

1919

The League of Nations

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Recommended Citation

Plantz, Samuel, "The League of Nations" (1919). *Presidential Addresses*. 32.
https://lux.lawrence.edu/addresses_president/32

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The League of Nations

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The world has long wanted to find a way out of the barbarism of war and to secure a permanent basis for the world's peace.

As early as time of the Grecian republics, there was ~~formed~~ what is known as the Achaean League in which most of the Peloponnesian cities, while preserving their municipal autonomy, pooled their larger rights in a senate composed of representatives who alone had the right to declare war and under whose guidance Greece attained notable prosperity. In the middle ages an effort by the church for a time to control the actions of nations in the interests of peace. In subsequent centuries, men of humanitarian feelings have again and again proposed

Senator Lumsden's Objections

1. Unequal representation. It passes the greatest triumph to British diplomacy. ~~As~~ Based on the principle that any nation, including self-governing colonies and dependencies can be admitted on $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of members of the League, this gives Eng. 6 votes to our one, as Canada, So. Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland might be admitted.

Reply. 1. Self-governing colonies ought to be admitted for they ^{are practically independent nations,} have diplomatic ~~commercial & relations~~ c. with nations, ^{with} questions of dispute ~~are questions of apt of~~ ^{+ they should have appropriate the position} arise with them as other nations.

2. The League of Nations

2. These colonies of our own race are quite as apt to favor our interests ^{you mean} than some nations of less significance & of other race like Chile, & Jugoslavia.

3. There is no reason to suppose that these colonies would always vote together with the mother country, for

plans and schemes for ^{preserving} ~~forming~~
 the world from the ravages of
 war. Thus Henry the IV had
 his "Grand Scheme", an or-
 ganization of the nations by
 which all disputed questions
 would be submitted to a
 parliament for decision - Hugo
 Grotius - More & his Utopia -
 Kant ^{"eternal Peace"} and his plan -
 Wm Penn and his League of
 Nations - Rousseau The Holy
 Alliance formed after the fall
 of Napoleon - this was a League
 of nations founded on land attestations
 of a love of peace. It failed because
 it rested on the Divine Right of
 kings and its object was
 primarily to maintain them.
 As a result of the peace sentiment
 there and other agencies developed
 came the proposal by Nicholas

being ^{widely} separate different contracts their
interest in particular matters might
be closer to other countries than to
Britain

4. If any did have 6 votes on the
gen. conf. council will probably
be composed of the refugees representation
of at least 4 nations, she would be
in a hopeless minority.

5. It must be also remembered that
'general council is only a body
body of council not a legislative body
of the league, but a body of conference
The only case where it has to deal
with the disputes of nations is when
under article XVI an appeal from
the Ex. Com. is taken out and in
that case it can only act by a
unanimous decision of all members
What pos. as there than anything
prejudicial to U.S. could receive the
unanimous vote of 40 of the rep. of
-wishes from 2. Absolutely none.

6. But important thing wh. should
never fail to mention is that the

of Russia which resulted in the holding of the Hague Conferences of ~~1907~~ 1899 and 1907, attended by delegates from practically the whole civilized world. These conferences did much in codifying the laws of the nations in something like an accepted code, in making regulations to ameliorate the horrors of war, and in suggesting propositions looking toward a permanent peace. The conferences had no power except that of discussion and the proposals for looking to the destruction of war were voted down by Germany, Austria, Turkey & other allies. The result of her action is seen in the horrors of the four years war now closing. Now, that peace is again assured the question of a League of Nations to make impossible a repetition of the struggle just closed is the

Legislature functioning the League is
with Ex, Com, & this here is
expressly stipulated that the
B. empire can have but one rep-
resentative, the same as U.S. The
line & cry about repulse having
paradoming representation therefore
amounts to nothing, & Senator Lodge
is right in saying he offers no
objection. There is no way in
any effort on behalf of Italy or
Japan has more right to object to
so large an Anglo Saxon representation
than we to any representation of any
as ac. to the Dept, the Philippine
Isles could be admitted & League
progress two only.

2, Senator Stewart says that
Article X pledges all the values of
peace, territorial integrity & not
independence of any member of the
League, & that means the world
must always remain as it is, that
under this constitution there could never

most important that confronts the
minds of civilized men.

The conditions for fulfilling
the dreams of the prophets who
have been looking for the time
when swords shall be beaten into
plow shares and spears into pruning
hooks and men shall learn war
no more ~~is~~ ^{are} the most favorable
the world has ever seen. Men
have been prone to look on the
project of a League of Nations as a
beautiful ideal, incapable of realiza-
tion. But history of late reveals
that the dreams of the world's
seers become eventually worthy
policies of action. The world has
learned something in this fearful
conflict thru which we have
passed, and one thing it has
learned is that 8,000,000 died,
20,000,000 wounded and crippled,
and over 200,000,000,000 of

have been with a new & star
spangled banner. Here also the
President has shown he has not
carefully studied the Constitution for
Article X states nothing of the kind
1. It does not prohibit revolution
within a state or changes in gov
such as has occurred in Russia
or the splitting up of a nation into
new nations.

2. It does not prohibit a
nation to join with other nations
to form a new state as is now
being done to make the new Jews
leave the nation.

3. It does not prohibit any
change that may be made by
the self-determination of the citizens
of any country.

4. The President has failed to see
that Article X is limited by the
provisions of Articles XII & XVI. These
articles define the only cases in

the world treasure would be too
 costly a price to pay for the
 settling of disputes between nations
 which could have been more
 wisely determined in courts of justice.
 The people are speaking and
 they are demanding that this
 shall be the last great war.
 They are asking that the Peace
 Conference at Paris shall not
 be simply a preliminary to
 another great slaughter of the
 race. They have waked up to
 see that with the new urgency
 of destruction that science is
 developing, the next conflict
 between nations will be as much
 more terrible ~~as~~ than the one
 we have just experienced as
 the cyclone is more terrible than
 the average wind storm, a veritable
 whirlwind of death that will
 bankrupt if it does not utterly

which Article X is applicable, and
there are when a nation member
of the League which has submitted
a matter of dispute refuses to
accept the award & goes to war
& when a nation on a non
judicable question refuses to
accept the findings of the ex am
or the general council if an appeal
is taken & goes to war. In the
Cove Article. tin says that the
nation wh. is victorious shall not
be permitted by the League to
seize territory of the engaged
nation or destroy its independent
government. Article X does not guide
the status quo of all nations, if
only comes into force when nations are
actually at war & ready to come to
terms of settlement

5. Article X is exactly the policy
of the U. S. in 'Monroe doctrine,
Under this we do not shield the

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destroy civilization. They have
come to see you can ~~no more~~
civilize war than you can
square a circle or round a
cube, and that it will grow
worse and worse unless some
agency can be formed that will
hold it in check or do away
with altogether. In this time
then, when the heart of the world
is bleeding, when the awfulness
of ~~militarism~~^{war} has been demonstrated
on a gigantic scale, when men
have been brought to their senses
on the evil results of militarism,
when the great nations are faced
to face with staggering debts, when
the great military nations that have
opposed peace ~~proposals~~ propositions
are crushed and bleeding, and
their leaders hiding in neutral
countries in fear of their lives,
when the great peoples of the

Central & So. Am. republics from
allocated by their nations, but we do
say no other nation can deny their
territorial integrity, or independence,
When General, Lt. B. & France at
sent war ships to Venezuela to
collect duties, P. Roosevelt asked
their intention, & when told they did
not intend to seize this territory he
let them administer what purchased
they chose to secure their just
dues, this is exactly what article
X mean & all its means, it is
a wise & valuable ^{provision} procedure & which
there shall be no objection

3. Senator Stewart says the
Constitution interferes with the
internal affairs of our nation
He says mentions the immigration
question. Here again a senator is
at fault. There is not an article
in Constitution that gives League
authority over internal affairs of any

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would be already in alliance and must work out together the greatest of world problems, - this is the time of all times, a time more favorable than will come again for generations for working out a League of Nations which will work for the permanent peace of the world. Not to establish it now would be a crime on civilization, a moral and economic disaster which the future would never forgive.

For our senators in Washington to be bantering with trifles and playing politics when the world is torn ^{and} broken and crying for relief reminds us of Nero's fiddling when Rome was in flames.

We have the chance to do the greatest thing for humanity that history has known, let us not ~~then~~ thoughtlessly close the gate down.

the gov. council, It would cause
& severe case, If all 1 gov or some
nation that will be in that body
give a unanimous decision against
us, are unthinkables then, it
would yet be possible for us
to reverse the decision, & as
far as I. is concerned making
more could be done. Would
this interfere with an important
our internal policies & affairs?
The outcome is still unclear

4. Senator Sumner says he is
for a strong nation, but he is
for America first. He does not
define what he means by this,
but I should judge he means
he means that he objects to an
impairment of Am. sov. by our
giving I. - How a man can be
true in any I. gov. without
the feeling in a violation of our
sovereignty I cannot see. The

8. I. Why we need a League of Nations.

As there are many who in spite of conditions are not favourable to a League of Nations, I wish to spend a few moments in doing what would seem to be unnecessary, namely in explaining why we need a League of Nations.

1. We need such a league because the world has no adequate machinery for dealing with international disputes. The nations have heretofore been ruled by their individual interests. They have been playing for advantage. Diplomacy has been a spring match in which men have feigned for the most favorable position. Statesmen have been shaking hands with daggers up their sleeves. ~~For centuries~~ we say much about Geneva been noted & grounded

nation except in the sense of
making recommendations. It seems
more limitation of argument but
does not compel it. It seems
what matter for each matter shall
push in: about impo. event of
'League being to proceed by force
against any member, but it does
not compel it. It can recommend
that 'League declare war, but League
is at liberty to accept or reject
The only obligation is moral.

As for navigation it is recognized
by international law as a domestic
problem. But suppose a dispute
arose between U.S. & Japan on
this matter, & Japan should refer
it to L.C. It would then fall
under Article X. This would require 'League
Council to investigate & publish all the
facts & make recommendation, if it
could come to consensus agreement.
We and then appeal if we desire to

in the theory of supremacy through force, but this has been the idea of diplomacy in all the European states, and most of the great empires have been built up by preying on smaller and weaker ones. Their political leaders have not been thinking in the terms of right and justice, but they have been playing the power game. Because of lack of organization every nation has emboldened its actions toward other nations by its own purposes and seeming interests. Each has pursued a policy of extreme individual rationalism, a kind of international anarchy has prevailed and the result has been continually conflicting interests, repeated wars, and the absorption of the smaller nations by the more powerful. There has been no thinking in the terms of

practice of an honest, unimpeded as
selfish nations is a logical
from following principles

1. It is the old policy of
advantage seeking diplomacy.

2. It is the policy of Germany
wh. has made her opponents to the
nations & wh. we have been fighting.

3. It fails to see th. sovereignty
is a moral problem & that no
nation has a right to set itself
up as a law to all other nations
ignoring their rights & interests.

4. National sovereignty must always
be limited by right & justice &
the general interests of humanity.

5. When we adopt the principle
of selfish nationalism as against cooper-
ative nations we go on to moral
indulgent wh. is anarchy.

6. The United States cannot ignore
the fact th. it is a member of a brotherhood
of nations, th. it has responsibilities
to the world, & th. it cannot
take to its own interests as its only obligation.

Wilson's idealism about the rights of small nations or the good of humanity, or the sovereignty & justice. Foreign offices have been secretive, scheming, plot laying, advantage snatching bureaus, working in the dark & consummate the policies of selfishness and ambition. The result is the awful war which has just shaken the foundations of civilization.

This has all occurred because there has been no other way, no agency for settling disputes in courts of justice, or checking national ambition by an outside power. And this will continue unless some super-sovereignty be created which can compel respect for law and justice and throw its protecting aegis over the heads of the smaller

5, Several Democrats affirm that he
is proud of 'fact' it, he ~~was~~^{is}
proud of 'fact' he got men who
announced that he would not vote for
'ambassadors' & it, Wilson tried to
avoid 'amb' down 'charts' of 'securities'
containing ~~charts~~ dallying an eye or
answering a V. Taking up the book
put forth, what did they do,
1. He acted as all other President
have done & shilly cove his con-
stitutional rights, negotiated a
treaty, expecting later to submit it
to the Senate for its action,
2. When ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~provision~~ ^{provision} from was
drawn he invited 'securities' to his
home, presented it, & permitted
the securities to question him about
its provisions.
3. He has stated that he has
never asked anyone to accept it
without debate & he has been
always ready to receive amendments

and weaker nations, a League of nations will prevent this condition, and provide an agency by which the relations of peoples can be determined by law and justice rather than by force. We therefore need a League of Nations, if war is to be curbed & peace is to abide upon the earth.

2. Again we need a League of Nations because the war has developed problems which cannot be settled without it. Ex. Pres. Taft has ~~forcefully~~ called our attention to the fact that ^{the League} it is not a question of choice, but it is one of necessity. The war has involved us in a whole host of questions that cannot be settled simply by making a treaty. Let me mention some of them. What is to be done with German colonies? From them

When? "She has abused the
 people in her colonies outrageously.
 She has followed in some of them
 the same plan ^{that} Turkey carried
 out in Armenia - that the way
 to solve the Armenia question was
 to kill of the Armenians." But if
 we do not return them, what
 are we going to do with them,
 send them to England or France
 to swell their holdings in Africa?
 We do not want to do that. It
 is better to put them under man-
 datones to develop them in the
 interest of their people until they
 are capable of self-gov. What
 are you going to do with Armenia?
 Let the Turks continue to own and
 murder its people? How are
 the $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{dozen} new nations that the
 war has ~~to~~ created to be
 protected? If they are not
 protected they will soon be

the spoil of the strong nations?
 How are the new boundary
 lines to be preserved? How
 is the great indemnity of
 Germany to reconstruct Belgium
 and France to be collected? Are
 you going to leave it to France
 & Belgium to do? Then note the
 fact that already new rivalries
 and jealousies have been developed.
 Italy and the jugo slaves are
 almost at war. Poland and
 Czech-Slovaks have been already
 fighting each other. Germany
 will begin at once to make
 ready to seize back Alsace Lorraine
 from France. New economic rivalries
 & antagonisms will develop. ~~Who~~
 How are ~~to~~ we to prevent a new
 war almost as soon as the old
 one has ceased, under the existing
 conditions & new situations that
 'war has produced, for must

have a League of Nations, to settle these problems, to conserve the results of the war, to protect the weaker states, to rule the colonies, to do many things which must be done by international agreement. Otherwise it would have been better to have kept the boys at home, for all the gains of the war will have been lost.

3. We need a League of Nations to do away with ^{militarism} militarism. The great armies of Europe have been a crushing burden. They have wasted the resources of the nations and kept the people poor. They have developed the war spirit and produced the present war. You may talk about armaments being in the interests of peace. It is a baloney as high as heaven. Militarism is a short

cut to war. It inevitably produces
 it. When men have been practicing
 for years, they want in time to
 play the game. If we have
 no L. of Nations, we shall have
 Europe fantastically building fortifi-
 cations, increasing army and
 navy, and making preparations
 for the next wholesale slaughter
 of its people. The only thing
 that can produce disarmament
 is a League of Nations through
 which checks can be given, and
 differences settle by law instead
 of force.

4. What the proposed Constitution
 of a League of Nations is.

Realizing the absolute
 need of a League of Nations, of the
 results of the war are not to be
 lost, the Paris Conference has
 carefully worked out a constitution
 for a ~~League~~ such a League

which has been published
 in the papers and which is
 now before the nations for con-
 sideration. In this country it
 has been approved by some with
 great enthusiasm and been
 attacked by others with the
 sternest opposition. It is a
 document of monumental im-
 portance, as important as any
 ever framed by man, and it
 should be carefully considered
 by every citizen. ~~It~~ I wish to
 give a brief summary of its
 principle provisions. It consists
 of 26 articles and a Preamble.
 The Preamble states the objects
 of the League to be to promote
 international cooperation and to
 secure international peace by
 honourable relations between the
 nations, a firm adherence of inter-
 national law and a strict observance of treaties

It provides for a representative assembly of delegates representing ~~from~~ the contracting nations to deal with matters within the sphere of the League, each nation to have one vote and not more than 3 representatives.

These delegates elect an executive Committee of 9, five ~~from~~ representing the U. S., France, ~~the~~ ^{the} British Empire, Italy and Japan, and 4 chosen from the other nations. This Committee can consider matters within the sphere of the League or affecting the peace of the world, determine for the consideration and action of the several governments ~~the~~ what military armament is fair and reasonable, advise when occasion arises how the territorial integrity of the contracting nations is to be preserved against aggression, and when

1. Limitation of armaments
 2. Do away with secret diplomacy
 3. Courts of arbitration & conciliation
 4. ^{Force} Enforced compliance by economic ^{pressure}
- ④ military pressure

1. General Council
2. Executive Committee
3. Secretariat

Process

1. ^{Disputes} ~~to be~~ between non-members
 2. Disputes of a judicable nature between members
 3. Disputes of a non-judicable character
 4. Enforce submission
 5. If go to war limit their power destroying territorial independence or self-gov. of ^{defeated} members.
- Other matters
- labor - new members - amendments
- ④

a question between nations has been decided by ~~arbitration~~ arbitrators & whom it has been submitted to decide what means shall be used to ~~compell~~ ^{compel} obedience.

There is to be a permanent Court of justice which shall hear and determine matters which are submitted to it.

All disputes between members which cannot be settled by diplomacy are to be referred for arbitration to the Ex. Com. or the Court of justice suggested above, and shall not go to war until 3 months after the award is made & not then if the other member has complied with all the requirements.

Any question can be appealed to the general body of delegates.

If any ~~of~~ member breaks its agreements it shall be regarded as an act of war against

all the members of the League,
 & economic or military force
 shall be used to compel
 adherence.

Nations not members of the
 League can be invited to submit
 their differences to the League for
 arbitration.

Colonies & territories not capable
 of self-government are to be
 put under the tutelage of
 stronger nations of the League.

It is also agreed that there
 shall be no secret treaties and that
 diplomacy shall act above board
 and in the light.

Amendments & smaller
 matters of minor interest
 are also provided for.

These are the essential
 features of the constitution as
 proposed at Paris for the League
 of Nations.

III The Criticism of the proposed Constitution

The constitution as drafted at Paris has met with most favorable commendation and with bitter criticism. The latter is largely from the Republican senators of the present Congress and a portion of the Republican press, apt to be influenced by the statements and positions of party leaders. As this document is of the greatest importance to civilization, I wish to consider with you the objections that have been raised, and to do so in as just & judicious a spirit as possible. But before we take up the criticisms there are some facts to which I wish to call your attention.

1. This constitution is not as is frequently affirmed a blood-born

Wilson document, pure & simple,
 but it is the product of the
 combined wisdom and statesmanship
 of the representatives of ~~the~~ 14th leading
 nations of the world. It was not
 adopted by a partial vote, but is
 the unanimous report of the same
 of the leading minds and respectable
 representatives of Great Britain, France,
 Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China,
 Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portu-
 gal, Rumania, Serbia, and the
 United States, ~~in that all the nations~~
~~that~~ These men did not get it
 up in a night, but worked upon
 it for weeks and had the help
 as councillors of quite a number
 of the leading scholars and constitu-
 tional lawyers of the countries to
 which they belonged. Few documents
 in history have been under the
 scrutiny of the world's most able
 men as was this constitution.

time before its formal adoption, instead of being Mr. Wilson's document it is now that of Gen. Smuts, a Dutchman, but now a loyal British subject. There were three important matters for which Mr. Wilson contended which he was compelled to surrender. The document therefore has the approval of the leading minds of 14 great nations. That in itself is a strong presupposition in its favor.

2. Second this is a plan not to rule the world but to do away with war. One would judge from the statements of some of our Senators, that the League of Nations was to have charge of all the international affairs of the nations. Senator elect Mc Cormack says it can deal with the matter of immigration, regulate the carrying of American territory to European or Asiatic nations

face us to keep garrisons in
 Poland, Serbia, or any part of the
 world, and ~~face~~ ^{lead} us into war
 against the judgment of our people
 and of Congress. Pondexter says if
 formed a government modeled after the
 Soviet gov. of Russia. Am would
 suppose to hear these gentlemen talk
 that the all business of our inter-
 national relations are to be taken
 over. This is a misrepresentation of
 the facts. The League is organized
 to prevent war, not to conduct the
 business of peace. All its provisions
 deal with disputes between nations
 which may lead to war, except a
 few general matters ⁱⁿ relation to which
 it promises to see its good office. All
 the questions to be submitted to it
 relate to the maintenance of peace.
 As in any supreme court they
 are decided by arbitrators on the
 basis of evidence and there is

further unusual provision, that
 any nation which is not satisfied
 with the award can appeal to
 the general council of representa-
 tives composed of not more than
 3 delegates from each nation in
 the League. It is as if after
 the Supreme Court of the U. S. had
 acted, if dissent an appeal could
 be taken to the Congress where a
 larger body could review & pass
 on the case. If ~~too~~ ^{the} Senators
 who are opposing the League are
 not willing to submit any inter-
 national question which concerns us
 to such investigation and appeal
 they cannot be looking for justice
 but for purely selfish national
 advantage which has been so
 often the cause of war. The
 statement of Senator Reed that the
 constitution will breed wars rather
 than avoid them is on the face of it

abroad

3. The document is like all documents that have many diverse interests & consider a product of compromise. It may not be in any particular what we would prefer, but there is no real reason why we should not make concessions than why other nations should not. Taken as a whole it is a fair and just document, and will accomplish what it seeks to do, namely abolish war, or at least make its occurrence among contracting nations practically certain. It will save ^{the world} you any such catastrophe as we have recently witnessed. If it had existed in 1914 the present war would never have occurred. You remember how Lord Bessy asked Germany to wait for a few hours until the

Washington & our Constitution

IV. Criticism Considered

1. League is unconstitutional

2. It is nuclear in ~~at~~ many points.

3. England 5 votes to 1 from this country

4. The proper thing is just to candidly
 plead then talk about your signature

5. Reports of Washington policy
 & advice concerning enlarging
 alliances

6. Destroys our Monroe doctrine.

7. Requires us to submit all
 international matters to arbitration &
 ex. con.

representatives of the nations could be called together for council, but Germany refused, realizing if there was delay and if the nations took the matter into advisement war would be impossible. Much more would this be so when weeks or months had elapsed and the question in disputed had been thoroughly investigated and passed upon by an international council.

4. Again let us remember that this document is only the beginning of the organization of the League of Nations, that it is not finally adopted, that it may be amended considerably before its final acceptance and that when it finally becomes effective it can be modified as experience and necessity may require, just as the laws of individual states and their constitutions

are frequently changed, state the various amendments to our own constitution.

5. It is well for us to note the approval which this tentative constitution has received throughout the world. Probably no document ever published has been of so vital interest to so many people. In this country such great legal authorities or treatises as ex Pres. Duff and Dr. George Wilson have commended it most enthusiastically, such educators as Pres. Lowell, Harvard and Pres. Buxton of Columbia, such papers as the New York Times & the New Republic such English statesmen as Asquith, Balfour, In England the leading papers & statesmen all around it as they do in all the other countries of Europe. Many of our state legislatures & other representative bodies have ex-

closed it. The London Times says
 "It is the most important international
 document ever published."
 The London News says; "It is the
 greatest instrument ever forged for
 the maintenance of peace." The
 Mail said "It is a noble effort
 to achieve a great ideal."

6. Again let me say the
 criticism of Senate is not to
 be taken too seriously. The Senate
 is a rather unenthusiastic body. You
 will remember how when Kennedy
 asked for an Armistice and then
 Wilson replied, into what a coalition
 the Senate was thrown & what
 a rumpus it kicked up. The
 Senate wanted war until we
 knuckled on the door of Berlin
 "Unconditional Surrender," was the
 call. Wilson was almost called
 a traitor. But when the sentiment
 of the country was realized they

Emergency Act for American
 No 469 report on present session

coughed down, and few if any would
 venture to affirm the position now.
 The fact is the senate has many
 little men, who are not all safe
 guides for the people. There is
 also suspicion in that the op-
 position is largely partisan. Being
 a republican, I can say that
 in my judgment the politicians
 are hunting for an issue for the
 campaign in 1920, and they are
 foolish enough to think that they
 can make an issue of the question of
 nationalisms. But worse than this
 is the hatred which some of our
 Republican senators have for
 Pres. Wilson. He has given them
 some cause for irritation & they
 have fidgeted under the restraint
 that has been put on congress and
 the way the president has run
 the war ^{in a manner that} has seemed to him
 to be best. We do not enjoy

being ignored & they are ready to take any steps to discredit the President before the world.

7. Let us remember that both of the national parties in 1916 had articles in their platforms endorsing a League of Nations. The Republican party said, "We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose." It is difficult to imagine how a world court could amount to any thing which did not practically embody in its provisions all the the present constitution calls for. The Democratic platform had a longer provision that meant much the same. Theodore Roosevelt used these words on Jan 3, 1919. "Mr. Taft has

recently defined the purposes of the League & the limitations under which it would act in a way that enables most of us to say we very heartily agree in principle with his theory and can without doubt come to an agreement on specific details.

Mr. Daft tells us the present Constitution expresses his ideas well admirably, he sees, therefore, that the League is not without strong Rep. endorsement.

8. Notice also that the critics of the League have offered no substitute for the plan given in the Constitution. They cannot without involving its provisions or having something that is ineffectual. It is the League or it is to return to the old state of things and lose all we have gained by the war.

9. If the League fails, the ends for which Germany made war will be much more nearly in her hands than before the conflict. What she wanted was to possess Mesopotamia. There was the Austrian Empire and Turkey to pass through as well as Serbia. Now the Austrian Empire & Turkey are broken and only small weak nations in her way. If there is no League of Nations to curb her ambitions I see no reason why she is not in a better position than ever to consummate her ambitions in the East.

10. Lastly the League presents a 4th opportunity to United States which we cannot afford to lose but which we shall lose if we reject the League of Nations. Before the war

America did not enjoy the
 good will of the world. We
 were considered a selfish, money
 making, unscrupulous people,
 and in some quarters of the
 world we were quite cordially
 hated. But when the war broke
 out and Mr. Wilson began to
 speak his high moral sentiments,
 his lofty idealism, he struck a
 responsive note in the
 heart of the world. Men began to
 rally around the high sentiments
 of justice and right which he
 promulgated. And finally when
 we went into the war disclaiming
 any selfish ends, and desire for
 spoils, but solely to see that
 the rights of nations small and
 great were made secure and
 that the world should be a
 safe place for freedom and
 democracy, we won the world.

admiration, The doors of the
nations are open to us as the
great champions of justice. If
this feeling is preserved what
an opportunity it will make for
our commerce and our general
prosperity. But if now when we
have been standing for these
great things, we reject the
League of Nations, and say Amer-
ica first and America only, if
we assert a purely selfish policy
Am. will have lost all the
moral prestige we have gained
in the war & the world will
see that the president is far
in advance of the people he
represents. We cannot afford
to lose our great chance to
show the world th. America is
for humanity and the good of
the world. We cannot afford to
lose our reputation before the world

IV. The Criticisms considered.

Let me now consider briefly the criticisms that are urged to the Constitution of the League of Nations.

1. Senator Lodge and others tells us the proper thing is to conclude peace, bring the boys home, and later talk about the forming of a League of Nations. This ^{criticism} ~~argument~~ seems to have made a strong impression. I cannot agree with it at all. In his New York address in Sept. 1918, one of his greatest speeches, ^{Pres. Wilson} he says: "And as I see in the constitution of that League of Nations and the other clear definitions of its objects must be a part, & is in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. It

formed now it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated ~~with it~~ against a common enemy. It is not likely it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an after thought." The treaty we make with Germany will have to be based on the principles of our League of Nations. How are you going to enforce on Germany a reduction of its armament unless it is put in the treaty & backed by a League of Nations. How are you going to enforce its payment of the indemnities that will be asked unless there is such a League to see the treaty is fulfilled, How are you going to get Germany to respect the boundaries of the new nations

that we to be constituted on
 the nationalizing of the Pro-
 phous, or the disposal of
 Germany's colonies, and many
 other things. The only thing that
 will make Germany sign such a
 treaty as is proposed, or keep the
 treaty if she does sign, is some
 organization back of the treaties that
 will enforce them like the League
 of Nations. She has failed to fulfill
 the terms of the armistice, refused
 the U. S. her ships to bring back
 our boys, and she feels that
 she is not a conquered nation
 but is already declaring how she
 will come back at her enemies
 and especially France. We cannot
 leave France to German vengeance
 a few years hence we must have
 a League of Nations. If we try
 to get it after the treaties are
 signed, the disappointed

peoples, those who did not get their demands, those who feel sore at the results and there will be such will not go into a League of Nations and it is very doubtful if it could be formed at all, we have the organization now in the war council and the only proper thing to do is to go on and complete it as the Paris congress has done.

2. It is objected that the League is unconstitutional. Senator Borah says in his address before the Senate, "I believe their program, if it is to be made effective and operative under the proposed constitution of the league ^{involves} ~~requires~~ a change in our constitution."

Others say by taking from congress the final say in declaring

3 ? War it is ~~now~~ against the
Constitution. I am not a lawyer
and can only give the opinion
of others on this point. Prof. Ego
Wilson of Harvard University is counted
perhaps the greatest authority on
Constitutional Law in this country. He
has given it as his judgment
that the Constitution of the League
of Nations does not conflict with
the Constitution of the U. S. Ex. Sec.
Taft is certainly one of the greatest
Constitutional authorities in this
Country and he has given us
the assurance that the Constitution
will not be waived by our
accepting the Constitution of the
League of Nations. The fact that
Mr. Wilson had with him at Paris
one who had been a supreme
justice, the Sec. of State, a
great lawyer, Mr. House and

40 After consultation of the very highest
rank, and that the conference
had some of the greatest authorities
in the world, ~~who~~ leads me to feel
very safe about the constitutionality
of the proposed measure. Certainly
it would take more than the
words of a man like Borch to
shake my faith. It is noticeable
that neither ~~Keux~~ or Lodge, both
great lawyers, make this point.

3. A great deal is made of the
fact that the constitution gives
England 6 votes in the general
council & our one, that is it
provides that self governing
colonies like Canada, Australia
South Africa, New Zealand and
Newfoundland can join the
league, as well as other sovereign
states. Senator Reed is ^{ex-}

41 civilly exercised about this as
is Brough and Sherman.

Senator Elect McCornick is especially
rich in & has his hair over this,
Senator Lodge mentions it but
says "I have no fault to find
with the arrangement. Canada,
New Zealand, South Africa ~~and~~
Australia are far more worthy
and more valuable members of a
League of Nations than some which
I think will find their way into
the body." But why are England's
Colonies given a vote? First
notice that they cannot be on the
Executive Council. There it is stated
the British Empire shall have
one representative. It is only in
the general council which will
~~now have 42 representatives of all~~
^{14 votes}
~~and their full allowance and~~
~~which as other nations come~~

~~will be such~~ would have
 19 votes, if all the British
 colonies come in and no other
 nations, that the Empire will have
 6 votes. But doubtless many
 other nations will join as soon
 as these colonies will which will
 decrease the power of the vote
 of British Empire. again it
 is by no means certain that
 all the colonies would vote
 solidly with the mother country.
 The reason that colonies are
 included is a wise one, as it
 seems to us. They have their own
 international relations and their own
 international complications with
 applicants of dispute. Take Canada
 and the U. S. We are more apt
 to have complications with Canada
 than the British Isles. Note
 our disputes over the boundary

43 question, the fishing question, and
tariff regulations. Australia is
more apt to have disputes with
China and Japan than with
France or Norway. These self-
governing nations have very little
relations with East Prussia, and
they have very chance of com-
plications with other countries. They
may even have controversies with
the western country & submit
to the arbitration of the League of
Nations. Hence it is currently
proposed to give them membership
in the League of Nations and a
voice in the general council.
It is entirely a presumption
to say England has 6 votes &
over one, and does not justly
represent the facts. There is

44 no us to make peace crows and
get excited about them. If France
and Italy can stand this arrange-
ment we can. Now, it is the
only just arrangement in any
true cooperative scheme of the nations.

4. Again we are told that it
requires us to submit all
international matters to a com-
mittee of 9, of whom five can
decide the case. In the first
place it does nothing of the
kind. It requires us to submit
all of our disputes with other
nations which we cannot settle
by diplomacy and which may
lead to war to a committee
of 9; but it does not say
that a mere majority of 5 can
settle the question. It does

41 say in our place that the
vote of this committee shall
be unanimous in cases where
disputes are submitted to it
for investigation which may lead
to rupture; it does say that
the ex. council may refer
any matter to the larger body
of representatives, and it does
say that any state which is
not satisfied with the award of
the ex. council may on request
within 14 days have the matter
referred to the body of delegates.
It also states that some of the
powers of the ex. council are to
be simply advisory. It likewise
provides ~~for a high court of arbit.~~ ^{that arbitrations in}
dispute may submit their differences
if they ~~prefer~~ prefer to any court of

46 arbitration they may agree upon,
and he. I cannot see how any
person who believes in courts at
all, how any one he may say
who believes in justice at all
can object to this provision of the
Executive Committee of nine. We
settle even the interpretation of
our constitution to a Supreme
Court of 7 with no reverses, but
then our matters of dispute can
be settled by an arbitration
Court of our own choosing, or by
the Council of nine with the
added ability of appeal to the
whole body of delegates.

3. The objection is made it gives
too much power to the Judge,
On the other hand the Nation is
disappointed and very critical because
it gives too little. It all depends

47 or where you stand and what
you want. When the Constitution of
the U. S. was adopted it was
quite as fricly assailed because
it granted too much power to
the central government, and
this has been a dispute between
the states for a century. We had
the civil war as a result of it,
and only recently California very
bitterly assailed the general govern-
ment for trying to interfere with
the immigration problem although
our treaty of with Japan was
involved. We cannot expect all
men to agree on a point like
this ^{in the U. S. Constitution} as they have not agreed
after a 100 years on the powers
which our own government should
have over the states. We simply
have to submit such questions to
the majority judgment.

487. A much more serious objection is that the proposed constitution proposes a serious limitation to our national sovereignty. The Republican ~~party~~ party in a conference at Minneapolis Friday according to the papers has decided to wage the next campaign on the slogan "America first," that is on the program of nationalism. Doubtless the real thing lying back of the attitude of the opposing senators is this idea of "America first." It has a popular chord and will catch the shallow and thoughtless. What do we mean by America first? Do we mean that it is America first whether right or wrong? If so we have gone over to the ground of Germany

49 and broken faith with the
very principles for which we
went into the war. Only a
few weeks ago we were using
high words about sending our
sons to the front that justice
and liberty and the rights of
nations small and great might
be preserved on the earth, we
did not say America first, but
we did say these great principles
were worth our best blood and
treasure, now, we are coming
around to the position, America
first, we will not submit our
disputes and controversies to laws
and courts of the highest possible
character. We are now going in
for national aggrandizement, and
leave the struggling nations of
Europe we have helped to free,
the democracies we have set
up to perish from the earth

8. Some say this is too much,
some too little -

9. Europe is counting on Am. being
burden financially, militarily, econom-
ically & make 'S. of U. a success

56 because we are too selfishly
engaged to further them. We
are going to ^{reject} ~~refuse~~ the principle
of cooperative nationality, and
stand with Germany whose
motto has always been, Germany
first, yes, it is their policy of
Germany first which has made
millions of 8,000,000 grooves
in Europe, wasted 200,000,000,
000 of treasure, and caused the
streams of sorrow and suffering
to flow in swollen tides through
all ~~of Europe~~, ^{the} war cursed lands.
But Germany first is no worse
than America, first. Both are
base and unworthy slogans,
and unworthy of great and
free peoples. We have international
as well as national obligations, we
cannot ignore the responsibilities
our entrance into the war has placed

Plants

1. This should be standard requirement, but degrees might be

51 upon us, we must do our part to make the world a safe place to live in. We must see that our American isolation is gone, that cables span the ocean, that 5 or 6 days land us in England and France, that our economic and industrial as well as our political relations join us with the rest of the world, and we must act our part in the brotherhood of nations. It will cost us something, some of our sovereignty. Of course, it will. When a man becomes a member of a state he surrenders a part of his sovereignty. When a state becomes a part of a nation, it surrenders a part of its sovereignty, and when a nation becomes a member of a league or federation of nations it must surrender a part of its sovereignty. But it does it all

Isolation abandoned New West

Why must be formed before peace
War Plan for T. of U. p. 5

If League not formed will probably
not be for general. See how is
the Price

What is 'obj. of. Member
dvd. & how can these
obj's be satisfied. e. by T. of U.?

52 for a larger good and so it
is in the case before us, they,
friends, the world is making
progress, and it has gone beyond
a purely selfish nationalism and
is thinking in terms of humanity
and the greater human good,
the people which is not willing
to surrender some of its sovereignty
that justice and liberty and truth
may have larger dominion on
the earth is a ~~pr~~ backward
nation, one that has not kept
step with the progress which
the world is making.

~~My friends, the best of nationalisms~~

"Why" says Senator Borah, "have
anything to do with Europe?"
That question might have been
asked prior to April, 1917, but it
is out of date now. We are not
our armies on the banks of the
Rhine, are not the bodies of many

One of the features of 'Constitution'
is that it demands a free diplomacy
Intelligence cannot work in the
light. Wilson's speech N.Y.

The delay of decision, the investigation
the publicity of funding will
destroy war. Bismarck asked
Germany for delay of a day or two
so 'representatives' of nations might
get together & discuss things, but
Germany did not dare to give
this delay. See 'secret in'
war - Wilson.

"The U.S. is only a covenant
th. we will always maintain
& standards wh. it has now
vindicated by most precious
blood we spent" - Wilson

The world is crying out for
this thing - Wilson

53.

7. We are told the League will
destroy the Monroe doctrine

8. We are told that it will
get us in entangling alliances
and be a reversal of the historic
policy of the nation.