every question of raw materials, every matter that affects the
intercourse of the two nations, will be the subject of consulta-
tion by the representatives of the two governments, and the
right of arbitration, as it is to my mind, that is so much talked
about by you, I think there is any doubt about the issue. The
only thing that can be accomplished is delay. The ultimate
outcome of the conference will be the triumphant acceptance of the treaty and
the league.

"Let me pay the tribute which it is only just that I should
pay to some of the men who have been, I believe, misunderstood
in the press. A very large number of my fellow citizens, who are trying to defeat the treaty or to prevent it from being
ratified, are, I believe, misunderstood. The great majority, in
official bodies and out, are scrutinizing it, as it is perfectly legitimate that they should scrutinize it, to see if it is necessary that they should trust in it any more
than I and my knowledge of their conscience, my knowledge of their
public principle, makes me certain that they will sooner or later
see that it is safe. Since it is all expressed in the plainest
English that the English dictionary affords, not to qualify it in
to accept it as it is. I have been a student of the English lan-
guage all my life and I do not see a single obscure sentence in
the treaty document. Some gentlemen, I believe, do not read it
or do not understand the English language; but, fortunately, on
the right-hand page it is printed in English and on the left-hand
page it is printed in French. Now, if they do not understand
the English language, I will explain it in French if I can,
dig out the meaning on that side. The French is a very
language, more precise than the English language, I am told.
I am afraid I am a speaking acquaintance with it, but I am told
that it is the language of the country, not the language of the
world, and the French or the word, given phrase in French always means the same thing. That
can not be said of English. In order to satisfy themselves, I
hope these gentlemen will master the French version and then
be reassured that there are no lurking mysteries in the docu-
ment; that there are no sinister purposes; that everything is
said in the frankest way.

"There have been very much worried at the
phrase that nothing in the document shall be taken as impugn-
ing in any way the validity of such regional understandings
as the Monroe doctrine. They say, Why put in "such regional understandings as are there? Have you got something up your sleeve? Is there going to be a
Monroe doctrine in Asia? Is there going to be a Monroe do-
ctrine in China? Why, my fellow citizens, the phrase was
written in perfect Innocence. The men that I was associated
with said, 'It is not wise to put a specific thing that belongs only
to one nation in a document like this. We do not know of
countries going to have regional understandings like this; we never dreamed of any other; we never dreamed of any of them. So, on some day be some other, and so we will say "such regional understandings as the Monroe doctrine," and their phrase was inserted, and the phrase became the Monroe doctrine in the
Western Hemisphere. I reminded the Committee on the
Relations of the Senate the other day that the conference I
held with them was not the first conference I had held about
this. I told them that I had a conference in my dear country in
March last I held a conference at the White House with the
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and they made various suggestions as to how the treaty should be altered
in phraseology. I carried those suggestions back to Paris,
and every one of them was accepted. I think that is a suffi-
cient guaranty that my mischief was intended. The whole
document is of the same plain, practical, explicit sort, and it
seems peace, my fellow citizens. In the only way in which
peace can be secured.

"I remember, if I may illustrate a very great thing with a
very trivial, but I see two or three constant arguments who were very much
addicted to profanity. Their friends were very much
distressed about it. It subordinated a rich vocabulary which they might otherwise
have cultivated, and so we induced them to agree that they
never would use profanity. We set limits, that if they
wanted to swear they would go out of town. The first time only
passion of anger came upon them they rather sheepishly got
in a cab and went out of town to swear, and by the time
they got out of town the first time, they knew that my
very homely illustration illustrates in my mind the value of
abstinence. Let me remind you that every fighting nation in the
world is constantly exhorting its young men to give up
profanity, because we are going to be

longing to it, and they all make this argument, the other, that they will not resort to war in the case of any con-
troversy until they have done one or two of things, until the
case of the arbitration, in which case they promise to abide by the verdict whatever it
may be, or, if they do not want to submit it to arbitration, have
submitted it to discussion by the council of the league.

Mr. Chairman, my fellow citizens, I never feel more comfort-
able in facing my fellow citizens than when I can realize
that I am not representing a peculiar cause, that I am not speak-
ing for a single group of my fellow citizens, that I am not the
representative of a party but the representative of the people
of the United States. I went across the water with that
happy presence, and in all the work that was done on the other
side of the sea, where I was associated with distinguished
Americans of both political parties, we all of us constantly kept
at our heart the feeling that we were expressing the thoughts
and the wishes of the great body of the people of the United States.

I brought a copy of the treaty along with me, for I fancy
that you have heard of it, or five or six hundred of its clauses,
one of the purposes of which I视为
some of the clauses out of this volume are picked out for criticism. Only
four or five phrases in it are called to your attention by some of
the little jingoists. I say, the man who picks flaws in it—or, rather, picks out
flaws that are in it, for there are flaws in it—does not understand the
economics of the thing, forgets that the consuls of more than 20 nations have been
rendered unanimous in the adoption of this great instrument.
Let me remind you of what everybody admits who has read the
document. Everybody admits that it is a complete settlement of the matters which led to this war, and that it contains the complete treaty which provides that they shall stay settled.

"You know the greatest utilities in the own domestic affairs is unsettled land titles. Suppose that somebody were merrily to tamper with the land records of the country, and that there should be a doubt as to the line of every foot. You know the whole world would have had six months. All the farmers would be sitting on their fences with shotguns. Litigation would penetrate every community, hot planting the district of Silesia, and bar all the courts of law, but except in cases of force, would ensue. Very well, one of the things that this treaty does is to settle the land titles of Europe, and it settles them in this way, on the principle that every land belongs to its people, and that is the only one. This is actually the first time in human history that that principle was ever recognized in a similar document, and yet that is the fundamental American principle. The fundamental American principle is the right of the people who live in the country to say what shall be done with that country. We have gone far so in our assertions of popular right that we not only say that the people have a right to have a government that suits them, but that they have a right to change it in any respect at any time. Very well, that principle lies at the heart of this treaty.

"There are peoples in Europe who never before could say that they had their own, and the choice that they were to make of their lives was their own choice.

"There are men in Nebraska who come from that country of that dissatisfaction, the now restored Republic of Poland, and I want to call their attention to the fact that Poland has given her complete restitution; and not only is she given the land that formerly belonged to the Poles, but she is given the large district of Silesia is occupied by Poles but had been permitted to remain under other sovereignty. She is given the right to rest on a principle that all our hearts approve of. To take what in Europe they call High Silesia, the mountains, the upper, portion of the district of Silesia. The very great majority of the people in High Silesia are Poles, but the Germans contested the statement that most of them were Poles. We said, 'Very well, there is none of our business; we will let them decide. We will put up a referendum there, and those people can belong either to Germany or to Poland, as they prefer and not as we prefer.' And wherever we had a doubtful district we applied the same principle, that the people should decide and not the men sitting around the peace table at Paris. When these referenda were completed the land titles of Europe will be settled, and every country will belong to the people that will accept the peace with what they please. You select hear of this aspect of this treaty, my fellow citizens.

"I report of the council that the newspaper men call the 'big four.' We had a very much bigger name for ourselves than that. We called ourselves the 'supreme council of the peace and national associations,' and we had no official title, and sometimes a very respectable body of us instead. Those five represented, with the exception of Germany, of course, the great fighting nations of the world. They could have done anything with this treaty that they chose to do, because they had the power to do it, and they chose to do what they had never been chosen before, to renounce every right of sovereignty in that settlement to which the people concerned did not assent. That is the great settlement which is represented in this volume.

"And it contains, among other things, a great charter of liberty for the workingmen of the world. For the first time in history the counsel of mankind are to be drawn together and concerted for the purpose of defending the rights and improving the conditions of working—men, women, and children—al the world. It is a thing we have never dreamed of before, and what you find in this in history is nothing of the greatest difficulties in our universal league of nations is the matter of seeing that this thing is not interfered with. There is no other way to do it than by a universal league of nations, and such a league is proposed as a universal league of nations. Only two nations are in the world. Only two nations are in the world. One of them is Germany, because we did not think that Germany was ready to come in, because we felt that she ought to go through some instructions, and they are now preparing. She says that she has abolished all the old forms of government by their secret councils of men sitting nobody knew exactly where determining fortunes of mankind, but she want her to prove that her constitution is changed and that it is going to stay changed, and then who can, after those proofs are produced, say 'No' to a great people 60,000,000 strong if they want to come in on equal terms with the rest of us and do justice in international affairs? I want to say that I did not find my colleagues in Paris disinclined to do justice to Germany. But if I heard that my colleagues would have been equally well disposed.
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

then we have this interesting choice: I hear gentlemen say that we went into the recent war because we were forced to, and their preference now is to be forced in again. They do not pretend that we can keep out; they merely pretend that we ought to keep our word, and we are obliged not to go in.

"This is the covenant of the league of nations that you hear objected to; the only possible guaranty against war. And it is to this covenant myself reverent to every mother and father, every wife and sweethearth in this country who consented to the ending of this war without a guaranty that there would be no other. You say, 'Is it an absolute guaranty?' No; there is no absolute guaranty against human passion; but even if it were only 10 per cent of the guaranty, would you rather have 10 per cent guaranty against war than none?

I presume that there will not be war, would you not rather have the presumption than live under the certainty that there will be war? For, I tell you, my fellow citizens, I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it.

"But I did not come here this morning, I remind myself, so much to expound the treaty as to talk about these interesting things that we hear about that are called reservations. A reservation is an assent with a big but. We. agree—but, now I want to call your attention to every one of these big buts. I will take them, so far as I can remember the order, in the order in which they deal with clauses of the league itself.

"In the article of the covenant it is provided that a nation can withdraw from it at any time and in two years' notice, provided at the time of its withdrawal, is has fulfilled all its international obligations. Well, how will it fulfill its obligations under the covenant. Some of our friends are very anxious about that. They want to sit at the door with their hands on the knob, and the thing is in this thing but we are in it with infinite timidity: we are going to do it only because you overpersuaded us and wanted us to come in, and we are going to try this thing every now and then and see if it is locked, and just as soon as you are not satisfied, you don't, we are going to seek. Now, what is the trouble about? It is not to have afraid of? I want you to put this to every man you know who makes that to all the people who are made afraid of. Is he afraid that when the United States withdraws it will not have fulfilled its international obligations? Is he willing to bring that individuc against this beloved country? My fellow citizens, we never did fail to fulfill an international obligation and, God guiding and helping us, we never will. I for one am not going to admit in any connection the slightest doubt that, if we ever choose to withdraw, we will then have fulfilled our obligations. If I make them, they are called about, what do I do? This covenant does not provide any tribunals to judge whether we have fulfilled our obligations at that time or not. It is only a purely spiritual thing to restrain us, and that is the opinion of mankind. Are there not poor patriots in that territory that are afraid that the United States will accept a poor figure in the opinion of mankind? And do they think that they can bring the United States to withdraw from that league if at that time their withdrawal would not be in the opinion of mankind? We have always been at pains to earn the respect of mankind, and we shall always be at pains to retain it. I for one am too proud to be an American to say that any doubt will ever hang around our right to withdraw upon the condition of the fulfillment of our international obligations.

"I have already adverted to the difficulties under article 10 and will not return to it. That difficulty is merely, as I repeated it just now, that some gentlemen do not want to go in as partners, they want to go in as late joiners, because they all admit that in a war which imperils the just arrangements of the world must take sides, we shall not live without taking sides. We devoted ourselves to justice and to liberty when we were born, and we are not going to get settled and forget it.

"Do not do the like way in which the Monroe doctrine is mentioned. Nor would I stand on a question of style. The Monroe doctrine is adopted. It is swallowed, gone down, and one of the members of this instrument, I do not care what language they use about it. The language was some how or other, and it is not necessary to know what dictionary they use about it. I do not know what manuals of consel they can possibly resort to. The Monroe doctrine is expressly authenticated in this document, for the recognition in the history, by the great nations of the world, and I am glad to see that in March I brought in my objections to the provisors of the league, of the covenant of the league. I submitted these to the Senate Committee of the Senate of the United States, and I speak with them. They made a number of suggestions. I carried every one of them to Paris, and every one of them was adopted. Now apparently we are going to bring it back to Paris and say, 'We are much obliged to you, if you have not like that, but we will adopt another.' I illustrate this by the same thing. If the English does not do it, I wish to engage the interest of some French scholars in if they like the French better. It is the same thing, done in perfect good faith. Nobody was trying to fool anybody.

"The fourth matter is that they are concerned about is domestic questions, and we want to put in a reservation on all domestic questions as domestic questions which everybody is not allowed to admit. I seem to me, to say the least, to be a sort of superstition. It does not seem to me necessary to specify what the domestic questions are, but they are so careful—I believe the word used was "national," it is in what is clearly imperatives. 'Well, no one, even in the secrets of Providence, will take the United States Senate to do anything, but in the secrets of the United States Senate, the way things will have upon its action, is in the Senate in the Senate in the Senate, and by the way, the treaty, the treaty, the treaty. They will be there on the treaty.

"Now I am not going to bring me in this—if you can't contract and change the words, even if you change the meaning. I say, they have to get through with the Austrian treaty and the Byzantine treaty. We will have to take the United States Senate to do anything. Do we want to take the United States Senate to do anything? Do we want to adopt the language of the treaty without changing its meaning and involving us in what is written in words which the United States Senate thinks might be written in? You see, reservations come down this, that they are pointing the language of the treaty without changing its meaning and involving us in what is written in words which the United States Senate thinks might be written in? You see, reservations come down this, that they are pointing the language of the treaty without changing its meaning.
"Let us state the facts with brutal frankness. England and France are in a war, or soon will be in a war. Every nation, entered into before the conference at Paris, before the end of the war, to go to war, to hang together; that is what she gets in this treaty in the Province of Shantung. They can not in honor withdraw from that promise. They can not consent to a peace treaty which does not contain those provisions with which they fought, and they can not, if they are to hang together, stand behind Japan, and if we are not signatories to the treaties and not parties she will get all that Germany had in Shantung, more than she will get under the promises which she made to hang together and she will get away from her is by going to war with Japan and Gert Bretagne, France. Does that look like a workable proposition? Is that doing China a service? Whereas, if we do accept this treaty, we are members of the league of nations, China is a member of the league, and Japan, and France, and China, undertook to protect the territorial integrity and political independence of China. We will be respected and preserved. That is the way to serve China. That is the only possible way in the circumstances to serve China.

"Therefore we can not rewrite this treaty. We must take it or leave it, and gentlemen, after all the rest of the world has signed it, will it not be difficult to make any other kind of treaty. As I took the liberty of saying before, it is a case of 'put up or shut up.' The world cannot breathe in the atmosphere of negotiations. The world can not deal with nations who say, 'We won't play!' The world can not have anything to do with an assertion of power. If we can not take care of ourselves, it is possible, my fellow citizens — is it possible, for the sinister thing has been suggested to me — that there is a group of individuals in this country who have conceived it as desirable that the United States, at this time when its power alone, should arm for the purpose, should be ready for the enterprise, and should dominate the world by arms? There are indications that there are groups of citizens in this country who do not find that an unpalatable program. Are we going to substitute for Pan Germanism, Pan Americanism? The thing is inconceivable. It is hideous. No man dare propose that in plain words to any American anywhere.

"That heart of this people is pure. The heart of this people if true. It loves liberty. It loves liberty. It would rather have liberty and justice than wealth and power. It is the great idealistic force of history, and the idealism of America is what has made conquest of the spirits of men.

"While I was in Paris men of every race, from every quarter of the globe, sought interviews with us in order to tell us how absolutely they believed in America and how all their thoughts, all their hopes, all their aim of political salvation, reached out toward America and my heart men within me. I said to some of the simplest among them, 'I pray you that you will not expect the impossible. America can not do all things that you are expecting her to do. The most that I can claim will be done by the world you can.' And we are going to redeem that promise, not because I made it, but because when I made it I spoke the purpose and heart of the United States. If I felt that I personally in any way stood in the way of this settlement, I would be glad to die that it might be consummated, because I have a vision, a vision to our fellow citizens, that if this thing should by some mishap not be accomplished there would rest forever upon the fair name of this people a stain which could never be effaced, which would be intolerable to every lover of America, inconceivable to any man who knew the duty of America and was ready with stout heart to do it.

"I said just now at the opening that I was happy to forget on a campaign like this what party I belonged to and that I hope that you will not think that I am recalling what party I belonged to if I say how proud I have been to stand alongside of Senator Hiram Johnson in this fight. I would be just as glad to stand by Senator Norris. I would just as glad to go to Senator Hiram Johnson because I know this is his home town, an excellent personal regard for him, and because I wanted to make it the preface to say I want to be the brother and comrade and co-worker of every worker of every color for this great cause. It heartens me when I find, as I find in every State of the Union, that there are more Republicans on the committees that meet me than Democrats. That may be in proportion to the population, but nevertheless I judge from what I see of these gentlemen that they represent, what I see of very respectableable people and that I can take it for granted, because of what I see in my dealing with them, that they do represent some of the permanence and abiding influences of great communities like this.

Why, the heart of America beats in these great prairies and on these hillsides. Sometimes in Washington you see very far away the things that are audible in Washington are not voices that anybody cares to listen to for very long. It is refreshing to get out among the great body of one's fellow citizens and feel the touch of hand and the contact of shoulder and the impulse of mass movement which is going to make spiritual conquest of the world.

"The President at a Coliseum, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., August 9, 1919.

"Gov. Norbeck, my fellow citizens, I must admit that every time I face a great audience of American citizens in this country on this trip I am filled with a feeling of peculiar solemnity, because I believe, my fellow countrymen, that we have come to one of the turning points in the history of the world, and that we must resolve on this great country is that, as on other great occasions when mankind's fortune was hanging in a nice balance, America may have the distinction to lead the way.

"In order to enable you to realize some part of what is in my thought tonight, I am going to ask you to turn your thoughts back to the tragedy through which we have just passed. A little incident as we came along in the train to-day brought very close home to me the things that have been happening. A very quiet lady came up with a little crowd at a way station to shake hands with me, and she had no sooner taken by hand than she turned away and burst into tears. I asked what that was, and she said she had meant to speak to me of her son who was dead in France, but that the words would not come out of her lips. All over this country, my fellow citizens, there are women who have given their sons, and who have given up their husbands, young women who have given up their sweethearts, to die on the other side of the sea for a great cause which was not the peculiar cause of America but the cause of mankind and civilization itself. I am going to repeat what the people on the other side of the water said about those boys. They told us that they did not look like any of the other soldiers, that they did not seem to be like mere soldiers, that they seemed to be eager. There was something in their eyes that they had never seen in the eyes of any other Americans before. There was something that I had so often seen on former journeys across the seas. Going over in the steerage, bright-eyed men who had been perished with the atmosphere of free America; coming back, and stigmatizing the immigrants coming from old countries, dull-eyed men, tired-looking men, discouraged-looking men. They came back to us all of them going both ways, men who had come from across the sea, but going out they were going with the look of America in their eyes to visit the old people at home; coming back, they had the fatigue of Europe in their eyes, and they had the feeling that penetrates every American, that there is a great future, that a man can handle his own fortunes, that it is his right to place in the world, and that no man that he does not choose is his master. And they said that people saw in the eye of the American boys who carried their arms across the seas.

"There was America in every one of those lively eyes, and America was not looking merely at the fields of France, but not just seeking to defeat Germany; she was seeking to defeat everything that Germany's activeness was in a nice balance, and to see to it that there never happened such a thing again.

"I want to remind you, my fellow countrymen, that that war was not an accident. That war did not just happen. There was not some sudden occasion which brought on a confrontation. On the contrary, Germany had been preparing for her war for generations. Germany had been preparing every resource, perfecting every skill, developing every invention, which would enable her to master the European world, and, after mastering the European world, to dominate the rest of the world. Everybody had been looking on. Everybody had known. For example, it was known in every war office in Europe, and in the War Department at Washington, that the Germans not only had a vast supply of great guns but that they had ammunition enough for every one of those guns to exhaust the gun. Yet we were all living in a fool's paradise. We thought Germany meant what she said — that she was armed for defense, that she would never use this force against the rest of her fellow men. Why, my friends, we were fools, for Germany made that an occasion and an excuse. Before they started it, Germany had yielded to practically every demand they made of her, and they would not let the rest of the world know that Germany had yielded, because they did not want to miss the occasion to start the war. They were afraid that other nations

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