

Senate Receives Report on Treaty

Continued from Page One
to mean the establishment of eternal peace.

Sent to Paris for Maps
Recalling the Senate's responsibility as equal with the President's, the report recounts the difficulties the committee experienced in getting information, being compelled to get "imperfect information from press reports," and having at its disposal few official documents.

Collateral treaties having a bearing, the report says, the committee was unable to get. Of the sum of information received in conferences with President Wilson and Secretary Lansing, the report remarks:

"The people themselves know how much information in regard to the treaty was received by the committee upon those two occasions."

The report points out no action has been taken by France, Japan or Italy. The argument that the treaty speedily should be ratified that trading with Germany might begin, the report dismisses as "rather feeble," and declares the United States has been trading with Germany.

Thrust at Lloyd George

Before leaving this subject it may not be amiss to remark that Mr. Lloyd George has recently made two important speeches expressing grave apprehensions as to the social and political unrest and the economic troubles now prevalent in England. He seems to have failed to point out that the ratification of the covenant of the league of nations by Great Britain had relieved the situation which he had described.

"He was apparently equally remiss in omitting to suggest that prompt action by the Senate in adopting the covenant of the league of nations would immediately lower the price of beef."

The first amendment offered by the committee relates to the league. It is proposed to amend the text as to secure for the United States a vote in the assembly of the league equal to that of any other power.

If Great Britain has six votes in the league assembly, no reason has occurred to the committee and no argument had been made to show why the United States should not have an equal number. The committee failed to see why the United States should have but one vote in the assembly of the league when the British empire has six.

Balk at Hanting Deal

Amendments 26 to 44, inclusive, transfer to China the German rights and rights, if they exist in the "Chinese province of Shantung, which are given by the treaty to Japan. The majority of the committee were not willing to have their votes recorded at any session in the proceedings in favor of the confirmation of what they consider a great wrong.

"They cannot assent to taking the property of a faithful ally and handing it over to another ally in fulfillment of a bargain made by other powers in a secret treaty. It is a record which they are not willing to present to their fellow citizens or leave behind them for the contemplation of their children."

Amendment No. 2 is simply to provide that where a member of the league has self-governing dominions and colonies which are also members of the league, the exclusion of the dominions under the league rules shall cover the aggregate vote of the member of the league and the self-governing dominions and parts of empire combined if any one of them is involved in the controversy.

Would Keep U. S. Hands Off
The remaining amendments, with a single exception, may be treated as one, for the purpose of all alike is to relieve the United States from having representatives on the commissions established by the league which deal with questions in which the United States has and can have no interest and in which the United States has evidently been inserted by design.

The exception is amendment No. 45, which provides that the United States shall have a member of the reparations commission, but that such commissioner of the United States cannot, except in the case of shipping where the interests of the United States are directly involved, deal with or vote

SENATE LOVES TREATY—LOVES IT NOT



The President and Mrs. Wilson on the platform of their train at St. Joseph, Mo. Mr. Wilson with a nosegay of daisies, perhaps to pull petals after petals from the flower to learn if the league-of-nations pact is loved or is not loved.

upon any other questions before that commission except under instructions from the government of the United States.

The committee proposes four reservations to be made a part of the ratification of ratification when it is offered. The committee reserves, of course, the right to offer other reservations if they shall so determine.

Text of Reservations
The four reservations now presented are as follows:

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.

The provision in the league covenant for withdrawal declares that any member may withdraw provided it has fulfilled all its international obligations and all its obligations under the covenant. There has been much dispute as to who would decide if the question of the fulfillment of obligations was raised, and it is very generally thought that this question would be settled by the council of the league of nations.

The best that can be said about it is that the question of decision is clouded with doubt. On such a point as this there must be no doubt. The United States, which has never broken an international obligation, cannot permit that all its existing treaties to be reviewed and its conduct and honor questioned by other nations.

The same may be said in regard to the fulfillment of the obligations of the league. It must be made perfectly clear that the United States alone is to determine as to the fulfillment of its obligations, and its right of withdrawal must therefore be unconditional as provided in the reservation.

Devitalizes Article X
Second. 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 covering any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, or to use force to enforce the provisions of 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.

This reservation is intended to meet the most vital objection to the league covenant as it stands. Under the provisions of the league covenant, the United States is to enter into war or to send its army and navy abroad or without the unfettered action of Congress to impose economic boycotts on other countries.

Under the constitution of the United States the Congress alone has the power to declare war, and all bills to raise revenue or affect the revenue in any way must originate in the House of Representatives, be passed by the Senate and receive the signature of the President.

These constitutional rights of Congress must not be impaired by any agreement such as are presented in this treaty, nor can any opportunity of charging the United States with bad faith be permitted.

No American soldiers or sailors must be sent to fight in other lands at the bidding of a league of nations. American lives must not be sacrificed except by the will and authority of the American people acting through their constitutional representatives in Congress.

This reservation also covers the subject of mandates. According to the provisions of the covenant of the league, a mandate is a mandate by any member to another member to refuse to accept a mandate for any country the covenant of the league is silent.

The decision as to accepting a mandate must rest exclusively within the control of the Congress of the United States as the reservation provides and if the mandate is not to be accepted, even by inference, to any personal agent or to any delegate or commissioner.

Third. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to permit itself to be fettered by the dictates of other nations or immersed and entangled in all the broils and conflicts of Europe.

No "Must" About It
We have heard it frequently said that the United States "must" do this and do that in regard to this league of nations and the terms of the German peace. There is no "must" about it. "Must" is not a word to be used by foreign nations or domestic officials to the American people or their representatives.

Equally unfitting is the attempt to frighten the nation by suggestions that if the Senate adopts amendments or reservations, the United States may be excluded from the league. That is the one thing that certainly will not happen.

The other nations know well that there is no threat of retaliation possible with the United States, because we have asked nothing for ourselves and have received nothing. We seek no guarantees, no territory, no commercial benefits or advantages.

The other nations will take us on our own terms, for without us their league is a wreck and all their gains from a victorious peace are imperiled. We exact nothing selfish for ourselves, but we insist that we shall be the judges, and the only judges, as to the preservation of our rights, our sovereignty, our safety and our independence.

Free from Entanglements
At this moment the United States is free from any entanglements or obligations which legally or in the name of honor would compel her to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience or to the freedom and the interests of the American people.

This is the hour when we can say precisely what we will do and exactly what we will not do, and no man can ever question our good faith if we speak now.

When we are once caught in the meshes of a treaty of alliance or a league of nations composed of twenty-six other powers our freedom of action is gone. To preserve American independence and American sovereignty, and thereby best serve the welfare of mankind, the committee proposes these amendments and reservations.

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.

The league under certain conditions will accept the jurisdiction of the council of nations in questions of immigration and tariff, as well as the others mentioned in the reservation. It is believed by the committee that this reservation relieves the United States from any dangers or any obligations in this direction.

Protects Monroe Doctrine
The fourth and last reservation is as follows:

Fourth. The United States declines to submit to arbitration or inquiry by the assembly or the council of the league of nations provided for in said treaty of peace any question which in the judgment of the United States depends upon or relates 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.

The purpose of this reservation is to preserve the Monroe Doctrine, which is the cornerstone of our foreign policy. As the Monroe Doctrine has protected the United States, so it is believed by the committee, will this reservation protect the Monroe Doctrine from the destruction with which it is threatened by Article XXI in the covenant of the way must originate in the House of Representatives, be passed by the Senate and receive the signature of the President.

This covenant of the league of nations is an alliance and not a league, as is amply shown by the provisions of the treaty with Germany, which vests all essential power in five great nations. Those same nations, the principal members of the league, will dominate the league through the council.

Fear League Breeds Wars
The committee believe that the league as it stands will breed wars instead of securing peace. They also believe that the covenant of the league demands sacrifices of American independence and sovereignty which would in no way promote the world's peace, but which are fraught with the gravest dangers to the future safety and well-being of the United States.

The amendments and reservations, like are governing, with the purpose to guard American rights and American sovereignty, the invasion of which would stimulate breaches of faith, encourage conflicts, and govern wars. The United States can secure the cause of peace best, as she has served it in the past, and do more to secure liberty and civilization throughout the world by proceeding along the path she has always followed, and by not

permitting herself to be fettered by the dictates of other nations or immersed and entangled in all the broils and conflicts of Europe.

Our "Country-First" Delegates Oppose Labor Provision in League
Chicago, Sept. 10.—(By A. P.)—Declaring their disapproval of the establishment of any department under the league of nations in the interest of any special class of citizens, delegates to the "Our-Country-First" conference, composed of business and farming interests from all sections of the country, went on record against section twenty of the league, establishing an international bureau of labor and to part thirteen of the treaty of peace, annulling some of the purposes thereof.

The disapproval of the two sections were contained in resolutions adopted by the conference in its final session. The chairman of the conference was authorized to appoint a committee to go to Washington to present the ideas embodied in the resolution to Congress.

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WANT SCALP OF SECTION 20

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