forget that party is being to, and that party they begin to make this party money as a Democrat, but I am spelling it with a little 'd' and I don't want anybody to remember, so far as this spelling is concerned, that it is ever spelled with a big 'D.'"

Treaty Above All Parties

"I am making this journey as an American, and as a champion of the rights which America believes in, and I need not tell you that as compared with the importance of the treaty, and the importance of every other party, is absolutely negligible.

Parties, my fellow citizens, are interested in action different policies of government. They are not, when properly used, intended to traverse the principles which underlie government, which are the principles which underlie the government of the United States. They have been familiar to us ever since we were children.

"I want you to notice another interest in this matter which has never been dilated upon in connection with the league of nations. I am now treading upon delicate ground and I must express myself with caution. There were a good many delegations that visited Paris wanting to be heard by the Peace Conference, which had real causes to present, and which ought to be presented to the view of the world. But we had to point out to them that they did not happen, unfortunately, to come within the area of settlement; that their questions were not questions which were necessarily drawn into the things that we were deciding.

Hearing for All Nations

"I, therefore, want to call your attention, if you will, to the provisions of Article X, of the covenant of the league of nations. Let me say, in the favorite article in the treaty, so far as I am concerned, it says that every matter which is likely to affect the peace of the world is the body's business and that it shall be the friendly right of any nation to call attention to the league to anything that is likely to affect the peace of the world, or the good understanding between nations upon which the peace of the world depends, whether the matter immediately concerns the nation drawing attention to it or not.

"In other words, at present we have to mind our own business. Under the covenant of the league of nations we can mind other people's business, and anything that affects the peace of the world, whether we are parties to it or not, is a matter which immediately brings to the attention of mankind. There is not an oppressed people

stand of war there shall be the irresistible pressure of the opinion of all mankind.

I need not tell you that I speak with knowledge in this matter—knowledge of the purposes of the men with whom the men representing America were associated at the peace table. Every one I consulted with there with that idea, that our men abroad in the past because the strong had taken advantage of the weak and that the only way to stop war was for men abroad to get together to protect the weak.

And so, when you read the covenant, read the treaty with it.

I have no doubt that in this audience there are many men who come from that ancient stock of Poland, for example, men in whose blood there is the warmth of old affections connected with that betrayed and ruined country, whose memories run back to misfortune wrongs endured by those living in that country; and I call them to witness that Poland never could have won unity and independence by force. These gentlemen sitting at Paris presented Poland with a unit she could not have won and an independence which she cannot have unless the world guarantees it to her.

In the world which cannot, henceforth, get a hearing at that forum. And you know, my fellow citizens, what a hearing will mean, if the cause of those people is just. The one thing which those who have reason to dread, have most reason to dread, is publicity and discussion; because if you are challenged to give a reason why you are doing a wrong thing it has to be an exceedingly good reason, and if you give a bad reason you confess judgment and the opinion of mankind goes against you.

Secret Treaties Everywhere

There is another thing in this covenant, which was one of a number of difficulties that we encountered at Paris. I need not tell you that at every turn in these discussions we came across some secret treaty, some understanding that had never been made public before, some understanding that embarrassed the whole settlement.

I think it will not be improper for me to refer to one of these matters. While we were discussing settlement of the Shantung question with regard to China, we found that Great Britain and France were under specific treaty obligations to Japan that she should get exactly what she got in the treaty with Germany; and the most that we could do—I mean the most that the United States could do—was to urge upon the representatives of the other very fatal policy that was involved in such a settlement, and obtain from her the promise, which she gave, that she would not take advantage of those portions of the treaty, but would return without qualification the sovereignty which Germany had acquired in those provinces to the republic of China.

We have had repeated assurances since then that Japan intends to fulfill those promises in absolute good faith, but my present point is that there stands at the very heart of that settlement a secret treaty between Japan and two of the great powers engaged in this war on our side. We could not ask them to disregard that promise. This war had been fought, in part, because of the refusal to observe the fidelity which is involved in a promise, in a failure to regard the sacredness of treaties. And this covenant of the league of nations provides that no secret treaty shall have any validity.

Central Covenant of Peace

When you look at the covenant of the league of nations, thus, in the large, you wonder why it is a boys to anybody; you wonder what its influences have made gentlemen afraid of it; you wonder why it is not obvious to everybody as it is to those of us who are disgraced and thoughtful, that this is the central and essential covenant of the whole peace.

You would think, to hear some men discuss this covenant, that some arrangement for sending men abroad again just as soon as possible. It is the only conceivable arrangement which will prevent our sending our men abroad again just as soon as possible. (Applause.) And, if I may use a very common expression, I would say, "If it is not to be this arrangement, what arrangement do you suggest to secure the peace of the world?" It is a case of put up or shut up.

Opposition is not going to save the world; negotiation is not going to construct the policies of mankind. A great plan is the only thing that can defeat a great plan. The only triumph ideas in this world are ideas that are organized, for the only thing that equals an organized program is a better program.

Experts Ratification Soon

If this is not the way to secure peace, I beg that the way may be pointed out to us. If we cannot do this, then I beg that, before I am sent to ask Germany to make a new kind of peace with us, I should be given specific instructions as to what kind of peace we are to ask for.

If the gentlemen who don't like what was done in Paris think that they can do something better, I beg that they will hold their tongues, and when they do, they will be heard. I do not, in consequence, or good faith, deprive us of this great work of peace without substituting some other thing in its place.

And so, my fellow citizens, I look forward, with profound gratification, to the time which I believe will not now appear longer to me as distant as it once was. I am sure that your fellows in all parts of the world, "We are the friends of liberty, we have joined with the rest of mankind in securing the guarantees of liberty; we stand here with you, the eternal champion of what is right, and may I feel free in the covenant that we have found."

NASH BUYS MILWAUKEE SITE
Banking Facilities Attract Motor Company From Kenosha
Milwaukee, Wis., Sept. 5.—The Nash Motor Company, Kenosha, Wis., has purchased a site of twenty acres in Milwaukee on Oklahoma avenue, and will build a factory, which will give employment to 4000 men. The real estate deal amounted to about \$300,000, which is said to be the largest real estate purchase in Milwaukee since the war.

JOHNSON-THOMPSON RALLY
Family Association Elects Clarence Cornell as President
Horsham, Pa., Sept. 5.—Seventy-five members of the Johnson-Thompson Family Association met in twenty eighth annual reunion at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harvey D. Thompson, New York, N. J.

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