

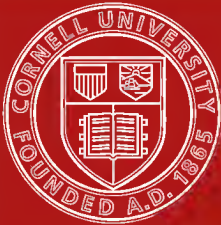
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Washington Monument



THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT
AN APPRECIATION BY MR. GLENN BROWN
Architect; Author, "History of United States Capitol"


GRAY in the dawn, brilliant in the sunlight, black in the thunder-storm, pink in the afterglow, mysterious in the moonlight, vanishing in the mist, lost in the clouds, always majestic, stands the memorial to the Father of his Country.

Its phases forcibly remind us of the shifting and changing fortunes of our great chief. Standing alone, simple and dignified, it is as self-contained and practical as was his character in life. Enshrouded in the mists, shadowy, weird, vanishing from sight, a mere suggestion of an outline visible, it recalls the clouded reputation of Washington when surrounded by foes, false comrades, and encompassed by the fierce elements. Black in the thunder-storm, it brings to mind dark days and bridled passions. Apparently floating in the air when the base is obscured by the fog, it suggests his struggles without reasonable foundation or hope. Brilliantly illuminated at its base and the pinnacle lost in the clouds, it typifies great victories with the ultimate results in doubt. Piercing the shifting clouds as they float past, with the base and crown illuminated by the sunlight, it vividly recalls the force which enabled him to penetrate the darkest shadows. Reflecting the pink blush of the evening glow, it points to the brightness dawning as his life advanced. A column of light in the moon's rays, it is a beacon leading us, as did his life, to forget self in our country's service. Glorious in the sunshine, scintillating, brilliant against the clear blue sky, it forcibly reminds us of the great results springing from an unselfish life of duty.

The aluminum crest sparkles as a beautiful star; its rays are beams of light guiding us to patriotic efforts.

A factor in the artistic composition of the city, it is a charming end to many vistas. Viewed from the Capitol, the White House and the Mall, it stands imposing in its grandeur; from the river it rises pure and simple, with the green hills of Maryland as a noble exhedra, and from the heights, visible through the valley, it always produces a thrill of pleasure. In the sunlight and shadow, thunder-storm and mist, in the clouds and in the clear sky, against the golden sunrise and the red sunset, against the midday sky of blue, and the midnight sky scintillating with stars, against the bright white clouds and the dark gray clouds, moving with the wind, bowing to the warmth of the sun, receiving the lightning's stroke, ever changing, it is always stately, always beautiful.

The corner-stone of the Washington Monument was laid July 4, 1848, but soon the work languished and then stopped entirely. Work was resumed in 1876, and the monument was finally completed December 6, 1884. It is 555 feet high and 50 feet square at the base. The entire cost of the monument was \$1,187,710.



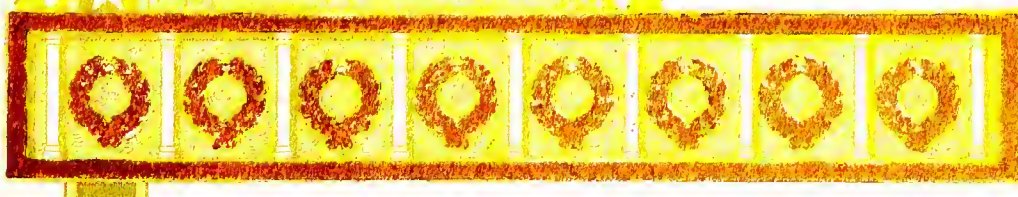
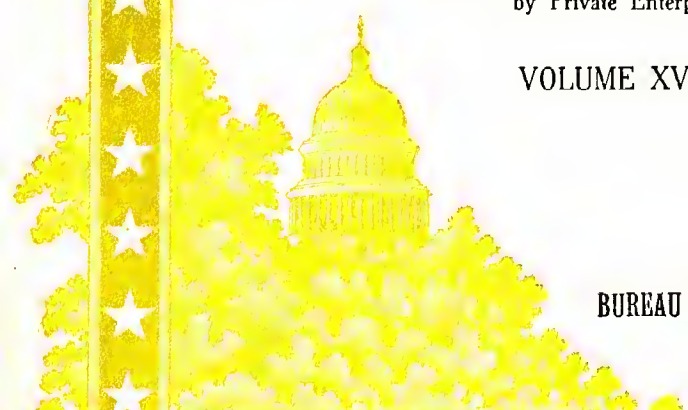
A COMPILATION
OF THE
MESSAGES AND PAPERS
OF THE
PRESIDENTS

Prepared Under the Direction of the Joint Committee
on Printing, of the House and Senate,
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of any alien enemy not included in the foregoing exemption, except such alien enemy from the classification of alien enemy, and thereupon he shall have the privilege of applying for naturalization; etc."

Now, therefore, for the purpose defined in said section, in the exercise of the discretion so vested in me, I do hereby direct that there be excepted from the classification of "alien enemy" all persons whom, after investigation and report by the Department of Justice, the Attorney General shall from time to time certify to the Secretary of Labor as persons loyal to the United States.

WOODROW WILSON.

TELEGRAMS

[To Governor of California, Concerning the "Mooney Case." Made Public November 28, 1918.]

On July 22, 1916, a parade was being held in San Francisco to promote the movement to increase the preparedness of the United States for war. Early in the progress of the parade, a bomb was exploded in one of the city's side streets which was filled with spectators and paraders. Six persons were killed instantaneously and several of the forty wounded died later as a result of the outrage. At that time, the pacifists were strongly opposing the movement for preparedness, but the arrests made after investigation were not made in the camp of the pacifists, but in the camp of radical labor. Soon after the explosion, Thomas J. Mooney and his wife, Rena Mooney, Warren K. Billings, Israel Weinberg and Edward D. Nolan were charged with the crime. Mooney, who was the centre of the case, was a well-known radical labor leader of the Pacific Coast. He had been identified with anarchists and was an ardent follower of the principles of "direct action" or syndicalism. His defenders claimed that because of his views and his activities in behalf of Labor the property interests of San Francisco had wilfully used the bomb outrage as a pretext for getting rid of him and for discrediting the entire labor movement.

Billings was tried first, was found guilty, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. Mooney was tried in January, 1917, and was convicted in the following month of murder in the first degree, largely on the testimony of a witness named Oxman. Mooney's defenders later brought forward testimony to prove that Oxman had suborned perjury, and a change in the evidence later resulted in the acquittal of Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg, and Nolan was not brought to trial. A Federal investigating commission appointed by the President recommended in January, 1918, that Mooney be given another trial, on the ground that there was evidence to prove that Mooney had been the victim of a conspiracy, that he had suffered from the intensity of feeling in San Francisco as a result of the bomb explosion, and that new information of an important character bearing on the case had been brought to light since his conviction.

The Mooney Case soon assumed an international importance. For radicals from the United States emigrating to Russia soon after the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, brought the Mooney Case to the attention of Russia, with the result of weakening in Russia the reputation of the United States as the home of justice and democracy. Indeed, interest in the Mooney Case in most sections of the United States came by way of Europe, with the news that mass-

meetings were being held in Europe to procure the release of "Tom Muni." The United States at that time was exerting great pressure to prove to Russia that the cause of the Entente Allies in the European War was holier than the cause of the Central Powers; and President Wilson's hand in international negotiations was so weakened by the effect of the Mooney Case on Europe as to cause him to interfere in the case.

Without being granted a new trial, Mooney's sentence was commuted by the Governor of California, on November 28, 1918, to life imprisonment.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 27, 1918.*

Governor William D. Stephens, Sacramento, Cal:

With very great respect I take the liberty of saying to you that if you could see your way to commute the sentence of Mooney it would have a most heartfelt effect upon certain international affairs which his execution would greatly complicate.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 4, 1918.*

Hon. William D. Stephens, Sacramento, Cal.:

I beg that you will believe that I am moved only by a sense of public duty and of consciousness of the many and complicated interests involved when I again most respectfully suggest a commutation of the death sentence imposed upon Mooney. I would not venture again to call your attention to this case did I not know the international significance which attaches to it.

WOODROW WILSON.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PROCLAMATIONS

[Relief in the Near East.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 29, 1918.*

For more than three years American philanthropy has been a large factor in keeping alive Armenian, Syrian, Greek and other exiles and refugees of Western Asia.

On two former occasions I have appealed to the American people in behalf of these homeless sufferers, whom the vicissitudes of war and massacre had brought to the extremest need.

The response has been most generous, but now the period of rehabilitation is at hand. Vastly larger sums will be required to restore these once prosperous, but now impoverished, refugees to their former homes than were required merely to sustain life in their desert exile.

It is estimated that about 4,000,000 Armenian, Syrian, Greek and other war sufferers in the Near East will require outside help to sustain them through the winter. Many of them are now hundreds of

miles from their home land. The vast majority of them are helpless women and children, including 400,000 orphans.

The American Committee for Relief in the Near East is appealing for a minimum of \$30,000,000 to be subscribed January 12, 1919, with which to meet the most urgent needs of these people.

I, therefore, again call upon the people of the United States to make even more generous contributions than they have made heretofore to sustain through the winter months those, who, through no fault of their own, have been left in a starving, shelterless condition, and to help re-establish these ancient and sorely oppressed people in their former homes on a self-supporting basis.

WOODROW WILSON.

SIXTH ANNUAL ADDRESS

[Delivered to Joint Session of Congress, December 2, 1918.]

Gentlemen of the Congress: The year that has elapsed since I last stood before you to fulfil my constitutional duty to give to the Congress from time to time information on the state of the Union has been so crowded with great events, great processes, and great results that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its transactions or of the far-reaching changes which have been wrought in the life of our nation and of the world. You have yourselves witnessed these things, as I have. It is too soon to assess them; and we who stand in the midst of them and are part of them are less qualified than men of another generation will be to say what they mean, or even what they have been. But some great outstanding facts are unmistakable and constitute, in a sense, part of the public business with which it is our duty to deal. To state them is to set the stage for the legislative and executive action which must grow out of them and which we have yet to shape and determine.

A year ago we had sent 145,918 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,950,513, an average of 162,542 each month, the number in fact rising, in May last, to 245,951, in June to 278,760, in July to 307,182, and continuing to reach similar figures in August and September,—in August 289,570 and in September 257,438. No such movement of troops ever took place before, across three thousand miles of sea, followed by adequate equipment and supplies, and carried safely through extraordinary dangers of attack,—dangers which were alike strange and infinitely difficult to guard against. In all this movement only seven hundred and fifty-eight men were lost by enemy attack,—six hundred and thirty of whom were upon a single English transport which was sunk near the Orkney Islands.

I need not tell you what lay back of this great movement of men and material. It is not invidious to say that back of it lay a supporting organization of the industries of the country and of all its productive activities more complete, more thorough in method and effective in result, more spirited and unanimous in purpose and effort than any other great belligerent had been able to effect. We profited greatly by the experience of the nations which had already been engaged for nearly three years in the exigent and exacting business, their every resource and every executive proficiency taxed to the utmost. We were their pupils. But we learned quickly and acted with a promptness and a readiness of cooperation that justify our great pride that we were able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplishment.

But it is not the physical scale and executive efficiency of preparation, supply, equipment and despatch that I would dwell upon, but the mettle and quality of the officers and men we sent over and of the sailors who kept the seas, and the spirit of the nation that stood behind them. No soldiers or sailors ever proved themselves more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more splendid courage and achievement when put to the test. Those of us who played some part in directing the great processes by which the war was pushed irresistibly forward to the final triumph may now forget all that and delight our thoughts with the story of what our men did. Their officers understood the grim and exacting task they had undertaken and performed it with an audacity, efficiency, and unhesitating courage that touch the story of convoy and battle with imperishable distinction at every turn, whether the enterprise were great or small,—from their great chiefs, Pershing and Sims, down to the youngest lieutenant; and their men were worthy of them,—such men as hardly need to be commanded, and go to their terrible adventure blithely and with the quick intelligence of those who know just what it is they would accomplish. I am proud to be the fellow-countryman of men of such stuff and valor. Those of us who stayed at home did our duty; the war could not have been won or the gallant men who fought it given their opportunity to win it otherwise; but for many a long day we shall think ourselves “accurs’d we were not there, and hold our manhoods cheap while any speaks that fought” with these at St. Mihiel or Thierry. The memory of those days of triumphant battle will go with these fortunate men to their graves; and each will have his favorite memory. “Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot, but he’ll remember with advantages what feats he did that day!”

What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude is that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance and threw

their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle,—turn it once for all, so that thenceforth it was back, back, back for their enemies, always back, never again forward! After that it was only a scant four months before the commanders of the Central Empires knew themselves beaten; and now their very empires are in liquidation!

And throughout it all how fine the spirit of the nation was: what unity of purpose, what untiring zeal! What elevation of purpose ran through all its splendid display of strength, its untiring accomplishment! I have said that those of us who stayed at home to do the work of organization and supply will always wish that we had been with the men whom we sustained by our labor; but we can never be ashamed. It has been an inspiring thing to be here in the midst of fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews of the whole great undertaking! The patriotism, the unselfishness, the thoroughgoing devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their toilsome labors, day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades of the men in the trenches and on the sea. And not the men here in Washington only. They have but directed the vast achievement. Throughout innumerable factories, upon innumerable farms, in the depths of coal mines and iron mines and copper mines, wherever the stuffs of industry were to be obtained and prepared, in the shipyards, on the railways, at the docks, on the sea, in every labor that was needed to sustain the battle lines, men have vied with each other to do their part and do it well. They can look any man-at-arms in the face, and say, We also strove to win and gave the best that was in us to make our fleets and armies sure of their triumph!

And what shall we say of the women,—of their instant intelligence, quickening every task that they touched; their capacity for organization and cooperation, which gave their action discipline and enhanced the effectiveness of everything they attempted; their aptitude at tasks to which they had never before set their hands; their utter self-sacrifice alike in what they did and in what they gave? Their contribution to the great result is beyond appraisal. They have added a new lustre to the annals of American womanhood.

The least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievement would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice. Besides the immense practical services they have rendered the women of the country have been the moving spirits in the systematic econo-

mies by which our people have voluntarily assisted to supply the suffering peoples of the world and the armies upon every front with food and everything else that we had that might serve the common cause. The details of such a story can never be fully written, but we carry them at our hearts and thank God that we can say that we are the kinsmen of such.

And now we are sure of the great triumph for which every sacrifice was made. It has come, come in its completeness, and with the pride and inspiration of these days of achievement quick within us, we turn to the tasks of peace again,—a peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and ambitious military coteries and made ready for a new order, for new foundations of justice and fair dealing.

We are about to give order and organization to this peace not only for ourselves but for the other peoples of the world as well, so far as they will suffer us to serve them. It is international justice that we seek, not domestic safety merely. Our thoughts have dwelt of late upon Europe, upon Asia, upon the near and the far East, very little upon the acts of peace and accommodation that wait to be performed at our own doors. While we are adjusting our relations with the rest of the world is it not of capital importance that we should clear away all grounds of misunderstanding with our immediate neighbors and give proof of the friendship we really feel? I hope that the members of the Senate will permit me to speak once more of the unratified treaty of friendship and adjustment with the Republic of Colombia. I very earnestly urge upon them an early and favorable action upon that vital matter. I believe that they will feel, with me, that the stage of affairs is now set for such action as will be not only just but generous and in the spirit of the new age upon which we have so happily entered.

So far as our domestic affairs are concerned the problem of our return to peace is a problem of economic and industrial readjustment. That problem is less serious for us than it may turn out to be for the nations which have suffered the disarrangements and the losses of war longer than we. Our people, moreover, do not wait to be coached and led. They know their own business, are quick and resourceful at every readjustment, definite in purpose, and self-reliant in action. Any leading strings we might seek to put them in would speedily become hopelessly tangled because they would pay no attention to them and go their own way. All that we can do as their legislative and executive servants is to mediate the process of change here, there, and elsewhere as we may. I have heard much counsel as to the plans that should be formed and personally conducted to a happy consummation, but from no quarter have I seen any general scheme

of "reconstruction" emerge which I thought it likely we could force our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers to accept with due pliancy and obedience.

While the war lasted we set up many agencies by which to direct the industries of the country in the services it was necessary for them to render, by which to make sure of an abundant supply of the materials needed, by which to check undertakings that could for the time be dispensed with and stimulate those that were most serviceable in war, by which to gain for the purchasing departments of the Government a certain control over the prices of essential articles and materials, by which to restrain trade with alien enemies, make the most of the available shipping, and systematize financial transactions, both public and private, so that there would be no unnecessary conflict or confusion,—by which, in short, to put every material energy of the country in harness to draw the common load and make of us one team in the accomplishment of a great task. But the moment we knew the armistice to have been signed we took the harness off. Raw materials upon which the Government had kept its hand for fear there should not be enough for the industries that supplied the armies have been released and put into the general market again. Great industrial plants whose whole output and machinery had been taken over for the uses of the Government have been set free to return to the uses to which they were put before the war. It has not been possible to remove so readily or so quickly the control of foodstuffs and of shipping, because the world has still to be fed from our granaries and the ships are still needed to send supplies to our men overseas and to bring the men back as fast as the disturbed conditions on the other side of the water permit; but even there restraints are being relaxed as much as possible and more and more as the weeks go by.

Never before have there been agencies in existence in this country which knew so much of the field of supply, of labor, and of industry as the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the Labor Department, the Food Administration, and the Fuel Administration have known since their labors became thoroughly systematized; and they have not been isolated agencies; they have been directed by men who represented the permanent Departments of the Government and so have been the centres of unified and cooperative action. It has been the policy of the Executive, therefore, since the armistice was assured (which is in effect a complete submission of the enemy) to put the knowledge of these bodies at the disposal of the business men of the country and to offer their intelligent mediation at every point and in every matter where it was desired. It is surprising how fast the process of return to a peace footing has moved in the three weeks

since the fighting stopped. It promises to outrun any inquiry that may be instituted and any aid that may be offered. It will not be easy to direct it any better than it will direct itself. The American business man is of quick initiative.

The ordinary and normal processes of private initiative will not, however, provide immediate employment for all of the men of our returning armies. Those who are of trained capacity, those who are skilled workmen, those who have acquired familiarity with established businesses, those who are ready and willing to go to the farms, all those whose aptitudes are known or will be sought out by employers will find no difficulty, it is safe to say, in finding place and employment. But there will be others who will be at a loss where to gain a livelihood unless pains are taken to guide them and put them in the way of work. There will be a large floating residuum of labor which should not be left wholly to shift for itself. It seems to me important, therefore, that the development of public works of every sort should be promptly resumed, in order that opportunities should be created for unskilled labor in particular, and that plans should be made for such developments of our unused lands and our natural resources as we have hitherto lacked stimulation to undertake.

I particularly direct your attention to the very practical plans which the Secretary of the Interior has developed in his annual report and before your Committees for the reclamation of arid, swamp, and cut-over lands which might, if the States were willing and able to cooperate, redeem some three hundred million acres of land for cultivation. There are said to be fifteen or twenty million acres of land in the West, at present arid, for whose reclamation water is available, if properly conserved. There are about two hundred and thirty million acres from which the forests have been cut but which have never yet been cleared for the plow and which lie waste and desolate. These lie scattered all over the Union. And there are nearly eighty million acres of land that lie under swamps or subject to periodical overflow or too wet for anything but grazing, which it is perfectly feasible to drain and protect and redeem. The Congress can at once direct thousands of the returning soldiers to the reclamation of the arid lands which it has already undertaken, if it will but enlarge the plans and appropriations which it has entrusted to the Department of the Interior. It is possible in dealing with our unused land to effect a great rural and agricultural development which will afford the best sort of opportunity to men who want to help themselves; and the Secretary of the Interior has thought the possible methods out in a way which is worthy of your most friendly attention.

I have spoken of the control which must yet for a while, perhaps for a long while, be exercised over shipping because of the priority

of service to which our forces overseas are entitled and which should also be accorded the shipments which are to save recently liberated peoples from starvation and many devastated regions from permanent ruin. May I not say a special word about the needs of Belgium and northern France? No sums of money paid by way of indemnity will serve of themselves to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come. Something more must be done than merely find the money. If they had money and raw materials in abundance to-morrow they could not resume their place in the industry of the world to-morrow,—the very important place they held before the flame of war swept across them. Many of their factories are razed to the ground. Much of their machinery is destroyed or has been taken away. Their people are scattered and many of their best workmen are dead. Their markets will be taken by others, if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their factories and replace their lost instruments of manufacture. They should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition for materials and for industrial facilities which is now to set in. I hope, therefore, that the Congress will not be unwilling, if it should become necessary, to grant to some such agency as the War Trade Board the right to establish priorities of export and supply for the benefit of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the German terror and whom we must not now thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitiless competitive market.

For the steadying and facilitation of our own domestic business readjustments nothing is more important than the immediate determination of the taxes that are to be levied for 1918, 1919, and 1920. As much of the burden of taxation must be lifted from business as sound methods of financing the Government will permit, and those who conduct the great essential industries of the country must be told as exactly as possible what obligations to the Government they will be expected to meet in the years immediately ahead of them. It will be of serious consequence to the country to delay removing all uncertainties in this matter a single day longer than the right processes of debate justify. It is idle to talk of successful and confident business reconstruction before those uncertainties are resolved.

If the war had continued it would have been necessary to raise at least eight billion dollars by taxation payable in the year 1919; but the war has ended and I agree with the Secretary of the Treasury that it will be safe to reduce the amount to six billions. An immediate rapid decline in the expenses of the Government is not to be looked for. Contracts made for war supplies will, indeed, be rapidly cancelled and liquidated, but their immediate liquidation will make heavy drains on the Treasury for the months just ahead of us. The mainte-

nance of our forces on the other side of the sea is still necessary. A considerable proportion of those forces must remain in Europe during the period of occupation, and those which are brought home will be transported and demobilized at heavy expense for months to come. The interest on our war debt must of course be paid and provision made for the retirement of the obligations of the Government which represent it. But these demands will of course fall much below what a continuation of military operations would have entailed and six billions should suffice to supply a sound foundation for the financial operations of the year.

I entirely concur with the Secretary of the Treasury in recommending that the two billions needed in addition to the four billions provided by existing law be obtained from the profits which have accrued and shall accrue from war contracts and distinctively war business, but that these taxes be confined to the war profits accruing in 1918, or in 1919 from business originating in war contracts. I urge your acceptance of his recommendation that provision be made now, not subsequently, that the taxes to be paid in 1920 should be reduced from six to four billions. Any arrangements less definite than these would add elements of doubt and confusion to the critical period of industrial readjustment through which the country must now immediately pass, and which no true friend of the nation's essential business interests can afford to be responsible for creating or prolonging. Clearly determined conditions, clearly and simply charted, are indispensable to the economic revival and rapid industrial development which may confidently be expected if we act now and sweep all interrogation points away.

I take it for granted that the Congress will carry out the naval programme which was undertaken before we entered the war. The Secretary of the Navy has submitted to your Committees for authorization that part of the programme which covers the building plans of the next three years. These plans have been prepared along the lines and in accordance with the policy which the Congress established, not under the exceptional conditions of the war, but with the intention of adhering to a definite method of development for the navy. I earnestly recommend the uninterrupted pursuit of that policy. It would clearly be unwise for us to attempt to adjust our programmes to a future world policy as yet undetermined.

The question which causes me the greatest concern is the question of the policy to be adopted towards the railroads. I frankly turn to you for counsel upon it. I have no confident judgment of my own. I do not see how any thoughtful man can have who knows anything of the complexity of the problem. It is a problem which must be studied, studied immediately, and studied without bias or prejudice.

Nothing can be gained by becoming partisans of any particular plan of settlement.

It was necessary that the administration of the railways should be taken over by the Government so long as the war lasted. It would have been impossible otherwise to establish and carry through under a single direction the necessary priorities of shipment. It would have been impossible otherwise to combine maximum production at the factories and mines and farms with the maximum possible car supply to take the products to the ports and markets; impossible to route troop shipments and freight shipments without regard to the advantage or disadvantage of the roads employed; impossible to subordinate, when necessary, all questions of convenience to the public necessity; impossible to give the necessary financial support to the roads from the public treasury. But all these necessities have now been served, and the question is, What is best for the railroads and for the public in the future?

- Exceptional circumstances and exceptional methods of administration were not needed to convince us that the railroads were not equal to the immense tasks of transportation imposed upon them by the rapid and continuous development of the industries of the country. We knew that already. And we knew that they were unequal to it partly because their full cooperation was rendered impossible by law and their competition made obligatory, so that it has been impossible to assign to them severally the traffic which could best be carried by their respective lines in the interest of expedition and national economy.

We may hope, I believe, for the formal conclusion of the war by treaty by the time Spring has come. The twenty-one months to which the present control of the railways is limited after formal proclamation of peace shall have been made will run at the farthest, I take it for granted, only to the January of 1921. The full equipment of the railways which the federal administration had planned could not be completed within any such period. The present law does not permit the use of the revenues of the several roads for the execution of such plans except by formal contract with their directors, some of whom will consent while some will not, and therefore does not afford sufficient authority to undertake improvements upon the scale upon which it would be necessary to undertake them. Every approach to this difficult subject-matter of decision brings us face to face, therefore, with this unanswered question: What is it right that we should do with the railroads, in the interest of the public and in fairness to their owners?

Let me say at once that I have no answer ready. The only thing that is perfectly clear to me is that it is not fair either to the public

or to the owners of the railroads to leave the question unanswered and that it will presently become my duty to relinquish control of the roads, even before the expiration of the statutory period, unless there should appear some clear prospect in the meantime of a legislative solution. Their release would at least produce one element of a solution, namely certainty and a quick stimulation of private initiative.

I believe that it will be serviceable for me to set forth as explicitly as possible the alternative courses that lie open to our choice. We can simply release the roads and go back to the old conditions of private management, unrestricted competition, and multiform regulation by both state and federal authorities; or we can go to the opposite extreme and establish complete government control, accompanied, if necessary, by actual government ownership; or we can adopt an intermediate course of modified private control, under a more unified and affirmative public regulation and under such alterations of the law as will permit wasteful competition to be avoided and a considerable degree of unification of administration to be effected, as, for example, by regional corporations under which the railways of definable areas would be in effect combined in single systems.

The one conclusion that I am ready to state with confidence is that it would be a disservice alike to the country and to the owners of the railroads to return to the old conditions unmodified. Those are conditions of restraint without development. There is nothing affirmative or helpful about them. What the country chiefly needs is that all its means of transportation should be developed, its railways, its waterways, its highways, and its countryside roads. Some new element of policy, therefore, is absolutely necessary,—necessary for the service of the public, necessary for the release of credit to those who are administering the railways, necessary for the protection of their security holders. The old policy may be changed much or little, but surely it cannot wisely be left as it was. I hope that the Congress will have a complete and impartial study of the whole problem instituted at once and prosecuted as rapidly as possible. I stand ready and anxious to release the roads from the present control and I must do so at a very early date if by waiting until the statutory limit of time is reached I shall be merely prolonging the period of doubt and uncertainty which is hurtful to every interest concerned.

I welcome this occasion to announce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the governments with which we have been associated in the war against the Central Empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was

my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

The Allied governments have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the eighth of January last, as the Central Empires also have, and very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable that I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute without selfish purpose of any kind to settlements that will be of common benefit to all the nations concerned may be made fully manifest. The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence of them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose, as the associated governments have accepted them; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this.

I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side the water, and you will know all that I do. At my request, the French and English governments have absolutely removed the censorship of cable news which until within a fortnight they had maintained and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this end except upon attempted trade communications with enemy countries. It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the Department of State and another between France and the Department of War. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with the other uses of the cables, I have temporarily taken over the control of both cables in order that they may be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials, and I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

May I not hope, Gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and diffi-

culty of the duty I am undertaking; I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.

APPEAL

[For Support of the American Red Cross. Made Public on December 8, 1918.]

To the American People:

One year ago twenty-two million Americans, by enrolling as members of the Red Cross at Christmas time, sent to the men who were fighting our battles overseas a stimulating message of cheer and good-will. They made it clear that our people were of their own free choice united with their Government in the determination not only to wage war with the instruments of destruction, but also by every means in their power to repay the ravages of the invader, and sustain and renew the spirit of the army and of the homes which they represented. The friends of the American Red Cross in Italy, Belgium, and France have told, and will tell again, the story of how the Red Cross workers restored morale in the hospitals, in the camps, and at the cantonments, and we ought to be very proud that we have been permitted to be of service to those whose sufferings and whose glory are the heritage of humanity.

Now, by God's grace, the Red Cross Christmas message of 1918 is to be a message of peace as well as a message of good-will. But peace does not mean that we can fold our hands. It means further sacrifice. We must prove conclusively to an attentive world that America is permanently aroused to the needs of the new era, our old indifference gone forever.

The exact nature of the future-service of the Red Cross will depend upon the program of the associated governments, but there is immediate need today for every heartening word and for every helpful service. We must not forget that our soldiers and our sailors are

still under orders, and still have duties to perform of the highest consequence, and that the Red Cross Christmas membership means a great deal to them. The people of the saddened lands, moreover, returning home today where there are no homes, must have the assurance that the hearts of our people are with them in the dark and doubtful days ahead. Let us, so far as we can, help them back to faith in mercy and in future happiness.

As President of the Red Cross, conscious in this great hour of the value of such a message from the American people, I should be glad if every American would join the Red Cross for 1919, and thus send forth to the whole human family the Christmas greeting for which it waits and for which it stands in greatest need.

WOODROW WILSON.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S TRIP TO EUROPE

On November 18, 1918, after several weeks of rumor that the President would himself go to Europe to participate in the formal and informal peace conferences incident upon the ending of the European War, the following announcement was issued from the White House:—

The President expects to sail for France immediately after the opening of the regular session of Congress, for the purpose of taking part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace.

It is not likely that it will be possible for him to remain throughout the sessions of the formal peace conference, but his presence at the outset is necessary in order to obviate the manifest disadvantages of discussion by cable in determining the greater outlines of the final treaty, about which he must necessarily be consulted.

He will, of course, be accompanied by delegates who will sit as the representatives of the United States throughout the conference. The names of the delegates will be presently announced.

In the President's annual message to Congress on December 2, 1918, he announced to that body his intention to sail for Europe. (See page 8646.)

The visit thus announced by the President was the first ever made to European shores by a President of the United States during his incumbency of office, although President Roosevelt and President Taft had left Continental United States to visit Panama and Cuba. The President was accompanied abroad by Mrs. Wilson and her mother and by a large personal and official staff, including a number of those who had been in positions of high power in administering the war program of the country. Two other of the five peace delegates of the United States accompanied the President—Secretary of State Robert Lansing and Henry White, former ambassador to France and Italy; the other two—General Tasker H. Bliss, formerly Chief of Staff and Military Representative of the United States on the Inter-Allied War Council, and Mr.

Edward M. House, long the President's most trusted adviser—joining the Presidential party in France.

The voyage was made on the *George Washington*, one of the German ships taken over by the United States when the United States entered the war, to be put into use as a naval transport. The *George Washington* sailed from Hoboken at 10 A. M. on December 4, escorted on the entire trip to Europe by the battleship *Pennsylvania* and several torpedo boat destroyers. The route was the southerly one rounding the Azores.

President Wilson and his party landed at Brest, France, at 1 P. M. on December 13, leaving for Paris three hours later, and arriving there at 6:15 P. M. Everywhere the President was greeted with jubilation and honors such as all observers agreed had never before been paid a foreign visitor. Especially among the great masses of the people was the President popular, and the evidence was undeniable that he was looked upon everywhere in Europe as the most potent and invigorating force making for honorable, democratic and lasting terms of peace, primarily because of his project for a League of Nations.

While in France, President Wilson was the guest of honor at a number of formal state functions, but his time was occupied chiefly with private conferences with Allied leaders and statesmen. In Paris, he conferred at length not only with Premier Clemenceau, President Poincaré and Foreign Minister Pichon of France, but also with King Victor Emmanuel, Premier Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino of Italy and Premier Venizelos of Greece. The President's public utterances laid emphasis upon the necessity for the organization of a League of Nations, but otherwise were guarded and formal. At a luncheon tendered him on December 14 by President Poincaré he responded to a toast as follows:—

Mr. President: I am deeply indebted to you for your gracious greeting. It is very delightful to find myself in France and to feel the quick contact of sympathy and unaffected friendship between the representatives of the United States and the representatives of France.

You have been very generous in what you were pleased to say about myself, but I feel that what I have said and what I have tried to do has been said and done only in an attempt to speak the thought of the people of the United States truly, and to carry that thought out in action.

From the first, the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than the mere winning of this war. It turned to the establishment of eternal principles of right and justice. It realized that merely to win the war was not enough; that it must be won in such a way and the questions raised by it settled in such a way as to insure the future peace of the world and lay the foundations for the freedom and happiness of its many peoples and nations.

Never before has war worn so terrible a visage or exhibited more grossly the debasing influence of illicit ambitions. I am sure that I shall look upon the ruin wrought by the armies of the Central Empires with the same repulsion and deep indignation that they stir in the hearts of the men of France and Belgium, and I appreciate, as you do,

sir, the necessity of such action in the final settlement of the issues of the war as will not only rebuke such acts of terror and spoliation, but make men everywhere aware that they cannot be ventured upon without the certainty of just punishment.

I know with what ardor and enthusiasm the soldiers and sailors of the United States have given the best that was in them to this war of redemption. They have expressed the true spirit of America. They believe their ideals to be acceptable to free peoples everywhere, and are rejoiced to have played the part they have played in giving reality to those ideals in co-operation with the armies of the Allies. We are proud of the part they have played, and we are happy that they should have been associated with such comrades in a common cause.

It is with peculiar feeling, Mr. President, that I find myself in France joining with you in rejoicing over the victory that has been won. The ties that bind France and the United States are peculiarly close. I do not know in what other comradeship we could have fought with more zest or enthusiasm. It will daily be a matter of pleasure for me to be brought into consultation with the statesmen of France and her allies in concerting the measures by which we may secure permanence for these happy relations of friendship and co-operation, and secure for the world at large such safety and freedom in its life as can be secured only by the constant association and co-operation of friends.

I greet you not only with deep personal respect, but as the representative of the great people of France, and beg to bring you the greetings of another great people to whom the fortunes of France are of profound and lasting interest.

I raise my glass to the health of the President of the French Republic and to Mme. Poincaré and the prosperity of France.

An address by the President in France which created great interest was that delivered at the Sorbonne (University of Paris), on December 21, after receiving the honorary degree of doctor of laws:—

I feel very keenly the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me by the great University of Paris, and it is very delightful to me also to have the honor of being introduced into the great company of scholars whose life and fame have made the history of the University of Paris a thing admirable among men of cultivation in all parts of the world.

By what you have said, Sir, of the theory of education which has been followed in France and which I have tried to promote in the United States, I am tempted to venture upon a favorite theme. I have always thought that the chief object of education was to awaken

the spirit, and that, inasmuch as a literature whenever it has touched its great and higher notes was an expression of the spirit of mankind, the best induction into education was to feel the pulses of humanity which had beaten from age to age through the universities of men who had penetrated to the secrets of the human spirit. •

And I agree with the intimation which has been conveyed today that the terrible war through which we have just passed has not been only a war between nations, but that it has been also a war between systems of culture—the one system the aggressive system, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints, and using every faculty of the human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system reminiscent of the high traditions of men, reminiscent of all these struggles, some of them obscure, but others clearly revealed in history, of men of indomitable spirit everywhere struggling toward the right and seeking above all things else to be free.

The triumph of freedom in this war means that that spirit shall now dominate the world. There is a great wave of moral force moving through the world, and every man who opposes himself to that wave will go down in disgrace.

The task of those who are gathered here, or will presently be gathered here, to make the settlements of this peace, is greatly simplified by the fact that they are the masters of no one; they are the servants of mankind. And if we do not heed the mandates of mankind we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world.

My conception of the League of Nations is just this—that it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world, and that whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them, and men everywhere will ask, "What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?"

Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the Central Powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight, it never would have happened; and if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it for a year, the war would have been inconceivable.

So I feel that war is, as has been said more than once today, intimately related with the university spirit. The university spirit is intolerant of all the things that put the human mind under restraint. It is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of the truth, the purification of life; and every university man can ally himself with the forces of the present time with the feeling that now at last the spirit of truth, the spirit to which universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant.

If there is one point of pride that I venture to entertain, it is that it has been my private privilege in some measure to interpret the university spirit in the public life of a great nation, and I feel that in honoring me today in this unusual and conspicuous manner you have first of all honored the people whom I represent. The spirit that I try to express I know to be their spirit and in proportion as I serve them I believe that I advance the cause of freedom.

I, as before, wish to thank you, Sir, from the bottom of my heart for a distinction which has in a singular way crowned my academic career.

On December 24, President Wilson left Paris to spend Christmas with American troops on the battle-front. His address to them on December 25 was as follows:—

General Pershing and Fellow-Comrades: I wish that I could give to each one of you the message that I know you are longing to receive from those at home who love you. I cannot do that, but I can tell you how every one has put his heart into it. So you have done your duty, and something more. You have done your duty, and you have done it with a spirit which gave it distinction and glory.

And now we are to hail the fruits of everything. You conquered, when you came over, what you came over for, and you have done what it was appointed for you to do. I know what you expected of me. Some time ago a gentleman from one of the countries with which we are associated was discussing with me the moral aspects of this war, and I said that if we did not insist upon the high purpose which we have accomplished the end would not be justified.

Everybody at home is proud of you and has followed every movement of this great army with confidence and affection. The whole people of the United States are now waiting to welcome you home with an acclaim which probably has never greeted any other army, because our country is like this country—we have been so proud of the stand taken, of the purpose for which this war was entered by the United States.

You knew what we expected of you, and you did it. I know what you and the people at home expected of me, and I am happy to say, my fellow-countrymen, that I do not find in the hearts of the great leaders with whom it is my privilege now to co-operate any difference of principle or of fundamental purpose.

It happened that it was the privilege of America to present the chart for peace, and now the process of settlement has been rendered comparatively simple by the fact that all the nations concerned have accepted that chart, and the application of these principles laid down there will be their application. The world will now know that the nations that fought this war, as well as the soldiers who represented

them, are ready to make good—make good not only in the assertion of their own interests, but make good in the establishment of peace upon the permanent foundation of right and of justice.

Because this is not a war in which the soldiers of the free nations have obeyed masters. You have commanders, but you have no masters. Your very commanders represent you in representing the nation of which you constitute so distinguished a part. And everybody concerned in the settlement knows that it must be a people's peace and that nothing must be done in the settlement of the issues of the war which is not as handsome as the great achievements of the armies of the United States and the Allies.

It is difficult, very difficult, men, in any formal speech like this to show you my real heart. You men probably do not realize with what anxious attention and care we have followed every step you have advanced and how proud we are that every step was in advance, and not in retreat; that every time you set your face in any direction you kept your face in that direction. A thrill has gone through my heart, as it has gone through the hearts of every American, with almost every gun that was fired and every stroke that was struck in the gallant fighting that you have done; and there has been only one regret in America, and that was the regret that every man there felt that he was not there in France, too.

It has been a hard thing to perform the tasks in the United States; it has been a hard thing to take part in directing what you did without coming over and helping you to do it. It has taken a lot of moral courage to stay at home. But we are proud to back you up everywhere that it was possible to back you up. And now I am happy to find what splendid names you have made for yourselves among the civilian population of France, as well as among your comrades in the armies of the French, and it is a fine testimony to you men that these people like you and love you and trust you, and the finest part of it all is that you deserve their trust.

I feel a comradeship with you today which is delightful, as I look down upon these undisturbed fields and think of the terrible scenes through which you have gone and realize how the quiet of peace, the tranquillity of settled hopes has descended upon us. And, while it is hard far away from home, confidentially, to bid you a Merry Christmas, I can, I think, confidentially, promise you a Happy New Year, and I can from the bottom of my heart say, God bless you.

On December 25, President Wilson reviewed 10,000 American troops at Chaumont, leaving the following day for England. He landed at Dover on December 26, leaving immediately for London, where he was received with honors mingled with veneration which indicated that he was firmly entrenched in the hearts of the mass of the English people as of the French. The text of his

response to the toast proposed to him by King George V of England at a welcoming banquet at Windsor Castle on December 27 is as follows:—

Your Majesty: I am deeply complimented by the gracious words which you have uttered. The welcome which you have given me and Mrs. Wilson has been so warm, so natural, so evidently from the heart, that we have been more than pleased. We have been touched by it, and I believe that I correctly interpret that welcome as embodying not only your own generous spirit toward us personally, but also as expressing for yourself and the great nation over which you preside that same feeling for my people, for the people of the United States.

For you and I, Sir—I temporarily—embody the spirit of two great nations, and whatever strength I have and whatever authority, I possess it only so long and so far as I express the spirit and purpose of the American people.

Every influence that the American people have over the affairs of the world is measured by their sympathy with the aspirations of freemen everywhere.

America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly. But if she does not she will not and cannot help the influence to which she justly aspires.

I have had the privilege, Sir, of conferring with the leaders of your own Government and with the spokesmen of the Governments of France and of Italy, and I am glad to say that I have the same conceptions that they have of the significance and scope of the duty on which we have met.

We have used great words, all of us have used the great words "Right" and "Justice," and now we are to prove whether or not we understand these words, and how they are to be applied to the particular settlements which must conclude this war. And we must not only understand them, but we must have the courage to act upon our understanding.

Yet, after I have uttered the word "Courage," it comes into my mind that it would take more courage to resist the great moral tide now running in the world than to yield to it, than to obey it.

There is a great tide running in the hearts of men. The hearts of men have never beaten so singularly in unison before. Men have never before been so conscious of their brotherhood. Men have never before realized how little difference there was between right and justice in one latitude and in another, under one sovereignty and under another.

And it will be our high privilege, I believe, Sir, not only to apply the moral judgment of the world to the particular settlements which we shall attempt, but also to organize the moral force of the world to

preserve those settlements, to steady the forces of mankind, and to make the right and the justice to which great nations like our own have devoted themselves, the predominant and controlling force of the world.

There is something inspiring in knowing that this is the errand that we have come on. Nothing less than this would have justified me in leaving the important tasks which fall upon me upon the other side of the sea—nothing but the consciousness that nothing else compares with this in dignity and importance.

Therefore, it is the more delightful to find myself in the company of a body of men united in ideal and purpose, and to feel that I am privileged to unite my thoughts with yours in carrying forward these standards which we are so proud to hold so high and to defend.

May I not, Sir, with a feeling of profound sincerity and friendship and sympathy propose your health and the health of the Queen and the prosperity of Great Britain?

On Saturday, December 28, President Wilson delivered the following address in the Guildhall of London:—

Mr. Lord Mayor—We have come upon times when ceremonies like this have a new significance which most impresses me as I stand here. The address which I have just heard is most generously and graciously conceived, and the delightful accent of sincerity in it seems like a part of that voice of counsel which is now everywhere to be heard.

I feel that a distinguished honor has been conferred upon me by this reception, and I beg to assure you, sir, and your associates of my very profound appreciation, but I know that I am only part of what I may call a great body of circumstances.

I do not believe that it was fancy on my part that I heard in the voice of welcome uttered in the streets of this great city and in the streets of Paris something more than a personal welcome. It seemed to me that I heard the voice of one people speaking to another people, and it was a voice in which one could distinguish a singular combination of emotions.

There was surely there the deep gratefulness that the fighting was over. There was the pride that the fighting had had such a culmination. There was that sort of gratitude that the nations engaged had produced such men as the soldiers of Great Britain and of the United States and of France and of Italy—men whose prowess and achievements they had witnessed with rising admiration as they moved from culmination to culmination.

But there was something more in it, the consciousness that the business is not yet done, the consciousness that it now rests upon others to see that those lives were not lost in vain.

I have not yet been to the actual battlefields, but I have been with many of the men who have fought the battles, and the other day I had the pleasure of being present at a session of the French Academy when they admitted Marshal Joffre to their membership.

That sturdy, serene soldier stood and uttered, not the words of triumph, but the simple words of affection for his soldiers and the conviction which he summed up in a sentence which I will not try accurately to quote, but reproduce in its spirit. It was that France must always remember that the small and the weak could never live free in the world unless the strong and the great always put their power and their strength in the service of right.

That is the afterthought—the thought that something must be done now; not only to make the just settlements—that, of course—but to see that the settlements remain and are observed and that honor and justice prevail in the world.

And, as I have conversed with the soldiers, I have been more and more aware that they fought for something that not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them.

They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the center and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the “balance of power,” a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in on the one side or the other, a balance which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competitive interests, a balance which was maintained by jealous watchfulness and an antagonism of interests which, though it was generally latent, was always deep-seated.

The men who have fought in this war have been the men from the free nations who are determined that that sort of thing should end now and forever. It is very interesting to me to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every concert of counsel, there comes the suggestion that there must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single, overwhelming, powerful group of nations, who shall be the trust of the peace of the world.

It has been delightful in my conferences with the leaders of your Government to find how our minds moved along exactly the same line, and how our thought was always that the key to the peace was the guarantee of the peace, not the items of it; that the items would be worthless unless there stood back of them a permanent concert of power for their maintenance. That is the most reassuring thing that has ever happened in the world.

When this war began the thought of a League of Nations was indulgently considered as the interesting thought of closeted students.

It was thought of as one of those things that it was right to characterize by a name which, as a university man, I have always resented. It was said to be academic, as if that in itself were a condemnation—something that men could think about but never get. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it.

No such sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed in the world before. Do you wonder, therefore, gentlemen, that, in common with those who represent you, I am eager to get at the business and write the sentences down? And that I am particularly happy that the ground is cleared and the foundations laid? For we have already accepted the same body of principles.

Those principles are clearly and definitely enough stated to make their application a matter which should afford no fundamental difficulty.

And back of us is that imperative yearning of the world to have all disturbing questions quieted, to have all threats against peace silenced, to have just men everywhere come together for a common object. The peoples of the world want peace and they want it now, not merely by conquest or arms but by agreement of mind.

It was this incomparably great object that brought me overseas. It has never before been deemed excusable for a President of the United States to leave the territory of the United States, but I know that I have the support of the judgment of my colleagues in the government of the United States in saying that it was my paramount duty to turn away even from the imperative tasks at home to lend such counsel and aid as I could to this great, may I not say final, enterprise of humanity.

On Sunday, December 29, President Wilson visited the girlhood home of his mother in Carlisle, England, where he gave a few remarks at the services in the church of which his grandfather had been minister.

On December 30, President Wilson was given the freedom of the city of Manchester, upon which occasion he delivered the following address:—

My Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, perhaps I may be permitted to add *Fellow-Citizens*—You have made me feel in a way that is deeply delightful the generous welcome which you have accorded me, and back of it I know there lies the same sort of feeling for the great people whom I have the privilege of representing.

There is a feeling of cordiality, fraternity and friendship between the two great nations, and as I have gone from place to place and been made everywhere to feel the pulse of sympathy that is now beating between us I have been led to some very serious thoughts as to what the basis of it all is. For I think you will agree with me that friendship is not a mere sentiment—patriotism is not a mere sentiment. It

is based upon a principle, upon the principle that leads a man to give more than he demands.

Similarly, friendship is based not merely upon affection, but upon common service. The man is not your friend who is not willing to serve you, and you are not his friend unless you are willing to serve him. And out of that impulse of common interest and desire of common service arises that noble feeling which we consecrate as friendship.

And so it does seem to me that the theme that we must have in our minds now in this great day of settlement is the theme of common interest and the determination of what it is that is our common interest. You know that heretofore the world has been governed, or at any rate the attempt has been made to govern it, by partnerships of interest, and that they have broken down. Interest does not bind men together. Interest separates men. For, the moment there is the slightest departure from the nice adjustment of interests, then jealousies begin to spring up. There is only one thing that can bind peoples together, and that is common devotion to right.

Ever since the history of liberty began men have talked about their rights, and it has taken several hundred years to make them perceive that the principal condition of right is duty, and that unless a man performs his full duty he is entitled to no right. It is a fine co-relation of the influence of duty that right is the equipoise and balance of society.

And so, when we analyze the present situation and the future that we now have to mold and control, it seems to me there is no other thought than that that can guide us. You know that the United States has always felt from the very beginning of her story that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connection with European politics. I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe. If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe, but in the peace of the world.

Therefore it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose. But, while it is difficult, there is an element present that makes it easy. Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now.

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the

common conscience now in existence which if any statesman resist, will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

That is the reason why it seems to me that the things that are most often in our minds are the least significant. I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement which we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory. One has only to apply his mind to any one of the questions of boundary and of altered sovereignty and of racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man and no body of men who know just how they ought to be settled; and yet if we are to make unsatisfactory settlements we must see to it that they are rendered more and more satisfactory by the subsequent adjustments which are made possible. We must provide the machinery for readjustments in order that we have the machinery of good-will and friendship.

Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot co-operate with you, I cannot be your friend; and if the world is to remain a body of friends, it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests.

That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference, so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big. I never thought I had a big difference with a man that I did not find when I came into conference with him that, after all, it was rather a little difference, and that if we were frank with one another and did not too much stand upon that great enemy of mankind which is called pride, we could come together.

It is the wish to come together that is more than half of the process. It is a doctrine which ought to be easy of comprehension in a great commercial centre like this. You cannot trade with a man who suspects you. You cannot establish commercial and industrial relations with those who do not trust you. Good-will is the forerunner of trade. Good-will is the foundation of trade, and trade is the great amicable instrument of the world on that account.

I felt, before I came here, at home in Manchester, because Manchester has so many of the characteristics of our great American cities. I was reminded of an anecdote of a humorous fellow-countryman of mine who was sitting at luncheon in his club one day when a man whom he did not like particularly came up and slapped him on the shoulders and said:

"Hello, Ollie! How are you?"

He looked at him coldly and said:

"I don't know your face, and I don't know your name, but your manners are very familiar."

I don't know your name, but your manners are very familiar, and very delightfully familiar, so that I felt that in the community of interest and understanding which is established in great currents of trade we are enabled to see international processes perhaps better than they can be seen by others. I take it I am not far from right, in supposing that is the reason why Manchester has been the centre of the great forward-looking sentiments of men who had the instincts of large planning, not merely for the city itself, but for the Kingdom and the Empire and the world. And with that outlook we can be sure we can go shoulder and shoulder together.

I wish it were possible for us to do something like some of my very stern ancestors did, for among my ancestors are those very determined persons who were known as the Covenanters. I wish we could, not for Great Britain and the United States, but for France, for Italy and the world, enter into a great League and Covenant declaring ourselves first of all friends of mankind and uniting ourselves together for the maintenance of the triumph of right.

Mr. Wilson left England on December 31, spending the following day in Paris, and arriving in Italy on January 2, 1919. He reached Rome on the morning of January 3, where he was received with the highest honors and enthusiasm. The text of his address on January 3 to the Italian Chamber of Deputies is as follows:—

Your Majesty and Mr. President of the Chamber—You are bestowing upon me an unprecedented honor, which I accept because I believe that it is extended to me as the representative of the great people for whom I speak. And I am going to take this first opportunity to say how entirely the heart of the American people has been with the great people of Italy.

We have seemed, no doubt, indifferent at times, to look from a great distance, but our hearts have never been far away. All sorts of ties have long bound the people of our America to the people of Italy, and when the people of the United States, knowing this people, have witnessed its sufferings, its sacrifices, its heroic actions upon the battlefield, and its heroic endurance at home—its steadfast endurance at home touching us more nearly to the quick even than its heroic action on the battlefield—we have been bound by a new tie of profound admiration.

Then, back of it all, and through it all, running like the golden thread

that wove it together, was our knowledge that the people of Italy had gone into this war for the same exalted principle of right and justice that moved our own people. And so I welcome this opportunity of conveying to you the heartfelt greetings of the people of the United States.

But we cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken, because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice, and there will be required a purity of motives and disinterestedness of object which the world has never witnessed before in the councils of nations.

It is for that reason that it seems to me you will forgive me if I lay some of the elements of the new situation before you for a moment. The distinguishing fact of this war is that great empires have gone to pieces. And the characteristics of those empires are that they held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue.

The great difficulty among such States as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence; that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another, that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together not by sympathy and friendship, but by the coercive force of a military power.

Now the intrigue is checked, and the bonds are broken, and what we are going to provide is a new cement to hold the people together. They have not been accustomed to being independent. They must now be independent.

I am sure that you recognize the principle as I do—that it is not our privilege to say what sort of a Government they should set up. But we are friends of those people, and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them—something supplied which will hold them together.

There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and good-will. The only thing that binds men together is friendship, and by the same token the only thing that binds nations together is friendship. Therefore our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond.

In other words, our task is no less colossal than this: To set up a new international psychology; to have a new real atmosphere. I am happy to say that, in my dealings with the distinguished gentlemen who

lead your nation, and those who lead France and England, I feel that atmosphere gathering, that desire to do justice, that desire to establish friendliness, that desire to make peace rest upon right; and with this common purpose no obstacles need be formidable.

The only use of an obstacle is to be overcome. All that an obstacle does with brave men is not to frighten them, but to challenge them. So that it ought to be our pride to overcome everything that stands in the way.

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons that it does not stay balanced inside itself, and a weight which does not hold together cannot constitute a makeweight in the affairs of men.

Therefore there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united League of Nations.

What men once considered theoretical and idealistic turns out to be practical and necessary. We stand at the opening of a new age in which a new statesmanship will, I am confident, lift mankind to new levels of endeavor and achievement.

While in Rome, President Wilson conferred again with the leaders of the Italian Government and with emissaries from the Jugo-Slavs and other nationalities on the Balkan peninsula, whose claims were in dispute with the claims of Italy to territory along the east coast of the Adriatic, which had been assigned Italy by secret treaty with the Entente Allies in 1915, just before Italy entered the war. On January 5, President Wilson paid a formal visit to the Pope in the Vatican, later visiting a delegation of the Protestant bodies in Rome. On the following day, he left for France, stopping to deliver addresses and receiving marked honors at Genoa, Turin and Milan.

His remarks at the statue of Columbus at Genoa on January 6 were as follows:—

Standing in front of this monument, Sir, I fully recognize the significance of what you have said. Columbus did do a service to mankind in discovering America and it is America's pleasure and America's pride that she has been able to show that it was a service to mankind to open that great continent to settlement, the settlement of a free people, of a people free because they are free to desire to see other peoples free and to share their liberty with the people of the world. It is for this reason no doubt, besides his fine spirit of adventure, that Columbus will always be remembered and honored, not only here in the land of his birth, but throughout the world, as the man who led the way to those fields of freedom which, planted with a great seed, have now sprung up to the fructification of the world.

ADDRESS TO PEACE CONFERENCE

[At First Formal Session of Allied and Associated Nations, Paris, France, January 18, 1919, Proposing Premier Georges Clemenceau of France as the Permanent Chairman of the Conference.]

Mr. Chairman—It gives me great pleasure to propose as permanent chairman of the conference M. Clemenceau, the President of the council.

I would do this as a matter of custom. I would do this as a tribute to the French Republic. But I wish to do it as something more than that. I wish to do it as a tribute to the man.

France deserves the precedence not only because we are meeting at her capital, and because she has undergone some of the most tragical suffering of the war, but also because her capital, her ancient and beautiful capital, has so often been the centre of conferences of this sort on which the fortunes of large parts of the world turned.

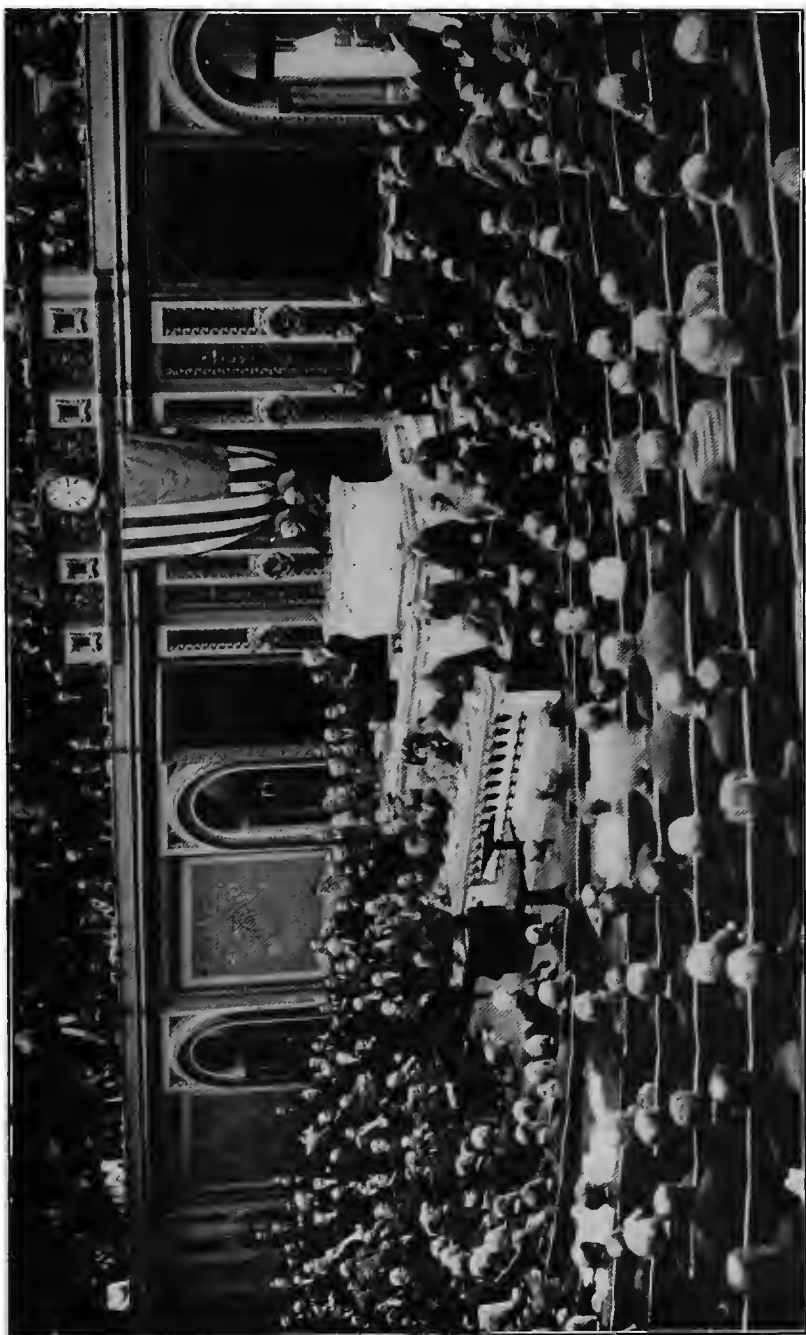
It is a very delightful thought that the history of the world, which has so often centred here, will now be crowned by the achievements of this conference—because there is a sense in which this is the supreme conference of the history of mankind.

More nations are represented here than were ever represented in such a conference before. The fortunes of all peoples are involved. A great war is ended, which seemed about to bring a universal cataclysm. The danger is passed. A victory has been won for mankind, and it is delightful that we should be able to record these great results in this place.

But it is more delightful to honor France because we can honor her in the person of so distinguished a servant. We have all felt in our participation in the struggles of this war the fine steadfastness which characterized the leadership of the French in the hands of M. Clemenceau. We have learned to admire him, and those of us who have been associated with him have acquired a genuine affection for him.

Moreover, those of us who have been in these recent days in constant consultation with him know how warmly his purpose is set toward the goal of achievement to which all our faces are turned. He feels as we feel, as I have no doubt everybody in this room feels, that we are trusted to do a great thing, to do it in the highest spirit of friendship and accommodation, and to do it as promptly as possible in order that the hearts of men may have fear lifted from them, and that they may return to those purposes of life which will bring them happiness and contentment and prosperity.

Knowing his brotherhood of heart in these great matters, it affords me a personal pleasure to propose that M. Clemenceau shall be the permanent Chairman of this conference.



PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING CONGRESS

PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING CONGRESS.

One of the features of the administration of Woodrow Wilson was his resumption of the habit, discarded since the days of Jefferson, of reading his messages to the Senate in person. The messages of his predecessors had been read by a clerk, and little attention was usually paid to the reading by the members of Congress, who later read the message for themselves at leisure. President Wilson's utterances delivered by him to joint sessions of Congress were always brief documents which went straight to the point, couched in the magnificent English which flows so readily from his pen. The President is described as reading his messages quietly, but with a feeling emphasis which drove their meanings home to the hearts of all who heard them.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

President Wilson's remarks on opening the discussion in the Peace Conference on the project for a league of nations on January 25, 1919 were as follows:

Mr. Chairman:

I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes, to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war, and also to secure the peace of the world, not only by the present settlements but by the arrangements we shall make at this conference for its maintenance. The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements which perhaps cannot be successfully worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent reconsideration, that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree; for, if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions, they are not susceptible of confident judgments at present.

It is, therefore, necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this conference should be rendered complete. We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say without straining the point that we are **not** representatives of governments, but representatives of peoples. **It** will not suffice to satisfy governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind. The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world, and how the real strain of the war has come where the eye of government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats. We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again, and I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained. This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be tem-

porary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up permanent decisions. Therefore, it seems to me that we must take, so far as we can, a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms, have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as gained facility. The enemy whom we have just overcome had at his seats of learning some of the principal centers of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete; and only the watchful, continuous cooperation of men can see to it that science as well as armed men is kept within the harness of civilization.

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders, it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that many of the other nations here should suffer; and the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come to consciousness in this war. In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe or the politics of Asia or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause which turned upon the issues of this war. That was the cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place. Therefore, the United States should feel that its part in this war had been played in vain if there ensued upon it merely a body of European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guaranty involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must concert our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing—not merely a formal thing, not an occasional thing, not a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations—and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that it should have functions that are continuing functions and that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations

to keep watch upon the common interest, an eye that does not slumber, an eye that is everywhere watchful and attentive.

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centers upon. I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time the voice of the body of the people reaches me through any representative, at the front of its plea stood the hope for the League of Nations. Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their confidence not only but established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, gentlemen, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keystone of the whole program which expressed our purposes and ideals in this war and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of the settlement. If we returned to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow citizens. For they are a body that constitutes a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak their thoughts and no private purpose of their own. They expect their representatives to be their servants. We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate; and because this is the keystone of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single part of the program which constitutes our instruction. We would not dare compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no people but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish but as it wishes. We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of small coteries of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to work their will upon mankind and use them as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have laid down for them the unalterable lines of principle. And, thank God, those lines have been accepted as the lines of settlement by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginnings of this great business.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the League of Nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere. We stand in a peculiar case. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after we had uttered our purposes. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war, but to win a cause; and I am responsible to them, for it fell to me to formulate the purposes for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do, in honor, to accomplish the object for which they fought. I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged from the politics of this great continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch and why it occurred to the generous mind of our president to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the surface in this enterprise.

The formation of a league of nations, like most questions of front-rank importance at the Peace Conference, was referred to a special committee created for the purpose of considering the question and of reporting its deliberations back to the Peace Conference. In this committee, President Wilson was the guiding spirit, although the final text of the Covenant of the League shows more traces of the British preliminary draft, as elaborated by Lord Robert Cecil, of England, and General Smuts, of South Africa, than of the American preliminary draft. It was no secret that of the five great powers who were supreme at the Peace Conference, France, Japan and Italy were less enthusiastic about the formation of a league of nations than the United States and Great Britain; and that the final text of the Covenant was in essence an Anglo-American product. On submitting to the Peace Conference, on February 14,

1919, the text of the Covenant as at first drafted, President Wilson's address was as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I have the honor and as I esteem it the very great privilege of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, and Serbia. I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make.

[The President then read the text of the Covenant.*]

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment, with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious difference of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking. Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasms and sentiments, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high resolve and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting; because we felt that in a way this conference had entrusted to us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty; that the cooperation of the great body of nations should be assured from the first in the maintenance of peace upon the terms of honor and of the strict regard for international obligation. The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously. Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those powers which for convenience we have called the great powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstance and interest. So that I think we are justified in saying that it was a representative group of the members of this great conference. The signifi-

*See page 868r.

cance of the result, therefore, has that deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which can not be resisted, and which I dare say no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now, as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is, after all, very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for the League of Nations—a body of delegates, an executive council, and a permanent secretariat. When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of official representatives of the various Governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world can not rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberative body of the League was merely to be a body of officials representing the various Governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated. It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent as we sit around this table more than twelve hundred million people. You can not have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each Government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time not only, but it may originate the choice of its several representatives, if it should have several, in different ways. Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation instead of being confined to a single official body with which they might or might not find themselves in sympathy.

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relationship—and that it is specially agreed that war or international misunderstandings or anything that may lead to friction and trouble is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world. And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, not to arbitration, but to discussion by the executive council, it can upon the initiative of either one of the parties to the dispute be drawn out of the executive coun-

cil onto the larger forum of the general body of delegates, because throughout this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and that is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the cleansing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity—so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be properly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

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

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to foresee the variety of circumstances with which this League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket, but a vehicle of life. A living thing is born, and we must see to it that the clothes we put upon it do not hamper it—a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin. Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared and its powers made unmistakable.

It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a League to secure the peace of the world. It is a League which can be used for cooperation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be affected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the bureau of labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. While men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while Governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the maneuvers of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the large transactions of commerce and of finance, now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring

people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not; people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined Governments of the world. There is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the secretary general, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the secretary general to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time. I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign offices do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately—how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately—but even they must be published just so soon as it is possible for the secretary general to publish them.

Then there is a feature about this Covenant which to my mind is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless people, meant in some instances by some powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interest; and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of those peoples shall look to their interest and to their development before they look to the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself. There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great power which has just been happily defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself; that its interest was rather their extermination than their development; that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in those places to the

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

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a humane document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, of all the great States that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization. We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majesty of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying, "We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of fraternity and of friendship."

The complete text of the League of Nations, as finally adopted by the Paris Conference, was as follows:

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the

firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article One—The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governing state, dominion or colony not named in the annex, may become a member of the League of Nations if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article Two—The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and a council, with a permanent secretariat.

Article Three—The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly, each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

Article Four—The council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the assembly, representatives of—* shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at other places as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during

*See page 8683.

the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the council, each member of the League represented on the council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

Article Five—Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly or of the council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting at the council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article Six—The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise a secretariat general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first secretary general shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the secretary general shall be appointed by the council with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

The secretariat and the staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary general with the approval of the council.

The secretary general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Article Seven—The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article Eight—The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by the common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments, limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be

prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

Article Nine—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of Article One and Eight and on military and naval questions generally.

Article Ten—The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article Eleven—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the secretary general shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article Twelve—The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report of the council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article Thirteen—The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article Fourteen—The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of

international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

Article Fifteen—If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary general, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the secretary general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; the council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the League represented on the council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of Article Twelve relating to the action and powers of the council shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article Sixteen—Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles Twelve, Thirteen or Fifteen, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the

severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking state and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the Covenant-breaking state, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any Covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

Article Seventeen—In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles Twelve to Sixteen inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

Upon such invitation being given, the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article Sixteen shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article Eighteen—Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League, shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article Nineteen—The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article Twenty—The members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case a member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article Twenty-One—Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article Twenty-Two—To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reasons of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size or their remoteness from the centres of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the member of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the

annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article Twenty-Three—Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interests; (e) will make provisions to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article Twenty-Four—There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Article Twenty-Five—The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article Twenty-Six—Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

Original members of the League of Nations—

Signatories of the Treaty of Peace:

United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan,

Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Servia, Siam, Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the Covenant:

Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

The above final text of the Covenant of the League of Nations is different in a number of respects from the first draft of the Covenant, as adopted on February 14. The first draft called forth a storm of protest, with the result that changes were made. The changes are succinctly indicated by the following address of President Wilson to the Peace Conference on April 28, when the final draft of the Covenant was adopted:

MR. CHAIRMAN: When the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations was laid before you I had the honor of reading the Covenant in extenso. I will not detain you to-day to read the Covenant as it has now been altered, but will merely take the liberty of explaining to you some of the alterations that have been made.

The report of the commission has been circulated. You yourselves have in hand the text of the Covenant, and will no doubt have noticed that most of the changes that have been made are mere changes of phraseology, not changes of substance, and that, besides that, most of the changes are intended to clarify the document, or, rather, to make explicit what we all have assumed was implicit in the document as it was originally presented to you. But I shall take the liberty of calling your attention to the new features, such as they are. Some of them are considerable, the rest trivial.

The first paragraph of Article I is new. In view of the insertion of the Covenant in the peace treaty, specific provision as to the signatories of the treaty, who would become members of the League, and also as to neutral states to be invited to accede to the Covenant, were obviously necessary. The paragraph also provides for the method by which a neutral state may accede to the Covenant.

The third paragraph of Article I is new, providing for the withdrawal of any member of the League on a notice given of two years.

The second paragraph of Article IV is new, providing for a possible increase in the council, should other powers be added to the League of Nations whose present accession is not anticipated.

The two last paragraphs of Article IV are new, providing specifically for one vote for each member of the League in the council, which was understood before, and providing also for one representative of each member of the League.

The first paragraph of Article V is new, expressly incorporating the provision as to the unanimity of voting, which was at first taken for granted.

The second paragraph of Article VI has had added to it that a

majority of the assembly must approve the appointment of the secretary general.

The first paragraph of Article VII names Geneva as the seat of the League and is followed by a second paragraph which gives the council power to establish the seat of the League elsewhere should it subsequently deem it necessary.

The third paragraph of Article VII is new, establishing equality of employment of men and women, that is to say, by the League.

The second paragraph of Article VIII is new, inasmuch as it undertakes to give instances of disputes which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration, instances of what have latterly been called "justiciable" questions.

The eighth paragraph of Article XV is new. This is the amendment regarding domestic jurisdiction, that where the council finds that a question arising out of an international dispute affects matters which are clearly under the domestic jurisdiction of one or other of the parties it is to report to that effect and make no recommendation.

The last paragraph of Article XVI is new, providing for expulsion from the League in certain extraordinary circumstances.

Article XXI is new.

The second paragraph of Article XXII inserts the words with regard to mandatories: "and who are willing to accept it," thus explicitly introducing the principle that a mandate cannot be forced upon a nation unwilling to accept it.

Article XXIII is a combination of several former articles and also contains the following: A clause providing for the just treatment of aborigines; a clause looking toward a prevention of the white slave traffic and the traffic in opium, and a clause looking toward progress in international prevention and control of disease.

Article XXV specifically mentions the Red Cross as one of the international organizations which are to connect their work with the work of the League.

Article XXVI permits the amendment of the Covenant by a majority of the states composing the assembly, instead of three-fourths of the states, though it does not change the requirements in that matter with regard to the vote in the council.

The second paragraph of Article XXVI also is new, and was added at the request of the Brazilian delegation, in order to avoid certain constitutional difficulties. It permits any member of the League to dissent from an amendment, the effect of such dissent being withdrawal from the League.

And the annex is added giving the names of the signatories of the treaty, who becomes members, and the names of the states invited to

accede to the Covenant. These are all the changes, I believe, which are of moment.

Mr. President, I take the opportunity to move the following resolutions in order to carry out the provisions of the Covenant. You will notice that the Covenant provides that the first secretary-general shall be chosen by this conference. It also provides that the first choice of the four member states who are to be added to the five great Powers on the council is left to this conference.

I move, therefore, that the first secretary general of the council shall be the Honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, and, second, that until such time as the assembly shall have selected the first four members of the League to be represented on the council in accordance with Article IV of the Covenant representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be members; and, third, that the powers to be represented on the council of the League of Nations are requested to name representatives who shall form a committee of nine to prepare plans for the organization of the League and for the establishment of the seat of the League and to make arrangements and to prepare the agenda for the first meeting of the assembly, this committee to report both to the council and to the assembly of the League.

I think it not necessary to call your attention to other matters we have previously discussed—the capital significance of this Covenant, the hopes which are entertained as to the effect it will have upon steadying the affairs of the world, and the obvious necessity that there should be a concert of the free nations of the world to maintain justice in international relations, the relations between people and between the nations of the world.

If Baron Makino will pardon me for introducing a matter which I absentmindedly overlooked, it is necessary for me to propose the alteration of several words in the first line of Article V. Let me say that in several parts of the treaty, of which this Covenant will form a part, certain duties are assigned to the council of the League of Nations. In some instances it is provided that the action they shall take shall be by a majority vote. It is therefore necessary to make the Covenant conform with the other portions of the treaty by adding these words. I will read the first line and add the words:

“Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.”

“Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant” is the present reading, and I move the addition “or by the terms of this treaty.” With that addition, I move the adoption of the Covenant.

CABLEGRAMS

[To the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitted Through the Secretary of State, Requesting Appropriation for Food Relief in Europe.]

January 4, 1919.

Extended investigation and consideration of the food situation in certain parts of Europe disclose that especially the urban populations in certain areas are not only facing absolute starvation during the coming winter, but that many of these populations are unable to find immediate resources with which to purchase their food. These regions have been so subjected to destruction by war, not only of their foodstuffs but of their financial resources and their power of production and export, that they are utterly incapable of finding any resources that can be converted into international exchange for food purchases. While the Secretary of the Treasury can accept obligations of certain governments and through these measures their situations can be cared for temporarily, there are still other areas through eastern and southern Europe where such arrangements can not be made. This applies more particularly to the liberated peoples of Austria, Turkey, Poland, and western Russia. In these countries freedom and government will slowly emerge from the chaos and require our every assistance.

The total shipments of foodstuffs from the United States to all parts of Europe during the next seven months will be likely to exceed one and one-half billion dollars, and from our abundance we can surely afford to offer succor to those countries destitute of resources or credit. The minimum sums upon which this work can be carried on for the next six months in the countries above mentioned will amount to at least \$100,000,000 for such services and supplies as we can render, and even this sum contemplates the finding of resources by so much of the population as can do so and as much assistance as can be given by the Allied governments. The high mission of the American people to find a remedy for starvation and absolute anarchy renders it necessary that we should undertake the most liberal assistance to these destitute regions.

The situation is one of extreme urgency, for foodstuffs must be placed in certain localities within the next fifteen to thirty days if human life and order are to be preserved. I, therefore, request that you ask Congress to make available to me an immediate appropriation of \$100,000,000 for the broad purpose of providing foodstuffs and other urgent supplies, for the transportation, distribution, and administration thereof to such populations in Europe, outside of Germany, as may be determined upon by me from time to time as necessary. I wish to appeal to the great sense of charity and good will of the American people toward the suffering, and to place this act upon a primarily humanita-

rian basis of the first magnitude. While the sum of money is in itself large, it is so small compared with the expenditures we have undertaken in the hope of bettering the world, that it becomes a mere pittance compared to the results that will be obtained from it, and the lasting effect that will remain in the United States through an act of such broad humanity and statesmanlike influence.

[To Chairmen of the Congressional Committees on Appropriations, Asking Passage of Bill Providing for Food Relief.]

January 13, 1919.

I cannot too earnestly or solemnly urge upon the Congress the appropriation for which Mr. Hoover has asked for the administration of food relief. Food relief is now the key to the whole European situation and to the solutions of peace; Bolshevism is steadily advancing westward, is poisoning Germany. It cannot be stopped by force, but it can be stopped by food, and all the leaders with whom I am in conference agree that concerted action in this matter is of immediate and vital importance.

The money will not be spent for food for Germany itself, because Germany can buy its food; but it will be spent for financing the movement of food to our real friends in Poland and to the people of the liberated units of the Austro-Hungarian empire and to our associates in the Balkans. I beg that you will present this matter with all possible urgency and force to the Congress.

I do not see how we can find definite powers with whom to conclude peace unless this means of stemming the tide of anarchism be employed.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PROCLAMATIONS

[Announcing the Death of Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt.]

To the People of the United States:

It becomes my sad duty to announce officially the death of Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States from September 14, 1901 to March 4, 1909, which occurred at his home at Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, New York, at 4:15 o'clock in the morning of January 6, 1919. In his death the United States has lost one of its most distinguished and patriotic citizens, who had endeared himself to the people by his strenuous devotion to their interests and to the public interests of his country.

As President of the Police Board of his native city, as Member of the Legislature and Governor of his State, as Civil Service Commissioner, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as Vice-President and as President of the United States, he displayed administrative powers of a signal order and conducted the affairs of these various offices with a concentration of effort and a watchful care which permitted no divergence from the line of duty he had definitely set for himself.

In the War with Spain, he displayed singular initiative and energy and distinguished himself among the commanders of the army in the field. As President he awoke the Nation to the dangers of private control which lurked in our financial and industrial systems. It was by thus arresting the attention and stimulating the purpose of the country that he opened the way for subsequent necessary and beneficent reforms.

His private life was characterized by a simplicity, a virtue and an affection worthy of all admiration and emulation by the people of America.

In testimony of the respect in which his memory is held by the Government and people of the United States, I do hereby direct that the flags of the White House and the several Departmental Buildings be displayed at half staff for a period of thirty days, and that suitable military and naval honors under orders of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy may be rendered on the day of the funeral.

Done this seventh day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

[Appointing Walker D. Hines Director General of Railroads.]

Whereas, by the proclamation dated December 26, 1917, taking over each and every system of transportation and the appurtenances thereof located wholly or in part within the boundaries of the continental United States, it was provided "that the possession, control, operation, and utilization of such transportation systems hereby by me undertaken shall be exercised by and through William G. McAdoo, who is hereby appointed and designated Director General of Railroads;" and

Whereas, by a subsequent proclamation dated April 11, 1918, certain other systems of transportation were taken under Federal control; and Whereas, the said William G. McAdoo, Director General of Rail-

roads as aforesaid, has tendered his resignation which has been duly accepted:

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the powers and authority vested in me by law affecting the Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation, and of all powers me hereto enabling, do hereby appoint Walker D. Hines, of New York, Director General of Railroads, and authorize him, either personally or through such divisions, agencies, or persons as he may appoint, in his own name or in the name of such divisions, agencies, or persons, or in the name of the President, to agree with the carriers or any of them or with any other person in interest, upon the amount of compensation to be paid pursuant to law, and to sign, seal, and deliver in his own name or in the name of the President or in the name of the United States of America such agreements as may be necessary and expedient with the carriers or other persons in interest respecting compensation, or any other matter concerning which it may be necessary or expedient to deal, and to make any and all contracts, agreements, or obligations necessary or expedient and to issue any and all orders which may in any way be found necessary and expedient in connection with the Federal control of such systems of transportation, railroads, or inland waterways, as fully in all respects as the President is authorized to do, and generally to do and perform all and singular all acts and things and to exercise all and singular the powers and duties in relation to such Federal control as the President is by law empowered to do and perform.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done this tenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and of the Independence [SEAL.] of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

FRANK L. POLK, *Acting Secretary of State*

[Permitting the Use of Grain in the Manufacture of Non-Intoxicating Beverages.]

Whereas, under and by virtue of an act of Congress entitled "An Act to Provide further for the National Security and Defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10, 1917, the President, on the 16th day of September, 1918, made the following proclamation:

[Here follows the Proclamation to be found on pages 8583-4.]

And whereas the prohibition of the use of grain in the manufacture of beverages which are not intoxicating has been found by the President to be no longer essential in order to assure an adequate and continuous supply of food:

Now, therefore, I do hereby modify the aforesaid proclamation made on the 16th day of September, 1918, to the extent of permitting the use of grain in the manufacture of beverages which are not intoxicating.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done this thirteenth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

PROCLAMATION

[Announcing Prohibition Amendment to United States Constitution.]

To All to whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

Know ye, that the Congress of the United States, at the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress begun at Washington on the third day of December in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:

"Joint resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the states, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several states as provided by the Constitution:

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been

ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress."

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the legislatures of the states of Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

And further, that the states whose legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of states in the United States;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 29th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

FRANK L. POLK, *Acting Secretary of State.*

MESSAGE

[From Secretary of State Lansing to Premier Paderewski, of Poland, Announcing Recognition of Poland.]

January 29, 1919.

The President of the United States directs me to extend to you as Foreign Minister and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the provisional Polish Government its sincere wishes for your success in the high office which you have assumed and his earnest hope that the Government of which you are a part will bring prosperity to the republic of Poland.

It is my privilege to extend to you at this time my personal greetings and officially to assure you that it will be a source of gratification to enter into official relations with you at the earliest opportunity. To render to your country such aid as is possible at this time as it enters upon a new cycle of independent life will be in due accord with that spirit of friendliness which has in the past animated the American people in their relations with your countrymen.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Placing Administration of Food Relief for Europe Under Herbert Hoover and American Relief Administration.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 24, 1919.*

In pursuance of an Act entitled "An Act providing for the relief of such populations in Europe and countries contiguous thereto outside of Germany, German Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, as may be determined upon by the President as necessary," approved February 24, 1919, I hereby direct that the furnishing of foodstuffs and other urgent supplies and the transportation, distributing and administration thereof, provided for in said Act, shall be conducted under the direction of Herbert Hoover, who is hereby appointed Director General of the American Relief Administration with full power to determine to which of the populations named in said Act the supplies shall be furnished and in what quantities, and further to arrange for reimbursement so far as possible as in said Act provided.

He is hereby authorized to establish the American Relief Administration for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of said Act and to employ such persons and incur such expenses as may be necessary for such purpose, to disburse all sums appropriated under the aforesaid Act or appoint a disbursing officer with that power; and particularly to employ the Food Administration Grain Corporation, organized under the provisions of the Food Control Act of August 10, 1917, as an agency for the purchase, transportation and distribution of foodstuffs and supplies to the populations requiring relief.

He is hereby further authorized in the carrying out of the aforesaid Act of February twenty-fourth, 1919 to contract with the Food Administration Grain Corporation or any other person or corporation, that such person or corporation shall carry stocks of food in transit to Europe, and at points in Europe, in such quantities as may be agreed upon and as are required to meet relief needs, and that there shall be paid to such person or corporation in advance from the appropriation made in the aforesaid Act of February twenty-fourth, 1919, any sums which may be required for the purchase and transportation of foodstuffs and maintenance of stocks.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS

On February 24, 1919, President Wilson landed in Boston, returning from the Peace Conference at Paris in order to be present at the closing days of the last session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress. He left the shores of the United States for Europe again on March 6, 1919. His address on arriving at Boston was as follows:

Governor Coolidge, Mr. Mayor, Fellow-Citizens:—I wonder if you are half as glad to see me as I am to see you. It warms my heart to see a great body of my fellow-citizens again, because, in some respects, during the recent months I have been very lonely indeed without your comradeship and counsel; and I tried at every step of the work which fell to me to recall what I was sure would be your counsel with regard to the great matters which were under consideration.

I do not want you to think that I have not been appreciative of the extraordinarily generous reception which was given to me on the other side in saying that it makes me very happy to get home again. I do not mean to say that I was not very deeply touched by the cries that came from the great crowds on the other side. But I want to say to you in all honesty that I felt them to be a call of greeting to you rather than to me.

I did not feel that the greeting was personal. I had in my heart the over-crowning pride of being your representative and of receiving the plaudits of men everywhere who felt that your hearts beat with theirs in the cause of liberty. There was no mistaking the tone in the voices of those great crowds. It was not a tone of mere greeting, it was not a tone of mere generous welcome; it was the calling of comrade to comrade, the cries that come from men who say, "We have waited for this day, when the friends of liberty should come across the sea and shake hands with us, to see that a new world was constructed upon a new basis and foundation of justice and right."

I can't tell you the inspiration that came from the sentiments that came out of those simple voices of the crowd. And the proudest thing I have to report to you is that this great country of ours is trusted throughout the world.

I have not come to report the proceedings or the results of the proceedings of the Peace Conference; that would be premature. I can say that I have received very happy impressions from this conference; the impression that, while there are many differences of judgment, while there are some divergences of object, there is, nevertheless, a common spirit and a common realization of the necessity of setting up new standards of right in the world.

Because the men who are in conference in Paris realize as keenly as any American can realize that they are not the masters of their people; that they are the servants of their people, and that the spirit of their people has awakened to a new purpose and a new conception of their power to realize that purpose, and that no man dare go home from that conference and report anything less noble than was expected of it.

The conference seems to you to go slowly; from day to day in Paris it seems to go slowly; but I wonder if you realize the complexity

of the task which it has undertaken. It seems as if the settlements of this war affect, and affect directly, every great, and I sometimes think every small, nation in the world, and no one decision can prudently be made which is not properly linked in with the great series of other decisions which must accompany it, and it must be reckoned in with the final result if the real quality and character of that result is to be properly judged.

What we are doing is to hear the whole case; hear it from the mouths of the men most interested; hear it from those who are officially commissioned to state it; hear the rival claims; hear the claims that affect new nationalities, that affect new areas of the world, that affect new commercial and economic connections that have been established by the great world war through which we have gone. And I have been struck by the moderateness of those who have represented national claims. I can testify that I have nowhere seen the gleam of passion. I have seen earnestness, I have seen tears come to the eyes of men who plead for downtrodden people whom they were privileged to speak for; but they were not the tears of anguish, they were the tears of ardent hope.

And I don't see how any man can fail to have been subdued by these pleas, subdued to this feeling, that he was not there to assert an individual judgment of his own but to try to assist the cause of humanity.

And, in the midst of it all, every interest seeks out, first of all, when it reaches Paris, the representatives of the United States. Why? Because—and I think I am stating the most wonderful fact in history—because there is no nation in Europe that suspects the motives of the United States.

Was there ever so wonderful a thing seen before? Was there ever so moving a thing? Was there ever any fact that so bound the nation that had won that esteem forever to deserve it?

I would not have you understand that the great men who represent the other nations there in conference are disesteemed by those who know them. Quite the contrary. But you understand that the nations of Europe have again and again clashed with one another in competitive interest. It is impossible for men to forget those sharp issues that were drawn between them in times past. It is impossible for men to believe that all ambitions have all of a sudden been foregone. They remember territory that was coveted; they remember rights that it was attempted to extort; they remember political ambitions which it was attempted to realize, and, while they believe that men have come into a different temper, they cannot forget these things, and so they do not resort to one another for a dispassionate view of

the matters in controversy. They resort to that nation which has won the enviable distinction of being regarded as the friend of mankind.

Whenever it is desired to send a small force of soldiers to occupy a piece of territory where it is thought nobody else will be welcome, they ask for American soldiers. And where other soldiers would be looked upon with suspicion and perhaps met with resistance, the American soldier is welcomed with acclaim.

I have had so many grounds for pride on the other side of the water that I am very thankful that they are not grounds for personal pride, but for national pride. If they were grounds for personal pride, I'd be the most stuck-up man in the world.

And it has been an infinite pleasure to me to see those gallant soldiers of ours, of whom the Constitution of the United States made me the proud commander. You may be proud of the 26th Division, but I commanded the 26th Division, and see what they did under my direction! And everybody praises the American soldier, with the feeling that in praising him he is subtracting from the credit of no one else.

I have been searching for the fundamental fact that converted Europe to believe in us. Before this war, Europe did not believe in us as she does now. She did not believe in us throughout the first three years of the war. She seems really to have believed that we were holding off because we thought we could make more by staying out than by going in. And, all of a sudden, in a short eighteen months, the whole verdict is reversed. There can be but one explanation for it. They saw what we did—that, without making a single claim, we put all our men and all our means at the disposal of those who were fighting for their homes, in the first instance, but also for a cause, the cause of human rights and justice, and that we went in, not to support their national claims, but to support the great cause which they held in common. And when they saw that America not only held ideals, but acted ideals, they were converted to America and became firm partisans of those ideals.

I met a group of scholars when I was in Paris—some gentlemen from one of the Greek universities who had come to see me, and in whose presence, or rather in the presence of whose traditions of learning, I felt very young indeed. I told them that I had one of the delightful revenges that sometimes come to a man. All my life I had heard men speak with a sort of condescension of ideals and of idealists, and particularly those separated, enclastered persons whom they choose to term academic, who were in the habit of uttering ideals in the free atmosphere, when they clash with nobody in particular.

And I said I have had this sweet revenge: speaking with perfect

frankness, in the name of the people of the United States, I have uttered as the objects of this great war ideals, and nothing but ideals, and the war has been won by that inspiration. Men were fighting with tense muscles and lowered heads until they came to realize those things, feeling they were fighting for their lives and their country, and when these accents of what it was all about reached them from America, they lifted their heads, they raised their eyes to heaven, when they saw men in khaki coming across the sea in the spirit of crusaders, and they found that these were strange men, reckless of danger not only, but reckless because they seemed to see something that made that danger worth while. Men have testified to me in Europe that our men were possessed by something that they could only call a religious fervor. They were not like any of the other soldiers. They had a vision, they had a dream, and they were fighting in the dream, and, fighting in the dream, they turned the whole tide of battle, and it never came back.

One of our American humorists, meeting the criticism that American soldiers were not trained long enough, said: "It takes only half as long to train an American soldier as any other, because you only have to train him to go one way." And he did only go one way, and he never came back until he could do it when he pleased.

And now do you realize that this confidence we have established throughout the world imposes a burden upon us, if you choose to call it a burden? It is one of those burdens which any nation ought to be proud to carry. Any man who resists the present tides that run in the world will find himself thrown upon a shore so high and barren that it will seem as if he had been separated from his human kind forever.

The Europe that I left the other day was full of something that it had never felt fill its heart so full before. It was full of hope. The Europe of the second year of the war, the Europe of the third year of the war, was sinking to a sort of stubborn desperation. They did not see any great thing to be achieved, even when the war should be won. They hoped there would be some salvage; they hoped that they could clear their territories of invading armies; they hoped they could set up their homes and start their industries afresh. But they thought it would simply be the resumption of the old life that Europe had led—led in fear, led in anxiety, led in constant suspicious watchfulness. They never dreamed that it would be a Europe of settled peace and of justified hope.

And now these ideals have wrought this new magic, that all the peoples of Europe are buoyed up and confident in the spirit of hope, because they believe that we are at the eve of a new age in the world,

when nations will understand one another, when nations will support one another in every just cause, when nations will unite every moral and every physical strength to see that the right shall prevail.

If America were at this juncture to fail the world, what would come of it? I do not mean any disrespect to any other great people when I say that America is the hope of the world; and if she does not justify that hope, the results are unthinkable. Men will be thrown back upon the bitterness of disappointment not only, but the bitterness of despair. All nations will be set up as hostile camps again; the men at the Peace Conference will go home with their heads upon their breasts, knowing that they have failed—for they were bidden not to come home from there until they did something more than sign a treaty of peace.

Suppose we sign the treaty of peace and that it is the most satisfactory treaty of peace that the confusing elements of the modern world will afford, and go home and think about our labors, we will know that we have left written upon the historic table at Versailles, upon which Vergennes and Benjamin Franklin wrote their names, nothing but a modern scrap of paper; no nations united to defend it, no great forces combined to make it good, no assurance given to the downtrodden and fearful people of the world that they shall be safe.

Any man who thinks that America will take part in giving the world any such rebuff and disappointment as that does not know America. I invite him to test the sentiments of the nation. We set this nation up to make men free, and we did not confine our conception and purpose to America, and now we will make men free. If we did not do that, the fame of America would be gone, and all her powers would be dissipated. She then would have to keep her power for those narrow, selfish, provincial purposes which seem so dear to some minds that have no sweep beyond the nearest horizon.

I should welcome no sweeter challenge than that. I have fighting blood in me, and it is sometimes a delight to let it have scope, but if it is a challenge on this occasion it will be an indulgence. Think of the picture, think of the utter blackness that would fall on the world. America has failed! America made a little essay at generosity, and then withdrew. America said, "We are your friends," but it was only for today, not for tomorrow. America said, "Here is our power to vindicate right," and then the next day said, "Let right take care of itself, and we will take care of ourselves." America said, "We set up a light to lead men along the paths of liberty, but we have lowered it; it is intended only to light our own path." We set up a great ideal of liberty, and then we said: "Liberty is a thing that you must win for yourself. Do not call upon us."

And think of the world that we would leave. Do you realize how many new nations are going to be set up in the presence of old and powerful nations in Europe, and left there, if left by us, without a disinterested friend?

Do you believe in the Polish cause, as I do? Are you going to set up Poland, immature, inexperienced, as yet unorganized, and leave her with a circle of armies around her? Do you believe in the aspiration of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, as I do? Do you know how many powers would be quick to pounce upon them if there were not the guarantees of the world behind their liberty?

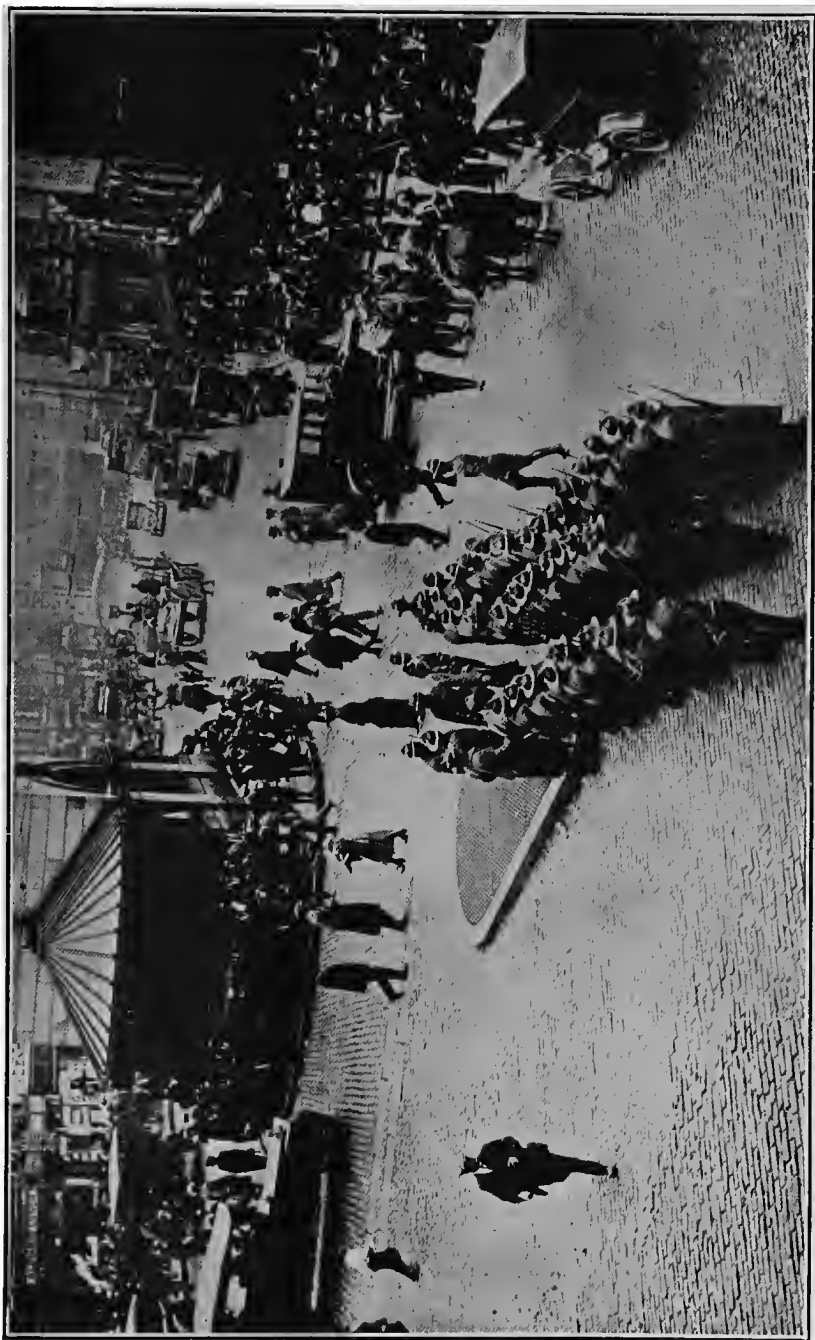
Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians after they suffered; now set your strength so that they shall never suffer again.

The arrangements of the present peace cannot stand a generation unless they are guaranteed by the united forces of the civilized world. And, if we do not guarantee them, can you not see the picture? Your hearts have instructed you where the burden of this war fell. It did not fall upon the national treasuries, it did not fall upon the instruments of administration, it did not fall upon the resources of the nation. It fell upon the victims' homes everywhere—where women were toiling in the hope that their men would come back.

When I think of the homes upon which dull despair would settle were this great hope disappointed, I should wish for my part never to have had America play any part whatever in this attempt to emancipate the world. But I talk as if there were any question. I have no more doubt of the verdict of America in this matter than I have doubt of the blood that is in me.

And so, my fellow-citizens, I have come back to report progress, and I do not believe that the progress is going to stop short of the goal. The nations of the world have set their heads now to do a great thing and they are not going to slacken their purpose. And when I speak of the nations of the world I do not speak of the Governments of the world. I speak of the peoples who constitute the nations of the world. They are in the saddle and they are going to see to it that, if their present Governments do not do their will, some other Governments shall. And the secret is out and the present Governments know it.

There is a great deal of harmony to be got out of common knowledge. There is a great deal of sympathy to be got out of living in the same atmosphere, and except for the differences of language, which puzzled my American ear very sadly, I could have believed I was at home, in France, or in Italy, or in England, when I was on the streets, when I was in the presence of the crowds, when I was in great halls



THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE

THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE.

In September, 1919, the police force of the city of Boston, after certain demands made by it had been rejected, went on strike, and for hours the city was at the mercy of the lawless elements of the community. Although it was not denied that the police had well-founded grievances, and although they had given warning of their determination to strike in case their demands were not met, the strike was denounced throughout the country as an attack upon the very foundations of law and order and stable government. (See, for example, President Wilson's remarks on page 8796.) The refusal of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts to yield to the strikers made him a national figure overnight, and was largely responsible for his nomination for the vice-presidency by the Republican Party in 1920.

The illustration shows a company of Massachusetts militia awaiting assignment to police duty. Until a new and adequate police force could be recruited, Boston was policed by the militia.

The entire problem of strikes has received an increasing amount of attention from our Presidents in recent years. For references, see the Encyclopedic Index under Labor.

where men were gathered together irrespective of class. I did not feel quite as much at home there as I do here, but I felt that, now, at any rate, after this storm of war had cleared the air, men were seeing eye to eye everywhere and that these were the kind of folks who would understand what the kind of folks at home would understand and that they were thinking the same things.

I feel about you as I am reminded of a story of that excellent witness and good artist, Oliver Herford, who one day, sitting at luncheon at his club, was slapped vigorously on the back by a man whom he did not know very well. He said: "Oliver, old boy, how are you?" He looked at him rather coldly. He said: "I don't know your name, I don't know your face, but your manners are very familiar." And I must say that your manners are very familiar, and, let me add, very delightful.

It is a great comfort, for one thing, to realize that you all understand the language I am speaking. A friend of mine said that to talk through an interpreter was like witnessing the compound fracture of an idea. But the beauty of it is that, whatever the impediments of the channel of communication, the idea is the same, it gets registered, and it gets registered in responsive hearts and receptive purposes.

I have come back for a strenuous attempt to transact business for a little while in America, but I have really come back to say to you, in all soberness and honesty, that I have been trying my best to speak your thoughts.

When I sample myself, I think I find that I am a typical American, and, if I sample deep enough and get down to what is probably the true stuff of a man, then I have hope that it is part of the stuff that is like the other fellow's at home. And, therefore, probing deep in my heart and trying to see the things that are right, without regard to the things that may be debated as expedient, I feel that I am interpreting the purpose and the thought of America; and in loving America I find I have joined the great majority of my fellow-men throughout the world.

STATEMENT

The Sixty-Fifth Congress adjourned on March 4, 1919, without passing certain pressing legislation, including appropriation bills. This action was obviously taken in the hope of compelling the President to call the Sixty-Sixth Congress in special session in the immediate future. Upon the adjournment of Congress, President Wilson issued the following statement:

A group of men in the Senate have deliberately chosen to embarrass the administration of the Government, to imperil the financial interests

of the railways systems of the country, and to make arbitrary use of powers intended to be employed in the interests of the people.

It is plainly my present duty to attend the Peace Conference in Paris. It is also my duty to be in close contact with the public business during a session of the Congress. I must make my choice between these two duties, and I confidently hope that the people of the country will think that I am making the right choice. It is not in the interest of the right conduct of public affairs that I should call the Congress in special session while it is impossible for me to be in Washington, because of a more pressing duty elsewhere, to co-operate with the Houses.

I take it for granted that the men who have obstructed and prevented the passage of necessary legislation have taken all of this into consideration and are willing to assume the responsibility of the impaired efficiency of the Government and the embarrassed finances of the country during the time of my enforced absence.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Amending Proclamation of September 16, 1918, Prohibiting Manufacture of Malt Liquors.]

Whereas, under and by virtue of an act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide further for the national security and defence by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel, approved August 10, 1917, the President, on the 16th day of September, 1918, made a proclamation, containing the following prohibition:

"I prescribe and give public notice that on and after October 1, 1918, no person shall use any sugar, glucose, corn, rice, or any other foods, fruits, food materials or feeds, except hops and malt now already made, in the production of malt liquors, including near beer, for beverage purposes, whether or not such malt liquors contain alcohol, and on and after December 1, 1918, no person shall use any sugar, glucose, corn, rice, or any other foods, fruits, food materials or feeds, including malt, in the production of malt liquors, including near beer, for beverage purposes, whether or not such malt liquors contain alcohol."

And whereas the President, under authority of the said act of August 10, 1917, by further proclamation dated January 30, 1919, modified the said proclamation of September 16, 1918, so as to permit the

use of grain in the manufacture of beverages which are not intoxicating, such proclamation providing as follows:

"Whereas the prohibition of the use of grain in the manufacture of beverages which are not intoxicating has been found by the President to be no longer essential in order to assure an adequate and continuous supply of food:

Now, therefore, I do hereby modify the aforesaid proclamation made on the sixteenth day of September, 1918, to the extent of permitting the use of grain in the manufacture of beverages which are not intoxicating."

And whereas for the production from a cereal base of a nonintoxicating beverage, which shall be nutritious and palatable, food products other than grains, of which there is now an adequate supply, but of which the use for such purposes is prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation of September 16, 1918, are required:

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby amend the aforesaid proclamation of September 16, 1918, by inserting in the first sentence of the prohibiting paragraph, after the words, "production of" the word "intoxicating" and by striking out of the same sentence the words "including near beer"; and by inserting in the succeeding sentence in both places where the phrase "production of malt liquors" occurs, after the words, "production of" the word "intoxicating", and striking out the phrases "including near beer" and "whether or not such malt liquors contain alcohol" in both places in that sentence where these phrases occur, so that as amended the prohibitory provisions of said proclamation shall read as follows:

"That the use of sugar, glucose, corn, rice, or any other foods, fruits, food materials and feeds in the production of intoxicating malt liquors for beverage purposes be prohibited. And by this Proclamation I prescribe and give public notice that on and after October 1, 1918, no person shall use any sugar, glucose, corn, rice, or any other foods, fruits, food materials or feeds, except hops and malt now already made, in the production of intoxicating malt liquors, for beverage purposes, and on and after December 1, 1918, no person shall use any sugar, glucose, corn, rice or any other foods, fruits, food materials or feeds, including malt, in the production of intoxicating malt liquors, for beverage purposes, whether or not such malt liquors contain alcohol."

and the aforesaid proclamation of September 16, 1918, as thus amended, shall remain in full force and effect.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done this 4th day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and of the independence [SEAL.] of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

FRANK L. POLK, *Acting Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Amendments to the Civil Service Rules, Concerning Especially Veterans of the Great War.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, 16 April 1919.

Section 1, Civil Service Rule IX, is amended to read as follows:

I. A person separated without delinquency or misconduct from a competitive position or from a position which he entered by transfer or promotion from a competitive position or to accept another appointment in the executive civil service may be reinstated subject to the following limitations:

(a) Unless otherwise provided hereinafter a person may be reinstated only to the department or independent government establishment from which separated and upon requisition made within one year from the date of his separation.

(b) A person who served in the Civil War or the War with Spain and was honorably discharged or his widow or an army nurse of either war, separated therefore from the competitive classified service, may be reinstated in the department or independent establishment from which separated without time limit. If hereafter separated, reinstatement may be made within five years from the date of separation.

(c) A soldier, sailor, marine, or army nurse of the War with Germany formerly in the competitive classified service may be reinstated in any part of the competitive classified service within five years from the date of honorable discharge from the military service if he has the required fitness to perform the duties of the position to which his reinstatement is sought.

(d) The widow of a veteran of the War with Germany formerly in the competitive classified service who was the wife of such veteran while he was in the military service may be reinstated in any part of the competitive classified service within five years from the date of termination of her husband's military service by death or honorable discharge.

(e) No person in any of the foregoing groups may be reinstated to a position requiring an examination different from that required in the position from which he was separated without passing an appropriate examination.

Section 2 of Rule IX remains unchanged.

The Executive Order of July 18, 1918, providing for the reinstatement of government employees who left the classified civil service to enter the military or naval service during the War with Germany, and the Executive Order of February 7, 1919, amending section 1 of

Civil Service Rule IX (erroneously referred to as Rule XI) are hereby revoked.

This Executive Order is recommended by the Civil Service Commission to harmonize and consolidate provisions relating to the reinstatement of veterans, their widows, and army nurses.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, 16 April 1919.

Civil Service Rule V is hereby amended by the addition to the following proviso to clause (b) of section 4:

Provided, that the Commission may, in its discretion, exempt from the physical requirements established for any position a disabled and honorably discharged soldier, sailor, or marine upon the certification of the Federal Board for Vocational Education that he has been specially trained for and has passed a practical test demonstrating his physical ability to perform the duties of the class of positions in which employment is sought.

As amended section 4 will read:

The Commission may refuse to examine an applicant or to certify an eligible for any of the following reasons: (a) Dismissal from the service for delinquency or misconduct within one year next preceding the date of his application; (b) physical or mental unfitness for the position for which he applies: Provided, that the Commission may, in its discretion, exempt from the physical requirements established for any position a disabled and honorably discharged soldier, sailor, or marine upon the certification of the Federal Board for Vocational Education that he has been specially trained for and has passed a practical test demonstrating his physical ability to perform the duties of the class of positions in which employment is sought; (c) criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct; (d) intentionally making a false statement in any material fact, or practicing any deception or fraud in securing examination, registration, certification, or appointment; (e) refusal to furnish testimony as required by Rule XIV; (f) the habitual use of intoxicating beverages to excess. Any of the last five foregoing disqualifications shall also be good cause for removal from the service.

This amendment is recommended by the Civil Service Commission after consultation with officials of the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

WOODROW WILSON.

APPEAL

[For Success of Victory Liberty Loan.]

April 19, 1919.

For two anxious years the American people have striven to fulfill the task of saving our civilization. By the exertion of unmeasured power they have quickly won the victory, without which they would have remained in the field until the last resource had been exhausted.

Bringing to the contest a strength of spirit made doubly strong by the righteousness of their cause, they devoted themselves unswervingly to the prosecution of their undertaking, in the full knowledge that no conquest lay in their path excepting the conquest of right.

Today the world stands freed from the threat of militarism, which has so long weighed upon the spirit and the labor of peaceful nations. But as yet we stand only at the threshold of happier times. To enter, we must fulfill to the utmost the engagements we have made. The Victory Liberty Loan is the indispensable means.

Two years ago we pledged our lives and fortunes to the cause for which we have fought. Sixty thousand of our strongest sons have redeemed for us that pledge of blood. To redeem in full faith the promise of this sacrifice, we now must give this new evidence of our purpose.

WOODROW WILSON.

STATEMENT ON THE DISPOSITION OF FIUME

One of the most difficult problems before the Peace Conference of Paris was concerned with the disposition of the sea-port of Fiume, on the Istrian Peninsula, on the northeast shore of the Adriatic. As will be seen below, Italy had entered the Great War with a secret understanding with France and Great Britain whereby as a result of victory over the Central Powers Italy was to acquire not only those portions of the Trentino and the land around Trieste which was inhabited chiefly by Italians, but also certain portions of the Austrian Tyrol, parts of the northeast Adriatic shore and some islands in the Adriatic in which the Italian nationality could hardly be said to be in the ascendancy. However, Fiume was not granted to Italy in this secret arrangement.

The nationality of the inhabitants of Fiume was sharply disputed at the Peace Conference. Neutral investigations, on the whole, tended to show that although Fiume proper was inhabited chiefly by Italians, yet the adjacent suburb, larger and industrially more important than Fiume, was inhabited so preponderantly by South (Jugo) Slavs as to make the whole a city of South Slavic nationality. President Wilson's statement regarding Fiume was issued on April 23, 1919. It was the only occasion at the Conference when he publicly and openly appealed to the people over the heads of the diplomats. However, it was commonly understood that Wilson was supported in his stand by Premiers Clemenceau, of France, and Lloyd-George, of Great Britain. The immediate effect of the statement was the temporary withdrawal of the Italian delegation to the Peace Conference.

In view of the capital importance of the questions affected, and in order to throw all possible light upon what is involved in their settlement, I hope that the following statement will contribute to the final formation of opinion and to a satisfactory solution :

When Italy entered the war she entered upon the basis of a definite private understanding with Great Britain and France, now known as the Pact of London. Since that time the whole face of circumstances has been altered. Many other powers, great and small, have entered the struggle, with no knowledge of that private understanding.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, then the enemy of Europe, and at whose expense the Pact of London was to be kept in the event of victory, has gone to pieces and no longer exists. Not only that, but the several parts of that empire, it is agreed now by Italy and all her associates, are to be erected into independent States and associated in a League of Nations, not with those who were recently our enemies, but with Italy herself and the powers that stood with Italy in the great war for liberty.

We are to establish their liberty as well as our own. They are to be among the smaller States whose interests are henceforth to be safeguarded as scrupulously as the interests of the most powerful States.

The war was ended, moreover, by proposing to Germany an armistice and peace which should be founded on certain clearly-defined principles which set up a new order of right and justice. Upon those principles the peace with Germany has been conceived, not only, but formulated. Upon those principles it will be executed.

We cannot ask the great body of powers to propose and effect peace with Austria and establish a new basis of independence and right in the States which originally constituted the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the States of the Balkan group on principles of another kind. We must apply the same principles to the settlement of Europe in those quarters that we have applied in the peace with Germany. It was upon the explicit avowal of those principles that the initiative for peace was taken. It is upon them that the whole structure of peace must rest.

If those principles are to be adhered to, Fiume must serve as the outlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the land to the north and northeast of that port, Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the States of the new Jugo-Slav group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we have deliberately put the port upon which all those countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean in the hands of a power of which it did not form an integral part and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve. It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume

was not included in the Pact of London, but there definitely assigned to the Croatians.

And the reason why the line of the Pact of London swept about many of the islands of the eastern coast of the Adriatic and around the portion of the Dalmatian coast which lies most open to that sea was not only that here and there on those islands, and here and there on that coast, there are bodies of people of Italian blood and connection, but also, and no doubt chiefly, because it was felt that it was necessary for Italy to have a foothold amidst the channels of the eastern Adriatic in order that she might make her own coasts safe against the naval aggression of Austria-Hungary.

But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. It is proposed that the fortifications which the Austrian Government constructed there shall be razed and permanently destroyed.

It is part also of the new plan of European order which centres in the League of Nations that the new States erected there shall accept a limitation of armaments which puts aggression out of the question. There can be no fear of the unfair treatment of groups of Italian people there, because adequate guarantees will be given, under international sanction, of the equal and equitable treatment of all racial or national minorities.

In brief, every question associated with this settlement wears a new aspect—a new aspect given it by the very victory for right for which Italy has made the supreme sacrifice of blood and treasure. Italy, along with the four other great powers, has become one of the chief trustees of the new order which she has played so honorable a part in establishing.

And on the north and northeast her natural frontiers are completely restored, along the whole sweep of the Alps from northwest to southeast to the very end of the Istrian Peninsula, including all the great watershed within which Trieste and Pola lie, and all the fair regions whose face nature has turned toward the great peninsula upon which the historic life of the Latin people has been worked out through centuries of famous story ever since Rome was first set upon her seven hills.

Her ancient unity is restored. Her lines are extended to the great walls which are her natural defense. It is within her choice to be surrounded by friends; to exhibit to the newly liberated peoples across the Adriatic that noblest quality of greatness, magnanimity, friendly generosity, the preference of justice over interest.

The nations associated with her, the nations that knew nothing of the Pact of London or of any other special understanding that lies at the beginning of this great struggle, and who have made their supreme sacrifice also in the interest, not of national advantage or defense, but

of the settled peace of the world, are now united with her older associates in urging her to assume a leadership which cannot be mistaken in the new order of Europe.

America is Italy's friend. Her people are drawn, millions strong, from Italy's own fair countrysides. She is linked in blood, as well as in affection, with the Italian people. Such ties can never be broken. And America was privileged, by the generous commission of her associates in the war, to initiate the peace we are about to consummate—to initiate it upon terms which she had herself formulated and in which I was her spokesman.

The compulsion is upon her to square every decision she takes a part in with those principles. She can do nothing else. She trusts Italy, and in her trust believes that Italy will ask nothing of her that cannot be made unmistakably consistent with those sacred obligations.

Interests are not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of States new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy of a right; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure.

These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace. Only upon these principles, she hopes and believes, will the people of Italy ask her to make peace.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

There is no question to which I have given more careful or anxious thought than I have given to this, because in common with all my colleagues it is my earnest desire to see the utmost justice done to Italy.

Throughout my consideration of it, however, I have felt that there was one matter in which I had no choice and could wish to have none. I felt bound to square every conclusion that I should reach as accurately as possible with the fourteen principles of peace which I set forth in my address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and in subsequent addresses.

These fourteen points and the principles laid down in the subsequent addresses were formally adopted with only a single reservation by the powers associated against Germany and will constitute the basis of peace with Germany. I do not feel at liberty to suggest one basis for peace with Germany and another for peace with Austria.

It will be remembered that in reply to a communication from the Austrian government offering to enter into negotiations for an armistice and peace on the basis of the fourteen points to which I have alluded I said that there was one matter to which those points no

longer applied. They had demanded autonomy for the several states which had constituted parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and I pointed out that it must now be left to the choice of the people of these several countries what their destinies and political relations should be.

They have chosen with the sympathy of the whole world to be set up as independent states. Their complete separation from Austria and the complete dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire has given a new aspect and significance to the settlements which may be effected with regard at any rate to the eastern boundaries of Italy.

Personally, I am quite willing that Italy should be accorded along the whole front of her northern frontier, and wherever she comes into contact with Austrian territory, all that was accorded her in the so-called Pact of London, but I am of the clear opinion that the Pact of London can no longer apply to the settlement of her eastern boundaries.

The line drawn in the Pact of London was conceived for the purpose of establishing an absolutely adequate frontier of safety for Italy against any possible hostility or aggression on the part of Austria. But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. These eastern frontiers will touch countries stripped of the military and naval power of Austria, settled in independence of Austria and organized for the purpose of satisfying legitimate national aspirations, and created states not hostile to the new European order, but arising out of it, interested in its maintenance, dependent upon the cultivation of friendships and bound to a common policy of peace and accommodation by the covenant of the League of Nations.

It is with these facts in mind that I have approached the Adriatic question. It is commonly agreed, and I very heartily adhere to the agreement, that the ports of Trieste and Pola, and with them the greater part of the Istrian Peninsula, should be ceded to Italy, her eastern frontier running along the natural strategic line established by the physical conformation of the country—a line which it has been attempted to draw with some degree of accuracy on the attached map.

Within this line on the Italian side will lie considerable bodies of non-Italian population, but their fortunes are so naturally linked by the nature of the country itself with the rest of the Italian people that I think their inclusion is fully justified.

There would be no justification in my judgment in including Fiume, or any part of the coastline to the south of Fiume, within the boundaries of the Italian Kingdom. Fiume is by situation and by all the circumstances of its development not an Italian but an international port, serving the countries to the east and north of the Gulf of Fiume.

Just because it is an international port and cannot with justice be

subordinated to any one sovereignty, it is my clear judgment that it should enjoy a very considerable degree of genuine autonomy, and while it should be included, no doubt, within the customs system of the new Jugo-Slavic state, it should nevertheless be left free in its own interest, and in the interest of the states lying about it, to devote itself to the service of the commerce which naturally and inevitably seeks an outlet or inlet at its port.

The states which it serves will be new states. They will have complete confidence in their access to an outlet on the sea. The friendship and the connections of the future will largely depend upon such an arrangement as I have suggested, and friendship, coöperation and freedom of action must underly every arrangement of peace if peace is to be lasting.

I believe there will be a common agreement that the island of Lissa should be ceded to Italy, and that she should retain the port of Volpna. I believe that it will be generally agreed that the fortifications which the Austrian Government established upon the islands near the eastern coast of the Adriatic should be permanently dispensed with under international guarantee, and that the disarmament which is to be arranged under the League of Nations should limit the states on the eastern coast of the Adriatic to only such minor naval forces as are necessary for policing the waters of the islands and the coast. These are the conclusions which I am forced to by compulsion of the understandings which underlie the whole initiation of the present peace.

No other conclusions seem to be acceptable to being rendered concise with these understandings. They were understandings accepted by the whole world and bear with peculiar compulsion upon the United States, because the privilege was accorded her of taking the initiative of bringing about the negotiations for peace, and her plans underlie the whole difficult business.

And certainly Italy obtains under such a settlement the great historic object which her people have so long had in mind. The historic wrongs inflicted upon her by Austria-Hungary and by a long series of unjust transactions, which I hope will before long sink out of the memory of man, are completely redressed. Nothing is denied her which will complete her national unity.

Here and there upon the islands of the Adriatic and upon the eastern coast of that sea there are settlements containing large Italian elements of population, but the pledge under which the new states enter the family of nations will abundantly safeguard the liberty, the development and all the just rights of national and racial minorities, and back of these safeguards will always lie the watchful authority of the League of Nations. And at the very outset we shall have avoided the fatal error of making Italy's nearest neighbors on her east her

enemies and nursing just such a sense of injustice as has disturbed the peace of Europe for generations together and played no small part in bringing on the terrible conflict through which we have just passed.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PROCLAMATIONS

[Boy Scout Week.]

The Boy Scouts of America have rendered notable service to the Nation during the world-war. They have done effective work in the Liberty Loan and War Savings campaigns, in discovering and reporting upon the black walnut supply, in coöperating with the Red Cross and other war work agencies, in acting as despatch bearers for the Committee on Public Information, and in other important fields. The Boy Scouts have not only demonstrated their worth to the Nation, but have also materially contributed to a deeper appreciation by the American people of the higher conceptions of patriotism and good citizenship.

The Boy Scout movement should not only be preserved, but strengthened. It deserves the support of all public-spirited citizens. The available means for the Boy Scout movement have thus far sufficed for the organization and training of only a small proportion of the boys of the country. There are approximately 10,000,000 boys in the United States between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. Of these only 375,000 are enrolled as members of the Boy Scouts of America.

America cannot acquit herself commensurately with her power and influence in the great period now facing her and the world unless the boys of America are given better opportunities than heretofore to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of citizenship.

Every nation depends for its future upon the proper training and development of its youth. The American boy must have the best training and discipline our great democracy can provide if America is to maintain her ideals, her standards, and her influence in the world.

The plan, therefore, for a Boy Scout week during which a universal appeal will be made to all Americans to supply the means to put the Boy Scouts of America in a position to carry forward effectively and continuously the splendid work they are doing for the youth of America should have the unreserved support of the Nation.

Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby recommend that the period beginning Sunday, June 8th, to Flag Day, June 14th, be observed as Boy Scout Week through the United States for the purpose of strengthening the work of the Boy Scouts of America.

I earnestly recommend that, in every community, a Citizens' Committee, under the leadership of a National Citizens' Committee, be organized to coöperate in carrying out a program for a definite recognition of the effective services rendered by the Boy Scouts of America; for a survey of the facts relating to the boyhood of each community, in order that with the coöperation of churches, schools and other organizations definitely engaged in work for boys, adequate provision may be made for extending the Boy Scout program to a larger proportion of American boyhood.

The Boy Scout movement offers unusual opportunity for volunteer service. It needs men to act as committeemen and as leaders of groups of boys. I hope that all who can will enlist for such personal service, enroll as associate members and give all possible financial assistance to this worthy organization of American boyhood. Anything that is done to increase the effectiveness of the Boy Scouts of America will be a genuine contribution to the welfare of the Nation.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done this first day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen and of the independence of the [SEAL.] United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President :

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

[Extra Session of Congress, 1919.]

Whereas public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at twelve o'clock, noon, on the nineteenth day of May, 1919, to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive :

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extra session at the Capitol in the District of Columbia on the nineteenth day of May, 1919, at twelve o'clock, noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the United States of America the seventh day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and of the Independence of [SEAL.] the United States the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President :

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[United States Wheat Director.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 14, 1919.*

I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, pursuant to an act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide further for the National Security and Defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10th, 1917, and an act of Congress entitled "An Act to enable the President to carry out the price guarantees made to producers of wheat of the crops of 1918 and 1919 and to protect the United States against undue enhancement of its liabilities thereunder," approved March 4th, 1919, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by said acts of Congress and each of them, as well as by virtue of any and all other acts of Congress conferring authority upon me in the premises, do hereby authorize, order and direct as follows:

The executive administration of the provisions of the above acts insofar as they apply to the wheat and its product of the crop of 1919 and the guarantees made to producers thereof and the protection of the United States against undue enhancement of its liabilities thereunder is hereby vested in a person to be designated and called the United States Wheat Director, and I hereby appoint Julius H. Barnes as such United States Wheat Director to act as such during the pleasure of the President. I hereby authorize and direct the United States Wheat Director to take such measures, adopt such administrative procedure, enter into such arrangements or agreements, withhold, refuse, issue, suspend and revoke such licenses and make such requisitions, orders, rules and regulations not inconsistent with law as he may from time to time deem necessary and proper for the purpose of such executive administration or as may be required in order to carry into effect this order or any orders and proclamations hereafter issued by me under the aforesaid acts or either of them in connection with such executive administration for such purpose. I vest in the United States Wheat Director all power and authority conferred upon me under the provisions of said acts applicable thereto. The United States Wheat Director shall have authority to employ and make use of the services of such agents, assistants and employees as he may deem necessary and as may be selected by him for service in connection with said executive administration with the consent and approval of the President and under such rules and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed. He shall also have authority to make use of the services of legal counsel and employ and fix the compensation of such counsel as may from time to time be deemed

by him necessary for the purpose of aiding him in such executive administration and in carrying the provisions of said acts into effect.

I further find it essential and hereby direct that in order to carry out the guarantees made to producers of the wheat of the crop of 1919, and to protect the United States against undue enhancement of its liabilities thereunder, the United States Wheat Director utilize the services of the Food Administration Grain Corporation as an agency of the United States; and to that end I authorize the Food Administration Grain Corporation to buy and sell wheat of the crop of 1918 after June 1st, 1919, and I further authorize the Food Administration Grain Corporation, subject to the approval of the United States Wheat Director, to buy or contract for the purchase of wheat of the 1919 crop at places designated for the delivery of the same by the President's proclamation or at such other places as the United States Wheat Director may designate, for cash at the said guaranteed prices. And the said Food Administration Grain Corporation with the approval of the United States Wheat Director is thereafter authorized to buy or contract for the purchase of, for cash, or sell, consign or contract for the sale of, for cash or on credit, wheat of the said crops and flour produced therefrom at said guaranteed prices or at such other prices and on such terms or conditions as the United States Wheat Director may deem necessary or expedient. And said Food Administration Grain Corporation is authorized to borrow such sums of money, to enter into such voluntary agreements, to make such arrangements, and to do and perform such acts and things as may be necessary in order to make such guaranteed price effective and to carry out the purposes of said acts.

Inasmuch as the Food Administration Grain Corporation was formed as an agency of the United States in connection with the United States Food Administration activities under the control and direction of the United States Food Administration and since its functions will be substantially complete on June 30th, 1919, I hereby direct that the Food Administration Grain Corporation close its books on June 30, 1919, and make a complete report as of said date. And, further, that upon said date or as soon thereafter as may be practicable it shall take the proper steps to change its corporate name from Food Administration Grain Corporation to United States Grain Corporation, under which title it shall perform such duties as hereinbefore provided or as I may hereafter direct.

I further direct that Julius H. Barnes act as a director and as an executive officer of said corporation and that the other directors and executive officers of said corporations be selected by Julius H. Barnes with the approval of the President.

I further direct that the authorized capital stock of said corporation

be increased from 1,500,000 to 5,000,000 shares of the par value of one hundred dollars each, and that the United States purchase from time to time at par so much of the additional capital stock as may be required to supply the necessary capital to enable said corporation to carry out the provisions of this order and that none of said additional stock shall be held by any person other than the United States. The United States Wheat Director is hereby authorized and directed to subscribe for and purchase at any time or from time to time all or any part of said additional capital stock in the name of and for the use and benefit of the United States and to pay for the same out of the appropriation of one billion dollars which is provided for in Section 8 of the foregoing act of Congress approved March 4th, 1919, and I direct the United States Treasurer to honor the requisition of the United States Wheat Director in this respect.

I further direct that all departments and established agencies of the Government coöperate with the United States Wheat Director in the performance of his duty as hereinbefore set forth and to give the United States Wheat Director such support and assistance as may be requisite or expedient to enable him to perform his said duties and avoid duplication of effort and expenditure of funds.

WOODROW WILSON.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

On the assembling of the Sixty-Sixth Congress in extraordinary session on May 20, 1919, the following message from President Wilson, in France, was read. This occasion was the first on which a message of length had been sent by a President to Congress by means of cable.

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I deeply regret my inability to be present at the opening of the extraordinary session of the Congress. It still seems to be my duty to take part in the counsels of the peace conference and contribute what I can to the solution of the innumerable questions to whose settlement it has had to address itself. For they are questions which affect the peace of the whole world and from them, therefore, the United States cannot stand apart.

I deemed it my duty to call the Congress together at this time because it was not wise to postpone longer the provisions which must be made for the support of the Government. Many of the appropriations which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the Government and the fulfillment of its varied obligations for the fiscal year 1919-1920 have not yet been made. The end of the present fiscal year is at hand, and action upon these appropriations can no longer be prudently delayed. It is necessary, therefore, that I should immedi-

ately call your attention to this critical need. It is hardly necessary for me to urge that it may receive your prompt attention.

I shall take the liberty of addressing you on my return on the subjects which have most engrossed our attention and the attention of the world during these last anxious months, since the armistice of last November was signed, the international settlements which must form the subject matter of the present treaties of peace and of our national action in the immediate future. It would be premature to discuss them or to express a judgment about them before they are brought to their complete formulation by the agreements which are now being sought at the table of the conference. I shall hope to lay them before you in their many aspects so soon as arrangements have been reached.

I hesitate to venture any opinion or press any recommendation with regard to domestic legislation while absent from the United States and out of daily touch with intimate sources of information and counsel. I am conscious that I need, after so long an absence from Washington, to seek the advice of those who have remained in constant contact with domestic problems and who have known them close at hand from day to day; and I trust that it will very soon be possible for me to do so. But there are several questions pressing for consideration to which I feel that I may and, indeed, must, even now direct your attention, if only in general terms. In speaking of them I shall, I dare say, be doing little more than speak your own thoughts. I hope that I shall speak your own judgment also.

The question which stands at the front of all others in every country amidst the present great awakening is the question of labor; and perhaps I can speak of it with as great advantage while engrossed in the consideration of interests which affect all countries alike as I could at home and amidst the interests which naturally most affect my thought, because they are the interests of our own people.

By the question of labor I do not mean the question of efficient industrial production, the question of how labor is to be obtained and made effective in the great process of sustaining populations and winning success amidst commercial and industrial rivalries. I mean that much greater and more vital question: How are the men and women who do the daily labor of the world to obtain progressive improvement in the conditions of their labor, to be made happier, and to be served better by the communities and the industries which their labor sustains and advances? How are they to be given their right advantage as citizens and human beings?

We cannot go any further in our present direction. We have already gone too far. We cannot live our right life as a nation or achieve our proper success as an industrial community if capital and labor are

to continue to be antagonistic instead of being partners; if they are to continue to distrust one another and contrive how they can get the better of one another, or what perhaps amounts to the same thing, calculate by what form and degree of coercion they can manage to extort on the one hand work enough to make enterprise profitable, on the other justice and fair treatment enough to make life tolerable. That bad road has turned out a blind alley. It is no thoroughfare to real prosperity. We must find another, leading in another direction and to a very different destination. It must lead not merely to accommodation but also to a genuine coöperation and partnership based upon a real community of interest and participation in control.

There is now, in fact, a real community of interest between capital and labor, but it has never been made evident in action. It can be made operative and manifest only in a new organization of industry. The genius of our business men and the sound practical sense of our workers can certainly work such a partnership out when once they realize exactly what it is that they seek and sincerely adopt a common purpose with regard to it.

Labor legislation lies, of course, chiefly with the states; but the new spirit and method of organization which must be effected are not to be brought about by legislation so much as by the common counsel and voluntary coöperation of capitalist, manager, and workman. Legislation can go only a very little way in commanding what shall be done. The organization of industry is a matter of corporate and individual initiative and of practical business arrangement. Those who really desire a new relationship between capital and labor can readily find a way to bring it about; and perhaps Federal legislation can help more than state legislation could.

The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they are to play in industry. Some positive legislation is practicable. The Congress has already shown the way to one reform which should be world-wide, by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard day in every field of labor over which it can exercise control. It has sought to find the way to prevent child labor, and will, I hope and believe, presently find it. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding life and health in dangerous industries. It can now help in the difficult task of giving a new form and spirit to industrial organization by coordinating the several agencies of conciliation and adjustment which have been brought into existence by the difficulties and mistaken policies of the present management of industry, and by setting up and

developing new Federal agencies of advice and information which may serve as a clearing house for the best experiments and the best thought on this great matter, upon which every thinking man must be aware that the future development of society directly depends.

Agencies of international counsel and suggestion are presently to be created in connection with the League of Nations in this very field; but it is national action and the enlightened policy of individuals, corporations and societies within each nation that must bring about the actual reforms. The members of the committees on labor in the two houses will hardly need suggestions from me as to what means they shall seek to make the Federal Government the agent of the whole nation in pointing out and, if need be, guiding the process of reorganization and reform.

I am sure that it is not necessary for me to remind you that there is one immediate and very practical question of labor that we should meet in the most liberal spirit. We must see to it that our returning soldiers are assisted in every practicable way to find the places for which they are fitted in the daily work of the country. This can be done by developing and maintaining upon an adequate scale the admirable organization created by the Department of Labor for placing men seeking work; and it can also be done, in at least one very great field, by creating new opportunities for individual enterprise.

The Secretary of the Interior has pointed out the way by which returning soldiers may be helped to find and take up land in the hitherto undeveloped regions of the country, which the Federal Government has already prepared or can readily prepare for cultivation, and also on many of the cut over or neglected areas which lie within the limits of the older states; and I once more take the liberty of recommending very urgently that his plans shall receive the immediate support of the Congress.

Peculiar and very stimulating conditions await our commerce and industrial enterprise in the immediate future. Unusual opportunities will presently present themselves to our merchants and producers in foreign markets, and large fields of profitable investment will be opened to our free capital. But it is not only of that that I am thinking; it is not chiefly of that that I am thinking. Many great industries prostrated by the war wait to be rehabilitated, in many parts of the world where what will be lacking is not brains or willing hands or organizing capacity or experienced skill, but machinery and raw materials and capital.

I believe that our business men, our merchants, our manufacturers, and our capitalists, will have the vision to see that prosperity in one part of the world ministers to prosperity everywhere. That there is in a very true sense a solidarity of interest throughout the world of

enterprise, and that our dealings with the countries that have need of our products and our money will teach them to deem us more than ever friends whose necessities we seek in the right way to serve.

Our new merchant ships, which have in some quarters been feared as destructive rivals, may prove helpful rivals, rather, and common servants, very much needed and very welcome. Our great shipyards, new and old, will be so opened to the use of the world that they will prove immensely serviceable to every maritime people in restoring, much more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible, the tonnage wantonly destroyed in the war.

I have only to suggest that there are many points at which we can facilitate American enterprise in foreign trade by opportune legislation and make it easy for American merchants to go where they will be welcomed as friends rather than as dreaded antagonists. America has a great and honorable service to perform in bringing the commercial and industrial undertakings of the world back to their old scope and swing again, and putting a solid structure of credit under them. All our legislation should be friendly to such plans and purposes.

The credit and enterprise alike will be quickened by timely and helpful legislation with regard to taxation. I hope that the Congress will find it possible to undertake an early reconsideration of Federal taxes in order to make our system of taxation more simple and easy of administration and the taxes themselves as little burdensome as they can be made and yet sufficient to support the Government and meet all its obligations. The figures to which those obligations have arisen are very great indeed, but they are not so great as to make it difficult for the nation to meet them, and meet them perhaps in a single generation, by taxes which will neither crush nor discourage. These are not so great as they seem, not so great as the immense sums we have had to borrow, added to the immense sums we have had to raise by taxation, would seem to indicate; for a very large proportion of those sums were raised in order that they might be loaned to the governments with which we were associated in the war, and those loans will, of course, constitute assets, not liabilities, and will not have to be taken care of by our taxpayers.

The main thing we shall have to care for is that our taxation shall rest as lightly as possible on the productive resources of the country, that its rates shall be stable, and that it shall be constant in its revenue yielding power. We have found the main sources from which it must be drawn. I take it for granted that its mainstays will henceforth be the income tax, the excess profits tax, and the estate tax. All these can so be adjusted to yield constant and adequate returns, and yet not constitute a too grievous burden on the taxpayers.

A revision of the income tax has already been provided for by the act of 1918, but I think you will find that further changes can be made to advantage both in the rates of the tax and in the method of collection. The excess profits tax need not long be maintained at the rates which were necessary while the enormous expenses of the war had to be borne; but it should be made the basis of a permanent system which will reach undue profits without discouraging the enterprise and activity of our business men. The tax on inheritances ought, no doubt, to be reconsidered in its relation to the fiscal systems of the several States, but it certainly ought to remain a permanent part of the fiscal system of the Federal Government also.

Many of the minor taxes provided for in the revenue legislation of 1917 and 1918, though no doubt made necessary by the pressing necessities of the war time, can hardly find sufficient justification under the easier circumstances of peace and can now happily be got rid of. Among these, I hope you will agree, are the excises upon various manufactures and the taxes upon retail sales. They are unequal in the incidence on different industries and on different individuals. Their collection is difficult and expensive. Those which are levied upon articles sold at retail are largely evaded by the readjustment of retail prices.

On the other hand, I should assume that it is expedient to maintain a considerable range of indirect taxes, and the fact that alcoholic liquors will presently no longer afford a source of revenue by taxation makes it the more necessary that the field should be carefully restudied in order that equivalent sources of revenue may be found which it will be legitimate, and not burdensome, to draw upon. But you have at hand in the Treasury Department many experts who can advise you upon the matters much better than I can. I can only suggest the lines of a permanent and workable system, and the placing of the taxes where they will least hamper the life of the people.

There is, fortunately, no occasion for undertaking in the immediate future any general revision of our system of import duties. No serious danger of foreign competition now threatens American industries. Our country has emerged from the war less disturbed and less weakened than any of the European countries which are our competitors in manufacture. Their industrial establishments have been subjected to greater strain than ours, their labor force to a more serious disorganization, and this is clearly not the time to seek an organized advantage.

The work of mere reconstruction will, I am afraid, tax the capacity and the resources of their people for years to come. So far from there being any danger or need of accentuated foreign competition, it is likely that the conditions of the next few years will greatly facilitate

the marketing of American manufactures abroad. Least of all should we depart from the policy adopted in the Tariff Act of 1913 of permitting the free entry into the United States of the raw materials needed to supplement and enrich our own abundant supplies.

Nevertheless, there are parts of our tariff system which need prompt attention. The experiences of the war have made it plain that in some cases too great reliance on foreign supply is dangerous, and that in determining certain parts of our tariff policy domestic considerations must be borne in mind which are political as well as economic. Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies before the war made the interruption of trade a cause of exceptional economic disturbance. The close relations between the manufacture of dyestuffs on the one hand and of explosives and poisonous gases on the other, moreover, has given the industry an exceptional significance and value.

Although the United States will gladly and unhesitatingly join in the program of international disarmament, it will, nevertheless, be a policy of obvious prudence to make certain of the successful maintenance of many strong and well equipped chemical plants. German chemical industry, with which we will be brought into competition, was and may well be again a thoroughly knit monopoly, capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind.

The United States should, moreover, have the means of properly protecting itself whenever our trade is discriminated against by foreign nations, in order that we may be assured of that equality of treatment which we hope to accord and to promote the world over. Our tariff laws as they now stand provide no weapon of retaliation in case other governments should enact legislation unequal in its bearing on our products as compared with the products of other countries. Though we are as far as possible from desiring to enter upon any course of retaliation, we must frankly face the fact that hostile legislation by other nations is not beyond the range of possibility and that it may have to be met by counter-legislation.

This subject has fortunately been exhaustively investigated by the United States Tariff Commission. A recent report of that Commission has shown very clearly what we lack and that we ought to have the instruments necessary for the assurance of equal and equitable treatment. The attention of the Congress has been called to this matter on past occasions, and the past measures which are now recommended by the Tariff Commission are substantially the same that have been suggested by previous administrations. I recommend that this phase of the tariff question receive the early attention of the Congress.

Will you not permit me, turning from these matters, to speak once more and very earnestly of the proposed amendment to the Constitution which would extend the suffrage to women and which passed the House of Representatives at the last session of the Congress? It seems to me that every consideration of justice and of public advantage calls for the immediate adoption of that amendment and its submission forthwith to the Legislatures of the several States.

Throughout all the world this long delayed extension of the suffrage is looked for; in the United States, longer, I believe, than anywhere else. The necessity for it, and the immense advantage of it to the national life, has been urged and debated by women and men who saw the need for it and urged the policy of it when it required steadfast courage to be so much beforehand with the common conviction; and I, for one, covet for our country the distinction of being among the first to act in a great reform.

The telegraph and telephone lines will of course be returned to their owners so soon as the retransfer can be effected without administrative confusion, so soon, that is, as the change can be made with least possible inconvenience to the public and to the owners themselves. The railroads will be handed over to their owners at the end of the calendar year; if I were in immediate contact with the administrative questions which must govern the retransfer of the telegraph and telephone lines, I could name the exact date for their return also.

Until I am in direct contact with the practical questions involved I can only suggest that in the case of the telegraphs and telephones as in the case of the railways, it is clearly desirable in the public interest that some legislation should be considered which may tend to make of these indispensable instrumentalities of our modern life a uniform and co-ordinated system which will afford those who use them as complete and certain means of communication with all parts of the country as has so long been afforded by the postal system of the government, and at rates as uniform and intelligible. Expert advice is, of course, available in this very practical matter, and the public interest is manifest.

Neither the telegraph nor the telephone service of the country can be said to be in any sense a national system. There are many confusions and inconsistencies of rates. The scientific means by which communication by such instrumentalities could be rendered more thorough and satisfactory has not been made full use of. An exhaustive study of the whole question of electrical communication and of the means by which the central authority of the nation can be used to unify and improve it, if undertaken by the appropriate committees of the Congress, would certainly result indirectly even if not directly in a great public benefit.

The demobilization of the military forces of the country has progressed to such a point that it seems to me entirely safe now to remove the ban upon the manufacture and sale of wines and beers, but I am advised that without further legislation I have not the legal authority to remove the present restrictions. I therefore recommend that the act approved November 21, 1918, entitled "An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purpose of the act entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products,' and for other purposes" be amended or repealed in so far as it applies to wines and beers.

I sincerely trust that I shall very soon be at my post in Washington again to report upon the matters which made my presence at the peace table apparently imperative, and to put myself at the service of the Congress in every matter of administration or counsel that may seem to demand executive action or advice.

WOODROW WILSON.

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

[Delivered on May 30, 1919, among the Graves of American Soldiers in Suresnes Cemetery, near Paris, France.]

Mr. Ambassador, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow-Countrymen:

No one with a heart in his breast, no American, no lover of humanity, can stand in the presence of these graves without the most profound emotion. These men who lie here are men of a unique breed. Their like has not been seen since the far days of Crusades. Never before have men crossed the seas to a foreign land to fight for a cause of humanity which they did not pretend was particularly their own, but knew was the cause of humanity and of mankind.

And when they came, they found comrades for their courage and their devotion. They found armies of liberty already in the field—men who, though they had gone through three years of fiery trial, seemed only to be just discovering, not for a moment losing, the high temper of the great affair, men seasoned in the bloody service of liberty. Joining hands with these, the men of America gave that greatest of all gifts, the gift of life and the gift of spirit.

It will always be a treasured memory on the part of those who knew and loved these men that the testimony of everybody who saw them in the field of action was borne to their unflinching courage, their ardor to the point of audacity, their full consciousness of the high cause they had come to serve, and their constant vision of the issue.

It is delightful to learn from those who saw these men fight, and saw them waiting in the trenches for the summons to the fight, that they had a touch of the high spirit of religion, that they knew they were exhibiting a spirit as well as a physical might, and those of us who know and love America know that they were discovering to the whole world the true spirit and devotion of their motherland. It was America who came in the person of these men, and who will forever be grateful that she was so represented.

And it is the more delightful to entertain these thoughts because we know that these men, though buried in a foreign land, are not buried in an alien soil. They are at home, sleeping with the spirits of those who thought the same thoughts and entertained the same aspirations. The noble women of Suresnes have given evidence of the loving sense with which they received these dead as their own, for they have cared for their graves, they have made it their interest, their loving interest, to see that there was no hour of neglect, and that constantly through all the months that have gone by the mothers at home should know that there were mothers here who remembered and honored their dead.

You have just heard in the beautiful letter from M. Clemenceau what I believe to be the real message of France to us on a day like this—a message of genuine comradeship, a message of genuine sympathy, and I have no doubt that if our British comrades were here they would speak in the same spirit and in the same language. For the beauty of this war is that it has brought a new partnership, and a new comradeship, and a new understanding into the field of the effort of the nation.

But it would be no profit to us to eulogize these illustrious dead if we did not take to heart the lesson which they have taught us. They are dead; they have done their utmost to show their devotion to a great cause, and they have left us to see to it that that cause shall not be betrayed, whether in war or peace.

It is our privilege and our high duty to consecrate ourselves afresh on a day like this to the objects for which they fought. It is not necessary that I should rehearse to you what these objects were.

These men did not come across the sea merely to defeat Germany and her associated powers in the war. They came to defeat forever the things for which the Central Powers stood, the sort of power they meant to assert in the world, the arrogant, selfish domination which they meant to establish; and they came, moreover, to see to it that there should never be a war like this again. It is for us, particularly for us who are civilized, to use our proper weapons of counsel and agreement to see to it that there never is such a war again. The na-

tion that should now fling out of this common concord of counsel would betray the human race.

So it is our duty to take and maintain the safeguards which will see to it that the mothers of America, and the mothers of France and England and Italy and Belgium, and all other suffering nations, should never be called upon for this sacrifice again. This can be done. It must be done. And it will be done.

The things that these men left us, though they did not in their counsels conceive it, is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League of Nations. The League of Nations is the Covenant of Government that these men shall not have died in vain.

I like to think that the dust of those sons of America who were privileged to be buried in their mother country will mingle with the dust of the men who fought for the preservation of the Union, and that as those men gave their lives in order that America might be united, these men have given their lives in order that the world might be united. Those men gave their lives in order to secure the freedom of a nation. These men have given theirs in order to secure the freedom of mankind; and I look forward to an age when it will be just as impossible to regret the results of their labor as it is now impossible to regret the result of the labor of those men who fought for the union of the States. I look for the time when every man who now puts his counsel against the united service of mankind under the League of Nations will be just as ashamed of it as if he now regretted the union of the States.

You are aware, as I am aware, that the airs of an older day are beginning to stir again, that the standards of an old order are trying to assert themselves again. There is here and there an attempt to insert into the counsel of statesmen the old reckoning of selfishness and bargaining and national advantage which were the roots of this war, and any man who counsels these things advocates a renewal of the sacrifice which these men have made, for if this is not the final battle for right, there will be another that will be final.

Let these gentlemen who suppose that it is possible for them to accomplish this return to an order of which we are ashamed, and that we are ready to forget, realize they cannot accomplish it. The peoples of the world are awake and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen cannot now and cannot hereafter determine the destinies of nations. If we are not the servants of the opinion of mankind, we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision. If we do not know courage we cannot accomplish our purpose; and this age is an age which looks forward, not backward; which rejects the standard of national selfishness that once governed the counsels of nations, and demands that

they shall give way to a new order of things in which only the question will be "Is it right?" "Is it just?" "Is it in the interest of mankind?"

This is a challenge that no previous generation ever dared to give ear to. So many things have happened, and they have happened so fast in the last four years that I do not think many of us realize what it is that has happened. Think how impossible it would have been to get a body of responsible statesmen seriously to entertain the idea of the organization of a League of Nations four years ago! And think of the change that has taken place!

I was told before I came to France that there would be confusion of counsels about this thing, and I found unity of counsel. I was told that there would be opposition, and I found union of action. I found the statesmen with whom I was about to deal united in the idea that we must have a League of Nations; that we could not merely make a peace settlement and then leave it to make itself effectual, but that we must conceive some common organization by which we should give our common faith that this peace would be maintained, and the conclusions at which we had arrived should be made as secure as the united counsels of all the great nations that fought against Germany could make them. We have listened to the challenge, and that is the proof that there shall never be a war like this again.

Ladies and gentlemen, we all believe, I hope, that the spirits of these men are not buried with their bones. Their spirits live. I hope—I believe—that their spirits are present with us at this hour. I hope that I feel the compulsion of their presence. I hope that I realize the significance of their presence. Think, soldiers, of those comrades of yours who are gone. If they were here what would they say? They would not remember what you are talking about today. They would remember America, which they left with their high hope and purpose. They would remember the terrible field of battle. They would remember what they constantly recalled in times of danger, what they had come for, and how worth while it was to give their lives for it.

And they would say, "Forget all the little circumstances of the day. Be ashamed of the jealousies that divide you. We command you in the name of those who, like ourselves, have died to bring the counsels of men together; and we remind you what America said she was born for. She was born, she said, to show mankind the way to liberty. She was born to make this great gift a common gift. She was born to show men the way of experience by which they might realize this gift and maintain it; and we readjure you, in the name of all the great traditions of America, to make yourselves soldiers now once for all in this common cause, where we need wear no uniform except the uniform of the heart, clothing ourselves with the principles of right

and saying to men everywhere, 'You are our brothers and we invite you into the comradeship of liberty and of peace.' "

Let us go away hearing these unspoken mandates of our dead comrades.

If I may speak a personal word, I beg you to realize the compulsion that I myself feel that I am under. By the Constitution of our great country, I was the commander-in-chief of these men. I advised the Congress to declare that a state of war existed. I sent these lads over here to die. Shall I—can I—ever speak a word of counsel which is inconsistent with the assurances I gave them when they came over? It is inconceivable.

There is something better, if possible, that a man can give than his life, and that is his living spirit to a service that is not easy, to resist counsels that are hard to resist, to stand against purposes that are difficult to stand against, and to say, "Here stand I, consecrated in the spirit of the men who were once my comrades, and who are now gone, and who left me under eternal bonds of fidelity."

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Consolidating Present Collection Districts and Creating New Districts.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 29, 1919.*

The attached Executive Order abolishes 10 Internal Revenue Collection Districts, consolidating them with other Districts—and creates 10 new Districts in states which do not now have separate Collection Districts. This leaves the number of Districts the same as at present—64. It gives each state, with the single exception of Nevada, at least one separate Collection District of its own.

With the number of tax returns increasing from 400,000 ten years ago to over 15,000,000 for 1919, with the many complicated tax laws requiring so much personal explanation and service, the old order of Internal Revenue policy based on conditions existing many years ago no longer legitimately performs its expected functions. It has become imperative that each state have its own revenue service and that as rapidly as possible the head collection offices be decentralized so that they shall become clearing and accounting places for Washington, and thus permit the opening of permanent personal service division headquarters in every important city.

This program is designed to accomplish this by creating new state districts, by abolishing districts where changed revenue conditions logically permit such action and by opening up in such consolidated districts the personal service division headquarters more efficiently to serve taxpayers.

The following changes are provided for, effective as of August, 1, 1919.

Illinois—The 5th, (Peoria) Collection District is combined with the 1st, (Chicago) District, with headquarters at Chicago, and the 13th, (East St. Louis) District is combined with the 8th, (Springfield) District, with headquarters at Springfield. This reduces the number of Collection Districts in Illinois from four to two, and affords opportunity for extending the service by the opening of Division headquarters in the cities of Joliet, Aurora, Rockford, Peoria, Rock Island, East St. Louis, Cairo, Danville, Decatur, Bloomington, and Centralia.

Indiana—The 7th, (Terre Haute) Collection District is combined with the 6th, (Indianapolis) District, with headquarters at Indianapolis. This makes but one district for the entire state and affords opportunity for extending the service by the opening of Division headquarters in the cities of Terre Haute, Evansville, Gary, South Bend, Fort Wayne, Muncie, Logansport, Lafayette, New Albany, Bedford and Columbus.

Kentucky—The 2d, (Owensboro) 6th, (Covington) 7th, (Lexington) and 8th, (Danville) Collection Districts are combined with the 5th (Louisville) District, with headquarters at Louisville. This eliminates four Collection Districts, leaving but one District for the entire state and affords opportunity for extending the service by the opening of Division headquarters in the cities of Covington, Lexington, Danville, Owensboro, Paducah, Bowling Green, Middlesboro and Ashland.

North Carolina—The 5th, (Statesville) Collection District is combined with the 4th, (Raleigh) District, with headquarters at Raleigh, making but one District for the entire state and affords opportunity for extending the service by the opening of Division headquarters in the cities of Asheville, Charlotte, Wilmington, Statesville and Washington.

Pennsylvania—The 9th, (Lancaster) Collection District is combined with the 1st, (Philadelphia) District, with headquarters at Philadelphia. This reduces the number of Collection Districts in Pennsylvania from four to three, the 12th, (Scranton) District and the 23d, (Pittsburgh) District remaining the same as at present, and affords opportunity for extending the service by the opening of Division headquarters in the cities of Chester, Lancaster, Reading, Harrisburg, York, Altoona, Allentown, Norristown and Pottsville.

Wisconsin—The 1st, (Milwaukee) Collection District is combined with the 2d, (Madison) District, with headquarters at Milwaukee, making but one District for the entire state and affords opportunity for extending the service by opening of Division headquarters in the cities of Madison, LaCrosse, Eau-Claire, Superior, Wausaw, Green Bay, Oshkosh, Sheboygan and Racine.

(To take effect upon qualification of Collectors for new Districts.)

Alabama and Mississippi—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of Alabama and Mississippi, which now comprise the one District of Alabama. Collectors' offices will be located at Birmingham, Alabama, and Jackson, Mississippi.

Arizona and New Mexico—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of Arizona and New Mexico, which now comprise the one District

of New Mexico. Collectors' offices will be located at Phoenix, Arizona, and Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Colorado and Wyoming—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of Colorado and Wyoming, which now comprise the one District of Colorado. Collectors' offices will be located at Denver, Colorado, and Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Connecticut and Rhode Island—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which now comprise the one District of Connecticut. Collectors' offices will be located at Hartford, Connecticut, and Providence, Rhode Island.

Maryland and Delaware—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of Maryland and Delaware, which now comprise the one District of Maryland. Collectors' offices will be located at Baltimore, Maryland, and Wilmington, Delaware.

Montana, Idaho and Utah—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of Montana, Idaho and Utah, which now comprise the one District of Montana. Collectors' offices will be located at Helena, Montana, Boise, Idaho, and Salt Lake City, Utah.

Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, which now comprise the one District of New Hampshire. Collectors' offices will be located at Portland, Maine, Burlington, Vermont, and Manchester, New Hampshire, this office being moved from Portsmouth to Manchester.

North Dakota and South Dakota—Separate Collection Districts are created for the states of North Dakota and South Dakota, which now comprise the one District of North and South Dakota. Collectors' offices will be located at Fargo, North Dakota, and Aberdeen, South Dakota.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS TO FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN

[Announcing the signing of the peace treaty with Germany at Versailles, France. The message was cabled from France on June 28, 1919.]

My Fellow Countrymen: The treaty of peace has been signed. If it is ratified and acted upon in full and sincere execution of its terms it will furnish the charter for a new order of affairs in the world.

It is a severe treaty in the duties and penalties it imposes upon Germany, but it is severe only because great wrongs done by Germany are to be righted and repaired.

It imposes nothing that Germany cannot do; and she can regain her rightful standing in the world by the prompt and honorable fulfillment of its terms. And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany. It liberates great peoples who have never before been able to find the way to liberty. It ends, once for all, an old and intolerable order under which small groups of selfish men could use the peoples of great empires to serve their own ambition for power and dominion.

It associates the free governments of the world in a permanent league in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice.

It makes international law a reality supported by imperative sanctions. It does away with the right of conquest and rejects the policy of annexation and substitutes a new order under which backward nations—populations which have not yet come to political consciousness—and peoples who are ready for independence but not yet quite prepared to dispense with protection and guidance—shall no more be subjected to the domination and exploitation of a stronger nation, but shall be put under the friendly direction and afforded the helpful assistance of governments which undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the League of Nations.

It recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality; the rights of minorities and the sanctity of religious belief and practice. It lays the basis for conventions which shall free the commercial intercourse of the world from unjust and vexatious restrictions and for every sort of international co-operation that will serve to cleanse the life of the world and facilitate its common action in beneficent service of every kind. It furnishes guarantees such as were never given or even contemplated before for the fair treatment of all who labor at the daily tasks of the world. It is for this reason that I have spoken of it as a great charter for a new order of affairs. There is ground here for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance, and confident hope.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS TO THE SENATE

[President Wilson left France on June 29, 1919, reaching the United States on July 8. On July 10 he addressed the Senate on the peace treaty, as follows:]

Gentlemen of the Senate:

The treaty of peace with Germany was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth of June. I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to lay the treaty before you for ratification and to inform you with regard to the work of the conference by which that treaty was formulated.

The treaty constitutes nothing less than a world settlement. It would not be possible for me either to summarize or to construe its manifold provisions in an address which must of necessity be something less than a treatise. My services and all the information I possess will be at your disposal and at the disposal of your Committee on Foreign Relations at any time, either informally or in session, as you may

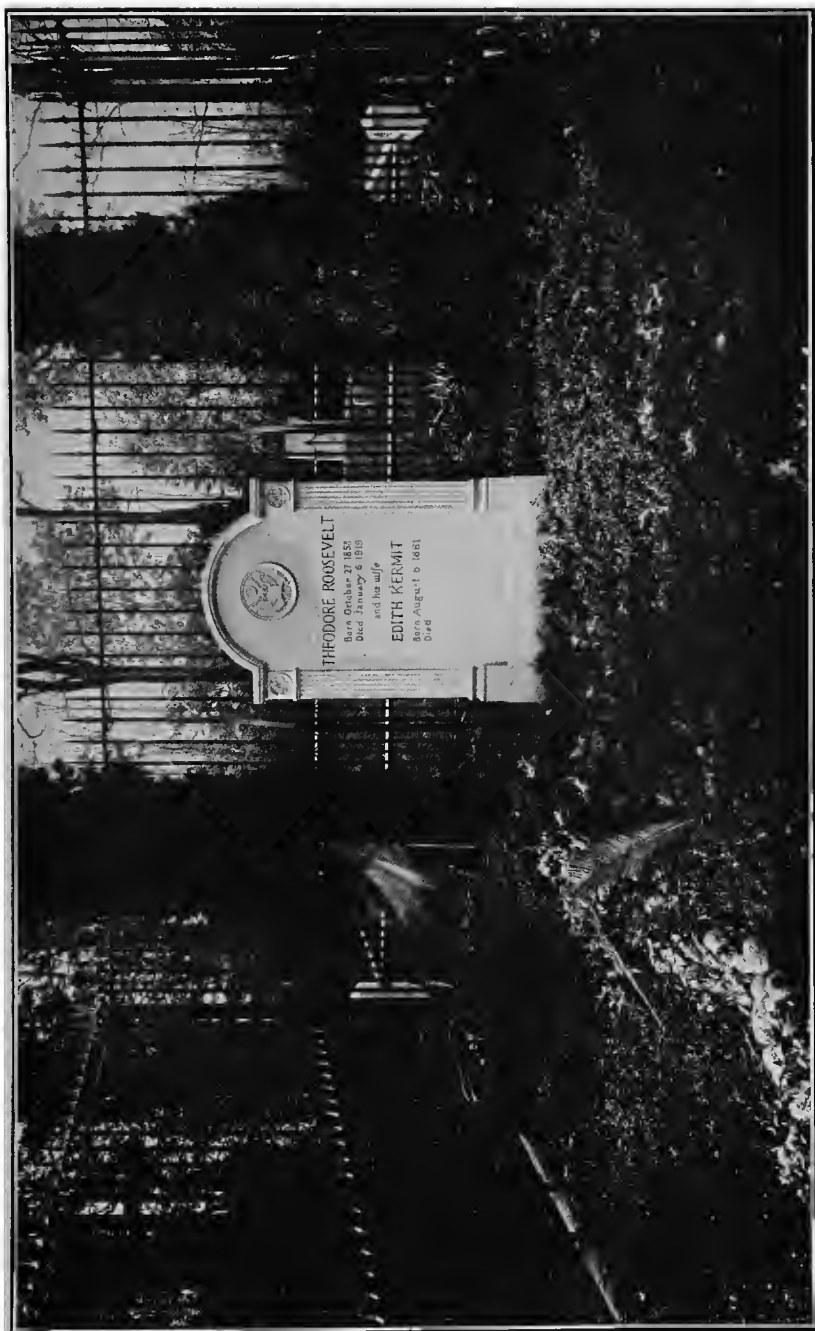
prefer; and I hope that you will not hesitate to make use of them. I shall at this time, prior to your own study of the document, attempt only a general characterization of its scope and purpose.

In one sense, no doubt, there is no need that I should report to you what was attempted and done at Paris. You have been daily cognizant of what was going on there,—of the problems with which the Peace Conference had to deal and of the difficulty of laying down straight lines of settlement anywhere on a field on which the old lines of international relationship and the new alike, followed so intricate a pattern and were for the most part cut so deep by historical circumstances which dominated action even where it would have been best to ignore or reverse them. The cross currents of politics and of interest must have been evident to you. It would be presuming in me to attempt to explain the questions which arose or the many diverse elements that entered into them. I shall attempt something less ambitious than that and more clearly suggested by my duty to report to the Congress the part it seemed necessary for my colleagues and me to play as the representatives of the Government of the United States.

That part was dictated by the role America had played in the war and by the expectations that had been created in the minds of the peoples with whom we had associated ourselves in that great struggle.

The United States entered the war upon a different footing from every other nation except our associates on this side the sea. We entered it, not because our material interests were directly threatened or because any special treaty obligations to which we were parties had been involved, but only because we saw the supremacy, and even the validity, of right everywhere put in jeopardy and free government likely to be everywhere imperiled by the intolerable aggression of a power which respected neither right nor obligation and whose very system of government flouted the rights of the citizen as against the autocratic authority of his governors. And in the settlement of the peace we have sought no special reparation for ourselves, but only the restoration of right and the assurance of liberty everywhere that the effects of the settlement were to be felt. We entered the war as the disinterested champions of right and we interested ourselves in the terms of the peace in no other capacity.

The hopes of the nations allied against the Central Powers were at a very low ebb when our soldiers began to pour across the sea. There was everywhere amongst them, except in their stoutest spirits, a sombre foreboding of disaster. The war ended in November, eight months ago, but you have only to recall what was feared in midsummer last, four short months before the armistice, to realize what it was that our timely aid accomplished alike for their morale and their physical safety. That first, never-to-be-forgotten action at Château-



THE GRAVE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE GRAVE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Nothing could better attest the well-nigh unparalleled hold which Theodore Roosevelt enjoyed upon the hearts of his fellow-countrymen than the pilgrimages made to his grave for months after his death. Thousands of pilgrims, all kinds and conditions of men, wended their way to the graveyard of the church at Oyster Bay, Long Island, to bear mute evidence before the simple gravestone of our twenty-sixth President to the devotion in which they held "Teddy."

President Wilson's proclamation of the death of Roosevelt will be found on page 8685.

Thierry had already taken place. Our redoubtable soldiers and marines had already closed the gap the enemy had succeeded in opening for their advance upon Paris,—had already turned the tide of battle back towards the frontiers of France and begun the rout that was to save Europe and the world. Thereafter the Germans were to be always forced back, back, were never to thrust successfully forward again. And yet there was no confident hope. Anxious men and women, leading spirits of France, attended the celebration of the Fourth of July last year in Paris out of generous courtesy,—with no heart for festivity, little zest for hope. But they came away with something new at their hearts; they have themselves told us so. The mere sight of our men,—of their vigour, of the confidence that showed itself in every movement of their stalwart figures and every turn of their swinging march, in their steady comprehending eyes and easy discipline, in the indomitable air that added spirit to everything they did,—made everyone who saw them that memorable day realize that something had happened that was much more than a mere incident in the fighting, something very different from the mere arrival of fresh troops. A great moral force had flung itself into the struggle. The fine physical force of those spirited men spoke of something more than bodily vigor. They carried the great ideals of a free people at their hearts and with that vision were unconquerable. Their very presence brought reassurance; their fighting made victory certain.

They were recognized as crusaders, and as their thousands swelled to millions their strength was seen to mean salvation. And they were fit men to carry such a hope and make good the assurance it forecast. Finer men never went into battle; and their officers were worthy of them. This is not the occasion upon which to utter a eulogy of the armies America sent to France, but perhaps, since I am speaking of their mission, I may speak also of the pride I shared with every American who saw or dealt with them there. They were the sort of men America would wish to be represented by, the sort of men every American would wish to claim as fellow-countrymen and comrades in a great cause. They were terrible in battle, and gentle and helpful out of it, remembering the mothers and the sisters, the wives and the little children at home. They were free men under arms, not forgetting their ideals of duty in the midst of tasks of violence. I am proud to have had the privilege of being associated with them and of calling myself their leader.

But I speak now of what they meant to the men by whose sides they fought and to the people with whom they mingled with such utter simplicity, as friends who asked only to be of service. They were for all the visible embodiment of America. What they did made America and all that she stood for a living reality in the thoughts not only of

the people of France but also of tens of millions of men and women throughout all the toiling nations of a world standing everywhere in peril of its freedom and of the loss of everything it held dear, in deadly fear that its bonds were never to be loosed, its hopes forever to be mocked and disappointed.

And the compulsion of what they stood for was upon us who represented America at the peace table. It was our duty to see to it that every decision we took part in contributed, so far as we were able to influence it, to quiet the fears and realize the hopes of the peoples who had been living in that shadow, the nations that had come by our assistance to their freedom. It was our duty to do everything that it was within our power to do to make the triumph of freedom and of right a lasting triumph in the assurance of which men might everywhere live without fear.

Old entanglements of every kind stood in the way,—promises which Governments had made to one another in the days when might and right were confused and the power of the victor was without restraint. Engagements which contemplated any dispositions of territory, any extensions of sovereignty that might seem to be to the interest of those who had the power to insist upon them, had been entered into without thought of what the peoples concerned might wish or profit by; and these could not always be honorably brushed aside. It was not easy to graft the new order of ideas on the old, and some of the fruits of the grafting may, I fear, for a time be bitter. But, with very few exceptions, the men who sat with us at the peace table desired as sincerely as we did to get away from the bad influences, the illegitimate purposes, the demoralizing ambitions, the international counsels and expedients out of which the sinister designs of Germany had sprung as a natural growth.

It had been our privilege to formulate the principles which were accepted as the basis of the peace, but they had been accepted, not because we had come in to hasten and assure the victory and insisted upon them, but because they were readily acceded to as the principles to which honorable and enlightened minds everywhere had been bred. They spoke the conscience of the world as well as the conscience of America, and I am happy to pay my tribute of respect and gratitude to the able, forward-looking men with whom it was my privilege to co-operate for their unflinching spirit of co-operation, their constant effort to accommodate the interests they represented to the principles we were all agreed upon. The difficulties, which were many, lay in the circumstances, not often in the men. Almost without exception the men who led had caught the true and full vision of the problem of peace as an indivisible whole, a problem, not of mere adjustments of interests, but of justice and right action.

The atmosphere in which the Conference worked seemed created, not by the ambitions of strong governments, but by the hopes and aspirations of small nations and of peoples hitherto under bondage to the power that victory had shattered and destroyed. Two great empires had been forced into political bankruptcy, and we were the receivers. Our task was not only to make peace with the Central Empires and remedy the wrongs their armies had done. The Central Empires had lived in open violation of many of the very rights for which the war had been fought, dominating alien peoples over whom they had no natural right to rule, enforcing, not obedience, but veritable bondage, exploiting those who were weak for the benefit of those who were masters and overlords only by force of arms. There could be no peace until the whole order of central Europe was set right.

That meant that new nations were to be created,—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary itself. No part of ancient Poland had ever in any true sense become a part of Germany, or of Austria, or of Russia. Bohemia was alien in every thought and hope to the monarchy of which she had so long been an artificial part; and the uneasy partnership between Austria and Hungary had been one rather of interest than of kinship or sympathy. The Slavs whom Austria had chosen to force into her empire on the south were kept to their obedience by nothing but fear. Their hearts were with their kinsmen in the Balkans. These were all arrangements of power, not arrangements of natural union or association. It was the imperative task of those who would make peace and make it intelligently to establish a new order which would rest upon the free choice of peoples rather than upon the arbitrary authority of Hapsburgs or Hohenzollerns.

More than that, great populations bound by sympathy and actual kin to Rumania were also linked against their will to the conglomerate Austro-Hungarian monarchy or to other alien sovereignties, and it was part of the task of peace to make a new Rumania as well as a new Slavic state clustering about Serbia.

And no natural frontiers could be found to these new fields of adjustment and redemption. It was necessary to look constantly forward to other related tasks. The German colonies were to be disposed of. They had not been governed; they had been exploited merely, without thought of the interest or even the ordinary human rights of their inhabitants.

The Turkish Empire, moreover, had fallen apart, as the Austro-Hungarian had. It had never had any real unity. It had been held together only by pitiless, inhuman force. Its peoples cried aloud for release, for succor from unspeakable distress, for all that the new day of hope seemed at last to bring within its dawn. Peoples hitherto in utter darkness were to be led out into the same light and

given at last a helping hand. Undeveloped peoples and peoples ready for recognition but not yet ready to assume the full responsibilities of statehood were to be given adequate guarantees of friendly protection, guidance, and assistance.

And out of the execution of these great enterprises of liberty sprang opportunities to attempt what statesmen had never found the way before to do; an opportunity to throw safeguards about the rights of racial, national, and religious minorities by solemn international covenant; an opportunity to limit and regulate military establishments where they were most likely to be mischievous; an opportunity to effect a complete and systematic internationalization of waterways and railways which were necessary to the free economic life of more than one nation and to clear many of the normal channels of commerce of unfair obstructions of law or of privilege; and the very welcome opportunity to secure for labor the concerted protection of definite international pledges of principle and practice.

These were not tasks which the Conference looked about it to find and went out of its way to perform. They were inseparable from the settlements of peace. They were thrust upon it by circumstances which could not be overlooked. The war had created them. In all quarters of the world old established relationships had been disturbed or broken and affairs were at loose ends, needing to be mended or united again, but could not be made what they were before. They had to be set right by applying some uniform principle of justice or enlightened expediency. And they could not be adjusted by merely prescribing in a treaty what should be done. New states were to be set up which could not hope to live through their first period of weakness without assured support by the great nations that had consented to their creation and won for them their independence. Ill governed colonies could not be put in the hands of governments which were to act as trustees for their people and not as their masters if there was to be no common authority among the nations to which they were to be responsible in the execution of their trust. Future international conventions with regard to the control of waterways, with regard to illicit traffic of many kinds, in arms or in deadly drugs, or with regard to the adjustment of many varying international administrative arrangements could not be assured if the treaty were to provide no permanent common international agency, if its execution in such matters were to be left to the slow and uncertain processes of cooperation by ordinary methods of negotiation. If the Peace Conference itself was to be the end of co-operative authority and common counsel among the governments to which the world was looking to enforce justice and give pledges of an enduring settlement, regions like the Sarre basin could not be put under a temporary administrative

regime which did not involve a transfer of political sovereignty and which contemplated a final determination of its political connections by popular vote to be taken at a distant date; no free city like Danzig could be created which was, under elaborate international guarantees, to accept exceptional obligations with regard to the use of its port and exceptional relations with a State of which it was not to form a part; properly safeguarded plebescites could not be provided for where populations were at some future date to make choice what sovereignty they would live under; no certain and uniform method of arbitration could be secured for the settlement of anticipated difficulties of final decision with regard to many matters dealt with in the treaty itself; the long-continued supervision of the task of reparation which Germany was to undertake to complete within the next generation might entirely break down; the reconsideration and revision of administrative arrangements and restrictions which the treaty prescribed but which it was recognized might not prove of lasting advantage or entirely fair if too long enforced would be impracticable. The promises governments were making to one another about the way in which labor was to be dealt with, by law not only but in fact as well, would remain a mere humane thesis if there was to be no common tribunal of opinion and judgment to which liberal statesmen could resort for the influences which alone might secure their redemption. A league of free nations had become a practical necessity. Examine the treaty of peace and you will find that everywhere throughout its manifold provisions its framers have felt obliged to turn to the League of Nations as an indispensable instrumentality for the maintenance of the new order it has been their purpose to set up in the world,—the world of civilized men.

That there should be a league of nations to steady the counsels and maintain the peaceful understandings of the world, to make, not treaties alone, but the accepted principles of international law as well, the actual rule of conduct among the governments of the world, had been one of the agreements accepted from the first as the basis of peace with the Central Powers. The statesmen of all the belligerent countries were agreed that such a league must be created to sustain the settlements that were to be effected. But at first I think there was a feeling among some of them that, while it must be attempted, the formation of such a league was perhaps a counsel of perfection which practical men, long experienced in the world of affairs, must agree to very cautiously and with many misgivings. It was only as the difficult work of arranging an all-but-universal adjustment of the world's affairs advanced from day to day from one stage of conference to another that it became evident to them that what they were seeking would be little more than something written upon paper,

to be interpreted and applied by such methods as the chances of politics might make available if they did not provide a means of common counsel which all were obliged to accept, a common authority whose decisions would be recognized as decisions which all must respect.

And so the most practical, the most skeptical among them turned more and more to the League as the authority through which international action was to be secured, the authority without which, as they had come to see it, it would be difficult to give assured effect either to this treaty or to any other international understanding upon which they were to depend for the maintenance of peace. The fact that the Covenant of the League was the first substantive part of the treaty to be worked out and agreed upon, while all else was in solution, helped to make the formulation of the rest easier. The Conference was, after all, not to be ephemeral. The concert of nations was to continue, under a definite Covenant which had been agreed upon and which all were convinced was workable. They could go forward with confidence to make arrangements intended to be permanent. The most practical of the conferees were at last the most ready to refer to the League of Nations the superintendence of all interests which did not admit of immediate determination, of all administrative problems which were to require a continuing oversight. What had seemed a counsel of perfection had come to seem a plain counsel of necessity. The League of Nations was the practical statesman's hope of success in many of the most difficult things he was attempting.

And it had validated itself in the thought of every member of the Conference as something much bigger, much greater every way, than a mere instrument for carrying out the provisions of a particular treaty. It was universally recognized that all the peoples of the world demanded of the Conference that it should create such a continuing concert of free nations as would make wars of aggression and spoliation such as this that has just ended forever impossible. A cry had gone out from every home in every stricken land from which sons and brothers and fathers had gone forth to the great sacrifice that such a sacrifice should never again be exacted. It was manifest why it had been exacted. It had been exacted because one nation desired dominion and other nations had known no means of defense except armaments and alliances. War had lain at the heart of every arrangement of the Europe,—of every arrangement of the world,—that preceded the war. Restive peoples had been told that fleets and armies, which they toiled to sustain, meant peace; and they now knew that they had been lied to: that fleets and armies had been maintained to promote national ambitions and meant war. They knew that no old policy meant anything else but force, force,—always force. And they knew that it was intolerable. Every true heart in the world, and every

enlightened judgment demanded that, at whatever cost of independent action, every government that took thought for its people or for justice or for ordered freedom should lend itself to a new purpose and utterly destroy the old order of international politics. Statesmen might see difficulties, but the people could see none and could brook no denial. A war in which they had been bled white to beat the terror that lay concealed in every Balance of Power must not end in a mere victory of arms and a new balance. The monster that had resorted to arms must be put in chains that could not be broken. The united power of free nations must put a stop to aggression, and the world must be given peace. If there was not the will or the intelligence to accomplish that now, there must be another and a final war and the world must be swept clean of every power that could renew the terror. The League of Nations was not merely an instrument to adjust and remedy old wrongs under a new treaty of peace; it was the only hope for mankind. Again and again had the demon of war been cast out of the house of the peoples and the house swept clean by a treaty of peace; only to prepare a time when he would enter in again with spirits worse than himself. The house must now be given a tenant who could hold it against all such. Convenient, indeed indispensable, as statesmen found the newly planned League of Nations to be for the execution of present plans of peace and reparation, they saw it in a new aspect before their work was finished. They saw it as the main object of the peace, as the only thing that could complete it or make it worth while. They saw it as the hope of the world, and that hope they did not dare to disappoint. Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept this great duty? Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?

And so the result of the Conference of Peace, so far as Germany is concerned, stands complete. The difficulties encountered were very many. Sometimes they seemed insuperable. It was impossible to accommodate the interests of so great a body of nations,—interests which directly or indirectly affected almost every nation in the world,—without many minor compromises. The treaty, as a result, is not exactly what we would have written. It is probably not what any one of the national delegations would have written. But results were worked out which on the whole bear test. I think that it will be found that the compromises which were accepted as inevitable nowhere cut to the heart of any principle. The work of the Conference squares, as a whole, with the principles agreed upon as the basis of the peace as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situations which had to be faced and dealt with as facts.

I shall presently have occasion to lay before you a special treaty with France, whose object is the temporary protection of France from

unprovoked aggression by the Power with whom this treaty of peace has been negotiated. Its terms link it with this treaty. I take the liberty, however, of reserving it for special explication on another occasion.

The role which America was to play in the Conference seemed determined, as I have said, before my colleagues and I got to Paris,—determined by the universal expectations of the nations whose representatives, drawn from all quarters of the globe, we were to deal with. It was universally recognized that America had entered the war to promote no private or peculiar interest of her own but only as the champion of rights which she was glad to share with free men and lovers of justice everywhere. We had formulated the principles upon which the settlement was to be made,—the principles upon which the armistice had been agreed to and the parleys of peace undertaken,—and no one doubted that our desire was to see the treaty of peace formulated along the actual lines of those principles,—and desired nothing else. We were welcomed as disinterested friends. We were resorted to as arbiters in many a difficult matter. It was recognized that our material aid would be indispensable in the days to come, when industry and credit would have to be brought back to their normal operation again and communities beaten to the ground assisted to their feet once more, and it was taken for granted, I am proud to say, that we would play the helpful friend in these things as in all others without prejudice or favor. We were generously accepted as the unaffected champions of what was right. It was a very responsible role to play; but I am happy to report that the fine group of Americans who helped with their expert advice in each part of the varied settlements sought in every transaction to justify the high confidence reposed in them.

And that confidence, it seems to me, is the measure of our opportunity and of our duty in the days to come, in which the new hope of the peoples of the world is to be fulfilled or disappointed. The fact that America is the friend of the nations, whether they be rivals or associates, is no new fact; it is only the discovery of it by the rest of the world that is new.

America may be said to have just reached her majority as a world power. It was almost exactly twenty-one years ago that the results of the war with Spain put us unexpectedly in possession of rich islands on the other side of the world and brought us into association with other governments in the control of the West Indies. It was regarded as a sinister and ominous thing by the statesmen of more than one European chancellery that we should have extended our power beyond the confines of our continental dominions. They were accustomed to think of new neighbors as a new menace, of rivals as

watchful enemies. There were persons amongst us at home who looked with deep disapproval and avowed anxiety on such extensions of our national authority over distant islands and over peoples whom they feared we might exploit, not serve and assist. But we have not exploited them. We have been their friends and have sought to serve them. And our dominion has been a menace to no other nation. We redeemed our honor to the utmost in our dealings with Cuba. She is weak but absolutely free; and it is her trust in us that makes her free. Weak peoples everywhere stand ready to give us any authority among them that will assure them a like friendly oversight and direction. They know that there is no ground for fear in receiving us as their mentors and guides. Our isolation was ended twenty years ago; and now fear of us is ended also, our counsel and association sought after and desired. There can be no question of our ceasing to be a world power. The only question is whether we can refuse the moral leadership that is offered us, whether we shall accept or reject the confidence of the world.

The war and the Conference of Peace now sitting in Paris seem to me to have answered that question. Our participation in the war established our position among the nations and nothing but our own mistaken action can alter it. It was not an accident or a matter of sudden choice that we are no longer isolated and devoted to a policy which has only our own interest and advantage for its object. It was our duty to go in, if we were indeed the champions of liberty and of right. We answered to the call of duty in a way so spirited, so utterly without thought of what we spent of blood or treasure, so effective, so worthy of the admiration of true men everywhere, so wrought out of the stuff of all that was heroic, that the whole world saw at last, in the flesh, in noble action, a great ideal asserted and vindicated, by a nation they had deemed material and now found to be compact of the spiritual forces that must free men of every nation from every unworthy bondage. It is thus that a new role and a new responsibility have come to this great nation that we honor and which we would all wish to lift to yet higher levels of service and achievement.

The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God who led us into this way. We cannot turn back. We can only go forward, with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else.

THE TREATY WITH GERMANY

The preamble names as parties of the one part the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, described as the Five Allied and

Associated Powers, and Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia, and Uruguay, who with the five above are described as the allied and associated powers, and on the other part, Germany.

It states that: bearing in mind that on the request of the then Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on November 11, 1918, by the principal allied and associated powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and whereas the allied and associated powers, being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on August 1, 1914, and against France on August 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by firm, just, and durable peace, the plenipotentiaries (having communicated their full powers found in good and due form) have agreed as follows:

From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate. From the moment and subject to the provisions of this treaty, official relations with Germany, and with each of the German States, will be resumed by the allied and associated powers.

SECTION I—LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The Covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Section I of the peace treaty, which places upon the League many specific, in addition to its general, duties. It may question Germany at any time for a violation of the neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world's peace. It will appoint three of the five members of the Sarre Commission, oversee its regime, and carry out the plebiscite. It will appoint the High Commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city, and arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland. It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies, and act as a final court in part of the plebiscites of the Belgian-German frontier, and in disputes as to the Kiel Canal, and decide certain of the economic and financial problems. An International Conference on Labor is to be held in October under its direction, and another on the international control of ports, waterways, and railways is foreshadowed.

SECTION II—BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY. Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, 5,600 square miles to the southwest, and to Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland, totaling 382 square miles. She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia beyond and including Oppeln, most of Posen, and West Prussia, 27,686 square miles, East Prussia being isolated from the main body by a part of Poland. She loses sovereignty over the northeastern tip of East Prussia, 40 square miles north of the river Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, 729 square miles, and the Basin of the Sarre, 738 square miles, between the western border of the Rhenish Palatinate of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg. The Danzig area consists of the V between the Nogat and Vistula Rivers made a W by the addition of a similar V on the west, including the city of Danzig. The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude 53 degrees 3 minutes is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, 5,785 square miles, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, 2,787 square miles.

SECTION III—Belgium. Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839, by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and to

agree in advance to any convention with which the allied and associated Powers may determine to replace them. She is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Moresnet and over part of Prussian Moresnet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights over the circles of Eupen and Malmedy, the inhabitants of which are to be entitled within six months to protest against this change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the League of Nations. A commission is to settle the details of the frontier, and various regulations for change of nationality are laid down.

Luxemburg. Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it ceased to be a part of the German Zollverein from January first, last, renounces all right of exploitation of the railroads, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it reached by the allied and associated powers.

Left Bank of the Rhine. As provided in the military clauses, Germany will not maintain any fortifications or armed forces less than fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine, hold any manoeuvres, nor maintain any works to facilitate mobilization. In case of violation, "she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers who sign the present treaty and as intending to disturb the peace of the world." "By virtue of the present treaty, Germany shall be bound to respond to any request for an explanation which the Council of the League of Nations may think it necessary to address to her."

Alsace-Lorraine. After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the Treaty of Frankfort are restored to France with their frontiers as before 1871, to date from the signing of the armistice, and to be free of all public debts.

Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full French citizenship, those who have to make formal applications therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open after three years. The last named class includes German residents in Alsace-Lorraine, as distinguished from those who acquire the position of Alsace-Lorrainers as defined in the treaty. All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to France without payment or credit. France is substituted for Germany as regards ownership of the railroads and rights over concessions of tramway. The Rhine bridges pass to France with the obligation for their upkeep.

For five years manufactured products of Alsace-Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to a total amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war and textile materials may be imported from Germany to Alsace-Lorraine and re-exported free of duty. Contracts for electric power from the right bank must be continued for ten years. For seven years, with possible extension to ten, the ports of Kehl and Strassbourg shall be administered as a single unit by a French administrator appointed and supervised by the Central Rhine Commission. Property rights will be safeguarded in both ports and equality of treatment as respects traffic assured the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

Contracts between Alsace-Lorraine and Germans are maintained save for France's right to annul on grounds of public interest. Judgments of courts hold in certain classes of cases while in others a judicial exequatur is first

required. Political condemnations during the war are null and void and the obligation to repay war fines is established as in other parts of allied territory.

Various clauses adjust the general provisions of the treaty to special conditions of Alsace-Lorraine, certain matters of execution being left to conventions to be made between France and Germany.

The Sarre. In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in Northern France and as payment on account of reparation, Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Sarre Basin with their subsidiaries, accessories and facilities. Their value will be estimated by the Reparation Commission and credited against that account. The French rights will be governed by German law in force at the armistice excepting war legislation, France replacing the present owners, whom Germany undertakes to indemnify. France will continue to furnish the present proportion of coal for local needs and contribute in just proportion to local taxes. The basin extends from the frontier of Lorraine as re-annexed to France north as far as Stwendel including on the west the valley of the Sarre as far as Sarre Holzbach and on the east the town of Homburg.

In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population and guarantee to France entire freedom in working the mines the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations and consisting of five members, one French, one a native inhabitant of the Sarre, and three representing three different countries other than France and Germany. The League will appoint a member of the Commission as Chairman to act as executive of the commission. The commission will have all powers of government formerly belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria, will administer the railroads and other public services and have full power to interpret the treaty clauses. The local courts will continue, but subject to the Commission. Existing German legislation will remain the basis of the law, but the Commission may make modification after consulting a local representative assembly which it will organize. It will have the taxing power but for local purposes only. New taxes must be approved by this assembly. Labor legislation will consider the wishes of the local labor organizations and the labor program of the League. French and other labor may be freely utilized, the former being free to belong to French unions. All rights acquired as to pensions and social insurance will be maintained by Germany and the Sarre Commission.

There will be no military service but only a local gendarmerie to preserve order. The people will preserve their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools, and language, but may vote only for local assemblies. They will keep their present nationality except so far as individuals may change it. Those wishing to leave will have every facility with respect to their property. The territory will form part of the French customs system, with no export tax on coal and metallurgical products going to Germany nor on German products entering the basin and for five years no import duties on products of the basin going to Germany or German products coming into the basin. For local consumption French money may circulate without restriction.

After fifteen years a plebiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing regime under the League of Nations, union with France or union with Germany. The right to vote will belong to all inhabitants over twenty resident therein at the signature. Taking into account the opinions thus expressed the League will decide the ultimate sovereignty. In any portion restored to Germany the German Government must buy out the French mines at an appraised valuation. If the price is

not paid within six months thereafter this portion passes finally to France. If Germany buys back the mines the League will determine how much of the coal shall be annually sold to France.

SECTION IV—German Austria. "Germany recognizes the total independence of German Austria in the boundaries traced."

Czecho-Slovakia. Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this State as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914. The usual stipulations as to acquisition and change of nationality follow.

Poland. Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of Upper Silesia, Posen and the province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A field Boundary Commission of seven, five representing the allied and associated powers and one each representing Poland and Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the peace to delimit this boundary. Such special provisions as are necessary to protect racial, linguistic or religious minorities and to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce of other nations shall be laid down in a subsequent treaty between the principal allied and associated powers and Poland.

East Prussia. The southern and the eastern frontier of East Prussia as touching Poland is to be fixed by plebiscites, the first in the regency of Allenstein between the southern frontier of East Prussia and the northern frontier, or Regierungsbezirk Allenstein, from where it meets the boundary between East and West Prussia to its junction with the boundary between the circles of Oletsko and Augersburg, thence the northern boundary of Oletsko to its junction with the present frontier, and the second in the area comprising the circles of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the parts of the circles of Marienburg and Marienwerder east of the Vistula.

In each case German troops and authorities will move out within fifteen days of the peace, and the territories of five members appointed by the principal allied and associated powers, with the particular duty of arranging for a free, fair and secret vote. The commission will report the results of the plebiscites to the powers with a recommendation for the boundary, and will terminate its work as soon as the boundary has been laid down and the new authorities set up.

The principal allied and associated powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to and use of the Vistula. A subsequent convention, of which the terms will be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany and Danzig, to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

Danzig. Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the "free city of Danzig" under the guarantee of the League of Nations. A high commissioner appointed by the League and President of Danzig shall draw up a constitution in agreement with the duly appointed representatives of the city, and shall deal in the first instance with all differences arising between the city and Poland. The actual boundaries of the city shall be delimited by a commission appointed within six months from the peace and to include three

representatives chosen by the allied and associated powers, and one each by Germany and Poland.

A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig, which shall include Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers, through a free area in the port; insure to Poland the free use of all the city's waterways, docks and other port facilities, the control and administration of the Vistula and the whole through railway system within the city, and postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; provide against discrimination against Poles within the city, and place its foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens abroad in charge of Poland.

Denmark. The frontier between Germany and Denmark will be fixed by the self-determination of the population. Ten days from the peace German troops and authorities shall evacuate the region north of the line running from the mouth of the Schlef, south of Kappel, Schleswig, and Friedrichstadt along the Eider to the North Sea south of Tonning; the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils shall be dissolved, and the territory administered by an international commission of five, of whom Norway and Sweden shall be invited to name two.

The commission shall insure a free and secret vote in three zones. That between the German-Danish frontier and a line running south of the Island of Alsen, north of Flensburg, and south of Tondern to the North Sea north of the Island of Sylt, will vote as a union within three weeks after the evacuation. Within five weeks after this vote the second zone, whose southern boundary runs from the North Sea south of the Island of Fehr to the Baltic south of Sygum, will vote by communes. Two weeks after that vote the third zone running to the limit of evacuation will also vote by communes. The international commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites and with due regard for geographical and economic conditions. Germany will renounce all sovereignty over territories north of this line in favor of the Associated Governments, who will hand them over to Denmark.

Helgoland. The fortifications, military establishments, and harbors of the Islands of Helgoland and Dune are to be destroyed under the supervision of the Allies by German labor and at Germany's expense. They may not be reconstructed, nor any similar fortification built in the future.

Russia. Germany agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all territories which were part of the former Russian Empire, to accept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk and other treaties entered into with the Maximalist Government of Russia, to recognize the full force of all treaties entered into by the allied and associated powers with States which were a part of the former Russian Empire, and to recognize the frontiers as determined thereon. The allied and associated powers formally reserve the right of Russia to obtain restitution and reparation on the principles of the present treaty.

SECTION V—GERMAN RIGHTS OUTSIDE EUROPE. Outside Europe, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges as to her own or her allies' territories to all the allied and associated powers, and undertakes to accept whatever measures are taken by the five allied powers in relation thereto.

Colonies and Overseas Possessions. Germany renounces in favor of the allied and associated powers her overseas possessions with all rights and titles therein. All movable and immovable property belonging to the German Empire, or to any German State, shall pass to the Government exercising authority

therein. These Governments may make whatever provisions seem suitable for the repatriation of German nationals and as to the conditions on which German subjects of European origin shall reside, hold property, or carry on business. Germany undertakes to pay reparation for damages suffered by French nationals in Kamerun or its frontier zone through the acts of German civil and military authorities and of individual Germans from the 1st of January, 1900, to the 1st of August, 1914. Germany renounces all rights under the convention of the 4th of November, 1911, and the 29th of September, 1912, and undertakes to pay to France in accordance with an estimate presented and approved by the Repatriation Commission all deposits, credits, advances, etc., thereby secured. Germany undertakes to accept and observe any provisions by the allied and associated powers as to the trade in arms and spirits in Africa as well as to the General Act of Berlin of 1885 and the General Act of Brussels in 1890. Diplomatic protection to inhabitants of former German colonies is to be given by the Governments exercising authority.

China. Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer Protocol of 1901, and all buildings, wharves, barracks for munitions of warships, wireless plants, and other public property except diplomatic or consular establishments in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow and in other Chinese territory except Kiao-Chau and agrees to return to China at her own expense all the astronomical instruments seized in 1900 and 1901. China will, however, take no measures for disposal of German property in the legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the Powers signatory to the Boxer Protocol.

Germany accepts the abrogation of the concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, China agreeing to open them to international use. Germany renounces all claims against China or any allied and associated Government for the internment or repatriation of her citizens in China and for the seizure or liquidation of German interests there since August 14, 1917. She renounces in favor of Great Britain her State property in the British concession at Canton and of France and China jointly the property of the German school in the French concession at Shanghai.

Siam. Germany recognizes that all agreements between herself and Siam, including the right of extra-territoriality, ceased July 22, 1917. All German public property, except consular and diplomatic premises, passes without compensation to Siam. German private property is to be dealt with in accordance with the economic clauses. Germany waives all claims against Siam for the seizure and condemnation of her ships, liquidation of her property, or internment of her nationals.

Liberia. Germany renounces all rights under the international arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, more particularly the right to nominate a receiver of the customs, and disinterests herself in any further negotiations for the rehabilitation of Liberia. She regards as abrogated all commercial treaties and agreements between herself and Liberia and recognizes Liberia's right to determine the status and condition of the re-establishment of Germans in Liberia.

Morocco. Germany renounces all her rights, titles, and privileges under the Act of Algeciras and the Franco-German agreements of 1909 and 1911, and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian Empire. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France and other Powers, accepts all the consequences of the French protectorate and re-

nounces the capitulations; the Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regard to German nationals, and all German protected persons shall be subject to the common law. All movable and immovable German property, including mining rights, may be sold at public auction, the proceeds to be paid to the Sherifian Government and deducted from the reparation account. Germany is also required to relinquish her interests in the State Bank of Morocco. All Moroccan goods entering Germany shall have the same privilege as French goods.

Egypt. Germany recognizes the British Protectorate over Egypt declared on December 18, 1914, and renounces as from August 1, 1914 the capitulation and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations about Egypt between Great Britain and other Powers. There are provisions for jurisdiction over German nationals and property and for German consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the Commission of Public Debt. Germany consents to the transfer to Great Britain of the powers given to the late Sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Arrangements for property belonging to German nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

Turkey and Bulgaria. Germany accepts all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, privileges or interests claimed in those countries by Germany or her nationals and not dealt with elsewhere.

Shantung. Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles, and privileges, notably as to Kiao-Chau, and the railroads, mines, and cables acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1897, by and other agreements as to Shantung. All German rights to the railroad from Tsing-tao to Tsinan-fu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan, and the cables from Tsing-tao to Shanghai and Che-foo, the cables free of all charges. All German State property, movable and immovable, in Kiao-Chau is acquired by Japan free of all charges.

SECTION VI—MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR—*Military Forces.* The demobilization of the German Army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. Divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs. The German General Staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives, is reduced to one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget. Employes of the German States, such as customs' officers, first guards, and coast guards, may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

Armaments. All establishments for the manufacturing, preparation, storage, or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace, and their personnel dismissed. The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down in detail tables, all in excess to be surrendered or rendered useless. The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and all

analogous liquids is forbidden as well as the importation of arms, munitions, and war materials. Germany may not manufacture such materials for foreign governments.

Conscription. Conscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistment for terms of twelve consecutive years, the number of discharges before the expiration of that term not in any year to exceed 5 per cent of the total effectives. Officers remaining in the service must agree to serve to the age of 45 years, and newly appointed officers must agree to serve actively for twenty-five years.

No military schools except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments or universities may occupy themselves with military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

Fortresses. All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory within a zone of fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

Control. Inter-Allied commissions of control will see to the execution of the provisions for which a time limit is set, the maximum named being three months. They may establish headquarters at the German seat of Government and go to any part of Germany desired. Germany must give them complete facilities, pay their expenses, and also the expenses of execution of the treaty, including the labor and material necessary in demolition, destruction or surrender of war equipment.

Naval. The German navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace. Germany will be allowed 6 small battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, and no submarines, either military or commercial, with a personnel of 15,000 men, including officers, and no reserve force of any character. Conscription is abolished, only voluntary service being permitted, with a minimum period of 25 years' service for officers and 12 for men. No member of the German mercantile marine will be permitted any naval training.

All German vessels of war in foreign ports and the German high seas fleet interned at Scapa Flow will be surrendered, the final disposition of these ships to be decided upon by the allied and associated powers. Germany must surrender 42 modern destroyers, 50 modern torpedo boats, and all submarines, with their salvage vessels. All war vessels under construction, including submarines, must be broken up. War vessels not otherwise provided for are to be placed in reserve, or used for commercial purposes. Replacement of ships except those lost can take place only at the end of 20 years for battleships and 15 years for destroyers. The largest armored ship Germany will be permitted will be 10,000 tons.

Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, as decided upon by the Allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic, defending the passages through the belts, must be demolished. Other coasts defenses are permitted, but the number and calibre of the guns must not be increased.

Wireless. During a period of three months after the peace German high power wireless stations at Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin will not be permitted

to send any message except for commercial purposes, and under supervision of the allied and associated Governments, nor may any more such stations be constructed.

Cables. Germany renounces all title to specified cables, the value of such as were privately owned being credited to her against reparation indebtedness.

Germany will be allowed to repair German submarine cables which have been cut but are not being utilized by the allied powers, and also portions of cables which, after having been cut, have been removed, or are at any rate not being utilized by any one of the allied and associated powers. In such cases the cables, or portions of cables, removed or utilized remain the property of the allied and associated powers, and accordingly fourteen cables or parts of cables are specified which will not be restored to Germany.

Air. The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces except for not over 100 unarmed seaplanes to be retained till October 1 to search for submarine mines. No dirigibles shall be kept. The entire air personnel is to be demobilized within two months, except for 1,000 officers and men retained till October. No aviation grounds or dirigible sheds are to be allowed within 150 kilometers of the Rhine, on the eastern or southern frontiers, existing installations within these limits to be destroyed. The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aeronautical material under a most exhaustive definition must be surrendered within three months, except for the 100 seaplanes already specified.

Prisoners of War. The repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out without delay and at Germany's expense by a commission composed of representatives of the Allies and Germany. Those under sentence for offenses against discipline are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentences. Until Germany has surrendered persons guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war, the Allies have the right to retain selected German officers. The Allies may deal at their own discretion with German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, all repatriation being conditional on the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Germany. Germany is to accord facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war and of imposing penalties on German officials who have concealed allied nationals. Germany is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

Graves. Both parties will respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried on their territories, agree to recognize and assist any commission charged by any allied or associated Government with identifying, registering, maintaining or erecting suitable monuments over the graves, and to afford to each other all facilities for the repatriation of the remains of their soldiers.

SECTION VII—RESPONSIBILITIES. "The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, not for an offense against criminal law, but for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties."

The ex-Emperor's surrender is to be requested of Holland and a special tribunal set up, composed of one judge from each of the five great powers, with full guarantee of the right of defense. It is to be guided "by the highest motives of international policy with a view of vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality," and will fix the punishment it feels should be imposed.

Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals under military law. If the charges affect nationals of only one State, they will be tried before a tribunal of that State; if they affect nationals of several States, they will be tried before joint tribunals of the States concerned. Germany shall hand over to the associated Governments, either jointly or severally, all persons so accused and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the offenders, and the just appreciation of the responsibility. The Judge presiding will be entitled to name his own counsel.

SECTION VIII—REPARATION AND RESTITUTION. "The allied and associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."

The total obligation of Germany to pay as defined in the category of damages is to be determined and notified to her after a fair hearing, and not later than May 1, 1921, by an interallied Reparation Commission.

At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within thirty years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies. Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees to restore to the allies cash and certain articles which can be identified.

As an immediate step toward restoration Germany shall pay within two years one thousand million pounds sterling in either gold, goods, ships, or other specific forms of payment—this sum being included in, and not additional to, the first thousand million bond issue referred to below, with the understanding that certain expenses, such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials, may be deducted at the discretion of the Allies.

Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from her allies as a result of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839 up to November 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue at once and hand over to the Reparation Commission 5 per cent gold bonds falling due in 1926.

While the allied and associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminution of such resources which will result from other treaty claims, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damages, they require her to make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven main categories:

(a) Damages by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war, directly or indirectly, including bombardment from the air.

(b) Damages caused by civilians, including exposure at sea, resulting from acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy, and to civilians in the occupied territories.

(c) Damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners.

(d) Damages to the Allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances, capitalized at the signature of this treaty.

(e) Damages to property other than naval or military materials.

(f) Damages to civilians by being forced to labor.

(g) Damages in the form of levies or fines imposed by the enemy.

In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Reparation Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic

loan; and secondly, so as to satisfy itself that in general the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

The commission shall consist of one representative each of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, a representative of Servia or Japan taking the place of the Belgian representative when the interests of either country are particularly affected, with all other allied powers entitled, when their claims are under consideration, to the right of representation without voting power. It shall permit Germany to give evidence regarding her capacity to pay, and shall assure her a just opportunity to be heard. It shall make its permanent headquarters at Paris, establish its own procedure and personnel; have general control of the whole reparation problem; and become the exclusive agency of the Allies for receiving, holding, selling, and distributing reparation payments. Majority vote shall prevail, except that unanimity is required on questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allies, the cancellation of all or part of Germany's obligations, the time and manner of selling, distributing, and negotiating bonds issued by Germany, and postponement between 1921 and 1926 of annual payments beyond 1930 and any postponement after 1926 for a period of more than three years of the application of a different method of measuring damage than in a similar former case, and the interpretation of provisions. Withdrawal from representation is permitted on twelve months' notice.

The Commission may require Germany to give from time to time by way of guarantee, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied. In this connection and on account of the total amount of claims, bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgment of its debt as follows: 20,000,000,000 marks gold, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest; 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearing 2½ per cent interest between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter 5 per cent, with a 1 per cent sinking fund payment beginning 1926; and an undertaking to deliver 40,000,000,000 marks gold bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent, under terms to be fixed by the Commission.

Interest on Germany's debt will be 5 per cent, unless otherwise determined by the Commission in the future, and payments that are not made in gold may "be accepted by the Commission in the form of properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, etc." Certificates of beneficial interest, representing either bonds or goods delivered by Germany, may be issued by the Commission to the interested Powers, no Power being entitled, however, to have its certificates divided into more than five pieces. As bonds are distributed and pass from the control of the Commission, an amount of Germany's debt equivalent to their par value is to be considered as liquidated.

Shipping. The German Government recognizes the right of the Allies to the replacement, ton for ton and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and agrees to cede to the Allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upward; one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons gross, and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and other fishing boats. These ships are to be delivered within two months to the

Reparations Commission together with documents of title evidencing the transfer of the ships free from encumbrance.

"As an additional part of reparation," the German Government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the Allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years.

All ships used for inland navigation taken by Germany from the Allies are to be restored within two months, the amount of loss not covered by such restitution to be made up by the cession of the German river fleet up to 20 per cent thereof.

Dyestuffs and Chemical Drugs. In order to effect payment by deliveries in kind, Germany is required, for a limited number of years, varying in the case of each, to deliver coal, coal-tar products, dyestuffs and chemical drugs, in specific amounts to the Reparations Commission. The Commission may so modify the conditions of delivery as not to interfere unduly with Germany's industrial requirements. The deliveries of coal are based largely upon the principle of making good diminutions in the production of the Allied countries resulting from the war.

Germany accords option to the Commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs, including quinine, up to 50 per cent of the total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes into force, and similar option during each six months to the end of 1924 up to 25 per cent of the previous six months' output.

Devastated Areas. Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. The Reparations Commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, etc., existing in Germany, and to manufacture materials required for reconstruction purposes; all with due consideration for Germany's essential domestic requirements.

Germany is to deliver annually for ten years to France coal equivalent to the difference between the annual pre-war output of the Nord and Pas de Calais mines and the annual production during the above ten-year period. Germany further gives options over ten years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons of coal per year to France in addition to the above, of 8,000,000 tons to Belgium and of an amount rising from 4,500,000 tons in 1919 to 1920 to 8,500,000 in 1923 to 1924 to Italy at prices to be fixed as prescribed in the treaty. Coke may be taken in place of coal in the ration of three tons to four. Provision is also made for delivery to France over three years of benzol, coal tar, and of ammonia. The Commission has powers to postpone or annul the above deliveries should they interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany.

Germany is to restore within six months the Koran of the Caliph Othman, formerly at Medina, to the King of the Hedjaz, and the skull of the Sultan Okwawa, formerly in German East Africa, to his Britannic Majesty's Government.

The German Government is also to restore to the French Government certain papers taken by the German authorities in 1870, belonging then to M. Reuher, and to restore the French flags taken during the war of 1870 and 1871.

As reparation for the destruction of the Library of Louvain Germany is to hand over manuscripts, early printed books, prints, etc., to the equivalent of those destroyed.

In addition to the above Germany is to hand over to Belgium wings, now in Berlin, belonging to the altar-piece of "The Adoration of the Lambs," by Hubert and Jan van Eyck, the center of which is now in the Church of St.

Bavon at Ghent, and the wings, now in Berlin and Munich, of the altar-piece of "The Last Supper," by Dirk Bouts, the center of which belongs to the Church of St. Peter at Louvain.

Finance. Powers to which German territory is ceded will assume a certain portion of the German pre-war debt, the amount to be fixed by the Reparations Commission on the basis of the ratio between the revenue of the ceded territory and Germany's total revenues for the three years preceding the war. In view, however, of the special circumstances under which Alsace-Lorraine was separated from France in 1871, when Germany refused to accept any part of the French public debt, France will not assume any part of Germany's pre-war debt there, nor will Poland share in certain German debts incurred for the oppression of Poland. If the value of the German public property in ceded territory exceeds the amount of debt assumed, the States to which property is ceded will give credit on reparation for the excess, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine. Mandatory powers will not assume any German debts or give any credit for German Government property. Germany renounces all right of representation on, or control of State banks, commissions, or other similar international financial and economic organizations.

Germany is required to pay the total cost of the armies of occupation from the date of the armistice so long as they are maintained in German territory, this cost to be a first charge on her resources. The cost of reparation is the next charge, after making such provisions for payments for imports as the Allies may deem necessary.

Germany is to deliver to the allied and associated powers all sums deposited in Germany by Turkey and Austria-Hungary in connection with the financial support extended by her to them during the war, and to transfer to the Allies all claims against Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey in connection with agreements made during the war. Germany confirms the renunciation of the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk.

On the request of the Reparation Commission, Germany will expropriate any rights or interests of her nationals in public utilities in ceded territories or those administered by mandatories, and in Turkey, China, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, and transfer them to the Reparations Commission, which will credit her with their value. Germany guarantees to repay to Brazil the fund arising from the sale of Sao Paulo coffee which she refused to allow Brazil to withdraw from Germany.

SECTION IX. This section provides for the enforcement of the international legislation against the opium trade and the safeguarding of the activities of the religious missions in the ceded territory, Germany renouncing all claims concerning such missions.

SECTION X—ECONOMIC CLAUSES—*Customs.* For a period of six months Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in force in 1914, and for certain agricultural products, wines, vegetable oils, artificial silk, and washed or scoured wool this restriction obtains for two and a half years more. For five years, unless further extended by the League of Nations, Germany must give most favored nation treatment to the allied and associated powers. She shall impose no customs tariff for five years on goods originating in Alsace-Lorraine; and for three years on goods originating in former German territory ceded to Poland with the right of observation of a similar exception for Luxemburg.

Shipping. Shipping of the allied and associated powers shall for five years and thereafter under condition of reciprocity, unless the League of Nations otherwise decides, enjoy the same right in German ports as German vessels, and have most favored nation treatment in fishing, coasting trade, and towage even in territorial waters. Ships of a country having no seacoast may be registered at some one place within its territory.

Unfair Competition. Germany undertakes to give the trade of the allied and associated powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition, and in particular to suppress the use of false wrappings and markings, and on condition of reciprocity to respect the laws and judicial decisions of allied and associated States in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits.

Treatment of Nationals. Germany shall impose no exceptional taxes or restrictions upon the nationals of allied and associated States for a period of five years and, unless the League of Nations acts, for an additional five years German nationality shall not continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an allied or associated State.

Multilateral Conventions. Some forty multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the allied and associated powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several. As to postal and telegraphic conventions Germany must not refuse to make reciprocal agreements with the new States. She must agree as respects the radio-telegraphic convention to provisional rules to be communicated to her, and adhere to the new convention when formulated. In the North Sea fisheries and North Sea liquor traffic convention, rights of inspection and police over Allied and associated fishing boats shall be exercised for at least five years only by vessels of these Powers. As to the international railway union she shall adhere to the new convention when formulated. China, as to the Chinese customs tariff arrangement of 1905 regarding Whangpoo, and the Boxer indemnity of 1901; France, Portugal, and Roumania, as to The Hague Convention of 1903, relating to civil procedure, and Great Britain and the United States as to Article III of the Samoan Treaty of 1899, are relieved of all obligations toward Germany.

Bilateral Treaties. Each allied and associated State may renew any treaty with Germany in so far as consistent with the peace treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since August 1, 1914, with other enemy States, and before or since that date with Roumania, Russia, and governments representing parts of Russia are abrogated, and concessions granted under pressure by Russia to German subjects are annulled. The allied and associated States are to enjoy most favored nation treatment under treaties entered into by Germany and other enemy States before August 1, 1914, and under treaties entered into by Germany and neutral States during the war.

Pre-War Debts. A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one in each allied and associated State which adopts the plan for the payment of pre-war debts, including those arising from contracts suspended by the war. For the adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property and the settlement of other obligations each participating State assumes responsibility for the payment of all debts owing by its nationals to nationals of the enemy States, except in cases of pre-war insolvency of the debtor. The proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating State may be used to pay the debts owed to the nationals

of that State, direct payment from debtor to creditor and all communications relating thereto being prohibited. Disputes may be settled by arbitration by the courts of the debtor country, or by the mixed arbitral tribunal. Any ally or associated power may, however, decline to participate in this system by giving Germany six months' notice.

Enemy Property. Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The allied and associated States may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for property of their nationals not restored or paid for by Germany. For debts owed to their nationals by German nationals and for other claims against Germany, Germany is to compensate its nationals for such losses and to deliver within six months all documents relating to property held by its nationals in allied and associated States. All war legislation as to enemy property rights and interests is confirmed and all claims by Germany against the allied or associated Governments for acts under exceptional war measures abandoned.

Pre-war contracts between allied and associated nationals excepting the United States, Japan, and Brazil and German nationals are cancelled except for debts for accounts already performed.

Agreements. For the transfer of property where the property had already passed, leases of land and houses, contracts of mortgages, pledge or lien, mining concessions, contracts with governments and insurance contracts, mixed arbitral tribunals shall be established of three members, one chosen by Germany, one by the allied and associated States and the third by agreement, or, failing which, by the President of Switzerland. They shall have jurisdiction over all disputes as to contracts concluded before the present peace treaty.

Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war, even if premiums have not been paid, but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the peace. Life insurance contracts may be restored by payments of accumulated premiums with interest, sums falling due on such contracts during the war to be recoverable with interest. Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war except where the risk insured against had already been incurred. Where the risk had not attached, premiums paid are recoverable, otherwise premiums due and sums due on losses are recoverable. Reinsurance treaties are abrogated unless invasion has made it impossible for the reinsured to find another reinsurer. Any allied or associated power, however, may cancel all the contracts running between its nationals and a German life insurance company, the latter being obligated to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

Industrial Property. Rights as to industrial, literary, and artistic property are re-established. The special war measures of the allied and associated powers are ratified and the right reserved to impose conditions on the use of German patents and copyrights when in the public interests. Except as between the United States and Germany, pre-war licenses and rights to sue for infringements committed during the war are cancelled.

SECTION XI—AERIAL NAVIGATION. Aircraft of the allied and associated powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German planes as to use of German airdromes, and with most favored nation planes as to internal commercial traffic in Germany. Germany agrees to accept allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness, com-

petency or licenses and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the allied and associated powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923, unless Germany has since been admitted to the League of Nations or to the above convention.

SECTION XII—FREEDOM OF TRANSIT. Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by mail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages, and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations based on nationality, means of transport, or place of entry or departure. Goods in transit shall be assured all possible speed of journey, especially perishable goods. Germany may not divert traffic from its normal course in favor of her own transport routes or maintain "control stations" in connection with transmigration traffic. She may not establish any tax discrimination against the ports of allied or associated powers; must grant the latter's seaports all factors and reduced tariffs granted her own or other nationals, and afford the allied and associated powers equal rights with those of her own nationals in her ports and waterways, save that she is free to open or close her maritime coasting trade.

Free Zones in Ports. Free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, must be maintained with due facilities as to warehouses, packing, and shipping, without discrimination, and without charges except for expenses of administration and use. Goods leaving the free zones for consumption in Germany and goods brought into the free zones from Germany shall be subject to the ordinary import and export taxes.

International Rivers. The Elbe from the junction of the Ultava, the Ultava from Prague, the Oder from Oppa, the Niemen from Grodno, and the Danube from Ulm are declared international, together with their connections. The riparian states must ensure good conditions of navigation within their territories unless a special organization exists therefor. Otherwise appeal may be had to a special tribunal of the League of Nations, which also may arrange for a general international waterways convention.

The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions to meet within three months, that for the Elbe composed of four representatives of Germany, two from Czecho-Slovakia, and one each from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium; and that for the Oder composed of one each from Poland, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden. If any riparian state on the Niemen should so request of the League of Nations, a similar commission shall be established there. These commissions shall upon request of any riparian state meet within three months to revise existing international agreement.

The Danube. The European Danube Commission reassumes its pre-war powers, but for the time being with representatives of only Great Britain, France, Italy and Roumania. The upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission until a definitive statute be drawn up at a conference of the Powers nominated by the allied and associated governments within one year after the peace. The enemy governments shall make full reparation for all war damages caused to the European Commission; shall cede their river facilities in surrendered territory, and give Czecho-Slovakia, Servia and Roumania any rights necessary on their shores for carrying on improvements in navigation.

The Rhine and the Moselle. The Rhine is placed under the Central Commission to meet at Strassbourg within six months after the peace, and to be composed of four representatives of France, which shall in addition select the President, four of Germany, and two each of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Germany must give France on the course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of her frontiers all rights to take water to feed canals, while herself agreeing not to make canals on the right bank opposite France. She must also hand over to France all her drafts and designs for this part of the river.

Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep draught Rhine-Meuse canal if she so desires within twenty-five years, in which case Germany must construct the part within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium, similarly the interested Allied governments may construct a Rhine-Meuse canal—both, if constructed, to come under the competent international commission. Germany may not object if the Central Rhine Commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the lower Moselle, the upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

Germany must cede to the allied and associated governments certain tugs, vessels, and facilities for navigation on all these rivers, the specific details to be established by an arbiter named by the United States. Decision will be based on the legitimate needs of the parties concerned and on the shipping traffic during the five years before the war. The value will be included in the regular reparation account. In the case of the Rhine, shares in the German navigation companies and property such as wharves and warehouses held by Germany in Rotterdam at the outbreak of the war must be handed over.

Railways. Germany, in addition to most favored nation treatment on her railways, agrees to co-operate in the establishment of through ticket services for passengers and baggage; to ensure communication by rail between the allied, associated, and other States; to allow the construction or improvement within twenty-five years of such lines as necessary; and to conform her rolling stock to enable its incorporation in trains of the allied or associated powers. She also agrees to accept the denunciation of the St. Gothard convention if Switzerland and Italy so request, and temporarily to execute instructions as to the transport of troops and supplies and the establishment of postal and telegraphic service, as provided.

Czecho-Slovakia. To assure Czecho-Slovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her both north and south. Toward the Adriatic she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her for ninety-nine years spaces in Hamburg and Stettin, the details to be worked out by a commission of three representing Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, and Great Britain.

The Kiel Canal. The Kiel Canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany, subjects, goods and ships of all States are to be treated on terms of absolute equality, and no taxes to be imposed beyond those necessary for upkeep and improvement for which Germany is to be responsible. In case of violation of or disagreement as to those provisions, any State may appeal to the League of Nations, and may demand the appointment of an international commission. For preliminary hearing of complaints Germany shall establish a local authority at Kiel.

SECTION XIII—INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION. Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office.

The former is composed of four representatives of each State, two from the Government, and one each from the employers and the employed. Each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberative legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which, if passed by two-thirds vote, must be submitted to the lawmaking authority in every State participating. Each Government may either enact the terms into law; approve the principle, but modify them to local needs; leave the actual legislation in case of a Federal State to local legislatures; or reject the convention altogether without further obligation.

The international labor office is established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its organization. It is to collect and distribute information on labor throughout the world and prepare agenda for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly other languages. Each State agrees to make to it for presentation to the conference an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions. The governing body, in its Executive, consists of twenty-four members, twelve representing the Governments, six the employers, and six the employes, to serve for three years.

On complaint that any Government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that Government, and in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment. A complaint by one Government against another may be referred by the governing body to a committee with a possibility of economic action in the background.

The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week, prevention of unemployment, extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906, prohibiting night work for women, and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; and employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, of women before and after childbirth, including maternity benefit, and of children as regards minimum age.

Nine principles of labor conditions were recognized on the ground that "the well-being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance." With exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits and economic development, they include: the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; the right of association of employers and employes; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the eight-hour day or forty-eight hour week; a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein, including foreigners; and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

SECTION XIV—GUARANTEES. As a guarantee for the execution of the treaty, German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by allied and associated troops for a fifteen years' period. If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany, certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts, including the bridgehead of Coblenz, and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier will be evacuated after ten years, and the remainder, including the bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated

after fifteen years. In case the Interallied Reparation Commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations either during the occupation or after the fifteen years have expired, the whole or part of the area specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the fifteen years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

All German troops at present in territories to the east of the new frontier shall return as soon as the allied and associated governments deem wise. They are to abstain from all requisitions and are in no way to interfere with measures for national defense taken by the Government concerned.

All questions regarding occupation not provided for by the treaty will be regulated by a subsequent convention or conventions which will have similar force and effect.

SECTION XV—MISCELLANEOUS. Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers allied with Germany, to agree to the decisions to be taken as to the territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to recognize the new States in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated powers signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Germany accepts all decrees as to German ships and goods made by any allied or associated prize court. The Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts. The present treaty, of which the French and British texts are both authentic, shall be ratified and the depositions of ratifications made in Paris as soon as possible. The treaty is to become effective in all respects for each Power on the date of deposition of its ratification.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Exportation of Arms or Munitions of War to Mexico Unlawful.]

Whereas, a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved March 14th, 1912, reads and provides as follows:

"That whenever the President shall find that in any American country conditions of domestic violence exist which are promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export except under such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to such country until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress;"

And whereas, it is provided by Section II of the said Joint Resolution,

"That any shipment of material hereby declared unlawful after such a proclamation shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both;"

And whereas, by an Act of Congress, approved June 15th, 1917, it is provided as follows:

"Whenever an attempt is made to export or ship from or take out of the United States, any arms or munitions of war, or other articles, in violation of law, or whenever there shall be known or probable cause to believe that any such arms or munitions of war, or other articles, are being or are intended to be exported, or shipped from, or taken out of the United States, in violation of law, the several collectors, naval officers, surveyors, inspectors of customs, and marshals and deputy marshals of the United States, and every other person duly authorized for the purpose by the President, may seize and detain any articles or munitions of war about to be exported or shipped from, or taken out of the United States, in violation of law, and the vessels or vehicles containing the same, and retain possession thereof until released or disposed of as hereinafter directed. If upon due inquiry as hereinafter provided, the property seized shall appear to have been about to be so unlawfully exported, shipped from, or taken out of the United States, the same shall be forfeited to the United States."

And whereas, by the same Act of Congress, it is provided in Section 8 thereof as follows:

"The President may employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary to carry out the purposes of this title."

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred in me by the said Joint Resolution and Act of Congress, do hereby declare and proclaim that I have found that there exist in Mexico such conditions of domestic violence promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States as contemplated by the said Joint Resolution and Act of Congress; and I do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States and every person to abstain from every violation of the provisions of the Joint Resolution and Act of Congress above set forth, hereby made applicable to Mexico, and I do hereby warn them that all violations of such provisions will be rigorously prosecuted.

VETO MESSAGES

[Repeal of Daylight Saving Law and Vocational Rehabilitation.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 12, 1919.

To the House of Representatives:

I take the liberty of returning H. R. 3157, "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920," without my signature.

I realize, of course, the grave inconvenience which may arise from

the postponement of the legislation at this time, but feel obliged to withhold my signature because of the clause which provides that "at and after two o'clock A. M. on Sunday, October 26, 1919, next, the act entitled 'An Act to save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States,' approved March 19, 1918, be, and the same hereby is, repealed."

I believe that the repeal of the act referred to would be of very great inconvenience to the country, and I think that I am justified in saying that it would constitute something more than an inconvenience. It would involve a serious economic loss. The act of March 19, 1918, "to save daylight," resulted not only from a careful study of industrial conditions by competent men familiar with the business operations of the country, but also from observation of the happy and beneficial consequences of similar legislation in other countries where legislation of this character has been for some time in operation and where it has resulted, as the act of March 19, 1918 has resulted in the United States, in substantial economies. That act was intended to place the chief business activities of the country as nearly as might be within the limits of daylight throughout the year. It resulted in very great economies of fuel and a substantial economy of energy because of the very different effects of work done in the daylight and work done by artificial light.

It, moreover, served the daily convenience of the many communities of the country in a way which gave all but universal satisfaction, and the overwhelming testimony of its value which has come to me convinces me that I should not be justified in acquiescing in its repeal.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 12, 1919.

To the House of Representatives:

Under the Vocational Rehabilitation bill, which became law June 27, 1918, the Congress has sought to fulfill the expectations of the country that the soldier, sailor, or marine disabled in the recent war should be given an opportunity to secure at the expense and under the fostering care of the General Government such training as he needs to overcome the handicap of his disability and to resume his place as a civilian able to earn a living upon something like an equal footing with those with whom he was associated before he made his great sacrifice for the honor and defense of the country.

The work of rehabilitation under this admirable law is now at its height and was to have been given greater speed and certainty by the amendment to Section 2 of the Vocational Rehabilitation bill, which

I have today signed, and which places the whole responsibility for vocational training in a single agency, virtually transferring from the War Risk Insurance Bureau to the Federal Board for Vocational Education \$6,000,000 with which to support disabled men in training at the generous figures of \$80 a month for a single man and \$100 a month for a man and his wife.

It is a matter of very grave concern, therefore, that, at the very moment when these disabled men are coming in constantly increasing numbers to the Government to avail themselves of this general plan, there should appear in the sundry civil appropriation bill, which I now return, limiting clauses which will do much more than seriously cripple and retard the beneficial work of restoring these men to useful and contented lives. Those clauses would probably, in fact, if put into effect, nullify the whole purpose of the Act and render its administration practically impossible.

The section of the bill which I now return, which governs the appropriation for this work, provides the sum of \$6,000,000 for all the expenses of rehabilitation, including the support of the disabled men in training, and this sum is stated to be "in lieu of the appropriation contained in the Act approved July —, 1919, amending Section 2 of the Act approved June 27, 1918." Inasmuch as there are already over 4,000 disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines in training and inasmuch as another 4,000 would be put into training now that the amendment to Section 2 has become law, it is clear that, even at the rate of only \$80 a month, a sum approximating \$8,000,000 will be required for the mere support of these men, and that under the present appropriation nothing will be available for their tuition and travel or for placing them where they can earn a living, and it will be impossible to meet the needs of the new thousands who are every week seeking the benefits of the Rehabilitation Act. In the offices of the board in the District of Columbia and in fourteen great centres of the United States immediate help is being given to men in need of these services, and these offices are used for the essential purpose of keeping accurate records, of providing proper medical survey to the men, of caring for them in their illness, and for the various administrative costs inseparable from different work of this kind, which must, in the present circumstances, reach to every corner of the United States.

Furthermore, the same section of the sundry civil bill places such limitations upon the salaries which the Federal Board for Vocational Education is permitted to pay that it will inevitably result in the loss by the Vocational Board of a very large number of men who have made themselves especially valuable, and indeed indispensable, in this new work by reason of their native ability, their proven general experience, and their special training, and to whose advice the disabled men

must look, as well as for superintendence in the matter of training and employment. Among these are the vocational advisers, whose special duty it is to study the men in the hospitals, confer with them, and lay out their vocational plans. These hospital cases must, if these men are to be dismissed or allowed to resign, get along entirely without such advice and supervision until they have been able, after their discharge, to make their way on their own initiative to the distant offices of the Federal Board.

These serious limitations upon the amount of money available and the uses to which it is to be put involved therefore an actual disruption of a carefully built up service at the very moment when the disabled soldiers, sailors, and marines now in the country or returning to it are most immediately in need of help. This is a matter of the gravest consequence. It cannot but have far-reaching and disastrous effects upon the plan so carefully thought out for the immediate and thorough rehabilitation of men in the service of the country.

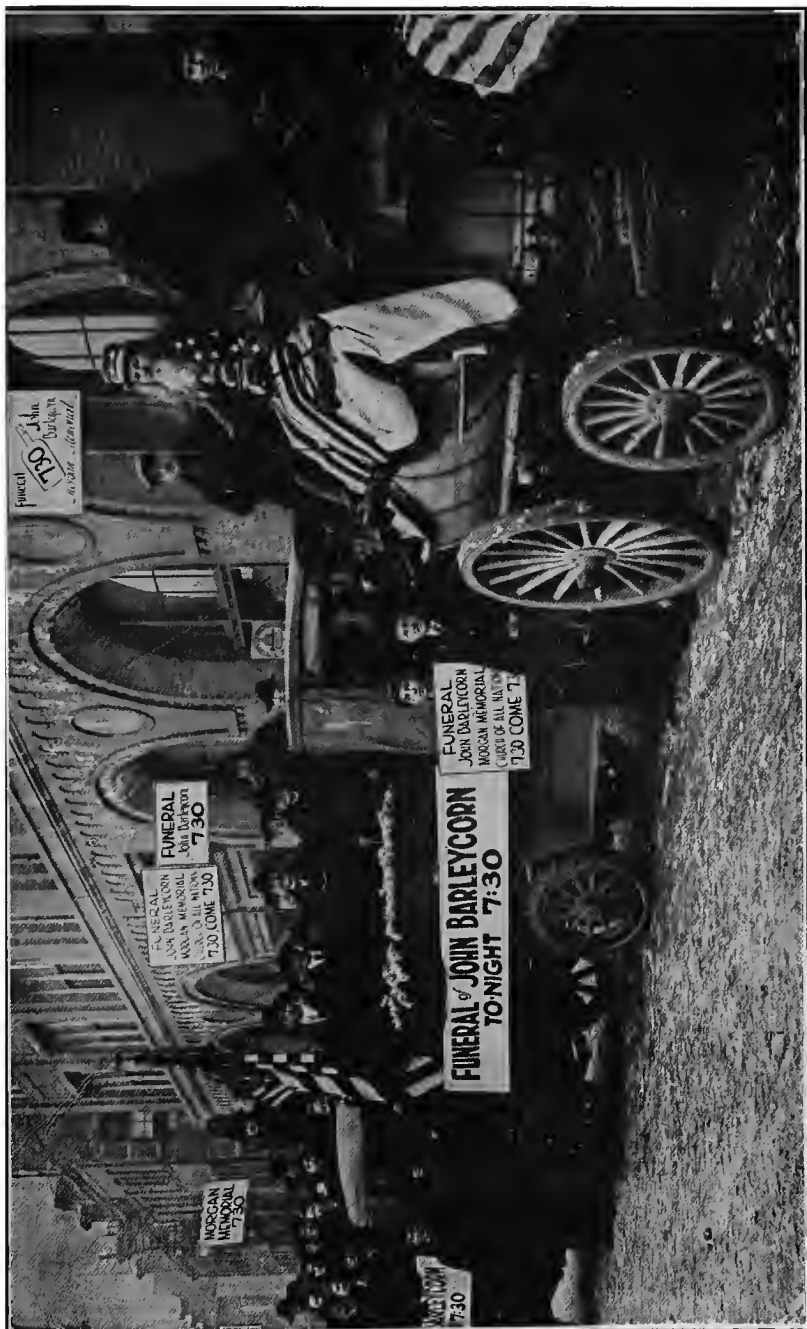
I therefore return the bill, with the hope that the Congress will reconsider this section of the law, restore the \$6,000,000 appropriated under the Act amending Section 2, and most liberally revise the salary limitations, so that this beneficent work may go on, and go on at once. I am convinced that in this matter I speak the sentiments and the hopes of those who have most carefully studied the needs of the returning soldiers and who are best qualified to carry out a purpose which I am sure the country has very much at heart.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 16, 1919.*

To the House of Representatives:

I return this bill, H. R. 3854, "An Act for the repeal of the Daylight Saving law," without my signature, but do so with the utmost reluctance. I realize the very considerable and in some respects very serious inconveniences to which the Daylight Saving law subjects the farmers of the country, to whom we owe the greatest consideration and who have distinguished themselves during these recent years of war and want by patriotic endeavors worthy of all praise. But I have been obliged to balance one set of disadvantages against another, and to venture a judgment as to which were the most serious for the country. The immediate and pressing need of the country is production, increased and increasing production in all lines of industry. Disorganization and dislocation caused by the war have told nowhere so heavily as at the industrial centres—in manufacture and in the many industries to which the country and the whole world must look to supply needs which cannot be ignored or postponed.



CELEBRATING THE ADVENT OF PROHIBITION

PROHIBITION CELEBRATION.

The foregoing illustration shows a procession of prohibition advocates celebrating the advent of prohibition in the United States by constitutional amendment. Other celebrations of the occasion were held indoors, and were of a somewhat different character than the parade shown on the opposite side.

It is to these that the Daylight Saving law is of most service. It ministers to economy and to efficiency. And the interest of the farmer is not in all respects separated from these interests. He needs what the factories produce along with the rest of the world. He is profited by the prosperity which the success brings about. His own life and methods are more easily adjusted, I venture to think, than those of the manufacturer and the merchant.

These are the considerations which have led me to withhold my signature from this repeal. I hope that they are considerations which will appeal to the thoughtful judgment of the House and in the long run to the thoughtful judgment of the farmers of the country, who have always shown an admirable public spirit.

WOODROW WILSON.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Asking the grant of permanent rank of General for John J. Pershing, commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces during the Great War, and for Peyton C. March, chief of staff of the United States army during the most decisive days of the participation of the United States in the war; and the permanent rank of Admiral for William S. Sims, commander of the United States fleet in European waters during the war, and for William S. Benson, director of naval operations of the United States Navy during the war. The permanent rank of General had previously been granted to George Washington, Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan. The permanent rank of Admiral had previously been granted to David G. Farragut, David D. Porter and George Dewey.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 18, 1919.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I take the liberty of calling your attention to a matter which I am sure is at the heart of the whole country, and which I have had very much in mind throughout all these months when we were trying to arrange a peace that would be worthy of the spirit and achievements of the men who won the victory in the field and on the sea. After mature reflection I earnestly recommend that you give the permanent rank of General to John J. Pershing and Peyton C. March, expressing the law in such a way as to give precedence to General Pershing; and that you give the permanent rank of Admiral to William S. Benson and William S. Sims.

I take it for granted that I am only anticipating your own thoughts in proposing these orders for the men upon whom the principal responsibilities devolved for achieving the great results which our incomparable navy and army accomplished.

WOODROW WILSON.

NOTE TO MEXICO

[Threatening a Change in Policy toward that Country in case no Greater Protection Were Afforded American Citizens There.]

MEXICO CITY, July 22, 1919.

Sir—With reference to the Embassy's note, dated July 16, 1919, relative to the murder of Peter Catron, near Calles, San Luis Potosi, on or about July 7 last, I have the honor to inform you that I am now under telegraphic instructions from my Government to urge upon the Mexican Government the punishment of those responsible for this murder and the adoption of adequate measures to prevent a recurrence of the murder of American citizens.

I am also instructed to state that, should the lives of American citizens continue to remain unsafe and these murders continue by means of the unwillingness or inability of the Mexican Government to afford adequate protection, my Government may be forced to adopt a radical change in its policy with regard to Mexico.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

GEORGE T. SUMMERLIN,

Chargé d'Affaires.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE

[Laying Before It the Text of a Proposed Special Treaty with France, Promising Protection in Case of Unprovoked Aggression by Germany.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 29, 1919.

Gentlemen of the Senate:

I take pleasure in laying before you a treaty with the Republic of France, the object of which is to secure to that republic the immediate aid of the United States of America in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her on the part of Germany, I earnestly hope that the treaty will meet with your cordial approval and will receive an early ratification at your hands, along with the treaty of peace with Germany. Now that you have had an opportunity to examine the great document I presented to you two weeks ago, it seems opportune to lay before you this treaty, which is meant to be in effect a part of it.

It was signed on the same day with the treaty of peace and is intended as a temporary supplement to it. It is believed that the treaty of peace with Germany itself provides adequate protection to France against aggression from her recent enemy on the east, but the years immediately ahead of us contain many incalculable possibilities. The Covenant of the League of Nations provides for military action for the protection of its members only upon advice of the council of the

League—advice given, it is to be presumed, only upon deliberation and acted upon by each of the Governments of the member states only if its own judgment justifies such action. The object of the special treaty with France which I now submit to you is to provide for immediate military assistance to France by the United States in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her by Germany without waiting for the advice of the council of the League of Nations that such action will be taken. It is to be an arrangement not independent of the League of Nations but under it.

It is therefore expressly provided that this treaty shall be made the subject of consideration at the same time with the treaty of peace with Germany; that this special arrangement shall receive the approval of the council of the League, and that this special provision for the safety of France shall remain in force only until, upon the application of one of the parties to it, the council of the League, acting, if necessary, by a majority vote, shall agree that the provisions of the Covenant of the League afford her sufficient protection.

I was moved to sign this treaty by considerations which will, I hope, seem as persuasive and as irresistible to you as they seem to me. We are bound to France by ties of friendship which we have always regarded, and shall always regard, as peculiarly sacred. She assisted us to win our freedom as a nation. It is seriously to be doubted whether we could have won it without her gallant and timely aid.

We have recently had the privilege of assisting in driving enemies, who were also enemies of the world, from her soil; but that does not pay our debt to her. Nothing can pay such a debt. She now desires that we should promise to lend our great force to keep her safe against the power she has had most reason to fear. Another great nation volunteers the same promise. It is one of the fine reversals of history that that other nation should be the very power from whom France fought to set us free.

A new day has dawned. Old antagonisms are forgotten. The common cause of freedom and enlightenment has created new comradeships and a new perception of what it is wise and necessary for great nations to do to free the world of intolerable fear. Two Governments who wish to be members of the League of Nations ask leave of the council of the League to be permitted to go to the assistance of a friend whose situation has been found to be one of peculiar peril, without awaiting the advice of the League to act.

It is by taking such pledges as this that we prove ourselves faithful to the utmost to the high obligations of gratitude and tested friendship. Such an act as this seems to me one of the proofs that we are a people that sees the true heart of duty and prefers honor to its own separate course of peace.

WOODROW WILSON.

The text of the treaty was as follows:—

ARTICLE I

In case the following stipulations relating to the left bank of the Rhine contained in the treaty of peace with Germany signed at Versailles the 28th day of June, 1919, by the United States of America, the French Republic, and the British Empire, among other Powers—

“Article 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers to the west of the Rhine.

“Article 43. In the area defined above the maintenance and assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military maneuvers of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

“Article 44. In case Germany violates in any manner whatsoever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43 she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.”

may not at first provide adequate security and protection to France, the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her assistance in the event of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her being made by Germany.

ARTICLE II

The present treaty, in similar terms with the treaty of even date for the same purpose concluded between Great Britain and the French Republic, a copy of which treaty is annexed hereto, will only come into force when the latter is ratified.

ARTICLE III

The present treaty must be submitted to the council of the League of Nations and must be recognized by the council, acting if need be by a majority, as an engagement which is consistent with the Covenant of the League. It will continue in force until on the application of one of the parties to it the council, acting if need be by a majority, agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection.

ARTICLE IV

The present treaty will be submitted to the Senate of the United States at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles is submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. It will be submitted before ratification to the French Chamber of Deputies for approval. The ratification thereof will be exchanged on the deposit of ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles at Paris or as soon thereafter as shall be possible.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

[On the High Cost of Living, August 8, 1919.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have sought this opportunity to address you because it is clearly my duty to call your attention to the present cost of living and to

urge upon you with all the persuasive force of which I am capable the legislative measures which would be most effective in controlling it and bringing it down. The prices the people of this country are paying for everything that it is necessary for them to use in order to live are not justified by a shortage in supply, either present or prospective, and are in many cases artificially and deliberately created by vicious practises which ought immediately be checked by law. They constitute a burden upon us which is the more unbearable because we know that it is wilfully imposed by those who have the power and that it can by vigorous public action be greatly lightened and made to square with the actual conditions of supply and demand. Some of the methods by which these prices are produced are already illegal, some of them criminal, and those who employ them will be energetically proceeded against; but others have not yet been brought under the law, and should be dealt with at once by legislation.

I need not recite the particulars of this critical matter, the prices demanded and paid at the sources of supply, at the factory, in the food markets, at the shops, in the restaurants and hotels, alike in the city and in the village. They are familiar to you. They are the talk of every domestic circle and of every group of casual acquaintances even. It is a matter of familiar knowledge, also, that a process has set in which is likely, unless something is done, to push prices and rents and the whole cost of living higher and yet higher, in a vicious cycle to which there is no logical or natural end.

With the increase in the prices of the necessaries of life come demands for increase in wages—demands which are justified if there be no other means of enabling men to live. Upon the increase of wages there follows close an increase in the price of the products whose producers have been accorded the increase—not a proportionate increase, for the manufacturer does not content himself with that—but an increase considerably greater than the added wage cost and for which the added wage cost is oftentimes hardly more than an excuse. The laborers who do not get an increase in pay when they demand it are likely to strike, and the strike only makes matters worse. It checks production, it affects the railways, it prevents distribution and strips the markets, so that there is presently nothing to buy, and there is another excessive addition to prices resulting from the scarcity.

These are facts and forces with which we have become only too familiar; but we are not justified because of our familiarity with them, or because of any hasty and shallow conclusion that they are “natural” and inevitable, in sitting inactively by and letting them work their fatal results if there is anything that we can do to check, correct, or reverse them. I have sought this opportunity to inform the Con-

gress what the Executive is doing by way of remedy and control, and to suggest where effective legal remedies are lacking and may be supplied.

We must, I think, frankly admit that there is no complete immediate remedy to be had from legislation and executive action. The free processes of supply and demand will not operate of themselves, and no legislative or Executive action can force them into full and natural operation until there is peace. There is now neither peace nor war. All the world is waiting—with what unnerving fears and haunting doubts who can adequately say?—waiting to know when it comes—a peace in which each nation shall make shift for itself as it can, or a peace buttressed and supported by the will and concert of the nations that have the purpose and the power to do and to enforce what is right.

Politically, economically, socially, the world is on the operating table, and it has not been possible to administer any anaesthetic. It is conscious. It even watches the capital operation upon which it knows that its hope of healthful life depends. It cannot think its business out or make plans or give intelligent and provident direction to its affairs while in such a case.

Where there is no peace of mind there can be no energy in endeavor. There can be no confidence in industry, no calculable basis for credits, no confident buying or systematic selling, no certain prospect of employment, no normal restoration of business, no hopeful attempt at reconstruction or the proper reassembling of the dislocated elements of enterprise until peace has been established and, so far as may be, guaranteed.

Our national life has no doubt been less radically disturbed and dismembered than the national life of other peoples whom the war more directly affected, with all its terrible ravaging and destructive force, but it has been, nevertheless, profoundly affected and disarranged, and our industries, our credits, our productive capacity, our economic processes are inextricably interwoven with those of other nations and peoples—most intimately of all with the nations and peoples upon whom the chief burden and confusion of the war fell and who are now most dependent upon the co-operative action of the world.

We are just now shipping more goods out of our ports to foreign markets than we ever shipped before—not foodstuffs merely, but stuffs and materials of every sort; but this is no index of what our foreign sales will continue to be or of the effect the volume of our exports will have on supplies and prices. It is impossible yet to predict how far or how long foreign purchasers will be able to find the money or the credit to pay for or sustain such purchases on such

a scale ; how soon or to what extent foreign manufacturers can resume their former production, foreign farmers get their accustomed crops from their own fields, foreign mines resume their former output, foreign merchants set up again their old machinery of trade with the ends of the earth.

All these things must remain uncertain until peace is established and the nations of the world have concerted the methods by which normal life and industry are to be restored. All that we shall do, in the meantime, to restrain profiteering and put the life of our people upon a tolerable footing will be makeshift and provisional. There can be no settled conditions here or elsewhere until the treaty of peace is out of the way and the work of liquidating the war has become the chief concern of our Government and of other Governments of the world. Until then business will inevitably remain speculative, and sway now this way and again that, with heavy losses or heavy gains, as it may chance, and the consumer must take care of both the gains and the losses. There can be no peace prices so long as our whole financial and economic system is on a war basis.

Europe will not, can not, recoup her capital or put her restless, distracted peoples to work until she knows exactly where she stands in respect of peace ; and what we will do is for her the chief question upon which her quietude of mind and confidence of purpose depend. While there is any possibility that the peace terms may be changed or may be held long in abeyance or may not be enforced because of divisions of opinion among the powers associated against Germany, it is idle to look for permanent relief.

But what we can do we should do, and should do at once. And there is a great deal that we can do, provisional though it be. Wheat shipments and credits to facilitate the purchase of our wheat can and will be limited and controlled in such a way as not to raise, but rather to lower, the price of flour here. The Government has the power, within certain limits, to regulate that. We cannot deny wheat to foreign peoples who are in dire need of it, and we do not wish to do so ; but, fortunately, though the wheat crop is not what we hoped it would be, it is abundant, if handled with provident care. The price of wheat is lower in the United States than in Europe, and can with proper management be kept so.

By way of immediate relief, surplus stocks of both food and clothing in the hands of the Government will be sold, and, of course, sold at prices at which there is no profit. And by way of a more permanent correction of prices, surplus stocks in private hands will be drawn out of storage and put upon the market.

Fortunately, under the terms of the Food Control act the hoarding of foodstuffs can be checked and prevented ; and they will be, with

the greatest energy. Foodstuffs can be drawn out of storage and sold by legal action, which the Department of Justice will institute wherever necessary; but so soon as the situation is systematically dealt with, it is not likely that the courts will often have to be resorted to.

Much of the accumulating of stocks has no doubt been due to the sort of speculation which always results from an uncertainty. Great surpluses were accumulated because it was impossible to foresee what the market would disclose and dealers were determined to be ready for whatever might happen, as well as eager to reap the full advantage of rising prices. They will now see the disadvantage, as well as the danger, of holding off from the new process of distribution.

Some very interesting and significant facts with regard to stocks on hand and the rise of prices in the face of abundance have been disclosed by the inquiries of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, and the Federal Trade Commission. They seem to justify the statement that in the case of many necessary commodities effective means have been found to prevent the normal operation of the law of supply and demand.

Disregarding the surplus stocks in the hands of the Government, there was a greater supply of foodstuffs in this country on June 1 of this year than at the same date last year. In the combined total of a number of the most important foods in dry and cold storage the excess is quite 19 per cent. And yet prices have risen. The supply of fresh eggs on hand in June of this year, for example, was greater by nearly 10 per cent than the supply on hand at the same time last year, and yet the wholesale price was 40 cents a dozen as against 30 cents a year ago.

The stock of frozen fowls had increased more than 298 per cent., and yet the price had risen also from $34\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound to $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The supply of creamery butter had increased 129 per cent., and the price from 41 to 53 cents per pound. The supply of salt beef had been augmented 3 per cent., and the price had gone up from \$34 a barrel to \$36 a barrel. Canned corn had increased in stock nearly 92 per cent., and had remained substantially the same in price.

In a few foodstuffs the prices had declined, but in nothing like the proportion in which the supply had increased. For example, the stock of canned tomatoes had increased 102 per cent., and yet the price had declined only 25 cents per dozen cans. In some cases there had been the usual result of an increase of price following a decrease of supply, but in almost every instance the increase of price had been disproportionate to the decrease in stock.

The Attorney General has been making a careful study of the situation as a whole and of the laws that can be applied to better it, and is convinced that, under the stimulation and temptation of

exceptional circumstances, combinations of producers and combinations of traders have been formed for the control of supplies and of prices which are clearly in restraint of trade, and against these, prosecutions will be promptly instituted and actively pushed which will in all likelihood have a prompt corrective effect.

There is reason to believe that the prices of leather, of coal, of lumber, and of textiles have been materially affected by forms of concert and co-operation among the producers and marketers of these and other universally necessary commodities which it will be possible to redress. No watchful or energetic effort will be spared to accomplish this necessary result. I trust that there will not be many cases in which prosecution will be necessary. Public action will no doubt cause many who have perhaps unwittingly adopted illegal methods to abandon them promptly and of their own motion.

And publicity can accomplish a great deal. The purchaser can often take care of himself if he knows the facts and influences he is dealing with; and purchasers are not disinclined to do anything, either singly or collectively, that may be necessary for their self-protection. The Department of Commerce, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, and the Federal Trade Commission can do a great deal toward supplying the public, systematically and at short intervals, with information regarding the actual supply of particular commodities that is in existence and available, and with regard to supplies which are in existence but not available because of hoarding, and with regard to the methods of price fixing which are being used by dealers in certain foodstuffs and other necessities.

There can be little doubt that retailers are in part—sometimes in large part—responsible for exorbitant prices; and it is quite practicable for the Government through the agencies I have mentioned to supply the public with full information as to the prices at which retailers buy and as to the cost of transportation they pay, in order that it may be known just what margin of profit they are demanding. Opinion and concerted action on the part of purchasers can probably do the rest.

That is, these agencies may perform this indispensable service provided the Congress will supply them with the necessary funds to prosecute their inquiries and keep their price lists up to date. Hitherto the appropriation committee of the Houses have not always, I fear, seen the full value of these inquiries, and the departments and commissions have been very much straitened for means to render this service.

That adequate funds be provided by appropriation for this purpose, and provided as promptly as possible, is one of the means of greatly ameliorating the present distressing conditions of livelihood that I

have come to urge, in this attempt to concert with you the best ways to serve the country in this emergency. It is one of the absolutely necessary means, underlying many others, and can be supplied at once.

There are many other ways. Existing law is inadequate. There are many perfectly legitimate methods by which the Government can exercise restraint and guidance.

Let me urge, in the first place, that the present Food Control Act should be extended, both as to the period of time during which it shall remain in operation and as to the commodities to which it shall apply. Its provisions against hoarding should be made to apply not only to food, but also to feedstuffs, to fuel, to clothing, and to many other commodities which are indispensably necessities of life. As it stands now, it is limited in operation to the period of the war and becomes inoperative upon the formal proclamation of peace.

But I should judge that it was clearly within the constitutional power of the Congress to make similar permanent provisions and regulations with regard to all goods destined for interstate commerce, and to exclude them from interstate shipment if the requirements of law are not complied with. Some such regulation is imperatively necessary. The abuses that have grown up in the manipulation of prices by the withholding of foodstuffs and other necessities of life cannot otherwise be effectively prevented. There can be no doubt of either the necessity or the legitimacy of such measures. May I not call attention to the fact, also, that, although the present act prohibits profiteering, the prohibition is accompanied by no penalty? It is clearly in the public interest that a penalty should be provided which will be persuasive.

To the same end I earnestly recommend, in the second place, that the Congress pass a law regulating cold storage as it is regulated, for example, by the laws of the state of New Jersey, which limit the time during which goods may be kept in storage, prescribe the methods of disposing of them if kept beyond the permitted period, and require that goods released from storage shall in all cases bear the date of their receipt.

It would materially add to the serviceability of the law, for the purpose we now have in view, if it were also prescribed that all goods released from storage for interstate shipment should have plainly marked upon each package the selling or market price at which they went in storage. By this means the purchaser would always be able to learn what profits stood between him and the producer or the wholesale dealer.

It would serve as a useful example to the other communities of the country, as well as greatly relieve local distress, if the Congress

were to regulate all such matters very fully for the District of Columbia, where its legislative authority is without limit.

I would also recommend that it be required that all goods destined for interstate commerce should in every case, where their form or package makes it possible, be plainly marked with the price at which they left the hands of the producer. Such a requirement would bear a close analogy to certain provisions of the Pure Food Act, by which it is required that certain detailed information be given on the labels of packages of food and drugs.

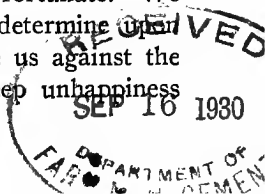
And it does not seem to me that we can confine ourselves to detailed measures of this kind, if it is indeed our purpose to assume national control of the processes of distribution. I take it for granted that that is our purpose and our duty. Nothing less will suffice. We need not hesitate to handle a national question in a national way. We should go beyond the measures I have suggested.

We should formulate a law requiring a Federal license of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce and embodying in the license, or in the conditions under which it is to be issued, specific regulations designed to secure competitive selling and prevent unconscionable profits in the method of marketing. Such a law would afford a welcome opportunity to effect other much needed reforms in the business of interstate shipment and in the methods of corporations which are engaged in it; but for the moment I confine my recommendations to the object immediately in hand, which is to lower the cost of living.

May I not add that there is a bill now pending before Congress which, if passed, would do much to stop speculation and to prevent the fraudulent methods of promotion by which our people are annually fleeced of many millions of hard earned money? I refer to the measure proposed by the Capital Issues Committee for the control of security issues. It is a measure formulated by men who know the actual conditions of business, and its adoption would serve a great and beneficent purpose.

We are dealing, gentlemen of the Congress, I need hardly say, with very critical and very difficult matters. We should go forward with confidence along the road we see, but we shall also seek to comprehend the whole of the scene amidst which we act. There is no ground for some of the fearful forecasts I hear uttered about me, but the condition of the world is unquestionably very grave and we should face it comprehendingly.

The situation of our own country is exceptionally fortunate. We of all peoples can afford to keep our heads and to determine our moderate sensible courses of action which will insure us against the passions and distempers which are working such deep unhappiness



for some of the distressed nations on the other side of the sea. But we may be involved in their distresses unless we help, and help with energy and intelligence.

The world must pay for the appalling destruction wrought by the Great War, and we are part of the world. We must pay our share. For five years now the industry of all Europe has been slack and disordered. The normal crops have not been produced; the normal quantity of manufactured goods has not been turned out. Not until there are the usual crops and the usual production of manufactured goods on the other side of the Atlantic can Europe return to the former conditions; and it was upon the former conditions, not the present, that our economic relations with Europe were built up.

We must face the fact that unless we help Europe to get back to her normal life and production a chaos will ensue there which will inevitably be communicated to this country. For the present, it is manifest, we must quicken, not slacken, our own production. We, and we alone, now hold the world steady. Upon our steadfastness and self-possession depend the affairs of nations everywhere.

It is in this supreme crisis—the crisis for all mankind—that America must prove her mettle. In the presence of a world confused, distracted, she must show herself self-possessed, self-contained, capable of sober and effective action. She saved Europe by her action in arms; she must now save it by her action in peace. In saving Europe she will save herself, as she did upon the battlefields of the war. The calmness and capacity with which she deals with and masters the problems of peace will be the final test and proof of her place among the peoples of the world.

And, if only in our own interest, we must help the people overseas. Europe is our biggest customer. We must keep her going or thousands of our shops and scores of our mines must close. There is no such thing as letting her go to ruin without ourselves sharing in the disaster.

In such circumstances, face to face with such tests, passion must be discarded. Passion and a disregard for the rights of others have no place in the counsels of a free people. We need light, not heat, in these solemn times of self-examination and saving action. There must be no threats. Let there be only intelligent counsel, and let the best reasons win, not the strongest brute force. The world has just destroyed the arbitrary force of a military junta. It will live under no other. All that is arbitrary and coercive is in the discard. Those who seek to employ it only prepare their own destruction.

We cannot hastily and overnight revolutionize all the processes of our economic life. We shall not attempt to do so. These are days of deep excitement and of extravagant speech; but with us these are things of the surface. Every one who is in real touch with the

silent masses of our great people knows that the old strong fibre and steady self-control are still there, firm against violence or any dis-tempered action that would throw their affairs into confusion. I am serenely confident that they will readily find themselves, no matter what the circumstances, and that they will address themselves to the tasks of peace with the same devotion and the same stalwart preference for what is right that they displayed to the admiration of the whole world in the midst of war.

And I entertain another confident hope. I have spoken today chiefly of measures of imperative regulation and legal compulsion, of prosecutions and the sharp correction of selfish processes; and these no doubt are necessary. But there are other forces that we may count on besides those resident in the Department of Justice. We have just fully awakened to what has been going on and to the influences, many of them very selfish and sinister, that have been producing high prices and imposing an intolerable burden on the mass of our people. To have brought it all into the open will accomplish the greater part of the result we seek.

I appeal with entire confidence to our producers, our middlemen, and our merchants to deal fairly with the people. It is their opportunity to show that they comprehend, that they intend to act justly, and that they have the public interest sincerely at heart. And I have no doubt that housekeepers all over the country and every one who buys the things he daily stands in need of will presently exercise a greater vigilance, a more thoughtful economy, a more discriminating care as to the market in which he buys or the merchant with whom he trades than he has hitherto exercised.

I believe, too, that the more extreme leaders of organized labor will presently yield to a sober second thought and, like the great mass of their associates, think and act like true Americans. They will see that strikes undertaken at this critical time are certain to make matters worse, not better—worse for them and for everybody else.

The worst thing, the most fatal thing, that can be done now is to stop or interrupt production or to interfere with the distribution of goods by the railways and the shipping of the country. We are all involved in the distressing results of the high cost of living, and we must unite, not divide, to correct it.

There are many things that ought to be corrected in the relations between capital and labor, in respect of wages and conditions of labor, and other things even more far-reaching, and I, for one, am ready to go into conference about these matters with any group of my fellow-countrymen who know what they are talking about and are willing to remedy existing conditions by frank counsel rather than by violent contest.

No remedy is possible while men are in a temper, and there can be no settlement which does not have as its motive and standard the general interest. Threats and undue insistence upon the interest of a single class make settlement impossible.

I believe, as I have hitherto had occasion to say to the Congress, that the industry and life of our people and of the world will suffer irreparable damage if employers and workmen are to go on in a perpetual contest as antagonists. They must, on one plan or another, be effectively associated. Have we not steadiness and self-possession and business sense enough to work out that result? Undoubtedly we have, and we shall work it out.

In the meantime—now and in the days of readjustment and recuperation that are ahead of us—let us resort more and more to frank and intimate counsel and make ourselves a great and triumphant nation by making ourselves a united force in the life of the world. It will not then have looked to us for leadership in vain.

STATEMENTS

[Power of Ending War-Time Prohibition. Made Public July 28, 1919.]

I am convinced that the Attorney General is right in advising me that I have no legal power at this time in the matter of the ban on liquor. Under the Act of November, 1918, my power to take action is restricted. The Act provides that after June 30, 1919, "until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President, it shall be unlawful, etc." This law does not specify that the ban shall be lifted with the signing of peace, but with the termination of the demobilization of the troops, and I cannot say that this has been accomplished. My information from the War Department is that there are still a million men in the army under the emergency call. It is clear, therefore, that the failure of Congress to act upon the suggestion contained in my message of the twentieth of May, 1919, asking for a repeal of the Act of November 21, 1918, so far as it applies to wines and beers, makes it impossible for me to act in this matter at this time. When demobilization is terminated, my power to act without Congressional action will be exercised.

WOODROW WILSON.

[The Grant of Temporary Possession of the Shantung Peninsula of China to Japan, by the Peace Conference of Paris.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 6, 1919.*

The Government of the United States has noted with the greatest interest the frank statement made by Viscount Uchida with regard to

Japan's future policy respecting Shantung. The statement ought to serve to remove many misunderstandings which had begun to accumulate about this question.

But there are references in the statement to an agreement entered into between Japan and China in 1915 which might be misleading if not commented upon in the light of what occurred in Paris when the clauses of the treaty affecting Shantung were under discussion. I therefore take the liberty of supplementing Viscount Uchida's statement with the following:

In the conference of the 30th of April last, where this matter was brought to a conclusion among the heads of the principal allied and associated powers, the Japanese delegates, Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda, in reply to a question put by myself, declared that:

"The policy of Japan is to hand back the Shantung peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany, and the right to establish a settlement under the usual conditions at Tsing-tao.

"The owners of the railway will use special police only to insure security for traffic. They will be used for no other purpose.

"The police forces will be composed of Chinese, and such Japanese instructors as the Directors of the railway may select will be appointed by the Chinese Government."

No reference was made to this policy being in any way dependent upon the execution of the agreement of 1915 to which Viscount Uchida appears to have referred. Indeed, I felt it my duty to say that nothing that I agreed to must be construed as an acquiescence on the part of the Government of the United States in the policy of the notes exchanged between China and Japan in 1915 and 1918, and reference was made in the discussion to the enforcement of the agreements of 1915 and 1918 only in case China failed to co-operate fully in carrying out the policy outlined in the statement of Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda.

I have, of course, no doubt that Viscount Uchida had been apprised of all the particulars of the discussion in Paris, and I am not making this statement with the idea of correcting his, but only to throw a fuller light of clarification upon a situation which ought to be relieved of every shadow of obscurity or misapprehension.

WOODROW WILSON.

[On Attitude Toward Demand by Railroad Shopmen for Wage Increases.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 25, 1919.*

My Fellow Citizens—A situation has arisen in connection with the administration of the railways which is of such general significance that I think it my duty to make a public statement concerning it, in order that the whole country may know what is involved.

The railroad shopmen have demanded a large increase in wages. They are now receiving 58, 63, and 68 cents per hour. They demand 85 cents per hour. This demand has been given careful and serious consideration by the board which was constituted by the Railroad Administration to adjust questions of wages, a board consisting of an equal number of representatives of employes and of the operating managers of the railroad companies. This board has been unable to come to an agreement, and it has therefore devolved upon the Director General of Railroads and myself to act upon the merits of the case.

The shopmen urge that they are entitled to higher wages because of the higher wages for the present received by men doing a similar work in shipyards, navy yards, and arsenals, as well as in a number of private industries, but I concur with the Director General in thinking that there is no real basis of comparison between the settled employment afforded mechanics by the railroads under living conditions as various as the location and surroundings of the railway shops themselves and the fluctuating employment afforded in industries exceptionally and temporarily stimulated by the war and located almost without exception in industrial centres where the cost of living is highest.

The substantial argument which the shopmen urge is the very serious increase in the cost of living. This is a very potent argument indeed. But the fact is that the cost of living has certainly reached its peak, and will probably be lowered by the efforts which are now everywhere being concerted and carried out. It will certainly be lowered so soon as there are settled conditions of production and of commerce; that is, so soon as the Treaty of Peace is ratified and in operation, and merchants, manufacturers, farmers, miners, all have a certain basis of calculation as to what their business will be and what the conditions will be under which it must be conducted.

The demands of the shopmen, therefore, and all similar demands, are in effect this: That we make increases in wages, which are likely to be permanent, in order to meet a temporary situation which will last nobody can certainly tell how long, but in all probability only for a limited time. Increases in wages will, moreover, certainly result in still further increasing the costs of production and, therefore, the cost of living, and we should only have to go through the same process again. Any substantial increase of wages in leading lines of industry at this time would utterly crush the general campaign which the Government is waging, with energy, vigor, and substantial hope of success, to reduce the high cost of living. And the increases in the cost of transportation which would necessarily result from increases in the wages of railway employes would more certainly and more immediately have that effect than any other enhanced wage costs. Only

by keeping the cost of production on its present level, by increasing production and by rigid economy and saving on the part of the people can we hope for large decreases in the burdensome cost of living which now weighs us down.

The Director General of Railroads and I have felt that a peculiar responsibility rests upon us, because in determining this question we are not studying the balance sheets of corporations merely, we are in effect determining the burden of taxation which must fall upon the people of the country in general. We are acting, not for private corporations, but in the name of the Government and the public and must assess our responsibility accordingly. For it is neither wise nor feasible to take care of increases in the wages of railroad employes at this time by increases in freight rates. It is impossible at this time, until peace has come and normal conditions are restored, to estimate what the earning capacity of the railroads will be when ordinary conditions return. There is no certain basis, therefore, for calculating what the increases of freight rates should be, and it is necessary, for the time being at any rate, to take care of all increases in the wages of railroad employes through appropriations from the public treasury.

In such circumstances, it seems clear to me, and I believe will seem clear to every thoughtful American, including the shopmen themselves when they have taken second thought, and to all wage earners of every kind, that we ought to postpone questions of this sort till normal conditions come again and we have the opportunity for certain calculation as to the relation between wages and the cost of living. It is the duty of every citizen of the country to insist upon a truce in such contests until intelligent settlements can be made, and made by peaceful and effective common council. I appeal to my fellow-citizens of every employment to co-operate in insisting upon and maintaining such a truce, and to co-operate also in sustaining the Government in what I conceive to be the only course which conscientious public servants can pursue. Demands unwisely made and passionately insisted upon at this time menace the peace and prosperity of the country as nothing else could, and thus contribute to bring about the very results which such demands are intended to remedy.

There is, however, one claim made by the railway shopmen which ought to be met. They claim that they are not enjoying the same advantages that other railway employes are enjoying because their wages are calculated upon a different basis. The wages of other railroad employes are based upon the rule that they are to receive for eight hours' work the same pay they received from the longer workday that was the usual standard of the pre-war period. This claim is, I am told, well founded; and I concur in the conclusion of the Director General that the shopmen ought to be given the additional 4 cents an hour

which the readjustment asked for will justify. There are certain other adjustments, also pointed out in the report of the Director General, which ought in fairness to be made, and which will be made.

Let me add also that the position which the Government must in conscience take against general increases in wage levels while the present exceptional and temporary circumstances exist will of course not preclude the Railroad Administration from giving prompt and careful consideration to any claims that may be made by other classes of employes for readjustments believed to be proper to secure impartial treatment for all who work in the railway service.

WOODROW WILSON.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Recommending Continuance of War-Time Passport Control.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 25, 1919.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a communication from the Secretary of State, suggesting that the Passport-Control Act of May 22, 1918, be extended for one year after peace shall have been concluded between the United States and the Central Powers of Europe, and that ample appropriation be made for an efficient execution of that act and the regulations made under it during the remainder of the fiscal year.

This recommendation brings up for your consideration a very important question of policy which has an intimate relation to the welfare of the country. Information from the agents of the Government in foreign countries indicates that as soon as the existing restrictions upon travel are removed many persons will seek admission to this country, and that among the number are not only persons undesirable from the point of view of becoming future citizens, but persons whose origin and affiliations make it inadvisable that they should be permitted to enter the United States. The Act of May 22, 1918, which makes possible the prevention of undesirable individuals from departing for the United States, will automatically cease to be operative upon the establishment of a condition of peace. Individuals will then be free to come here for whatever purpose they choose, and many will come for purposes which we cannot approve and which may indeed be dangerous to the country and to its institutions. The immigration officials enforcing the immigration laws at the ports of the United States will not be able successfully to prevent the entry of all improper and dangerous persons because of the impracticability of developing a system of intelligence and investigation abroad to work in sufficiently close relationship to the immigration organization in the United States to be thoroughly effective in distinguishing between those individuals

whose right to admission would be injurious to the country. The experience gained during the war shows that an efficient system of passport control administered by the Department of State through the diplomatic and consular officers in foreign countries can be depended upon to exclude practically all persons whose admission to the United States would be dangerous or contrary to the public interests. If the Congress concur in the view that the national welfare requires that the class of persons to which I have alluded should not enter this country, it is my belief that the simplest and most effective method that can be adopted would be to continue the system of control now being carried on by the Department of State, working in close co-operation with the Commissioner General of Immigration.

It is obvious that effectiveness of control can only be obtained through supplementing the regular diplomatic and consular personnel with a sufficient number of reliable and capable men, and such men as would be useful can be had only through the payment of adequate compensation. The Secretary of State estimates the expenditure required for the remainder of the current fiscal year at \$750,000, including a number of additional employes in the Department of State who would be charged to supplement the administrative organization now maintained there. I quite agree with the view that it is entirely useless to make any outlay upon this work unless sufficient money is provided with which to make control effective. It would be most unwise to permit the public to rest under the impression that an effective control was being exerted over persons seeking admission to this country, when in fact, owing to inadequate personnel and an inefficient administration of the law, dangerous persons were freely crossing our boundaries.

It is important that I should add that the increase in the number of persons desiring to come to the United States has already almost overwhelmed the existing organization abroad, and that it is very doubtful whether the system of control can be kept in operation for more than a few weeks longer without additional appropriation.

With the relaxation of restrictions upon transportation which are gradually taking place, the burden of examining applicants' passport visas will become so great as to be entirely beyond the capacity of the number of officers whose employment existing appropriations make possible. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that if the Congress should decide, as I hope it may, that the public interest requires that the existing system of control should be maintained and extended it will enact the necessary legislation, preferably by joint resolution, and make ample appropriation at the earliest possible moment.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Asking Appropriation for Expenses of American Peace Commission in Paris.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 28, 1919.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

At the close of the last session of Congress, after it had become certain that the Peace Conference at Paris would not be able to conclude its work until after the expiration of the fiscal year on June 30, 1919, when the existing appropriation from which the expenses of the American Commission were being paid would cease to be available, the acting Secretary of State submitted at my direction a request for an additional appropriation of \$5,000,000.

That amount was requested, first, in order to defray the expenses of the American participation in the conference at Paris until the close of its deliberations, and, second, to meet the initial expenses of the American participation in the various commissions and agencies which the treaty with Germany provides shall be set up immediately after the ratification of the treaty.

No action having been taken on that request by Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury, at my direction, in a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives; in June last, pointed out the urgency of providing for the expenses of the American Commission, and this was followed by a communication from the Acting Secretary of State further explaining the necessity of the appropriation.

No steps have yet been taken to provide for the expenses of the American delegation in Paris, or of the agencies necessary to the discharge of its duties since July 1, 1919, when the appropriation for the national security and defense ceased to be available. It is therefore incumbent upon me again to bring the matter to your attention and point out the urgency of making suitable appropriations for the expenses of the commission. Meanwhile I have been compelled to make use of part of the emergency fund of the Department of State for the expenses of the commission, which is unfortunate in view of the large demand which it is foreseen will be made upon that fund during the current fiscal year.

Inasmuch as there might be objection to providing money at this time for the execution of any of the provisions of the treaty, when ratified, it is not desired now to ask your attention to that part of the estimate submitted.

I assume that no explanation is necessary of the continued presence of the commission in Paris since everyone knows that, although the treaty with Germany is now before the Senate, treaties with Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria are yet to be completed, and many other matters

of actual and potential concern to this country require careful attention of the American representatives.

The purposes for which an additional appropriation is needed will be indicated by the enclosed statement of the expenditures already made and the liabilities growing out of the Peace Conference. In considering these expenses and estimates it should be borne in mind that for a time the personnel of the American delegation numbered more than 1,300 persons, and on July 31, last, had been reduced to about 400, about eighty-eight of whom were civilians, the remainder being from the army and navy.

The conference has been held at a time when conditions in France are abnormal, prices of food being more than 120 per cent. greater than a year ago, railroad transportation having increased more than 150 per cent.; fuel not only difficult to obtain, but only obtainable at prices over 200 per cent. higher than before the war. Although an army commissary had been utilized for the most part, the prices paid have notwithstanding been vastly greater than in pre-war times.

Then, too, means of communication and the usual channels of information have been so greatly impaired as a result of the war that not only has it been necessary to maintain an expensive courier system, but in many instances commissions have had to be dispatched for the purposes of investigation in order that the American Commission might be in a position to act intelligently and upon information the accuracy of which had been positively established.

These unusual conditions have made the work of the commission expensive, although I have no hesitation in saying that, considering the magnitude of the task, and the extent to which the commission was obliged to rely upon its own agencies, instead of upon those available in normal times, the expenses have been and are very modest.

It is obviously not possible at present to estimate how much longer the conference may be in session, but assuming that its work shall extend to the end of the calendar year, December 31, 1919, which I think may be regarded as the maximum, the sum of \$825,000 will be required for the expenses. I hope that this amount may be appropriated at an early date.

WOODROW WILSON.

The statement of expenditures mentioned in the letter, to June 30, 1919, is as follows:

Travel and subsistence, \$15,843.48.

Subsistence, \$144,914.03.

Salaries, \$103,815.95.

Wages to employes of Hotel Crillon, \$53,345.33.

Stationery, office supplies, printing, furniture and fixtures, repairs, newspapers and miscellaneous expenditures, \$40,432.71.

Rents, \$5,720.06.

Food and hotel supplies, \$128,828.10.

Hire and laundry of hotel linens, \$31,583.48.

Fuel, heat, light, and compressed air, \$20,038.78.

Telephone, \$166.17.

Inventories and legal services, \$3,329.75.

Special allotments to investigating commissions dispatched to the Baltic provinces, Poland, Turkey, the Balkans, Russia and the Caucasus, \$105,610.26.

Confidential expenses, \$13,587.19.

Purchase of automobiles, \$14,602.96.

Total \$666,859.29.

Traveling expenses, stationery and supplies, (disbursements by the Department of State in Washington), \$38,009.02. Total, \$704,868.31.

Reimbursement of the Government by members of the American Commission to negotiate peace on account of subsistence furnished their wives; official entertainment by the Secretary of State and Edward House; unexpended allotments, and miscellaneous items, \$18,721.42.

Total net expenses December 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919, exclusive of the rent of the Hotel Crillon and telegraph charges, \$686,146.89.

LIABILITIES

Rental of Hotel Crillon from December 1, 1918, to September 30, 1919, including damages, the amount of which are not yet known, approximately \$35,000 monthly, \$350,000.

Telegraph and cable service through the War Department, bills not yet received and amount not yet known, though the expense will be large.

Expenses of the commission from July 1, 1919, to July 30, 1919, exclusive of rent and telegraph service, \$150,629.74.

Expenses of the commission from August 1, 1919, to August 31, 1919, exclusive of rent and telegraph service, estimated, \$125,000.

Expenses of the commission from September 1, 1919, to December 31, 1919, estimated for four months, \$440,000.

Total estimated and actual liabilities, so far as known, to date, \$1,250,629.74.

Less rental of the Hotel Crillon to June 30, 1919, which is payable out of the appropriation for the national security and defense, \$245,000.

Total appropriation required on the assumption that the conference may be prolonged to December 31, 1919, \$820,629.74.

Total expense of commission, actual and estimated, \$1,566,776.63.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Re-Transferring Coast Guard to Treasury Department.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 28, 1919.*

By virtue of the authority conferred by "An Act authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government," approved May 20, 1918, I do hereby make and publish the following order:

The important purposes for which operation of the Coast Guard was temporarily transferred to the navy under the Act approved Janu-

ary 28, 1915, entitled "An Act to Create the Coast Guard by combining therein the existing Life Saving Service and Revenue Cutter Service" having been accomplished, and, it being for the best interests of the Government and for the efficient service of the Coast Guard in connection with the collection of the Revenue that the Coast Guard be under the supervision of the Treasury Department, it is hereby directed that the Coast Guard shall on and after this date operate under the Treasury Department.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Lifting War-Time Check Upon Government Expenditures.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 28, 1919.*

Whereas by the Act of Congress approved July 8, 1918, Public No. 189, 65th Congress, it is provided

"That except as expressly otherwise authorized herein no part of the sums appropriated by this Act shall be expended in the purchase from private manufacturers of any material at a price in excess of twenty-five per centum more than the cost of manufacturing such material by the Government, or, where such material is not or has not been manufactured by the Government, at a price in excess of twenty-five per centum more than the estimated cost of manufacture by the Government: Provided, That whenever in the opinion of the President the situation is such as to justify such action he may waive the limitations contained in this section,"

And whereas, in view of the practical impossibility under existing conditions of making the estimates necessary to comply fully and adequately with said provisions, it appears that the situation is such as to justify a waiver of said provisions,

It is hereby ordered that during the present national emergency the limitations contained in the above section be and the same are hereby waived.

WOODROW WILSON.

LABOR DAY MESSAGE

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 31, 1919.*

I am encouraged and gratified by the progress which is being made in controlling the cost of living. The support of the movement is widespread and I confidently look for substantial results, although I must counsel patience as well as vigilance, because such results will not come instantly or without team work.

Let me again emphasize my appeal to every citizen of the country to continue to give his personal support in this matter, and to make it as active as possible. Let him not only refrain from doing anything which at the moment will tend to increase the cost of living, but let

him do all in his power to increase production; and, further than that, let him at the same time himself carefully economize in the matter of consumption. By common action in this direction we shall overcome a danger greater than the danger of war. We will hold steady a situation which is fraught with possibilities of hardship and suffering to a large part of our population; we will enable the processes of production to overtake the processes of consumption; and we will speed the restoration of an adequate purchasing power for wages.

I am particularly gratified at the support which the Government's policy has received from the representatives of organized labor, and I earnestly hope that the workers generally will emphatically indorse the position of their leaders and thereby move with the Government instead of against it in the solution of this greater domestic problem.

I am calling for as early a date as practicable a conference in which authoritative representatives of labor and of those who direct labor will discuss fundamental means of bettering the whole relationship of capital and labor and putting the whole question of wages upon another footing.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS

[When the United States Senate opened the discussion of the peace treaty with Germany, in which the Covenant of the League of Nations was included as an integral part, there was strong opposition on the part of many Senators to the ratification of the treaty. Most of the opposition centered around the Covenant of the League of Nations, although there was strong opposition also to the grant of the Shantung peninsula of China to Japan for an indefinite period of time. Some Senators were altogether opposed to the treaty in the form submitted; others were in favor of amending it; others were in favor of qualifying clauses. Naturally, the President was able to swing most of the Democratic Senators behind the treaty, but by the elections in the fall of 1918, the Republicans had achieved a majority in the Senate. After some eight weeks' consultation and discussion of the treaty with Senators in Washington, President Wilson undertook a "swing around the circle" to present the case for the treaty directly to the American people. The President's tour began on September 3, 1919, and in the course of it he reached the Pacific Coast. The tour was suddenly abandoned at Wichita, Kansas, on September 26, when the President was headed back toward Washington, five days before its scheduled termination, because of the complete prostration of the President as a result of nervous exhaustion due to overwork, both during and after the Peace Conference in Europe.

The following address was delivered in Columbus, Ohio, on September 4, 1918, as the first extensive address of the President's tour.]

Mr. Chairman, Governor Campbell and My Fellow-Citizens:

It is with very profound pleasure that I find myself face to face with you. I have for a long time chafed at the confinement of Washington. I have for a long time wished to fulfill the purpose with

which my heart was full when I returned to our beloved country, namely, to go out and report to my fellow-countrymen concerning those affairs of the world which now need to be settled.

The only people I owe any report to are you and the other citizens of the United States, and it has become increasingly necessary, apparently, that I should report to you. After all the various angles at which you have heard the treaty held up perhaps you would like to know what is in the treaty. I find it very difficult in reading some of the speeches that I have read to form any conception of that great document. It is a document unique in the history of the world for many reasons, and I think I cannot do you a better service or the peace of the world a better service than by pointing out to you just what this treaty contains and what it seeks to do.

In the first place, my fellow-countrymen, it seeks to punish one of the greatest wrongs ever done in history, the wrong which Germany sought to do to the world and to civilization, and there ought to be no weak purpose with regard to the application of the punishment. She attempted an intolerable thing, and she must be made to pay for the attempt. The terms of the treaty are severe, but they are not unjust. I can testify that the men associated with me at the Peace Conference in Paris had it in their hearts to do justice and not wrong, but they knew, perhaps with a more vivid sense of what had happened than we could possibly know on this side of the water, the many solemn covenants which Germany had disregarded, the long preparation she had made to overwhelm her neighbors, the utter disregard which she had shown for human rights, for the rights of women and children and those who were helpless. They had seen their lands devastated by an enemy that devoted itself not only to the effort of victory, but to the effort of terror, seeking to terrify the people whom he fought, and I wish to testify that they exercised restraint in the terms of this treaty. They did not wish to overwhelm any great nation, and they had no purpose of overwhelming the German people, but they did think that it ought to be burned into the consciousness of men forever that no people ought to permit its government to do what the German Government did.

In the last analysis, my fellow-countrymen, as we in America would be the first to claim, a people are responsible for the acts of their Government; if their Government purposes things that are wrong, they ought to take measures and see to it that that purpose is not executed. Germany was self-governed. Her rulers had not concealed the purposes that they had in mind, but they had deceived their people as to the character of the methods they were going to use, and I believe, from what I can learn that there is an awakened consciousness in Germany itself of the deep iniquity of the thing that was attempted.

When the Austrian delegates came before the Peace Conference

they, in so many words, spoke of the origination of the war as a crime, and admitted in our presence that it was a thing intolerable to contemplate. They knew in their hearts that it had done them the deepest conceivable wrong; that it had put their people and the people of Germany at the judgment seat of mankind; and throughout this treaty every term that was applied to Germany was meant not to humiliate Germany, but to rectify the wrong that she had done. And you will see that if you will look into the severe terms of reparation, for there was no indemnity—no indemnity of any sort was claimed—merely reparation, merely paying for the destruction done, merely making good the losses, so far as the losses could be made good which she had unjustly inflicted, not upon the Governments (for the reparation is not to go to the Governments), but upon the people whose rights she had trodden upon, with absolute absence of everything that even resembled pity.

There is no indemnity in this treaty, but there is reparation, and even in the terms of reparation a method is devised by which the reparation shall be adjusted to Germany's ability to pay it.

I am astonished at some of the statements I see made about this treaty, and the truth is that they are made by persons who have not read the treaty or who, if they have read it, have not comprehended its meaning. There is a method of adjustment in the treaty by which the reparation shall not be pressed beyond the point which Germany can pay, but will be pressed to the utmost point that she can pay, which is just, which is righteous. It would be intolerable if there had been anything else, for, my fellow-citizens, this treaty is not meant merely to end this single war; it is meant as a notice to every Government which in the future will attempt this thing that mankind will unite to inflict the same punishment.

There is no national triumph sought to be recorded in this treaty. There is no glory sought for any particular nation. The thought of the statesmen collected around that table was of their people, of the sufferings that they had gone through, of the losses they had incurred, that great throbbing heart which was so depressed, so forlorn, so sad in every memory that it had had of the five tragical years that have gone. Let us never forget those years, my fellow countrymen. Let us never forget the purpose, the high purpose, the disinterested purpose, with which America lent its strength, not for its own glory, but for the defense of mankind.

And, as I said, this treaty was not intended merely to end this war; it was intended to prevent any similar war.

I wonder if some of the opponents of the League of Nations have forgotten the promises we made our people before we went to that peace table. We had taken by processes of law the flower of our youth

from every countryside, from every household, and we told those mothers and fathers and sisters and wives and sweethearts that we were taking those men to fight a war which would end business of that sort, and if we do not end it, if we do not do the best that human concert of action can do to end it, we are of all men the most unfaithful—the most unfaithful to the loving hearts who suffered in this war, the most unfaithful to those households bowed in grief, yet lifted with the feeling that the lad laid down his life for a great thing—among other things in order that other lads might not have to do the same thing.

That is what the League of Nations is for, to end this war justly, and it is not merely to serve notice on Governments which would contemplate the same thing which Germany contemplated, that they will do so at their peril, but also concerning the combination of power which will prove to them that they will do it at their peril. It is idle to say the world will combine against you because it may not, but it is persuasive to say the world is combined against you and will remain combined against any who attempt the same things that you attempted.

The League of Nations is the only thing that can prevent the recurrence of this dreadful catastrophe and redeem our promises. And the character of the League is based upon the experience of this very war.

I did not meet a single public man who did not admit these things—that Germany would not have gone into this war if she had thought Great Britain was going into it, and that she most certainly would never have gone into this war if she had dreamed America was going into it, and they have all admitted that a notice beforehand that the greatest powers of the world would combine to prevent this sort of thing would have prevented it absolutely.

—When gentlemen tell you, therefore, that the League of Nations is intended for some other purpose than this, merely reply this to them, “If we do not do this thing, we have neglected the Central Covenant that we made to our people,” and there will be no statesman of any country who can thereafter promise his people any alleviation from the perils of war.

The passions of this world are not dead; the rivalries of this world have not cooled; they have been rendered hotter than ever. The harness that is to unite nations is more necessary now than it ever was before, and unless there is this sureness of combined action before wrong is attempted, wrong will be attempted just as soon as the most ambitious nations can recover from the financial stress of this war.

Now look what else is in the treaty. This treaty is unique in the history of mankind because the centre of it is the redemption of weak nations. There never was a congress of nations before that considered

the rights of those who could not enforce their rights. There never was a congress of nations before that did not seek to effect some balance of power brought about by means of serving the strength and interest of the strongest powers concerned, whereas this treaty builds up nations that never could have won their freedom in any other way. It builds them up by gift, by largess, not by obligation; builds them up because of the conviction of the men who wrote the treaty that the rights of people transcended the rights of Governments, because of the conviction of the men who wrote that treaty that the fertile source of war is wrong; that the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for example, was held together by military force and consisted of peoples who did not want to live together; who did not have the spirit of nationality as toward each other; who were constantly chafing at the bonds that held them.

Hungary, though a willing partner of Austria, was willing to be her partner because she could share Austria's strength for accomplishing her own ambitions, and her own ambitions were to hold under her the Jugo-Slavic peoples that lay to the south of her; Bohemia, an unhappy partner—a partner by duress, beating in all her veins the strongest national impulse that was to be found anywhere in Europe; and north of that, pitiful Poland, a great nation divided up among the great powers of Europe, torn asunder—kinship disregarded, natural ties treated with contempt and an obligatory division among sovereigns imposed upon her, a part of her given to Russia, a part of her given to Austria, and a part of her given to Germany, and great bodies of Polish people never permitted to have the normal intercourse with their kinsmen for fear that that fine instinct of the heart should assert itself which binds families together.

Poland could never have won her independence. Bohemia never could have broken away from the Austro-Hungarian combination. The Slavic peoples to the south, running down into the great Balkan peninsula, had again and again tried to assert their nationality and their independence, and had as often been crushed, not by the immediate power they were fighting, but by the combined power of Europe.

The old alliances, the old balances of power, were meant to see to it that no little nation asserted its rights to the disturbance of the peace of Europe, and every time an assertion of rights was attempted it were suppressed by combined influence and force. And this treaty tears away all that and says these people have a right to live their own lives under the governments which they themselves choose to set up. That is the American principle and I was glad to fight for it, and when strategic consideration were urged I said (not I alone, but it was a matter of common counsel) that strategic conditions were not in

our thoughts; that we were not now arranging for future wars, but were giving people what belonged to them.

My fellow-citizens, I do not think there is any man alive who has a more tender sympathy for the great people of Italy than I have, and a very stern duty was presented to us when we had to consider some of the claims of Italy on the Adriatic, because strategically, from the point of view of future wars, Italy needed a military foothold on the other side of the Adriatic, but her people did not live there except in little spots. It was a Slavic people, and I had to say to my Italian friends: "Everywhere else in this treaty we have given territory to the people who lived on it, and I do not think that it is for the advantage of Italy, and I am sure it is not for the advantage of the world, to give Italy territory where other people live."

I felt the force of the argument for what they wanted, and it was the old argument that had always prevailed, namely, that they needed it from a military point of view, and I have no doubt that if there is no League of Nations they will need it from a military point of view. But if there is a League of Nations they will not need it from a military point of view. If there is no League of Nations the military point of view will prevail in every instance and peace will be brought into contempt, but if there is a League of Nations Italy need not fear the fact that the shores on the other side of the Adriatic tower above her sandy shores on her side of the sea, because there will be no threatening guns there, and the nations of the world will have concerted not merely to see that the Slavic peoples have their rights but that the Italian people have their rights as well. I would rather have everybody on my side than be armed to the teeth; and every settlement that is right, every settlement that is based upon the principles I have alluded to, is a safe settlement because the sympathy of mankind will be behind it.

Some gentlemen have feared with regard to the League of Nations that we will be obliged to do things we don't want to do. If the treaty were wrong, that might be so; but if the treaty is right, we will wish to preserve right. I think I know the heart of this great people, whom I for the time being have the high honor to represent, better than some other men that I hear talk.

I have been bred and am proud to have been bred in the old Revolutionary stock which set this Government up when America was set up as a friend of mankind, and I know, if they do not, that America has never lost that vision or that purpose.

But I haven't the slightest fear that arms will be necessary if the purpose is there. If I know that my adversary is armed and I am not, I do not press the controversy; and if any nation entertains selfish purposes set against the principles established in this treaty, and is

told by the rest of the world that it must withdraw its claims, it will not press them.

The heart of this treaty, then, my fellow-citizens, is not even that it punishes Germany—that is a temporary thing—it is that it rectifies the age-long wrongs which characterized the history of Europe.

There were some of us who wished that the scope of the treaty would reach some other age-long wrongs. It was a big job, and I don't say that we wished that it were bigger; but there were other wrongs elsewhere than in Europe, and of the same kind, which no doubt ought to be righted, and some day will be righted, but which we could not draw into the treaty because we could deal only with the countries whom the war had engulfed and affected. But, so far as the scope of our authority went, we rectified the wrongs which have been the fertile source of war in Europe.

Have you ever reflected, my fellow-countrymen, on the real source of revolutions? Men don't start revolutions in a sudden passion. Do you remember what Thomas Carlyle said about the French revolution? He was speaking of the so-called Hundred Days Terror which reigned, not only in Paris, but throughout France, in the days of the French revolution; and he reminded his readers that back of that Hundred Days of Terror lay several hundred years of agony and of wrong. The French people had been deeply and consistently wronged by their Government; robbed; their human rights disregarded; and the slow agony of those hundreds of years had after a while gathered into a hot anger that could not be suppressed.

Revolutions don't spring up over night; revolutions gather through the ages; revolutions come from the long suppression of the human spirit; revolutions come because men know that they have rights and that they are disregarded.

And when we think of the future of the world in connection with this treaty, we must remember that one of the chief efforts of those who made this treaty was to remove that anger from the heart of great peoples—great peoples who had always been suppressed and always been used, who had always been the tools in the hands of governments—generally of alien governments—not their own. And the makers of the treaty knew that if these wrongs were not removed, there could be no peace in the world, because, after all, my fellow-citizens, war comes from the seed of wrong, and not from the seed of right. This treaty is an attempt to right the history of Europe, and in my humble judgment it is a measurable success.

I say "measurable," my fellow-citizens, because you will realize the difficulty of this: Here are two neighboring peoples. The one people have not stopped at a sharp line, and the settlements of the other people, or their migrations, begun at that sharp line; they have inter-

mingled. There are regions where you can't draw a national line and say there are Slavs on this side and Italians on that; there is this people here and that people there. It can't be done. You have to approximate the line. You have to come as near to it as you can, and then trust to the process of history to redistribute, it may be, the people who are on the wrong side of the line. And there are many such lines drawn in this treaty and to be drawn in the Austrian treaty, and where, perhaps, there are more lines of that sort than in the German treaty.

When we came to draw the line between the Polish people and the German people (not the line between Germany and Poland—there wasn't any Poland, strictly speaking) there were districts like the upper part of Silesia, or rather the eastern part of Silesia, which is called "Upper Silesia" because it is mountainous and the other part is not. Upper Silesia is chiefly Polish, and when we came to draw a line to represent Poland it was necessary to include Upper Silesia if we were really going to play fair and make Poland up of the Polish people wherever we found them in sufficiently close neighborhood to one another. But it wasn't perfectly clear that Upper or High Silesia wanted to be part of Poland. At any rate, there were Germans in Upper Silesia who said that it did not, and therefore we did there what we did in many other places—we said, "Very well, then, we will let the people that live there decide. We will have a referendum within a certain length of time after the war under the supervision of an international commission which will have a sufficient armed force behind it to preserve order and see that nobody interferes with the elections. We will have an absolutely free vote, and Upper Silesia shall go either to Germany or to Poland, as the people in Upper Silesia prefer."

And that illustrates many other cases where we provided for a referendum, or a plebiscite, as they choose to call it; and are going to leave it to the people themselves, as we should have done, what Government they shall live under.

It is none of my prerogatives to allot peoples to this Government and the other. It is nobody's right to do that allotting except the people themselves, and I want to testify that this treaty is shot through with the American principle of the choice of the governed.

Of course, at times it went further than we could make a practical policy of, because various peoples were keen upon getting back portions of their populations which were separated from them by many miles of territory, and we could not spot Europe with little pieces of separated States. I even had to remind my Italian colleagues that if they were going to claim every place where there was a large Italian population

we would have to cede New York to them, because there are more Italians in New York than in any Italian city.

But I believe—I hope—that the Italians in New York City are as glad to stay there as we are to have them. I would not have you suppose that I am intimating that my Italian colleagues entered any claim for New York City.

We, of all peoples in the world, my fellow-citizens, ought to be able to understand the questions of this treaty without anybody explaining them to us; for we are made up out of all the peoples of the world. I dare say that in this audience there are representatives of practically all the peoples dealt with in this treaty. You don't have to have me explain national ambitions to you. You have been brought up on them; you have learned of them since you were children, and it is those national aspirations which we sought to realize, to give an outlet to, in this great treaty.

But we did much more than that. This treaty contains, among other things, a Magna Charta of labor—a thing unheard of until this interesting year of grace. There is a whole section of the treaty devoted to arrangements by which the interests of those who labor with their hands all over the world, whether they be men or women or children, are all of them to be safeguarded. And next month there is to meet the first assembly under this section of the League—and let me tell you it will meet, whether the treaty is ratified by that time or not—there is to meet an assembly which represents the interests of laboring men throughout the world. Not their political interests, there is nothing political about it. It is the interests of men concerning the conditions of their labor, concerning the character of labor which women shall engage in, the character of labor which children shall be permitted to engage in; the hours of labor, and, incidentally, of course, the remuneration of labor, that labor shall be remunerated in proportion, of course, to the maintenance of the standard of living which is proper for the man who is expected to give his whole brain and intelligence and energy to a particular task.

I hear very little said about the Magna Charta of labor which is embodied in this treaty. It forecasts the day, which ought to have come long ago, when statesmen will realize that no nation is fortunate which is not happy, and that no nation can be happy whose people are not contented—contented in their industry, contented in their lives, and fortunate in the circumstances of their lives.

If I were to state what seems to me to be the central idea of this treaty it would be this (it is almost a discovery in international conventions):—"Nations do not consist of their Government, but consist of their people."

That is a rudimentary idea; it seems to go without saying to us



Photo from Western Newspaper Union

THE LARGEST AIRPLANE, 1919

THE LARGEST AIRPLANE, 1919.

The plane in the accompanying photograph, put into service early in 1919, at the time of its completion was the largest heavier-than-air machine in the world. It was used in the transport service of the United States for the detection of enemy submarines.

in America; but, my fellow-citizens, it was never the leading idea in any other international congress that I ever heard of, that is to say international congress made up of the representatives of Government. They were always thinking of national policy, of national advantages, of the rivalries of trade, of the advantages of territorial conquest.

There is nothing of that in this treaty. You will notice that even the territories which are taken away from Germany, like her colonies, are not given to anybody. There isn't a single act of annexation in this treaty. But territories inhabited by people not yet able to govern themselves, either because of economic or other circumstances or the stage of their development, are put under the care of powers who are to act as trustees—trustees responsible in the forum of the world, at the bar of the League of Nations, and the terms upon which they are to exercise their trusteeship are outlined. They are not to use those people by way of profit and to fight their wars for them; they are not to permit any form of slavery among them or of enforced labor. They are to see to it that there are humane conditions of labor with regard not only to the women and children, but to the men, also. They are to establish no fortifications; they are to regulate the liquor and opium traffic; they are to see to it, in other words, that the lives of the people whose care they assume—not sovereignty over whom they assume, but whose care they assume—are kept clean and safe and wholesome. There again the principle of the treaty comes out, that the object of the arrangement is the welfare of the people who live there and not the advantages of the Government which is the trustee.

It goes beyond that, and it seeks to gather under the common supervision of the League of Nations the various instrumentalities by which the world has been trying to check the evils that were in some places debasing men, like the opium traffic, like the traffic—for it was a traffic—in men, women, and children; like the traffic in other dangerous drugs; like the traffic in arms among uncivilized peoples, who could use arms only for their detriment; for sanitation; for the work of the Red Cross.

Why, those clauses, my fellow-citizens, draw the hearts of the world into league; draw the noble impulses of the world together and make a poem of them.

I used to be told that this was an age in which mind was monarch, and my comment was that if that were true then mind was one of those modern monarchs that reign and do not govern; but as a matter of fact we were governed by a great representative assembly made up of the human passions, and that the best we could manage was that the high and fine passions should be in a majority, so that they could control the baser passions, so that they could check the things that were wrong. This treaty seeks something like that. In drawing the humane

endeavors of the world together, it makes a league of the fine passions of the world, of its philanthropic passions, of its passion of pity, of the passion of human sympathy, of the passion of human friendliness and helpfulness, for there is such a passion. It is the passion that has lifted us along the slow road of civilization; it is the passion that has made ordered government possible; it is the passion that has made justice and established it in some happy parts of the world.

That is the treaty. Did you ever hear of it before? Did you ever know before what was in this treaty? Did anybody before ever tell you what the treaty was intended to do?

I beg, my fellow-citizens, that you and the rest of these Americans with whom we are happy to be associated all over this broad land will read the treaty for yourselves, or (if you won't take time to do that, for it is a technical document that is hard to read) that you will accept the interpretation of those who made it and know what the intentions were in the making of it.

I hear a great deal, my fellow-citizens, about the selfishness and the selfish ambitions of other Governments, but I would not be doing justice to the gifted men with whom I was associated on the other side of the water if I didn't testify that the purposes that I have outlined were their purposes. We differed as to the method, very often; we had discussions as to the details, but we never had any serious discussion as to the principle. And while we all acknowledge that the principles might, perhaps, in detail have been better realized, really we are all back of those principles. There is a concert of mind and of purpose and of policy in the world that was never in existence before. I am not saying that by way of credit to myself or to those colleagues to whom I have alluded, because what happened to us was that we got messages from our people; we were there under instructions, whether they were written down or not, and we didn't dare come home without fulfilling those instructions. If I could not have brought back the kind of treaty I brought back I never would have come back, because I would have been an unfaithful servant and you would have had the right to condemn me in any way that you chose to use. So that I testify that this is an American treaty not only, but it is a treaty that expresses the heart of the peoples—of the great peoples who were associated together in the war against Germany.

I said at the opening of this informal address, my fellow-citizens, that I had come to make a report to you. I want to add to that a little bit. I have not come to debate the treaty. It speaks for itself, if you will let it. The arguments directed against it are directed against it with a radical misunderstanding of the instrument itself. Therefore, I am not going anywhere to debate the treaty. I am going to expound it and I am going, right here now today, to urge you, in

every vocal method that you can use, to assert the spirit of the American people in support of it. Don't let men pull it down. Don't let men misrepresent it. Don't let men lead this nation away from the high purposes with which this war was inaugurated and fought.

As I came through that line of youngsters in khaki a few minutes ago I felt that I could salute it because I had done the job in the way I promised them I would do it, and when the treaty is accepted men in khaki will not have to cross the seas again. That is the reason I believe in it. I say "when it is accepted," for it will be accepted. I have never entertained a moment's doubt of that, and the only thing I have been impatient of has been the delay. It is not a dangerous delay, except for the temper of the peoples scattered throughout the world who are waiting. Do you realize, my fellow-citizens, that the whole world is waiting on America? The only country in the world that is trusted at this moment is the United States, and they are waiting to see whether their trust is justified or not.

That has been the ground of my impatience. I knew their trust was justified, but I begrudge the time that certain gentlemen oblige us to take in telling them so. We shall tell them so in a voice as authentic as any voice in history, and in the years to come men will be glad to remember that they had some part in the great struggle which brought this incomparable consummation of the hopes of mankind.

MESSAGES

[Greeting General John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe During the Great War. Delivered by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, on General Pershing's Return from Europe on September 8, 1919.]

My dear General Pershing, I am distressed that I cannot greet you in person. It would give me the greatest pleasure to grasp your hand and say to you what is in my heart and in the hearts of all true Americans as we hail your return to the home land you have served so gallantly. Notwithstanding my physical absence, may I not, as your Commander in Chief and as spokesman of our fellow-countrymen, bid you an affectionate and enthusiastic welcome—a welcome warmed with the ardor of genuine affection and deep admiration? You have served the country with fine devotion and admirable efficiency, in a war forever memorable as the world's triumphant protest against injustice and as its vindication of liberty, the liberty of peoples and of nations.

We are proud of you and of the men you command. No finer armies ever set their indomitable strength and unconquerable spirit

against the forces of wrong. Their glory is the glory of the nation, and it is with a thrill of profound pride that we greet you as their leader and commander. You have just come from the sea and from the care of the men of the navy, who made the achievements of our arms on land possible, and who so gallantly assisted to clear the seas of their lurking peril. Our hearts go out to them, too. It is delightful to see you home again, well and fit for the fatigues you must endure before we are done with our welcome. I will not speak now of our associates on the other side of the sea. It will be delightful on many occasions to speak their praise. I speak now only of our personal joy that you are home again and that we have the opportunity to make you feel the warmth of our affectionate welcome.

[Opposing Organization of District of Columbia Policemen Into Associations to Exert Pressure Upon the Public. The Message Was Dispatched to the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, Following a Strike of the Police Force in Boston, and Was Made Public on September 18, 1919.]

I hope that you understood my brief telegram of the other day. I am quite willing that you should tell the Senate committee that my position in my conversations with you was exactly the same as I have expressed recently in speeches here in the West, and, of course, I am desirous, as you are, of dealing with the police force in the most just and generous way, but I think that any association of the police force of the Capital City, or of any great city, whose object is to bring pressure upon the public or the community such as will endanger the public peace or embarrass the maintenance of order, should in no case be countenanced or permitted.

WOODROW WILSON.

President Wilson's remarks on the strike of the Boston policemen, referred to above, are well exemplified in these words, from his address at Helena, Montana, on September 11, 1919:

I want to say this, that a strike of the policemen of a great city, leaving that city at the mercy of an army of thugs, is a crime against civilization.

In my judgment the obligation of a policeman is as sacred and direct as the obligation of a soldier. He is a public servant, not a private employe, and the whole honor of the community is in his hands. He has no right to prefer any private advantage to the public safety.

I hope that that lesson will be burned in so that it will never again be forgotten, because the pride of America is that it can exercise self-control.

STATEMENT

[On strike in the bituminous coal industry. Several days after this statement appeared, Attorney-General Palmer filed an injunction under the war-time provisions of the Food Control Law (see Encyclopedic Index under that head) compelling the miners' union to call off the strike and return to work. Later, the dispute was settled by arbitration forced by the Government.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 25, 1919.*

On September 23, 1919, the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Cleveland, Ohio, adopted a proposal declaring that all contracts in the bituminous field shall be declared as having automatically expired November 1, 1919, and making various demands including a 60 per cent. increase in wages and the adoption of a six-hour workday and a five-day week; and providing that, in the event a satisfactory wage agreement should not be secured for the central competitive field before November 1, 1919, the national officials should be authorized and instructed to call a general strike of all bituminous miners and mine workers throughout the United States, effective November 1, 1919.

Pursuant to these instructions, the officers of the organization have issued a call to make the strike effective November 1. This is one of the gravest steps ever proposed in this country affecting the economic welfare and the domestic comfort and health of the people. It is proposed to abrogate an agreement as to wages which was made with the sanction of the United States Fuel Administration and which was to run during the continuance of the war, but not beyond April 1, 1920.

This strike is proposed at a time when the Government is making the most earnest effort to reduce the cost of living and has appealed with success to other classes of workers to postpone similar disputes until a reasonable opportunity has been afforded for dealing with the cost of living. It is recognized that the strike would practically shut off the country's supply of its principal fuel at a time when interference with that supply is calculated to create a disastrous fuel famine. All interests would be affected alike by a strike of this character, and its victims would be not the rich only, but the poor and the needy as well, those least able to provide in advance a fuel supply for domestic use. It would involve the shutting down of countless industries and the throwing out of employment of a large part of the workers of the country. It would involve stopping the operation of railroads, electric light and gas plants, street railway lines and other public utilities, and the shipping to and from this country, thus preventing our giving aid to the Allied countries with supplies which they so seriously need.

The country is confronted with this prospect at a time when the war itself is still a fact, when the world is still in suspense as to negotiations

for peace, when our troops are still being transported, and when their means of transport is in urgent need of fuel.

From whatever angle the subject may be viewed, it is apparent that such a strike in such circumstances would be the most far-reaching plan ever presented in this country to limit the facilities of production and distribution of a necessity of life and thus indirectly to restrict the production and distribution of all the necessaries of life. A strike under these circumstances is not only unjustifiable; it is unlawful.

The action proposed has apparently been taken without any vote upon the specific proposition by the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America throughout the United States, an almost unprecedented proceeding. I cannot believe that any right of any American worker needs for its protection the taking of this extraordinary step, and I am convinced that when the time and manner are considered, it constitutes a fundamental attack, which is wrong both morally and legally, upon the rights of society and upon the welfare of our country. I feel convinced that individual members of the United Mine Workers would not vote, upon full consideration, in favor of such a strike under these conditions.

When a movement reaches the point where it appears to involve practically the entire productive capacity of the country with respect to one of the most vital necessities of daily domestic and industrial life, and when the movement is asserted in the circumstances I have stated and at a time and in a manner calculated to involve the maximum of danger to the public welfare in this critical hour of our country's life, the public interest becomes the paramount consideration.

In these circumstances I solemnly request both the national and the local officers and also the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America to recall all orders looking to a strike on November 1, and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent any stoppage of work.

It is time for plain speaking. These matters with which we now deal touch not only the welfare of a class, but vitally concern the well-being, the comfort, and the very life of all the people. I feel it my duty in the public interest to declare that any attempt to carry out the purposes of this strike and thus to paralyze the industry of the country with the consequent suffering and distress of all our people, must be considered a grave moral and legal wrong against the Government and the people of the United States. I can do nothing less than to say that the law will be enforced, and means will be found to protect the interests of the nation in any emergency that may arise out of this unhappy business.

I express no opinion on the merits of the controversy. I have already suggested a plan by which a settlement may be reached, and

I hold myself in readiness at the request of either or both sides to appoint at once a tribunal to investigate all the facts with a view to aiding in the earliest possible orderly settlement of the questions at issue between the coal operators and the coal miners, to the end that the just rights, not only of those interests but also of the general public, may be fully protected.

VETO MESSAGE

[Returning without the Presidential signature a bill outlining drastic methods for the enforcement of the measure providing for prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors during the war against Germany. The bill in question was passed, almost immediately, over the President's veto.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 27, 1919.*

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning without my signature H. R. 6810, "An act to prohibit intoxicating beverages and to regulate the manufacture, production, use, and sale of high proof spirits for other than beverage purposes, and to insure an ample supply of alcohol and promote its use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye, and other lawful industries."

The subject matter treated in this measure deals with two distinct phases of prohibition legislation. One part of the act under consideration seeks to enforce wartime prohibition. The other provides for the enforcement which was made necessary by the adoption of the constitutional amendment. I object to and cannot approve that part of this legislation with reference to wartime prohibition.

It has to do with the enforcement of an act which was passed by reason of the emergencies of the war and whose objects have been satisfied in the demobilization of the army and navy and whose repeal I have already sought at the hands of Congress. Where the purposes of particular legislation arising out of war emergency have been satisfied, sound public policy makes clear the reason and necessity for repeal.

It will not be difficult for Congress in considering this important matter to separate these two questions and effectively to legislate regarding them, making the proper distinction between temporary causes which arose out of the wartime emergencies and those like the constitutional amendment of prohibition, which is now part of the fundamental law of the country.

In all matters having to do with the personal habits and customs of large numbers of our people we must be certain that the established processes of legal change are followed. In no other way can the salutary object sought to be accomplished by great reforms of this character be made satisfactory and permanent.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[See preceding statement on coal strike.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 30, 1919.*

Whereas, the United States Fuel Administrator acting under the authority of an Executive Order issued by me dated the 23rd of August, 1917, appointing the said Fuel Administrator and of subsequent Executive Orders, and in furtherance of the purpose of said orders and of the Act of Congress therein referred to and approved August 10, 1917, did, on January 31, 1919, and on February 20, 1919, execute and issue orders suspending, until further order by the President, certain rules, regulations, orders and proclamations theretofore promulgated relating to the fixing of prices, the production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, storage and use of coal, and whereas it is necessary to restore and maintain during the war certain of said rules, regulations, orders and proclamations:

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, acting under authority of the aforesaid Act of Congress, approved August 10, 1917, do hereby revoke and annul said orders of January 31, 1919, and February 20, 1919, to the extent necessary to restore all of the said rules, regulations, orders and proclamations therein suspended concerning:

- (a) Fixing prices of bituminous and lignite coal at the mines;
- (b) Fixing or regulating commissions of persons and agencies performing the functions of middlemen dealing in bituminous and lignite coal;
- (c) Fixing or regulating gross margins or prices of wholesale and retail dealers in bituminous and lignite coal;

and do hereby restore all of said rules, regulations and proclamations, to the extent herein provided, to full force and effect, as if they had not been suspended.

Inasmuch as it is contemplated that it may be necessary from time to time to revoke other portions of said orders of January 31, 1919, and February 20, 1919, and to restore to full force and effect rules, regulations, orders and proclamations, or portions thereof, regulating the production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, storage or use of bituminous and lignite coal, the Fuel Administrator shall, as occasion arises, restore, change or make such rules or regulations relating to the production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, storage or use of bituminous and lignite coal as in his judgment may be necessary.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 5, 1919.*

Whereas, the United States Fuel Administrator acting under the

authority of an Executive Order issued by me dated August 23, 1917, appointing the said United States Fuel Administrator, and all subsequent Executive Orders, and in furtherance of the purpose of said orders and of the Act of Congress therein referred to, and approved August 10, 1917, did on January 31, 1919, and on February 20, 1919, execute and issue orders suspending until further order by the President certain rules, regulations, orders and proclamations theretofore promulgated, relating to the fixing of prices, the production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, storage and use of coal and coke; and whereas, by an Executive Order dated October 30, 1919, the said orders of January 31, 1919, and of February 20, 1919, were revoked and annulled to the extent set forth in the said Executive Order of October 30, 1919; and whereas it appears that it may become necessary to restore and maintain during the war certain other of the said rules, regulations, orders and proclamations.

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, acting under authority of the aforesaid Act of Congress, approved August 10, 1917, do hereby order and direct that the United States Fuel Administrator shall, as occasion may require, restore, change or make such rules, regulations, orders and proclamations fixing the prices or regulating the production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, storage or use, of all coal or coke as in his judgment may be necessary.

WOODROW WILSON.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PROCLAMATIONS

[Thanksgiving—1919.]

The season of the year has again arrived when the people of the United States are accustomed to unite in giving thanks to Almighty God for the blessings which He has conferred upon our country during the twelve months that have passed. A year ago our people poured out their hearts in praise and thanksgiving that through divine aid the right was victorious and peace had come to the nations which had so courageously struggled in defense of human liberty and justice. Now that the stern task is ended and the fruits of achievement are ours, we look forward with confidence to the dawn of an era where the sacrifices of the nations will find recompense in a world at peace.

But to attain the consummation of the great work to which the American people devoted their manhood and the vast resources of their country they should, as they give thanks to God, reconsecrate themselves to those principles of right which triumphed through His merciful goodness. Our gratitude can find no more perfect expres-

sion than to bulwark with loyalty and patriotism those principles for which the free peoples of the earth fought and died.

During the past year we have had much to make us grateful. In spite of the confusion in our economic life resulting from the war, we have prospered. Our harvests have been plentiful, and of our abundance we have been able to render succor to less favored nations. Our democracy remains unshaken in a world torn with political and social unrest. Our traditional ideals are still our guides in the path of progress and civilization.

These great blessings, vouchsafed to us, for which we devoutly give thanks, should arouse us to a fuller sense of our duty to ourselves and to mankind to see to it that nothing that we may do shall mar the completeness of the victory which we helped to win. No selfish purpose animated us in becoming participants in the World War, and with a like spirit of unselfishness we should strive to aid by our example and by our cooperation in realizing the enduring welfare of all peoples and in bringing into being a world ruled by friendship and good will.

Wherefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, hereby designate Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of November next, for observance as a day of thanksgiving and prayer by my fellow-countrymen, inviting them to cease on that day from their ordinary tasks and to unite in their homes and in their several places of worship in ascribing praise and thanksgiving to God, the Author of all blessings and the Master of our destinies.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and nine-
[SEAL.] teen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fourth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President :

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

[Fourteenth Decennial Census of the United States.]

Whereas, by the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1919, the Fourteenth Decennial Census of the United States is to be taken beginning on the second day of January, 1920; and

Whereas, a correct enumeration of the population every ten years is required by the Constitution of the United States for the purpose of determining the representation of the several States in the House of Representatives; and

Whereas, it is of the utmost importance to the interests of all the

people of the United States that this Census should be a complete and accurate report of the population and resources of the Nation;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and make known that, under the law aforesaid, it is the duty of every person to answer all questions on the census schedules applying to him and the family to which he belongs, and to the farm occupied by him or his family, and that any person refusing to do so is subject to penalty.

The sole purpose of the census is to secure general statistical information regarding the population and resources of the country and replies are required from individuals only to permit the compilation of such general statistics. No person can be harmed in any way by furnishing the information required. The Census has nothing to do with taxation, with military or jury service, with the compulsion of school attendance, with the regulation of immigration or with the enforcement of any national, state or local law or ordinance. There need be no fear that any disclosure will be made regarding any individual person or his affairs. For the due protection of the rights and interests of the persons furnishing information every employee of the Census Bureau is prohibited, under heavy penalty, from disclosing any information which may thus come to his knowledge.

I therefore earnestly urge upon all persons to answer promptly, completely and accurately all inquiries addressed to them by the enumerators or other employees of the Census Bureau and thereby to contribute their share toward making this great and necessary public undertaking a success.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this tenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nine-
[SEAL.] teen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fourth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

WILLIAM PHILLIPS, *Acting Secretary of State.*

ADDRESS TO FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN

[The first anniversary of the signing of the armistice with Germany in the World War.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 11, 1919.*

A year ago today our enemies laid down their arms in accordance with an armistice which rendered them impotent to renew hostilities, and gave to the world an assured opportunity to reconstruct its shattered order and to work out in peace a new and juster set of international relations.

The soldiers and people of the European Allies had fought and endured for more than four years to uphold the barrier of civilization against the aggressions of armed force. We ourselves had been in the conflict something more than a year and a half.

With splendid forgetfulness of mere personal concerns, we remodeled our industries, concentrated our financial resources, increased our agricultural output, and assembled a great army, so that at the last our power was a decisive factor in the victory. We were able to bring the vast resources, material and moral, of a great and free people to the assistance of our associates in Europe who had suffered and sacrificed without limit in the cause for which we fought.

Out of this victory there arose new possibilities of political freedom and economic concert. The war showed us the strength of great nations acting together for high purposes, and the victory of arms foretells the enduring conquests which can be made in peace when nations act justly and in furtherance of the common interests of men.

To us in America the reflections of Armistice Day will be filled with solemn pride in the heroism of those who died in the country's service, and with gratitude for the victory, both because of the thing from which it has freed us and because of the opportunity it has given America to show her sympathy with peace and justice in the councils of nations.

WOODROW WILSON.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Relinquishment of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation.]

Whereas, in the exercise of authority committed to me by law, I have heretofore, through the Secretary of War, taken possession of and have, through the Director General of Railroads, exercised control over certain railroads, systems of transportation and property appurtenant thereto or connected therewith; including systems of coastwise and inland transportation, engaged in general transportation and owned or controlled by said railroads or systems of transportation; including also terminals, terminal companies and terminal associations, sleeping and parlor cars, private cars and private car lines, elevators, warehouses, telegraph and telephone lines, and all other equipment and appurtenances commonly used upon or operated as a part of such railroads and systems of transportation; and

Whereas, I now deem it needful and desirable that all railroads, systems of transportation and property now under such Federal control, be relinquished therefrom;

Now, therefore, under authority of Section 14 of the Federal Control Act approved March 21, 1918, and of all other powers and provisions of law thereto me enabling, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, do hereby relinquish from Federal control, effective the first day of March, 1920, at 12:01 o'clock A. M. all railroads, systems of transportation and property, of whatever kind, taken or held under such Federal control and not heretofore relinquished, and restore the same to the possession and control of their respective owners.

Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, or his successor in office, is hereby authorized and directed, through such agents and agencies as he may determine, in any manner not inconsistent with the provisions of said Act of March 21, 1918, to adjust, settle and close all matters, including the making of agreements for compensation, and all questions and disputes of whatsoever nature arising out of or incident to Federal control, until otherwise provided by proclamation of the President or by Act of Congress; and generally to do and perform, as fully in all respects as the President is authorized to do, all and singular the acts and things necessary or proper in order to carry into effect this proclamation and the relinquishment of said railroads, systems of transportation and property.

For the purposes of accounting and for all other purposes, this proclamation shall become effective on the first day of March, 1920, at 12:01 o'clock A. M.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done by the President, through Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, in the District of Columbia, this twenty-fourth day [SEAL.] of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nineteen hundred and nineteen and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fourth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

NEWTON D. BAKER, *Secretary of War.*

[On the same day, a similar proclamation was issued regarding the American Railway Express Company (see page 8632).]

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Taking possession and title in German vessels.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 24, 1919.*

Whereas the following Joint Resolution adopted by Congress was approved by the President May 12, 1917:

Joint Resolution Authorizing the President to take over for the United States the possession and title of any vessel within its jurisdiction, which

at the time of coming therein was owned in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen, or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war, or was under register of any such nation, and for other purposes.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to take over to the United States the immediate possession and title of any vessel within the jurisdiction thereof, including the Canal Zone and all territories and insular possessions of the United States except the American Virgin Islands, which at the time of the coming into such jurisdiction was owned in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen, or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war when such vessel shall be taken, or was flying the flag of or was under register of any such nation or any political subdivision or municipality thereof; and, through the United States Shipping Board, or any department or agency of the Government, to operate, lease, charter, and equip such vessel in any service of the United States, or in any commerce, foreign or coastwise.

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to appoint, subject to the approval of the President, a board of survey, whose duty it shall be to ascertain the actual value of the vessel, its equipment, appurtenances and all property contained therein, at the time of its taking, and to make a written report of their findings to the Secretary of the Navy, who shall preserve such report with the records of his department. These findings shall be considered as competent evidence in all proceedings on any claim for compensation.

And whereas from time to time during the period of the war, vessels which were at the time of coming into the jurisdiction of the United States owned in whole or in part by a corporation, citizen or subject of the Empire of Germany, a nation with which the United States is now at war, or vessels which were flying the flag or under the register of the Empire of Germany or of a political subdivision or municipality thereof, or of any nation with which the United States is at war, have been taken over and operated by the United States or in the service of the United States.

Now therefore, the possession and title of the United States in all such vessels is taken over in accordance with Joint Resolution adopted by Congress and approved by the President May 12, 1917.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Conditions of employment for the permanent force for the Panama Canal.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 25, 1919.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me by law, Section 3 of an Executive Order providing conditions of employment for the permanent force of the Panama Canal, issued February 2, 1914, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

3. The compensation and conditions of employment of persons employed in the United States will be specified in the appointments. The compensation of such persons will begin upon date of embarkation at port of departure from the United States, and they will be granted free transportation from port of departure, including meals on the steamer, but no compensation or expenses for the journey to the port; but former employees from the United States whose services were terminated other than on account of reduction of force, and whose next preceding service with The Panama Canal was less than one year, shall be paid only from date of entry into the service on the Isthmus, and will be allowed only such reduced rates of transportation to the Isthmus as may be available for Government employees.

Employees appointed at an hourly rate will be paid for the period of transit to the Isthmus on the basis of an eight-hour day exclusive of Sundays. Except in case of discharge or other separation from the service beyond the employees control, payment of salary from date of embarkation to date of arrival on the Isthmus will not be made unless service on the Isthmus continues for thirty days.

This order shall take effect on and after this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

NOTE TO MEXICO

[December 1, 1919, demanding the release of William O. Jenkins. Jenkins was the United States Consul to Mexico at Puebla, arrested by the Mexican Government on charges of being in collusion with bandits by whom he had been captured and to whom a ransom had been paid for his release. Jenkins refused to give bail himself, but the strained relations between the two nations involved were greatly relieved when he was released on bail furnished by a private American citizen.]

I have not failed to transmit to my Government the note of the Mexican Government, dated November 26, 1919, with reference to the case of William O. Jenkins, American Consular Agent at Puebla, and I am now in receipt of a reply from the Government of the United States which I am instructed immediately to transmit to you.

The Government of the United States declines to be drawn into a juridical discussion of irrelevant matters or unimportant incidents brought forward in connection with this case. The Mexican Government cannot be misled, as it intimates, by the citation by the United States of "no principle or precedent of international law and not even a reason" for Jenkins' release; for obviously no such citation is necessary for the enlightenment of a Government of the present day.

The Mexican Government believes, and rightly so, that the American request for Jenkins' release is not based on "solely the strength of the country which makes it;" for it knows the request is founded on the justice of the right of an American citizen and United States consular officer to fair treatment while residing and discharging his duties within Mexican jurisdiction, with the knowledge and approval of the Mexican Government. The Mexican Government may contend that the imprisonment of the victim is necessary for the investigation by a judge under the "constant vigilance of public opinion" of the truth regarding his abduction, and that a right of release on bail is palliative for such wrongful imprisonment, but the United States is constrained to the opinion that such arguments are mere excuses.

The Government of the United States invites and desires the fullest possible examination and investigation of this case, but it cannot admit that it is necessary in order to ascertain the facts that Mr. Jenkins should be retained in prison even with the privilege of applying for bail. My Government will not and is satisfied that

Mr. Jenkins will not place any obstacle in the way of a complete and full examination of himself or of his witnesses or of the events leading up to and connected with his abduction.

The Mexican Government prefers to attribute the American note to an imperfect knowledge of the Mexican penal laws and proceeds to explain with refinement the intricacies of Mexican penal proceedings. But the Government of the United States fails to discern in their application to this case at the hands of Mexican authorities any approximation to impartial treatment of Jenkins, and the Mexican Government knows the absence of such treatment is the reason for the American request.

The Mexican Government maintains that it cannot grant the request of the United States for Jenkins' release for the reason that under international law no diplomatic intervention is appropriate unless a denial of justice has occurred and because the Mexican Government is not in a position to demand Jenkins' release in view of the separation of the executive and judicial powers under the Mexican form of government and the independence of the state courts, by one of which Jenkins is held. The succinct answer to this contention is, as every one knows, that a denial of justice has already taken place, and also because the Mexican Constitution specifically gives the Federal tribunal's jurisdiction of "all cases concerning diplomatic agents and consular officers."

The United States is not to be driven by such subtle argument into a defense of its request for the release of Mr. Jenkins. It is for Mexico to show cause for his detention, not for the United States to plead for his liberation. Stripped of extraneous matter, with which the Mexican note of November 26 endeavors to clothe it, the naked case of Jenkins stands forth: Jenkins, a United States consular agent accredited to the Government of Mexico, is imprisoned for "rendering false judicial testimony" in connection with the abduction of which he was the victim. This is the substance of the Mexican note.

My Government is pleased to learn that the imprisonment of Jenkins stands on this single and well-defined ground, and that the reported statements that Mexican authorities had caused the imprisonment of Jenkins because of collusion with his abductors and rebellion against the State are not seriously regarded by your Government.

In whose interest, then, is the charge of false swearing brought against Jenkins? His abductors? He is in equity the complainant in the case of his abduction, not the defendant, as the Mexican Government now makes him out to be. The Mexican Government is prosecuting the victim instead of the perpetrators of the crime. While the outlaws who endangered his life and took away a large part of his fortune enjoy their freedom, the Mexican authorities now

deprive Jenkins of his liberty. Moreover, the ground expressed for the imprisonment of Jenkins, namely, that he is supposed "to be responsible for the crime of rendering false judicial testimony," must be taken—and my Government directs special attention to this point—as merely an expression of opinion on the part of the Mexican Government, as it is entirely unsupported by evidence. There is not produced any of the testimony rendered by him, or any extracts from such testimony tending to show the correctness of this opinion.

The Mexican Government cannot expect the United States to accept in the grave circumstances of this case such a bare, unsupported statement as a valid excuse for the imprisonment of an American consular officer, particularly in view of the fact that the investigation of the case by the representatives of the United States in Mexico, so far as it has proceeded, fails utterly to support this opinion of your Government. On the contrary, the investigation gives the Government of the United States every reason to believe that Mr. Jenkins has not knowingly given any false testimony in respect of vital points in his case, although he has been harassed by Mexican authorities to give such testimony, even while lying in the hospital too weak and exhausted to make them as a result of his treatment by the abductors, and while he knew evidence was being obtained against him through intimidation of witnesses. So stands the single, unsupported and, my Government believes, utterly unfounded, ground alleged for Jenkins' imprisonment.

What conclusion is to be drawn from such a reply of the Mexican Government other than there has been a studied effort on the part of Mexican authorities to ensnare Jenkins in the intricacies of legal proceedings by alleging the commission of a technical offense and by bringing unsupported charges against him, for a purpose: In the first place, to divert the attention of the American public and the American Government, and indeed of Mexicans themselves, from the actual situation, namely, that Puebla, the capital of the State of Puebla, and perhaps the second largest city in Mexico, is without adequate protection from outlaws who infest the immediate neighborhood and who are accustomed openly and freely to visit the city without hindrance, that by the failure to furnish adequate protection in this district the Mexican authorities have, through their negligence, made possible the abduction of Jenkins, and that in harmony with such an attitude on the part of the Mexican authorities they have failed to carry out the duty and obligation incumbent upon them to apprehend and punish the bandits concerned in the crime of which Jenkins was the victim. And in the second place, it appears to have been the purpose of the Mexican Government to assume a wilful indifference to the feelings of the American people that have been aroused to the point of indignation by the

exposure, hardships, and physical suffering endured by Jenkins during his abduction and his subsequent treatment at the hands of Mexican authorities.

In view of the considerations which have been set forth, and in view particularly of the belief of my Government that the charge against Jenkins of deliberate false swearing is unfounded, the Government of the United States must renew its request for the immediate release of Consular Agent Jenkins from further imprisonment.

LANSING.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[This was the first of President Wilson's annual messages to Congress to be read instead of delivered in person, the President being confined to the White House by illness.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 2, 1919.*

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I sincerely regret that I cannot be present at the opening of this session of the Congress. I am thus prevented from presenting in as direct a way as I could wish the many questions that are pressing for solution at this time. Happily, I have had the advantage of the advice of the heads of the several executive departments who have kept in close touch with affairs in their detail and whose thoughtful recommendations I earnestly second.

In the matter of the railroads and the readjustment of their affairs growing out of Federal control, I shall take the liberty at a later date of addressing you.

I hope that Congress will bring to a conclusion at this session legislation looking to the establishment of a budget system. That there should be one single authority responsible for the making of all appropriations and that appropriations should be made not independently of each other, but with reference to one single comprehensive plan of expenditure properly related to the nation's income, there can be no doubt. I believe the burden of preparing the budget must, in the nature of the case, if the work is to be properly done and responsibility concentrated instead of divided, rest upon the executive. The budget so prepared should be submitted to and approved or amended by a single committee of each House of Congress and no single appropriation should be made by the Congress, except such as may have been included in the budget prepared by the executive or added by the particular committee of Congress charged with the budget legislation.

Another and not less important aspect of the problem is the ascertainment of the economy and efficiency with which the moneys appropriated are expended. Under existing law the only audit is for the purpose of ascertaining whether expenditures have been lawfully

made within the appropriations. No one is authorized or equipped to ascertain whether the money has been spent wisely, economically and effectively. The auditors should be highly trained officials with permanent tenure in the Treasury Department, free of obligations to or motives of consideration for this or any subsequent administration, and authorized and empowered to examine into and make report upon the methods employed and the results obtained by the executive departments of the Government. Their reports should be made to the Congress and to the Secretary of the Treasury.

I trust that the Congress will give its immediate consideration to the problem of future taxation. Simplification of the income and profits taxes has become an immediate necessity. These taxes performed indispensable service during the war. They must, however, be simplified, not only to save the taxpayer inconvenience and expense, but in order that his liability may be made certain and definite.

With reference to the details of the Revenue Law, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will lay before you for your consideration certain amendments necessary or desirable in connection with the administration of the law—recommendations which have my approval and support. It is of the utmost importance that in dealing with this matter the present law should not be disturbed so far as regards taxes for the calendar year 1920, payable in the calendar year 1921. The Congress might well consider whether the higher rates of income and profits taxes can in peace times be effectively productive of revenue, and whether they may not, on the contrary, be destructive of business activity and productive of waste and inefficiency. There is a point at which in peace times high rates of income and profits taxes discourage energy, remove the incentive to new enterprises, encourage extravagant expenditures and produce industrial stagnation with consequent unemployment and other attendant evils.

The problem is not an easy one. A fundamental change has taken place with reference to the position of America in the world's affairs. The prejudice and passions engendered by decades of controversy between two schools of political and economic thought,—the one believers in protection of American industries, the other believers in tariff for revenue only,—must be subordinated to the single consideration of the public interest in the light of utterly changed conditions. Before the war America was heavily the debtor of the rest of the world and the interest payments she had to make to foreign countries on American securities held abroad, the expenditures of American travelers abroad and the ocean freight charges she had to pay to others, about balanced the value of her pre-war favorable balance of trade. During the war America's exports have been greatly stimu-

lated, and increased prices have increased their value. On the other hand, she has purchased a large proportion of the American securities previously held abroad, has loaned some \$9,000,000,000 to foreign governments, and has built her own ships. Our favorable balance of trade has thus been greatly increased and Europe has been deprived of the means of meeting it heretofore existing. Europe can have only three ways of meeting the favorable balance of trade in peace times: by imports into this country of gold or of goods, or by establishing new credits. Europe is in no position at the present time to ship gold to us nor could we contemplate large further imports of gold into this country without concern. The time has nearly passed for international governmental loans and it will take time to develop in this country a market for foreign securities. Anything, therefore, which would tend to prevent foreign countries from settling for our exports by shipments of goods into this country could only have the effect of preventing them from paying for our exports and therefore of preventing the exports from being made. The productivity of the country, greatly stimulated by the war, must find an outlet by exports to foreign countries, and any measures taken to prevent imports will inevitably curtail exports, force curtailment of production, load the banking machinery of the country with credits to carry unsold products and produce industrial stagnation and unemployment. If we want to sell, we must be prepared to buy. Whatever, therefore, may have been our views during the period of growth of American business concerning tariff legislation, we must now adjust our own economic life to a changed condition growing out of the fact that American business is full grown and that America is the greatest capitalist in the world.

No policy of isolation will satisfy the growing needs and opportunities of America. The provincial standards and policies of the past, which have held American business as if in a strait-jacket, must yield and give way to the needs and exigencies of the new day in which we live, a day full of hope and promise for American business, if we will but take advantage of the opportunities that are ours for the asking. The recent war has ended our isolation and thrown upon us a great duty and responsibility. The United States must share the expanding world market. The United States desires for itself only equal opportunity with the other nations of the world, and that through the process of friendly cooperation and fair competition the legitimate interests of the nations concerned may be successfully and equitably adjusted.

There are other matters of importance upon which I urged action at the last session of Congress which are still pressing for solution. I am sure it is not necessary for me again to remind you that there

is one immediate and very practicable question resulting from the war which we should meet in the most liberal spirit. It is a matter of recognition and relief to our soldiers. I can do no better than to quote from my last message urging this very action:

"We must see to it that our returning soldiers are assisted in every practicable way to find the places for which they are fitted in the daily work of the country. This can be done by developing and maintaining upon an adequate scale the admirable organization created by the Department of Labor for placing men seeking work; and it can also be done, in at least one very great field, by creating new opportunities for individual enterprise. The Secretary of the Interior has pointed out the way by which returning soldiers may be helped to find and take up land in the hitherto undeveloped regions of the country which the Federal Government has already prepared, or can readily prepare, for cultivation and also on many of the cut-over or neglected areas which lie within the limits of the older states; and I once more take the liberty of recommending very urgently that his plans shall receive the immediate and substantial support of the Congress."

In the matter of tariff legislation, I beg to call your attention to the statements contained in my last message urging legislation with reference to the establishment of the chemical and dyestuffs industry in America:

"Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies before the war made the interruption of trade a cause of exceptional economic disturbance. The close relation between the manufacture of dyestuffs, on the one hand, and of explosive and poisonous gases, on the other, moreover, has given the industry an exceptional significance and value. Although the United States will gladly and unhesitatingly join in the programme of international disarmament, it will, nevertheless, be a policy of obvious prudence to make certain of the successful maintenance of many strong and well-equipped chemical plants. The German chemical industry, with which we will be brought into competition, was and may well be again, a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind."

During the war the farmer performed a vital and willing service to the nation. By materially increasing the production of his land, he supplied America and the Allies with the increased amounts of food necessary to keep their immense armies in the field. He indispensably helped to win the war. But there is now scarcely less need of increasing the production in food and the necessaries of life. I

ask the Congress to consider means of encouraging effort along these lines. The importance of doing everything possible to promote production along economical lines, to improve marketing, and to make rural life more attractive and healthful, is obvious. I would urge approval of the plans already proposed to the Congress by the Secretary of Agriculture, to secure the essential facts required for the proper study of this question, through the proposed enlarged programmes for farm management studies and crop estimates. I would urge, also, the continuance of Federal participation in the building of good roads, under the terms of existing law and under the direction of present agencies; the need of further action on the part of the States and the Federal Government to preserve and develop our forest resources, especially through the practice of better forestry methods on private holdings and the extension of the publicly owned forests; better support for country schools and the more definite direction of their courses of study along lines related to rural problems; and fuller provision for sanitation in rural districts and the building up of needed hospital and medical facilities in these localities. Perhaps the way might be cleared for many of these desirable reforms by a fresh, comprehensive survey made of rural conditions by a conference composed of representatives of the farmers and of the agricultural agencies responsible for leadership.

I would call your attention to the widespread condition of political restlessness in our body politic. The causes of this unrest, while various and complicated, are superficial rather than deep-seated. Broadly, they arise from or are connected with the failure on the part of our Government to arrive speedily at a just and permanent peace permitting return to normal conditions, from the transfusion of radical theories from seething European centers pending such delay, from heartless profiteering resulting in the increase of the cost of living, and lastly from the machinations of passionate and malevolent agitators. With the return to normal conditions, this unrest will rapidly disappear. In the meantime, it does much evil. It seems to me that in dealing with this situation Congress should not be impatient or drastic but should seek rather to remove the causes. It should endeavor to bring our country back speedily to a peace basis, with ameliorated living conditions under the minimum of restrictions upon personal liberty that is consistent with our reconstruction problems. And it should arm the Federal Government with power to deal in its criminal courts with those persons who by violent methods would abrogate our time-tested institutions. With the free expression of opinion and with the advocacy of orderly political change, however fundamental, there must be no interference, but towards passion and malevolence tending to incite crime and insurrection under guise

of political evolution there should be no leniency. Legislation to this end has been recommended by the Attorney General and should be enacted. In this direct connection, I would call your attention to my recommendations on August 8th, pointing out legislative measures which would be effective in controlling and bringing down the present cost of living, which contributes so largely to this unrest. On only one of these recommendations has the Congress acted. If the Government's campaign is to be effective, it is necessary that the other steps suggested should be acted on at once.

I renew and strongly urge the necessity of the extension of the present Food Control Act as to the period of time in which it shall remain in operation. The Attorney General has submitted a bill providing for an extension of this Act for a period of six months. As it now stands, it is limited in operation to the period of the war and becomes inoperative upon the formal proclamation of peace. It is imperative that it should be extended at once. The Department of Justice has built up extensive machinery for the purpose of enforcing its provisions; all of which must be abandoned upon the conclusion of peace unless the provisions of this Act are extended.

During this period the Congress will have an opportunity to make similar permanent provisions and regulations with regard to all goods destined for interstate commerce and to exclude them from interstate shipment, if the requirements of the law are not complied with. Some such regulation is imperatively necessary. The abuses that have grown up in the manipulation of prices by the withholding of foodstuffs and other necessities of life cannot otherwise be effectively prevented. There can be no doubt of either the necessity of the legitimacy of such measures.

As I pointed out in my last message, publicity can accomplish a great deal in this campaign. The aims of the Government must be clearly brought to the attention of the consuming public, civic organizations and state officials, who are in a position to lend their assistance to our efforts. You have made available funds with which to carry on this campaign, but there is no provision in the law authorizing their expenditure for the purpose of making the public fully informed about the efforts of the Government. Specific recommendation has been made by the Attorney General in this regard. I would strongly urge upon you its immediate adoption, as it constitutes one of the preliminary steps to this campaign.

I also renew my recommendation that the Congress pass a law regulating cold storage as it is regulated, for example, by the laws of the State of New Jersey, which limit the time during which goods may be kept in storage, prescribe the method of disposing of them if kept beyond the permitted period, and require that goods released

from storage shall in all cases bear the date of their receipt. It would materially add to the serviceability of the law, for the purpose we now have in view, if it were also prescribed that all goods released from storage for interstate shipment should have plainly marked upon each package the selling or market price at which they went into storage. By this means the purchaser would always be able to learn what profits stood between him and the producer or the wholesale dealer.

I would also renew my recommendation that all goods destined for interstate commerce should in every case, where their form or package makes it possible, be plainly marked with the price at which they left the hands of the producer.

We should formulate a law requiring a Federal license of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce and embodying in the license, or in the conditions under which it is to be issued, specific regulations designed to secure competitive selling and prevent unconscionable profits in the method of marketing. Such a law would afford a welcome opportunity to effect other much needed reforms in the business of interstate shipment and in the methods of corporations which are engaged in it; but for the moment I confine my recommendations to the object immediately in hand, which is to lower the cost of living.

No one who has observed the march of events in the last year can fail to note the absolute need of a definite programme to bring about an improvement in the conditions of labor. There can be no settled conditions leading to increased production and a reduction in the cost of living if labor and capital are to be antagonists instead of partners. Sound thinking and an honest desire to serve the interests of the whole nation, as distinguished from the interests of a class, must be applied to the solution of this great and pressing problem. The failure of other nations to consider this matter in a vigorous way has produced bitterness and jealousies and antagonisms, the food of radicalism. The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances is to remove the grievances. An unwillingness even to discuss these matters produces only dissatisfaction and gives comfort to the extreme elements in our country which endeavor to stir up disturbances in order to provoke governments to embark upon a course of retaliation and repression. The seed of revolution is repression. The remedy for these things must not be negative in character. It must be constructive. It must comprehend the general interest. The real antidote for the unrest which manifests itself is not suppression, but a deep consideration of the wrongs that beset our national life and the application of a remedy.

Congress has already shown its willingness to deal with these in-

dustrial wrongs by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard in every field of labor. It has sought to find a way to prevent child labor. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding lives and health in dangerous industries. It must now help in the difficult task of finding a method that will bring about a genuine democratization of industry, based upon the full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare. It is with this purpose in mind that I called a conference to meet in Washington on December 1st, to consider these problems in all their broad aspects, with the idea of bringing about a better understanding between these two interests.

The great unrest throughout the world, out of which has emerged a demand for an immediate consideration of the difficulties between capital and labor, bids us put our own house in order. Frankly, there can be no permanent and lasting settlements between capital and labor which do not recognize the fundamental concepts for which labor has been struggling through the years. The whole world gave its recognition and endorsement to these fundamental purposes in the League of Nations. The statesmen gathered at Versailles recognized the fact that world stability could not be had by reverting to industrial standards and conditions against which the average workman of the world had revolted. It is, therefore, the task of the statesmen of this new day of change and readjustment to recognize world conditions and to seek to bring about, through legislation, conditions that will mean the ending of age-long antagonisms between capital and labor and that will hopefully lead to the building up of a comradeship which will result not only in greater contentment among the mass of workmen but also bring about a greater production and a greater prosperity to business itself.

To analyze the particulars in the demands of labor is to admit the justice of their complaint in many matters that lie at their basis. The workman demands an adequate wage, sufficient to permit him to live in comfort, unhampered by the fear of poverty and want in his old age. He demands the right to live and the right to work amidst sanitary surroundings, both in home and in workshop, surroundings that develop and do not retard his own health and well-being; and the right to provide for his children's wants in the matter of health and education. In other words, it is his desire to make the conditions of his life and the lives of those dear to him tolerable and easy to bear.

The establishment of the principles regarding labor laid down in the covenant of the League of Nations offers us the way to industrial

peace and conciliation. No other road lies open to us. Not to pursue this one is longer to invite enmities, bitterness, and antagonisms which in the end only lead to industrial and social disaster. The unwilling workman is not a profitable servant. An employee whose industrial life is hedged about by hard and unjust conditions, which he did not create and over which he has no control, lacks that fine spirit of enthusiasm and volunteer effort which are the necessary ingredients of a great producing entity. Let us be frank about this solemn matter. The evidences of world-wide unrest which manifest themselves in violence throughout the world bid us pause and consider the means to be found to stop the spread of this contagious thing before it saps the very vitality of the nation itself. Do we gain strength by withholding the remedy? Or is it not the business of statesmen to treat these manifestations of unrest which meet us on every hand as evidences of an economic disorder and to apply constructive remedies wherever necessary, being sure that in the application of the remedy we touch not the vital tissues of our industrial and economic life? There can be no recession of the tide of unrest until constructive instrumentalities are set up to stem that tide.

Governments must recognize the right of men collectively to bargain for humane objects that have at their base the mutual protection and welfare of those engaged in all industries. Labor must not be longer treated as a commodity. It must be regarded as the activity of human beings, possessed of deep yearnings and desires. The business man gives his best thought to the repair and replenishment of his machinery, so that its usefulness will not be impaired and its power to produce may always be at its height and kept in full vigor and motion. No less regard ought to be paid to the human machine, which after all propels the machinery of the world and is the great dynamic force that lies back of all industry and progress. Return to the old standards of wage and industry in employment are unthinkable. The terrible tragedy of war which has just ended and which has brought the world to the verge of chaos and disaster would be in vain if there should ensue a return to the conditions of the past. Europe itself, whence has come the unrest which now holds the world at bay, is an example of standpatism in these vital human matters which America might well accept as an example, not to be followed but studiously to be avoided. Europe made labor the differential, and the price of it all is enmity and antagonism and prostrated industry. The right of labor to live in peace and comfort must be recognized by governments and America should be the first to lay the foundation stones upon which industrial peace shall be built.

Labor not only is entitled to an adequate wage, but capital should receive a reasonable return upon its investment and is entitled to pro-

tection at the hands of the Government in every emergency. No Government worthy of the name can "play" these elements against each other, for there is a mutuality of interest between them which the Government must seek to express and to safeguard at all cost.

The right of individuals to strike is inviolate and ought not to be interfered with by any process of Government, but there is a predominant right and that is the right of the Government to protect all of its people and to assert its power and majesty against the challenge of any class. The Government, when it asserts that right, seeks not to antagonizè a class but simply to defend the right of the whole people as against the irreparable harm and injury that might be done by the attempt by any class to usurp a power that only Government itself has a right to exercise as a protection to all.

In the matter of international disputes which have led to war, statesmen have sought to set up as a remedy arbitration for war. Does this not point the way for the settlement of industrial disputes, by the establishment of a tribunal, fair and just alike to all, which will settle industrial disputes which in the past have led to war and disaster? America, witnessing the evil consequences which have followed out of such disputes between these contending forces, must not admit itself impotent to deal with these matters by means of peaceful processes. Surely, there must be some method of bringing together in a council of peace and amity these two great interests, out of which will come a happier day of peace and cooperation, a day that will make men more hopeful and enthusiastic in their various tasks, that will make for more comfort and happiness in living and a more tolerable condition among all classes of men. Certainly human intelligence can devise some acceptable tribunal for adjusting the differences between capital and labor.

This is the hour of test and trial for America. By her prowess and strength, and the indomitable courage of her soldiers, she demonstrated her power to vindicate on foreign battlefields her conceptions of liberty and justice. Let not her influence as a mediator between capital and labor be weakened and her own failure to settle matters of purely domestic concern be proclaimed to the world. There are those in this country who threaten direct action to force their will upon a majority. Russia today, with its blood and terror, is a painful object lesson of the power of minorities. It makes little difference what minority it is; whether capital or labor, or any other class; no sort of privilege will ever be permitted to dominate this country. We are a partnership or nothing that is worth while. We are a democracy, where the majority are the masters, or all the hopes and purposes of the men who founded this government have been defeated and forgotten. In America there is but one way by which

great reforms can be accomplished and the relief sought by classes obtained, and that is through the orderly processes of representative government. Those who would propose any other method of reform are enemies of this country. America will not be daunted by threats nor lose her composure or calmness in these distressing times. We can afford, in the midst of this day of passion and unrest, to be self-contained and sure. The instrument of all reform in America is the ballot. The road to economic and social reform in America is the straight road of justice to all classes and conditions of men. Men have but to follow this road to realize the full fruition of their objects and purposes. Let those beware who would take the shorter road of disorder and revolution. The right road is the road of justice and orderly process.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Constituting Board of Surveys and Maps.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 30, 1919.*

In order to coordinate the activities of the various map-making agencies of the executive departments of the Government, to standardize results, and to avoid unnecessary duplication of work, I hereby constitute a Board of Surveys and Maps, to be composed of one representative of each of the following organizations:

1. Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army. 2. U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce. 3. U. S. Geological Survey, Department of Interior. 4. General Land Office, Department of Interior. 5. Topography Branch, Post Office Department. 6. Bureau of Soils, Department of Agriculture. 7. U. S. Reclamation Service, Department of Interior. 8. Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Agriculture. 9. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior. 10. Mississippi River Commission, War Department. 11. U. S. Lake Survey, War Department. 12. International (Canadian) Boundary Commission, Department of State. 13. Forest Service, Department of Agriculture. 14. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Navy Department.

The individual members of this Board shall be appointed by the Chiefs of the various organizations named and shall serve without additional compensation.

The Board is directed to make recommendations to the several Departments or to the President for the purpose of coordinating all map-making and surveying activities of the Government and to settle all questions at issue between executive departments relating to surveys and maps in so far as their decisions do not conflict with existing laws.

This Board shall perfect a permanent organization and shall hold meetings at stated intervals, to which representatives of the mapping public shall be invited for the purpose of conference and advice.

This Board shall establish a central information office in the U. S. Geological Survey for the purpose of collecting, classifying and furnishing to the public information concerning all map and survey data available in the several Government departments and from other sources.

All Government departments will make full use of the above board as an advisory body and will furnish all available information and data called for by the Board.

So much of the Executive Order of August 10, 1906, as grants additional advisory powers to the United States Geographic Board is hereby rescinded and these additional powers are transferred to the Board of Surveys and Maps.

WOODROW WILSON.

LETTER

[Read at the Jackson Day dinner, January 8, 1920, defining Treaty stand.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 8, 1920.*

My Dear Mr. Chairman:

It is with keenest regret that I find that I am to be deprived of the pleasure and privilege of joining you and the other loyal Democrats who are to assemble tonight to celebrate Jackson Day and renew their vows of fidelity to the great principles of our party, the principles which must now fulfil the hopes not only of our own people but of the world.

The United States enjoyed the spiritual leadership of the world until the Senate of the United States failed to ratify the treaty by which the belligerent nations sought to effect the settlements for which they had fought throughout the war. It is inconceivable that at this supreme crisis and final turning point in the international relations of the whole world, when the results of the great war are by no means determined and are still questionable and dependent upon events which no man can foresee or count upon, the United States should withdraw from the concert of progressive and enlightened nations by which Germany was defeated, and all similar Governments (if the world be so unhappy as to contain any) warned of the consequences of any attempt at a like iniquity, and yet that is the effect of the course which the United States has taken with regard to the Treaty of Versailles.

Germany is beaten, but we are still at war with her, and the old stage is reset for a repetition of the old plot. It is now ready for a resumption of the old offensive and defensive alliances which made settled peace impossible. It is now open again to every sort of intrigue.

The old spies are free to resume their former abominable activities. They are again at liberty to make it impossible for governments to be sure what mischief is being worked among their own people, what internal disorders are being fomented.

Without the covenant of the League of Nations there may be as many secret treaties as ever, to destroy the confidence of governments in each other, and their validity cannot be questioned.

None of the objects we professed to be fighting for has been secured, or can be made certain of, without this nation's ratification of the treaty and its entry into the covenant. This nation entered the great war to vindicate its own rights and to protect and preserve free government. It went into the war to see it through to the end, and the end has not yet come. It went into the war to make an end of militarism, to furnish guarantees to weak nations, and to make a just and lasting peace. It entered it with noble enthusiasm.

Five of the leading belligerents have accepted the treaty and formal ratifications will soon be exchanged. The question is whether this country will enter and enter whole-heartedly. If it does not do so, the United States and Germany will play a lone hand in the world.

The maintenance of the peace of the world and the effective execution of the treaty depend upon the whole-hearted participation of the United States. I am not stating it as a matter of power. The point is that the United States is the only nation which has sufficient moral force with the rest of the world to guarantee the substitution of discussion for war. If we keep out of this agreement, if we do not give our guarantees, then another attempt will be made to crush the new nations of Europe.

I do not believe that this is what the people of this country wish or will be satisfied with. Personally, I do not accept the action of the Senate of the United States as the decision of the nation.

I have asserted from the first that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country desire the ratification of the treaty, and my impression to that effect has recently been confirmed by the unmistakable evidences of public opinion given during my visit to seventeen of the States.

I have endeavored to make it plain that if the Senate wishes to say what the undoubted meaning of the League is I shall have no objection. There can be no reasonable objection to interpretations accompanying the act of ratification itself. But when the treaty is acted upon, I must know whether it means that we have ratified or rejected it.

We cannot rewrite this treaty. We must take it without changes which alter its meaning, or leave it, and then after the rest of the world has signed it, we must face the unthinkable task of making another and separate treaty with Germany.

But no mere assertions with regard to the wish and opinion of the country are credited. If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think on this vital matter, the clear and single way out is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum, a referendum as to the part the United States is to play in completing the settlements of the war and in the prevention in the future of such outrages as Germany attempted to perpetrate.

We have no more moral right to refuse now to take part in the execution and administration of these settlements than we had to refuse to take part in the fighting of the last few weeks of the war which brought victory and made it possible to dictate to Germany what the settlements should be. Our fidelity to our associates in the war is in question and the whole future of mankind. It will be heartening to the whole world to know the attitude and purpose of the people of the United States.

I spoke just now of the spiritual leadership of the United States, thinking of international affairs. But there is another spiritual leadership which is open to us and which we can assume.

The world has been made safe for democracy, but democracy has not been finally vindicated. All sorts of crimes are being committed in its name, all sorts of preposterous perversions of its doctrines and practices are being attempted.

This, in my judgment, is to be the great privilege of the democracy of the United States, to show that it can lead the way in the solution of the great social and industrial problems of our time, and lead the way to a happy, settled order of life as well as to political liberty. The program for this achievement we must attempt to formulate, and in carrying it out we shall do more than can be done in any other way to sweep out of existence the tyrannous and arbitrary forms of power which are now masquerading under the name of popular government.

Whenever we look back to Andrew Jackson we should draw fresh inspiration from his character and example. His mind grasped with such a splendid definiteness and firmness the principles of national authority and national action. He was so indomitable in his purpose to give reality to the principles of the Government, that this is a very fortunate time to recall his career and to renew our vows of faithfulness to the principles and the pure practices of Democracy.

I rejoice to join you in this renewal of faith and purpose. I hope that the whole evening may be of the happiest results as regards the fortunes of our party and the nation.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

STATEMENT

[Further participation by the United States in armed intervention in Russia.
Made public January 16, 1920.]

The Government of the United States has given the most careful consideration to the subject matter of the communication from the Japanese Government, which was read to the Secretary of State by the Japanese Ambassador on December 8, and which concerns the recent unfavorable development of the military situation with which Admiral Kolchak's forces have been confronted, and which proposes three alternative courses for the Allied and associated powers to take.

The Government of the United States agrees that for it to send a reinforcement of sufficient strength to act on the offensive in cooperation with anti-Bolshevik forces is impracticable.

The Government of the United States believes that for it to continue to participate in guarding the districts now under Allied military protection is also, under present conditions, impracticable, for the reason that an agreement to send reinforcements to such extent as may be required, with a view to maintain the status quo, might involve the Government of the United States in an undertaking of such indefinite character as to be inadvisable. The amount of reinforcement which might become necessary for the execution of such an agreement might be so great that the Government of the United States would not feel justified in carrying it out.

Consideration has been given, therefore, to the alternative presented by the Government of Japan of entire or partial withdrawal. It will be recalled that the purposes of the expedition, as originally conceived by the United States and expressed in an aide memoire handed to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington July 17, 1918, were, first, to help the Czecho-Slovak troops, which had during their retirement along the Siberian Railway been attacked by the Bolsheviki and enemy prisoners of war in Siberia, to consolidate their forces and effect their repatriation by way of Vladivostok, and, second, to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance.

Not only are the Czecho-Slovak troops now successfully advancing into Eastern Siberia, but an agreement has been effected between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States providing for their repatriation from Vladivostok. American vessels will begin to arrive at that port by February 1, and a contingent of more than 10,000 Czecho-Slovak troops can be immediately embarked. It is expected that evacuation will proceed rapidly thereafter, and from that date the first purpose for which American soldiers were sent to Siberia may be regarded as accomplished.



15,000 RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN GERMANY

RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN GERMANY.

The preceding picture shows 15,000 Russian prisoners receiving bread in a detention camp at the front, before being sent to the interior. Charges were made on several occasions by the Entente Allies that Germany was mistreating the prisoners whom she had captured, and a considerable amount of evidence was adduced in support of the charge. War prisoners in all of the countries at war were seldom kept in idleness, but were compelled to perform certain work in the country where they were being detained, in order to release more citizens of such country for actual fighting at the front.

With respect to the second purpose, namely, the steadying of efforts at self-government or self-defense on the part of the Russians, the Government of the United States is impressed with the political instability and grave uncertainties of the present situation in Eastern Siberia, as described in the aide memoire presented by the Japanese Ambassador on December 8, and is disposed to the view that further military effort to assist the Russians in the struggle toward self-government may, in the present situation, lead to complications which would have exactly the opposite effect, prolonging the period of readjustment and involving Japan and the United States in ineffective and needless sacrifices. It is felt accordingly to be unlikely that the second purpose for which American troops were sent to Siberia will be longer served by their presence there.

In view, then, of the fact that the main purposes for which American troops were sent to Siberia are now at an end, and of the considerations set forth in the communication of the Japanese Government of December 8, which subsequent events in Eastern Siberia have strengthened, the Government of the United States has decided to begin at once arrangements for the concentration of the American forces at Vladivostok, with a view to their embarkation and departure immediately after the leaving of the first important contingent of Czecho-Slovak troops—that is to say, about February 1.

Careful consideration has also been given to the possibility of continuing, after the departure of the American troops, the assistance of American railway experts in the operation of the Trans-Siberian and Chinese Eastern Railways. It will be recalled that it is expressly stipulated in the plan for the supervision of these railways which was submitted by the Japanese Ambassador at Washington on January 15, 1919, that the arrangement should cease upon the withdrawal of the foreign military forces from Siberia and that all foreign railway experts appointed under the arrangement should then be recalled forthwith. The experience of recent months in the operation of the railways under conditions of unstable civil authority and frequent local military interferences furnishes a strong reason for abiding by the terms of the original agreement. Arrangements will be made accordingly for the withdrawal of the American railway experts under the same conditions and simultaneously with the departure of the American military forces.

The Government of the United States desires the Japanese Government to know that it regrets the necessity for this decision, because it seems to mark the end, for the time being at least, of a cooperative effort by Japan and the United States to assist the Russian people, which had of late begun to bear important results and seemed to give promise for the future.

The Government of the United States is most appreciative of the friendly spirit which has animated the Government of Japan in this undertaking, and is convinced that the basis of understanding which has been established will serve in the future to facilitate the common efforts of the two countries to deal with the problems which confront them in Siberia.

The Government of the United States does not in the least relinquish the deep interest which it feels in the political and economic fate of the people of Siberia nor its purpose to cooperate with Japan in the most frank and friendly way in all practical plans which may be worked out for the political and economic rehabilitation of that region.

It is suggested that the Government of Japan may desire to communicate to the other principal Allied and associated Governments the substance of the aide memoire of December 8. This Government will likewise make know to them the substance of the present communication.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Authorizing the Departure of Alien Enemies for European Ports.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 20, 1920.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me by "An Act to Prevent in Time of War Departure From and Entry Into the United States Contrary to the Public Safety," approved May 22, 1918, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, hereby amend Executive Order of August 8, 1918, "Governing the Issuance of Passports and the Granting of Permits to Depart From and Enter the United States," by the following provisions:

Hereafter, persons who by any statute or proclamation may be defined as alien enemies, and who desire to depart by vessel from any port of the United States for any European port, shall not be required to obtain a permit of this Government prior to such departure. Such persons will be permitted to depart upon presentation of a passport issued, renewed, or visaed by a representative of their respective Governments within six months prior to the proposed date of departure, accompanied by a certificate of compliance with the income tax law.

WOODROW WILSON

[Continuing Control of Director General of Railroads over Coal Distribution, etc.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 28, 1920.*

Whereas the United States Fuel Administrator by orders dated October 31, 1919, and December 8, 1919, conferred certain powers upon the Director General of Railroads and his representatives, acting by

and under his authority, relative to the delivery, use, consumption, distribution and apportionment of coal; and whereas doubts have arisen as to whether the powers thereby conferred upon the Director General of Railroads and his representatives will continue in effect after 12:01 o'clock, A. M., on the first day of March, 1920;

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority conferred upon me by the Act of Congress approved August 10, 1917, entitled "An Act To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," and other powers vested in me by law,

Do hereby order and direct that the Director General of Railroads and his representatives shall continue after 12:01 o'clock, A. M., on the first day of March, 1920, to have and exercise the powers described in the aforesaid orders of October 31, 1919, and December 8, 1919.

WOODROW WILSON

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PROCLAMATIONS

[Copyright—Sweden.]

Whereas, it is provided by the Act of Congress of March 4, 1909, entitled "An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts respecting copyright", that the benefits of said Act shall extend to the work of an author or proprietor who is a citizen or subject of a foreign state or nation, only upon certain conditions set forth in Section 8 of said Act, to-wit:

(a) When an alien author or proprietor shall be domiciled within the United States at the time of the first publication of his work; or

(b) When the foreign state or nation of which such author or proprietor is a citizen or subject grants, either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law, to citizens of the United States the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens, or copyright protection substantially equal to the protection secured to such foreign author under this Act or by treaty; or when such foreign state or nation is a party to an international agreement which provides for reciprocity in the granting of copyright, by the terms of which agreement the United States may, at its pleasure, become a party thereto;

And, Whereas, it is also provided by said Section that "The existence of the reciprocal conditions aforesaid shall be determined by the President of the United States, by proclamation made from time to time, as the purposes of this Act may require";

And, Whereas, The King of Sweden has declared, under authority of law, that on and after February 1, 1920, citizens of the United States shall be entitled to all the benefits conferred by the new copyright laws of Sweden, including the exclusive right to reproduce their works by means of records or perforated rolls or any other appliances for mechanical reproduction;

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do declare and proclaim that one of the alternative conditions specified in Section 8 of the Act of March 4, 1909, was fulfilled in respect to the subjects of Sweden on February 1, 1920, and that the subjects of Sweden from and after that date shall be entitled to all the benefits of the said Act, and the acts amendatory thereof to and including the Act of Congress of March 28, 1914, including copyright controlling the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically a musical work, as provided in Section 1 (e) of the said Act, in the case of all works by Swedish authors which have been published on or after February 1, 1920, and have been deposited and registered for copyright in the United States.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 27th day of February, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred and [SEAL.] Twenty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Forty-fourth.

WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

FRANK L. POLK, *Acting Secretary of State*

[Authorizing the Director General of Railroads to Continue Certain Duties Regarding the Railroads Vested in the President.]

Whereas the Act approved February 28th, 1920, entitled "An Act to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an Act entitled 'An Act to regulate commerce', approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes", contains certain provisions with reference to the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation, and

Whereas Section 211 of said Act is as follows;

Sec. 211. All powers and duties conferred or imposed upon the President by the preceding sections of this Act, except the designation of the agent under section 206, may be executed by him through such agency or agencies as he may determine.

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the power and authority so vested in me by said Act, and of all other powers me hereto enabling, do hereby designate and appoint Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, or his successor in office, either personally or through such divisions, agencies or persons as he may appoint, to exercise and perform all and singular the powers and duties conferred or imposed upon me by the provisions of said Act of February 28th, 1920, except the designation of the agent under Section 206 thereof; and hereby confirm and continue in him, and his successors in office, all powers and authority heretofore delegated under the Federal Control Act, approved March 21, 1918, except as such powers and authority have been limited in the said Act of February 28th, 1920.

The said Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, or his successor in office, is hereby authorized and directed, until otherwise provided by proclamation of the President or by Act of Congress, to do and perform as fully in all respects as the President is authorized to do all and singular the acts and things necessary or proper in order to carry into effect the provisions of this proclamation, the provisions of said Act of February 28th, 1920, and the unrepealed provisions of the said Federal Control Act of March 21, 1918.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done by the President in the District of Columbia this 28th day of February, in the year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and [SEAL.] Twenty, and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Forty-Fourth.

WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

FRANK L. POLK, *Acting Secretary of State*

Whereas Section 206 of the Act approved February 28, 1920, entitled "An Act to provide for the termination of Federal control of railroads and systems of transportation; to provide for the settlement of disputes between carriers and their employees; to further amend an Act entitled 'An Act to regulate commerce', approved February 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes", provides that the President shall within thirty (30) days after the passage of said Act designate an agent against whom shall be brought actions at law, suits in equity, and proceedings in admiralty, based on causes of action arising out of the possession, use, or operation by the President of the railroad or system of transportation of any carrier (under the provisions of the Federal Control Act, or of the Act of August 29, 1916) of such char-

acter as prior to Federal control could have been brought against such carrier.

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the power and authority so vested in me by said Act, and of all other powers me hereto enabling, do hereby designate and appoint Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, and his successor in office, as the agent provided for in Section 206 of said Act, approved February 28, 1920.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done by the President in the District of Columbia this 28th day of March, in the year of our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and [SEAL.] Twenty, and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Forty-Fourth.

WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

FRANK L. POLK, *Acting Secretary of State*

NOTES ON THE ADRIATIC TERRITORIAL DISPUTE

On December 9, 1919, the British, French and American Governments submitted to the Italian Government a joint memorandum on the disposition of the land on the northeast shore of the Adriatic which before the World War had formed part of Austria-Hungary and which after the War was claimed by both Italy and the new nation of Jugo-Slavia. Before Italy entered the War on the side of the Entente Allies, this territory had been disposed of by the Italian, French and British Governments in a secret treaty known as the Pact of London. The provisions of this treaty were first made public by the Bolshevik Government of Soviet Russia, but President Wilson declared that the existence of the treaty was not divulged to the United States by its associates in the War until after he had reached Europe to take part in the deliberations of the Peace Conference of Paris.

Although an armistice with the Central Powers was reached largely on the basis of the "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson, the terms of the Pact of London violated the ninth of these points (see page 8424), for it assigned to Italy territory inhabited predominantly, not by the Italian, but by the Jugo-Slav nationality. This dispute had given rise during the Peace Conference of Paris to the President's statement regarding the disposition of Fiume. (See page 8702.) The joint memorandum of December 9, 1919, to which the Government of the United States adhered, granted to Italy along the northeast Adriatic land almost double the size of that inhabited chiefly by Italians in that section, but slightly less than that granted by the Pact of London, and slightly more than that advocated by the President in his statement regarding Fiume in the previous April. However, on January 14, 1920, the British and French Governments submitted to the Jugo-Slav Government a revision of the proposals of December, after this revision had been accepted by the Italian Government, whereupon the following inquiry, addressed to the United States Ambassador to France, Hugh C. Wallace, was submitted by the

Government of the United States on January 19, 1920. Ambassador Wallace was in unofficial attendance upon the official conference of the French, British and Italian Premiers at Paris:

Please take up with M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd-George the question of the way the Russian and the Italian problems have been handled, and ascertain their point of view. The United States is being put in the position of having the matter disposed of before the American point of view can be expressed, as apparently M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd-George have sought only the views of the Italian and Jugo-Slav Governments before ascertaining the views of the United States Government. Is it the intention of the British and French Governments in the future to dispose of the various questions pending in Europe and to communicate the results to the Government of the United States? There are features in connection with the proposed Fiume settlement which both M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd-George must realize would not be acceptable to the President.

As it was pointed out by Mr. Polk before his departure, the Dalmatian and other questions should be taken up through regular diplomatic channels and the fact that you are not charged with full powers could have no bearing on the question. As no American official could be sent to these gatherings that could have the same authority as the Prime Ministers of the three Governments in question, it is manifestly impossible for the United States Government to be represented at the meetings of the Prime Ministers.

LANSING,

Secretary of State

On January 23, the French and British Prime Ministers replied that the modifications of the December memorandum were all in favor of Jugo-Slavia, and had not been intended as a disregard of United States' participation in the settlement. It had been necessary to act quickly because of the seriousness of the Adriatic situation, the refusal of the United States Senate to ratify the peace treaty had left the United States without a delegate in Europe qualified to speak for it in the peace negotiations, and the United States Government had not been consulted because there was not time to submit all the various steps of the negotiations to Washington for approval. On February 10, 1920, the United States Government replied as follows:

The President has carefully considered the joint telegram addressed to this Government by the French and British Prime Ministers and communicated by the American Ambassador in Paris, in regard to the negotiations on the Adriatic question. The President notes with satisfaction that the French, British, and Japanese Governments have never had the intention of proceeding to a definite settlement of this question except in consultation with the American Government. The President was particularly happy to receive this assurance as he understood that M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd-George, in agreement with Signor Nitti, had decided upon a solution of the Adriatic question which included provisions previously rejected by the American Government, and had called upon the Jugo-Slav representatives to accept this solution, on pain of having the Treaty of London enforced in case of rejection. The President is glad to feel that the associates of this Government would not consent to embarrass it by placing it in the necessity of refusing adhesion to a settlement which in form would be an agreement by both parties to the controversy, but which in fact would not have that great merit if one party was forced to

submit to material injustice by threats of still greater calamities in default of submission.

The President fully shares the view of the French and British Governments that the future of the world largely depends upon the right solution of this question, but he cannot believe that a solution containing provisions which have already received the well-merited condemnation of the French and British Governments can in any sense be regarded as right. Neither can he share the opinion of the French and British Governments that the proposals contained in their memorandum delivered to the Jugo-Slav representatives on January 14 leave untouched practically every important point of the joint memorandum of the French, British and American Governments of December 9, 1919, and that "only two features undergo alterations, and both these alterations are to the positive advantage of Jugo-Slavia." On the contrary, the President is of the opinion that the proposal of December 9 has been profoundly altered to the advantage of improper Italian objectives, to the serious injury of the Jugo-Slav people, and to the peril of world peace. The view that very positive advantages have been conceded to Italy would appear to be borne out by the fact that the Italian Government rejected the proposal of December 9 and accepted that of January 14.

The memorandum of December 9 rejected the device of connecting Fiume with Italy by a narrow strip of coast territory as quite unworkable in practice and as involving extraordinary complexities as regards customs control, coast guard services, and cognate matters in a territory of such unusual configuration. The French and British Governments, in association with the American Government, expressed the opinion that "the plan appears to run counter to every consideration of geography, economics, and territorial convenience." The American Government notes that this annexation of Jugo-Slav territory by Italy, is nevertheless agreed to by the memorandum of January 14.

The memorandum of December 9 rejected Italy's demand for the annexation of all of Istria, on the solid ground that neither strategic nor economic considerations could justify such annexation, and that there remained nothing in defense of the proposition save Italy's desire for more territory admittedly inhabited by Jugo-Slavs. The French and British Governments then expressed their cordial approval of the way in which the President had met every successive Italian demand for the absorption in Italy of territories inhabited by peoples not Italian and not in favor of being absorbed, and joined in the opinion that "it is neither just nor expedient to annex as the spoils of war territories inhabited by an alien race." Yet this unjust and inexpedient annexation of all of Istria is provided for in the memorandum of January 14.

The memorandum of December 9 carefully excluded every form of Italian sovereignty over Fiume. The American Government cannot avoid the conclusion that the memorandum of January 14 opens the way for Italian control of Fiume's foreign affairs, thus introducing a measure of Italian sovereignty over, and Italian intervention in, the only practicable port of a neighboring people; and, taken in conjunction with the extension of Italian territory to the gates of Fiume, paves the way for possible future annexation of the port by Italy, in contradiction of compelling considerations of equity and right.

The memorandum of December 9 afforded proper protection to the vital railway connecting Fiume northward with the interior. The memorandum of January 14 establishes Italy in dominating military positions close to the railway at a number of critical points. The memorandum of December 9 maintained in large measure the unity of the Albanian state. That of January 14

partitions the Albanian people, against their vehement protests, among three different alien powers.

These and other provisions of the memorandum of January 14, negotiated without the knowledge or approval of the American Government, change the whole face of the Adriatic settlement and, in the eyes of this Government, render it unworkable and rob it of the measure of justice which is essential if this Government is to co-operate in maintaining its terms. The fact that the Jugo-Slav representatives might feel forced to accept, in the face of the alternative of the Treaty of London, a solution which appears to this Government so unfair in principle and so unworkable in practice would not in any degree alter the conviction of this Government that it cannot give its assent to a settlement which both in the terms of its provisions and in the methods of its enforcement constitutes a positive denial of the principles for which America entered the war.

The matter would wear a very different aspect if there were any real divergence of opinion as to what constitutes a just settlement of the Adriatic issue. Happily no such divergence exists. The opinions of the French, British and Americans as to a just and equitable territorial arrangement at the head of the Adriatic Sea were strikingly harmonious. Italy's unjust demands had been condemned by the French and British Governments in terms no less severe than those employed by the American Government. Certainly the French and British Governments will yield nothing to their American associate as regards the earnestness with which they have sought to convince the Italian Government that fulfillment of its demands would be contrary to Italy's own best interests, opposed to the spirit of justice in international dealings and fraught with danger to the peace of Europe. In particular, the French and British Governments have opposed Italy's demands for specific advantages which it is now proposed to yield to her by the memorandum of January 14, and have joined in informing the Italian Government that the concessions previously made "afford to Italy full satisfaction of her historic national aspirations based on the desire to unite the Italian race, give her the absolute strategic control of the Adriatic and offer her complete guarantees against whatever aggressions she might fear in the future from her Jugo-Slav neighbors."

While there is thus substantial agreement as to the injustice and inexpediency of Italy's claims, there is a difference of opinion as to how firmly Italy's friends should resist her importunate demands for alien territories to which she can present no valid title. It has seemed to the President that the French and British associates of the American Government, in order to prevent the development of possibly dangerous complications in the Adriatic region, have felt constrained to go very far in yielding to demands which they have long opposed as unjust. The American Government, while no less generous in its desire to accord to Italy every advantage to which she could offer any proper claims, feels that it cannot sacrifice the principles for which it entered the war to gratify the improper ambitions of one of its associates, or to purchase a temporary appearance of calm in the Adriatic at the price of a future world conflagration. It is unwilling to recognize either an unjust settlement based on a secret treaty, the terms of which are inconsistent with the new world conditions, or an unjust settlement arrived at by employing that secret treaty as an instrument of coercion. It would welcome any solution of the problem based on a free and unprejudiced consideration of the merits of the controversy, or on terms which the disinterested great Powers agreed to be just and equitable. Italy, however, has repeatedly rejected such solutions. This Government cannot accept a settlement the terms of which have been admitted

to be unwise and unjust, but which it is proposed to grant to Italy in view of her persistent refusal to accept any wise and just solution.

It is a time to speak with the utmost frankness. The Adriatic issue as it now presents itself raises the fundamental question as to whether the American Government can on any terms co-operate with its European associates in the great work of maintaining the peace of the world by removing the primary causes of war. This Government does not doubt its ability to reach amicable understandings with the associated governments as to what constitutes equity and justice in international dealings, for differences of opinion as to the best methods of applying just principles have never obscured the vital fact that in the main the several Governments have entertained the same fundamental conception of what those principles are. But if substantial agreement on what is just and reasonable is not to determine international issues; if the country possessing the most endurance in pressing its demands rather than the country armed with a just cause is to gain the support of the Powers; if forcible seizure of coveted areas is to be permitted and condoned, and is to receive ultimate justification by creating a situation so difficult that decision favorable to the aggressor is deemed a practical necessity; if deliberately incited ambition is, under the name of national sentiment, to be rewarded at the expense of the small and the weak; if, in a word, the old order of things which brought so many evils on the world is still to prevail, then the time is not yet come when this Government can enter a concert of Powers the very existence of which must depend upon a new spirit and a new order. The American people are willing to share in such high enterprise, but many among them are fearful lest they be entangled in international policies and committed to international obligations foreign alike to their ideals and their traditions. To commit them to such a policy as that embodied in the latest Adriatic proposals, and to obligate them to maintain injustice as against the claims of justice, would be to provide the most solid ground for such fears. This Government can undertake no such grave responsibility.

The President desires to say that if it does not appear feasible to secure acceptance of the just and generous concessions offered by the British, French and American Governments to Italy in the joint memorandum of those Powers of December 9, 1919, which the President has already clearly stated to be the maximum concession that the Government of the United States can offer, the President desires to say that he must take under serious consideration the withdrawal of the treaty with Germany and the agreement between the United States and France of June 28, 1919, which are now before the Senate, and permitting the terms of the European settlement to be independently established and enforced by the associated governments.

LANSING,

Secretary of State

The reply of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France to the above note was under date of February 17. They went into great detail to dispute the President's contention that the revisions of the original joint memorandum involved a capitulation to the Italian Government, setting forth at length the reasons for their decision. They stated that they regarded the last paragraph of the President's note of February 10 as a threat, and regarded it with apprehension. President Wilson's reply was under date of February 24, 1920, and was as follows:

The joint memorandum of February 17 of the Prime Ministers of France and Great Britain has received the careful and earnest consideration of the President. He has no desire whatever to criticise the attitude of the Governments of France and Great Britain concerning the Adriatic settlement, but feels that in the present circumstances he has no choice but to maintain the position he has all along taken as regards that settlement. He believes it to be the central principle fought for in the war that no Government or group of Governments has the right to dispose of the territory or to determine the political allegiance of any free people. The five great Powers, though the Government of the United States constitutes one of them, have in his conviction no more right than had the Austrian Government to dispose of the free Jugo-Slavic peoples without the free consent and co-operation of those peoples. The President's position is that the Powers associated against Germany gave final and irrefutable proof of their sincerity in the war by writing into the Treaty at Versailles Article X. of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which constitutes an assurance that all the great Powers have done what they have compelled Germany to do—have foregone all territorial aggression and all interference with the free political self-determination of the peoples of the world. With this principle lived up to, permanent peace is secured and the supreme object of the recent conflict has been achieved. Justice and self-determination have been substituted for aggression and political dictation. Without it, there is no security for any nation that conscientiously adheres to a non-militaristic policy.

The object of the war, as the Government of the United States understands it, was to free Europe from that cloud of anxiety which had hung over it for generations because of the constant threat of the use of military force by one of the most powerful Governments of the Continent, and the President feels it important to say again, that in the opinion of the American Government terms of the peace settlement must continue to be formulated upon the basis of the principles for which America entered the war. It is in a spirit of co-operation, therefore, and of desire for mutual undertaking, that the President reviews the various considerations which the French and British Prime Ministers have emphasized in their memorandum of February 17. He is confident that they will not mistake his motives in undertaking to make plain what he feels to be the necessary conclusions from their statements.

The President notes that the objections of the Italians and Jugo-Slavs were made the basis for discarding the project of the free State of Fiume. It would seem to follow, therefore, that the joint consent of these two powers should have been required for the substitute project. The consent of Italy had been obtained. He does not find, however, that the Jugo-Slavs have also expressed a willingness to accept the substitute plan. Are they to be required now to accept a proposal which is more unsatisfactory because they have raised objections to the solution proposed by the British, French and American Government in the memorandum of December 9? The President would, of course, make no objection to a settlement mutually agreeable to Italy and Jugo-Slavia regarding their common frontier in the Fiume region, provided that such an agreement is not made on the basis of compensations elsewhere at the expense of nationals of a third Power. His willingness to accept such proposed joint agreement of Italy and Jugo-Slavia is based on the fact that only their own nationals are involved. In consequence, the results of direct negotiations of the two interested Powers would fall within the scope of the principle of self-

determination. Failing in this, both parties should be willing to accept a decision of the Governments of Great Britain, France and the United States.

The British and French Governments appear to find in the President's suggestion that the latest proposals would pave the way for the annexation of the city of Fiume an implication that the guarantee of the League of Nations is worthless, and that the Italian Government does not intend to abide by a treaty into which it has entered. The President cannot but regard this implication as without basis and as contrary to his thought. In his view of the proposal, to connect Fiume with Italy by a narrow strip of coast territory is quite impracticable. As he has already said, it involves extraordinary complexities in customs control, coast guard services, and other related matters, and he is unable to detach himself from the previous views of the British and French Governments, as expressed jointly with the American Government in the memorandum of December 9, that "the plan appears to run counter to every consideration of geography, economics, and territorial conveniences."

He further believes that to have Italian territory join Fiume would be to invite strife, out of which annexation might issue. Therefore, in undertaking to shape the solution so as to prevent this, he is acting on the principle that each part of the final settlement should be based upon the essential justice of that particular case. This was one of the principles adopted by the Allied and associated Powers as a basis for treaty-making. To it have been added the provisions of the League of Nations, but it has never been the policy of either this Government or its associates to invoke the League of Nations as a guarantee that a bad settlement shall not become worse. The sum of such actions would of necessity destroy faith in the League and eventually the League itself.

The President notes with satisfaction that the Governments of Great Britain and France will not lose sight of the future interests and well-being of the Albanian peoples. The American Government quite understands that the three-fold division of Albania in the British-French agreement might be most acceptable to the Jugo-Slav Government, but it is just as vigorously opposed to injuring the Albanian people for the benefit of Jugo-Slavia as it is opposed to injuring the Jugo-Slav people for the benefit of Italy. It believes that the differences between the Christian and Mohammedan populations will be increased by putting the two sections under the control of nations of unlike language, government, and economic strength. Moreover, one part would be administered by the Italian Government, which is represented on the Council of the League, the other part by the Jugo-Slav Government, which has no such representation. Therefore, to alter or withdraw the mandate at some future time would be well-nigh impossible.

Regarding the Treaty of London, the French and British Prime Ministers will appreciate that the American Government must hesitate to speak with assurance, since it is a matter in which the French and British Governments can alone judge their obligations and determine their policies. But the President feels that it is not improper to recall a few of the arguments which have already been advanced against this treaty, namely, the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the secret character of the Treaty, and its opposition to the principles unanimously accepted as the basis for making peace.

In addition, he desires to submit certain further considerations. In the northern Italian frontiers agreements have already been reached which depart from the Treaty of London line, and which were made with the understanding that negotiations were proceeding on quite a new basis. It has been no secret that the parties to the treaty do not themselves now desire it and that they

have thus far refrained from putting its provisions into effect. In mutually disregarding their secret treaty commitments, the parties to the treaty have recognized the change in circumstances that has taken place in the interval between the signing of the secret treaty and its proposed execution at the present time. For nearly eight months discussion of the Adriatic problem has proceeded on the assumption that a better basis for an understanding could be found than that provided by the Treaty of London. The greater part of the resulting proposals in some cases affected territory beyond the Treaty of London line, as in the Tarvis and Sexton Valleys. In others, the territory fell short of the Treaty of London line, as in the case of the Islands of Lussia, Unie, Lissa and Pelagosa, to mention only a few of the many proposals upon which tentative agreements have long been reached and which would be upset by an application of the treaty at this late day.

The coupling of the Treaty of London as an obligatory alternative to the Adriatic settlement proposed on January 14 came as a surprise to the American Government, because this Government had already, by the agreement of December 9, entered into a distinct understanding with the British and French Governments regarding the basis of a settlement of the question. By their action of January 14 the Government of the United States was confronted with a definitive solution, to which was added on January 20 a threat to fall back upon the terms of the Treaty of London. This course was followed without any attempt to seek the views of this Government or to provide such opportunity of discussion as was easily arranged in many other matters dealt with in the same period.

The President notes that the memorandum of February 17 refers to the difficulty of reconciling ethnographic with other considerations in making territorial adjustments, and cites the inclusion of 3,000,000 Germans in Czecho-Slovakia and more than 3,000,000 Ruthens in Poland as examples of necessary modifications of ethnographic frontiers. He feels compelled to observe that this is a line of reasoning which the Italian representatives have advanced during the course of negotiations, but which the British and French have hitherto found themselves unable to accept. There were cases where for sufficient geographical and economic reasons slight deflections of the ethnographical frontier were sanctioned by the conference, and the American Government believes that if Italy would consent to apply the same principles in Istria and Dalmatia the Adriatic question would not exist.

The American Government heartily subscribes to the sentiments expressed by the Governments of Great Britain and France regarding Italy's participation in the war. It fully appreciates the vital consequences of her participation and is profoundly grateful for her heroic sacrifices. These sentiments have been repeatedly expressed by the American Government. But such considerations cannot be made the reason for unjust settlements which will be provocative of future wars. A course thus determined would be short-sighted and not in accord with the terrible sacrifices of the entire world, which can be justified and ennobled only by leading finally to settlements in keeping with the principles for which the war was fought.

The President asks that the Prime Ministers of France, Great Britain and Italy will read his determination in the Adriatic matter in the light of these principles and settlements, and will realize that, standing upon such a foundation of principle, he must of necessity maintain the position which he arrived at after months of earnest consideration. He confidently counts upon their co-operation in this effort on his part to maintain for the Allied and associated Powers

that direction of affairs which was initiated by the victory over Germany and the Peace Conference at Paris.

POLK,

Acting Secretary of State

The answer of the French and British Prime Ministers was sent on February 27, and is outlined in the response of President Wilson on March 4, as follows:

The President desires to express his sincere and cordial interest in the response of the French and British Prime Ministers received on February 27. He notes with satisfaction their unaltered desire to reach "an equitable solution, in conformity alike with the principles of the Peace Conference and of the legitimate, though conflicting, aspirations of the Italians and Jugo-Slav peoples." He further welcomes their expressed intention, regarding certain essential points, "to urge upon the Governments interested that they should bring their desires into line with the American point of view."

The President is surprised, however, that they should find in the statement of his own willingness to leave to the joint agreement of Italy and Jugo-Slavia the settlement of "their common frontiers in the Fiume region" any ground for suggesting the withdrawal of the joint memorandum of December 9. In this he could not possibly join. The memorandum represents deliberate and disinterested judgment after months of earnest discussion. It constituted more than a mere exchange of views; it was a statement of principles and a recapitulation of the chief points upon which agreement had been reached. There was thus afforded a summary review of these points of agreement of the French, British and American Governments, and the memorandum should remain as it was intended to be, the basis of reference representing the combined opinion of these Governments.

In referring to the "common frontier in the Fiume region," the President had in mind the expressed desire of the two interested Governments to abandon the project of the free State of Fiume, as defined in the memorandum of December 9. If, as he understands, the Government of Italy and the Government of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State prefer to abandon the so-called buffer State, containing an overwhelming majority of Jugo-Slavs, and desires to limit the proposed free State to the corpus separatum of Fiume, placing the sovereignty in the League of Nations, without either Italian or Jugo-Slav control, then the Government of the United States is prepared to accept this proposal and is willing, under such circumstances, to leave the determination of the common frontier to Italy and Jugo-Slavia.

In this connection the President desires to reiterate that he would gladly approve a mutual agreement between the Italian and Jugo-Slav Governments reached without prejudice to the territorial or other interests of any third nation. But Albanian questions should not be included in the proposed joint discussion of Italy and Jugo-Slavia, and the President must reaffirm that he cannot possibly approve any plan which assigns to Jugo-Slavia in the northern districts of Albania territorial compensation for what she is deprived of elsewhere. Concerning the economic outlets for Jugo-Slavia in the region of Scutari suggested in the note under reply, the President desires to refer to the memorandum of December 9 as making adequate provisions to meet the needs of Jugo-Slavia.

Regarding the character and applicability of the Treaty of London the President is led to speak with less reserve on account of the frank observations

of the French and British Prime Ministers. He is unable to find in the "exigencies of military strategy" sufficient warrant for exercising secrecy with a Government which was intimately associated with the signatories of the Treaty of London in the gigantic task of defending human freedom and which was being called upon for unlimited assistance and for untold treasure. The definite and well-accepted policy of the American Government throughout its participation in the deliberations of the Peace Conference was that it did not consider itself bound by secret treaties of which it had previously not known the existence. Where the provisions of such treaties were just and reasonable, the United States was willing to respect them. But the French and British Prime Ministers will of course not expect the Government of the United States to approve the execution of the terms of the Treaty of London, except in so far as that Government may be convinced that those terms are intrinsically just and are consistent with the maintenance of peace and settled order in southeastern Europe.

The absence of an American representative with plenary power is to be regretted, and may have been a source of inconvenience, but the President can recall several instances where decisions in the Supreme Council were delayed while the British and French representatives sought the views of their Governments, and he is convinced that time would have been saved and many misunderstandings avoided if, before actual decisions had been reached and communicated to the Italian and Jugo-Slav delegations, this Government had been given sufficient indication of the fact that the British and French Governments intended radically to depart from the memorandum of December 9.

In conclusion the President desires to express his concurrence in the view of the British and French Prime Ministers that a speedy settlement of the Adriatic question is of urgent importance. But he cannot accept as just the implied suggestion of his responsibility for the failure to reach a solution. He has merely adhered to the provisions of a settlement which the French and British Governments recognized as equitable in the joint memorandum of December 9, and has declined to approve a new settlement negotiated without the knowledge or approval of the American Government, which was unacceptable to one of the interested Governments and which, in his opinion, was in direct contradiction of the principles for the defense of which America entered the war.

These views he has fully explained in his note of February 10, and he ventures to express the earnest hope that the Allied Governments will not find it necessary to decide on a course which the American Government in accordance with its reiterated statement will be unable to follow.

POLK,

Acting Secretary of State

NOTE ON DISPOSITION OF TURKISH TERRITORY

[In Answer to Query of French Government Regarding the Attitude of the United States Toward This Problem of the Peace Following the World War. Made Public on March 30, 1920.]

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's note of March 12, relative to the conferences regarding the Peace Treaty with Turkey and the present status of the negotiations between the principal Allied Powers, and in reply to inform you that the President does not deem it advisable in the present circumstances that the United States be represented by a pleni-

potentiary at the conference. The President feels, however, that, as this Government is vitally interested in the future peace of the world, it should frankly express its views on the proposed solutions of the difficult questions connected with the Turkish Treaty.

While it is true that the United States of America was not at war with Turkey, yet it was at war with the principal allies of the country and contributed to the defeat of those allies and, therefore, to the defeat of the Turkish Government. For that reason, too, it is believed that it is the duty of this Government to make known its views and urge a solution which will be both just and lasting.

The Government of the United States understands the strength of the arguments for the retention of the Turks at Constantinople, but believes that the arguments against it are far stronger and contain certain imperative elements which it would not seem possible to ignore. It was the often-expressed intention of the Allies that the anomaly of the Turks in Europe should cease, and it cannot be believed that the feelings of the Mohammedan peoples, who not only witnessed the defeat of Turkish power without protest, but even materially assisted in the defeat, will now so resent the expulsion of the Turkish Government as to make a complete reversal of policy on the part of the great Powers desirable or necessary.

As to the line given as the southern frontier of Turkey, it is assumed that this boundary is meant to be the ethnological frontier of the Arab people, in which case, it is suggested, certain rectifications would seem necessary. If, however, other considerations entered into the choice of this line, this Government, without any intention to criticise, would appreciate being furnished with the arguments dictating such a choice.

The Government of the United States notes with pleasure that provision is made for Russian representation on the International Council, which it is proposed shall be established for the Government of Constantinople and the Straits. This Government is convinced that no arrangement that is now made concerning the government and control of Constantinople and the Straits can have any elements of permanency unless the vital interests of Russia in those problems are carefully provided for and protected, and unless it is understood that Russia, when it has a Government recognized by the civilized world, may assert its right to be heard in regard to the decisions now made.

It is noted with pleasure that the questions of passage of warships and the regime of the Straits in war time are still under advisement, as this Government is convinced that no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia.

As for Thrace, it would seem right that that part of East Thrace which is outside of the zone reserved for Constantinople should become part of the Kingdom of Greece, with the exception of the northern part of the Province. As this, the northern part, is clearly Bulgarian in population, justice and fair dealing demand that the cities of Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh and the surrounding territory should become part of Bulgaria. Not only is the claim of Bulgaria worthy of most serious consideration on ethnic and historical grounds, but it would also seem that Bulgaria is entitled to have its claim to this territory favorably considered in view of its having been compelled to surrender purely Bulgarian territory and many thousands of Bulgars on its western boundary, on no other grounds than the rather doubtful grounds of securing a strategic frontier for Serbia.

In connection with the proposed preferential right of the three great Mediterranean Powers to furnish advisers and instructors in certain zones, this Government feels that it is necessary to have more information as to the reason and purpose of such a plan before it can express an intelligent opinion.

There can be no question as to the genuine interest of this Government in the plans for Armenia, and the Government of the United States is convinced that the civilized world demands and expects the most liberal treatment for that unfortunate country. Its boundaries should be drawn in such a way as to recognize all the legitimate claims of the Armenian people, and particularly to give them easy and unencumbered access to the sea. While unaware of the considerations governing the decision reached by the Supreme Council, it is felt that special rights over Lazistan [on the Black Sea, including the port of Batum and part of the vilayet of Trebizond] would hardly assure to Armenia that access to the sea indispensable to its existence.

It is hoped that, taking into consideration the fact that Trebizond has always been the terminus of the trade route across Armenia, and that Mr. Venizelos, on behalf of the Greeks of that region, has expressed their preference for connection with Armenia rather than Turkey, the Powers will be willing to grant Trebizond to Armenia.

In regard to the relinquishment by Turkey of her rights to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria and the islands, this Government suggests that the method resorted to in the case of Austria be adopted, namely, that Turkey should place these provinces in the hands of the great Powers, to be disposed of as these Powers determine.

In regard to the arrangements for Smyrna, this Government is not in a position to express an opinion, as the question is too important to be passed on with the limited information this Government has as to the exact arrangement that is contemplated and the reasons for the same.

The Government of the United States can quite understand the difficulties that have confronted the Supreme Council in dealing with the economic questions that present themselves for settlement in connection with this treaty. It is easy to see that the problems are complex and fruitful of misunderstanding because of the conflicting interests involved; but this Government has every confidence that the problems will be dealt with in a spirit of fairness and with scrupulous regard for the commercial interests of victor, vanquished and neutral.

It is evident that there is yet much to be done before a comprehensive plan can be worked out, and this Government will welcome further information on the subject of the economic clauses of this treaty. Incidentally, the plan that has apparently been worked out by the Supreme Council in connection with continuation of concessions granted to aliens and giving the right to revise or cancel concessions on payment of indemnity, referred to in the eighth paragraph of your Excellency's note, has grave possibilities and would seem to require careful elucidation.

Let me say in conclusion that it is the understanding of the Government of the United States that whatever territorial changes or arrangements may be made in the former Ottoman Empire, such changes or arrangements will in no way place American citizens or corporations, or the citizens or corporations of any other country, in a less favorable situation than the citizens or corporations of any Power party to this treaty.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,

Secretary of State

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Copyright—Great Britain.]

Whereas it is provided by the Act of Congress of March 4, 1909, entitled "An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Acts Respecting Copyright," that the provisions of Section 1 (e) of said Act, "so far as they secure copyright controlling the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, shall include only compositions published and copyrighted after this Act goes into effect, and shall not include the works of a foreign author or composer unless the foreign state or nation of which such author or composer is a citizen or subject grants, either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law, to citizens of the United States similar rights":

And Whereas it is further provided that the copyright secured by the Act shall extend to the work of an author or proprietor who is a citizen or subject of a foreign state or nation, only upon certain conditions set forth in section 8 of said Act, to wit:

(a) When an alien author or proprietor shall be domiciled within the United States at the time of the first publication of his work; or

(b) When the foreign state or nation of which such author or proprietor is a citizen or subject grants, either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law, to citizens of the United States the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens, or copyright protection substantially equal to the protection secured to such foreign author under this Act or by treaty; or when such foreign state or nation is a party to an international agreement which provides for reciprocity in the granting of copyright, by the terms of which agreement the United States may, at its pleasure, become a party thereto:

And Whereas it is further provided by the Act of Congress approved December 18, 1919, "that all works made the subject of copyright by the laws of the United States first produced or published abroad after August 1, 1914, and before the date of the President's proclamation of peace, of which the authors or proprietors are citizens or subjects of any foreign state or nation granting similar protection for works by citizens of the United States, the existence of which shall be determined by a copyright proclamation issued by the President of the United States, shall be entitled to the protection conferred by the copyright laws of the United States from and after the accomplishment, before the expiration of fifteen months after the date of the President's proclamation of peace, of the conditions and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States: Provided further, That nothing herein contained shall be construed

to deprive any person of any right which he may have acquired by the republication of such foreign work in the United States prior to the approval of this Act."

And Whereas the President is authorized to determine and declare by proclamation the existence of similar protection for works by citizens of the United States as the purposes of the Act may require;

And Whereas satisfactory official assurance has been given by the Government of Great Britain that, by virtue of the authority conferred by the British Copyright Act, 1911, a British Order in Council was duly issued on February 9, 1920, directing that:—

1. The Copyright Act, 1911, shall, subject to the provisions of the said Act and of this Order, apply to works first published in the United States of America between the 1st of August, 1914, and the termination of the war, which have not been republished prior to the commencement of this Order in the parts of His Majesty's Dominions to which this Order applies, in like manner as if they had been first published within the parts of His Majesty's Dominions to which the said Act extends:

Provided that the enjoyment by any work of the rights conferred by the Copyright Act, 1911, shall be conditional upon publication of the work in the Dominions to which this Order relates not later than six months after the termination of the war, and shall commence from and after such publication, which shall not be colourable only, but shall be intended to satisfy the reasonable requirements of the public.

2. The provisions of Section 15 of the Copyright Act, 1911, as to the delivery of books to libraries shall apply to works to which this Order relates upon their publication in the United Kingdom.

3. In the case of musical works to which this Order relates and provided that no contrivances by means of which the work may be mechanically performed have before the commencement of this Order been lawfully made, or placed on sale, within the parts of His Majesty's Dominions to which this Order applies, copyright in the work shall include all rights conferred by the said Act with respect to the making of records, perforated rolls and other contrivances by means of which the work may be mechanically performed.

4. This Order shall apply to all His Majesty's Dominions, Colonies, and Possessions with the exception of those hereinafter named, that is to say: The Dominion of Canada; The Commonwealth of Australia; The Dominion of New Zealand; The Union of South Africa; Newfoundland.

5. Nothing in this Order shall be construed as depriving any work of any rights which have been lawfully acquired under the provisions of the Copyright Act, 1911, or any Order in Council thereunder.

6. This Order shall take effect as from the 2nd day of February, 1920, which day is in this Order referred to as the commencement of this Order.

And the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury are to give the necessary orders accordingly.

Now Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and proclaim

1. That one of the alternative conditions specified in Sections 1 (e) and 8 (b) of the Act of March 4, 1909, and acts amendatory thereof, including the Act of December 18, 1919, now exists and is fulfilled and since February 2, 1920, has been fulfilled in respect to the subjects of Great Britain and the British Dominions, Colonies and Possessions, with the exception of the self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, and that such British subjects are entitled to all the benefits of the Copyright Act of March 4, 1909, and the acts amendatory thereof, including the Act of December 18, 1919, for all of their works first published in Great Britain between August 1, 1914, and before the President's proclamation of peace, and not already republished in the United States:

Provided that the enjoyment by any work of the rights and benefits conferred by the Copyright Act of March 4, 1909, and the acts amendatory thereof, including the Act of December 18, 1919, shall be conditional upon compliance with the requirements and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States before the expiration of fifteen months after the date of the President's proclamation of peace, and shall commence from and after compliance with those requirements, constituting due registration for copyright in the United States.

2. That in the case of musical works to which this proclamation relates, and provided that no contrivances, including records, perforated rolls and other devices by means of which the work may be mechanically performed, have been lawfully made or placed on sale within the United States before February 2, 1920, copyright shall include the special benefit of Section 1 (e) of the Copyright Act of March 4, 1909, namely "copyright controlling the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work."

3. Nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to abrogate or limit any rights and benefits conferred under the reciprocal arrangements with Great Britain or its self-governing Dominions providing for copyright protection heretofore proclaimed.

This proclamation shall take effect as from the 2nd day of February, 1920.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty and of [SEAL.] the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fourth. WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State*

VETO MESSAGES

[Appropriation Bill for 1920-1, because of Section Giving Congress Control Over Printing of all Government Publications. The Bill, without the Objectionable Section, was Later Passed and Approved.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 13, 1920.*

To the House of Representatives: I am returning, without my signature, H. R. 12,610, "An Act Making Appropriations for the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Expenses of the Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1921, and for Other Purposes."

I object to and cannot approve Section 8 of the bill, which amends Section 11 of the Act approved March 1, 1919, as follows:

Section 8. That Section 11 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial expenses for the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes" is hereby amended by striking out the first proviso and inserting the following in lieu thereof:

Provided, that hereafter no journal, magazine, periodical or similar Government publication shall be printed, issued or discontinued by any branch or officer of the Government service unless the same shall have been authorized under such regulations as shall be prescribed by the Joint Committee on Printing, and such publications shall not contain any commercial advertisements; provided, further, that the foregoing provisions of this section shall also apply to mimeographing, multigraphing and other processes used for the duplication of typewritten and printed matter, other than official correspondence and office records.

That section provides that no journal, magazine, periodical, or similar Government publication shall be printed, issued, or discontinued by any branch or officer of the Government service unless authorized under regulations prescribed by the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing, and furthermore prohibits mimeographing, multigraphing and other processes used for the duplication of typewritten and printed matter, other than official correspondence and office records, unless authorized under such regulations of the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing. Aside from the control over the printing, issuing or discontinuing of periodicals or similar Government publications by the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing, the obvious effect of this provision would be to give to that committee power to prevent the executive departments from mimeographing, multigraphing or otherwise duplicating any material which they desire, and, in that way, power to determine what information shall be given to the people of the country by the executive departments.

The committee apparently would have power, for example, to prevent even the making of carbon copies of anything other than official correspondence and office records.

Without raising any constitutional question, I think that this section, which would give the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing power to exercise censorship over the executive departments, is an encroachment on the functions of the executive and incompatible with good government. I am in entire sympathy with the efforts of the Congress and the departments to effect economies in printing and in the use of paper and supplies, but I do not believe that such a provision as this should become law.

I should also call attention to the fact that by its terms the section in question absolutely forbids mimeographing, multigraphing and other duplicating processes in the executive departments (except as permitted by regulations established by the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing), and thus imposes a flat prohibition against the exercise of executive functions.

If we are to have efficient and economical business administration of Government affairs, the Congress, I believe, should direct its efforts to the control of public moneys along broader lines, fixing the amounts to be expended and then holding the executive departments strictly responsible for their use. This can be accomplished by the enactment of legislation establishing an effective budget system, which I have heretofore urged.

The Congress and the Executive should function within their respective spheres. Otherwise, efficient and responsible management will be impossible and progress impeded by wasteful forces of disorganization and obstruction. The Congress has the power and the right to grant or deny an appropriation, or to enact or refuse to enact a law, but once an appropriation is made or a law is passed the appropriation should be administered or the law executed by the executive branch of the Government.

In no other way can the Government be efficiently managed and responsibility definitely fixed. The Congress has the right to confer upon its committees full authority for purposes of investigation and the accumulation of information for its guidance, but I do not concede the right, and certainly not the wisdom, of the Congress endowing a committee of either House or a joint committee of both Houses with power to prescribe "regulations" under which executive departments may operate. Under Section 8 of the bill responsibility cannot be definitely placed upon either the executive departments or the Joint Committee on Printing. It falls between them.

I regard the provision in question as an invasion of the province of the executive and calculated to result in unwarranted interferences in the processes of good government, producing confusion, irritation and distrust. The proposal assumes significance as an outstanding illus-

tration of a growing tendency which I am sure is not fully realized by the Congress itself and certainly not by the people of the country. For that reason I am taking the liberty of pointing out a few examples of an increasing disposition as expressed in existing laws and pending legislative proposals to restrict the executive departments in the exercise of purely administrative functions.

I do not care to discuss here the powers which previously have been conferred upon the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing, as they have passed into law, but I do feel that it is proper to point to a few examples of administrative authority exercised by the Committee under existing law in order to indicate inconsistency that already exists and which would be accentuated and aggravated if Section 8 under consideration were enacted into law.

In this connection, I invite the attention of the Congress to a letter from the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing to the Public Printer, under date of March 19, 1920, replying to a request from the latter for a ruling by the Committee as to the application to certain printing of Section 89 of the Printing Act of 1895, restricting the printing of reports, publications, and documents to 1,000 copies each. In the communication mentioned, the Public Printer is "directed" to apply that section of the law in accordance with the "opinion" rendered by the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing. To my mind, the opinion mentioned is nothing more or less than a direction to an executive officer in the performance of executive duties.

The printing laws may give the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing authority to make interpretations of the law, but if they do, I think it is a most unwise procedure and that the statute should be revised.

Another example of the exercise of administrative authority by the Joint Committee on Printing is to be found in a resolution adopted by that committee on April 2, 1920, prohibiting any person connected with any department of the Government from furnishing any publication for free distribution to any private individual, corporation or agency, in lots to exceed fifty copies, "without first making application to the Joint Committee on Printing." The resolution reads as follows:

Resolved by the Joint Committee on Printing, under authority of Section 11 of Public Act No. 314, Sixty-fifth Congress, That no person connected with any department of the Government shall furnish any publication for free distribution to any private individual, corporation or agency in lots to exceed fifty copies, without first making application to the Joint Committee on Printing, giving the name of the person or agency desiring the same, the name of the publication and the number of copies desired;

Provided, That this regulation shall not apply to publications which are sold at a price to cover the cost of same;

Provided further, That the Clerk of the Joint Committee on Printing be instructed to furnish to each department of the Government and to the Public Printer a copy of this resolution with a request that the receipt of same be duly acknowledged.

I also invite attention to the creation by law of what is known as the Public Buildings Commission, consisting of two Senators, two Representatives, the Superintendent of the Capitol buildings and grounds, the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, and the Supervising Architect or Acting Supervising Architect of the Treasury.

That Commission by law is given "absolute control of and the allotment of all space in the several public buildings owned, or buildings leased by the United States in the District of Columbia, with the exception of the Executive Mansion and office of the President, Capitol building, the Senate and House office buildings, the Capitol power plant, the buildings under the jurisdiction of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution and the Congressional Library building."

The Commission possesses the absolute power to order the several executive departments and independent establishments out of any of the buildings which they occupy, and, as a matter of fact, has directed various branches of the public service to vacate or to occupy specified space. It is organized and operated as a Congressional Commission and appears in the Congressional Directory under the heading "Congressional Commissions and Joint Committees." The Senators serving upon it are appointed by the President of the Senate, the Representatives serving upon it are appointed by the Speaker of the House, while the other officials composing the commission are specifically named in the law. Its work, nevertheless, so far as it involves the allotting of space for administrative services and of ordering executive departments to move units into or out of Government-owned or -leased buildings, is distinctly executive in character.

My attention has been drawn to a pending legislative proposal of a similar character which I mention in this connection simply as a further illustration. When the bill which I am returning was under consideration in the Senate an amendment was agreed to by the Senate transferring the Bureau of Efficiency from the jurisdiction of the President to the jurisdiction of the Congress. That amendment was eliminated in conference, but has reappeared in slightly changed form as a Senate amendment to the pending bill designed to establish a national budget system.

It is proposed to give that bureau more sweeping power of investigation than is usually conferred upon the committees of the Congress itself. It would function, not as a committee of the Congress, but as a bureau of the Congress, if such is permissible, with an officer of the

Congress at its head. I do not here discuss the proposal in detail further than to cite it as another illustration of the tendency to which I invite attention.

In considering bills containing the provisions mentioned above, I was willing to overlook the objectionable features for the time being with the thought that they were designed as exceptional and temporary measures to meet unusual conditions. To permit such expedients to serve as precedents or accepted rules for legislation would, in my judgment, be most unfortunate and destructive of proper principles for the orderly and efficient management of the Government's business. I feel very strongly that the authority carried in Section 8 of the bill herewith returned should not be conferred upon a legislative committee and that the entire section should be stricken from the measure.

WOODROW WILSON

[Joint Resolution Declaring State of Peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary.]

The Peace Treaty of Versailles (see page 8737) was submitted to the Senate by President Wilson on July 10, 1919 (see page 8727). Strong opposition to many of its provisions, especially those concerned with the Covenant of the League of Nations, soon developed in the Senate (see page 8784). After extensive hearings and consideration by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the Committee reported the Treaty to the Senate on September 10, 1919, with the recommendation that thirty-eight amendments and four reservations be added to it. The Committee's action was taken after it had voted largely according to party lines, with its Democratic minority as a rule opposing any suggestion of change in the text of the treaty. The Senate finally voted on the treaty on November 19, 1919. By that time, the Senate had voted down all attempts to add amendments to the treaty, but had adopted a number of reservations. President Wilson had declared that these reservations nullified the treaty, and his supporters joined with the Republican "Irreconcilables," who favored complete rejection of the treaty, in defeating it in the Senate vote of November 19. The defeat was sustained in three votes. The first was on ratifying the Treaty with the reservations, and was lost by a vote of 39 for to 55 against. Of those voting to ratify, 35 were Republicans and 4 were Democrats; and of those voting against ratification, 13 were Republicans and 42 were Democrats. The second vote was on a motion to reconsider, and was lost by 41 to 50. The third vote was on ratifying the treaty without any reservations, and was lost by 38 for (1 Republican and 37 Democrats) to 53 against (46 Republicans and 7 Democrats).

Another session of the Senate, on March 19, 1920, refused to ratify the treaty, after reservations had again been added to it by vote of the Senate. The vote on ratification was 49 for (28 Republicans and 21 Democrats) and 35 against (12 Republicans and 23 Democrats). A two-thirds vote, by constitutional requirements, was necessary for ratification.

In May, 1920, a joint resolution passed Congress declaring a state of peace with Germany. The vote in the Senate, on May 15, was 43 for (40 Republicans and 3 Democrats) and 38 against (37 Democrats and 1 Republican). The vote in the House of Representatives, on May 21, was 228 for (208 Repub-

lican, 19 Democrats and 1 Independent), and 139 against (136 Democrats, 2 Republicans and 1 Independent). The bill was vetoed in the following message. On May 28, the House of Representatives failed to pass the joint resolution over the President's veto, the vote being 219 to 152, or 29 short of the necessary two-thirds. Among the 219 were 17 Democrats and among the 152 were 2 Republicans.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 27, 1920.*

To the House of Representatives: I return herewith, without my signature, House Joint Resolution 327, intended to repeal the Joint Resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the Joint Resolution of December 7, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government, and to declare a state of peace. I have not felt at liberty to sign this joint resolution because I cannot bring myself to become party to an action which would place ineffaceable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States.

The resolution seeks to establish peace with the German Empire without exacting from the German Government any action by way of setting right the infinite wrongs which it did to the peoples whom it attacked and whom we professed it our purpose to assist when we entered the war. Have we sacrificed the lives of more than 100,000 Americans and ruined the lives of thousands of others and brought upon thousands of American families an unhappiness that can never end for purposes which we do not now care to state or take further steps to attain?

The attainment of these purposes is provided for in the Treaty of Versailles by terms deemed adequate by the leading statesmen and experts of all the great peoples who were associated in the war against Germany. Do we now not care to join in the effort to save them?

We entered the war most reluctantly. Our people were profoundly disinclined to take part in a European war, and at last did so only because they became convinced that it could not in truth be regarded as only a European war, but must be regarded as a war in which civilization itself was involved and human rights of every kind as against a belligerent Government. Moreover, when we entered the war we set forth very definitely the purposes for which we entered, partly because we did not wish to be considered as merely taking part in a European contest. This Joint Resolution which I return does not seek to accomplish any of these objects, but in effect makes a complete surrender of the rights of the United States so far as the German Government is concerned.

A treaty of peace was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth of June last which did seek to accomplish the objects which we had declared to be in our minds, because all the great Governments and peo-

ples which united against Germany had adopted our declarations of purpose as their own and had in solemn form embodied them in communications to the German Government preliminary to the armistice of November 11, 1918. But the treaty as signed at Versailles has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, though it has been ratified by Germany. By that rejection and by its method we have in effect declared that we wish to draw apart and pursue objects and interests of our own, unhampered by any connections of interest or of purpose with other Governments and peoples.

Notwithstanding the fact that upon our entrance into the war we professed to be seeking to assist in the maintenance of common interests, nothing is said in this resolution about the freedom of navigation upon the seas, or the reduction of armaments, or the vindication of the rights of Belgium, or the rectification of wrongs done to France, or the release of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire from the intolerable subjugation which they have had for so many generations to endure, or the establishment of an independent Polish State, or the continued maintenance of any kind of understanding among the great Powers of the world which would be calculated to prevent in the future such outrages as Germany attempted and in part consummated.

We have now, in effect, declared that we do not care to take any further risks or to assume any further responsibilities with regard to the freedom of nations or the sacredness of international obligations or the safety of independent peoples. Such a peace with Germany—a peace in which none of the essential interests which we had at heart when we entered the war is safeguarded—is, or ought to be, inconceivable; as inconsistent with the dignity of the United States, with the rights and liberties of her citizens, and with the very fundamental conditions of civilization.

I hope that in these statements I have sufficiently set forth the reasons why I have felt it incumbent upon me to withhold my signature.

WOODROW WILSON

[Bill Providing for a National Budget System. The House of Representatives refused to pass the bill over the veto. A substitute bill eliminating the section objectionable to the President passed the House on June 5, but was not taken up in the Senate before the adjournment of Congress.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 4, 1920.*

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning without my signature H. R. 9783, "An Act to provide a national budget system, an independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes." I do this with the greatest regret. I am in entire sympathy with the objects of this bill, and would gladly

approve it but for the fact that I regard one of the provisions contained in Section 303 as unconstitutional. This is the provision to the effect that the Comptroller General and the Assistant Comptroller General, who are to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, may be removed at any time by a concurrent resolution of Congress after notice and hearing, when in their judgment the Comptroller General or Assistant Comptroller General is incapacitated or inefficient, or has been guilty of neglect of duty, or of malfeasance in office, or of any felony or conduct involving moral turpitude, and for no other cause and in no other manner except by impeachment. The effect of this is to prevent the removal of these officers for any cause except either by impeachment or a concurrent resolution of Congress. It has, I think, always been the accepted construction of the Constitution that the power to appoint officers of this kind carries with it, as an incident, the power to remove. I am convinced that the Congress is without constitutional powers to limit the appointing power and its incident, the power of removal derived from the Constitution.

The section referred to not only forbids the Executive to remove these officers, but undertakes to empower the Congress, by a concurrent resolution, to remove an officer appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

I can find in the Constitution no warrant for the exercise of this power by the Congress. There is certainly no expressed authority conferred, and I am unable to see that authority for the exercise of this power is implied in any express grant of power. On the contrary I think its exercise is clearly negatived by Section 2 of Article II. That section, after providing that certain enumerated officers, and all officers whose appointments are not otherwise provided for, shall be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, provides that Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

It would have been within the constitutional power of the Congress, in creating these offices, to have vested the power of appointment in the President alone, in the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, or even in the head of a department. Regarding as I do the power of removal from office as an essential incident to the appointing power, I cannot escape the conclusion that the vesting of this power of removal in the Congress is unconstitutional and therefore I am unable to approve the bill.

I am returning the bill at the earliest possible moment with the hope that the Congress may find time before adjournment to remedy this defect.

WOODROW WILSON

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Asking Permission to Assume Mandate for Armenia Under the League of Nations. Congress did not adopt the President's suggestion.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 24, 1920.*

Gentlemen of the Congress: On the 14th of May an official communication was received at the executive office from the secretary of the Senate of the United States conveying the following preambles and resolutions:

Whereas, The testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered; and

Whereas, The people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and

Whereas, the independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference and by the government of the United States of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia, on the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that stable government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it further

Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the port of Batum and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku, the President is hereby requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to cause a United States warship and a force of marines to be dispatched to such port with instructions to such marines to disembark and to protect American lives and property.

I received and read this document with great interest and with genuine gratification, not only because it embodied my own convictions and feelings with regard to Armenia and its people, but also, and more particularly, because it seemed to me the voice of the American people expressing their genuine convictions and deep Christian sympathies and intimating the line of duty which seemed to them to lie clearly before us.

I cannot but regard it as providential and not as a mere casual coincidence that almost at the same time I received information that the conference of statesmen now sitting at San Remo for the purpose of working out the details of peace with the Central Powers which it was not feasible to work out in the conference at Paris had formally resolved to address a definite appeal to this government to accept a man-

date for Armenia. They were at pains to add that they did this, "not for the smallest desire to evade any obligations which they might be expected to undertake, but because the responsibilities which they are already obliged to bear in connection with the disposition of the former Ottoman Empire will strain their capacities to the uttermost, and because they believe that the appearance on the scene of a Power emancipated from the prepossessions of the Old World will inspire a wider confidence and afford a firmer guarantee for stability in the future than would the selection of any European Power."

Early in the conferences at Paris it was agreed that to those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be afforded. It was recognized that certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

It is in pursuance of this principle and with a desire of affording Armenia such advice and assistance that the statesmen conferring at San Remo have formally requested this government to assume the duties of mandatory in Armenia. I may add, for the information of the Congress, that at the same sitting it was resolved to request the President of the United States to undertake to arbitrate the difficult question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and it was agreed to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulation he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent state of Armenia. In pursuance of this action, it was resolved to embody in the treaty with Turkey, now under final consideration, a provision that "Turkey and Armenia and the other high contracting parties agree to refer to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent state of Armenia"; pending that decision the boundaries of Turkey and Armenia to remain as at present. I have thought it my duty to accept this difficult and delicate task.

In response to the invitation of the council at San Remo, I urgently advise and request that the Congress grant the Executive power to

accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia. I make this suggestion in the earnest belief that it will be the wish of the people of the United States that this should be done. The sympathy with Armenia has proceeded from no single portion of our people, but has come with extraordinary spontaneity and sincerity from the whole of the great body of Christian men and women in this country, by whose free-will offerings Armenia has practically been saved at the most critical juncture of its existence. At their hearts this great and generous people have made the cause of Armenia their own.

It is to this people and to their government that the hopes and earnest expectations of the struggling people of Armenia turn as they now emerge from a period of indescribable suffering and peril, and I hope that the Congress will think it wise to meet this hope and expectation with the utmost liberality. I know from unmistakable evidence given by responsible representatives of many peoples struggling toward independence and peaceful life again that the government of the United States is looked to with extraordinary trust and confidence, and I believe that it would do nothing less than arrest the hopeful processes of civilization if we were to refuse the request to become the helpful friends and advisers of such of these people as we may be authoritatively and formally requested to guide and assist.

I am conscious that I am urging upon the Congress a very critical choice, but I make the suggestion in the confidence that I am speaking in the spirit and in accordance with the wishes of the greatest of the Christian peoples. The sympathy for Armenia among our people has sprung from untainted consciences, pure Christian faith and an earnest desire to see Christian people everywhere succored in their time of suffering and lifted from their abject subjection and distress and enabled to stand upon their feet and take their place among the free nations of the world.

Our recognition of the independence of Armenia will mean genuine liberty and assured happiness for her people if we fearlessly undertake the duties of guidance and assistance involved in the functions of a mandatory. It is, therefore, with the most earnest hopefulness and with the feeling that I am giving advice from which the Congress will not willingly turn away that I urge the acceptance of the invitation now formally and solemnly extended to us by the council at San Remo, into whose hands has passed the difficult task of composing the many complexities and difficulties of government in the one-time Ottoman Empire and the maintenance of order and tolerable conditions of life in those portions of that empire which it is no longer possible in the interest of civilization to leave under the government of the Turkish authorities themselves.

WOODROW WILSON

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Appointment of Commission to Arbitrate Wage Differences Between the Anthracite Coal Operators and Miners.]

Whereas, the wage scale of the anthracite coal operators and miners expired on March 31, 1920; and

Whereas, the operators' and miners' wage scale committee has been in conference since early in March in an effort to negotiate a new wage scale; and

Whereas, the committee agreed at the beginning of its sessions that any agreement finally arrived at would become retroactive to the first of April, 1920; and

Whereas, I addressed a communication to the scale committee on May 21, 1920, when a disagreement was imminent, in which I said that if the scale committee was unable to reach an agreement I would "insist that the matters in dispute be submitted to the determination of a commission to be appointed by me, the award of the commission to be retroactive to the first of April in accordance with the arrangement you have already entered into, and that work be continued at the mines pending the decision of the commission. I shall hold myself in readiness to appoint a commission similarly constituted to the one I recently appointed in connection with the bituminous coal mining industry as soon as I learn that both sides have signified their willingness to continue at work and abide by its decisions"; and

Whereas, I have been advised that both sides have signified their willingness to accept and abide by the award of a commission thus constituted; and

Whereas, the scale committee has further agreed as follows:

(1) The terms and provisions of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission and subsequent agreements made in modifications thereof or supplemental thereto, as well as the rulings and decisions of the Board of Conciliation, will be ratified and continued, excepting insofar as they may be changed by the award of the commission.

(2) When the award of the commission is made it will be written into an agreement between the anthracite operators and miners in such manner as the commission may determine.

(3) It is understood that neither operators nor miners are in any manner bound by any tentative suggestions that have been made during the period of their negotiations and that either side shall use its own discretion in the presentation of its case in connection with matters at issue;

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, hereby appoint William O. Thompson, of Columbus, Ohio, Neal J. Ferry of McAdoo, Pennsylvania, and William L. Connell, of



Photo by International Film Service

AN ABANDONED "TANK"

AN ABANDONED "TANK."

The caterpillar tractor, or "tank," shown in the foreground has been rendered "hors de combat" and has been abandoned in a trench. On the tank may be seen the variegated paint designs (camouflage) used for the purpose of confusing the enemy as to the exact outlines of the machine and the exact direction in which it is moving. The illustration gives an excellent idea of the appearance of a trench after it has been mercilessly pounded by fire and of the transformation of the once fair lands of northern France and Belgium into a desert by the mutilations of modern war. At the extreme right may be discerned the body of one who made the supreme sacrifice and in the background other tanks are advancing upon the enemy.

Scranton, Pennsylvania, a Commission to hear and decide the questions in dispute between the anthracite coal operators and miners. Its report will be made within sixty days if possible, will be retroactive to April 1, 1920, and will be made the basis of a new wage agreement between the anthracite operators and miners in such manner as the Commission may determine.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this 3rd day of June, in the year of our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Twenty, and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Forty-fourth. WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State*

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Reduction of Capital Stock of United States Grain Corporation.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 26, 1920.*

I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, pursuant to an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide further for the National Security and Defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10, 1917, and an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to enable the President to carry out the price guarantees made to producers of wheat of the crops of 1918 and 1919 and to protect the United States against undue enhancement of its liabilities thereunder," approved March 4, 1919, and by virtue of authority vested in me by said Acts of Congress and each of them, as well as by virtue of any and all other Acts of Congress conferring authority upon me in the premises, do hereby authorize, order and direct:

That the United States Grain Corporation reduce its outstanding capital stock from Five Hundred Million Dollars to One Hundred and Fifty Million Dollars, and decrease its authorized capital stock accordingly, and that Julius H. Barnes, United States Wheat Director, be and he hereby is authorized, ordered and directed (1) to cause said reduction and decrease of capital stock to be made, and to vote or cause to be voted all shares of stock of said corporation held by or in the name of the United States of America in favor thereof, and (2) to surrender to said corporation for cancellation Three Million Five Hundred Thousand shares of stock of said corporation, of the par value of One Hundred Dollars (\$100) each, held by the United States, upon receiving from said corporation the sum of Three Hundred and Fifty

Million Dollars, for account of the United States, in full payment and liquidation of said stock so surrendered for cancellation, and (3) to pay and cover, or cause to be paid and covered, into the Treasury of the United States, as miscellaneous receipts, said Three Hundred and Fifty Million Dollars, and (4) to do any and all other things necessary or appropriate in the premises.

WOODROW WILSON

[Authorizing the Departure of Hostile and Enemy Aliens Without Permits.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 27, 1920.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by "An Act to Prevent in Time of War Departure From and Entry Into the United States Contrary to the Public Safety," approved May 22, 1918, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, hereby amend Executive Order of August 8, 1918, "Governing the Issuance of Passports and the Granting of Permits to Depart From and Enter the United States," by the following provisions:

1. Hereafter, persons who by any statute or proclamation may be defined as hostile or enemy aliens, and who desire to depart from any port of the United States for any destination, shall not, unless the Secretary of State so orders, be required to obtain a permit of this Government prior to such departure. Such persons will be permitted to depart upon presentation of passports issued, renewed or visaed by representatives of their respective Governments within one year prior to the proposed date of departure, accompanied by certificates of compliance with the income tax law.

2. No passports or permits to depart from or enter the United States shall be required of persons traveling between points in the continental United States and points in Newfoundland, St. Pierre and Miquelon Islands; provided that the above exception has no application to persons traveling *en route* through the countries named to or from the United States.

WOODROW WILSON

ANNOUNCEMENT BY STATE DEPARTMENT

[Lifting of Blockade on Soviet Russia. Made Public July 7, 1920.]

The restrictions which have heretofore stood in the way of trade and communication with Soviet Russia were today removed by action of the Department of State. Such of these restrictions, however, as pertain to the shipment of materials susceptible of immediate use for war purposes will, for the present at least, be maintained.

Political recognition, present or future, of any Russian authority exercising or claiming to exercise governmental functions is neither granted nor implied by this action. It should be emphasized, more-

over, that individuals or corporations availing themselves of the present opportunity to trade with Russia will do so on their own responsibility and at their own risk. The assistance which the United States can normally extend to its citizens who engage in trade or travel in some foreign country whose Government is recognized by the United States cannot be looked for in the present case, since there is no official or representative Russian authority with which this Government can maintain those relations usually subsisting between nations.

The action which the United States is now taking in nowise constitutes a recognition of the validity of industrial or commercial commissions granted by any existing Russian authority. American citizens availing themselves of the present relaxation of restrictions are warned against the risks incident to the acceptance of commodities or other values the title to which may later be brought into question.

The situation which prevails relative to travel from or to Russia will be unaffected by the removal of trade restrictions. Passports for Russia cannot be issued, nor will any change be made in the visé ruling now in force.

Since it is not desirable at this time to undertake negotiations with the Soviet postal authorities, the Post Office department will be unable to accept mail from or to Soviet Russia. There has never been any parcel post convention between the United States and Russia and this mode of forwarding goods is, therefore, unavailable.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Opening of the Panama Canal.]

Whereas, Section 4 of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act To provide for the opening, maintenance, protection and operation of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone," approved August 24, 1912, (37 Stat. L. 561) and known as the Panama Canal Act, provides that upon the completion of the Panama Canal the President shall cause it to be officially and formally opened for use and operation; and

Whereas, the Canal is completed, and is open for commerce;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority of the Panama Canal Act, do hereby declare and proclaim the official and formal opening of the Panama Canal for use and operation in conformity with the laws of the United States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this 12th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty, and [SEAL] of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Forty-fifth. WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

NORMAN H. DAVIS, *Acting Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Wages of Seamen.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 21, 1920.*

Paragraphs 230, 236, and 237 of the Consular Regulations are hereby amended to read as follows:

230. *Payment of Wages at Ports.* Every seaman on a vessel of the United States shall be entitled to receive on demand from the master of the vessel to which he belongs one-half part of balance of his wages earned and remaining unpaid at the time when such demand is made at every port where such vessel, after the voyage has been commenced, shall load or deliver cargo before the voyage is ended, and all stipulations in the contract to the contrary shall be void: *Provided*, Such a demand shall not be made before the expiration of, nor oftener than once in, five days nor more than once in the same harbor on the same entry. Any failure on the part of the master to comply with this demand shall release the seaman from his contract and he shall be entitled to full payment of wages earned. And when the voyage is ended every such seaman shall be entitled to the remainder of the wages which shall be then due him, as provided in section 4529 of the Revised Statutes. R. S., sec. 4530, as amended by section 31 of the Act of June 5, 1920.

236. *No Advance Wages.* It shall be, and is hereby, made unlawful in any case to pay any seaman wages in advance of the time when he has actually earned the same, or to pay such advance wages, or to make any order, or note, or other evidence of indebtedness therefor to any other person, or to pay any person, for the shipment of seamen when payment is deducted or to be deducted from a seaman's wages. Any person violating any of the foregoing provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, and may also be imprisoned for a period of not exceeding six months, at the discretion of the court. The payment of such advance wages or allotment, whether made within or without the United States or territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, shall in no case except as herein provided absolve the vessel or the master or the owner thereof from the full payment of wages after the same shall have been actually earned, and shall be no defense to a libel suit or action for the recovery of such wages. If any person shall demand or receive, either directly or indirectly, from any seaman or other person seeking employment, as seaman, or from any person on his behalf, any remuneration whatever for providing him with employment, he shall for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be imprisoned not more than six months or fined not more than \$500. Section 32 of the Act approved June 5, 1920.

237. *Advance to Seamen Shipped in Foreign Ports.* The provision of the statute prohibiting the payment of advance wages to seamen is intended to apply to seamen shipped in foreign ports as well as to seamen shipped in ports of the United States. Section 32 of the Act approved June 5, 1920.

WOODROW WILSON

ADDRESS TO FELLOW COUNTRYMEN

[Tercentenary of Landing of Pilgrims at Plymouth.]

My Fellow Countrymen:

December 21 next will mark the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620. The day will be becomingly celebrated at Plymouth under the auspices of the Plymouth Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission and at other localities in Massachusetts. While this is proper and praiseworthy, it seems to me that the influences which the ideals and principles of the Pilgrims with respect to civil liberty and human rights have had upon the formation and growth of our institutions and upon our development and progress as a nation merit more than a local expression of our obligation, and make fitting a nationwide observance of the day.

I, therefore, suggest and request that the 21st of December next be observed throughout the Union with special patriotic services, in order that the great events in American history that have resulted from the landing of these hardy and courageous navigators and colonists may be accentuated to the present generation of American citizens. Especially do I recommend that the day be fittingly observed in the universities, colleges and schools of our country, to the end that salutary and patriotic lessons may be drawn from the fortitude and perseverance and the ideals of this little band of church-men and -women who established on this continent the first self-determined government based on the great principle of just law and its equal application to all, and thus planted the seeds from which has sprung the mighty nation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty, [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America, the One Hundred and Forty-fifth. WOODROW WILSON

NOTE OF STATE DEPARTMENT ON POLISH SITUATION

[Addressed to the Italian Ambassador to the United States, in reply to his inquiry as to the position of the United States regarding the Russo-Polish situation. Poland, against the advice of Great Britain and Italy, but with the encouragement of France, had invaded Soviet Russia, driving troops several

hundred miles east of the tentative eastern boundary of Poland as set by the Allies after the World War. The Bolshevist armies, however, had completely defeated the Polish invaders, driven them in disorder back to Poland, and at this time were approaching Warsaw, the Polish capital. Poland managed, with help from France and some of the other Allies, to defeat the Bolshevist armies in Poland, expelling them from Polish territory, and saving Warsaw.

Láter, the United States Government urged Poland not again to dispatch her troops beyond the ethnological frontier, but Poland, supported by France, declined to adopt the United States's suggestion. In order that the situation be fully understood, it must be added that Great Britain and Italy were in favor of reaching an understanding with the Bolshevist Government of Russia,* a course of action to which France and the United States were opposed.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, August 10, 1920.

Excellency:

The agreeable intimation, which you have conveyed to the State Department, that the Italian Government would welcome a statement of the views of this Government on the situation presented by the Russian advance into Poland deserves a prompt response, and I will attempt without delay a definition of this Government's position, not only as to the situation arising from Russian military pressure upon Poland, but also as to certain cognate and inseparable phases of the Russian question viewed more broadly.

This Government believes in a united, free and autonomous Polish State, and the people of the United States are earnestly solicitous for the maintenance of Poland's political independence and territorial integrity. From this attitude we will not depart, and the policy of this Government will be directed to the employment of all available means to render it effectual. The Government therefore takes no exception to the effort apparently being made in some quarters to arrange an armistice between Poland and Russia, but it would not, at least for the present, participate in any plan for the expansion of the armistice negotiations into a general European conference, which would in all probability involve two results, from both of which this country strongly recoils, viz.: The recognition of the Bolshevist regime and a settlement of the Russian problem almost inevitably upon the basis of a dismemberment of Russia.

From the beginning of the Russian Revolution, in March, 1917, to the present moment, the Government and the people of the United States have followed its development with friendly solicitude and with profound sympathy for the efforts of the Russian people to reconstruct their national life upon the broad basis of popular self-government. The Government of the United States, reflecting the spirit of its people, has at all times desired to help the Russian people. In that spirit all

its relations with Russia and with other nations in matters affecting the latter's interest have been conceived and governed. The Government of the United States was the first Government to acknowledge the validity of the revolution and to give recognition to the Provisional Government of Russia. Almost immediately thereafter it became necessary for the United States to enter the war against Germany, and in that undertaking to become closely associated with the Allied nations, including, of course, Russia. The war weariness of the masses of the Russian people was fully known to this Government and sympathetically comprehended. Prudence, self-interest and loyalty to our associates made it desirable that we should give moral and material support to the Provisional Government, which was struggling to accomplish a two-fold task—to carry on the war with vigor and, at the same time, to reorganize the life of the nation and establish a stable government based on popular sovereignty.

Quite independent of these motives, however, was the sincere friendship of the Government and the people of the United States for the great Russian nation. The friendship manifested by Russia toward this nation in a time of trial and distress has left with us an imperishable sense of gratitude. It was as a grateful friend that we sent to Russia an expert commission to aid in bringing about such a reorganization of the railroad transportation system of the country as would reinvigorate the whole of its economic life and so add to the well-being of the Russian people. While deeply regretting the withdrawal of Russia from the war at a critical time, and the disastrous surrender at Brest-Litovsk, the United States has fully understood that the people of Russia were in no wise responsible.

The United States maintains unimpaired its faith in the Russian people, in their high character and their future. That they will overcome the existing anarchy, suffering and destitution we do not entertain the slightest doubt. The distressing character of Russia's transition has many historical parallels, and the United States is confident that restored, free and united Russia will again take a leading place in the world, joining with the other free nations in upholding peace and orderly justice. Until that time shall arrive the United States feels that friendship and honor require that Russia's interests must be generously protected, and that, as far as possible, all decisions of vital importance to it, and especially those concerning its sovereignty over the territory of the former Russian Empire, be held in abeyance. By this feeling of friendship and honorable obligation to the great nation whose brave and heroic self-sacrifice contributed so much to the successful termination of the war, the Government of the United States was guided in its reply to the Lithuanian National Council, on October 15, 1919, and in its persistent refusal to recognize the Baltic States as separate nations

independent of Russia. The same spirit was manifested in the note of this Government of March 24, 1920, in which it was stated, with reference to certain proposed settlements in the Near East, that "no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia." In line with these important declarations of policy, the United States withheld its approval from the decision of the Supreme Council at Paris recognizing the independence of the so-called Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, and so instructed its representative in Southern Russia, Rear Admiral Newton A. McCully.

Finally, while gladly giving recognition to the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's co-operation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new State of Armenia, when it shall be defined, formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the goodwill and the protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free.

These illustrations show with what consistency the Government of the United States has been guided in its foreign policy by a loyal friendship for Russia. We are unwilling that, while it is helpless in the grip of a non-representative Government, whose only sanction is brutal force, Russia shall be weakened still further by a policy of dismemberment, conceived in other than Russian interests. With the desire of the Allied Powers to bring about a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties in Europe this Government is, of course, in hearty accord, and will support any justifiable steps to that end. It is unable to perceive, however, that a recognition of the Soviet regime would promote, much less accomplish, this object, and it is therefore averse to any dealings with the Soviet regime beyond the most narrow boundaries to which a discussion of an armistice can be confined.

That the present rulers of Russia do not rule by the will or the consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people is an incontestable fact. Although nearly two and a half years have passed since they seized the machinery of government, promising to protect the Constituent Assembly against alleged conspiracies against it, they have not yet permitted anything in the nature of a popular election. At the moment when the work of creating a popular representative government, based upon universal suffrage, was nearing completion, the Bolsheviki, although in number an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of Government, and have continued to use them with savage oppression to maintain themselves in power. Without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people, or to suggest what kind of government they should

have, the Government of the United States does express the hope that they will soon find a way to set up a government representing their free will and purpose. When that time comes the United States will consider the measures of practical assistance which can be taken to promote the restoration of Russia, provided Russia has not taken itself wholly out of the pale of the friendly interest of other nations by the pillage and oppression of the Poles.

It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a Government with which the relations common to friendly Governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts. These facts, which none dispute, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law—the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals. The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign Powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into, they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshevist government can have any moral force for them. They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice.

Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this Power, and its official agencies, have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries. It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give "assurance" and "guarantees" that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purpose. In view of their own declarations, already referred to, such assurances and guarantees cannot be very seriously regarded.

Moreover, it is within the knowledge of the Government of the United States that the Bolshevist Government is itself subject to the control

of a political faction with extensive international ramifications through the Third Internationale, and that this body, which is heavily subsidized by the Bolshevist Government from the public revenues of Russia, has for its openly avowed aim the promotion of Bolshevist revolutions throughout the world. The leaders of the Bolsheviki have boasted that their promises of non-interference with other nations would in no wise bind the agents of this body. There is no room for reasonable doubt that such agents would receive the support and protection of any diplomatic agencies the Bolsheviki might have in other countries. Inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevist Government would become a channel for intrigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened Governments cannot subject themselves.

In the view of this Government, there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a Power whose conceptions of international relations are so entirely alien to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them.

To summarize the position of this Government, I would say, therefore, in response to your Excellency's inquiry, that it would regard with satisfaction a declaration by the Allied and associated Powers that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected. These boundaries should properly include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland, and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian State. The aspirations of these nations for independence are legitimate. Each was forcibly annexed, and their liberation from oppressive alien rule involves no aggressions against Russia's territorial rights, and has received the sanction of the public opinion of all free peoples. Such a declaration pre-supposes the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory embraced by these boundaries, and in the opinion of this Government should be accompanied by the announcement that no transgression by Poland, Finland, or any other Power of the line so drawn and proclaimed will be permitted.

Thus only can the Bolshevist regime be deprived of its false but effective appeal to Russian nationalism and compelled to meet the inevitable challenge of reason and self-respect which the Russian people,

secure from invasion and territorial violation, are sure to address to a social philosophy that degrades them and a tyranny that oppresses them.

The policy herein outlined will command the support of this Government.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,

Secretary of State.

His Excellency, Baron Cammillo Romano Avezzana, Ambassador of Italy.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Liquidation of United States Grain Corporation.]

I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, pursuant to the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide further for the National Security and Defence by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel", approved August 10, 1917, and an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to enable the President to carry out the price guarantees made to producers of wheat of the crops of 1918 and 1919, and to protect the United States against undue enhancement of its liabilities thereunder", approved March 4, 1919, and by virtue of authority vested in me by said Acts of Congress and each of them, as well as by virtue of any and all other Acts of Congress conferring authority upon me in the premises, do hereby authorize, order and direct:

The United States Grain Corporation (a Government agency organized and conducted pursuant to Executive Orders and Proclamations of the President under said acts of Congress) shall pay and cover, or cause to be paid and covered, into the Treasury of the United States, as miscellaneous receipts, all amounts refunded by certain licensees of the United States Food Administration (a Government agency organized and conducted pursuant to Executive Orders and Proclamations of the President, under said Act of Congress approved August 10, 1917) in voluntary divestment of profits taken by said licensees during the ten months which ended June 30, 1918, in excess of the maximum allowable profits fixed and determined under and pursuant to said Act of Congress, approved August 10, 1917, and the Proclamations, Executive Orders, and Regulations thereunder, and transferred to or received by said United States Grain Corporation, and now held by it as custodian thereof, less such amounts as have been advanced by the United States Grain Corporation to the United States Food Administration on account of expenses connected with such refunds.

The resignation of Julius H. Barnes, as Chief of the Cereal Division of the United States Food Administration, is hereby accepted; and all Acts done or authorized by said Julius H. Barnes, Chief of the Cereal Division of the United States Food Administration and by the personnel and organization continued by him, pursuant to the Presidential Proclamation dated November 21, 1919, and all Acts done or authorized by said United States Food Administration or any division or branch or agency thereof under and pursuant to said Act approved August 10, 1917, and the Proclamations, Executive Orders and Regulations thereunder, are hereby approved, ratified and confirmed. The work of the said United States Food Administration having been completed to the public benefit and to my satisfaction, said United States Food Administration, and all remaining divisions and branches thereof, are hereby terminated and abolished. All records and accounts of the Cereal Enforcement Division of said United States Food Administration, and all mail directed to it, in so far as said records, accounts and mail pertain to profits divested and refunded as aforesaid, and paid and covered into the Treasury of the United States in accordance with the foregoing provisions of this Executive Order, shall be transferred and delivered to, and shall be preserved in the custody of, the Treasury Department of the United States; and all other records and property of said United States Food Administration, and all other mail directed to it, shall be transferred and delivered to, and shall be preserved by, said United States Grain Corporation, as custodian thereof, until further order of the President; provided, however, that this Executive Order shall in no way affect licenses heretofore required for the importation, manufacture, storage or distribution of sugar, or general or special regulations governing sugar licensees, and that this Executive Order shall in no way affect the rights, powers and authority transferred to the Attorney General of the United States by Presidential Proclamation dated November 21, 1919.

The United States Wheat Director (designated and appointed by Executive Order, dated May 14, 1919) having fully complied with and performed all duties and obligations imposed by said Acts of Congress, and the Proclamations and Executive Orders of the President thereunder, the resignations of said Julius H. Barnes, as said United States Wheat Director, and as president and director, of said United States Grain Corporation, are hereby accepted, and the executive administration and office created by said Executive Order of May 14, 1919, is hereby terminated and abolished; and all Acts done or authorized by said Julius H. Barnes, as United States Wheat Director, as proxy of the United States of America in voting its stock at stockholders meetings of said United States Grain Corporation, and as President and as a director of said United States Grain Corporation, and all Acts done

or authorized by said executive administration, and by said United States Grain Corporation, under and pursuant to said Acts of Congress, and the Proclamations, Executive Orders and Regulations thereunder, are hereby approved, ratified and confirmed. All records and property of said United States Wheat Director, and all correspondence directed to him, shall be transferred and delivered to, and shall be preserved by, the said United States Grain Corporation, as custodian thereof, until further order of the President.

Said United States Grain Corporation, continuing to act as a governmental agency for this purpose only, and acting through its officers and agents, and in accordance with law, shall proceed as rapidly as may be reasonably possible to discharge all its remaining obligations and to wind up and liquidate all its remaining business, property and affairs, and dissolve in accordance with the laws of Delaware, under which it was incorporated pursuant to the Executive Order of August 14, 1917. To that end, proper action shall be taken to reduce the Board of Directors of said United States Grain Corporation from seven to three; and I further authorize and direct that Edwin P. Shattuck, the first vice president and general counsel of said United States Grain Corporation, shall hereafter act as a director and as president of said United States Grain Corporation; that the other directors and executive officers of said Corporation shall be selected by said Edwin P. Shattuck with the approval of the President; and that the capital stock of said United States Grain Corporation shall be held and voted or cause to be voted by said Edwin P. Shattuck, as president thereof, in the name, and for the use and benefit, of the United States, as herein or as may be hereinafter from time to time directed by the President. Upon final winding up, liquidation and dissolution as aforesaid, all of said capital stock shall be surrendered for retirement and cancellation, upon receiving, for account of the United States, and in full payment and liquidation of said stock when surrendered for cancellation, all assets and property of said United States Grain Corporation (other than its records and containers therefor, to be disposed of as hereafter provided) remaining after winding up, liquidation and dissolution as aforesaid. All such assets and property, when received, shall be paid and covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts; and said United States Grain Corporation, and its officers, directors and agents, and said Edwin P. Shattuck as holder and voter of said stock as aforesaid, are hereby further authorized and directed to reduce said capital stock as they deem best from time to time and to do and perform any and all other acts and things necessary or appropriate in the premises.

I further direct that all departments and established agencies of the Government co-operate with the United States Grain Corporation, its officers and agents, in the performance of its and their duties, as herein-

after set forth, and to give the United States Grain Corporation and its officers and agents such support and assistance as may be requisite or expedient to enable it and them to perform said duties and avoid duplication of effort and expenditure of funds.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this 21st day of August in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty, [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America, the One Hundred and Forty-fifth. WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State.*

PROCLAMATION

[Certifying Ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.]

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State of the United States of America.*

To all to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greetings:

Know ye, That the Congress of the United States at the first session, Sixty-Sixth Congress, begun at Washington on the nineteenth day of May, in the year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen, passed a resolution as follows:

To-wit:

Joint resolution.

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

ARTICLE—

“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

“Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in the Department of State that the amendment of the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legisla-

tures of the States of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony, whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State.

STATEMENT BY STATE DEPARTMENT

[Announcing President Wilson's Refusal to Carry Out the Section of the Jones Merchant Marine Act of June 5, 1920, directing him to terminate treaty provisions restricting the Government's right to impose discriminatory tonnage dues and tariff duties.]

September 24, 1920.

The Department of State has been informed by the President that he does not deem the direction contained in Section 34 of the so-called Merchant Marine Act an exercise of any Constitutional power possessed by the Congress.

Under the provisions of the section referred to, the President was directed within ninety days after the Act became law to notify the several governments with whom the United States had entered into commercial treaties that this country elected to terminate so much of said treaties as restricted the right of the United States to impose discriminating customs duties on imports and discriminatory tonnage dues, according as the carrier vessels were domestic or foreign, quite regardless of the fact that these restrictions are mutual, operating equally upon the other governments which are parties to the treaties, and quite regardless also of the further fact that the treaties contain no provisions for their termination in the manner contemplated by Congress.

The President, therefore, considers it misleading to speak of the "termination" of the restrictive clauses of such treaties. The action sought to be imposed upon the Executive would amount to nothing less than the breach or violation of said treaties, which are thirty-two in number and cover every point of contact and mutual dependence which constitute the modern relations between friendly States. Such a course would be wholly irreconcilable with the historical respect which the United States has shown for its international engagements and would falsify every profession of our belief in the binding force and the reciprocal obligation of treaties in general.

The section of the Jones Act to which President Wilson thus took exception was as follows:

That in the judgment of Congress, articles and provisions in treaties or conventions to which the United States is a party which restrict the right of the United States to impose discriminating customs duties on imports entering the United States in foreign vessels and in vessels of the United States, and which also restrict the right of the United States to impose discriminatory tonnage dues on foreign vessels, and on vessels of the United States entering the United States, should be terminated, and the President is hereby authorized and directed within ninety days after this act becomes law to give notice to the several Governments respectively parties to such treaties or conventions that so much thereof as imposes any restriction on the United States will terminate on the expiration of such period as may be required for the giving of such notice by the provision of such treaties or conventions.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Fire Prevention Day—1920.]

Whereas, the destruction by fires in the United States involves an annual loss of life of 15,000 men, women and children, and over \$250,000,000 in buildings, foodstuffs and other created resources, and

Whereas, the need of the civilized world for American products to replace the ravages of the Great War is especially great at this time, and

Whereas, the present serious shortage of home and business structures makes the daily destruction of buildings by fire an especially serious matter, and

Whereas, a large percentage of the fires causing the annual American fire waste may be easily prevented by increased care and vigilance on the part of citizens:

Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, do urge upon the Governors of the various States to designate and set apart Saturday, October 9, 1920, as Fire Prevention Day, and to request the citizens of their States to plan for that day such instructive

and educational exercises as shall bring before the people the serious and unhappy effects of the present unnecessary fire waste, and the need of their individual and collective efforts in conserving the natural and created resources of America.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and [SEAL.] Twenty and of the Independence of the United States, the One Hundred and Forty-fifth. WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Retention of Hoboken Piers.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 2, 1920.*

Whereas, under the provisions of Section 17 of the Act approved June 5, 1920, entitled "An Act to provide for the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine, etc.," the Shipping Board "is authorized and directed to take over on January 1, 1921, the possession and control of, and to maintain and develop, all docks, piers, warehouses, wharves and terminal equipment and facilities, including all leasehold easements, rights of way, riparian rights and other rights, estates and interests therein or appurtenant thereto, acquired by the President by or under the Act entitled 'An Act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, etc.'"; and

Whereas, by a further provision of said Section 17, "the President may at any time he deems it necessary, by order setting out the need therefor and fixing the period of such need, permit or transfer the possession and control of any part of the property taken over by or transferred to the Shipping Board under this section to the War Department or the Navy Department for their needs"; and

Whereas, the piers known as the Hoboken piers, formerly the property of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American Steamship Companies and of the Hoboken Shore Railroad, were acquired by the President under the Act referred to in paragraph 1 of Section 17 of the Act of June 5, 1920, hereinbefore recited, and are therefore subject to the provisions of said Section 17; and

Whereas, the War Department has heretofore leased pier No. 1, with bulkhead and yard space opposite, of said property to the Panama Railroad Steamship Line for a period of five years, which said Panama Railroad Steamship Line is the property of the Government of the

United States, performing an indispensable service in connection with the maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal, and incidentally furthering the commercial service between the United States and certain Caribbean, Central and South American ports, and is using said pier intensively and efficiently; and

Whereas, piers 4, 5, 6 and 11, being parts of said property, are necessary to be retained in the possession and control of the War Department for use in connection with the overseas transport service now carrying men and supplies to and from Antwerp for the American Army of Occupation at Coblenz; now

Therefore, I do hereby determine that it is necessary that the War Department retain of such property piers 1, 4, 5, 6 and 11, together with the bulkhead opposite the slip between piers 3 and 4, and opposite piers 1, 4, 5 and 6; also the second floor of the bulkhead opposite the slip between piers 3 and 4 and opposite pier 4; also the offices on the third floor of the bulkhead opposite piers 1, 2 and 3; and the yard space opposite piers 1, 4, 5 and 6; and do order and direct that the said War Department do retain all of such property so described, and fix the period of retention as to pier 1, with bulkhead and yard space opposite, as the period of the existing lease of five years made between the War Department and the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, and as the period of retention of the other property herein directed and ordered to be retained a period of two years, unless in the opinion of the President the need of the War Department therefor, or for any part thereof, shall in the meantime cease, in which case, by an order subsequent hereto, the President declaring the cessation of such need shall cause possession and control of such property or part thereof to revert to the Shipping Board.

WOODROW WILSON

[Ordering Flags at Half-Mast in Memory of American Dead in World War.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 8, 1920.*

I hereby direct that on Sunday, November 14, 1920, the flag of the United States be displayed at half-mast at all military posts, naval stations, on vessels, and on buildings of the United States, as a token of the Nation's participation in the memorial services held for the heroic American soldiers, sailors, marines and others who gave their lives to their country in the World War. WOODROW WILSON

[Competitive Examinations for Postmasterships.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 8, 1920.*

The Executive Order of March 31, 1917, relating to post offices of the first, second, and third classes, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Hereafter when a vacancy occurs in the position of postmaster of any office of the first, second, or third class as the result of death, resignation, removal, or, on the recommendation of the First Assistant Postmaster General, approved by the Postmaster General, to the effect that the efficiency or need of the service requires* that a change shall be made, *if such vacancy is not filled by nomination of some person within the competitive classified civil service who has the required qualifications, then* the Postmaster General shall certify the fact to the Civil Service Commission, which shall forthwith hold an open competitive examination to test the fitness of applicants to fill such vacancy, and when such examination has been held and the papers in connection therewith have been rated the said Commission shall certify the result thereof to the Postmaster General, who shall submit to the President the name of the highest qualified eligible for appointment to fill such vacancy unless it is established that the character or residence of such applicant disqualifies him for appointment. No person who has passed his sixty-fifth birthday *or who has not actually resided within the delivery of such office for two years next preceding such vacancy* shall be given the examination herein provided for."

WOODROW WILSON

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PROCLAMATIONS

[Canceling Licenses of Dealers in Sugar and Sugar By-Products.]

Whereas, under and by virtue of an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel", approved by the President on the 10th day of August, 1917, it is provided among other things as follows:

[Here follow the paragraphs quoted on pages 8352 and 8353.]

And whereas, by virtue of the above provisions certain public announcements were made by the President from time to time, as a result of which the importation, manufacture, storage and distribution of certain necessities were licensed.

And whereas, a changed situation has been brought about by the present armistice in the war between the United States and Germany, and by the approaching expiration of the powers granted to the President by an act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide for the national welfare by continuing the United States Sugar Equalization Board until December 31, 1920, and for other purposes", approved by the President on the 31st day of December, 1919.

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the powers conferred upon me by said Act of Congress, hereby find and determine and by this Proclamation do announce that it is no longer essential in order to carry into effect the purposes of the Act that the importation, manufacture, storage or distribution of certain necessities be subject to license, to the extent hereinafter specified.

Licenses heretofore required for the importation, manufacture, storage or distribution of certain necessities are hereby cancelled, effective November 15, 1920, with respect to the following:

All persons, firms, corporations or associations engaged in the business of importing, manufacturing, storing or distributing sugar, or any product or by-product of the foregoing named necessary.

All regulations issued under the said Act covering licensees so dealing in these commodities are hereby canceled, effective November 15, 1920.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this 30th day of October, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty, [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Forty-fifth.

WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

NORMAN H. DAVIS, *Acting Secretary of State.*

[Thanksgiving—1920.]

The season again approaches when it behooves us to turn from the distractions and preoccupations of our daily life, that we may contemplate the mercies which have been vouchsafed to us, and render heartfelt and unfeigned thanks unto God for His manifold goodness.

This is an old observance of the American people, deeply imbedded in our thought and habit. The burdens and the stresses of life have their own insistence.

We have abundant cause for thanksgiving. The lesions of the war are rapidly healing. The great army of freemen which America sent to the defense of Liberty, returning to the grateful embrace of the nation, has resumed the useful pursuits of peace, as simply and as promptly as it rushed to arms in obedience to the country's call. The equal justice of our laws has received steady vindication in the support of a law-abiding people against various and sinister attacks, which have reflected only the baser agitations of war, now happily passing.

In plenty, security and peace, our virtuous and self-reliant people face the future, its duties and its opportunities. May we have vision to

discern our duties; the strength, both of hand and resolve, to discharge them; and the soundness of heart to realize that the truest opportunities are those of service.

In a spirit, then, of devotion and stewardship we should give thanks in our hearts, and dedicate ourselves to the service of God's merciful and loving purposes to His children.

Wherefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday, the twenty-fifth day of November next, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and I call upon my countrymen to cease from their ordinary tasks and avocations upon that day, giving it up to the remembrance of God and His blessings, and their dutiful and grateful acknowledgment.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this twelfth day of November, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred and [SEAL.] Twenty, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth. WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State.*

NOTE TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT

[Concerning the Principle, and Methods of Administering Mandatories, especially Mesopotamia, under the Treaty of Versailles. Made Public November 25, 1920.]

November 20, 1920.

My Lord: I have the honor to refer to your note of August 9, regarding the application of the principle of equality of treatment to the territories of the Near East to be placed under mandates, and specifically to the petroleum resources of those territories as affected by that principle.

Before considering the observations of His Majesty's Government on the general principles advocated by the United States and agreed to by the Allied Powers for application to the mandates over former Turkish territory, as outlined in the notes of May 12 and July 28, addressed to you on behalf of this Government, I think it will clarify the discussion to indicate certain of your statements and assurances which this Government has been pleased to receive. Thus, I note that the assignment to Great Britain of the mandate for Mesopotamia was made and accepted subject to no friendly arrangement whatever with any third Government regarding economic rights, which, of course, would have been wholly at variance with the purpose and contemplation of any mandate. It is also gratifying to learn that His Majesty's Government is in full sympathy with the several propositions formulated in the note of May 12, above referred to, which embody or illustrate the principles which this Government believes should be applied in the mandated regions, and which are essential to the practical realization of equality of treatment.

The statements of your note, to the effect that the British Government has refrained from exploiting the petroleum resources of the mandated territories

in question; that the operations referred to have been conducted for purely military purposes under the immediate supervision of the army authorities and at army expense; and that no private interests whatever are in any way involved, are accepted with a full sense of the good faith of the British Government. The Government of the United States notes that His Majesty's Government has found it necessary to suspend during the period of occupation the grant of facilities and opportunities to British as well as to other private interests to investigate the natural resources of the country, either for the purpose of acquiring new claims or strengthening old ones, and that there is no reason for assuming that the Administration either of Mesopotamia or of Palestine has at any time failed to carry out the assurances of His Majesty's Government.

This Government welcomes your pledges to the effect that the natural resources of Mesopotamia are to be secured to the people of Mesopotamia and to the future Arab State to be established in that region, and that it is the purpose of the British Government, fully alive to its obligation as a temporary occupant, not only to secure these resources to the Mesopotamian State, but also its absolute freedom of action in the control thereof, and in particular that it is far from the intention of the mandatory Power to establish any kind of monopoly or preferred position in its own interest. The Government of the United States appreciates, likewise, the concurrence with its view that the merits of all claims to rights alleged to have been acquired in the mandated territories before the outbreak of hostilities must be duly established before recognition of such claims will be accorded.

Adverting at this point to the views of His Majesty's Government regarding the nature of the responsibility of mandatory Powers under the League of Nations, I desire to call the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that while the draft mandate, Form A, was not adopted at Paris, it was the understanding of the American representative there present that the British Government entertained and had expressed convictions favorable to said form and that presumably its representatives would exercise their influence in conformity with those convictions. I need hardly refer again to the fact that the Government of the United States has consistently urged that it is of the utmost importance to the future peace of the world that alien territory transferred as a result of the war with the Central Powers should be held and administered in such a way as to assure equal treatment to the commerce and to the citizens of all nations. Indeed, it was in reliance upon an understanding to this effect, and expressly in contemplation thereof, that the United States was persuaded that the acquisition under mandate of certain enemy territory by the victorious Powers would be consistent with the best interests of the world.

It is assumed, accordingly, that your statements with reference to Mandate A, together with the statement that the draft mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine have been prepared with a view to secure equality of treatment for the commerce and citizens of all States which are members of the League of Nations, do not indicate a supposition on your part that the United States can be excluded from the benefits of the principle of equality of treatment.

This Government is pleased to find that His Majesty's Government is in full sympathy with the principles formulated in its communication of May 12 and July 28. But it is unable to concur in the view contained in paragraph 15 of your note, that the terms of the mandates can properly be discussed only in the Council of the League of Nations and by the signatories of the Covenant. Such powers as the Allied and associated nations may enjoy or wield, in the determination of the governmental status of the mandated areas, accrued to them

as a direct result of the war against the Central Powers. The United States, as a participant in that conflict and as a contributor to its successful issue, cannot consider any of the associated Powers, the smallest not less than itself, debarred from the discussion of any of its consequences or from participation in the rights and privileges secured under the mandates provided for in the Treaties of Peace.

This Government notes with interest your statement that the draft mandates for Mesopotamia and for Palestine, which have been prepared with a view to secure equality of treatment and opportunity for the commerce, citizens and subjects of all States which are members of the League of Nations will, when approved by the interested allied Powers, be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. The United States is undoubtedly one of the Powers directly interested in the terms of the mandates, and I therefore request that the draft mandate forms be communicated to this Government for its consideration before their submission to the Council of the League. It is believed that His Majesty's Government will be the more ready to acquiesce in this request in view of your assurance that His Majesty's Government is in full sympathy with the various principles contained in the two previous notes of this Government upon this subject.

The establishment of the mandate principle, a new principle in international relations, and one in which the public opinion of the world is taking a special interest, would seem to require the frankest discussion from all pertinent points of view. It would seem essential that suitable publicity should be given to the drafts of mandates which it is the intention to submit to the Council, in order that the fullest opportunity may be afforded to consider their terms in relation to the obligations assumed by the mandatory Power and the respective interests of all Governments which are or deem themselves concerned or affected.

The fact cannot be ignored that the reported resources of Mesopotamia have interested public opinion of the United States, Great Britain and other countries as a potential subject of economic strife. Because of that fact they become an outstanding illustration of the kind of economic question with reference to which the mandate principle was especially designed and, indeed, a peculiarly critical test of the good faith of the nations which have given their adherence to the principle. This principle was accepted in the hope of obviating in the future those international questions that grow out of a desire for the exclusive control of the resources and markets of annexed territories. To cite a single example, because of the shortage of petroleum, its constantly increasing commercial importance and the continuing necessity of replenishing the world's supply by drawing upon the latent resources of undeveloped regions, it is of the highest importance to apply to the petroleum industry the most enlightened principles recognized by nations as appropriate for the peaceful ordering of their economic relations.

This Government finds difficulty in reconciling the special arrangement referred to in paragraphs 18 and 19 of your note and set forth in the so-called San Remo Petroleum Agreement, with your statement that the petroleum resources of Mesopotamia, and freedom of action in regard thereto, will be secured to the future Arab State, as yet unorganized. Furthermore, it is difficult to harmonize that special arrangement with your statement that concessionary claims relating to those resources still remain in their pre-war position, and have yet to receive, with the establishment of the Arab State, the equitable consideration promised by His Majesty's Government.

This Government has noted in this connection a public statement of His Majesty's minister in charge of petroleum affairs to the effect that the San

Remo agreement was based on the principle that the concessions granted by the former Turkish Government must be honored. It would be reluctant to assume that His Majesty's Government has already undertaken to pass judgment upon the validity of concessionary claims in the regions concerned and to concede validity to certain of those claims which cover apparently the entire Mesopotamian area. Indeed, this Government understands your note to deny having taken, and to deny the intention to take, any such *ex parte* and premature action.

In this connection I might observe that such information as this Government has received indicates that, prior to the war, the Turkish Petroleum Company, to make specific reference, possessed in Mesopotamia no rights to petroleum concessions or to the exploitations of oil; and in view of your assurance that it is not the intention of the mandatory Power to establish on its own behalf any kind of monopoly, I am at some loss to understand how to construe the provision of the San Remo agreement that any private petroleum company which may develop the Mesopotamian oil fields shall be under permanent British control.

Your Lordship contrasts the present production of petroleum in the United States with that of Great Britain, and some allusion is made to American supremacy in the petroleum industry. I should regret any assumption by His Majesty's Government or any other friendly Power that the views of this Government as to the true character of a mandate are dictated in any degree by considerations of the domestic need or production of petroleum or any other commodity. I may be permitted to say, however, for the purpose of correcting a misapprehension which your note reflects, that the United States possesses only one-twelfth, approximately, of the petroleum resources of the world. The oil resources of no other nation have been so largely drawn upon for foreign needs, and your Lordship's statement that any prophecies as to the oil-bearing resources of unexplored and undeveloped countries must be accepted with reserve hardly disposes of the scientific calculation upon which, despite their problematical elements, the policies of States and the anticipations of world production are apparently proceeding.

The Government of the United States assumes that there is a general recognition of the fact that the requirements for petroleum are in excess of production, and it believes that opportunity to explore and develop the petroleum resources of the world, wherever found, should without discrimination be freely extended, as only by the unhampered development of such resources can the needs of the world be met. But it is not these aspects of oil production and supply in so far as they are of domestic interest to the United States with which I am concerned in this discussion. I have alluded to them in order to correct confusing inferences, liable to arise from certain departures, which I believe I discern in your Lordship's communication, from the underlying principles of a mandate, as evolved and sought to be applied by the Allied and associated Powers to the territories brought under their temporary dominion by their joint struggle and common victory. This dominion will be wholly misconceived, not to say abused, if there is even the slightest deviation from the spirit and the exclusive purpose of a trusteeship as strict as it is comprehensive.

Accept, My Lord, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,

Secretary of State of the United States of America.

THE RIGHT HON. EARL CURZON of Kedleston, K. G.

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

NOTE TO COUNCIL OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[Accepting Request to Mediate Between Armenians and Turks.]

November 30, 1920.

M. PAUL HYMANS, *President, Council of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland:*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your cabled message setting forth the resolution adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations requesting the Council of the League to arrive at an understanding with the Governments with a view to intrusting a Power with the task of taking the necessary measures to stop the hostilities in Armenia. You offered to the United States the opportunity of undertaking the humanitarian task of using its good offices to end the present tragedy being enacted in Armenia, and you assure me that your proposal involves no repetition of the invitation to accept a mandate for Armenia.

While the invitation to accept the mandate for Armenia has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, this country has repeatedly declared its solicitude for the fate and welfare of the Armenian people in a manner and to an extent that justifies you in saying that the fate of Armenia has always been of special interest to the American people.

I am without authorization to offer or employ the military forces or the United States in any project for the relief of Armenia, and any material contribution would require the authorization of the Congress, which is not now in session, and whose action I could not forecast. I am willing, however, upon assurances of the moral and diplomatic support of the principal Powers and in a spirit of sympathetic response to the request of the Council of the League of Nations to use my good offices and to proffer my personal mediation through a representative whom I may designate to end the hostilities that are now being waged against the Armenian people and to bring peace and accord to the contending parties, relying upon the Council of the League of Nations to suggest to me the avenues through which my proffer should be conveyed and the parties to whom it should be addressed.

WOODROW WILSON

EIGHTH ANNUAL MESSAGE

[Read Before Congress on December 7, 1920.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

When I addressed myself to performing the duty laid upon the President by the Constitution to present to you an annual report on the

state of the Union, I found my thought dominated by an immortal sentence of Abraham Lincoln's—"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it"—a sentence immortal because it embodies in a form of utter simplicity and purity the essential faith of the nation, the faith in which it was conceived, and the faith in which it has grown to glory and power. With that faith and the birth of a nation founded upon it came the hope into the world that a new order would prevail throughout the affairs of mankind, an order in which reason and right would take precedence over covetousness and force; and I believe that I express the wish and purpose of every thoughtful American when I say that this sentence marks for us in the plainest manner the part we should play alike in the arrangement of our domestic affairs and in our exercise of influence upon the affairs of the world.

By this faith, and by this faith alone, can the world be lifted out of its present confusion and despair. It was this faith which prevailed over the wicked force of Germany. You will remember that the beginning of the end of the war came when the German people found themselves face to face with the conscience of the world and realized that right was everywhere arrayed against the wrong that their government was attempting to perpetrate. I think, therefore, that it is true to say that this was the faith which won the war. Certainly this is the faith with which our gallant men went into the field and out upon the seas to make sure of victory.

This is the mission upon which Democracy came into the world. Democracy is an assertion of the right of the individual to live and to be treated justly as against any attempt on the part of any combination of individuals to make laws which will overburden him or which will destroy his equality among his fellows in the matter of right or privilege; and I think we all realize that the day has come when Democracy is being put upon its final test. The Old World is just now suffering from a wanton rejection of the principle of democracy and a substitution of the principle of autocracy as asserted in the name, but without the authority and sanction, of the multitude. This is the time of all others when Democracy should prove its purity and its spiritual power to prevail. It is surely the manifest destiny of the United States to lead in the attempt to make this spirit prevail.

There are two ways in which the United States can assist to accomplish this great object. First, by offering the example within her own borders of the will and power of Democracy to make and enforce laws which are unquestionably just and which are equal in their administration—laws which secure its full right to Labor and yet at the same time safeguard the integrity of property, and particularly of that property which is devoted to the development of industry and the increase

of the necessary wealth of the world. Second, by standing for right and justice as toward individual nations. The law of Democracy is for the protection of the weak, and the influence of every democracy in the world should be for the protection of the weak nation, the nation which is struggling toward its right and toward its proper recognition and privilege in the family of nations.

The United States cannot refuse this role of champion without putting the stigma of rejection upon the great and devoted men who brought its government into existence and established it in the face of almost universal opposition and intrigue, even in the face of wanton force, as, for example, against the Orders in Council of Great Britain and the arbitrary Napoleonic decrees which involved us in what we know as the War of 1812.

I urge you to consider that the display of an immediate disposition on the part of the Congress to remedy any injustices or evils that may have shown themselves in our own national life will afford the most effectual offset to the forces of chaos and tyranny which are playing so disastrous a part in the fortunes of the free peoples of more than one part of the world. The United States is of necessity the sample democracy of the world, and the triumph of Democracy depends upon its success.

Recovery from the disturbing and sometimes disastrous effects of the late war has been exceedingly slow on the other side of the water, and has given promise, I venture to say, of early completion only in our own fortunate country; but even with us the recovery halts and is impeded at times, and there are immediately serviceable acts of legislation which it seems to me we ought to attempt, to assist that recovery and prove the indestructible recuperative force of a great government of the people. One of these is to prove that a great democracy can keep house as successfully and in as business-like a fashion as any other government. It seems to me that the first step toward providing this is to supply ourselves with a systematic method of handling our estimates and expenditures and bringing them to the point where they will not be an unnecessary strain upon our income or necessitate unreasonable taxation; in other words, a workable budget system. And I respectfully suggest that two elements are essential to such a system—namely, not only that the proposal of appropriations should be in the hands of a single body, such as a single appropriations committee in each house of the Congress, but also that this body should be brought into such cooperation with the Departments of the Government and with the Treasury of the United States as would enable it to act upon a complete conspectus of the needs of the Government and the resources from which it must draw its income.

I reluctantly vetoed the budget bill passed by the last session of the

Congress because of a constitutional objection. The House of Representatives subsequently modified the bill in order to meet this objection. In the revised form, I believe that the bill, coupled with action already taken by the Congress to revise its rules and procedure, furnishes the foundation for an effective national budget system. I earnestly hope, therefore, that one of the first steps to be taken by the present session of the Congress will be to pass the budget bill.

The nation's finances have shown marked improvement during the last year. The total ordinary receipts of \$6,694,000,000 for the fiscal year 1920 exceeded those for 1919 by \$1,542,000,000, while the total net ordinary expenditures decreased from \$18,514,000,000 to \$6,403,000,000. The gross public debt, which reached its highest point on August 31, 1919, when it was \$26,596,000,000, had dropped on November 30, 1920, to \$24,175,000,000.

There has also been a marked decrease in holdings of government war securities by the banking institutions of the country, as well as in the amount of bills held by the Federal Reserve Banks secured by government war obligations. This fortunate result has relieved the banks and left them freer to finance the needs of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. It has been due in large part to the reduction of the public debt, especially of the floating debt, but more particularly to the improved distribution of government securities among permanent investors. The cessation of the Government's borrowings, except through short-term certificates of indebtedness, has been a matter of great consequence to the people of the country at large, as well as to the holders of Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes, and has had an important bearing on the matter of effective credit control.

The year has been characterized by the progressive withdrawal of the Treasury from the domestic credit market and from a position of dominant influence in that market. The future course will necessarily depend upon the extent to which economies are practiced and upon the burdens placed upon the Treasury, as well as upon industrial developments and the maintenance of tax receipts at a sufficiently high level. The fundamental fact which at present dominates the Government's financial situation is that seven and a half billions of its war indebtedness mature within the next two and a half years. Of this amount, two and a half billions are floating debt and five billions, Victory Notes and War Savings Certificates. The fiscal program of the Government must be determined with reference to these maturities. Sound policy demands that Government expenditures be reduced to the lowest amount which will permit the various services to operate efficiently and that Government receipts from taxes and salvage be maintained sufficiently high to provide for current requirements, including interest and sinking fund charges on the public debt, and at the same time

retire the floating debt and part of the Victory Loan before maturity.

With rigid economy, vigorous salvage operations, and adequate revenues from taxation, a surplus of current receipts over current expenditures can be realized and should be applied to the floating debt. All branches of the Government should cooperate to see that this program is realized. I cannot overemphasize the necessity of economy in Government appropriations and expenditures and the avoidance by the Congress of practices which take money from the Treasury by indefinite or revolving fund appropriations. The estimates for the present year show that over a billion dollars of expenditures were authorized by the last Congress in addition to the amounts shown in the usual compiled statements of appropriations. This strikingly illustrates the importance of making direct and specific appropriations. The relation between the current receipts and current expenditures of the Government during the present fiscal year, as well as during the last half of the last fiscal year, has been disturbed by the extraordinary burdens thrown upon the Treasury by the Transportation Act, in connection with the return of the railroads to private control. Over \$600,000,000 has already been paid to the railroads under this act—\$350,000,000 during the present fiscal year; and it is estimated that further payments aggregating possibly \$650,000,000 must still be made to the railroads during the current year. It is obvious that these large payments have already seriously limited the Government's progress in retiring the floating debt.

Closely connected with this, it seems to me, is the necessity for an immediate consideration of the revision of our tax laws. Simplification of the income and profits taxes has become an immediate necessity. These taxes performed an indispensable service during the war. The need for their simplification, however, is very great, in order to save the taxpayer inconvenience and expense and in order to make his liability more certain and definite. Other and more detailed recommendations with regard to taxes will no doubt be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

It is my privilege to draw to the attention of Congress for very sympathetic consideration the problem of providing adequate facilities for the care and treatment of former members of the military and naval forces who are sick and disabled as the result of their participation in the war. These heroic men can never be paid in money for the service they patriotically rendered the nation. Their reward will lie rather in realization of the fact that they vindicated the rights of their country and aided in safeguarding civilization. The nation's gratitude must be effectively revealed to them by the most ample provision for their medical care and treatment as well as for their vocational training and placement. The time has come when a more complete pro-

gram can be formulated and more satisfactorily administered for their treatment and training, and I earnestly urge that the Congress give the matter its early consideration. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Board for Vocational Education will outline in their annual reports proposals covering medical care and rehabilitation which I am sure will engage your earnest study and commend your most generous support.

Permit me to emphasize once more the need for action upon certain matters upon which I dwelt at some length in my message to the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress. The necessity, for example, of encouraging the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals; the importance of doing everything possible to promote agricultural production along economic lines, to improve agricultural marketing, and to make rural life more attractive and healthful; the need for a law regulating cold storage in such a way as to limit the time during which goods may be kept in storage, prescribing the method of disposing of them if kept beyond the permitted period, and requiring goods released from storage in all cases to bear the date of their receipt. It would also be most serviceable if it were provided that all goods released from cold storage for interstate shipment should have plainly marked upon each package the selling or market price at which they went into storage, in order that the purchaser might be able to learn what profits stood between him and the producer or the wholesale dealer. Indeed, it would be very serviceable to the public if all goods destined for interstate commerce were made to carry upon every packing case whose form made it possible a plain statement of the price at which they left the hands of the producer. I respectfully call your attention also to the recommendations of the message referred to with regard to a federal license for all corporations engaged in interstate commerce.

In brief, the immediate legislative need of the time is the removal of all obstacles to the realization of the best ambitions of our people in their several classes of employment and the strengthening of all instrumentalities by which difficulties are to be met and removed and justice dealt out, whether by law or by some form of mediation and conciliation. I do not feel it to be my privilege at present to suggest the detailed and particular methods by which these objects may be attained, but I have faith that the inquiries of your several committees will discover the way and the method.

In response to what I believe to be the impulse of sympathy and opinion throughout the United States, I earnestly suggest that the Congress authorize the Treasury of the United States to make to the struggling government of Armenia such a loan as was made to several of the Allied governments during the war, and I would also suggest that it would be desirable to provide in the legislation itself that the expenditure of the money thus loaned should be under the supervision of a com-

mission, or at least a commissioner, from the United States in order that revolutionary tendencies within Armenia itself might not be afforded by the loan a further tempting opportunity.

Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf, and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the Islands. I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet.

I have not so much laid before you a series of recommendations, gentlemen, as sought to utter a confession of faith, of the faith in which I was bred and which it is my solemn purpose to stand by until my last fighting day. I believe this to be the faith of America, the faith of the future, and of all the victories which await national action in the days to come, whether in America or elsewhere.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Official Flag for Secretary of State.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 28, 1920.*

Whereas it frequently devolves upon the Secretary of State in virtue of the statutory authority conferred upon him to perform public acts of foreign intercourse under direction of the President;

And whereas it is proper that in the performance of such ceremonial acts as the representative of the President, it is appropriate his representative function be designated by an appropriate flag, to be displayed when occasion may require;

Therefore I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, do hereby direct and prescribe that an Official Flag, indicative of the office of Secretary of State, be prepared as follows:

The ground or field of such flag to be dark blue with the arms of the Department of State in white charged upon the center, and with a gold star on each side of the arms.

And I further direct that on the approaching ceremonial visit of the Secretary of State to certain States of South America, the above prescribed flag shall be displayed on the national vessel which conveys him, so long as he shall be on board the ship, and upon the launch which may convey him to the shore when his communication therewith becomes necessary in the discharge of the public mission with which he may be charged.

WOODROW WILSON.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Expenses of the American Peace Mission to Paris.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 8, 1920.*

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

On the 28th of August, 1919, I submitted to the Congress a partial statement of the expenses of the American mission to negotiate peace, which was printed in Senate Document No. 80, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session. It now gives me pleasure to lay before the Congress, for its information, a statement of all the expenditures of the American commission to negotiate peace for the entire period of its existence from December 1, 1918, to December 31, 1919.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXPENSES DECEMBER 1, 1918, TO DECEMBER 31, 1919.

Travel and subsistence.....	\$ 28,442.27
Subsistence	193,629.90
Salaries	200,871.84
Stationery, office supplies, printing, newspapers, &c.....	55,898.57
Wages employes at Hotel de Crillon.....	131,507.00
Rents	176,853.91
Food, hotel and kitchen supplies.....	283,560.47
Hire and laundry of linen, Hotel de Crillon.....	64,969.53
Repairs and upkeep boilers, Hotel de Crillon.....	5,525.50
Telephone hire	166.17
Fuel, heat, light and compressed air.....	52,457.21
Water rent	5,155.05
Inventories and legal services.....	12,529.16
Copies of German and Austrian treaties.....	3,453.32
Maps to accompany treaties.....	1,183.85
Damages and loss of property at Hotel de Crillon.....	125,870.82
Taxes on premises, No. 4 Place de la Concorde.....	1,524.58
Special Allotments—	
General McKinstry (proposed reparations commissions).....	73,375.46
Colonel E. E. Riggs, missions to Russia and Austria.....	19,000.00
Ellis Loring Dresel, mission to Germany.....	1,000.00
W. C. Bullitt, mission to Russia.....	5,000.00
Lieut. Col. W. Greene, mission to Baltic provinces.....	15,000.00
Pierrepont B. Noyes, Inter-allied Rhineland Commission.....	25,112.20
Captain Earl Bassett, representative Inter-allied Commission to Posen	1,000.00
H. C. King and C. R. Crane, Inter-allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey	10,000.00
Henry Morgenthau, mission to Poland.....	21,900.00
Brig. Gen. H. H. Bandholtz, Inter-allied Mission of Generals in Hungary	28,838.48
General commission to negotiate peace at Warsaw.....	5,000.00
Brig. Gen. Cheney, Inter-allied Commissioner concerning evacuation of the Baltic provinces	10,000.00
Colonel W. N. Haskell, Inter-allied High Commissioner in Armenia	4,500.00



THE DEVASTATION OF WAR

THE DEVASTATION OF WAR.

The illustration reveals all that was left of the famous church at Péronne, France, after the town had been shelled by the Germans.

Mr. Rathbone (Reparations Commission).....	\$ 20,000.00
Automobiles for Mr. Morgenthau and Colonel Greene.....	14,602.96
Confidential expenses Presidential party.....	17,534.16
Disbursements Department of State.....	88,149.58
Total	\$1,703,712.06
Less repays and gain by exchange.....	52,520.97
Total actual expenses	\$1,651,191.09

The complete itemized bill gave salaries of all employees, the expenditures in minute detail by all disbursing officials, the refunds and by whom made, each item being listed separately and by voucher number. The refunds included one by President Wilson of 914.70 francs for expenses while at Rome, by Colonel House of 10,402 francs for official entertainment from December 1, 1918, to June 3, 1919, and by Secretary Lansing of 1,589 francs for tips.

There were a number of items which gave the amounts expended by Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, all these being listed under the caption "Confidential Expenses of the President." The items credited for this purpose varied in amount from \$65 to \$1,500.

NOTE TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[Declining to Join Discussion on Reduction of Armaments.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 8, 1920.*

HIS EXCELLENCY PAUL HYMANS, *President of the Council of League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.*

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your cable of December first inviting the Government of the United States to name representatives to sit with the Military, Naval and Air Commission of the League in a consultative capacity during the discussion by this commission of the reduction of armaments, the consideration of which is to be undertaken by it forthwith at the request and on behalf of the Council.

The Government of the United States is most sympathetic with any sincere efforts to evolve a constructive plan for disarmament which is so necessary for the economic rehabilitation, peace, and stability of the world. The President of the United States is deeply interested in this question and is most desirous of co-operating to this end, but as the Government of the United States is not a member of the League he does not feel justified in appointing a commission to take even a de facto participation in the deliberations of the Council, or of the commission acting on behalf of the Council, in the execution of provisions of the covenant of the League of Nations.

NORMAN H. DAVIS,

Acting Secretary of State of the United States.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Copyright—Denmark.]

Whereas, it is provided by the Act of Congress of March 4, 1909, entitled "An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Acts Respecting Copy-

right," that the provisions of Section 1 (e) of said Act, "so far as they secure copyright controlling the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, shall include only compositions published and copyrighted after this Act goes into effect, and shall not include the works of a foreign author or composer unless the foreign state or nation of which such author or composer is a citizen or subject grant, either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law, to citizens of the United States similar rights":

And whereas it is further provided that the copyright secured by the Act shall extend to the work of an author or proprietor who is a citizen or subject of a foreign state or nation, only upon certain conditions set forth in section 8 of said Act, to-wit:

(a) When an alien author or proprietor shall be domiciled within the United States at the time of the first publication of his work; or

(b) When the foreign state or nation of which such author or proprietor is a subject grants, either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law, to citizens of the United States the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens, or copyright protection substantially equal to the protection secured to such foreign author under this Act or by treaty; or when such foreign state or nation is a party to an international agreement which provides for reciprocity in the granting of copyright, by the terms of which agreement the United States may, at its pleasure, become a party thereto:

And whereas it is further provided by the Act of Congress approved December 18, 1919, "that all works made the subject of copyright by the laws of the United States first produced or published abroad after August 1, 1914, and before the date of the President's proclamation of peace, of which the authors or proprietors are citizens or subjects of any foreign state or nation granting similar protection for works by citizens of the United States, the existence of which shall be determined by a copyright proclamation issued by the President of the United States, shall be entitled to the protection conferred by the copyright laws of the United States from and after the accomplishment, before the expiration of fifteen months after the date of the President's proclamation of peace, of the conditions and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States: Provided further, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to deprive any person of any right which he may have acquired by the republication of such foreign work in the United States prior to the approval of this Act."

And whereas the President is authorized to determine and declare by proclamation the existence of similar protection for works by citizens of the United States as the purposes of the Act may require;

And whereas satisfactory official assurance has been given by the Government of Denmark that the Royal decrees of February 22, 1913, issued by virtue of the authority conferred by the Danish Copyright Law of April 1, 1912, extending to American authors the rights and privileges conferred by that law (including reproduction by mechanical instruments and cinematographic representation), were not cancelled during the war and that if protection is granted in the United States to works by Danish authors which have been published during the war, protection in Denmark for American authors would take effect automatically.

Now therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and proclaim:

1. That one of the alternative conditions specified in Section 1 (e) and 8 (b) of the Act of March 4, 1909, and acts amendatory thereof, including the Act of December 18, 1919, now exists and is fulfilled in respect to the subjects of Denmark, and that such Danish subjects are entitled to all the benefits of the Copyright Act of March 4, 1909, and the acts amendatory thereof, including the Act of December 18, 1919, for all of their works first published in Denmark between August 1, 1914, and before the President's proclamation of peace, and not already republished in the United States:

Provided that the enjoyment by any work of the rights and benefits conferred by the Copyright Act of March 4, 1909, and the acts amendatory thereof, including the Act of December 18, 1919, shall be conditional upon compliance with the requirements and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States before the expiration of fifteen months after the date of the President's proclamation of peace, and shall commence from and after compliance with those requirements, constituting due registration for copyright in the United States.

2. That in the case of musical works to which this proclamation relates, and provided that no contrivances, including records, perforated rolls and other devices by means of which the work may be mechanically performed, have been lawfully made or placed on sale within the United States before the date of this proclamation, copyright shall include the special benefit of Section 1 (e) of the Copyright Act of March 4, 1909, namely "copyright controlling the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work."

3. Nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to abrogate or limit any rights and benefits conferred under the reciprocal arrangements with Denmark heretofore proclaimed.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this ninth day of December in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty, [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fifth. WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

NORMAN H. DAVIS, *Acting Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Punishments for Soldiers.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 10, 1920.*

Under authority of Article of War No. 45, as amended by an Act of Congress approved June 4, 1920, the following maximum limits of punishments of soldiers are prescribed:

ARTICLE I.

Article of War	Offenses	Punishments					
		Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due.	Confinement at hard labor, not to exceed			Forfeiture of two-thirds pay per month, not to exceed	Forfeiture of pay, not to exceed
			Years.	Mos.	Days.		
54	Enlistment, fraudulent:						
"c"	Procured by means of wilful misrepresentation or concealment of a fact in regard to a prior enlistment or discharge, or in regard to a conviction of a civil or military offense, or in regard to imprisonment under sentence of a court.....	Yes.....		6			
"c"	Other cases of.....	Yes.....		3			
55	Attempting to desert:						
"c"	After not more than six months in service.....	Yes.....		6			
"c"	After more than six months in service in execution of a conspiracy or in the presence of an unlawful assemblage which the troops may be opposing.....	Yes.....		9			
"c"	Desertion:	Yes.....		3			
"c"	Terminated by apprehension—						
"c"	Not more than 6 months in service at time of desertion.....	Yes.....		1			
"c"	More than 6 months in service at time of desertion.....	Yes.....		2			
"c"	Terminated by surrender—						
"c"	After absence of not more than 60 days.....	Yes.....		9			
"c"	After absence of more than 60 days.....	Yes.....		1			
	In the execution of a conspiracy or in the presence of an unlawful assemblage which the troops may be opposing.....	Yes.....		5			
59	Advising another to desert.....					6	
	Assisting knowingly, or persuading another to desert.....	Yes.....		1			

Article of War	Offenses	Punishments					
		Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due.	Confinement at hard labor, not to exceed			Forfeiture of two-thirds pay per month, not to exceed	Forfeiture of pay, not to exceed
			Years.	Mos.	Days.	Months.	Days.
61	Absence without leave: From command, quarters, station, or camp—						
"c"	For not more than 60 days, for each day or fraction of a day of absence			3		2	
"c"	For more than 60 days	Yes	6				
	From guard—						
	For not more than 1 hour					15	
	For more than 1 hour		3		3		
	Failing to repair at the fixed time to the properly appointed place of assembly for, or place for:						
	Athletic exercise						
	Drill						
	Fatigue						
	Field exercise						
	Gallery practice						
	Guard mounting						
	Horse exercise						
	Inspection					3	
	Instruction						
	Mustering						
	Parade						
	Prison guard						
	Review						
	School						
	Stable duty						
	Target practice		2		2		
	March						
	Reveille or retreat roll call					1	
61	Leaving without permission the properly appointed place of assembly for, or place for:						
	Athletic exercise						
	Drill						
	Fatigue						
	Field exercise						
	Gallery exercise						
	Guard mounting						
	Horse exercise						
	Inspection					5	
	Instruction						
	Mustering						
	Parade						
	Prison guard						
	Review						
	School						
	Stable duty						
	Target practice					2	
	Reveille or retreat roll call						
62	Using contemptuous or disrespectful words against the President, Vice President, etc	Yes	1				
63	Behaving with disrespect toward his superior officer			3		6	
65	Attempting to strike or attempting otherwise to assault a warrant officer or a non-commissioned officer in the execution of his office			6		6	
	Behaving in an insubordinate or disrespectful manner toward a warrant officer or a noncommissioned officer in the execution of his office			2		2	
	Disobedience, willful, of the lawful order of a warrant officer or a noncommissioned officer in the execution of his office			6		6	
	Striking or otherwise assaulting a warrant officer or a noncommissioned officer in the execution of his office	Yes	1				

Article of War	Offenses	Punishments					
		Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due.	Confinement at hard labor, not to exceed			Forfeiture of two-thirds pay per month, not to exceed	Forfeiture of pay, not to exceed
			Years.	Mos.	Days.		
	Threatening to strike or otherwise assault, or using other threatening language toward a warrant officer or a non-commissioned officer in the execution of his office			4		4	
	Using insulting language toward a warrant officer or a non-commissioned officer in the execution of his office			2		2	
68 "c."	Drawing a weapon upon a nurse, band leader, warrant officer, field clerk, or a non-commissioned officer quelling a quarrel, fray, or disorder	Yes		3			
"o"	Refusing to obey a nurse, band leader, warrant officer, field clerk, or a non-commissioned officer quelling a quarrel, fray or disorder	Yes		1			
	Threatening a nurse, band leader, warrant officer, field clerk, or a non-commissioned officer quelling a quarrel, fray, or disorder				6	6	
69	Breach of arrest			1		1	
	Escaping from confinement	Yes		1			
73	Releasing, without proper authority, a prisoner committed to his charge	Yes		1			
	Suffering a prisoner committed to his charge to escape:						
	Through design	Yes		1			
	Through neglect			6		6	
83	Suffering, through neglect, military property to be damaged, lost, spoiled, or wrongfully disposed of:						
	Of a value of \$20 or less			3		3	
	Of a value of \$50 or less and more than \$20			6		6	
	Of a value of more than \$50	Yes		1			
	Suffering, willfully, military property to be damaged, lost, spoiled, or wrongfully disposed of:						
	Of a value of \$20 or less			6		6	
	Of a value of \$50 or less and more than \$20	Yes		6			
	Of a value of more than \$50	Yes		2			
84	Injuring or losing, through neglect, horse, arms, ammunition, accouterments, equipment, clothing, or other property issued for use in the military service, or items belonging to two or more of said classes:						
	Of a value of \$20 or less			3		3	
	Of a value of \$50 or less and more than \$20			6		6	
	Of a value of more than \$50	Yes		1			
	Injuring or losing, willfully, horse, arms, ammunition, accouterments, equipment, clothing, or other property issued for use in the military service, or items belonging to two or more of said classes:						
	Of a value of \$20 or less			6		6	
	Of a value of \$50 or less and more than \$20	Yes		6			
	Of a value of more than \$50	Yes		1			
	Selling or otherwise wrongfully disposing of horse, arms, ammunition, accouterments, equipment, clothing, or other property issued for use in the military service, or items belonging to two or more of said classes:						
	Of a value of \$20 or less	Yes		6			
	Of a value of \$50 or less and more than \$20	Yes		1			

Article of War	Offenses	Punishments					
		Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due.	Confinement at hard labor, not to exceed			Forfeiture of two-thirds pay per month, not to exceed	Forfeiture of pay, not to exceed
			Years.	Mos.	Days.	Months.	Days.
85	Of a value of more than \$50.....	Yes.....	5				
	Found drunk:						
	At formation for or at—						
	Athletic exercise.....						
	Drill.....						
	Fatigue.....						
	Field exercise.....						
	Gallery practice.....						
	Guard mounting.....						
	Horse exercise.....						
	Inspection.....					20	
	Instruction.....						
	March.....						
	Muster.....						
	Parade.....						
	Review.....						
	School.....						
	Stable duty.....						
	Target practice.....						
	Reveille or retreat roll call.....					5	
	On guard.....			6	6		
	On duty as—						
	Barrack orderly.....						
	Company clerk.....						
	Cook.....						
	Dining room orderly.....						
	Farrier.....						
	Horseshoer.....						
	Kitchen police.....						
	Mechanic.....					20	
	Mess sergeant.....						
	Noncommissioned officer in charge of quarters.....						
	Saddler.....						
	Stable sergeant.....						
	Supply sergeant.....						
	Wagoner.....						
86	Found sleeping or drunk on post, sentinel.....	Yes.....		6			
"c"	Leaving post before regularly relieved from, sentinel.....	Yes.....	1				
90	Using a provoking or reproachful speech or gesture to another.....	Yes.....		3	3		
93	Arson.....	Yes.....	20				
"c"	Assault:						
"c"	With intent to do bodily harm.....	Yes.....	1				
	With intent to do bodily harm with a dangerous weapon, instrument or other thing.....	Yes.....	5				
	With intent to commit any felony except murder or rape.....	Yes.....	10				
	With intent to commit murder or rape.....	Yes.....	20				
	Burglary.....	Yes.....	10				
93	Embezzlement or larceny:			6			
	Of property of a value of \$20 or less.....	Yes.....					
	Of property of a value of \$50 or less, and more than \$20.....	Yes.....	1				
	Of property of a value of more than \$50.....	Yes.....	5				
	Forgery.....	Yes.....	5				
	Housebreaking.....	Yes.....	10				
	Manslaughter:						
	Involuntary, in the commission of an unlawful act not amounting to a felony, or in the commission of a lawful act which might produce death, in an unlawful manner, or without due caution or circumspection.....	Yes.....	3				

Article of War	Offences	Punishments					
		Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due.	Confinement at hard labor, not to exceed			Forfeiture of two-thirds pay per month, not to exceed	Forfeiture of pay, not to exceed
			Years.	Mos.	Days.	Months.	Days.
	Voluntary, upon a sudden quarrel or heat of passion.....	Yes.....	10				
	Perjury.....	Yes.....	5				
	Rohbery.....	Yes.....	10				
	Sodomy.....	Yes.....	5				
94	Forging or counterfeiting a signature, making a false oath, and offenses related to either of these.....	Yes.....	5				
"c"	Other cases: When the amount involved is \$20 or less.....	Yes.....		6			
"o"	When the amount involved is \$50 or less, and more than \$20.....	Yes.....	1				
	When the amount involved is more than \$50.....	Yes.....	5				
96	Abandoning guard, by member thereof.....	Yes.....		6		6	
	Abusing a public animal.....	Yes.....		3		3	
	Allowing a prisoner to receive or obtain intoxicating liquor.....	Yes.....		3		3	
	Appearing in civilian clothing without authority.....	Yes.....				10	
	Appearing in unclean uniform, or not in prescribed uniform, or in uniform worn other than in manner prescribed.....	Yes.....		1		1	
	Assault.....	Yes.....		3		3	
	Assault and battery.....	Yes.....		6		6	
	Attempting to escape from confinement.....	Yes.....		6			
	Attempting to strike or attempting otherwise to assault a sentinel in the execution of his duty.....	Yes.....		6		6	
	Behaving in an insubordinate or disrespectful manner toward a sentinel in the execution of his duty.....	Yes.....		1		1	
	Breach of restriction (other than quarantine) to command, quarters, station, or camp.....	Yes.....		1		1	
	Carrying a concealed weapon.....	Yes.....		3		3	
	Committing a nuisance.....	Yes.....		3		3	
	Concealing, destroying, mutilating, obliterating, or removing willfully and unlawfully a public record, or taking and carrying away a public record with intent to conceal, destroy, mutilate, obliterate, remove, or steal the same.....	Yes.....	3				
	Conspiring to escape from confinement.....	Yes.....		6			
	Destroying willfully, public property: Of a value of \$20 or less.....	Yes.....		6			
	Of a value of \$50 or less, and more than \$20.....	Yes.....	1				
	Of a value of more than \$50.....	Yes.....	5				
	Discharging, through carelessness, a firearm.....	Yes.....		3		3	
	Disobedience, wilful, of the lawful order of a sentinel in the execution of his duty.....	Yes.....	1				
	Disorderly in command, quarters, station, or camp.....	Yes.....		1		1	
	Disorderly under such circumstances as to bring discredit upon the military service.....	Yes.....		4		4	
	Drinking liquor with prisoner.....	Yes.....		2		2	
	Drunk and disorderly in command, quarters, station, or camp.....	Yes.....		3		3	
	Drunk and disorderly under such circumstances as to bring discredit upon the military service.....	Yes.....		6		6	
96	Drunk in command, quarters, station, or camp.....	Yes.....				15	
	Drunk under such circumstances as to bring discredit upon the military service.....	Yes.....		3		3	

Article of War	Offenses	Punishments					
		Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due.	Confinement at hard labor, not to exceed			Forfeiture of two-thirds pay per month, not to exceed	Forfeiture of pay, not to exceed
			Years.	Mos.	Days.	Months.	
"a"	Drunk, prisoner found			3		3	
	Failing to obey a lawful order:						
	Of a superior officer			6		6	
	Of a noncommissioned officer			3		3	
	Of a sentinel			3		3	
	Failing to pay a just debt under such circumstances as to bring discredit upon the military service	Yes		6			
	False official report or statement knowingly made:						
	By a noncommissioned officer			3		3	
	By any other soldier			1		1	
	False swearing	Yes	3				
	Gambling:						
	By a noncommissioned officer with a person of lower military rank or grade					3	
	In command, quarters, station, or camp in violation of orders			2		2	
	Indecent exposure of person			3		3	
	Introducing a habit-forming narcotic drug into command, quarters, station or camp:						
For sale	Yes	2					
All other cases	Yes	1					
Introducing intoxicating liquor into command, quarters, station, or camp:							
For sale			6		6		
All other cases			3		3		
Loaning money, either as principal or agent, at an usurious rate of interest to another in the military service					3		
Loitering or sitting down on duty by sentinel			1		1		
Obtaining money or other property under false pretenses:							
When the amount obtained is \$20 or less	Yes		6				
When the amount obtained is \$50 or less and more than \$20	Yes	1					
When the amount obtained is more than \$50	Yes	3					
Refusing to submit to medical or dental treatment	Yes	6					
Refusing to submit to a surgical operation	Yes	1					
Unnatural crimes	Yes	5					
Straggling			3		3		
Striking or otherwise assaulting a sentinel in the execution of his duty	Yes	1					
Subornation of perjury	Yes	5					
Threatening to strike or otherwise assault or using other threatening language toward a sentinel in the execution of his duty			4		4		
Unclean accouterment, arm, clothing, equipment, or other military property, found with			1		1		
Using insulting language toward a sentinel in the execution of his duty			3		3		
Violation of condition of parole by general prisoner			3				

ARTICLE II.

Equivalents.

Subjects to the limitations set forth elsewhere in this order, substitutions for punishments specified in Article I therefore are authorized at the discretion of the court at the rates indicated in the following table of equivalents:

Forfeiture.	Confinement at Hard Labor.	Detention	Hard labor without confinement.
1 day's pay.	1 day.	1½ days' pay.	1½ days.

ARTICLE III.

General Limitations.

Section 1. A court shall not, by a single sentence which does not include dishonorable discharge, adjudge against a soldier:

(a) Forfeiture of pay at a rate greater than two-thirds of his pay per month.

(b) Forfeiture of pay in an amount greater than two-thirds of his pay for six months.

(c) Confinement at hard labor for a period greater than six months.

Section 2. A court shall not, by a single sentence, adjudge against a soldier:

(a) Detention of pay at a rate greater than two-thirds of his pay per month.

(b) Detention of pay in an amount greater than two-thirds of his pay for three months.

(c) Hard labor without confinement for a period greater than three months.

ARTICLE IV.

Noncommissioned Officers.

Section 1. No court shall adjudge confinement at hard labor or hard labor without confinement against a noncommissioned officer unless in the same sentence reduction to the grade of private shall also be adjudged.

Section 2. Upon the conviction of a noncommissioned officer or a private first-class of an offense or offenses for which confinement at hard labor for a period of more than five days, authorized substitutions considered, may be adjudged, the court may, in addition to the punishments otherwise authorized adjudge reduction to the grade of private.

ARTICLE V.

Previous Convictions.

Section 1. A general or special court shall, upon conviction of the accused, be opened and shall thereupon ascertain whether there is evidence of a previous conviction or convictions, which has been referred to the court by the convening authority, and, if there be such evidence, shall receive it.

Section 2. A court may, under the authority contained in Section 1 of this article, receive evidence, in the cases of officers, warrant officers, members of the Army Nurse Corps, and field clerks, only of convictions by court-martial of an offense or offenses committed by the accused during his status as such

officer, warrant officer, member of the Army Nurse Corps, or field clerk, and within three years next preceding the commission by him of an offense of which he stands convicted before the court. In the cases of soldiers it will be limited to that pertaining to convictions by courts-martial of an offense or offenses committed during his current enlistment and within one year next preceding the commission by him of an offense of which he stands convicted before the court. These convictions may be proved only by the records of the trials in which they were had, or by duly authenticated copies of such records, or by duly authenticated copies of orders promulgating such convictions.

ARTICLE VI.

Dishonorable Discharge.

Section 1. A court may, upon his conviction of an offense or offenses for none of which dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due is, in Article I of this order or by the custom of the service, authorized, upon proof of five or more previous convictions, adjudge against a soldier, in addition to the confinement at hard labor without substitution authorized in said article or by the custom of the service for the offense or offenses of which he is convicted, dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due, and, in any such case in which such confinement so authorized is less than three months, a court may adjudge, in addition to such discharge and forfeiture, confinement at hard labor for three months.

Section 2. A court may, upon his conviction upon one arraignment of two or more offenses for none of which dishonorable discharge, confinement at hard labor and forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due is, in Article I of this order or by the custom of the service, authorized, but the aggregate term of confinement at hard labor for which, as authorized in said article or by the custom of the service, without substitution, equals or exceeds six months, adjudge against a soldier, in addition to the confinement at hard labor, without substitution, authorized in said article or by the custom of the service for the offense or offenses of which he is convicted, dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of all pay and allowances due and to become due.

ARTICLE VII.

Effect and Application of this Order.

Section 1. This order prescribes the maximum limit of punishment for each of the offenses therein specified, and thus indicates an appropriate punishment for an offense which is attended by aggravating circumstances. Evidence of previous convictions admitted under Article V of this order may always be considered in determining the proper measure of punishment; but evidence of previous convictions of offenses materially less grave than the offense or offenses for which sentence is to be adjudged is not to be regarded as, in itself, justifying a sentence of maximum severity. In every case in which the prescribed or customary maximum penalty exceeds confinement at hard labor or forfeiture of pay for ten days and in which the offense is not attended by aggravating circumstances the punishment will be graded down according to the circumstances of the offense; and if, for any reason, the court-martial fails so to grade down the punishment it will be the duty of the reviewing authority to do so.

Section 2. Offenses not herein provided for remain punishable as authorized by statute or the custom of the service; but, in cases for which maximum punishments are not prescribed, courts will be guided by the limits of punishment prescribed for closely related offenses.

Section 3. Dishonorable discharge, in itself, a severe punishment, should be adjudged and approved only when it is clear that the accused should be separated from the service or that he should be required to undergo a period of reformatory discipline before he can again be permitted to serve in an organization composed of honorable men. When the accused is relatively young and his record, except for the offense of which he stands convicted, is good, the reviewing authority should, in the exercise of his sound discretion, suspend the execution of the dishonorable discharge, to the end that the offender may have an opportunity to redeem himself in the military service; but he should not suspend the execution of the dishonorable discharge in any case of conviction of an offense involving that degree of moral turpitude which disqualifies for further military service.

Section 4. The reviewing authority should suspend the whole of a sentence when it appears to him that such action will promote the discipline of his command.

ARTICLE VIII.

Administrative Rules.

Section 1. Hard labor without confinement, when imposed as a punishment, shall be performed in addition to other duties which fall to the soldier, and no soldier shall be excused or relieved from any military duty for the purpose of performing hard labor without confinement which has been imposed as a punishment, but a sentence imposing such punishment shall be considered as satisfied when the soldier shall have performed hard labor during available time in addition to performing his military duties.

Section 2. Pay detained pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial will be detained by the Government until the soldier is discharged from the service, or mustered out of active Federal service.

ARTICLE IX.

Date on Which Operative.

This order shall become operative on February 4, 1921, as to offenses committed on and after that date and as to criminal acts, committed prior to that date, whose maximum punishment was not prescribed in the executive order of December 15, 1916. The executive order of December 15, 1916, published in the Manual for Courts-Martial, 1917, prescribing limits of punishment, shall remain operative as to offenses committed before February 4, 1921, except as to criminal acts whose maximum punishment has been decreased by this order, which will not be followed by severer punishment than is herein before prescribed.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS TO FELLOW COUNTRYMEN

[Relief of Starving Children in Europe.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 13, 1920.*

Three and a half million children are facing starvation in Central Europe. It is estimated that they can be tided over to the next harvest

by money and service equivalent to thirty dollars per child. The countries involved can furnish two-thirds of this cost in the form of personnel and machinery for distribution, but for the other one-third they must look abroad, and they are looking to us.

Since 1914 our people have given with unparalleled generosity, and they should not be lightly called upon for additional charities. But there is a life-and-death situation in Central Europe, where orphaned, destitute, famished children, pitiful consequences of the World War, must die unless aid is sent.

Ten dollars contributed through the European Relief Council will save the life of one child. For concerted effort, there have been combined in this council eight well-known organizations, namely the American Relief Administration, American Red Cross, American Friends' Service Committee, Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A.

At Christmas time, peculiarly the children's season, we should think of this sad European problem in terms of children rather than in terms of money. Ten dollars will represent a child's life in Central Europe. I shall adopt twenty of these children as my own temporary wards, and I can think of no better use to which I could put two hundred dollars.

I suggest to my fellow-countrymen that the circles around their Christmas trees will be incomplete unless, mingled with their own expectant children, they shall visualize some of the waifs of Central Europe, stretching out their thin hands to pluck from the boughs of the trees, not toys, but bread without which they must perish.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Confirming Powers of Federal Trade Commission over Coal Cost Information.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 22, 1920.*

By virtue of the power and authority vested in me by an Act of Congress entitled, "An Act authorizing the President to co-ordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government," approved May 20, 1918, there was issued on July 3, 1918, a certain executive order, paragraph 5 whereof reads as follows:

"That the said United States Fuel Administration is hereby authorized to procure information in reference to the business of coal and coke producers and distributors in the manner provided for in Sections 6 and 9 of the Act of Congress approved September 26, 1914, entitled 'An Act to create a Federal Trade Commission, to define its powers and duties, and for other purposes,' and said United States Fuel Administration, acting through the United States Fuel Administrator, or his duly authorized agents, examiners, employees,

assistants and subordinates, is hereby authorized and empowered to exercise all the powers granted to the Federal Trade Commission by said Act approved September 26, 1914, for the carrying out of the purposes of this order."

And pursuant to the same authority, there was subsequently issued on February 27, 1919, a further executive order amending the order of July 3, 1918, by adding at the end thereof the following clause, to-wit:

"Such records, files, reports, copies of contracts, correspondence, and proceedings transferred under this order, and such personnel detailed or assigned thereunder, as are stated in a written notice to the Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission, signed by the United States Fuel Administrator or the assistant United States Fuel Administrator to be no longer required by the United States Fuel Administration, shall be and they hereby are transferred and reassigned to said Commission as of the dates or date fixed in said written notice."

And, whereas the activities and functioning of the United States Fuel Administration, and the United States Fuel Administrator, were suspended on or before January 1st, 1920, its personnel dispersed, and its records filed with the Department of the Interior, and there has not been since the first day of January, 1920, any use by the United States Fuel Administration or the United States Fuel Administrator of the powers granted to the Federal Trade Commission, and authorized to be used by the United States Fuel Administrator under paragraph 5 of the executive order of July 3, 1918,

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me as Chief Executive, and by virtue of the powers conferred on me by the aforementioned Act of Congress, do declare that the authorization granted to the United States Fuel Administration and the United States Fuel Administrator by paragraph 5 of the executive order of July 3, 1918, was and is terminated as of January 1st, 1920, and the said powers were and are fully restored to the Federal Trade Commission as of January 1st, 1920, as fully and completely as though paragraph 5 of the executive order of July 3, 1918, had been rescinded on or before January 1st, 1920.

WOODROW WILSON.

PROCLAMATION

[End of Occupation of Santo Domingo.]

[Issued, by order of President Wilson, by Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden, Military Governor of Santo Domingo. It was believed that the proclamation was issued largely as a result of protests, both in the United States and Central and South America, against the methods by which military occupation of Haiti had been conducted, and by investigations which revealed that the latter occupation had been accompanied by excesses and disregard of obligations. The proclamation was made public on December 24, 1920.]

Whereas, the friendly purposes of the United States in the employ-

ment, pursuant to rights derived from the Treaty of 1907, of its military forces within the Dominican Republic for the restoration of public order and the protection of life and property have been substantially achieved; and

Whereas, it has always been the desire and intention of the Government of the United States to withdraw its aid as soon as it could do so consistently with the said purposes and as soon as the improved conditions in Santo Domingo to which the United States has sought to contribute should give promise of permanence;

Now, therefore, I, Thomas Snowden, Rear Admiral, U.S.N., Military Governor of the Dominican Republic, acting under the authority and by direction of the Government of the United States, declare and announce to all concerned that the Government of the United States believes the time has arrived when it may, with a due sense of its responsibility to the people of the Dominican Republic, inaugurate the simple processes of its rapid withdrawal from the responsibilities assumed in connection with Dominican affairs.

Announcement is therefore made that a commission of representative Dominican citizens will be appointed, the personnel of which will shortly be announced, to which it is my purpose to attach a technical adviser. This commission will be intrusted with the formulation of amendments to the Constitution and a general revision of the laws of the Republic, including the drafting of a new election law. Such amendments to the Constitution and such laws, or such revision of existing laws, as may be recommended by the commission, upon approval by the Military Government in occupation, will be submitted to a constitutional convention and to the National Congress of the Dominican Republic, respectively.

ACCOMPANYING EXPLANATORY STATEMENT BY STATE DEPARTMENT.

In 1907 the Governments of the United States and Santo Domingo concluded a treaty by virtue of which the customs revenues of the Republic were to be collected by a general receiver of Dominican customs appointed by the President of the United States in order that the payment of interest and amortization of the national debt of the Dominican Republic might be guaranteed. The Government of Santo Domingo agreed likewise not to increase its public debt without the previous approval of the Government of the United States. The conclusion of the treaty was rendered desirable because of the imminent danger of foreign intervention in Santo Domingo, due to the default of the Dominican Government in the years immediately preceding 1907 on the payment of the interest of its national debt.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty, conditions in Santo Domingo at first improved, but with the recurrence of revolutionary disturbances the Government of Santo Domingo, in order to raise additional funds, increased the public debt of the Republic without the approval of the United States, thus violating the terms of the treaty of 1907.

The Government of the United States thereupon, in 1915, requested of the Dominican Government that a new treaty be entered into providing for the continued collection of the customs under American control, the appointment of a financial adviser, and the control by the United States of the Dominican constabulary. To this the Dominican Government refused to agree.

About this time the Dominican Minister for War, Residerio Arias, headed a revolutionary movement. Arias obtained control of a considerable portion of the Dominican Army and gained possession of the fortress of Santo Domingo City. Other forces, loyal to the President, controlled the country surrounding the capital.

Civil war had begun when the United States, with the consent of President Jimenez, landed naval forces in Santo Domingo to prevent a continuance of bloodshed and to protect foreign life and property. Shortly thereafter President Jimenez resigned, and instructions were given to the commander of the American naval forces in Dominican waters to land marines in the several ports of the Republic, in order that they might co-operate with the local authorities in restoring public order and to watch over the election of a new President.

The Dominican Congress proceeded to elect Dr. Henriquez y Carvajal as Provisional President. The Government of the United States was unwilling to recognize the new President until it received satisfactory assurances that law and order would be maintained and that the finances would be honestly administered, and to this end it required the conclusion of a treaty similar to that requested in 1915. The newly elected President refused to agree to this demand and the American authorities declined to pay the Dominican revenues collected by an American official, in accordance with the treaty of 1907, to the members of a Government which the United States had not recognized.

The deadlock continued for several months and finally the United States Government directed the officer in command of the naval forces in Dominican waters to assume the direction of affairs. Finally, in November, 1916, since all endeavors to induce the Dominican authorities to consent to the requirements of this Government had proved unavailing, and with the declared intention of restoring order and prosperity to Santo Domingo, Captain H. S. Knapp, U. S. N., was directed to proclaim the establishment of a temporary Military Government of the republic.

In the proclamation of Captain Knapp, dated November 29, 1916, establishing the Military Government, it was specifically stated that the occupation was undertaken with no immediate or ulterior object of destroying the sovereignty of Santo Domingo, but was designed to assist the country to return to a condition of internal order which would enable it to observe the terms of the treaty concluded with the United States in 1907, and the obligations which rested upon it as one of the family of nations.

Complete tranquillity has existed for some time throughout the Republic, and the people for the first time in many years have been enabled to devote themselves to peaceful occupations without fear of disturbance. The finances of the country have been placed on a stable basis; great improvements have been brought about in public works; particular attention has been devoted to sanitation and public health; the educational system has been completely reorganized with the result that whereas there was a school attendance of about 18,000 pupils before the occupation, there are now 100,000 pupils attending school.

As the result of the American administration, the gross revenues of the Republic have increased from a total of some \$4,000,000 in 1916 to a total of over \$7,500,000 in 1919.

VETO MESSAGES

[Further Extension of Time for Section 10 of Clayton Anti-Trust Act.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 30, 1920.*

TO THE SENATE:

I return herewith without my signature Senate Bill 4526, amending Section 501 of the Transportation Act, by extending the effective date of Section 10 of the Clayton Act.

The Clayton Anti-Trust Act was responsive to recommendations which I made to the Congress on December 2, 1913, and January 20, 1914, on the subject of legislation regarding the very difficult and intricate matter of trusts and monopolies. In speaking of the changes which opinion deliberately sanctions and for which business waits I observed:

It waits with acquiescence, in the first place, for laws which will effectively prohibit and prevent such interlocking of the personnel of the directorates of great corporations—banks and railroads, industrial, commercial and public service bodies—as in effect result in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business. Sufficient time should be allowed, of course, in which to effect these changes of organization without inconvenience or confusion.

This particular recommendation is reflected in Section 10 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. That Act became a law on October 15, 1914, and it was provided that Section 10 should not become effective until two years after that date, in order that the carriers and others affected might be able to adjust their affairs so that no inconvenience or confusion might result from the enforcement of its provisions. Further extensions of time, amounting in all to more than four years and two months, have since been made. These were in part due to the intervention of Federal control, but ten months have now elapsed since the resumption of private operation. In all, over six years have elapsed since this enactment was put upon the statute books, so that all interests concerned have had long and ample notice of the obligations it imposes.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has adopted rules responsive to the requirements of Section 10. In deferring the effective date of Section 10, the Congress has excepted corporations organized after January 12, 1918, and as to such corporations the Commission's rules are now in effect. Therefore, it appears that the necessary preliminary steps have long since been taken to put Section 10 into effect, and the practical question now to be decided is whether the partial application of these rules shall be continued until January 1, 1922, or whether their application shall now become general, thus bringing under them all common carriers engaged in commerce and at last giving full effect to this important feature of the Act of October 15, 1914.

The grounds upon which further extension of time is asked, in addition to the six years and more that have already elapsed, have been stated as follows:

That the carrying into effect of the existing provisions of Section 10 will result in needless expenditures on the part of the carriers in many instances; that some of its provisions are unworkable, and that the changed status of the carriers and the enactment of the Transportation Act require a revision of Section 10, in order to make it consistent with the provisions of the Transportation Act.

When it is considered that the Congress is now in session and can readily adopt suitable amendments if they shall be found to be necessary, such reasons for further delay appear to me to be inadequate. The soundness of the principle embodied in Section 10 seems generally to be admitted. The wholesome effects which its application was intended to produce should not longer be withheld from the public and from the common carriers immediately concerned, for whose protection it was particularly designed.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Resurrection of Advances by War Finance Corporation.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 3, 1921.*

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I am returning without my signature, Senate Joint Resolution 212,

"Joint Resolution directing the War Finance Corporation to take certain action for the relief of the present depression in the agricultural sections of the country, and for other purposes."

The Joint Resolution directs the revival of the activities of the War Finance Corporation. This Corporation is a Governmental agency. Its capital stock is owned entirely by the United States. It was created during hostilities for war purposes. The temporary powers which it is now proposed to revive were conferred in March, 1919, to assist if necessary in the financing of exports. The general powers of the Corporation expire six months after the termination of the war and the special powers with respect to the financing of exports expire one year after the termination of the war. While we are technically still in a state of war, it unquestionably was presumed, when this added power was granted, that peace would have been formally proclaimed before this time and that the limitation of one year would have expired.

In May, 1920, in view of the fact that export trade had not been interrupted but had greatly expanded, and that exports were being privately financed in large volumes, the War Finance Corporation, at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury and with my approval, suspended the making of advances.

This Resolution was passed by the Congress apparently in view of the recent sudden and considerable fall in prices, especially of agricultural commodities, with the thought that some European countries to

which certain products were customarily shipped before the war might again be enabled to resume their importation, and that larger masses of domestic exports to European countries generally might be stimulated, with the resulting enhancement of domestic prices. I am in full sympathy with every sound proposal to promote foreign trade along sound business lines. I am not convinced that the method proposed is wise, that the benefits, if any, would offset the evils which would result, or that the same or larger advantages cannot be secured without resort to Government intervention. On the contrary, I apprehend that the resumption of the Corporation's activities at this time would exert no beneficial influence on the situation in which improvement is sought, would raise false hopes among the very people who would expect most, and would be hurtful to the natural and orderly processes of business and finance.

Large Government credits were extended during the war to certain European Governments associated with us in the struggle. These ceased several months after the armistice, except for commitments already made, either directly or indirectly. The recent Brussels conference, composed of experts from many European countries and from other nations, itself expressed the opinion that further credits should not be accorded directly by Governments. I do not believe that they should be accorded indirectly.

Exports of domestic products have not declined since the armistice. On the contrary, they have greatly increased. From an aggregate value before the war of less than two and one-half billions of dollars, and of about six billions the last year of hostilities, they rose in the calendar year 1919 to more than \$7,900,000,000, and this figure will probably be exceeded for the last calendar year. For the first eleven months of the last calendar year we exported more than seven and one-half billion dollars' worth of domestic merchandise. These have been largely privately financed. The difficulty in the way of still larger exports does not seem to lie so much in the lack of financial ability here as in Europe's lack of means to make payment. Her productive energies and the services which she renders have not yet reached a point where they balance the value of commodities taken from this nation, and her ability to furnish for additional exports securities which business men would feel justified in taking is restricted. The experts of the Brussels conference reported that "one of the chief obstacles to the granting of credits is the absence in borrowing countries of sufficient securities for ultimate repayment." Until this obstacle is removed, it is difficult to see how materially larger exports to Europe are to be made even if exporters, aided or unaided by Government finance, stand ready to do their part. It is remarkable that Europe is able to make an effective demand for as large a volume of our goods as she is making. It is

gratifying evidence of her recovery and progress towards full production and sounder financial conditions.

Under the law, if the activities of the Corporation were resumed, no direct advances could be made to producers and, if they could be, they would not accomplish the object in view. They would not create demand for our products. They could be made only to exporters or to banks engaged in financing exports and if they did in some measure stimulate exports they would probably not have the effect apparently most desired of substantially increasing those of agricultural commodities. Already, with the larger volume of exports which Europe is taking from us, she is exercising her option of taking a smaller volume of some of our principal agricultural products, such as meats, presumably because she herself has become more largely self-sufficient, or is again providing herself with supplies from distant countries which, with the opening up of shipping since the armistice, have once more found their place in the markets of the world.

It is highly probable that the most immediate and conspicuous effect of the resumption of the Corporation's activities would be an effort on the part of exporters to shift the financing of their operations from ordinary commercial channels to the Government. This would be unfortunate. It would continue the Government as an active factor in ordinary business operations. If activities of any considerable magnitude resulted, they would necessitate the imposition of additional taxes or further borrowing, either through the War Finance Corporation or by the Treasury. In either case new burdens would be laid upon all the people. Further borrowing would in all likelihood tap the very sources which might otherwise be available for private operations or which the Treasury is now compelled to reach to meet current obligations of the Government. There is no question that the borrowing of the Government should be limited to the minimum requirements, and that the Government should not be called upon further to finance private business at public expense. To the extent that Europe is able to furnish additional securities, private financial institutions here will doubtless find means of giving the necessary accommodation. The way has been opened for added legitimate efforts to promote foreign trade. Financial agencies in aid of exports, privately financed, have already been planned to operate under the Act approved December 24, 1919, authorizing the organization of banking corporations to do foreign banking business. One corporation has been organized in the South and a second of large scope is in course of development. These agencies may be expected to act as promptly and as liberally and helpfully as sound business conditions will permit. Through reliance on such enterprises, rather than through Government intervention, may we expect to secure a return to stable business relations. For many months there has been a demand

that war agencies should be abolished and that there should be less Government interference with business. I have sympathized with this view, and believe that it is applicable to foreign trade as well as to domestic business. I am of the opinion that now, more than two years after the armistice, the nation should resume its usual business methods and return to its reliance on the initiative, intelligence and ability of its business leaders and financial institutions.

We shall not witness an immediate satisfactory adjustment of domestic and international trade relations. The burdens of war are not lifted when the fighting ceases. One sad thing about war is that it leaves behind it a legacy of economic ills and of suffering from which there is no escape. Conditions, however, are improving both here and abroad. The difficulties with which we are now confronted are of small consequence in comparison with those which we have met and overcome. Fuller restoration awaits the adoption of constructive measures of large consequence: the secure establishment of a just peace in the world; the cessation of fighting everywhere; the more complete resumption in Europe of the normal courses of industry, the return of her people to sounder fiscal and banking policies and the breaking down within her borders of harmful restrictions.

WOODROW WILSON.

The Resolution was passed over the Presidential veto.

NOTE TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[Urging International Neutrality Toward Soviet Russia.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 18, 1921.

HIS EXCELLENCY PAUL HYMANS, *President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.*

Your telegram of December 26, 1920, transmitting a message received by the Council from the British Government, concerning Armenia, stating that Armenia is reported to be under the control of Soviet Russia, and suggesting that the President instruct the American High Commissioner at Constantinople to take up the matter with the Allied High Commissioners, has been received and read with interest by the President, who instructs me to reply as follows:

The President does not deem it practicable to instruct the American High Commissioner at Constantinople to act for him in this matter. As was stated in my telegram of December 16, 1920, he has chosen the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, who has been prepared to act for him in such steps as may be taken. Before instructing him to proceed, however, the President has been awaiting the definite assurances and information from all the principal Powers interested, as requested in his cable of November 30, 1920, defining the conditions under which he would endeavor to mediate.

The message from the British Prime Minister transmitted by you on December 26 would seem to indicate the impracticability or futility of the President's addressing himself, at least in the first instance, to the Armenians and Kemalists. The President is inclined to share this view and to feel that no solution can be had without first getting at the source of the trouble.

Pending receipt of information and assurances requested by the President in his telegram of November 30, 1920, it is deemed wise to state the problem as the President views it, its causes and possible remedies. It would appear that the immediate cause of trouble in Armenia and Turkey has been the Treaty of Sèvres. Admittedly, this was a difficult question with which to contend, but the treaty was drafted by the Allied Powers, and the trouble has arisen over the failure of certain factions to accept this treaty and of the Allies to enforce it. This is a question over which the President has no control, and measures which he might take or recommend in this direction would be dependent upon the hearty co-operation and support of the Allied Powers.

The British Prime Minister calls attention to the report that Armenia is under the control of Moscow, from which it appears that another complication has developed. The dependence of Armenia on Soviet Russia is another situation over which the President has no control, and he sees no action he could take to free Armenia without the moral and diplomatic support of the principal Powers which holds promise of bringing peace and accord to the contending parties.

There is a bitter distrust and fear of war along all the Russian borders. It seems futile to attempt to bring peace to the Caucasus, if the result is merely to free the forces there engaged for new campaigns on other sectors of this long front. The distressful situation of Armenia is but one detail of this vast Russian problem, and the President most earnestly urges his conviction that it is only by a general and comprehensive treatment of the whole problem, only by full and generous co-operation of the principal Powers, that a hopeful approach to the pacification and independence of Armenia can be found.

The attitude of the President toward those now in power in Russia has been frequently and clearly expressed. He regards the Bolsheviki as a violent and tyrannical minority, by no means representing the real desires and purposes of the Russian people. But he has never believed that the problems raised by this coup d'état could be solved by military action from outside. He now hopes that the recent tragical events on the Polish front and in the Crimea have convinced all the world that armed invasion is not the way to bring peace to the people of Russia.

The rapidly shifting events of recent months have only strengthened his conviction that the Russian revolution, beneficent in its main purposes, must be developed to a satisfactory conclusion by the Russians themselves. Help may from time to time be given from outside and voluntarily received, but attempts at military coercion can but end in disaster.

There are elements in the present situation which give added hope to projects of pacification. All the world is weary of war, and the conviction grows among the peoples of all countries that the military method offers very little promise of solving the grave problems of reconstruction which face us. There is at present no overt civil war in Russia. It is now a problem of the relations between Central Russia and the surrounding smaller national groups.

The unrest and instability along the border are caused by bitter and mutual distrust. The struggling new nationalities, which were formerly part of the Russian Empire, are afraid to disarm and return to the works of peace because they distrust the Bolsheviki and fear new aggressions. The Soviets contend that they are afraid to demobilize because they fear new attacks.

The great impediment to peaceful reconstruction in those troubled border territories, the imminent danger of new hostilities, is caused by the utter confusion between offense and defense. Unless this distinction can be clearly

defined there is not only small hope of peace, but no hope of a clear perception of who is responsible for new wars.

It is, therefore, the thought of the President that the present moment offers a peculiarly pressing challenge to an attempt at general pacification on the Russian borders along these lines. Such an attempt seems to the President the logical outgrowth—in fact, the only logical development—of the request to mediate in the Armenian conflict, and he feels bound in conscience once more to call this matter to the attention of the associated nations.

It is obvious to all that these small struggling border States will not attack great Russia unless encouraged by promise of support from the stronger Powers. The President therefore believes that the sine qua non of an attempt at pacification must be a public and solemn engagement among the great Powers not to take advantage of Russia's stricken condition and not to violate the territorial integrity of Russia, nor to undertake themselves any further invasions of Russia, nor to tolerate such invasions by others.

Such a public agreement would in effect say to those now in power in Russia: "You are not menaced from outside. The great Powers have voluntarily guaranteed you from attack. You can have peace if you want it." The responsibility for any new war which might break out on the Russian border would then be clearly placed.

If the principal Powers represented on the Council of the League find themselves in accord with the President in this matter and will assure him of their moral and diplomatic support, he will instruct his personal representative, Mr. Morgenthau, to proceed at once on his mission.

NORMAN H. DAVIS,
Acting Secretary of State.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Special Session of the Senate.]

Whereas public interests require that the Senate of the United States be convened at twelve o'clock on the fourth day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive.

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene at the Capitol, in the District of Columbia, on the fourth day of March next, at twelve o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States in the District of Columbia the third of February in the year of our [SEAL.] Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, *Secretary of State.*

VETO MESSAGES**[Issue of Patent of Land to Private Gun Club.]****THE WHITE HOUSE, February 3, 1921.**

TO THE SENATE:

I return herewith without my approval S. 793, an Act authorizing the issuance of patent to the Milk River Valley Gun Club, which proposes to direct the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent to the Milk River Valley Gun Club for 76.69 acres of land in Montana for a game preserve.

In my opinion the legislation proposed is not in the public interest and is objectionable, because it would, by a special Act of Congress, pass title to a tract of public land to a private interest for a private purpose. Moreover, I am informed that the lands in question are used by ducks and other game birds as a resting place and breeding ground, and the turning over of the land to a private gun club would be likely to destroy its use for this purpose and seriously affect the birds and waterfowl, which existing laws seek to protect.

I think, therefore, that the bill should not become law and that the tract should be made a Federal bird reservation for the protection of the birds which now frequent the lands. **WOODROW WILSON.**

[Reduction of Enlisted Men in Army to 175,000.]**THE WHITE HOUSE, February 5, 1921.**

I return herewith, without my approval, House joint resolution No. 440, directing the Secretary of War to cease enlisting men in the Regular Army of the United States, except in the cases of those men who have already served one or more enlistments therein.

The text of the joint resolution discloses that its purpose is to cause a discontinuance of enlistment in the Regular Army until the number of enlisted men shall not exceed one hundred and seventy-five thousand. No provision is made in the resolution for the preservation of any proportionate strength in the combatant corps of the Army and a mere discontinuance of enlistment would, for a long time, preserve the Staff Corps disproportionately enlisted and the combatant corps insufficiently manned to maintain the instruction and training which ought to be assured if an Army of one hundred and seventy-five thousand men is to be efficient in proportion to its aggregate number.

On the fourth day of **June, 1920**, I signed a bill passed by the present Congress, providing for the re-organization of the Army. Because of the profoundly disturbed condition of the world and in order that full benefit might accrue to the people of the United States from the lessons of the World War as to what, under modern conditions, is required to

be the nucleus of an efficient Army, the War Department had recommended an Army of approximately five hundred thousand men. The Congress, after prolonged consideration, determined to authorize, and did authorize, the re-organization of the Army on the basis of an enlisted strength of approximately two hundred and eighty thousand men, including in the organization new arms like the Air Service and the Chemical Warfare Service, the use of which were developments of the war and provision for which is a necessary addition to the pre-war strength of the Army. The Act authorized for the first time in our history a tactical organization of the Army, resting upon divisions as tactical units, and required the training of the National Guard and the organized reserve in territorial areas of the United States in association with the divisions of the Regular Army. At that time, the Congress plainly regarded the provision then made as the minimum which would provide for the added arms and new duties imposed on the Army, and for that efficiency which the peace-time Army of the United States should have as the nucleus of mobilization in the event of a national emergency. I regret that I am not able to see in the condition of the world at large or in the needs of the United States any such change as would justify the restriction upon that minimum which is proposed by the House Joint Resolution.

WOODROW WILSON.

The resolution was immediately and almost unanimously passed over the President's veto.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Acceptance of German Bonds for Belgian War Debt.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 22, 1921.*

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I herewith call your attention to an agreement with Belgium made by the British and French Premiers and myself, which is embodied in the following letter:

June 16, 1919.

M. HYMANS, *Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Hotel Lotti, Paris.*

SIR: The Reparation Clauses of the draft Treaty of Peace with Germany obligate Germany to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, on account of the violation by Germany of the Treaty of 1839. As evidence of such an obligation Germany is to make a special issue of bonds to be delivered to the Reparation Commission.

Each of the undersigned will recommend to the appropriate governmental agency of his Government that upon the delivery to the Reparation Commission of such bonds his Government accept an amount thereof corresponding to the sums which Belgium has borrowed from his Government since the war and up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at 5 per cent unless already included in such sums, in satisfaction of Belgium's

obligation on account of such loans, which obligation of Belgium's shall thereupon be cancelled.

We are, dear Mr. Minister,

Very truly yours,

G. CLEMENCEAU,
WOODROW WILSON,
D. LLOYD-GEORGE.

In recommending to you that Congress take appropriate action with regard to this agreement, certain facts should be brought to your attention.

The neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the Treaty of London of 1839. In considering the reparation to be made by Germany it was agreed that the action of Germany in grossly violating this Treaty by an attack on Belgium obligated the German Government under international law to repay to Belgium the costs of war. On this principle the Treaty of Versailles (Art. 232) provided that in accordance with Germany's pledges already given as to the complete restoration for Belgium, Germany should undertake, in addition to the compensation for material damage, to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium had borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at 5 per cent per annum on such sums. This obligation was to be discharged by a special issue of bearer bonds to an equivalent amount payable in gold marks on May 1, 1926, or at the option of the German Government on the 1st of May in any year up to 1926.

For various reasons the undertaking defined in the above letter was not embodied in the Treaty. Belgium's obligations to the United States for advances made up to the date of the armistice amounted to approximately \$171,000,000, and to England and France they amounted, I am informed, to about £164,700,000. In view of the special circumstances in which Belgium became involved in the war and the attitude of this country toward Belgium, it was felt that the United States might well agree to make the same agreement respecting pre-armistice loans to Belgium as England and France offered to do.

Advances made by the Treasury to the Belgian Government from the beginning of the war to the armistice amounted to \$171,780,000. This principal sum, however, includes advances of \$499,400 made to enable the Belgians to pay the interest due November 15, 1917, and \$1,571,468.42 to enable the payment of the interest due May 15, 1918. The interest on the advances has been paid up to April 15, 1919, the interest due from May 15, 1918, to that date having been paid out of the Treasury loans for which the United States holds Belgian obligations, which, however, were made after November 11, 1918, the date of the armistice. This latter advance would not come within the terms of the

agreement above mentioned. If, therefore, the United States accepts payment of Belgian obligations given before the armistice by receiving a corresponding amount of German obligations, it would seem that it should receive German obligations amounting to \$171,780,000 with interest from April 15, 1919.

Although it is understood that England and France will take their share of the German bonds when received by Belgium, I am informed that the Reparation Commission has not as yet finally determined the details of the issuance of the necessary bonds by the German Government. A recommendation at this time that suitable legislative action should be taken may appear somewhat premature, but in view of the approaching termination of my administration I have brought this matter to your attention, hoping that suitable action may be taken at the appropriate time.

WOODROW WILSON.

NOTE TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[Mandates for Territory, Especially the Island of Yap, Taken From Central Powers After the World War.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21, 1921.

To the President and Members of the Council of the League of Nations:

Gentlemen: The government of the United States has received information that the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting which is to be held in Paris on this date proposes to consider at length the subject of mandates, including their terms, provisions and allocation, and accordingly takes this opportunity to deliver to the Council of the League of Nations a copy of its note addressed under date of November 20, 1920, to His Excellency Lord Curzon, of Kedleston, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which the views of the United States are quite fully set forth regarding the nature of the responsibilities of mandatory Powers.

The attention of the Council of the League of Nations is particularly invited to the request therein made on behalf of this Government that the draft mandate forms intended to be submitted to the League of Nations be communicated to this Government for its consideration before submission to the Council of the League, in order that the Council might thus have before it an expression of the opinion of the Government of the United States on the form of such mandates, and a clear indication of the basis upon which the approval of this Government, which is essential to the validity of any determinations which may be reached, might be anticipated and received. It was furthermore stated in said note that the establishment of the mandate principle, a new principle in international relations and one in which the public opinion of the world is taking special interest, would seem to require the frankest discussion from all pertinent points of view, and the opinion was expressed that suitable publicity should be given to the drafts of mandates which it is the intention to submit to the Council, in order that the fullest opportunity might be afforded to consider their terms in relation to the obligations assumed by the mandatory Powers and the respective interests of all governments who deem themselves concerned or affected.

A copy of this note was transmitted to the Governments of France and Italy, requesting an interpretation by each Government of the provisions of the agreement between Great Britain, Italy and France, signed at Sèvres on August 10, 1920, relating to the creation of spheres of special interest in Anatolia in the light of this Government's note to the British Government of November 20, 1920. A reply has thus far been received from the French Government only, in which attention is directed to Article X of the so-called Sèvres Treaty, which provides, in favor of nationals of third Powers, for all economic purposes, free access to the so-called zones of special interest.

This government is also in receipt of information that the Council of the League of Nations, at its meeting at Geneva on December 17 last, approved, among other mandates, a mandate to Japan embracing "all former German islands situated in the Pacific Ocean and lying north of the equator." The text of this mandate to Japan which was received by this government, and which, according to available information, was approved by the Council, contains the following statement:

"Whereas the principal Allied and associated powers agree that in accordance with Article XXII, Part 1 (covenant of the League of Nations), of the said treaty, a mandate should be conferred upon His Majesty the Emperor of Japan to administer the said islands, and have proposed that the mandate should be formulated in the following terms," etc.

The government of the United States takes this opportunity, respectfully and in the most friendly spirit, to submit to the president and members of the Council of the League that the statement above quoted is incorrect and is not an accurate recital of the facts. On the contrary, the United States, which is distinctly included in the very definite and constantly-used descriptive phrase "the principal Allied and associated Powers," has not agreed to the terms or provisions of the mandate which is embodied in this text, nor has it agreed that a mandate should be conferred upon Japan covering all the former German islands situated in the Pacific Ocean and lying north of the equator.

The United States has never given its consent to the inclusion of the island of Yap in any proposed mandate to Japan, but, on the other hand, at the time of the discussion of a mandate covering the former German islands in the Pacific north of the equator, and in the course of said discussion, President Wilson, acting on behalf of this government, was particular to stipulate that the question of the disposition of the island of Yap should be reserved for future consideration. Subsequently, this government was informed that certain of "the principal Allied and associated Powers" were under the impression that the reported decision of the Supreme Council, sometimes described as the Council of Four, taken at its meeting on May 7, 1919, included or inserted the island of Yap in the proposed mandate to Japan. This government in notes addressed to the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan has set forth at length its contention that Yap had in fact been excepted from this proposed mandate and was not to be included therein.

Furthermore, by direction of President Wilson, the respective governments above mentioned were informed that the government of the United States could not concur in the reported decision of May 7, 1919, of the Supreme Council. The information was further conveyed that the reservations which had previously been made by this Government regarding the island of Yap were based on the view that the island of Yap necessarily constitutes an in-

dispensable part of any scheme or practicable arrangement of cable communication in the Pacific, and that its free and unhampered use should not be limited or controlled by any one Power.

While this government has never assented to the inclusion of the island of Yap in the proposed mandate to Japan, it may be pointed out that, even if one or more of the other principal Allied or associated Powers were under a misapprehension as to the inclusion of this island in the reported decision of May 7, 1919, nevertheless the notes, above mentioned, of the government of the United States make clear the position of this government in the matter. At the time when the several notes were addressed to the respective governments above mentioned a final agreement had not been reached as to the terms and allocation of mandates covering the former German islands in the Pacific. Therefore, the position taken in the matter by the President on behalf of this government, and clearly set forth in the notes referred to, necessarily had the result of effectively withdrawing any suggestion or implication of assent, mistakenly imputed to this government, long before December 17, 1920, the date of the council's meeting at Geneva.

As one of "the principal Allied and associated Powers" the United States has an equal concern and an inseparable interest with the other principal Allied and associated Powers in the overseas possessions of Germany and concededly an equal voice in their disposition, which it is respectfully submitted cannot be undertaken or effectuated without its assent. The government of the United States, therefore, respectfully states that it cannot regard itself as bound by the terms and provisions of said mandate, and desires to record its protest against the reported decision of December 17 last of the Council of the League of Nations in relation thereto, and at the same time to request that the council, having obviously acted under a misapprehension of the facts, should reopen the question for the further consideration which the proper settlement of it clearly requires.

Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of my high consideration.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State.

VETO MESSAGE

[Emergency Tariff Bill.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 3, 1921.*

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I return herewith without my approval H. R. 15,275, an act imposing temporary duties upon certain agricultural products to meet present emergencies, to provide revenue and for other purposes.

The title of this measure indicates that it has several purposes. The report of the Committee on Ways and Means reveals that its principal object is to furnish relief to certain producers in the nation who have been unable to discover satisfactory markets in foreign countries for their products and whose prices have fallen.

Very little reflection would lead any one to conclude that the measure would not furnish in any substantial degree the relief sought by the producers of most of the staple commodities which it covers. This

nation has been for very many years a large exporter of agricultural products. For nearly a generation before it entered the European war its exports exceeded its imports of agricultural commodities by from approximately \$200,000,000 to more than \$500,000,000. In recent years this excess has greatly increased, and in 1919 reached the huge total of \$1,904,292,000. The excess of exports of staple products is especially marked. In 1913 the nation imported 783,481 bushels of wheat, valued at \$670,931 and in 1920, 35,848,648 bushels, worth \$75,398,834, while it exported in 1913, 99,508,968 bushels, worth \$95,098,838 and in 1920, 218,280,231 bushels, valued at \$596,957,796.

In the year 1913 it imported 85,183 barrels of wheat flour valued at \$347,877, and in 1920, 800,788 barrels valued at \$8,669,300, while it exported in the first year 12,278,206 barrels valued at \$56,865,444, and in 1920, 19,853,952 barrels valued at \$224,472,448. In 1913 it imported \$3,888,604 worth of corn, and in 1920, \$9,257,377 worth, while its exports in the first year were valued at \$26,515,146 and in 1920 at \$26,453,681. Of unmanufactured cotton in 1920 it imported approximately 300,000,000 pounds valued at \$138,743,000, while it exported more than 3,179,000,000 pounds, worth over \$1,136,000,000. Of preserved milk, in the same year, it imported \$3,331,812 worth and exported \$65,239,020 worth. Its imports in the same year of sugar and wool of course greatly exceeded its exports.

It is obvious that for the commodities, except sugar and wool, mentioned in the measure, which make up the greater part of our agricultural international trade, the imports can have little or no effect on the prices of the domestic products. This is strikingly true of such commodities as wheat and corn. The imports of wheat have come mainly from Canada and Argentina and have not competed with the domestic crop. Rather they have supplemented it. The domestic demand has been for specific classes and qualities of foreign wheat to meet particular milling and planting needs. They are a small fraction of our total production and of our wheat exports. The price of wheat is a world price; and it is a matter of little moment whether the Canadian wheat goes directly into the markets of the other countries of the world or indirectly through this country. The relatively small quantity of corn imported into this country has a specialized use and does not come into competition with the domestic commodity.

The situation in which many of the farmers of the country find themselves cannot be remedied by a measure of this sort. This is doubtless generally understood. There is no short way out of existing conditions, and measures of this sort can only have the effect of deceiving the farmers and of raising false hopes among them. Actual relief can come only from the adoption of constructive measures of

a broader scope, from the restoration of peace everywhere in the world, the resumption of normal industrial pursuits, the recovery particularly of Europe, and the discovery there of additional credit foundations on the basis of which her people may arrange to take from farmers and other producers of this nation a greater part of their surplus production.

One does not pay a compliment to the American farmer who attempts to alarm him by dangers from foreign competition. The American farmers are the most effective agricultural producers in the world. Their production is several times as great for each worker as that of their principal foreign rivals. This grows out of the intelligence of the American farmer, the nature of his agricultural practices and economy and the fact that he has the assistance of scientific and practical agencies which, in respect to variety of activity, of personnel and of financial support, exceed those of any other two or three nations in the world combined. There is little doubt that the farmers of this nation will not only continue mainly to supply the home demand, but will be increasingly called upon to supply a large part of the needs of the rest of the world.

What the farmer now needs is not only a better system of domestic marketing and credit, but especially larger foreign markets for his surplus products.

Clearly, measures of this sort will not conduce to an expansion of the foreign market. It is not a little singular that a measure which strikes a blow at our foreign trade should follow so closely upon the action of Congress directing the resumption of certain activities of the War Finance Corporation, especially at the urgent insistence of representatives of the farming interests, who believed that its resumption would improve foreign marketing. Indeed, when one surveys recent activities in the foreign field, and measures enacted affecting the foreign trade, one cannot fail to be impressed with the fact, that there is consistency only in their contradictions and inconsistencies.

We have been vigorously building up a great merchant marine and providing for improvement of marketing in foreign countries by the passage of an export trade law and of measures for the promotion of banking agencies in foreign countries. Now it appears that we propose to render these measures abortive in whole or in part.

I imagine there is little doubt that while this measure is temporary, it is intended as a foundation for action of a similar nature of a very general and permanent character. It would seem to be designed to pave the way for such action. If there ever was a time when America had anything to fear from foreign competition, that time has passed. I cannot believe that American producers, who in most respects are the most effective in the world, can have any dread of competition when

they view the fact that their country has come through the great struggle of the last few years, relatively speaking, untouched, while their principal competitors are in varying degrees sadly stricken and laboring under adverse conditions from which they will not recover for many years.

Changes of a very radical character have taken place. The United States has become a great creditor nation. She has lent certain Governments of Europe more than \$9,000,000,000, and as a result of the enormous excess of our exports there is an additional commercial indebtedness of foreign nations to our own of perhaps not less than \$4,000,000,000. There are only three ways in which Europe can meet her part of her indebtedness, namely, by the establishment of private credits, by the shipment of gold, or of commodities. It is difficult for Europe to discover the requisite securities as a basis for the necessary credits. Europe is not in a position at the present time to send us the amount of gold which would be needed and we could not view further large imports of gold into this country without concern. The result, to say the least, would be a larger disarrangement of international exchange and disturbance of international trade.

If we wish to have Europe settle her debts, Governmental or commercial, we must be prepared to buy from her, and if we wish to assist Europe and ourselves by the export either of food, of raw materials, or finished products, we must be prepared to welcome commodities which we need and which Europe will be prepared, with no little pain, to send us.

Clearly, this is no time for the erection here of high trade barriers. It would strike a blow at the large and successful efforts which have been made by many of our great industries to place themselves on an export basis. It would stand in the way of the normal readjustment of business conditions throughout the world, which is as vital to the welfare of this country as to that of all the other nations. The United States has a duty to itself as well as to the world, and it can discharge this duty by widening, not by contracting, its world markets.

This measure has only slight interest so far as its prospective revenue yields are concerned. It is estimated that the aggregate addition to the nation's income from its operation for ten months would be less than \$72,000,000, and of this more than half would arise from the proposed duty on sugar. Obviously this and much more can be secured in ways known to the Congress, which would be vastly less burdensome to the American consumer and American industry.

The rates, however, have a peculiar interest. In practically every case they either equal or exceed those established under the Payne-Aldrich Act, in which the principle of protection reached its high water

mark, and the enactment of which was followed by an effective exhibition of protest on the part of the majority of the American people. I do not believe that the sober judgment of the masses of the people of the nation, or even of the special class whose interests are immediately affected by this measure, will sanction a return, especially in view of conditions which lend even less justification for such action, to a policy of legislation for selfish interests which will foster monopoly and increase the disposition to look upon the Government as an instrument for private gain instead of an instrument for the promotion of the general well-being

Such a policy is antagonistic to the fundamental principle of equal and exact justice to all, and can only serve to revive the feeling of irritation on the part of the great masses of the people and of the lack of confidence in the motives of rulers and the results of government.

WOODROW WILSON.

QUESTIONS.

1. What was the attitude of the Wilson administration toward American business men? Pages 7871, 8015, 8038, 8151, 8474, 8714, 8771, 8817, 8886.
2. Why did President Wilson veto the bill containing a literacy test for immigrants and how did conditions after the war compel him to urge certain checks upon immigration? Pages 8043, 8778.
3. In what way did the Wilson administration assist the American farmer? Pages 7908, 8018, 8116.
4. What was President Wilson's attitude toward disorders in Mexico? Pages 7892, 8032, 8131, 8155, 8762, 8807.
5. How did President Wilson try to open peace mediations in the Great War before America was drawn into it, and with what success? Pages 8190, 8199.
6. What were the various steps by which Germany's submarine warfare brought the United States into the Great War? Pages 8057, 8062, 8121, 8125, 8205, 8206, 8209, 8221.
7. How did the conception of a League of Nations grow in President Wilson's mind as the Great War continued? Pages 8191, 8200, 8288, 8402, 8425, 8593, 8659, 8666.
8. Why did President Wilson urge the passage of the Woman Suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution? Pages 8163, 8375, 8599, 8639, 8719.
9. What reform in our currency system do we owe to the Wilson administration? Pages 7879, 7908, 8026, 8151.
10. What were the "Fourteen Points?" Page 8423.
11. Did the terms of peace given Germany square with the terms of peace promised her? Pages 8421, 8447, 8482, 8534, 8596, 8727, 8737-8756, 8785, 8851.
12. What was the position of the Wilson administration on the territory administered under mandates of the League of Nations, and of United States rights therein? See Pages 8673, 8793, 8878, 8915.
13. What was President Wilson's attitude toward strikes by Labor which he thought unreasonable? Pages 8456, 8581, 8773, 8775, 8796, 8797, 8819.
14. What was President Wilson's position on legislation after the War with the reference to the cost of living, tariff and taxation? See pages 8716, 8764, 8816, 8885, 8917.
15. What was President Wilson's conception of the service rendered the world by the formation of the League of Nations and by the peace imposed upon Germany? Pages 8670, 8696, 8727, 8785.

SUGGESTIONS.

The changes in the tariff policy of the United States due to the Wilson Administration will be found on pages 7869, 7872, 8030, 8151, 8158.

The message in which President Wilson urged that the United States enter the lists against the Imperial German Government will be found on page 8226.

The text of the League of Nations Covenant is on pages 8673-8681.

The attitude of the Wilson administration toward the problem of the ownership and management of the railroads of the United States is discussed on pages 8018, 8117, 8159, 8409, 8412, 8418, 8644, 8719.

The official summary of the peace treaty with Germany will be found on pages 8737-8756.

The various details of the selective draft system used to recruit the American Expeditionary Forces for the war against the Central Powers will be found on pages 8256, 8306, 8385, 8574.

The policy of the United States toward revolutionary Russia is discussed on pages 8230, 8270, 8403, 8422, 8424, 8469, 8483, 8501, 8589, 8824, 8858, 8862, 8910.

The armistice negotiations of the Great War are given on pages 8603-8617.

President Wilson's actions with respect to Prohibition may be found outlined on pages 8583, 8720, 8774, 8799.

NOTE.

For further suggestions on Wilson's administration see Wilson, Woodrow, Encyclopedic Index.

By reading the Foreign Policy of each President, and by scanning the messages as to the state of the nation, a thorough knowledge of the history of the United States will be acquired from the most authentic sources; because, as has been said, "Each President reviews the past, depicts the present and forecasts the future of the nation."

Warren G. Harding

March 4, 1921—

**Messages, Proclamations, Executive Orders, and Addresses to
Congress and the People**

SEE ENCYCLOPEDIC INDEX

The Encyclopedic Index is not only an index to the other volumes, not only a key that unlocks the treasures of the entire publication, but it is in itself an alphabetically arranged brief history or story of the great controlling events constituting the History of the United States.

Under its proper alphabetical classification the story is told of every great subject referred to by any of the Presidents in their official Messages, and at the end of each article the official utterances of the Presidents themselves are cited upon the subject, so that you may readily turn to the page in the body of the work itself for this original information.

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FLORENCE KLING HARDING



FLORENCE KLING, born in 1860, was the daughter of Amos Kling, who became a banker and one of the leading merchants in Marion, Ohio, where she received her education. She was the constant companion of her father, not only in his avocations, but also in his vocation, for she took a keen interest in his business activities. Her desire to help the men of her family in their work was not dimmed by her training in music at the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music and abroad, nor by her later music-teaching; and when she married the owner of the struggling Marion *Star*, she insisted on taking some of the load of the early journalistic struggles from her husband's back. She went into the office of the *Star* as its circulation manager, held that position for many years, and thus was largely responsible for the paper's success. When prosperity came to the Hardings, Mrs. Harding continued her interest in music, but devoted herself more and more to the home, deciding that nothing would be of greater service to her husband's career than a home-life which would ever stimulate him to the highest efforts and achievements.

WARREN G. HARDING

The twenty-ninth President of the United States was born in Blooming Grove, or Corsica, Morrow County, Ohio, on November 2, 1865. On his father's side, he was descended from Scotch ancestors who had settled in Pennsylvania in colonial days, migrating to Ohio by means of ox-carts around 1820. On the side of his mother, Phoebe Elizabeth Dickerson Harding, who died in 1910, he inherited a Dutch strain. His father, George Tyron Harding, who was still living when his son entered the White House, was a country doctor. *

Warren, who was the oldest child, spent most of his boyhood on the farm which his father worked, in addition to his medical practice. When he was six, the family moved to Caledonia, a neighboring town of less than one thousand inhabitants, where the boy later attended the village school. He performed odd jobs when the opportunity presented, including work in a sawmill and on railroad construction. From 1879 to 1882, he attended the Ohio Central College at Iberia. This institution was little more than a high school or academy, and did not long survive the graduation of its most distinguished alumnus with the degree of bachelor of science. Warren Harding worked his way through college, doing whatever work presented itself, and getting valuable journalistic experience as editor of the college paper. Before graduation, he had learned also the art of practical printing, both hand composition and machine operating.

After trying his hand at various tasks, including insurance and reading law, young Harding became a reporter and handy man on the *Mirror*, published in Marion, Ohio. In 1884, he bought the moribund *Star*, of the same city, which his hard work and perspicacity soon made successful, and provided a permanent means of livelihood. Marion grew rapidly in size, and the owner and editor of the *Marion Star* identified himself with many of the business interests of the town. He became a member in good standing of the Baptist Church. On July 8, 1891, he married Florence Kling, daughter of a business man of Marion.

The newspaper owner soon took an active part in politics. As a youth, he had been a supporter of Blaine, and later became a lieutenant of Senator Foraker. He was regularly a delegate to the Republican State Convention of Ohio, and from 1899 to 1903 he sat in the state legislature as Senator from the Thirteenth Ohio Senatorial District. His services to his party were rewarded by nomination for lieutenant governor of the state, to which office he was elected, serving from 1904

to 1906. He was the Republican candidate for governor of Ohio in 1910, but was defeated. Harding was always a regular organization man, of conservative tendencies, and he supported President Taft for re-election in 1912, against the Progressive Party of ex-President Roosevelt.

In 1914, Harding was elected to the United States Senate for the six-year term beginning in 1915. He initiated no outstanding legislation, but became quietly influential behind the scenes. He was made chairman of the Senate Committee on the Philippine Islands, and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, which became all-important in the fight for the ratification of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, including the covenant of the League of Nations, after the close of the World War. Senator Harding, who had been an ardent supporter of the war efforts of the United States against Germany and Austria-Hungary, voted for the ratification of the treaty with the reservations added by the Republican majority in the Senate.

In the Republican National Convention of 1916, Senator Harding had delivered the "keynote address," and he became a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1920. He was one of the least frequently-mentioned candidates, receiving only 65½ votes of a total of 984 on the first ballot and only 78 votes on the fifth ballot at the convention in Chicago in June, 1920. But due largely to a deadlock between the leading candidates, and to what were considered serious disqualifications of each of them, Senator Harding became the compromise candidate and was nominated on the tenth ballot. In the following November, he was elected President by the overwhelming majority of about 7,000,000 popular and 277 electoral votes over his Democratic opponent, Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio. He assumed the Presidency on March 4, 1921.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

MY COUNTRYMEN: When one surveys the world about him after the great storm, noting the marks of destruction and yet rejoicing in the ruggedness of the things which withstood it, if he is an American he breathes the clarified atmosphere with a strange mingling of regret and new hope. We have seen a world passion spend its fury, but we contemplate our Republic unshaken, and hold our civilization secure. Liberty—liberty within the law—and civilization are inseparable, and though both were threatened we find them now secure; and there comes to Americans the profound assurance that our representative government is the highest expression and surest guaranty of both.

Standing in this presence, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, feeling the emotions which no one may know until he senses the great weight of responsibility for himself, I must utter my belief in the divine inspiration of the founding fathers. Surely there must have been God's intent in the making of this new-world Republic. Ours is an organic law which had but one ambiguity, and we saw that effaced in a baptism of sacrifice and blood, with union maintained, the Nation supreme, and its concord inspiring. We have seen the world rivet its hopeful gaze on the great truths on which the founders wrought. We have seen civil, human, and religious liberty verified and glorified. In the beginning the Old World scoffed at our experiment; today our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken, a precious inheritance to ourselves, an inspiring example of freedom and civilization to all mankind. Let us express renewed and strengthened devotion, in grateful reverence for the immortal beginning, and utter our confidence in the supreme fulfillment.

The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of non-involvement in Old World affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny, and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment, in each instance, may determine.

Our eyes never will be blind to a developing menace, our ears never deaf to the call of civilization. We recognize the new order in the world, with the closer contacts which progress has wrought. We sense the call of the human heart for fellowship, fraternity, and cooperation. We crave friendship and harbor no hate. But America, our America, the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers, can be a party to no permanent military alliance. It can enter into no political commitments, nor assume any economic obligations which will subject our decisions to any other than our own authority.

I am sure our own people will not misunderstand, nor will the world misconstrue. We have no thought to impede the paths to closer relationship. We wish to promote understanding. We want to do our part in making offensive warfare so hateful that Governments and peoples who resort to it must prove the righteousness of their cause or stand as outlaws before the bar of civilization.

We are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference, for counsel; to seek the expressed views of world opinion; to recommend a way to approximate disarmament and relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments. We elect to participate in suggesting plans for mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, and would gladly join in that expressed conscience of progress, which seeks to clarify and write the laws of international relationship, and establish a world court for the disposition of such justiciable questions as nations are agreed to submit thereto. In expressing aspirations, in seeking practical plans, in translating humanity's new concept of righteousness and justice and its hatred of war into recommended action we are ready most heartily to unite, but every commitment must be made in the exercise of our national sovereignty. Since freedom impelled, and independence inspired, and nationality exalted, a world supergovernment is contrary to everything we cherish and can have no sanction by our Republic. This is not selfishness, it is sanctity. It is not aloofness, it is security. It is not suspicion of others, it is patriotic adherence to the things which made us what we are.

Today, better than ever before, we know the aspirations of mankind, and share them. We have come to a new realization of our place in the world and a new appraisal of our Nation by the world. The unselfishness of these United States is a thing proven; our devotion to peace for ourselves and for the world is well established; our concern for preserved civilization has had its impassioned and heroic expression. There was no American failure to resist the attempted reversion of civilization; there will be no failure today or tomorrow.

The success of our popular government rests wholly upon the correct interpretation of the deliberate, intelligent, dependable popular will of America. In a deliberate questioning of a suggested change of national policy, where internationality was to supersede nationality, we turned to a referendum, to the American people. There was ample discussion, and there is a public mandate in manifest understanding.

America is ready to encourage, eager to initiate, anxious to participate in any seemly program likely to lessen the probability of war, and promote that brotherhood of mankind which must be God's highest conception of human relationship. Because we cherish ideals of justice and peace, because we appraise international comity and helpful relation-

ship no less highly than any people of the world, we aspire to a high place in the moral leadership of civilization, and we hold a maintained America, the proven Republic, the unshaken temple of representative democracy, to be not only an inspiration and example, but the highest agency of strengthening good will and promoting accord on both continents.

Mankind needs a world-wide benediction of understanding. It is needed among individuals, among peoples, among governments, and it will inaugurate an era of good feeling to mark the birth of a new order. In such understanding men will strive confidently for the promotion of their better relationships and nations will promote the comities so essential to peace.

We must understand that ties of trade bind nations in closest intimacy, and none may receive except as he gives. We have not strengthened ours in accordance with our resources or our genius, notably on our own continent, where a galaxy of Republics reflects the glory of new-world democracy, but in the new order of finance and trade we mean to promote enlarged activities and seek expanded confidence.

Perhaps we can make no more helpful contribution by example than prove a Republic's capacity to emerge from the wreckage of war. While the world's embittered travail did not leave us devastated lands nor desolated cities, left no gaping wounds, no breast with hate, it did involve us in the delirium of expenditure, in expanded currency and credits, in unbalanced industry, in unspeakable waste, and disturbed relationships. While it uncovered our portion of hateful selfishness at home, it also revealed the heart of America as sound and fearless, and beating in confidence unailing.

Amid it all we have riveted the gaze of all civilization to the unselfishness and the righteousness of representative democracy, where our freedom never has made offensive warfare, never has sought territorial aggrandizement through force, never has turned to the arbitrament of arms until reason has been exhausted. When the Governments of the earth shall have established a freedom like our own and shall have sanctioned the pursuit of peace as we have practiced it, I believe the last sorrow and the final sacrifice of international warfare will have been written.

Let me speak to the maimed and wounded soldiers who are present today, and through them convey to their comrades the gratitude of the Republic for their sacrifices in its defense. A generous country will never forget the services you rendered, and you may hope for a policy under Government that will relieve any maimed successors from taking your places on another such occasion as this.

Our supreme task is the resumption of our onward, normal way.

Reconstruction, readjustment, restoration—all these must follow. I would like to hasten them. If it will lighten the spirit and add to the resolution with which we take up the task, let me repeat for our Nation, we shall give no people just cause to make war upon us; we hold no national prejudices; we entertain no spirit of revenge; we do not hate; we do not covet; we dream of no conquest, nor boast of armed prowess.

If, despite this attitude, war is again forced upon us, I earnestly hope a way may be found which will unify our individual and collective strength and consecrate all America, materially and spiritually, body and soul, to national defense. I can vision the ideal republic, where every man and woman is called under the flag for assignment to duty for whatever service, military or civic, the individual is best fitted; where we may call to universal service every plant, agency, or facility, all in the sublime sacrifice for country, and not one penny of war profit shall inure to the benefit of private individual, corporation, or combination, but all above the normal shall flow into the defense chest of the Nation. There is something inherently wrong, something out of accord with the ideals of representative democracy, when one portion of our citizenship turns its activities to private gain amid defensive war while another is fighting, sacrificing, or dying for national preservation.

Out of such universal service will come a new unity of spirit and purpose, a new confidence and consecration, which would make our defense impregnable, our triumph assured. Then we should have little or no disorganization of our economic, industrial, and commercial systems at home, no staggering war debts, no swollen fortunes to flout the sacrifices of our soldiers, no excuse for sedition, no pitiable slackness, no outrage of treason. Envy and jealousy would have no soil for their menacing development, and revolution would be without the passion which engenders it.

A regret for the mistakes of yesterday must not, however, blind us to the tasks of today. War never left such an aftermath. There has been staggering loss of life and measureless wastage of materials. Nations are still groping for return to stable ways. Discouraging indebtedness confronts us like all the war-torn nations, and these obligations must be provided for. No civilization can survive repudiation.

We can reduce the abnormal expenditures, and we will. We can strike at war taxation, and we must. We must face the grim necessity, with full knowledge that the task is to be solved, and we must proceed with a full realization that no statute enacted by man can repeal the inexorable laws of nature. Our most dangerous tendency is to expect too much of government, and at the same time do for it too little.

We contemplate the immediate task of putting our public household in order. We need a rigid and yet sane economy, combined with fiscal

justice, and it must be attended by individual prudence and thrift, which are so essential to this trying hour and reassuring for the future.

The business world reflects the disturbance of war's reaction. Herein flows the lifeblood of material existence. The economic mechanism is intricate and its parts interdependent, and has suffered the shocks and jars incident to abnormal demands, credit inflations, and price upheavals. The normal balances have been impaired, the channels of distribution have been clogged, the relations of labor and management have been strained. We must seek the readjustment with care and courage. Our people must give and take. Prices must reflect the receding fever of war activities. Perhaps we never shall know the old levels of wages again, because war invariably readjusts compensations, and the necessities of life will show their inseparable relationship, but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability. All the penalties will not be light, nor evenly distributed. There is no way of making them so. There is no instant step from disorder to order. We must face a condition of grim reality, charge off our losses and start afresh. It is the oldest lesson of civilization. I would like government to do all it can to mitigate; then, in understanding, in mutuality of interest, in concern for the common good, our tasks will be solved. No altered system will work a miracle. Any wild experiment will only add to the confusion. Our best assurance lies in efficient administration of our proven system.

The forward course of the business cycle is unmistakable. Peoples are turning from destruction to production. Industry has sensed the changed order and our own people are turning to resume their normal, onward way. The call is for productive America to go on. I know that Congress and the Administration will favor every wise Government policy to aid the resumption and encourage continued progress.

I speak for administrative efficiency, for lightened tax burdens, for sound commercial practices, for adequate credit facilities, for sympathetic concern for all agricultural problems, for the omission of unnecessary interference of Government with business, for an end to Government's experiment in business, and for more efficient business in Government administration. With all of this must attend a mindfulness of the human side of all activities, so that social, industrial, and economic justice will be squared with the purposes of a righteous people.

With the nation-wide induction of womanhood into our political life, we may count upon her intuitions, her refinements, her intelligence, and her influence to exalt the social order. We count upon her exercise of the full privileges and the performance of the duties of citizenship to speed the attainment of the highest state.

I wish for an America no less alert in guarding against dangers from

within than it is watchful against enemies from without. Our fundamental law recognizes no class, no group, no section; there must be none in legislation or administration. The supreme inspiration is the common weal. Humanity hungers for international peace, and we crave it with all mankind. My most reverent prayer for America is for industrial peace, with its rewards, widely and generally distributed, amid the inspirations of equal opportunity. No one justly may deny the equality of opportunity which made us what we are. We have mistaken unpreparedness to embrace it to be a challenge of the reality, and due concern for making all citizens fit for participation will give added strength of citizenship and magnify our achievement.

If revolution insists upon overturning established order, let other peoples make the tragic experiment. There is no place for it in America. When World War threatened civilization we pledged our resources and our lives to its preservation, and when revolution threatens we unfurl the flag of law and order and renew our consecration. Ours is a constitutional freedom where the popular will is the law supreme and minorities are sacredly protected. Our revisions, reformations, and evolutions reflect a deliberate judgment and an orderly progress, and we mean to cure our ills, but never destroy or permit destruction by force.

I had rather submit our industrial controversies to the conference table in advance than to a settlement table after conflict and suffering. The earth is thirsting for the cup of good will, understanding is its fountain source. I would like to acclaim an era of good feeling amid dependable prosperity and all the blessings which attend.

It has been proved again and again that we cannot, while throwing our markets open to the world, maintain American standards of living and opportunity, and hold our industrial eminence in such unequal competition. There is a luring fallacy in the theory of banished barriers of trade, but preserved American standards require our higher production costs to be reflected in our tariffs on imports. Today, as never before, when peoples are seeking trade restoration and expansion, we must adjust our tariffs to the new order. We seek participation in the world's exchanges, because therein lies our way to widened influence and the triumphs of peace. We know full well we cannot sell where we do not buy, and we cannot sell successfully where we do not carry. Opportunity is calling not alone for the restoration, but for a new era in production, transportation and trade. We shall answer it best by meeting the demand of a surpassing home market, by promoting self-reliance in production, and by bidding enterprise, genius, and efficiency to carry our cargoes in American bottoms to the marts of the world.

We would not have an America living within and for herself alone,

but we would have her self-reliant, independent, and ever nobler, stronger, and richer. Believing in our higher standards, reared through constitutional liberty and maintained opportunity, we invite the world to the same heights. But pride in things wrought is no reflex of a completed task. Common welfare is the goal of our national endeavor. Wealth is not inimical to welfare; it ought to be its friendliest agency. There never can be equality of rewards or possessions so long as the human plan contains varied talents and differing degrees of industry and thrift, but ours ought to be a country free from great blotches of distressed poverty. We ought to find a way to guard against the perils and penalties of unemployment. We want an America of homes, illumined with hope and happiness, where mothers, freed from the necessity for long hours of toil beyond their own doors, may preside as befits the hearthstone of American citizenship. We want the cradle of American childhood rocked under conditions so wholesome and so hopeful that no blight may touch it in its development, and we want to provide that no selfish interest, no material necessity, no lack of opportunity shall prevent the gaining of that education so essential to best citizenship.

There is no short cut to the making of these ideals into glad realities. The world has witnessed again and again the futility and the mischief of ill-considered remedies for social and economic disorders. But we are mindful today as never before of the friction of modern industrialism, and we must learn its causes and reduce its evil consequences by sober and tested methods. Where genius has made for great possibilities, justice and happiness must be reflected in a greater common welfare.

Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to acclaim the era of the Golden Rule and crown it with the autocracy of service. I pledge an administration wherein all the agencies of Government are called to serve, and ever promote an understanding of Government purely as an expression of the popular will.

One cannot stand in this presence and be unmindful of the tremendous responsibility. The world upheaval has added heavily to our tasks. But with the realization comes the surge of high resolve, and there is reassurance in belief in the God-given destiny of our Republic. If I felt that there is to be sole responsibility in the Executive for the America of tomorrow I should shrink from the burden. But here are a hundred millions, with common concern and shared responsibility, answerable to God and country. The Republic summons them to their duty, and I invite co-operation.

I accept my part with single-mindedness of purpose and humility of

spirit, and implore the favor and guidance of God in His Heaven. With these I am unafraid, and confidently face the future.

I have taken the solemn oath of office on that passage of Holy Writ wherein it is asked: "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" This I plight to God and country.

NOTE TO THE SENATE

[Urging Ratification of the Pending Treaty with Colombia.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 9, 1921.*

I very respectfully invite the attention of the Senate to the pending treaty which has been negotiated between the United States and the Republic of Colombia, which is in the hands of your honorable body, with full information relating to its negotiation and its later modification and revision.

The early and favorable consideration of this treaty would be very helpful at the present time in promoting our friendly relationships. There have been many and long delays in dealing with this treaty until we have been made to seem unmindful, when in truth we have had no thought but to deal with this sister Republic in a most cordial consideration. I believe the revised treaty to be a fair expression of our just and friendly relationship with the Republic of Colombia, and I would rejoice to have our example in dealing with the Republic of Colombia to be made an assurance of that promptness and firmness and justice which shall invite added confidence in our Government and a new regard for our own Republic.

WARREN G. HARDING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PROCLAMATIONS

[Extra Session of Congress, 1921.]

Whereas public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at twelve o'clock, noon, on the eleventh day of April, 1921, to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive;

Now, Therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extra session at the Capitol in the District of Columbia on the eleventh day of April, 1921, at twelve o'clock, noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States in the District of Columbia the 22nd day of March in the year [SEAL.] of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth. WARREN G. HARDING

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

[Appointing James C. Davis Director General of Railroads.]

Whereas John Barton Payne has tendered his resignation as Director General of Railroads; and

Whereas such resignation has been accepted effective upon the qualification of his successor.

Now, Therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the power and authority so vested in me under the Transportation Act of 1920, the unrepealed provisions of the Federal Control Act of March 21, 1918, and the "Act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916, and of all other powers me hereto enabling, do hereby appoint, effective at noon on the 28th day of March, 1921, James C. Davis, of Iowa, Director General of Railroads in the stead of the said John Barton Payne, and do hereby delegate to and continue and confirm in him all powers and authority heretofore granted to and now possessed by the said John Barton Payne as Director General of Railroads; and do hereby authorize and direct the said James C. Davis, or his successor in office, until otherwise provided by Proclamation of the President or by Act of Congress, either personally or through such divisions, agencies, or persons as he may authorize, to exercise and perform, as fully in all respects as the President is authorized to do, all and singular the powers and duties conferred or imposed upon me by the said unrepealed provisions of the Federal Control Act of March 21, 1918, and the said Transportation Act of February 28, 1920, except the designation of the Agent under Section 206 thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done by the President in the District of Columbia this 26th day of March, in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and [SEAL.] twenty-one and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTE TO SOVIET RUSSIA

[Rejecting the Bolshevist Government's Request for the Opening of Trade Relations.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 25, 1921.*

The Government of the United States views with deep sympathy and grave concern the plight of the people of Russia and desires to aid by every appropriate means in promoting proper opportunities through which commerce can be established upon a sound basis. It is manifest to this Government that in existing circumstances there is no assurance for the development of trade, as the supplies which Russia might now be able to obtain would be wholly inadequate to meet her needs, and no lasting good can result so long as the present causes of progressive impoverishment continue to operate. It is only in the productivity of Russia that there is any hope for the Russian people, and it is idle to expect resumption of trade until the economic bases of production are securely established. Production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition by firm guarantees of private property, the sanctity of contract and the rights of free labor.

If fundamental changes are contemplated, involving due regard for the protection of persons and property and the establishment of conditions essential to the maintenance of commerce, this Government will be glad to have convincing evidence of the consummation of such changes, and until this evidence is supplied this Government is unable to perceive that there is any proper basis for considering trade relations.

HUGHES.

STATE DEPARTMENT LETTER

[Attitude Toward the Chinese Consortium Arrangement.]

*March 23, 1921.**

Messrs. J. P. Morgan and Company, for the American Group, 23 Wall Street, New York.

GENTLEMEN: I have received the letter of March 10, 1921, in which you request that I advise you whether the policy of the Department of State, in encouraging American interests in the assistance of China through the operations of the international Consortium, is in accord with my views and therefore receives my approval; and in which you state that the operations of the Consortium are in no way designed to interfere with the private initiative of our nationals or those of any other country, that it does not propose to undertake any mercantile, industrial or banking projects, but plans only to help China in the establishment of her great public utilities, such as the building of her railways, canals, et cetera, thereby assisting in stabilizing China economically and financially, and making that field a safer one for the initiative of our citizens in private enterprises in commerce, industry, et cetera.

In reply I am happy to advise you that the principle of this co-operative effort for the assistance of China has the approval of this Government, which is hopeful that the Consortium constituted for this purpose will be effective in assisting the Chinese people in their efforts towards a greater unity and stability, and in affording to individual enterprises of all nationalities equality of com-

*Made public March 30, 1921.

mercial and industrial opportunity and a wider field of activity in the economic development of China.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) CHARLES E. HUGHES.

THE CHINA CONSORTIUM AGREEMENT.

An Agreement made the fifteenth day of October, 1920, between

The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, having its office at 9 Gracechurch Street in the City of London, (hereinafter called "the Hongkong Bank") of the first part,

The Banque De L'Indo Chine, having its office at 15bis Rue Laffitte, Paris, (hereinafter called "the French Bank") of the second part,

The Yokohama Specie Bank Limited, having its office at Yokohama in Japan, (hereinafter called "the Japanese Bank") of the third part, and

Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb & Co., The National City Bank of New York, Chase National Bank, New York, The Guaranty Trust Company of New York, Messrs. Lee, Higginson & Co. of Boston and the Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago (hereinafter called "the American Managers") acting as to the United Kingdom by Messrs. Morgan, Grenfell & Co., of 22 Old Broad Street in the City of London and as to France by Messrs. Morgan Harjes & Co. of Paris of the fourth part.

Whereas, the Hongkong Bank, the French Bank, the Japanese Bank and the American Managers are acting for the purposes of this Agreement as the representatives of the British, French, Japanese and American Groups respectively,

And, whereas, the British, French, Japanese and American Groups were formed with the object of negotiating and carrying out Chinese loan business,

And whereas their respective governments have undertaken to give their complete support to their respective national groups the parties hereto in all operations undertaken pursuant to the agreement hereinafter contained and have further undertaken that in the event of competition in the obtaining of any specific loan contract the collective support of the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the four governments will be assured to the parties hereto for the purposes of obtaining such contract,

And whereas the said national groups are of the opinion that the interests of the Chinese people can in existing circumstances best be served by the co-operative action of the various banking groups representing the investment interests of their respective countries in procuring for the Chinese Government the capital necessary for a program of economic reconstruction and improved communications,

And whereas with these objects in view the respective national groups are prepared to participate on equal terms in such undertakings as may be calculated to assist China in the establishment of her great public utilities and to these ends to welcome the co-operation of Chinese capital—

Now, it is hereby agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

1. Each group reserves to itself the right of increasing or reducing the number of its own members but so that any member of a group dropping out shall remain bound by the restrictive provisions hereof and any member of a group coming in shall become subject to the restrictive provisions hereof and so that no group shall (without the consent of the others) be entitled to submit into its group a new member who is not of its nationality and domiciled in its market. The admission of any new group shall be determined by the parties hereto subject to the approval of their respective governments.

2. This Agreement relates to existing and future loan agreements which involve the issue for subscription by the public of loans to the Chinese Government or to Chinese Government Departments or to Provinces of China or to companies or corporations owned or controlled by or on behalf of the Chinese Government or any Chinese Provisional Government or to any party if the transaction in question is guaranteed by the Chinese Government or Chinese Provincial Government but does not relate to agreements for loans to be floated in China. Existing agreements relating to industrial undertakings

upon which it can be shown that substantial progress has been made may be omitted from the scope of this Agreement.

3. The existing agreements and any future loan agreements to which this Agreement relates and any business arising out of such agreements respectively shall be dealt with by the said groups in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

4. This Agreement is made on the principle of complete equality in every respect between the parties hereto and each of the parties hereto shall take an equal share in all operations and sign all contracts and shall bear an equal share of all charges in connection with any business (except stamp duties and any charges of and in connection with the realization by the parties hereto in their respective markets of their shares in the operations) and the parties hereto shall conclude all contracts with equal rights and obligations as between themselves and each party shall have the same rights, privileges, prerogatives, advantages, responsibilities and obligations of every sort and kind. Accordingly, preliminary advances on account of or in connection with business to which this Agreement relates shall be borne by each of the parties hereto in equal shares and each of the parties hereto shall be entitled to participate equally in the existing agreements and will offer to the other parties hereto an equal participation with itself in any future loan business falling within the scope of this Agreement. Should one or more of the parties hereto decline a participation in the existing agreements or any of them or in any such future loan business as aforesaid, the party or parties accepting a participation therein shall be free to undertake the same but shall issue on its or their markets only.

5. All contracts shall so far as possible be made so as not to impose joint liability on the parties hereto but each of the parties hereto shall severally liquidate its own engagements or liabilities. The parties hereto will so far as possible come to an understanding with regard to the realization of the operations, but so that such realization in whatever manner this may take place shall be for the separate benefit of each of the parties hereto as regards their respective participation therein and so that each of the parties hereto shall be entitled to realize its participation in the operations only in its own market, it being understood that the issues in the respective markets are to be made at substantial parity.

6. Any one or more of the parties hereto who shall have accepted its or their participation in any business hereunder shall be entitled by notice in writing to call upon the other or others of the parties hereto who propose to issue their own respective participations to issue for the account of the party or parties giving such notice or notices either all or one-half of the amount which may constitute the participation of the party or parties giving such notice or notices and the party or parties so called upon shall issue the said amount or amounts (hereinafter called "the Residuary Participation") specified in such notice or notices upon and subject to the terms and conditions following, viz:

(1) Such notice or notices must be received by the other or others of the parties hereto before the execution of the final agreement for the issue of the loan or (in the case of an issue of a part only of the loan) of so much thereof as the parties hereto may from time to time agree to issue.

(2) The party or parties to whom such notice or notices shall have been given shall be entitled to decide among themselves and without reference to the party or parties giving such notice or notices as to which one or more of them shall issue the Residuary Participation but in default of any such decision they shall issue the same equally between them.

(3) In issuing the Residuary Participation no distinction shall be made between the Residuary Participation and the amount or amounts issued on its or their own account by the party or parties issuing the Residuary Participation which shall in all respects be subject to the conditions of the respective Syndicates which may be formed for the purpose of effecting the issue.

(4) Each of the parties issuing the Residuary Participation shall be entitled to decide for itself and without reference to the party or parties giving such notice or notices as to what expenses shall be incurred in relation to the issue of the total amount issued by such party.

(5) The party or parties issuing the Residuary Participation shall be entitled between them to charge the party or parties giving such notice or

notices with a commission of not exceeding 1½ per cent, on the nominal amount of the Residuary Participation and also with a pro-rata share of the total expenses which the issuing party or parties may in their sole discretion incur in relation to the whole issue and being in the proportion which the Residuary Participation bears to the total nominal amount of the issue.

(6) The party or parties issuing the Residuary Participation shall not by virtue of this Agreement incur any responsibility to subscribe for the Residuary Participation or to cause the same to be subscribed.

(7) Each party issuing the Residuary Participation shall apply all subscriptions received by it pro-rata between the Residuary Participation issued by it and the amount issued by such party on its own account.

(8) Each of the parties issuing the Residuary Participation will apply for and use its best endeavors to obtain a quotation on its market for the total amount issued by it.

(9) No issue of the Residuary Participation or any part thereof shall be made by the party or parties giving such notice or notices unless mutually agreed by the parties hereto.

7. No participation shall be given by any one of the parties hereto outside its own market. Any participation given in its own market by any one of the parties hereto shall be for its own account only or in the event of the issue including any of the Residuary Participation for the accounts pro-rata of the issuing Bank and the party or parties giving such notice or notices as aforesaid and in giving any such participation the party giving the same shall use its best endeavors to secure that no part of such participation shall be transferred to parties outside the market of the party giving the same. Any other participation shall be given only with the consent of all parties hereto and shall be borne in equal shares by the parties hereto.

8. This Agreement shall remain in force for the period of five years from the date hereof, provided nevertheless that a majority of the parties hereto may by twelve months' previous notice in writing addressed to the other parties hereto terminate this Agreement at any time.

In witness whereof the duly authorized representatives of the respective parties hereto have set their hands the day and year first above written.

For the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation

On behalf of the British Group: C. S. Addis.

For the Banque de L'Indo Chine

On behalf of the French Group: Th. de la Chaume.

For the Yokohama Specie Bank, Ltd.

On behalf of the Japanese Group: K. Takeuchi.

For and on behalf of the American Group:

J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., The National City Bank of New York, by J. A. Stillman, President; The Guaranty Trust Company of New York, by J. R. Swan, Vice-President; Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago, by John Jay Abbott, Vice-President; Chase National Bank, New York City, by A. H. Wiggin, Chairman; Lee Higginson & Co.

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTE

[To Germany, Replying to German Foreign Minister's Informal Memorandum Regarding Reparation Payments Under the Treaty of Versailles.]

March 29, 1921.*

The American Government is pleased to note in the informal memorandum of Dr. Simons the unequivocal expression on the part of the German Government of its desire to afford reparation up to the limit of German ability to pay. This Government stands with the Governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparation, so far as may be possible. The recognition of this obligation, implied in the memorandum of Dr. Simons, seems to the Government of the United States the

*Made public April 4, 1921.

only sound basis on which can be built a firm and just peace under which the various nations of Europe can achieve once more economic independence and stability. This Government believes that it recognizes in the memorandum of Dr. Simons a sincere desire on the part of the German Government to reopen negotiations with the Allies on a new basis and hopes that such negotiations, once resumed, may lead to a prompt settlement which will at the same time satisfy the just claims of the Allies and permit Germany hopefully to renew its productive activities.

HUGHES.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Forest Protection Week—1921.]

Whereas the destruction by forest fires in the United States involves an annual loss of approximately \$20,000,000 and the devastation of approximately 12,500,000 acres of timberland and other natural resources, and

Whereas, the present deplorably large area of non-productive land is being greatly increased by 33,000 or more forest fires which occur each year, and

Whereas, the menace of a future timber shortage threatens to become a present economic fact seriously affecting our social and industrial welfare, and

Whereas, a large percentage of the forest fires causing the annual waste of natural resources may be prevented by increasing care and vigilance on the part of citizens:

Therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, do urge upon the governors of the various States to designate and set apart the week of May 22-28, 1921, as Forest Protection Week, and to request all citizens of their states to plan for that week such educational and instructive exercises as shall bring before the people the serious and unhappy effects of the present unnecessary waste by forest fires, and the need of their individual and collective efforts in conserving the natural resources of America.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this 7th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fifth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

SPECIAL ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

[Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses on April 12, 1921.]

Members of the Congress:

You have been called in extraordinary session to give your consideration to national problems far too pressing to be long neglected. We face our tasks of legislation and administration amid conditions as difficult as our government has ever contemplated. Under our political system the people of the United States have charged the new Congress and the new Administration with the solution—the readjustments, reconstruction, and restoration which must follow in the wake of war.

It may be regretted that we were so illy prepared for war's aftermath, so little made ready to return to the ways of peace, but we are not to be discouraged. Indeed, we must be the more firmly resolved to undertake our work with high hope, and invite every factor in our citizenship to join in the effort to find our normal, onward way again. The American people have appraised the situation, and with that tolerance and patience which go with understanding they will give to us the influence of deliberate public opinion which ultimately becomes the edict of any popular government. They are measuring some of the stern necessities, and will join in the give and take which is so essential to firm reestablishment.

First in mind must be the solution of our problems at home, even though some phases of them are inseparably linked with our foreign relations. The surest procedure in every government is to put its own house in order. I know of no more pressing problem at home than to restrict our national expenditures within the limits of our national income, and at the same time measurably lift the burdens of war taxation from the shoulders of the American people.

One can not be unmindful that economy is a much-employed cry most frequently stressed in preelection appeals, but it is ours to make it an outstanding and ever-impelling purpose in both legislation and administration. The unrestrained tendency to heedless expenditure and the attending growth of public indebtedness, extending from federal authority to that of state and municipality and including the smallest political subdivision, constitute the most dangerous phase of government today. The nation can not restrain except in its own activities, but it can be exemplar in a wholesome reversal.

The staggering load of war debt must be cared for in orderly funding and gradual liquidation. We shall hasten the solution and aid effectively in lifting the tax burdens if we strike resolutely at expenditure. It is far more easily said than done. In the fever of war our expenditures were so little questioned, the emergency was so impelling, appro-

priation was so unimpeded that we little noted millions and counted the Treasury inexhaustible. It will strengthen our resolution if we ever keep in mind that a continuation of such a course means inevitable disaster.

Our current expenditures are running at the rate of approximately five billions a year, and the burden is unbearable. There are two agencies to be employed in correction: One is rigid resistance in appropriation and the other is the utmost economy in administration. Let us have both. I have already charged department heads with this necessity. I am sure Congress will agree; and both Congress and the Administration may safely count on the support of all right-minded citizens, because the burden is theirs. The pressure for expenditure, swelling the flow in one locality while draining another, is sure to defeat the imposition of just burdens, and the effect of our citizenship protesting outlay will be wholesome and helpful. I wish it might find its reflex in economy and thrift among the people themselves, because therein lies quicker recovery and added security for the future.

The estimates of receipts and expenditures and the statements as to the condition of the Treasury which the Secretary of the Treasury is prepared to present to you will indicate what revenues must be provided in order to carry on the government's business and meet its current requirements and fixed-debt charges. Unless there are striking cuts in the important fields of expenditure, receipts from internal taxes can not safely be permitted to fall below \$4,000,000,000 in the fiscal years 1922 and 1923. This would mean total internal tax collections of about one billion less than in 1920 and one-half billion less than in 1921.

The most substantial relief from the tax burden must come for the present from the readjustment of internal taxes, and the revision or repeal of those taxes which have become unproductive and are so artificial and burdensome as to defeat their own purpose. A prompt and thoroughgoing revision of the internal tax laws, made with due regard to the protection of the revenues, is, in my judgment, a requisite to the revival of business activity in this country. It is earnestly hoped, therefore, that the Congress will be able to enact without delay a revision of the revenue laws and such emergency tariff measures as are necessary to protect American trade and industry.

It is of less concern whether internal taxation or tariff revision shall come first than has been popularly imagined, because we must do both, but the practical course for earliest accomplishment will readily suggest itself to the Congress. We are committed to the repeal of the excess-profits tax and the abolition of inequities and unjustifiable exasperations in the present system. The country does not expect and will not approve a shifting of burdens. It is more interested in wiping

out the necessity for imposing them and eliminating confusion and cost in the collection.

The urgency for an instant tariff enactment, emergency in character and understood by our people that it is for the emergency only, can not be too much emphasized. I believe in the protection of American industry, and it is our purpose to prosper America first. The privileges of the American market to the foreign producer are offered too cheaply today, and the effect on much of our own productivity is the destruction of our self-reliance, which is the foundation of the independence and good fortune of our people. Moreover, imports should pay their fair share of our cost of government.

One who values American prosperity and maintained American standards of wage and living can have no sympathy with the proposal that easy entry and the flood of imports will cheapen our cost of living. It is more likely to destroy our capacity to buy. Today American agriculture is menaced, and its products are down to prewar normals, yet we are endangering our fundamental industry through the high cost of transportation from farm to market and through the influx of foreign farm products, because we offer, essentially unprotected, the best market in the world. It would be better to err in protecting our basic food industry than paralyze our farm activities in the world struggle for restored exchanges.

The maturer revision of our tariff laws should be based on the policy of protection, resisting that selfishness which turns to greed, but ever concerned with that productivity at home which is the source of all abiding good fortune. It is agreed that we can not sell unless we buy, but ability to sell is based on home development and the fostering of home markets. There is little sentiment in the trade of the world. Trade can and ought to be honorable, but it knows no sympathy. While the delegates of the nations at war were debating peace terms at Paris, and while we later debated our part in completing the peace, commercial agents of other nations were opening their lines and establishing their outposts, with a forward look to the morrow's trade. It was wholly proper, and has been advantageous to them. Tardy as we are, it will be safer to hold our own markets secure, and build thereon for our trade with the world.

A very important matter is the establishment of the Government's business on a business basis. There was toleration of the easy-going, unsystematic method of handling our fiscal affairs, when indirect taxation held the public unmindful of the Federal burden. But there is knowledge of the high cost of government today, and high cost of living is inseparably linked with high cost of government. There can be no complete correction of the high living cost until government's cost is notably reduced. Let me most heartily commend the enactment

of legislation providing for the national budget system. Congress has already recorded its belief in the budget. It will be a very great satisfaction to know of its early enactment, so that it may be employed in establishing the economies and business methods so essential to the minimum of expenditure.

I have said to the people we meant to have less of Government in business as well as more business in Government. It is well to have it understood that business has a right to pursue its normal, legitimate, and righteous way unimpeded, and it ought have no call to meet government competition where all risk is borne by the public Treasury. There is no challenge to honest and lawful business success. But government approval of fortunate, untrammelled business does not mean toleration of restraint of trade or of maintained prices by unnatural methods. It is well to have legitimate business understand that a just government, mindful of the interests of all the people, has a right to expect the co-operation of that legitimate business in stamping out the practices which add to unrest and inspire restrictive legislation. Anxious as we are to restore the onward flow of business, it is fair to combine assurance and warning in one utterance.

One condition in the business world may well receive your inquiry. Deflation has been in progress but has failed to reach the mark where it can be proclaimed to the great mass of consumers. Reduced cost of basic production has been recorded, but high cost of living has not yielded in like proportion. For example, the prices on grains and live stock have been deflated, but the cost of bread and meats is not adequately reflected therein. It is to be expected that non-perishable staples will be slow in yielding to lower prices, but the maintained retail costs in perishable foods can not be justified.

I have asked the Federal Trade Commission for a report of its observations, and it attributes, in the main, the failure to adjust consumers' cost to basic production costs to the exchange of information by "open-price associations," which operate, evidently, within the law, to the very great advantage of their members and equal disadvantage to the consuming public. Without the spirit of hostility or haste in accusation of profiteering, some suitable inquiry by Congress might speed the price readjustment to normal relationship, with helpfulness to both producer and consumer. A measuring rod of fair prices will satisfy the country and give us a business revival to end all depression and unemployment.

The great interest of both the producer and consumer—indeed, all our industrial and commercial life, from agriculture to finance—in the problems of transportation will find its reflex in your concern to aid reestablishment, to restore efficiency, and bring transportation cost

into a helpful relationship rather than continue it as a hindrance to resumed activities.

It is little to be wondered that ill-considered legislation, the war strain, Government operation in heedlessness of cost, and the conflicting programs, or the lack of them, for restoration have brought about a most difficult situation, made doubly difficult by the low tide of business. All are so intimately related that no improvement will be permanent until the railways are operated efficiently at a cost within that which the traffic can bear.

If we can have it understood that Congress has no sanction for government ownership, that Congress does not levy taxes upon the people to cover deficits in a service which should be self-sustaining, there will be an avowed foundation on which to rebuild.

Freight-carrying charges have mounted higher and higher until commerce is halted and production discouraged. Railway rates and costs of operation must be reduced.

Congress may well investigate and let the public understand wherein our system and the federal regulations are lacking in helpfulness or hindering in restrictions. The remaining obstacles which are the heritage of capitalistic exploitation must be removed, and labor must join management in understanding that the public which pays is the public to be served, and simple justice is the right and will continue to be the right of all the people.

Transportation over the highways is little less important, but the problems relate to construction and development, and deserve your most earnest attention, because we are laying a foundation for a long time to come, and the creation is very difficult to visualize in its great possibilities. The highways are not only feeders to the railroads and afford relief from their local burdens, they are actually lines of motor traffic in interstate commerce. They are the smaller arteries of the larger portion of our commerce, and the motor car has become an indispensable instrument in our political, social, and industrial life. There is begun a new era in highway construction, the outlay for which runs far into hundreds of millions of dollars. Bond issues by road districts, counties, and States mount to enormous figures, and the country is facing such an outlay that it is vital that every effort shall be directed against wasted effort and unjustifiable expenditure. The federal government can place no inhibition on the expenditure in the several States; but, since Congress has embarked upon a policy of assisting the states in highway improvement, wisely, I believe, it can assert a wholly becoming influence in shaping policy.

With the principle of federal participation acceptably established, probably never to be abandoned, it is important to exert federal influence in developing comprehensive plans looking to the promotion of

commerce, and apply our expenditures in the surest way to guarantee a public return for money expended.

Large federal outlay demands a federal voice in the program of expenditure. Congress can not justify a mere gift from the federal purse to the several states, to be prorated among counties for road betterment. Such a course will invite abuses which it were better to guard against in the beginning.

The laws governing federal aid should be amended and strengthened. The federal agency of administration should be elevated to the importance and vested with authority comparable to the work before it. And Congress ought to prescribe conditions to federal appropriations which will necessitate a consistent program of uniformity which will justify the federal outlay.

I know of nothing more shocking than the millions of public funds wasted in improving highways, wasted because there is no policy of maintenance. The neglect is not universal, but it is very near it. There is nothing the Congress can do more effectively to end this shocking waste than condition all federal aid on provisions for maintenance. Highways, no matter how generous the outlay for construction, can not be maintained without patrol and constant repair. Such conditions insisted upon in the grant of federal aid will safeguard the public which pays and guard the federal government against political abuses, which tend to defeat the very purposes for which we authorize federal expenditure.

Linked with rail and highway is the problem of water transportation—inland, coastwise, and transoceanic. It is not possible, on this occasion, to suggest to Congress the additional legislation needful to meet the aspirations of our people for a merchant marine. In the emergency of war we have constructed a tonnage equaling our largest expectations. Its war cost must be discounted to the actual values of peace, and the large difference charged to the war emergency, and the pressing task is to turn our assets in tonnage to an agency of commerce.

It is not necessary to say it to Congress, but I have thought this to be a befitting occasion to give notice that the United States means to establish and maintain a great merchant marine.

Our differences of opinion as to a policy of upbuilding have been removed by the outstanding fact of our having builded. If the intelligent and efficient administration under the existing laws makes established service impossible, the Executive will promptly report to you. Manifestly if our laws governing American activities on the seas are such as to give advantage to those who compete with us for the carrying of our own cargoes and those which should naturally come in American bottoms through trade exchanges, then the spirit of American fair play will assert itself to give American carriers their equality of

opportunity. This republic can never realize its righteous aspirations in commerce, can never be worthy the traditions of the early days of the expanding republic until the millions of tons of shipping which we now possess are coordinated with our inland transportation and our shipping has government encouragement, not government operation, in carrying our cargoes under our flag, over regularly operated routes, to every market in the world agreeable to American exchanges. It will strengthen American genius and management to have it understood that ours is an abiding determination, because carrying is second only to production in establishing and maintaining the flow of commerce to which we rightfully aspire.

It is proper to invite your attention to the importance of the question of radio communication and cables. To meet strategic, commercial, and political needs, active encouragement should be given to the extension of American-owned and operated cable and radio services. Between the United States and its possessions there should be ample communication facilities providing direct services at reasonable rates. Between the United States and other countries not only should there be adequate facilities, but these should be, so far as practicable, direct and free from foreign intermediation. Friendly cooperation should be extended to international efforts aimed at encouraging improvement of international communication facilities and designed to further the exchange of messages. Private monopolies tending to prevent the development of needed facilities should be prohibited. Government-owned facilities, wherever possible without unduly interfering with private enterprise or government needs, should be made available for general uses. Particularly desirable is the provision of ample cable and radio services at reasonable rates for the transmission of press matter, so that the American reader may receive a wide range of news, and the foreign reader receive full accounts of American activities. The daily press of all countries may well be put in position to contribute to international understandings by the publication of interesting foreign news.

Practical experience demonstrates the need for effective regulation of both domestic and international radio operation if this newer means of intercommunication is to be fully utilized. Especially needful is the provision of ample radio facilities for those services where radio only can be used, such as communication with ships at sea, with aircraft, and with out-of-the-way places. International communication by cable and radio requires co-operation between the powers concerned. Whatever the degree of control deemed advisable within the United States, government licensing of cable landings and of radio stations transmitting and receiving international traffic seems necessary for the

protection of American interests and for the security of satisfactory reciprocal privileges.

Aviation is inseparable from either the army or the navy, and the Government must, in the interests of national defense, encourage its development for military and civil purposes. The encouragement of the civil development of aeronautics is especially desirable as relieving the government largely of the expense of development, and of maintenance of an industry, now almost entirely borne by the government through appropriations for the military, naval, and postal air services. The Air Mail Service is an important initial step in the direction of commercial aviation.

It has become a pressing duty of the federal government to provide for the regulation of air navigation; otherwise independent and conflicting legislation will be enacted by the various states which will hamper the development of aviation. The National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, in a special report on this subject, has recommended the establishment of a Bureau of Aeronautics in the Department of Commerce for the federal regulation of air navigation, which recommendation ought to have legislative approval.

I recommend the enactment of legislation establishing a Bureau of Aeronautics in the Navy Department to centralize the control of naval activities in aeronautics, and removing the restrictions on the personnel detailed to aviation in the navy.

The army air service should be continued as a coordinate combatant of the army, and its existing organization utilized in cooperation with other agencies of the government in the establishment of national trans-continental airways, and in cooperation with the states in the establishment of local airdromes and landing fields.

The American people expect Congress unfailingly to voice the gratitude of the republic in a generous and practical way to its defenders in the World War, who need the supporting arm of the Government. Our very immediate concern is for the crippled soldiers and those deeply needing the helping hand of Government. Conscious of the generous intent of Congress, and the public concern for the crippled and dependent, I invited the services of a volunteer committee to inquire into the administration of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Federal Board for Vocational Training and other agencies of government in caring for the ex-soldiers, sailors, and marines of the World War. This committee promptly reported the chief difficulty to be the imperfect organization of government effort, the same lack of co-ordination which hinders Government efficiency in many undertakings, less noticed because the need for prompt service is less appealing.

This committee has recommended, and I convey the recommendations to you with cordial approval, that all Government agencies looking to

the welfare of the ex-service men should be placed under one directing head, so that the welfare of these disabled saviors of our civilization and freedom may have the most efficient direction. It may be well to make such an official the Director General of Service to War Veterans, and place under his direction all hospitalization, vocational training, war insurance, rehabilitation, and all pensions.

The immediate extension and utilization of the government's hospital facilities in Army and Navy will bring relief to the acute conditions most complained of, and the hospital building program may be worked out to meet the needs likely to be urgent at the time of possible completion.

The whole program requires the most thoughtful attention of Congress, for we are embarking on the performance of a sacred obligation which involves the expenditure of billions in the half century before us. Congress must perfect the policy of generous gratitude, and conscientious administration must stamp out abuses in the very beginning. We must strengthen rather than weaken the moral fiber of the beneficiaries, and humanize all efforts so that rehabilitation shall be attended by respiritualization.

During the recent political canvass the proposal was made that a department of public welfare should be created. It was indorsed and commended so strongly that I venture to call it to your attention and to suggest favorable legislative consideration.

Government's obligation affirmatively to encourage development of the highest and most efficient type of citizenship is modernly accepted, almost universally. Government rests upon the body of citizenship; it can not maintain itself on a level that keeps it out of touch and understanding with the community it serves. Enlightened governments everywhere recognize this and are giving their recognition effect in policies and programs. Certainly no government is more desirous than our own to reflect the human attitude, the purpose of making better citizens—physically, intellectually, spiritually. To this end I am convinced that such a department in the government would be of real value. It could be made to crystallize much of rather vague generalization about social justice into solid accomplishment. Events of recent years have profoundly impressed thinking people with the need to recognize new social forces and evolutions, to equip our citizens for dealing rightly with problems of life and social order.

In the realms of education, public health, sanitation, conditions of workers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination of social vice, and many other subjects, the government has already undertaken a considerable range of activities. I assume the maternity bill, already strongly approved, will be enacted promptly, thus adding to our manifestation of human interest. But these under-

takings have been scattered through many departments and bureaus without coordination and with much overlapping of functions which fritters energies and magnifies the cost. Many subjects of the greatest importance are handled by bureaus within government departments which logically have no apparent relation to them. Other subjects which might well have the earnest consideration of federal authority have been neglected or inadequately provided for. To bring these various activities together in a single department, where the whole field could be surveyed, and where their interrelationships could be properly appraised, would make for increased effectiveness, economy, and intelligence of direction. In creating such a department it should be made plain that there is no purpose to invade fields which the states have occupied. In respect of education, for example, control and administration have rested with the states, yet the federal government has always aided them. National appropriations in aid of educational purposes the last fiscal year were no less than \$65,000,000. There need be no fear of undue centralization or of creating a federal bureaucracy to dominate affairs better to be left in state control. We must, of course, avoid overlapping the activities by the several states, and we must ever resist the growing demand on the federal Treasury for the performance of service for which the state is obligated to its citizenship.

Somewhat related to the foregoing human problems is the race question. Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly, representative democracy. We face the fact that many millions of people of African descent are numbered among our population, and that in a number of states they constitute a very large proportion of the total population. It is unnecessary to recount the difficulties incident to this condition, nor to emphasize the fact that it is a condition which can not be removed. There has been suggestion, however, that some of its difficulties might be ameliorated by a humane and enlightened consideration of it, a study of its many aspects, and an effort to formulate, if not a policy, at least a national attitude of mind calculated to bring about the most satisfactory possible adjustment of relations between the races, and of each race to the national life. One proposal is the creation of a commission embracing representatives of both races, to study and report on the entire subject. The proposal has real merit. I am convinced that in mutual tolerance, understanding, charity, recognition of the interdependence of the races, and the maintenance of the rights of citizenship lies the road to righteous adjustment.

It is needless to call your attention to the unfinished business inherited from the preceding Congress. The appropriation bills for army and navy will have your early consideration.

Neither branch of the government can be unmindful of the call for



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THE FIRST CABINET OF PRESIDENT HARDING

Seated, Left to Right—Secretary of War Weeks, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, Secretary of State Hughes, President Harding, Vice President Coolidge, Secretary of the Navy Denby.
Standing, Left to Right—Secretary of the Interior Fall, Postmaster General Hays, Attorney General Daugherty, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Secretary of Labor Davis.

THE FIRST CABINET OF PRESIDENT HARDING

President Harding's selection of his cabinet mirrored the political situation which confronted his administration. Public attention was focused upon his choice for Secretary of State, for the choice of an advocate of the unreserved entrance of the United States into the League of Nations would have aroused the immediate opposition of the "Irreconcilables" who had succeeded in defeating ratification of the Treaty of Versailles; whereas the choice of an advocate of complete world-isolation for the United States would have run counter to Harding's own promise to effect "an association of nations." Moreover, it was necessary that a man of supreme intellectual ability be chosen, for it was evident that President Harding was not going to dominate the foreign policy of the administration as had President Wilson. All these requirements were happily met in Charles Evans Hughes.

Next to Secretary Hughes, the most prominent man to enter the cabinet was Herbert Hoover, endeared to Americans by his work as head of the Belgian Relief Administration and of the United States Food Administration during the War. His appointment was a concession to the "liberals" within the Republican Party, and also to a certain type of progressive business man who admired Mr. Hoover's firm grasp upon economic facts, here and abroad.

Mr. Daugherty had been President Harding's manager for the Presidential nomination, as well as his tactician previously in Ohio politics. Other appointments evidently dictated by political exigencies were those of Mr. Weeks, for many years a powerful influence within the Republican Party, and of Mr. Hays, who had achieved great success in unifying the Party and had managed its 1920 Presidential campaign.

Mr. Fall had been a close personal friend of the President in the Senate, and his inclusion in the cabinet was probably due also to his knowledge of affairs in Mexico. Mr. Denby, a former member of the House of Representatives, had seen service in the Marine Corps during the War. In the choice of Mr. Mellon for the Treasury position, the abilities of one of the most successful bankers of the country were secured, who, however, was not under the political handicap of being known as a "Wall Street man," and who was a constituent of Senator Penrose, the leader of the Republican Party in the Senate.

Mr. Wallace was the owner and editor of an extremely successful and influential agricultural journal. Mr. Davis had once been an active trade union member, so that his appointment might serve to enlist the applause of organized labor, whereas his period of union activity had been sufficiently distant not to alienate the business interests of the country by the appointment.

On the whole, the cabinet was representative of the conservative rather than of the "Progressive" wing of the Republican Party, thus reflecting President Harding's own conservative views while a member of the United States Senate.

reduced expenditure for these departments of our national defense. The government is in accord with the wish to eliminate the burdens of heavy armament. The United States ever will be in harmony with such a movement toward the higher attainments of peace. But we shall not entirely discard our agencies for defense until there is removed the need to defend. We are ready to cooperate with other nations to approximate disarmament, but merest prudence forbids that we disarm alone.

The naval program which had its beginning in what seemed the highest assurances of peace can carry no threat after the latest proof of our national unselfishness. The reasonable limitation of personnel may be combined with economies of administration to lift the burdens of excessive outlay. The War Department is reducing the personnel of the Army from the maximum provided by law in June, 1920, to the minimum directed by Congress in a subsequent enactment. When further reduction is compatible with national security, it may well have the sanction of Congress, so that a system of voluntary military training may offer to our young manhood the advantages of physical development, discipline, and commitment to service, and constitute the Army reserve in return for the training.

Nearly two and a half years ago the World War came to an end, and yet we find ourselves today in the technical state of war, though actually at peace, while Europe is at technical peace, far from tranquillity and little progressed toward the hoped-for restoration. It ill becomes us to express impatience that the European belligerents are not yet in full agreement, when we ourselves have been unable to bring constituted authority into accord in our own relations to the formally proclaimed peace. Little avails in reciting the causes of delay in Europe or our own failure to agree. But there is no longer excuse for uncertainties respecting some phases of our foreign relationship. In the existing League of Nations, world-governing with its superpowers, this republic will have no part. There can be no misinterpretation, and there will be no betrayal of the deliberate expression of the American people in the recent election; and, settled in our decision for ourselves, it is only fair to say to the world in general, and to our associates in war in particular, that the League covenant can have no sanction by us.

The aim to associate nations to prevent war, preserve peace, and promote civilization our people most cordially applauded. We yearned for this new instrument of justice, but we can have no part in a committal to an agency of force in unknown contingencies; we can recognize no super-authority.

Manifestly the highest purpose of the League of Nations was defeated in linking it with the treaty of peace and making it the enforcing agency of the victors of the war. International association for perma-

ment peace must be conceived solely as an instrumentality of justice, unassociated with the passions of yesterday, and not so constituted as to attempt the dual functions of a political instrument of the conquerors and of an agency of peace. There can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be achieved by any such association so long as it is an organ of any particular treaty, or committed to the attainment of the special aims of any nation or group of nations.

The American aspiration, indeed, the world aspiration, was an association of nations, based upon the application of justice and right, binding us in conference and cooperation for the prevention of war and pointing the way to a higher civilization and international fraternity in which all the world might share. In rejecting the League covenant and uttering that rejection to our own people, and to the world, we make no surrender of our hope and aim for an association to promote peace in which we would most heartily join. We wish it to be conceived in peace and dedicated to peace, and will relinquish no effort to bring the nations of the world into such fellowship, not in the surrender of national sovereignty but rejoicing in a nobler exercise of it in the advancement of human activities, amid the compensations of peaceful achievement.

In the national referendum to which I have adverted we pledged our efforts toward such association, and the pledge will be faithfully kept. In the plight of policy and performance, we told the American people we meant to seek an early establishment of peace. The United States alone among the Allied and associated powers continues in a technical state of war against the Central Powers of Europe. This anomalous condition ought not to be permitted to continue. To establish the state of technical peace without further delay, I should approve a declaratory resolution by Congress to that effect, with the qualifications essential to protect all our rights. Such action would be the simplest keeping of faith with ourselves, and could in no sense be construed as a desertion of those with whom we shared our sacrifices in war, for these Powers are already at peace. Such a resolution should undertake to do no more than thus to declare the state of peace, which all America craves. It must add no difficulty in effecting, with just reparations, the restoration for which all Europe yearns, and upon which the world's recovery must be founded. Neither former enemy nor ally can mistake America's position, because our attitude as to responsibility for the war and the necessity for just reparations already has had formal and very earnest expression.

It would be unwise to undertake to make a statement of future policy with respect to European affairs in such a declaration of a state of peace. In correcting the failure of the Executive, in negotiating the most important treaty in the history of the Nation, to recognize the constitutional powers of the Senate we would go to the other extreme,

equally objectionable, if Congress or the Senate should assume the function of the executive. Our highest duty is the preservation of the constituted powers of each, and the promotion of the spirit of cooperation so essential to our common welfare.

It would be idle to declare for separate treaties of peace with the Central Powers on the assumption that these alone would be adequate, because the situation is so involved that our peace engagements can not ignore the Old World relationship and the settlements already effected, nor is it desirable to do so in preserving our own rights and contracting our future relationships. The wiser course would seem to be the acceptance of the confirmation of our rights and interests as already provided and to engage under the existing treaty, assuming of course, that this can be satisfactorily accomplished by such explicit reservations and modifications as will secure our absolute freedom from inadvisable commitments and safeguard all our essential interests.

Neither Congress nor the people needs my assurance that a request to negotiate needed treaties of peace would be as superfluous and unnecessary as it is technically ineffective, and I know in my own heart there is none who would wish to embarrass the Executive in the performance of his duty when we are all so eager to turn disappointment and delay into gratifying accomplishment.

Problems relating to our foreign relations bear upon the present and the future, and are of such a nature that the all important future must be deliberately considered, with greater concern than mere immediate relief from unhappy conditions. We have witnessed, yea, we have participated in the supremely tragic episode of war, but our deeper concern is in the continuing life of nations and the development of civilization. We must not allow our vision to be impaired by the conflict among ourselves. The weariness at home and the disappointment to the world have been compensated in the proof that this republic will surrender none of the heritage of nationality, but our rights in international relationship have to be asserted; they require establishment in compacts of amity; our part in readjustment and restoration can not be ignored, and must be defined.

With the supergoverning league definitely rejected and with the world so informed, and with the status of peace proclaimed at home, we may proceed to negotiate the covenanted relationship so essential to the recognition of all the rights everywhere of our own nation and play our full part in joining the peoples of the world in the pursuits of peace once more. Our obligations in effecting European tranquillity, because of war's involvements, are not less impelling than our part in the war itself. This restoration must be wrought before the human procession can go onward again. We can be helpful because we are moved by no hatreds and harbor no fears. Helpfulness does not mean

entanglement, and participation in economic adjustments does not mean sponsorship for treaty commitments which do not concern us, and in which we will have no part.

In an all-impelling wish to do the most and best for our own republic and maintain its high place among nations and at the same time make the fullest offering of justice to them, I shall invite in the most practical way the advice of the Senate, after acquainting it with all the conditions to be met and obligations to be discharged, along with our own rights to be safeguarded. Prudence in making the program and confident cooperation in making it effective can not lead us far astray. We can render no effective service to humanity until we prove anew our own capacity for cooperation in the coordination of powers contemplated in the Constitution, and no covenants which ignoré our associations in the war can be made for the future. More, no helpful society of nations can be founded on justice and committed to peace until the covenants reestablishing peace are sealed by the nations which were at war. To such accomplishment—to the complete reestablishment of peace and its contracted relationships, to the realization of our aspirations for nations associated for world helpfulness without world government, for world stability on which humanity's hope are founded, we shall address ourselves, fully mindful of the high privilege and the paramount duty of the United States in this critical period of the world.

NOTES OF STATE DEPARTMENT TO JAPAN

[Disposition of Island of Yap.]

*November 9, 1920.**

During the recent sessions of the Communications Conference some question has arisen in regard to the disposition of the Island of Yap by the Supreme Council. It has been contended that this island was included in the islands north of the equator, which were offered by action of the Supreme Council of May 7, 1919, under mandate to Japan. It was the clear understanding of this Government that for reasons vitally affecting international communications, the Supreme Council, at the previous request of President Wilson, reserved for future consideration the final disposition of the Island of Yap in the hope that some agreement might be reached by the Allied and associated governments to place the island under international control and thus render it available as an international cable station. For this reason it is the understanding of the Government that the Island of Yap was not included in the action of the Supreme Council on May 7, 1919.

COLBY.

*December 6, 1920.**

There would appear to be no difference of opinion with regard to the reservations made by President Wilson and Mr. Lansing with respect to the Island of Yap during various discussions of the Supreme Council and the Council of Foreign Ministers at the Peace Conference. For clearer understanding of the

*Made public April 18, 1921.

issue as to whether, on the part of the United States, it was agreed that all the ex-German islands in the Pacific north of the equator should be allotted to Japan, your attention is drawn to the following facts:

On April twenty-first, at the meeting of President Wilson, Messrs. Lloyd George and Clemenceau, President Wilson, in reporting his conversation of that morning with Baron Makino and Count Chinda, stated among other things that he had reminded the Japanese delegates that it had been understood that Japan was to have the mandate for the islands in the north Pacific, although he had made a reserve in the case of the Island of Yap, which he considered should be international.

At the meeting of Foreign Ministers held on April thirtieth, 1919, at three p. m., in a discussion relating to cables, Mr. Lansing stated that there was a relevant question which he would like on future occasion to discuss, namely, whether in the interests of cable communications it would not be desirable that the Island of Yap be internationalized by an international commission in control of cable lines, and that he merely raised the question, although not on the agenda, in order to give warning that the question was in his mind and that he would propose it for discussion at a later time. He suggested that it was not necessary to maintain that all the islands should have the same status but that the Island of Yap should be held to constitute a special case. Baron Makino took the position that the status of the Island of Yap should be decided before the question of cables, Mr. Balfour replying that while the status of the island was a matter of great importance he did not think that the question of cables could be deferred, as it must be settled in time for the treaty with Germany; Germany could be required to give up all title to the island, and its status thereafter could be discussed among the Allies.

At a meeting on May first, held in Mr. Pichon's room, President Wilson stated that as the cable lines across the Pacific passed through the Island of Yap, which thus became a general distributing center for the lines of communication for the north Pacific, Yap should not pass into the hands of one Power. In the meeting of May sixth, in the discussion regarding the allotment of mandates in the Pacific, Mr. Lloyd George expressed his understanding that the Japanese should receive a mandate for *certain* islands north of the equator. According to the record, President Wilson consented in principle to this, with an explanatory statement that with respect to mandates the policy of the "open door" would have to be applied, and that there must be equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League. The Island of Yap, having been previously cited as a special case for particular future consideration, was not intended to be included among the "certain islands" designated as available to Japan under mandate. This seems obvious as Yap appears to have been the only island north of the equator in regard to the disposition of which there had existed any difference of opinion. There is no indication in the minutes of any further discussion with regard to this island. There is attached, as an appendix to the minutes of the meeting of May seventh, four fifteen p. m., a memorandum which obviously purported to be a codification of the agreement reached in the meeting of May sixth with reference to the north Pacific islands. Upon this we understand is based the assertion that Yap was assigned under mandate to Japan. Even this, however, does not expressly include all the islands in this particular category, although the qualifying word "certain" is omitted. According to the minutes of this meeting there was no discussion whatever on May seventh in respect to mandates. The minutes quoted the memorandum with the statement, merely, that "the following decisions were reached." The erroneous publication of such a decision of which this Govern-

ment was not aware would not validate it. The President recollects no proposal offered in this meeting to change the decision of May sixth and is certain he agreed to no variance of the original proposition. He understood it was generally agreed that the Island of Yap had been previously excluded and reserved for future determination in connection with the consideration of cable communications. In view of the President's reiterated objections to the inclusion of Yap in the mandate territories to be assigned to Japan, it is rather striking that the minutes of May seventh do not include any discussion whatever regarding Yap, which would have been most natural had the President been prevailed upon to recede from his previous firm position. It is most logical that the withdrawal of the previously recorded objections would have been noted or at least that the decision would have been drafted in more specific language. It would seem clear that the President acted on the assumption that the Island of Yap was not intended to be included in the decisions of May sixth and seventh.

It should also be noted that President Wilson, on August nineteen, 1919, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations made the following statement when questioned concerning the status of the Island of Yap:

It is one of the bases and centers of cable and radio communication on the Pacific, and I made the point that the disposition, or rather the control, of that island should be reserved for the general conference which is to be held in regard to the ownership and operation of the cables. That subject is mentioned and disposed of in this Treaty and that general cable conference is to be held.

This statement evidences the understanding of the President, and it is interesting that though wide publicity was given to the President's declaration at the time no comments were received by this Government from any nation indicating a contrary opinion. Furthermore, attention is called to the fact that the draft mandate covering the ex-German islands north of the equator, submitted to the meeting of the Heads of Delegations on December twenty-four, 1919, contemplates that there may be a question as to what islands north of the equator should be allocated under mandate to Japan. Article Three reads as follows: "If any dispute should arise as to whether any particular island is or is not covered by the above mandate, the matter shall be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations whose decisions shall be final." The draft was not accepted, primarily on account of objections raised by the Japanese, which, however, did not relate to this particular provision. The point is cited merely as indicating an understanding that definite agreement had not yet been reached as to the final disposition of *all* the islands north of the equator.

It might also be observed that, assuming for the sake of argument the conditional allocation to Japan, the terms of the mandate have not been accepted by Japan or even as yet approved by the principal interested Powers or the League of Nations. In such case it would appear that until the island is accepted under mandate upon terms approved by the Powers concerned the status of temporary occupation must exist, which, in the circumstances, does not signify a vested interest in the island, and which admits of present determination of the conditions or terms of authority, control and administration.

I am directed by the President to inform you that the Government of the United States cannot agree that the Island of Yap was included in the decision of May seventh or in any other agreement of the Supreme Council. And in addition that as the Island of Yap must form an indispensable part of the international communications it is essential that its free and unhampered use for such purposes should not be limited or controlled by any one Power. Even on the assumption that the Island of Yap should be included among the islands

held under mandate by Japan, it is not conceivable that other Powers should not have free and unhampered access to, and use of, the island for the landing and operation of cables. This is a right which the United States would be disposed to grant upon any of its unfortified islands which may be essential for such purposes.

The Government of the United States expresses the hope that the above statements of fact will convince the Japanese Government of the correctness of the position of the United States with respect to the mandate over the Island of Yap and also that the Japanese Government will concur in the view of the United States that even if Yap should be assigned under mandate to Japan all other Powers should have free and unhampered access to the island for the landing and operation of cables.

DAVIS, Acting.

*April 2, 1921.**

The Government of the United States finds itself unable to agree with the contention of the Japanese Government that in order to maintain the position of the Government of the United States with respect to the Island of Yap, it is necessary for this Government "to prove not merely the fact that the particular line of views was stated at the meetings" of the Supreme Council, but also that the Supreme Council "decided in favor of those views." If it is meant that the United States could be bound without its consent by the action of the Supreme Council, the contention is deemed by this Government to be inadmissible, and on the other hand the United States has never assented to the mandate purporting to embrace the Island of Yap.

In view of the frequent references in the note of the Japanese Government to what is termed the decision of the Supreme Council, this Government deems it appropriate to state the fundamental basis of its representations and the principles which in its view are determinative. It will not be questioned that the right to dispose of the overseas possessions of Germany was acquired only through the victory of the Allied and Associated Powers, and it is also believed that there is no disposition on the part of the Japanese Government to deny the participation of the United States in that victory. It would seem to follow necessarily that the right accruing to the Allied and Associated Powers through the common victory is shared by the United States and that there could be no valid or effective disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany, now under consideration, without the assent of the United States. This Government must therefore point out that as the United States has never vested either the Supreme Council or the League of Nations with any authority to bind the United States or to act on its behalf, there has been no opportunity for any decision which could be deemed to affect the rights of the United States. It may also be observed that the right accruing to the United States through the victory in which it has participated could not be regarded as in any way ceded or surrendered to Japan, or to other nations, except by treaty, and that no such treaty has been made.

The fact that the United States has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles cannot detract from rights which the United States had already acquired, and it is hardly necessary to suggest that a treaty to which the United States is not a party could not affect these rights. But it should be noted that the Treaty of Versailles did not purport to secure to Japan or to any other nations any right in the overseas possessions of Germany save as an equal right therein should be secured to the United States. On the contrary, Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles provides: "Germany renounces in favour of the Principal

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Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions." It will not be questioned that one of the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers" in whose favor Germany renounces her rights and titles is the United States. Thus, not only could the position of the Government of Japan derive no strength from the Treaty of Versailles or from any discussions preliminary thereto, but the terms of that treaty confirm the position of the Government of the United States.

Further, the draft Convention relating to the Mandate for the German concessions in the Pacific Ocean, north of the Equator, which was subsequently proposed, proceeded in the same view, purporting on behalf of the United States as one of the grantors to confer the mandate upon Japan, thus recognizing the right and interest of the United States and the fact that the proposed action could not be effective without the agreement of the United States as one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

As the United States did not enter into this convention, or into any treaty relating to the subject, this Government is unable to understand upon what grounds it was thereafter attempted to confer the mandate without the agreement of the United States. It is manifest that the League of Nations was without any authority to bind the United States, and that the confirmation of the mandate in question, and the definition of its terms, by the Council of the League of Nations in December, 1920, cannot be regarded as having efficacy with respect to the United States.

It should be noted that this mandate not only recites Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, to the effect that "Germany renounced in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including therein the groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean, lying north of the Equator," but also recites that "The Principal Allied and Associated Powers agreed that in accordance with Article 22, Part I, (Covenant of the League of Nations) of the said treaty, a mandate should be conferred upon His Majesty the Emperor of Japan to administer the said islands and have proposed that the Mandate should be formulated" as set forth. While this last quoted recital, as has already been pointed out in previous communications by this Government, is inaccurate in its terms, inasmuch as the United States as one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers had not so agreed and proposed, the recital again recognizes the necessity of the participation of the United States in order to make the proposed disposition effective.

As, in the absence of any treaty with the United States relating to the matter, there was no decision on May 7, 1919, binding the United States, it is deemed to be unnecessary again to examine the brief minute of the meeting of the Supreme Council on that date. It may, however, be proper to say that the minute of this meeting, although obviously without any finality, could not properly be construed without due regard to the other proceedings of the Supreme Council and without taking account of the reservations which President Wilson had already made in the previous meetings of the Supreme Council on April 21st, April 30th and May 1st, 1919. The attitude of President Wilson is sufficiently shown by the following statement which he made to the Department of State on March 3, 1921:

I beg to return the note received yesterday from the Japanese Government, which I have read, in relation to the proposed mandate covering the Island of Yap.

My first information of a contention that the so-called decision of May 7, 1919, by the Council of Four assigned to Japan a mandate for the Island of Yap, was conveyed to me by Mr. Norman Davis in October last. I then

informed him that I had never consented to the assignment of the Island of Yap to Japan.

I had not previously given particular attention to the wording of the Council's minutes of May 7, 1919, which were only recently called to my attention. I had on several occasions prior to the date mentioned made specific reservations regarding the Island of Yap and had taken the position that it should not be assigned under mandate to any one Power but should be internationalized for cable purposes. I assumed that this position would be duly considered in connection with the settlement of the cable question and that it therefore was no longer a matter for consideration in connection with the peace negotiations. I never abandoned or modified this position in respect to the Island of Yap, and I did not agree on May 7, 1919, or at any other time, that the Island of Yap should be included in the assignment of mandates to Japan.

As a matter of fact, all agreements arrived at regarding the assignment of mandates were conditional upon a subsequent agreement being reached as to the specific terms of the mandates, and further, upon their acceptance by each of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The consent of the United States is essential both as to assignments of mandates and the terms and provisions of the mandates, after agreement as to their assignment or allocation.

The consent of the United States, as you know, has never been given on either point, as to the Island of Yap.

Apart from the expressed purpose of President Wilson in relation to the Island of Yap, inasmuch as the proceedings of the Supreme Council on May 7, 1919, did not, and in the nature of things could not, have finality, this Government is unable to perceive any ground for the contention that it was the duty of this Government to make immediate protest with respect to the so-called decision of May 7, 1919, and certainly it cannot be said that an omission to do so operated as a cession of its rights. It may be added, however, that when the matter was brought to the attention of this Government in connection with the Conference on Communications in October last, this Government informed the Government of Japan and other governments, (by notes of November 9, 1920) that it was the understanding of this Government that the Island of Yap was not included in the action of May 7, 1919. Its position was subsequently stated at length.

It is a cause of regret to this Government, that after and despite this protest, there should have been any attempt to pass upon drafts of mandates purporting to deal with the Pacific Islands including Yap, and that a mandate should have been approved, or attempted to be put into effect, which, while purporting to be made in the name of the United States, was without the assent of the United States. This Government trusts that this action, which it must assume was taken under a misapprehension, will be reconsidered.

In particular, as no treaty has ever been concluded with the United States relating to the Island of Yap, and as no one has ever been authorized to cede or surrender the right or interest of the United States in the Island, this Government must insist that it has not lost its right or interest as it existed prior to any action of the Supreme Council or of the League of Nations, and cannot recognize the allocation of the Island or the validity of the mandate to Japan.

In this view, this Government deems it to be unnecessary at this time to consider the terms of the so-called "C" mandates, or the discussion with respect thereto.

This Government, as has been clearly stated in previous communications, seeks no exclusive interest in the Island of Yap and has no desire to secure any privileges without having similar privileges accorded to other Powers, including, of course, Japan, and relying upon the sense of justice of the Government of Japan and of the Governments of the other Allied and Associated Powers, this

Government looks with confidence to a disposition of the matter whereby the just interests of all may be properly conserved.

HUGHES.

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTE TO THE NETHERLANDS

[Availability of Oil Deposits in the Netherlands East Indies.]

Communicated by the American minister at The Hague on April 19, 1921, and made public on April 29, 1921.

Excellency, during the last twelve months I have on several occasions presented to your Excellency the very great interest of my Government in the participation by American capital in the development of the mineral oil deposits of the Netherlands East Indies. With your approval I have also had frequent interviews with the Minister of the Colonies on this same subject. On every occasion I have sought to impress upon the Government of the Netherlands that the real interest of the Government of the United States in these matters lies in the recognition of the principle of mutual or reciprocal accessibility to vital and natural resources by the nationals of the United States and by those of foreign countries, and the belief that the recognition of the principle of equal opportunity is the solution of the future oil problems throughout the world. I have pointed out that the United States has for years carried a burden of supplying a large part of the petroleum consumed by other countries, that Dutch capital has had free access to American oil deposits, and that the petroleum resources of no other country have been so heavily drawn upon to meet foreign needs as the petroleum resources of the United States. I have pointed out that in the future ample supplies of petroleum have become indispensable to the life and prosperity of my country as a whole, because of the fact that the United States is an industrial nation in which distance renders transportation difficult and agriculture depends largely on labor-saving devices using petroleum products.

In these circumstances, my Government finds no alternative than the adoption of the principle of equally good opportunity with the proviso that no foreign capital may operate in public lands unless its Government accords similar or like privileges to American citizens; and furthermore, I have submitted that in the light of the future needs of the United States such very limited and purely defensive provisions as the above might become inadequate should the principle of equality of opportunity not be recognized in foreign countries.

During the month of January, 1921, I again had an opportunity to discuss the situation with your Excellency and on this occasion I advised you that in my interviews with the Minister of the Colonies I had gained the impression that the Colonial Department at least was inclined to favor the participation of American capital in the development of the Djambi fields; at the same time I advised you of the nature of the reports which I made to my Government in which I had dwelt upon the favorable attitude of the Colonial Department and furthermore I asked whether the attitude of the Minister of Colonies represented in fact that of Her Majesty's Government. You will recollect that on January 31st you were good enough to advise me that my impressions had been accurately reported to my Government and that I had not exaggerated the favorable attitude of the Colonial Department, which represented that of your Excellency's Government.

I have now the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have received a telegram from the Secretary of State to the effect that the Government of the United States is still mindful of the assurances that have been given by you and by the Minister of Colonies relative to the favorable attitude of Her Majesty's Government towards American participation in the development of the Djambi fields. While I am not acting on behalf of any particular American Company, I am glad of this opportune moment to point out that certain definite propositions which have been made during the last twelve months furnish sufficient evidence that responsible and experienced American interests are ready and desirous to cooperate with the Netherlands' Government in oil developments in the Netherlands Indies.

It is perhaps needless to say that my Government is fully aware of the laws and regulations in the Indies which prohibit foreign Companies as such from entering the Colonies for the development of mineral oils. On the other hand, my Government is very greatly concerned when it becomes apparent that the monopoly of such far-reaching importance in the development of oil is about to be bestowed upon a company in which foreign capital other than American is so largely interested.

In this connection, I desire most earnestly to divert to Your Excellency's attention the fact that American capital stands ready to assist in the development of the Djambi fields and other oil deposits in the Netherlands Indies. In conclusion, I venture to say once more that my Government attaches the highest importance to the recognition of the principles of the reciprocity and equal opportunity in the solution of the oil problem, as well as the extension to American capital organized under Dutch law of the same privileges and benefits which are granted to other foreign capital similarly organized under the laws of the Netherlands.

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTES TO GERMANY

[In Answer to German Request to Mediate between Germany and the Allies on the Question of Reparations.]

April 21, 1921.

This Government could not agree to mediate the question of reparations with a view to acting as umpire in its settlement. Impressed, however, with the seriousness of the issues involved as they affect the whole world, the Government of the United States feels itself to be deeply concerned with the question of obtaining an early and just solution. This Government strongly desires that there should be an immediate resumption of negotiations and reiterates its earnest hope that the German Government will promptly formulate such proposals as would present a proper basis for discussion. Should the German Government take this course, this Government will consider bringing the matter to the attention of the Allied Governments in a manner acceptable to them in order that negotiations may speedily be resumed.

HUGHES.

May 2, 1921.

The Government of the United States has received the memorandum left by Doctor Simons with the Commissioner of the United States under date of April 24, relating to reparations. In reply this Government states that it finds itself unable to reach the conclusion that the proposals afford a basis for discussion acceptable to the Allied Governments. This Government therefore again

expressing its earnest desire for a prompt settlement of this vital question strongly urges the German Government at once to make directly to the Allied Governments clear, definite and adequate proposals which would in all respects meet its just obligations.

HUGHES.

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTE TO PANAMA

[Boundary Dispute Between Panama and Costa Rica.]

May 2, 1921.

The Government of the United States has received the note dated March 18, 1921, sent by the Government of Panama to the American Legation on April 12, 1921, and received by the Department of State on April 21, 1921, referring to the note addressed by this Government to the Government of Panama on March 16, 1921. The Government of the United States, before passing to the consideration of the questions raised in the note under acknowledgment, considers it would be lacking in candor and in true friendliness to the Republic of Panama if it did not express to the Panaman Government the surprise and regret which the contents of the note have caused it.

The Government of the United States believes that its views regarding the boundary dispute between Panama and Costa Rica, as well as its opinion as to the only just and equitable solution of that dispute, have been indicated with such clarity to the Panaman Government that an extended discussion of the contentions advanced by the Government of Panama should be unnecessary. As a further evidence, however, of its friendly consideration for the Republic of Panama, which this Government has never failed to manifest, the Government of the United States desires to make the following statements at this time in order that there may be no room for doubt as to the reasons for the insistence of this Government that the Government of Panama comply with its international obligations.

The Government of Panama, in its references to the note addressed to it through the American Legation on March 16, appears to overlook the fact that the Government of Panama on March 4 had requested this Government to declare the manner in which it understood its obligations towards the Republic in the light of the first article of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty. While the note above referred to contained suggestions as to the course which it was believed the Government of Panama should follow, which were offered by this Government as the friendly mediator in the dispute, the note also contained the expression of the views of this Government as the guarantor of the independence of Panama. This Government believes that it would be inadmissible to interpret its obligations to the Republic of Panama as embracing an obligation to support any claims for adjoining territory which might be advanced by the Government of Panama, no matter what the opinion of this Government might be as to the validity or justice of these claims and without the limitation obviously implied in the first article of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty. The Government of the United States has already indicated to the Government of Panama what it understands its obligations to be, and must again state, in the most positive manner, that its duty to guarantee and maintain the independence of Panama requires it to inquire into the merits of any controversies relating to the boundaries of the Republic of Panama in order that it may satisfy itself as to the true extent of the territory of Panama and obliges it to assure itself that the Government of Panama faithfully performs its international obligations. The fact that the "rights of jurisdiction and territorial sovereignty of Panama,"

as stated by the Government of Panama, emanate "from colonial titles, and from acts of possession, or from arbitral decisions," so far as the Republic of Panama is vested with these rights of jurisdiction and territorial sovereignty, cannot be deemed as in any way entitling the Government of Panama to demand the occupation of territory which is not a part of the Republic of Panama and has been conclusively adjudged to belong to Costa Rica.

With respect to the finality of the Loubet award, as to that portion of the boundary line in the region of the Pacific from Punta Burica to a point beyond Cerro Pando on the Central Cordillera near the 9th degree of north latitude, this Government cannot now regard that line as being in question which the Republic of Panama has heretofore formally, by treaty, stated to be "clear and indisputable."

As to the statement contained in the note of the Government of Panama that it does not accept as correct an attempt to separate the boundary question into two parts, it should be sufficient to point out that this separation was unequivocally recognized by the Porras-Anderson agreement between the Republic of Panama and the Republic of Costa Rica, when it was set forth that there was no question with respect to the portion of the boundary line in the region of the Pacific, as above described, while the other portion of the line was to be made the subject of arbitral award. Upon this point this Government believes it necessary only to repeat the words of the first paragraph of Article I of the Porras-Anderson Treaty of March 17, 1910, as follows:

Art. I. The Republic of Costa Rica and the Republic of Panama, although they consider that the boundary between their respective territories designated by the arbitral award of his Excellency the President of the French Republic the 11th September, 1900, is clear and indisputable in the region of the Pacific from Punta Burica to a point beyond Cerro Pando on the Central Cordillera, near the 9th degree of north latitude, have not been able to reach an agreement in respect to the interpretation which ought to be given to the arbitral award as to the rest of the boundary line, and for the purpose of settling their said disagreements agree to submit to the decision of the Honorable the Chief Justice of the United States, who will determine, in the capacity of arbitrator, the question: What is the boundary between Costa Rica and Panama under and most in accordance with the correct interpretation and true intention of the award of the President of the French Republic made the 11th September, 1900?

In order to decide this the arbitrator will take into account all the facts, circumstances, and considerations which may have a bearing upon the case, as well as the limitation of the Loubet Award expressed in the letter of his Excellency M. Delcassé, Minister of Foreign Relations of France, to his Excellency Señor Peralta, Minister of Costa Rica in Paris, of the 23rd November, 1900, that this boundary line must be drawn within the confines of the territory in dispute as determined by the Convention of Paris between the Republic of Costa Rica and the Republic of Colombia of the 20th January, 1886.

Moreover, the fact that the boundary line on the Pacific side could no longer be the subject of dispute was specifically set forth in the communication from the Legation of Panama at Washington to the Secretary of State of the United States under date of October 20, 1914, in which it was stated:

By the terms of the convention the line of the Loubet award was recognized as binding upon the parties. As to about one-half of that line (from Punta Burica to a point beyond Cerro Pando), it was expressly stated that no question whatever existed, and that portion of the boundary is in no way involved in the present arbitration.

The contentions which have been heretofore advanced by the Government of Panama, and are reiterated in the note under consideration, with respect to the award of the Chief Justice of the United States as to the boundary line on the Atlantic side, cannot be deemed by this Government to affect in any

manner the finality of the Loubet award with respect to the boundary line upon the Pacific side, and that territory which was adjudged to be a portion of the territory of the Republic of Costa Rica by a boundary line which the Republic of Panama formally declared "clear and indisputable," still remains, in the opinion of this Government, the territory of Costa Rica, and is to be respected as such. This Government must point out that no argumentation can change the fact that this territory belongs to the Republic of Costa Rica and that the Republic of Costa Rica is entitled to have its jurisdiction set up and maintained therein by orderly processes. There appears to this Government to be no foundation for the claim that the Government of Panama is entitled to retain territory on the Pacific side which confessedly does not belong to Panama, because the Government of Panama is not satisfied with the award of the Chief Justice of the United States as to other territory on the Atlantic side.

Nor is this Government able to find any valid ground for objection to the award of the Chief Justice of the United States with respect to the latter territory. The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the documents to which the Government of Panama referred in its note under acknowledgment bearing upon the jurisdiction of the arbitrator. This Government has not been able to find in these documents any justification for the assertion that the interpretations of the Loubet award on the Atlantic side advanced by the Governments of Panama and Costa Rica defined the scope of the new arbitration. On the contrary, it seems to this Government to be entirely clear that the powers and jurisdiction of the arbitrator cannot be thus limited. Provision is made for the powers and jurisdiction of the arbitrator in terms which cannot be questioned in Article I of the Porras-Anderson Treaty already quoted. In that Article, the two parties definitely agree to submit to the arbitrator the determination of the question: "What is the boundary between Costa Rica and Panama under and most in accordance with the correct interpretation and true intention of the award of the President of the French Republic made the 11th of September, 1900?" and this question the arbitrator determined. The two Governments agreed in Article VII of the same Treaty that the "award, whatever it be, shall be held as a perfect and compulsory treaty between the High Contracting Parties," and both parties bound themselves "to the faithful execution of the award and waived all claims against it." When the Chief Justice of the United States, after exhaustive review of the contentions advanced by the two Governments, determined that the boundary between the two countries as defined in his award was the one "most in accordance with the correct interpretation and true intention" of the former award, the arbitrator decided the precise question which the submission had invested him with jurisdiction to decide, and the two parties to the dispute were, by their most solemn engagement, bound to accept his determination accordingly.

In the opinion of this Government, it would be impossible to ignore the effect of this decision upon the ground that the Chief Justice of the United States should have recognized some other line than the one which he found to be most in accord with the true intention of the prior award, or that he should have given weight to claims which, in the exercise of his undoubted jurisdiction, he determined were without foundation.

This Government must again direct attention to the fact that not only did the Chief Justice of the United States determine explicitly what he was authorized to determine, but that in the process of determination he was most careful to observe the directions set forth in Article I of the Porras-Anderson Treaty. In the second paragraph of this Article, as above quoted, it was provided that the arbitrator was to take into account the limitation of the Loubet award ex-

pressed in the letter of His Excellency, M. Delcassé, of the 23rd of November, 1900, that this boundary line "must be drawn within the confines of the territory in dispute as determined by the Convention of Paris between the Republic of Costa Rica and the Republic of Colombia of the 20th January, 1886." It would seem to be obvious that in the discharge of his duty it was incumbent upon the arbitrator to decide what were the confines of the territory in dispute, as determined by the Convention to which reference is made, in order that he might comply with the terms of the submission as to the drawing of the boundary line within these confines. Mindful of this obligation, the arbitrator did consider and determine, as he undoubtedly had jurisdiction and duty to consider and determine, what were the confines of the territory in dispute, and this Government finds no basis whatever for the suggestion that having determined this preliminary fact, the arbitrator was without authority to draw the boundary line accordingly. On the contrary, having made the determination as to the extent of the territory in dispute, he was bound by the explicit provisions of the submission to draw the boundary line within that territory.

The Government of the United States is unable to find any warrant for the contention of the Government of Panama that if any part of the line fixed by President Loubet did, in fact, lie outside the limits of the territory in dispute as fixed by the convention of 1886, it was then the duty of the arbitrator to go no further, that is, to make no award. That would have been in direct antagonism to the terms of the submission and it was in that event the duty of the arbitrator to draw, within the territory in dispute, the line which, under this limitation, he deemed to be most in accord with the true intention and correct interpretation of the former award. This duty was recognized by the Republic of Panama in its statement submitted to the arbitrator which contains the following:

But, if any part of the line fixed by President Loubet did, in fact lie outside the limits fixed by the Convention of 1886, that part would require modification and it would be necessary for the present arbitrator to substitute for it such line as he should determine to be "most in accordance with" what he should find to be the "true intention of the award."

The Government of the United States is therefore unable to find any force in the contention now made by the Government of Panama in reiteration of the claims that it has made since the award, that the arbitrator by drawing this substitute line exceeded his powers and jurisdiction.

From every point of view, therefore, when the Chief Justice of the United States as arbitrator fixed the boundary line on the Atlantic side as starting at the mouth of the Sixaola River and thence running as described to the point near the 9th degree of north latitude beyond Cerro Pando on the Central Cordillera, he acted in exact compliance with the obligation imposed upon him by the acceptance of the submission. The Republic of Panama and the Republic of Costa Rica are, therefore, bound by his arbitral award which they have promised to accept as final.

The Government of the United States has taken note of the statement of the Government of Panama referring to the expressions of public opinion in the Republic of Panama, which it states evidences the unanimity of the people of Panama against the recognition of the White award. The Government of the United States has learned of these expressions with deep regret. It feels confident, appreciating as it does, the love of right and justice which has always animated them, that the people of Panama will recognize the obligation of their Government to comply with the terms of the solemn agreements into which it has entered, a compliance which will afford the only permanent settlement of the boundary dispute between the Republics of Panama and Costa Rica.

In the light of the obligation of the Government of Panama, under Article VII of the Porras-Anderson Treaty, requiring that Government faithfully to execute the award and to waive all claims against it, and to consider the award as a perfect and compulsory Treaty between the Governments of Panama and Costa Rica, the Government of the United States cannot consider the suggestion made by the Government of Panama that a plebiscite be held in the territory in dispute as a means of reaching a final settlement of the controversy. For the same reason, and also because of the obligations of this Government towards the Republic of Panama, the Government of the United States cannot consider offering any suggestions to the Government of Panama other than the recommendations contained in the note of March 16. This Government is glad to receive from the Government of Panama the expression of its appreciation of the friendly purposes of this Government and of its confidence in the spirit of justice animating the people of the United States. It is precisely because of its friendship for the Republic of Panama, as well as because of its desire to assure itself that the peace of Central America is maintained on a stable basis guaranteed by the scrupulous observance of international obligations, that the Government of the United States feels compelled to state that it expects the Government of Panama to take steps promptly to transfer the exercise of jurisdiction from the territory awarded to Costa Rica by the Loubet award, at present occupied by the civil authorities of the Government of Panama, in an orderly manner, to the Government of Costa Rica. Unless such steps are taken within a reasonable time, the Government of the United States will find itself compelled to proceed in the manner which may be requisite in order that it may assure itself that the exercise of jurisdiction is appropriately transferred and that the boundary line on the Pacific side, as defined in the Loubet award, and on the Atlantic side, as determined by the award of the Chief Justice of the United States, is physically laid down in the manner provided in Articles II and VII of the Porras-Anderson Treaty.

It is with the utmost regret that the Government of the United States feels itself obliged to communicate to the Government of Panama this determination which it has reached after the most careful and friendly deliberation. Its decision has been arrived at because of the special interest of this Government in the Republic of Panama and because of its belief that only by compliance with the reasonable expectations of the Government of the United States in this matter can the welfare of Panama be promoted and its friendly relations with the neighboring Republics of America be assured.

HUGHES.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Record of War Agencies Transferred.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 21, 1921.*

The War Department is hereby directed to take over the records of the following organizations: Council of National Defense; War Industries Board; Committee on Public Information; War Labor Board.

WARREN G. HARDING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PROCLAMATIONS

[Poland and Danzig—Suspension of Tonnage Dues.]

Whereas, satisfactory proof has been given to me by the Government of the Republic of Poland that no discriminating duties of tonnage or imposts are levied or imposed in the waters of Poland or the Free City of Danzig upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States or upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in such vessels from the United States, or from any foreign country:

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by Section four thousand, two hundred and twenty-eight of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby declare and proclaim that the foreign discriminating duties of tonnage and imposts within the United States are suspended and discontinued so far as respects the vessels of Poland and the vessels of the Free City of Danzig, and the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in said vessels into the United States from Poland or the Free City of Danzig, or from any other foreign country; the suspension to take effect on and after the date of this Proclamation and to continue so long as the reciprocal exemption of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, and their cargoes, shall be continued, and no longer.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this 6th day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand, nine hundred and twenty-one,
[SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth. WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President :

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

[Memorial Day.]

Whereas this nation has been conceived in prayer and devotion by men and women who were moved under God to found a nation where principles of right should form the lasting cornerstone; And whereas these principles purchased at the price of great sacrifice have been fostered by a worthy posterity; And whereas a great war has lately laid its costly demands upon our land:

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Monday, the thirtieth day of May, a day already freighted with sacred and stimulating memories, a day of public memorial. I invite my fellow citizens fittingly to pay

homage on this day to a noble dead who sleep in homeland, beneath the sea or on foreign field that we who survive might enjoy the blessings of peace and happiness, and to the end that liberty and justice, without which no nation can exist, shall live forever.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this third day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-one and of the [SEAL.] Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State*.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Civil Service in Postmaster Appointments.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 10, 1921.*

When a vacancy exists or hereafter occurs in the position of postmaster at an office of the first, second or third class, if such vacancy is not filled by nomination of some person with the competitive classified Civil Service who has the required qualifications, then the Postmaster General shall certify the fact to the Civil Service Commission, which shall forthwith hold an open competitive examination to test the fitness of applicants to fill such vacancy, and when such examination has been held and the papers in connection therewith have been rated, the said Commission shall certify the results thereof to the Postmaster General, who shall submit to the President the name of one of the highest three qualified eligibles for appointment to fill such vacancy unless it is established that the character or residence of any such applicant disqualifies him for appointment: PROVIDED: That at the expiration of the term of any person appointed to such position through examination before the Civil Service Commission, the Postmaster General may, in his discretion, submit the name of such person to the President for renomination without further examination.

No person who has passed his sixty-fifth birthday, or who has not actually resided within the delivery of such office for two years next preceding such vacancy, shall be given the examination herein provided for.

If, under this order, it is desired to make nomination for any office of a person in the competitive classified service, such person must first be found by the Civil Service Commission to meet the minimum requirements for the office.

WARREN G. HARDING.

ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT

There are more than 400,000 men and women participating in governmental work who are in classified service. All of these are under the permanent provisions of the civil service law and rules.

These permanent rules provide for the certification of the highest three eligibles, from which list of three each necessary appointment is made. The successful operation of the principles of civil service law has demonstrated the wisdom of this provision. This leaves in the appointing power, who has the ultimate responsibility for efficient administration, the necessary, constitutional right of choice. This right of selection is the kind of responsibility which cannot legally be and is not abridged by Act of Congress, and is in exact harmony with the spirit of the civil service principle.

There are 52,332 postmasters. Of these, 39,433 are in the Fourth Class, and are now under such civil service laws and regulations as bring them within the privileges and conditions of the classified service.

Of the remaining 12,899 post offices, 700 are First Class, 2,617 are Second Class and 9,582 are Third Class. Obviously these offices are business agencies of the government in legal purpose and should become so in fact. The only certain ultimate way to bring this about is to classify First, Second and Third Class postmasters. This will require an Act of Congress. It is a step forward, measured by the requirements of progress, and is one which I hope will be made. Under existing laws the Executive has no power to require that these offices be placed in the classified service.

Moving in that direction, however, the Executive Order issued today provides that if any such vacancy is not filled by nomination for promotion of one from within the competitive classified civil service, then an open competitive examination shall be held and the appointment shall be made from one of the highest three eligibles, as required now by law in the classified civil service.

This order, which is for our own guidance in making these appointments, will bring an operation squaring with the requirements of any probable future legislation.

Under this order the kind of test and plan of investigation and examination which shall be provided for, shall be approved by the President and shall be based on the applicant's business training, experience, fitness, organizing and executive ability and general qualifications for an efficient administration, and shall in no sense be a cloistered, scholastic examination which might result in a high grade in theory, but not a guaranty of efficiency in fact.

This order applies to all present incumbents of post offices whose terms have expired, and will apply to all other incumbents as their present terms expire.

[Temporary Stop-Overs at Ports of the United States Without Visaed Passports.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 12, 1921.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Act approved May 22, 1918, entitled "An Act to Prevent in Time of War Departure from and Entry into the United States Contrary to the Public Safety," I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, hereby amend the Executive Order of August 8, 1918, relating to the "Rules and Regulations Governing the Issuance of Permits to Enter and Leave the United States," by the following provisions:

Aliens who are passengers on vessels calling, while en route to foreign destinations, at ports of the United States, including outlying territories and insular possessions, may be allowed to land at these ports without visaed passports, provided that they land merely for the limited periods of time during which the vessels may lie over at the ports mentioned, and provided also, that they continue their voyages

on the same vessels. These exceptions are made for the benefit of passengers who desire to land temporarily for purposes of sightseeing or other legitimate objects. Aliens landing with the intention of remaining for a longer period are required to present visaed passports. It will be the duty of the masters of the vessels to satisfy the Immigration authorities that passengers who obtain permission to land temporarily will not remain on shore after the departure of the vessels. Appropriate instructions upon this subject will be sent by the Department of Labor to Immigration officials at seaports. The names of all passengers of the class mentioned who fail to reembark and continue their voyages shall be reported by the Immigration authorities at the ports to the Department of Labor and the Department of State, for appropriate action.

WARREN G. HARDING.

[Death of Chief Justice White.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 19, 1921*

The death of the Honorable Edward Douglas White, Chief Justice of the United States, occurred this morning. In his death, the United States has lost one of its most distinguished citizens and public servants, whose legal training and profound knowledge of the law made him eminently fitted for the highest judicial office of the country.

He had served well and faithfully as a Senator of the United States, as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and as Chief Justice of the United States. His judicial opinions, based always on the principles of right and justice, and unbiased by personal influences and consideration, will hold high rank among the decisions of the country's Highest Court of Justice.

His private life was simple and unaffected and was characterized by virtues which might well serve as example for the people of America.

In testimony of the respect in which his memory is held by the Government and people of the United States, and in recognition of his eminent and varied services as a public servant, I do hereby direct that the National Flag be displayed at half staff upon all the public buildings of the United States; that The White House and the several Executive Departments and Independent Government Establishments in the City of Washington be closed on the day of his funeral; that the usual and appropriate military and naval honors be rendered, and that on all the legations and consulates of the United States in foreign countries, the National Flag shall be displayed at half staff for thirty days from the receipt of this order.

WARREN G. HARDING,

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTES

[To Allied Conference, Meeting in London.]

May 6, 1921.

The Government of the United States has received through the British Ambassador the courteous communication in which you state that, with the unanimous concurrence of the Powers represented at the Allied Conference in London, you are to inquire whether this Government is disposed to be represented in the future, as it was in the past, at Allied Conferences, at the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris, and on the Reparation Commission.

The Government of the United States, while maintaining the traditional policy of abstention from participation in matters of distinctly European concern, is deeply interested in the proper economic adjustment and in the just settlement of the matters of world-wide importance which are under discussion in these conferences, and desires helpfully to cooperate in the deliberations upon these questions.

Mr. George Harvey, appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, will be instructed on his arrival in England to take part as the representative of the President of the United States, in the deliberations of the Supreme Council. The American Ambassador to France will be instructed to resume his place as unofficial observer on the Conference of Ambassadors, and Mr. Roland W. Boyden will be instructed to sit again in an unofficial capacity on the Reparation Commission.

The Government of the United States notes with pleasure your expression of the belief of the representatives of the Allied Governments assembled in London, that American cooperation in the settlement of the great international questions growing out of the world war will be of material assistance.

HUGHES.

[To Poland, Regarding Disposition of Upper Silesia.]

May 4, 1921.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of May 11th, in which you recite the reasons why, in your opinion, certain districts of Upper Silesia should be assigned to Poland and urge that the representatives of the Government of the United States on the Supreme Council, the Council of Ambassadors, and the Reparation Commission be instructed to exert their influence in favor of a settlement of the matter strictly in accord with the Treaty of Versailles and the result of the recent plebiscite.

In reply I have the honor to inform you that in my opinion the settlement of such boundary disputes as arise in the case under consideration is a matter of European concern in which, in accord with the traditional policy of the United States, this Government should not become involved. The attitude of the Government in this matter is clearly understood by its representatives in Europe, who will therefore, as far as at present may be seen, take no part in the discussions concerning Upper Silesia, and will express no opinion as to the settlement.

HUGHES.

*Made public May 18, 1921.

STATEMENT BY STATE DEPARTMENT

[Substance of Note to The Netherlands, Regarding Oil Deposits in the Netherlands East Indies, Dispatched on May 27, 1921.]

June 11, 1921.

The Department of State instructed the American Legation at The Hague on May 27, 1921, to address a note in the following sense to the Netherlands Foreign Office:

Reference was made to the note of the Netherlands Government dated May 10, 1921, on the subject of the draft of law under consideration by the Dutch Parliament looking to the development of certain concessions in the Dutch East Indies known as the Djambi concessions.

The Legation was instructed to express the American Government's regrets that the Dutch Government should regard the desire expressed by the American Government, and which has been expressed on repeated occasions, that American citizens should be allowed to share in the development of the oil industry in the Dutch East Indies as Dutch citizens were permitted to enjoy similar concessions in the United States, as having been presented too late to receive consideration of the Dutch Government.

Note was taken of the Foreign Minister's reference to conversations during January, 1921, and to his statements that prior to the Legation's note of April 19, 1921, plans for the development of the Djambi oil lands, set forth in the legislation under consideration, had already been decided upon in principle, except for the approval of the States General. Since it was feared that the statement referred to might convey the impression that the United States Government and American companies had shown before January, 1921, no interest in the matter of the concession for the Djambi oil lands, the Legation was instructed to make reference to a number of communications which in the course of the past year had been exchanged between the Netherlands Government and the United States Government.

The American Legation at The Hague on June 5, 1920, had inquired regarding the exact conditions under which citizens of the United States would be able to take part in the development of the petroleum-bearing lands of the possessions of The Netherlands in the East Indies in order that the Legation might be able to give assurance to United States interests that the Dutch Government would welcome the cooperation of American interests in the development of the region in question. The Legation on September 7, 1920, had informed the Foreign Minister that the United States Government believed that the proposed legislation regarding the Djambi oil fields, if it should become a law, would almost certainly be regarded as an exclusive measure and as being at variance with the principle of equality of economic opportunity so far as it concerned the Dutch East Indies. Shortly after this communication from the Legation on September 8, 1920, a responsible American company asked that it might participate in the concession to which reference has been made.

The Legation was instructed to refer to the fact that certain statements in a document prepared by the United States Department of State under date of May 14, 1920, regarding the virtual exclusion of United States interests from the developments of oil lands in the Dutch East Indies, had caused the Legation of The Netherlands at Washington to communicate to the Department of State on June 30, 1920, September 27, 1920, and February 2, 1921, certain facts and comments with reference to the legislation and policy in force in the Dutch East Indies.

In these communications the attention of the United States Government had been called particularly to Articles 5A and 28 (2A) of the Indian Mining Law of The Netherlands. According to the understanding of the United States Government under Article 28 (2A) the mining of oil was to be restricted to the Government of The Netherlands and to companies or individuals who had formed contracts with that Government under certain provisions of Article 5A, according to which there could be no conclusion of agreement for any work, except prospecting, until authority to do so had been legally granted in each particular case. The Legation of The Netherlands at Washington, in a note of June 30, 1920, had stated that the Government of the Dutch East Indies would exploit its petroleum resources or would do so under contract with private companies or persons who had already obtained authorization by law to enter into such contracts. In its note of September 27, 1920, the Legation of The Netherlands had mentioned a bill, apparently the one now under consideration in the Parliament of The Netherlands, in which reference was made to a contract between the Bataafsche Petroleum Company and the Government of The Netherlands providing for exploitation of the oil fields under the provisions of Articles 5A and 28 (2A) of the Indian Mining Law of The Netherlands.

According to the understanding of the United States Government, however, the proposed legislation to which reference has been made provides that a new company, to be known as The Netherlands Indies Mineral Oil Company, shall be created and to it shall be turned over the operation of the concession for the Djambi oil lands. It does not appear, however, that there is any reference in this bill to any earlier engagements which the Government of The Netherlands has formed with the Bataafsche Petroleum Company.

Consequently, the United States Government, though it realized that an arrangement between The Netherlands Government and the Bataafsche Petroleum Company was in contemplation, had naturally believed that the Government of The Netherlands had reached no decision in regard to this matter except such as were of a provisional nature, and accordingly not in any way binding on that Government with regard to the company or companies involved.

The Legation was instructed to remind the foreign minister, if the Government of The Netherlands felt the introduction of the bill to constitute a final decision, that the legislation in question was only introduced into Parliament on November 22, 1920, and that several weeks prior to that date the United States Government had already made its representations with reference to the matter and a reliable American corporation had applied to the Dutch Government for a share in the development of the oil lands.

If the Government of The Netherlands desired confirmation as to the assurances conveyed by the Legation of the United States at The Hague in respect to the attitude of the Government of the United States and of American companies, such information would appear to be furnished by the fact that in March and April, 1921, before any vote on the proposed legislation had been taken in the Second Chamber, another United States company had communicated in specific terms its wish to obtain a share in the concession under discussion.

Accordingly, the Legation was instructed to state that the United States Government finds it impossible to regard the applications of American companies or its own expressions of interest in the matter as having been communicated too late to the Government of The Netherlands.

It was also pointed out that the United States Government welcomes the statement in the Foreign Minister's note of May 10, 1921, to the effect that in

the Indian laws of The Netherlands no distinction is made between the capital of The Netherlands and capital of foreign countries in so far as concerns companies wishing to take part in the development of the oil lands of the East Indian possessions of The Netherlands and that the Government of The Netherlands would regard with satisfaction the cooperation of American capital in the development of the mineral oil resources of the colonies in question.

This Government was compelled to state, as has already been set forth November 2, 1920, to the Legation of The Netherlands at Washington, that although the law appears to allow aliens to own stock in companies engaged in the development of oil lands in the Dutch East Indies, the execution of the law as stimulated by the proposed legislation under discussion can only be regarded as indicating that the Netherlands Government at present purposes to exclude citizens of the United States from any participation of a substantial character in its mineral oil industry, and, accordingly, to prevent American citizens from enjoying the equality of opportunity which citizens of The Netherlands have enjoyed in this country.

The Minister was finally instructed to express the hope of this Government that the Government of The Netherlands would find itself yet able to settle this question in accordance with the fundamental principle of reciprocity which is regarded as of the greatest importance in relation to the exploitation of natural resources.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Amendments of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act Regulations.]

Whereas, the Secretary of Agriculture, by virtue of the authority vested in him by Section Three of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (40 Stat., 755), has submitted to me for approval, regulations further amendatory of the regulations approved and proclaimed July 31, 1918, which the Secretary of Agriculture has determined to be suitable amendatory regulations permitting and governing the hunting, taking, capture, killing, possession, sale, purchase, shipment, transportation, carriage and export of said birds and parts thereof and their nests and eggs, which said amendments are as follows:

Regulation 3, as amended by Proclamation dated July 28, 1919, (41 Stat., 1st Session, Pt. 2, p. 24) and Proclamation dated March 3, 1921, is hereby further amended so as to read as follows:

Regulation 3.—Means by which migratory game birds may be taken.

The migratory game birds specified in Regulation 4 hereof may be taken during the open season with a gun only, not larger than No. 10 gauge, fired from the shoulder, except as specifically permitted by Regulations 7, 8, 9, and 10 hereof; they may be taken during the open season from the land and water, with the aid of a dog, the use of decoys, and from a blind or floating device (other than an airplane, powerboat, sail-

boat, any boat under sail, or any floating device towed by a powerboat or sailboat).

Regulation 4, subtitle "Waterfowl (except wood duck, eider ducks, and swans), coot, gallinules, and Wilson snipe or jacksnipe," is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

Regulation 4.—Open seasons on and possession of certain migratory game birds.

Waterfowl, (except wood duck, eider ducks, and swans) coot, gallinules, and Wilson snipe or jacksnipe.—The open season for waterfowl (except wood duck, eider ducks, and swans), coot, gallinules, and Wilson snipe or jacksnipe shall be as follows:

In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York (except Long Island), Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, and that portion of Oregon and Washington lying east of the summit of the Cascade Mountains the open season shall be from September 16 to December 31;

In Rhode Island, Connecticut, Utah, California, and that portion of Oregon and Washington lying west of the summit of the Cascade Mountains the open season shall be from October 1 to January 15;

In that portion of New York known as Long Island, and in New Jersey, Delaware, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona the open season shall be from October 16 to January 31;

In Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana the open season shall be from November 1 to January 31; and

In Alaska the open season shall be from September 1 to December 15.

Now therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, do hereby approve and proclaim the foregoing amendatory regulations.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this 17th day of May, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-one [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Forty-fifth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT

[Relations Between United States and Mexico.]

June 7, 1921.

The fundamental question which confronts the Government of the United States in considering its relations with Mexico is the safeguarding of property rights against confiscation. Mexico is free to adopt any policy which she pleases with respect to her public lands, but she is not free to destroy without compensation valid titles which have been obtained by American citizens under Mexican laws. A confiscatory policy strikes not only at the interests of particular individuals, but at the foundations of international intercourse, for it is only on the basis of the security of property validly possessed under the laws existing at the time of its acquisition, that commercial transactions between the peoples of two countries and the conduct of activities in helpful cooperation are possible.

This question should not be confused with any matter of personalities or of the recognition of any particular administration. Whenever Mexico is ready to give assurances that she will perform her fundamental obligation in the protection, both of persons and of rights of property validly acquired, there will be no obstacles to the most advantageous relations between the two peoples.

This question is vital because of the provisions inserted in the Mexican Constitution promulgated in 1917. If these provisions are to be put into effect retroactively, the properties of American citizens will be confiscated on a great scale. This would constitute an international wrong of the gravest character and this Government could not submit to its accomplishment. If it be said that this wrong is not intended, and that the Constitution of Mexico of 1917 will not be construed to permit, or enforced so as to effect confiscation, then it is important that this should be made clear by guarantees in proper form. The provisions of the Constitution and the Executive Decrees which have been formulated with confiscatory purposes, make it obviously necessary that the purposes of Mexico should be definitely set forth.

Accordingly this Government has proposed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Mexico, in which Mexico will agree to safeguard the rights of property which attached before the Constitution of 1917 was promulgated. The question, it will be observed, is not one of a particular administration but of the agreement of the nation in proper form which has become necessary as an international matter because of the provisions of its domestic legislation. If Mexico does not contemplate a confiscatory policy, the Government of the United States can conceive of no possible objection to the Treaty.

The proposed treaty also contains the conventional stipulations as to commerce and reciprocal rights in both countries. It also provides for the conclusion of a convention for the settlement of claims for losses of life and property, which, of course, means the prompt establishment of a suitable claims commission in which both countries would be represented, in order to effect a just settlement. There is also a provision for a just settlement of boundary matters.

The question of recognition is a subordinate one, but there will be no difficulty as to this, for if General Obregon is ready to negotiate a proper treaty it is drawn so as to be negotiated with him and the making of the treaty in proper form will accomplish the recognition of the Government that makes it. In short, when it appears that there is a government in Mexico willing to bind itself to the discharge of primary international obligations, concurrently with

that act its recognition will take place. This Government desires immediate and cordial relations of mutual helpfulness and simply wishes that the basis of international intercourse should be properly maintained.

Accordingly on the 27th of May last, Mr. Summerlin, American Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico City, presented to General Obregon a proposed Treaty covering the matters to which reference has been made. The matter is now in the course of negotiations and it is to be hoped that when the nature of the precise question is fully appreciated the obstacles which have stood in the way of a satisfactory settlement will disappear.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Alaskan Railroad Townsite Regulations.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 10, 1921.*

Under and pursuant to the provisions of the act of Congress approved March 12, 1914 (38 Stat., 305), entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," it is hereby ordered that the administration of that portion of said act relating to the withdrawal, location and disposition of townsites shall be in accordance with the following regulations and provisions, to wit:

RESERVATIONS.—The Alaskan Engineering Commission will file with the Secretary of the Interior, when deemed necessary, its recommendations for the reservation of such areas as in its opinion may be needed for townsite purposes. The Secretary of the Interior will thereupon transmit such recommendations to the President with his objections thereto or concurrence therewith. If approved by the President, the reservation will be made by Executive Order.

SURVEY.—When, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior the public interests require a survey of any such reservation, he shall cause to be set aside such portions thereof for railroad purposes as may be selected by the Alaskan Engineering Commission, and cause the remainder, or any part thereof, to be surveyed into urban or suburban blocks and lots of suitable size, and into reservations for parks, schools, and other public purposes and for Government use. Highways should be laid out, where practicable, along all shore lines, and sufficient land for docks and wharf purposes along such shore lines should be reserved in such places as there is any apparent necessity therefor. The survey will be made under the supervision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office and the plats will be approved by him and by the chairman of the Alaskan Engineering Commission.

PREFERENCE RIGHT.—Any person residing in a reserved townsite at the time of the subdivisional survey thereof in the field and owning and having valuable and permanent improvements thereon, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be granted a preference

right of entry, of not exceeding two lots on which he may have such improvements by paying the appraised price fixed by the Superintendent of sale, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe. Preference right proof and entry, when granted, must be made prior to the date of the public sale.

PUBLIC SALE.—The unreserved and unsold lots will be offered at public outcry to the highest bidder at such time and place, and after such publication of notice, if any, as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, and he may appoint or detail some suitable person as superintendent of sale to supervise the same and may fix his compensation and require him to give sufficient bond.

SUPERINTENDENT'S AUTHORITY.—Under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, the superintendent of the sale will be, and he is hereby, authorized to make all appraisements of lots and at any time to reappraise any lot which in his judgment is not appraised at the proper amount, or to fix a minimum price for any lot below which it may not be sold, and he may adjourn, or postpone the sale of any lots to such time and place as he may deem proper.

MANNER AND TERMS OF PUBLIC SALE.—The Secretary of the Interior shall by regulations prescribe the manner of conducting the public sale, the terms thereof and forms therefor and he may prescribe what failures in payment will subject the bidder or purchaser to a forfeiture of his bid or right to the lot claimed and money paid thereon. The Superintendent of Sale will at the completion of the public sale deposit with the receiver of the proper local land office the money received and file with its officers the papers deposited with him by said bidder, together with his certificate as to successful bidder.

If it be deemed advisable, the Commissioner of the General Land Office may direct the receiver of public moneys of the proper district to attend sales herein provided for in which event the cash payment required shall be paid to the said receiver.

ANCHORAGE, MATANUSKA, AND NENANA TOWNSITES.—Unsold and forfeited lands in the townsites of Anchorage, Matanuska, and Nenana, upon which assessments for the improvements of streets, sidewalks, alleys, and for promotion of sanitation and fire protection have been levied by the Alaskan Engineering Commission and the assessments or any portion thereof remain unpaid shall be subject to such unpaid assessments and the purchaser shall pay the same in the manner the Secretary of the Interior may by regulations provide, and the proceeds of such assessments will be deposited with the Alaskan Engineering Commission, as a reimbursement to the operating expense fund as provided in section 3 of the Act of March 12, 1914 (38 Stat., 305). See 22 Comp. Dec. 604. Hereafter no such assessments by said Commission will be levied.

In cases where one of a number of joint purchasers of a lot has made or may hereafter make all payments of his pro rata share of the purchase price and assessments on the lot, such lot may, in the event of forfeiture being declared, and in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be re-subdivided and a preference right of purchase given to the person who has made all payments on his portion thereof, such preference right to be confined to the portion of the original lot held and claimed by such person. This privilege may be extended to a transferee of an original purchase.

Final certificate may issue in these townsites in all cases, when the purchase price and assessments are paid in full without regard to date of purchase.

COMMISSION BUILDINGS ON LOTS.—Buildings belonging to the Alaskan Engineering Commission situated on a lot in any townsite may be appraised and sold separate and apart from the lot on which located, under regulations provided by the Secretary of the Interior for the same and for the removal of the buildings. The proceeds for the sale of such buildings shall be paid to the Alaskan Engineering Commission as a reimbursement to its operating account.

PRIVATE ENTRY.—Lots offered at public sale and not sold and lots offered and declared forfeited in a townsite may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be sold at private entry for the appraised price.

ORDERS REVOKED.—All Executive Orders heretofore issued for the disposition of townsites along the Government railroads in Alaska are hereby revoked so far as they conflict with the foregoing provisions. This order is intended to take the place of all other orders making provisions for the sale and disposal of lots in said townsites along Government railroads in Alaska under the provisions of said act.

WARREN G. HARDING.

STATE DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

[Date of Withdrawal of United States Armed Forces From Santo Domingo.]
Being a Proclamation Issued by Rear Admiral S. S. Robison, *Military Governor*

June 14, 1921.

Whereas, by proclamation of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, dated December 23, 1920, it was announced to the people of the Dominican Republic that the Government of the United States desired to inaugurate the simple processes of its rapid withdrawal from the responsibilities assumed in connection with Dominican affairs; and,

Whereas, it is necessary that a duly constituted Government of the Dominican Republic exist before this withdrawal of the United States may become effective, in order that the functions of government may be resumed by it in an orderly manner;

Now, therefore, I, S. S. Robison, Military Governor of Santo Domingo, acting under the authority and by direction of the Government of the United States, declare and announce to all concerned that the Government of the United States proposes to withdraw its military forces from the Dominican Republic in accordance with steps set forth herein. It is the desire of the Government of the United States to assure itself before its withdrawal is accomplished that the independence and territorial integrity of the Dominican Republic, the maintenance of public order and the security of life and property will be adequately safeguarded; and to turn over the administration of the Dominican Republic to a responsible Dominican Government duly established in accordance with the existing Constitution and laws.

To this end it calls upon the Dominican people to lend to it their helpful cooperation with the hope that the withdrawal of the military forces of the United States may be completed, if such cooperation is extended in the manner hereinafter provided, within a period of eight months. The executive power vested by the Dominican Constitution in the President of the Republic shall be exercised by the Military Governor of Santo Domingo until a duly elected proclaimed President of the Republic shall have taken office and until a convention of evacuation shall have been signed by the President and confirmed by the Dominican Congress.

Within one month from the date of this proclamation the Military Governor will convene the primary assemblies to assemble thirty days after the date of the decree of convention, in conformity with Articles 82 and 83 of the Constitution. These assemblies shall proceed to elect the electors, as prescribed by Article 84 of the Constitution. In order that these elections may be held without disorder, and in order that the will of the Dominican people may be freely expressed, these elections will be held under the supervision of the authorities designated by the Military Governor. The electoral colleges thus selected by the primary assemblies shall, in accordance with Article 85 of the Constitution, proceed to elect Senators, Deputies and alternates for the latter and to prepare lists for the Justices of the Supreme Court, of the Appellate Courts and the tribunals and courts of the first instance, as prescribed by Article 85 of the Constitution.

The Military Governor, performing the functions of Chief Executive, will then appoint, in accordance with Article 53 of the Constitution, certain Dominican citizens as representatives of the republic to negotiate a convention of evacuation. In order that the enjoyment of individual prosperity of the republic may be conserved, the said convention of evacuation shall contain the following provisions:

1. Ratification of all of the acts of the Military Government.
2. Validation of the final loan of \$2,500,000, which is the minimum loan required in order to complete the public works which are now in actual course of construction, and which can be completed during the period required for the withdrawal of the military occupation and are deemed essential to the success of the new Government of the Republic and to the well-being of the Dominican people.
3. Extension of the duties of the general receiver of Dominican customs, appointed under the Convention of 1907, to apply to the said loan.
4. Extension of the powers of the general receiver of Dominican customs to the collection and disbursement of such portion of the internal revenues of the republic as may prove to be necessary, should the customs revenues at any time be insufficient to meet the service of the foreign debt of the Republic.

5. The obligation on the part of the Dominican Government, in order to preserve peace, to afford adequate protection to life and property and to secure the proper discharge of all obligations of the Dominican Republic, to maintain an efficient Guardia Nacional, urban and rural, composed of native Dominicans. To this end it shall also be agreed in said convention that the President of the Dominican Republic shall at once request the President of the United States to send a military mission to the Dominican Republic, charged with the duty of securing the competent organization of such Guardia Nacional; the Guardia Nacional to be officered by such Dominican officers as may be competent to undertake such service, and, for such time as may be found necessary, to effect the desired organization with American officers appointed by the President of the Dominican Republic upon the nomination of the President of the United States. The expenses of said mission will be paid by the Dominican Republic, and the said mission will be invested by the executive of the Dominican Republic with proper and adequate authority to accomplish the purpose above stated.

The Military Governor will thereupon convene the Dominican Congress in extraordinary session to confirm the convention of evacuation referred to above. The Military Governor will then assemble the Electoral Colleges for the purpose of electing a President of the Dominican Republic in accordance with Article 85 of the Constitution, and simultaneously officials other than the Senators and Deputies elected at the first convocation of the electoral colleges will be installed in office.

The Dominican President so elected will then take office in accordance with Article 51 of the Constitution, at the same time signing the convention of evacuation as confirmed by the Dominican Congress.

Upon this ratification of the convention of evacuation, assuming that through the cooperation of the people of the Dominican Republic a condition of peace and good order obtains, the Military Governor will transfer to the duly elected President of the Republic all of his powers, and the Military Government will cease; and thereupon the forces of the United States will be at once withdrawn. The further assistance of the Advisory Commission appointed under the proclamation of December 23, 1920, being no longer required, it is hereby dissolved, with the expression of the grateful appreciation of the Government of the United States of the self-sacrificing services of the patriotic citizens of the Dominican Republic of whom it has been composed.

STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT

[Referring to Above Proclamation.]

June 28, 1921.

The attention of the Government of the United States has been drawn to the evident misunderstanding which exists in the Dominican Republic regarding the provisions of the proposed Convention of Evacuation as outlined in the Proclamation of the Military Governor, dated June 14. In order that misunderstanding and misinformation may no longer continue, the following statement is made in order to insure an accurate understanding of the actual meaning and intention of the proposed Convention:

1. In carrying out the provisions of the Proclamation relative to the appointment of certain Dominican citizens as representatives of the Dominican Republic to negotiate the Convention of Evacuation with the representatives of the United States, it is the intention of the Military Government to request the Dominican Congress, as soon as it is elected, to agree upon the names of the representatives of the Dominican Republic. The persons so selected will be formally appointed by the Military Governor in his capacity as Executive ad interim of the Dominican Republic, to be its delegates to negotiate the Convention of Evacuation.

2. The stipulation of the Proclamation of June 14, that the Convention of Evacuation shall provide for the ratification of all of the acts of the Military Government is intended primarily to insure the recognition by the newly constituted Government of the Dominican Republic of the validity of the financial obligations incurred by the Military Government during the period in which it acted on behalf of the Dominican people. These financial obligations were incurred by the Military Government with the consent of the United States in order that funds might be obtained for the carrying out of projects which have promoted the welfare and prosperity of the Dominican people and the Government of the United States feels it necessary to satisfy itself, before its withdrawal from its present relation to Dominican affairs is made effective, that the present holders of these obligations of the Dominican Government may receive satisfactory assurances that the Dominican Government will respect these debts. The validating stipulation should not, however, be construed as conveying the meaning that the Government of the United States insists that every Executive Order issued by the Military Government during its incumbency must continue forever unchanged in the Dominican Code. Its meaning, on the contrary, is that all of the acts of the Military Government shall be ratified initially by the newly constituted Dominican Government. After the withdrawal, the Dominican Republic will necessarily be free to amend or repeal such of these laws or acts as it may deem necessary, provided that the validity and security of outstanding obligations are not impaired.

3. That provision of the proposed Convention which would extend the powers of the General Receiver of Customs to the collection of such portion of the internal revenues of the Republic as may be necessary should the customs revenues at any time be insufficient to meet the requirements of the service of the public debt of the Republic, is, in effect, merely a further guarantee for the proper security of the final loan of \$2,500,000. Financial conditions throughout the world are at present on such an unstable basis that it is necessary in order to obtain funds at this time to give additional guarantees to those which were demanded in the past. Should the customs revenues, as is anticipated, prove more than sufficient to meet the service of the public debt of the Republic, this provision will never become operative.

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTE TO CHINA

[Continuation of Support of Federal Telegraph Company.]

*July 1, 1921.**

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 9th, and in reply assure you that it is not the intention of this Government to withdraw from the position hitherto taken by it in support of the rights accruing to the Federal Telegraph Company under the contract of January 8 last. In its view, the communications which it has received from the other interested Governments, in reply to its inquiries as to the reasons for their protests to the Chinese authorities against this contract, tend only to confirm this Government in its belief that the adverse claims which have been urged as excluding the Federal Telegraph Company from participating with the Chinese Government in establishing wireless communications are founded upon assertions of monopolistic or preferential rights, in the field of Chinese Governmental enterprise, which cannot be reconciled either with the treaty rights of American citizens in China, or with the principle of the open door.

Your reference to the principle of the open door affords me the opportunity to assure you of this Government's continuance in its whole-hearted support of that principle, which it has traditionally regarded as fundamental both to the interests of China itself and to the common interests of all powers in China, and indispensable to the free and peaceful development of their commerce on

*Made public July 9, 1921. Addressed to Chinese Minister to United States.



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VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT

MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT.

It is interesting to compare these recent views of the institution in which the United States trains young men to be officers in its army, especially the panorama taken from an airplane flying over the Hudson River, with the view of West Point in 1840, opposite page 1617.

The story of the founding and development of the United States Military Academy is outlined in the Encyclopedic Index, under Military Academy. The article describes also the requirements for entrance and the course of instruction, and is followed by a list of references to discussions concerning the Military Academy by our Presidents. George Washington's recommendation for its establishment is to be found on page 194, and the Senate's reception of the idea, on page 197. The need for enlargement soon after its founding is discussed by President Madison on pages 471 and 551.

One of the greatest military leaders of the nineteenth century was Ulysses S. Grant. He was trained for army service at West Point, and it is hence all the more interesting to read his recommendations concerning the institution after he had become President. See page 4149.

the Pacific Ocean. The Government of the United States has never associated itself with any arrangement which sought to establish any special rights or privileges in China which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of other friendly states; and I am happy to assure you that it is the purpose of this Government neither to participate nor to acquiesce in any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of foreign interests any superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in designated regions of the territories of China, or which might seek to create any such monopoly or preference as would exclude other nationals from undertaking any legitimate trade or industry or from participating with the Chinese Government in any category of public enterprise.

HUGHES.

STATE DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

[Calling of Conference by President Harding on Disarmament and Far Eastern Questions.]

July 11, 1921.

The President, in view of the far-reaching importance of the question of limitation of armament, has approached with informal but definite inquiries the group of Powers heretofore known as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, that is, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to them to take part in a conference on this subject, to be held in Washington at a time to be mutually agreed upon. If the proposal is found to be acceptable, formal invitations for such a conference will be issued.

It is manifest that the question of limitation of armament has a close relation to Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and the President has suggested that the Powers especially interested in these problems should undertake in connection with this conference the consideration of all matters bearing upon their solution with a view to reaching a common understanding with respect to principles and politics in the Far East. This has been communicated to the Powers concerned and China has also been invited to take part in the discussion relating to Far Eastern problems.

ADDRESS TO SENATE JULY 12, 1921.

[Urging Unfavorable Action Upon Bill to Adjust Compensation of Veterans of the World War.]

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Senate:

There has come to my attention the pending unfinished business before the Senate, and it is an imperative duty to convey to you the probable effect of the passage at this time of the proposed act, providing for adjusted compensation to our service men in the World War. If this measure could be made effective at the present time without disaster to the Nation's finances and without hindrance to imperative readjustment of our taxes it would present an entirely different question than that which is before you. In a personal as well as a public manner, which ought to be a plight of good faith, I have commended the policy of generous treatment of the Nation's defenders, not as a part of any contract, not as the payment of a debt which is owing, but as a mark of

the Nation's gratitude. Every obligation is to the disabled and dependent. In such reference as has been made to general compensation there has been a reservation as to the earliest consistent time for such action if it is taken. Even without such reservation, however, a modified view would be wholly justifiable at the present moment, because the enactment of the compensation bill in the midst of the struggle for readjustment and restoration would hinder every effort and greatly imperil the financial stability of our country. More, this menacing effort to expend billions in gratuities will imperil our capacity to discharge our first obligations to those we must not fail to aid.

I am addressing the Senate directly because the problem is immediately yours, as your unfinished business, but the Executive branch of the Government owes it to both Houses of Congress and to the country frankly to state the difficulties we daily are called upon to meet, and the added peril this measure would bring.

Our land has its share of the financial chaos and the industrial depression of the world. We little heeded the growth of indebtedness or the limits of expenditure during the war because we could not stop to count the cost. Our one thought then was the winning of the war, and the survival of the Nation. We borrowed and loaned—individuals to the Nation and the Government to other governments, and to those who served the Nation, with little thought of settlement. It was relatively easy then, because national life was at stake. In the sober aftermath we face the order of reason, rather than act amid the passions of war, and our own land and the world are facing problems never solved before. There can be no solution unless we face the grim truths and seek to solve them in resolute devotion to duty. After a survey of more than four months, contemplating conditions which would stagger all of us were it not for our abiding faith in America, I am fully persuaded that three things are essential to the very beginning of the restored order of things. These are the revision, including reduction, of our internal taxation, the refunding of our war debt, and the adjustment of our foreign loans. It is vitally necessary to settle these problems before adding to our Treasury any such burden as is contemplated in the pending bill.

It is unthinkable to expect a business revival and the resumption of the normal ways of peace while maintaining the excessive taxes of war. It is quite as unthinkable to reduce our tax burdens while committing our Treasury to an additional obligation which ranges from three to five billions of dollars. The precise figures no one can give. If it is conceivably true that only two hundred millions a year will be drawn annually from the Treasury in the few years immediately before us, the bestowal is too inconsequential to be of real value to the Nation's defenders; and, if the exercise of the option should call for cash run-

ning into billions, the depression in finance and industry would be so marked that vastly more harm than good would attend.

Our Government must undertake no obligations which it does not intend to meet. No Government fiat will pay our bills. The exchanges of the world testify today to that erroneous theory. We may rely on the sacrifices of patriotism in war, but today we face markets, and the effects of supply and demand, and the inexorable laws of credits in time of peace.

At the very moment we are obliged to pay $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent interest for Government short-time loans to care for our floating indebtedness, a rate on Government borrowing, in spite of tax-exemption, which ought to prevail in private transactions for the normal interest charges in financing our industry and commerce. Definite obligations amounting to seven and a half billions in war savings certificates, victory bonds and certificates covering floating indebtedness are to mature in the two years immediately following, and the overburdening of the Treasury now means positive disaster in the years immediately before us. Merest prudence calls out in warning.

Our greatest necessity is a return to the normal ways of peace activities. A modest offering to the millions of service men is a poor palliative to more millions who may be out of employment. Stabilized finance and well-established confidence are both essential to restored industry and commerce.

The slump which is now upon us is an inevitable part of war's aftermath. It has followed in the wake of war since the world began. There was the unavoidable readjustment, the inevitable charge-off, the unfailing attendance of losses in the wake of high prices, the inexorable deflation which inflation had preceded. It has been wholly proper to seek to apply Government relief to minimize the hardships, and the Government had aided wherever possible, and is aiding now, but all the special acts ever dreamed of, all the particular favors ever conceived will not avoid all the distress nor ward off all the losses. The proper mental state of our people will commit us resolutely and confidently to our tasks, and definite assurances as to taxation and expenditure will contribute to that helpful mental order. The only sure way to normalcy is over the paths nature has marked throughout all human experience.

With the approval of Congress the Executive branch of Government has been driving toward that decreased expenditure which is the most practical assurance of diminished taxation. With enthusiastic resolution your administrative agents are making not only conscientious effort to reduce the call for appropriations, but to reduce the cost of government far below the appropriations you have already provided. It is easy to believe that the only way to diminish the burdens which the people must pay is to cut the outlay in which public moneys are expend-

ed. War is not wholly responsible for staggering costs; it has merely accentuated the menace which lies in mounting cost of government and excesses in expenditure which a successful private business would not tolerate.

I can make you no definite promise in figures today, but I can pledge you a most conscientious drive to reduce Government cost by many millions. It would be most discouraging to those who are bending their energies to save millions to have Congress add billions to our burdens at the very beginning.

Even were there not the threatened paralysis of our Treasury, with its fatal reflexes on all our activities which concern our prosperity, would it not be better to await the settlement of our foreign loans? At such a time it would be a bestowal on the part of our Government when it is able to bestow.

The United States participates in none of the distributable awards of war, but the world owes us heavily, and will pay when restoration is wrought. If the restoration fails world-bankruptcy attends. I believe the world restoration is possible, but only with honest, diligent work in productivity on the one hand, and honest and diligent opposition to needless public expenditure on the other.

If the suggested recommitment of this measure bore the merest suggestion of neglect or a hint of national ingratitude I would not urge it. It has been my privilege to speak to Congress on our obligations to the disabled and dependent soldiers and the Government's deep desire to prove its concern for their welfare. I should be ashamed of the Republic if it failed in its duty to them. Neither armistice nor permanent peace puts an end to the obligations of Government to its defenders or the obligations of citizens to the Government. Mindful of these things the administrative branch of the Government has not only spoken, it has acted and has accomplished.

In view of some of the things which have been said, and very carelessly said, perhaps I ought to report officially some of the things which have been done. In the Department of War Risk Insurance there have been filed up to July 7, 1921, compensation and insurance claims numbering 813,442. Of these, 747,786 have been adjudicated, at an expenditure of \$471,946,762. There were 200,000 claims pending when the War Risk Department was reorganized, late in April, this year, and the number of pending claims has been reduced by 134,344. All work in this department will be current by the 21st of this July; that is to say, all action which the bureau may take on a given case will be current, though new claims are being filed at the rate of 700 per day.

There have been requested 887,614 medical examinations, and less than fourteen thousand await medical action. Up to July 7 there have

been 26,237 disabled soldiers hospitalized, and in Government controlled hospitals today there are 6,000 available beds without occupants. You are already aware of the progress made toward the construction of additional Government hospitals, not because we are not meeting all demands, but to better meet them and the better to specialize in the treatment of those who come under our care.

There has been paid out in allotment and allowances the sum of \$578,465,658, and nearly \$4,000,000,000 of Government insurance is in force.

In vocational training and rehabilitation of disabled soldiers there have been enrolled to date 107,824 men. Today there are 75,812 men who are training with pay, at the maximum cost of \$160 per month; 8,208 training without pay, but at a tuition and supply outlay of \$35 per month. Four thousand disabled men have completed their training and have been returned to gainful employment. These earned an average of \$1,051 per year before entering the Army, and are earning today, in spite of their war disability and in spite of diminished wage or salary levels, an average of \$1,550 per annum.

It is an interesting revelation and a fine achievement, attended by both abuses and triumphs. Congress has appropriated \$65,000,000 for this noble work for the current year, but the estimated acceptance of training for the year before us contemplates an average of 95,000 disabled men, and the cost will be in excess of \$163,000,000, or nearly a hundred millions more than Congress has provided. This additional sum must be made available. With the increase of availability to training, as recently urged upon Congress, the estimated additional expenditure will be \$468,000,000 per annum, until the pledge of training is discharged. These figures suggest neither neglect nor ingratitude. It is more than the entire annual cost of Federal government for many years following the Civil War, and challenges every charge of failure to deal considerably with our Nation's defenders. I do not recite the figures to suggest that it is all we may do, or ultimately ought to do. It is inevitable that our obligations will grow, and grow enormously. We never have neglected and never will neglect the dependent soldier, and there is no way to avoid Time's remorseless classifications.

Contemplating the tremendous liability, which the Government never will shirk, I would be remiss in my duty if I failed to ask Congress to pause at this particular time, rather than break down our treasury from which so much is later on to be expected. The defenders of the Republic amid the perils of war would be the last of our citizenship to wish its stability menaced by an individual pittance of peace.

I know the feelings of my own breast, and that of yours and the grateful people of this Republic. But no thoughtful person, possessed

with all the facts, is ready for added compensation for the healthful, self-reliant masses of our great armies at the cost of a treasury breakdown which will bring its hardships to all the citizens of the Republic. Its enactment now in all probability would so add to our interest rates that the added interest charge on new and refunded indebtedness may alone exceed the sum it is proposed to bestow. When Congress was called in extraordinary session I called your attention to the urgent measures which I thought demanded your consideration. You promptly provided the emergency tariff, and good progress has been made toward the much-needed and more deliberate revision of our tariff schedules. There is confessed disappointment that so little progress has been made in the readjustment and reduction of the war-time taxes. I believe you share with me the earnest wish for early accomplishment.

It is not expected that Congress will sit and ignore other problems of legislation. There are often urgent problems which must enlist your attention. I have not come to speak of them, though the reorganization of the war risk and vocational training, now pending, would hasten the efficient discharge of our willing obligations to the disabled soldiers.

But I want to emphasize the suggestion that the accomplishment of the major tasks for which you were asked to sit in extraordinary session will have a reassuring effect on the entire country and speed our resumption of normal activities and their rewards which tend to make a prosperous and happy people.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Financial Problem of the Railroads]

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 26, 1921.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

It is necessary to call the attention of Congress to the obligations of the Government to the railroads and ask your cooperation in order to enable the Government to discharge these obligations. There is nothing new about them, but only recently has there come an understanding which seems well to justify a sincere endeavor to effect an early settlement. These obligations already have been recognized by the Congress in the passage of the Transportation Act restoring the railroads to their owners, but previous recognition was made in the contract under which the railroads were operated by the Government for the period of the World War.

The contract covering operation provided that the railways should be returned to their owners in as good condition as when taken over by the Government, and the Transportation Act, recognizing that betterments and additions belong to capital account, provided that such

sums as the railway companies owed the Government for betterments and new equipment, added during the period of Government operation, might be funded. There has been at no time any question about the justice of funding such indebtedness to the Government. Indeed, it has been in progress to a measurable degree ever since the return of the railroads to their owners. It has been limited, however, to such cases as those in which final settlements with the Railway Administration have been effected. The process is admittedly too slow to meet the difficult situation which the owners of the railroads have been facing, and I believe it essential to restore railway activities and essential to the country's good fortune to hasten both funding and settlement.

Quite apart from the large sums owing to the Government, which we are morally and legally bound to fund, the Government admittedly owes the railway companies large sums on various accounts, such as compensation, depreciation, and maintenance. There has been a wide difference of opinion relating to the amount the Government owes, due in the main to the claim of the owners that in spite of materials and hours of labor being estimated in proper relations to similar expenditure in the prewar test period, the "inefficiency of labor" still left a wide difference between actual upkeep and the expenditure made during the Government operation.

In order to expedite settlement and funding, an informal understanding, which is all that is possible or practical, has been reached, under which the railway claims based on the "inefficiency of labor" are to be waived to hasten complete and final settlements, without surrender of any rights in court in case there is failure to settle. I have no doubt that early, final, and satisfactory settlements will be reached, since the policy of the Railway Administration already has been effective in finally settling the accounts of roads filing claims amounting to \$225,568,764, resulting in the payment to them of \$68,141,222.

The way now would seem to be clear to very early adjustment and relief, except for the fact that the Railway Administration, though possessing assets, does not command the funds necessary to meet with what will be its admitted obligations.

There is no thought to ask Congress for additional funds. Perhaps \$500,000,000 will be necessary. The Railroad Administration has, or will have in the progress of funding, ample securities to meet all requirements if Congress only will grant the authority to negotiate these securities and provide the agency for their negotiation.

With this end in view, you are asked to extend the authority of the War Finance Corporation so that it may purchase these railway funding securities accepted by the Director General of Railroads. No added expense, no added investment is required on the part of the

Government; there is no added liability, no added tax burden. It is merely the grant of authority necessary to enable a most useful and efficient Government agency to use its available funds to purchase securities for which Congress already has authorized the issue, and turn them into the channels of finance ready to float them.

I can readily believe that so simple a remedy will have your prompt sanction. The question of our obligation cannot be raised, the wisdom of affording early relief is not to be doubted, and the avoidance of added appropriation or liability will appeal to Congress and the public alike.

The after-war distresses of two great and fundamental activities have been riveting the anxious attention of the country. One is the readjustment and restoration of agriculture; the other is the distress of our railway transportation system.

Pending proposals for relief and their discussion have already brought to the attention of Congress the very promising possibilities of broadening the powers of the War Finance Corporation for the further relief of agriculture and live-stock production. This corporation has proven itself so helpful in the relief thus far undertaken that I cannot help but believe that its broadened powers, as have been proposed to meet agricultural needs, will enable it wholly to meet the nation-wide emergency. This is an impelling moral obligation to American farming in all its larger aspects, and it will be most gratifying to have your early sanction.

In the case of the railroads there is a moral and a contractual obligation, and your favorable action is no less urgent and will no less appeal to public approval. Railway solvency and efficiency are essential to our healthful industrial, commercial, and agricultural life. Everything hinges on transportation.

After necessary and drastic curtailments, after harrowing straits in meeting their financial difficulties, the railways need only this financial aid which the fulfillment of our obligations will bestow to inaugurate their far-reaching revival. Its effects will be felt in varied industries and will banish to a large degree the depression which, though inevitable in war's aftermath, we are all so anxious to see ended.

I am appending herewith memoranda concerning the progress of railroad liquidation and revealing existing conditions which Congress will be interested to note while considering the simple remedy proposed for the relief of the situation. The information is submitted by the Director General of the Railroads.

WARREN G. HARDING.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Advisory Authority of Fine Arts Commission.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 28, 1921.*

It is hereby ordered that essential matters relating to the design of medals, insignia and coins, produced by the executive departments, also the designs of statues, fountains and monuments, and all important plans for parks and all public buildings, constructed by executive departments or the District of Columbia, which in any essential way affect the appearance of the City of Washington, or the District of Columbia, shall be submitted to the Commission of Fine Arts for advice as to the merits of such designs before the executive officer having charge of the same shall approve thereof.

WARREN G. HARDING.

NOTES TO PANAMA

[Boundary Dispute Between Panama and Costa Rica.]

August 18, 1921.

The Government of the United States has received the note addressed by the Government of Panama, on August 6, to the American Minister in Panama, replying to the communication handed by the Minister on August 2 to the Government of Panama by instruction of the Government of the United States, in which were transmitted two requests of the Government of Costa Rica relating to the boundary dispute between the Republics of Panama and Costa Rica.

After the most careful consideration of the statements contained in the note of the Government of Panama above referred to, this Government has reached the conclusion that the arguments advanced in this communication have already been fully answered in previous notes addressed by the Government of the United States to the Government of Panama. It is greatly regretted that it has proved to be impossible for the Governments of Panama and Costa Rica to come to a direct agreement for the delimitation of that portion of the boundary between the two Republics laid down by the White Award. In view of the fact that the Government of Panama appears unwilling to carry out this delimitation in the manner provided in the Porras-Anderson Convention, and inasmuch as a reasonable time, mentioned in the note of this Government dated May 2, 1921, for the reaching of an agreement as to the manner of carrying out this delimitation, has already been afforded, there would seem to be no reason why the Government of the United States should, as the friendly mediator between the two Governments, or by virtue of its special relations to the Government of Panama, feel compelled to suggest to the Government of Costa Rica that it delay longer taking jurisdiction over the territory which is now occupied by Panama and which was adjudged to belong to Costa Rica by the terms of the Loubet Award.

The Government of the United States is now advised by the Government of Costa Rica that since it considers that the Porras-Anderson Convention is in force, and since it believes that there is no valid reason for delaying its complete execution any longer, it is ready to assume immediately the jurisdiction over the territory above referred to.

HUGHES.

[To the Panama Minister of Foreign Affairs.]

August 26, 1921.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of August 24, acknowledging the receipt of my notes addressed to Your Excellency under date of August 18 and August 23.

I have given careful consideration of the contents of Your Excellency's note under acknowledgment and I am unable to find that any of the statements made by Your Excellency require further comment from me, in view of the fact that this Government, acting in accord with its obligations by reason of its special relations to Panama, has fully considered all the questions in the controversy, but has found no escape from the conclusion that the Governments of Panama and Costa Rica are bound by the arbitral award which was rendered after exhaustive examination of the opposing contentions by the Chief Justice of the United States. Panama and Costa Rica engaged, in the most solemn manner, to abide by this award.

It is my earnest hope that the Government and people of Panama will realize that the Government of the United States has acted in this matter in the most sincere friendship, animated solely by the desire to do complete justice and with the profound conviction that the surest safeguard of independence and territorial integrity lies in the faithful observance of international obligations.

HUGHES.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Protection Against Domestic Violence in West Virginia.]

[After many months of bitter and sanguinary disputes between the coal miners and operators in the Mingo district of West Virginia, in the last days of August, 1921, several thousand armed miners from Mingo, Boone and Logan counties, and from across the border in Kentucky, began a march from Marmet to Mingo County. They were finally persuaded to disperse without a clash with the Federal troops.]

Whereas, the Governor of the State of West Virginia has represented that domestic violence exists in said State which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress; and

Whereas, it is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect each State in this Union, on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence; and

Whereas, by the law of the United States in pursuance of the above it is provided that in all cases of insurrection in any State, or of obstruction to the laws thereof, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States on application of the legislature of such State, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, to call forth the militia of any other State or States, or to employ such part of the land and naval forces of the United States as shall be judged necessary for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection and causing the laws to be duly executed; and

Whereas, the legislature of the State of West Virginia is not now in session and cannot be convened in time to meet the present emer-

gency, and the Executive of said State under Section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, has made due application to me in the premises for such part of the military forces of the United States as may be necessary and adequate to protect the State of West Virginia and the citizens thereof against domestic violence and to enforce the due execution of the laws; and

Whereas, it is required that whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the President, to use the military forces of the United States for the purposes aforesaid he shall forthwith by proclamation command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes within a limited time;

Now, Therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, do hereby make proclamation and I do hereby command all persons engaged in said unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before 12 o'clock noon of the 1st day of September, 1921, and hereafter abandon said combinations and submit themselves to the laws and constituted authorities of said State;

And I invoke the aid and cooperation of all good citizens thereof to uphold the laws and preserve the public peace.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 30th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-
[SEAL.] one, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-sixth. WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

TREATIES OF PEACE WITH GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

[The treaties were ratified by the Senate on October 18, 1921. The treaty with Germany was ratified by a vote of 66 (52 Republicans and 14 Democrats) to 20 (18 Democrats and 2 Republicans—Senators Borah and La Follette). The treaty with Austria was ratified by the same vote, and that with Hungary by vote of 66 to 17.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 21, 1921.*

To the Senate: I transmit herewith to receive the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification, a treaty between the United States and Germany, signed on August 25, 1921, to restore the friendly relations existing between the two Nations prior to the outbreak of war.

WARREN G. HARDING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *September 19, 1921.*

THE PRESIDENT: The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to its ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a treaty between the United States and Germany, signed on August 25, 1921, to restore the friendly relations existing between the two Nations prior to the outbreak of war.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Considering that the United States, acting in conjunction with its cobelligerents, entered into an armistice with Germany on November 11, 1918, in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded;

Considering that the treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and came into force according to the terms of its article 440, but has not been ratified by the United States;

Considering that the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution approved by the President July 2, 1921, which reads, in part, as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

"SEC. 2. That in making this declaration, and as a part of it, there are expressly reserved to the United States of America and its nationals any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed November 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof; or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States of America by reason of its participation in the war or to which its nationals have thereby become rightfully entitled; or which, under the treaty of Versailles, have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal Allied and associated Powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any act or acts of Congress; or otherwise.

* * * * *

"SEC. 5. All property of the Imperial German Government, or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals, which was, on April 6, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or any of its officers, agents, or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, and all property of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its successor or successors, and of all Austro-Hungarian nationals which was on December 7, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or any of its officers, agents, or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States of America and no disposition thereof made, except as shall have been heretofore or specifically hereafter shall be provided by law until such time as the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively made suitable provision for the satisfaction of all claims against said Governments, respectively, of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States of America and who have suffered through the acts of the Imperial German Government or its agents or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or its agents, since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their persons or property, directly or indirectly, whether through the ownership of shares of stock in German, Austro-Hungarian, American, or other corporations, or in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war,

or otherwise, and also shall have granted to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States of America most-favored-nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce, and industrial property rights, and until the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have, respectively, confirmed to the United States of America all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States of America during the war, whether in respect to the property of the Imperial German Government or German nationals or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or Austro-Hungarian nationals, and shall have waived any and all pecuniary claims against the United States of America."

Being desirous of restoring the friendly relations existing between the two nations prior to the outbreak of war,

Have for that purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the German Empire,

Dr. Friedrich Rosen, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and

The President of the United States of America,

Ellis Loring Dresel, Commissioner of the United States of America to Germany,

Who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.

Germany undertakes to accord to the United States, and the United States shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages specified in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the treaty of Versailles which the United States shall fully enjoy notwithstanding the fact that such treaty has not been ratified by the United States.

ARTICLE II.

With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing article with respect to certain provisions in the treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

(1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in section 1, of Part IV, and Parts V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, and XV.

The United States in availing itself of the rights and advantages stipulated in the provisions of that treaty mentioned in this paragraph will do so in a manner consistent with the rights accorded to Germany under such provisions.

(2) That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part I of that treaty, nor by any provisions of that treaty including those mentioned in paragraph (1) of this article, which relate to the covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations or by the council or by the assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

(3) That the United States assumes no obligations under or with respect to the provisions of Part II, Part III, sections 2 to 8, inclusive, of Part IV, and Part XIII of that treaty.

(4) That, while the United States is privileged to participate in the Reparation Commission, according to the terms of Part VIII of that treaty, and in

any other commission established under the treaty or under any agreement supplemental thereto, the United States is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so.

(5) That the periods of time to which reference is made in article 440 of the treaty of Versailles shall run with respect to any act or election on the part of the United States from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE III.

The present treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional forms of the high contracting parties and shall take effect immediately on the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place as soon as possible at Berlin.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate in Berlin this 25th day of August, 1921.

[SEAL.]

ROSEN.

[SEAL.]

ELLIS LORING DRESEL

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 21, 1921.*

To the Senate: I transmit herewith, to receive the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification, a treaty between the United States and Austria, signed on August 24, 1921, to establish securely friendly relations between the two nations.

WARREN G. HARDING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *September 20, 1921.*

THE PRESIDENT: The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to its ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a treaty between the United States and Austria, signed on August 24, 1921, to establish securely friendly relations between the two nations. Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AUSTRIA, Considering that the United States, acting in conjunction with its cobelligerents, entered into an armistice with Austria-Hungary on November 3, 1918, in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded;

Considering that the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy ceased to exist and was replaced in Austria by a republican Government;

Considering that the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, to which Austria is a party, was signed on September 10, 1919, and came into force according to the terms of its article 381, but has not been ratified by the United States;

Considering that the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution approved by the President July 2, 1921, which reads in part as follows:

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

"That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved December 7, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

"SEC. 4. That in making this declaration and as a part of it there are expressly reserved to the United States of America and its nationals any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages, together

with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed November 3, 1918, or any extension or modifications thereof; or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States of America by reason of its participation in the war or to which its nationals have thereby become rightfully entitled; or which under the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye or the treaty of Trianon have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal Allied and associated Powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any act or acts of Congress or otherwise.

[Here is quoted Sec. 5 of the Resolution, as given in the treaty with Germany, *above*.]

Being desirous of establishing securely friendly relations between the two nations;

Have for that purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries; the President of the United States of America, Arthur Hugh Frazier, and the Federal President of the Republic of Austria, Johann Schober, who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.

Austria undertakes to accord to the United States, and the United States shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages specified in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, which the United States shall fully enjoy notwithstanding the fact that such treaty has not been ratified by the United States. The United States, in availing itself of the rights and advantages stipulated in the provisions of that treaty, will do so in a manner consistent with the rights accorded to Austria under such provisions.

ARTICLE II.

With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Austria under the foregoing article with respect to certain provisions in the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

(1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy are those defined in Parts V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, and XIV.

(2) That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part I of that treaty, nor by any provisions of that treaty, including those mentioned in paragraph (1) of this article, which relate to the covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations or by the council or by the assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

(3) That the United States assumes no obligations under or with respect to the provisions of Part II, Part III, Part IV, and Part XIII of that treaty.

(4) That while the United States is privileged to participate in the Reparation Commission, according to the terms of Part VIII of that treaty, and in any other commission established under the treaty or under any agreement supplemental thereto, the United States is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so.

(5) That the periods of time to which reference is made in article 381 of the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye shall run, with respect to any act or election on the part of the United States, from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE III.

The present treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional forms of the high contracting parties and shall take effect immediately on the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place as soon as possible at Vienna.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate in Vienna this 24th day of August, 1921.

[SEAL.]

ARTHUR HUGH FRAZIER.

[SEAL.]

SCHOBER.

[The text of the treaty with Hungary was similar to that of the treaty with Austria; even to the numbers of the articles specifically mentioned. In the case of Hungary, however, the treaty referred to was the Treaty of Trianon, signed on June 4, 1920, and coming into effect by its article 364, instead of the Treaty of St. Germain; and whereas the treaty with Austria mentions that the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was replaced in Austria by a republican Government, that with Hungary mentions that it was replaced in Hungary by a "national Hungarian Government." The treaty with Hungary was done in duplicate at Budapest on August 29, 1921, the United States representative being U. Grant Smith, Commissioner of the United States to Hungary, and the Hungarian, Count Nicholas Bánffy, Royal Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs.]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PROCLAMATIONS

Whereas, by a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved March 3, 1921, it was declared that certain Acts of Congress, joint resolutions and proclamations should be construed as if the war between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government had ended, but certain acts of Congress and proclamations issued in pursuance thereof were excepted from the operation of the said resolution;

Whereas, by a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved July 2, 1921, the state of war which was declared by the Joint Resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government was declared at an end;

Whereas, a treaty between the United States and Germany was signed at Berlin on August 25, 1921, to restore the friendly relations existing between the two nations prior to the outbreak of war, which treaty is word for word as follows:

[Here follows text of treaty as given above.]

And whereas, the said treaty has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two countries were exchanged at Berlin on November 11, 1921:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, hereby proclaim that the war between the United States and Germany terminated on July 2, 1921, and cause the said treaty to be made public to the end that every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this fourteenth day of November, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-one, and of [SEAL.] the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Forty-sixth.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State*.

Whereas, by a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved March 3, 1921, it was declared that certain acts of Congress, joint resolutions and proclamations should be construed as if the war between the United States of America and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government had ended, but certain acts of Congress and proclamations issued in pursuance thereof were excepted from the operation of the said resolution;

Whereas, by a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved July 2, 1921, the state of war which was declared by the Joint Resolution of Congress approved December 7, 1917, to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government was declared at an end;

Whereas, a treaty between the United States and Austria to establish friendly relations between the two nations was signed at Vienna an August 24, 1921, which treaty is word for word as follows:

[Here follows the text of the treaty as given above.]

And, whereas, the said treaty has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two countries were exchanged at Vienna on November 8, 1921;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, hereby proclaim that the war between the United States and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, which was declared by the said resolution of December 7, 1917, to exist, terminated on July 2, 1921, and cause the said treaty to be made public to the end that every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this seventeenth day of November, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, and of the [SEAL.] Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth. WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State*.

Whereas, a treaty between the United States and Hungary to establish securely friendly relations between the two nations was signed at Budapest on August 29, 1921, which treaty is word for word as follows:

[Here follows the text of the treaty.]

And, whereas, the said treaty has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two countries were exchanged at Budapest on December 17, 1921:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, have caused the said treaty to be made public to the end that every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twentieth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State*.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[The Budget.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 21, 1921.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921, approved June 10, 1921, I hereby prescribe the following rules and regulations with regard to the preparation and submission of the Budget and the conduct of the Bureau of the Budget:

Revision of the Estimates. Pursuant to the provisions of section 207 of the Budget and Accounting Act, the Bureau of the Budget,

under the supervision of the Director and subject to review and determination by the President, shall assemble, revise, reduce or increase the estimates of the departments or establishments as submitted to the Bureau. The Director of the Budget shall determine the plan as to the contents, order and arrangement of the estimates. In increasing or decreasing the estimates of the appropriations necessary for any department or establishment he shall take into consideration any proper reduction in working forces, reduction in compensation, and the elimination of unnecessary activities. Estimates, however, in respect to the principal or interest of the public debt shall be subject to revision only with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury. For the purpose of assisting the President with information in the formation of business policy for the Government the estimates of appropriations and of expenditures and receipts, when assembled and revised by the Bureau, shall be transmitted by the Director to the President as soon as possible after their receipt from the departments and establishments by the Bureau, in the form of a consolidated statement of estimated revenue and expenditure, with supporting schedules.

WARREN G. HARDING.

ADDRESS

[At the Opening of the Conference on Unemployment, Called by Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 26, 1921.]

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference: It is a pleasure to express to you in advance of your labors the gratitude of the Government for your service to the nation. Perhaps it is not too much to say a service for the world. Not so very long since I was receiving the call of a distinguished foreigner, and in the course of our conversation he alluded to the conference which is met this morning and said: "Mr. President, our people are deeply interested in the American Conference on Unemployment, because our problem is akin to your own, and your relief in the United States will be an added signal of hope from America to us and other peoples who are like depressed."

That remark of a distinguished foreigner emphasized our responsibility. If it be true that no citizen is without example to some one among his fellows, which I believe to be everlastingly true, then nations, great and small, are influencing others in all they do.

You are invited together to consider a condition which is in nowise peculiar to the United States. The industrial depression which we are feeling is a war inheritance throughout the world. We saw humanity stressed in that production which is impelled by nations desperate in self-preservation. We saw the industrial call to arms which mar-

shalled the family as well as the accustomed breadwinners, and we saw the spiritual, mental and physical might of the people cast in the scales measuring the might of the Republic. From such a test there is inevitable reaction. To such heights there is necessary ascent and inescapable descent. With the world involved, there is no escape for any of the world from the valleys of depression. Though we suffered less than many of those with whom we were associated, and less than any of those against whom we contended, it was inevitable that we should experience the fever's aftermath and come to know depression before we could become normal again.

Liquidation, reorganization, readjustment, reestablishment, taking account of things done and the sober contemplation of things to be done, the finding of firm ground and the open, sure and onward way—all these are a part of the inevitable, and he who thinks they might have been avoided by this plan or that, or this policy or that, or this international relationship or that, only hugs a delusion, when reason is needed for a safe council.

Even though the world's storehouses were depleted, at the same time the finances were unbalanced, and none was ready to store a war crop for the more deliberate consumption of peace. Momentarily there was elation, but it was not the glow of abiding health. We mistook elation for restoration; to-day we are met in realization. You have been summoned to counsel all America, to apply your knowledge and your experience in relieving a condition which concerns all America. Specifically, you are to deal with unemployment, to suggest the way of repairing the arterial circulation which is the very lifeblood of the Republic.

There is always unemployment. Under most fortunate conditions, I am told, there are a million and a half in the United States who are not at work. The figures are astounding only because we are a hundred millions, and this parasite percentage is always with us.

But there is excessive unemployment to-day, and we are concerned not alone about its diminution, but we are frankly anxious, under the involved conditions, lest it grow worse, with hardships of the winter season soon to be met.

I do not venture to quote the statisticians, whether the maximum figures are accurate or the minimum more dependable. Owing to the far swing from intensive endeavor and the effort to get down to solid foundations, coupled with the difficulty of readjusting expenditure—public, corporate and individual—from abnormal to normal, the problem of unemployment is the most difficult with which we are confronted.

But there are no problems affecting our national life and the welfare of the American people which we can not and will not solve. If we

fail to-day, we will try again to-morrow. There has been vast unemployment before, and will be again. There will be depression after inflation, just as surely as the tides ebb and flow, but we can mitigate, we can shorten duration, we can commit all America to relief. And all America has never failed when committed to a common cause. If out of your counsels there comes a remedy which all America helpfully may apply to-day, it may be helpfully employed some time again when similar conditions are encountered.

It is fair to say that you are not asked to solve the long controverted problems of our special system. We have builded the America of to-day on the fundamentals of economic, industrial and political life which made us what we are, and the temple requires no remaking now. We are incontestably sound. We are constitutionally strong. We are merely depressed after the fever, and we want to know the way to speediest and dependable convalescence. When we know the way everybody in America, capital and labor, employer and employee, captains of industry and the privates in the trenches, will go over the top in the advance drive of peace. Frankly, it is difficult to know whether we have reached that bedrock to which reaction runs before the upward course begins, but here are representatives of the forces which make for all we are or ever can be, and your soundings ought to be reliable.

I would have little enthusiasm for any proposed relief which seeks either palliation or tonic from the public treasury. The excess of stimulation from that source is to be reckoned a cause of trouble rather than a source of cure. We should achieve but little in a remedial way if we continued to excite a contributing cause.

It is not my thought to suggest your lines of conference. Mr. Hoover, the Secretary of Commerce, to whom has been committed the arrangements for this important meeting, will present the agenda. I have wished to say to you that the people of the United States are very deeply interested, not alone the unemployed but all who are concerned for our common weal, and the world is looking on to find helpfulness in our American example. Fundamentally sound, financially strong, industrially unimpaired, commercially consistent, and politically unafraid, there ought to be work for everybody in the United States who chooses to work, and our condition at home and our place in the world depends on everybody going to work and pursuing it with that patriotism and devotion which makes for a fortunate and happy people.

STATEMENT ON THE CONFERENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 3, 1921.*

The conference which I recently summoned to Washington to advise as to the unemployment situation has demonstrated that an unusual

volume of unemployment exists, and that pending the recuperation of trade the situation cannot be met, in due regard to our obligations and necessities, without a much more than usual organization throughout those states and municipalities where unemployment has reached considerable proportions.

The conference has recommended a plan of organization which has had the support of commercial, manufacturing, professional and labor representatives of the country. It is highly necessary that more accurate knowledge should be had through such organization of the volume and necessities of the unemployed. It is essential that the cooperation of all sections of each community should be brought into action behind such organization to provide work and assistance that we may pass through the coming winter without great suffering and distress.

It is of national importance that every community should at once undertake such organization in order that the nation may be protected as a whole. Moreover, the thorough commitment to such a task is sure to start a thousand activities which will add to our common welfare.

I therefore appeal to the Governors and Mayors of the nation that they should take the steps recommended by the conference.

In order that there may be unity of action by all the forces which may be brought to bear, whether governmental or private, the unemployment conference is establishing an agency in Washington through which appropriate cooperation can be promoted and through which reports on progress and suggestions may be given general circulation and cooperation. I trust this agency will be supported in this endeavor.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PROCLAMATIONS

[Fire Prevention Day.]

Whereas, the United States suffers through destruction by fire an annual loss of life estimated at 15,000 human beings, most of them women and children, and

Whereas, in the face of the world's dire need for American products our fire losses increased during 1920 to over \$500,000,000, and during the previous five-year period totaled over \$1,416,375,000—buildings, foodstuffs and other created wealth needlessly wiped out of existence—and

Whereas, in addition to the above, forest fires, during the five years ended with 1920, further reduced our diminishing timber resources by a total of over \$85,000,000, also threatening with aridity over 56,000,000 acres of hitherto productive woodland, and

Whereas, most of our fire losses are due to carelessness and ignorance and may be easily prevented by increased care and education on the part of citizens:

Therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, do urge upon the Governors of the various States to designate and set apart October 10th, 1921—anniversary of the Chicago fire—as Fire Prevention Day, with these principal objects in view, to wit:

To request the citizens of their States to plan for that day and period, through pulpit, through open forum and through the schools, such instructive and educational exercises as shall impress the public mind with the calamitous effects and threatened economic disaster of such unnecessary fire waste;

To urge, as an everyday duty of citizenship, individual and collective efforts in conserving our country's natural and created resources, and

To promote systematic instruction in fire prevention in our schools, constant observance of the ordinary precautions that safeguard us from fires, and orderliness in home and community, that we may overcome this lurking peril.

Fire is a danger that never sleeps.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the City of Washington this twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL.] twenty-one, and of the Independence of the United States, the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

[Armistice Day.]

Whereas, the Congress of the United States, by a concurrent resolution adopted on the fourth day of March last, authorized the Secretary of War to cause to be brought to the United States the body of an American, who was a member of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe, who lost his life during the World War and whose identity has not been established, for burial in the Memorial Amphitheatre of the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia;

And Whereas, the remains of this unknown American to be brought to the United States, in pursuance of the said concurrent resolution, will be buried in the said Memorial Amphitheatre at Arlington on the eleventh day of November next;

And Whereas, these remains will be representative of all unidentified American dead who in the World War gave their lives in their country's cause;

And Whereas, it is desired that grateful recognition of their loyal devotion to country and of their sacrifice should be appropriately shown with due solemnity by their God-fearing and patriotic fellow countrymen:

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, do hereby call upon all devout and patriotic citizens of the United States to pause from their accustomed occupations and labors on Friday the eleventh day of November next from twelve o'clock noon to two minutes past that hour for a period of silent prayer of thanks to the Giver of all good for these valuable and valorous lives and of supplication for His Divine mercy and for His blessings upon our beloved country.

Furthermore, I hereby direct that the National Flag be displayed at half staff upon all the public buildings of the United States and all stations of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps throughout the world, as well as upon all American embassies, legations and consulates, from sunrise until sunset, on November the eleventh, 1921.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the City of Washington this thirtieth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-
 [SEAL.] one and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

[Death of the Honorable Philander Chase Knox.]

To the People of the United States:

It is my distressing duty to announce to the People of the United States the death of Philander Chase Knox, a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania, and formerly Attorney General and Secretary of State of the United States, which occurred at his residence in Washington on the 12th instant.

In his death his State has lost a most valuable and faithful servant, and his country one of its greatest statesmen. His good judgment, wise

discrimination and keen perception eminently fitted him for the legal profession. Admitted to the bar in 1875, he early became recognized as one of the foremost lawyers of his State. Twice honored by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by election to the Senate of the United States, he took, by his wise counsel, a prominent part in the framing of our laws and in the direction of our foreign policy. As Attorney General of the United States he rendered opinions noted for their legal ability. As Secretary of State, while guided by the principle to deal justly with all nations, his conduct of our foreign relations was ever marked by a devotion to the best interests of his country.

His private life was characterized by virtues worthy of emulation by all American citizens.

As an expression of the national sorrow at his death and in recognition of his valuable services to his country, his devotion to the public interests and his exalted patriotism, I do hereby direct that the National Flag be displayed at half staff on the Executive Offices of the United States on the day of his funeral, and that on all the embassies, legations and consulates of the United States in foreign countries the National Flag shall be displayed at half staff for ten days from the receipt of this Proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this thirteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[World War Veterans' Preference in Civil Service Examinations.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 14, 1921.*

While the appointment of Presidential postmasters is not within the legal scope of the civil service law and, therefore, as a matter of law, no "preference" is applicable thereto, yet, in order that those young men and women who served in the World War, having their scholastic and business experience intercepted and interrupted thereby, may not suffer any disadvantage in the competition for such postmasterships, I direct the Civil Service Commission, in rating the examination papers of such candidates, to add to their earned ratings

five points and to make certification to the Postmaster General in accordance with their relative positions thus acquired.

I further direct that the time such candidates were in the service during the World War may be reckoned by the Commission in making up the required length of business experience; and that all age limitations be waived.

WARREN G. HARDING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PROCLAMATIONS

[Thanksgiving—1921.]

That season has come when, alike in pursuance of a devout people's time-honored custom and in grateful recognition of favoring national fortunes, it is proper that the President should summon the nation to a day of devotion, of thanksgiving for blessings bestowed, and of prayer for guidance in modes of life that may deserve continuance of Divine favor.

Foremost among our blessings is the return of peace, and the approach to normal ways again. The year has brought us again into relations of amity with all nations, after a long period of struggle and turbulence. In thankfulness therefor, we may well unite in the hope that Providence will vouchsafe approval to the things we have done, the aims which have guided us, the aspirations which have inspired us. We shall be prospered as we shall deserve prosperity, seeking not alone for the material things but for those of the spirit as well; earnestly trying to help others; asking, before all else, the privilege of service. As we render thanks anew for the exaltation which came to us, we may fittingly petition that moderation and wisdom shall be granted to rest upon all who are in authority, in the tasks they must discharge. Their hands will be steadied, their purposes strengthened, in answer to our prayers.

Ours has been a favored nation in the bounty which God has bestowed upon it. The great trial of humanity, though indeed we bore our part as well as we were able, left us comparatively little scarred. It is for us to recognize that we have been thus favored, and when we gather at our altars to offer up thanks, we will do well to pledge, in humility and all sincerity, our purpose to prove deserving. We have been raised up and preserved in national power and consequence as part of a plan whose wisdom we can not question. Thus believing, we can do no less than hold our nation the willing instrument of the Providence which has so wonderfully favored us. Opportunity for very great service awaits us if we shall prove equal to it. Let our prayers be raised for direction in the right paths. Under God, our

responsibility is great; to our own first, to all men afterward; to all mankind in God's own justice.

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, hereby designate Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of November, to be observed by the people as a day of Thanksgiving, devotion and prayer; urging that at their hearthsides and their altars they will give thanks for all that has been rendered unto them, and will pray for a continuance of the Divine fortune which has been showered so generously upon this nation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this thirty-first day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-
[SEAL.] one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

[Declaring Armistice Day, 1921, a Legal Public Holiday.]

Whereas, a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved November 4, 1921, "To declare November 11, 1921, a legal public holiday" provides as follows:

Whereas, Armistice Day, November 11, 1921, has been designated as the appropriate time for the ceremonies incident to the burial of the unknown and unidentified American soldier in the Arlington National Cemetery; and

Whereas, this unknown soldier represents the manhood of America who gave their lives to defend its integrity, honor and tranquility against an enemy; and

Whereas, the nations of the earth are on that date joining with the United States in paying respect and homage to this unknown soldier; Therefore be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the President is hereby authorized to issue a proclamation declaring November 11, 1921, a holiday, as a mark of respect to the memory of those who gave their lives in the late World War, as typified by the unknown and unidentified American soldier who is to be buried in Arlington National Cemetery on that day; and the President is respectfully requested to recommend to the Governors of the various States that proclamations be issued by them calling upon their people to pause in their usual pursuits as a mark of respect on this solemn occasion.

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, in pursuance of the said Joint Resolution of Congress, do hereby declare November 11, 1921, a holiday, as a mark of

respect to the memory of those who gave their lives in the late World War, as typified by the unknown and unidentified American soldier who is to be buried in Arlington National Cemetery on that day; and do hereby recommend to the Governors of the several States that proclamations be issued by them calling upon the people of their respective States to pause in their usual pursuits as a mark of respect on this solemn occasion.

And, in order that the solemnity of the occasion may be further emphasized, I do hereby furthermore recommend that all public and church bells throughout the United States be tolled at intervals between 11:45 o'clock a. m. and 12 o'clock noon of the said day, and that from 12 o'clock noon to two minutes past that hour, Washington time, all devout and patriotic citizens of the United States indulge in a period of silent thanks to God for these valuable valorous lives and of supplication for His Divine mercy and for His blessings upon our beloved country.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this fourth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Manner of Dating Proclamations, Commissions, and Similar Executive Documents.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 8, 1921.*

Hereafter the recital immediately preceding the President's signature in proclamations, commissions, and other formal documents of like nature shall be in the following form:

Done at the City of Washington this.....day of....., in the year of our Lord....., and of the Independence of the United States of America the.....

This order is issued to establish uniformity in the several Departments in the language used in these documents, and to restore the form which prevailed from the time the Government was established in this city, except for a brief period, when they were dated from the District of Columbia instead of the City of Washington. In the interest of economy, however, the supply of forms now on hand in the Departments may be used.

The Secretary of State will bring this order to the attention of the several Departments in Washington and he may, also, supplement it with suggestions for general uniformity in proclamations and executive orders.

WARREN G. HARDING.

[Preparation and Submission of the Budget.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 8, 1921.*

I hereby prescribe the following rules and regulations with regard to the preparation and submission of the Budget and the conduct of the Bureau of the Budget.

Revision of the Estimates. Pursuant to the provisions of section 207 of the Budget and Accounting Act, the Bureau of the Budget, under the supervision of the Director and subject to review and determination by the President, shall assemble, revise, reduce or increase the estimates of the departments or establishments as submitted to the Bureau. The Director of the Budget shall determine the plan as to the contents, order and arrangements of the estimates. In increasing or decreasing the estimates of the appropriations necessary for any department or establishment he shall take into consideration any proper reduction in working forces, reduction in compensation, and the elimination of unnecessary activities. Estimates, however, in respect to the principal or interest of the public debt shall be subject to revision only, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury. For the purpose of assisting the President with information in the formation of business policy for the Government the estimates of appropriations and of expenditures and receipts, when assembled and revised by the Bureau, shall be transmitted by the Director to the President as soon as possible after their receipt from the departments and establishments by the Bureau, in the form of a consolidated statement of estimated revenue and expenditure, with supporting schedules.

2. Concurrently with the transmission of the estimates by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to the President, the Secretary of the Treasury shall transmit a statement, for the information of the President, showing, from the point of view of the Treasury, the relation between the estimated appropriations and expenditures and the estimated receipts of the Government. This statement shall contain all necessary memoranda and tables, together with such other comments as may be pertinent to the subject matter of the Budget, including suggestions and recommendations as to how the revenue needs of the Government may be met. The Secretary of the Treasury shall, at the same time, prepare and transmit to the President, for incorporation in the budget, the figures for the actual expenditures

of the Government for the last completed fiscal year, the figures for the actual and estimated receipts for the last, the current and the ensuing fiscal years, required by sub-divisions (b), (c), and (d) of section 201 of the Budget and Accounting Act, and also the financial statements required by the provisions of sub-divisions (f), (g), and (h) of the same section. The Secretary of the Treasury shall, if the estimated receipts for the ensuing fiscal year, on the basis of laws existing at the time the budget is transmitted, plus the estimated amounts in the Treasury at the close of the fiscal year in progress available for expenditure in the ensuing fiscal year, are less than the estimated expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year, make recommendations to the President for new taxes, loans, or other appropriate action to meet the estimated deficiency. If, on the other hand, the aggregate of such estimated receipts and such estimated amounts in the Treasury is greater than such estimated expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year, the Secretary, for the information of the President, shall make such recommendations and suggest such financial measures as in his opinion the public interest may require. The Director of the Budget shall make available to the Secretary of the Treasury at his request any information in the possession of the Bureau or any of its employees in respect to the receipts and expenditures of the Government and any other matters that may be pertinent to the business of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury shall make available to the Director of the Budget at his request any information in the possession of the Treasury or any of its employees in respect to the receipts and expenditures of the Government and any other matters that may be pertinent to the business of the Budget.

3. The Director of the Budget, in gathering information for the use of the President, acts for the President, and his calls upon the Chiefs of Bureaus and other Administrative Officers for purposes of consultation or information take precedence over the Cabinet Head of a Department, or any head of an independent organization.

4. The Budget Officer in each department, being appointed by the Cabinet head, will present to the Director of the Budget the views of the Cabinet head upon the wisdom of conclusions drawn by the Director of the Budget, for the use of the Chief Executive and Congress; but, as in the case of Bureau Chiefs and other officers, the call of the Director of the Budget for their presence and advice takes precedence over the Cabinet head.

5. The coordinating agencies established by the Executive are for the purpose of enabling the President, in matters of routine business, to so coordinate the activities of the different departments and establishments as will insure the most economical and efficient expenditure

of moneys appropriated by Congress. They provide the machinery through which, with the minimum of obstruction and delay, the Executive may impose a unified plan of governmental routine business. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall have general supervision over the work of the coordinating agencies heretofore created by Executive Order, subject to such instructions as may hereafter be issued by the President.

6. The Chief Coordinator, General Supply, appointed under the provisions of Executive Order of July 27, 1921, shall exercise general supervision, subject to the Director of the Budget, over the coordination of the routine business activities of the governmental organization, with particular attention to methods of purchasing, liquidation of supplies, specification of materials, advertising, warehousing, employment, manufacturing, disbursing and other ordinary business activities of the Government.

7. The decision of the Chief Coordinator, in all matters of coordination, shall be transmitted to the heads of departments or independent establishments concerned and shall be final, except that such heads may appeal to the Director of the Budget within four days after the receipt of notice of the coordinating order, and if not sustained by the Director of the Budget may appeal to the President of the United States within six days after the decision of the Director of the Budget. If such appeal is not taken or is not sustained the decision in question shall stand, and shall be published to those affected by the heads of the departments concerned.

8. The heads of departments and subordinate officials will retain all present responsibility with respect to individual business transactions, subject to such policies as may be imposed in the manner indicated above.

9. All persons heretofore or hereafter appointed to duty under the Chief Coordinator, either in Washington or in the Corps Areas of the country, shall be regarded as so appointed or detailed by the President of the United States, and they shall not be subject to reassignment by department heads except as authorized by Executive Order. Such persons shall not be required to submit any report to any department except such as may be required as to their location or assignment or for purposes of pay, the intention being to prevent any interference with their direct responsibility to the President of the United States and his agents, the Director of the Budget and the Chief Coordinator. The above does not apply to departmental representatives on the various coordinating boards, and, in case of those detailed to coordinating duty in addition to other duties, it applies only with respect to such coordinating duty.

10. All Bureau chiefs and employees of the executive Government are directed to furnish any available information desired for purposes of coordination, or to attend any conference on coordination, at the request of the Chief Coordinator. It shall not be necessary for any duly authorized representative of the Director of the Budget, of the Chief Coordinator or any coordinating authority established by Executive Order, to secure the approval of the head of a department or military or naval authority of a request for information for use in connection with the activities of the coordinating bodies. The duly authorized agents of the Director of the Budget; of the Chief Coordinator, or of the coordinating boards, shall have access to all books and papers of the various departments and independent establishments which contain any information pertinent to the subject under consideration for coordination.

11. All departments and establishments must be so organized for the transaction of matters of routine business as to facilitate their proper cooperation with the general coordinating agencies. Where the existing form of the organization of the routine business of the departments and establishments, or the form of reorganization suggested by the head of the department or establishment does not, in the judgment of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, properly meet the requirements of the situation, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall recommend to the President the form which, in his judgment, such departmental organization should take to that end. In his final determination of the form of organization the President will then consider the recommendations of the department head or head of the independent establishment concurrently with those of the Director of the Budget.

12. All coordinating agencies made subject by Executive Order to the supervision of the Director of the Budget shall make quarterly reports to him of their activities for transmission by him to the President.

WARREN G. HARDING.

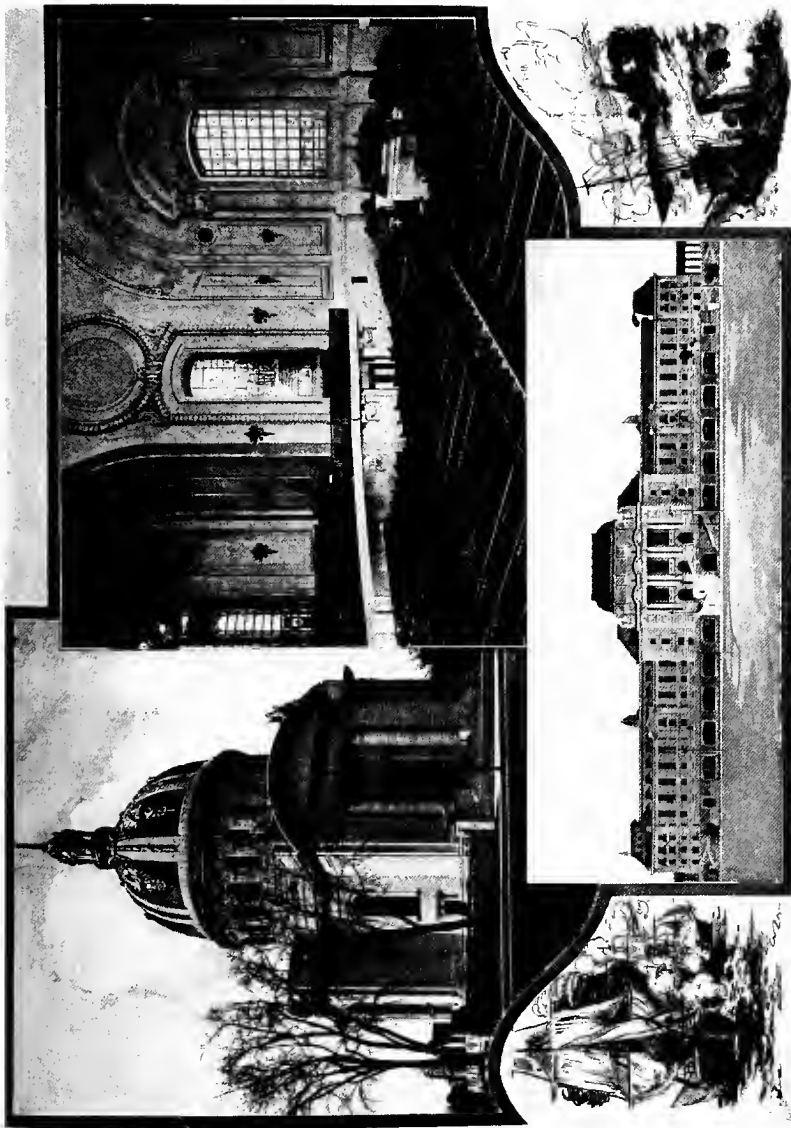
ADDRESS

[At the Burial of an Unknown American Soldier, Arlington Cemetery, November 11, 1921.]

Mr. Secretary of War and Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are met today to pay the impersonal tribute. The name of him whose body lies before us took flight with his imperishable soul. We know not whence he came, but only that his death marks him with the everlasting glory of an American dying for his country.

He might have come from any one of millions of American homes.



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VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY AT ANNAPOLIS

NAVAL ACADEMY, ANNAPOLIS.

The reader of the sketch in the Encyclopedic Index (under Naval Academy) of the development of the institution in which the United States trains young men to be officers in its navy, will understand why the large hall in the preceding picture was named Bancroft Hall, after Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft.

The discovery of the remains of John Paul Jones and the need for the crypt to house them which is shown on the preceding page are told and discussed on pages 6945 and 7531. A painting of one of John Paul Jones's notable sea victories for the United States is reproduced opposite page 346. The other view shows the interior of the chapel.

No President has been more keenly interested in the work done at the Naval Academy than Theodore Roosevelt. His discussion of the courses of study there will be found on page 7117. On page 6937 he gives his reasons for returning to the Academy certain cadets who had been suspended for hazing.

What the country expects of its young men trained at the Naval Academy is well typified by President Wilson's address to one of its graduating classes, which begins on page 7949.

Some mother gave him in her love and tenderness, and with him her most cherished hopes. Hundreds of mothers are wondering today, finding a touch of solace in the possibility that the nation bows in grief over the body of one she bore to live and die, if need be, for the Republic. If we give rein to fancy, a score of sympathetic chords are touched, for in this body there once glowed the soul of an American, with the aspirations and ambitions of a citizen who cherished life and its opportunities. He may have been a native or an adopted son; that matters little, because they glorified the same loyalty, they sacrificed alike.

We do not know his station in life, because from every station came the patriotic response of the five millions. I recall the days of creating armies, and the departing of caravels which braved the murderous seas to reach the battle lines for maintained nationality and preserved civilization. The service flag marked mansion and cottage alike, and riches were common to all homes in the consciousness of service to country.

We do not know the eminence of his birth, but we do know the glory of his death. He died for his country, and greater devotion hath no man than this. He died unquestioning, uncomplaining, with faith in his heart and hope on his lips, that his country should triumph and its civilization survive. As a typical soldier of this representative democracy, he fought and died, believing in the indisputable justice of his country's cause. Conscious of the world's upheaval, appraising the magnitude of a war the like of which had never horrified humanity before, perhaps he believed his to be a service destined to change the tide of human affairs.

In the death gloom of gas, the bursting of shells and rain of bullets, men face more intimately the great God over all, their souls are aflame, and consciousness expands and hearts are searched. With the din of battle, the glow of conflict, and the supreme trial of courage, come involuntarily the hurried appraisal of life and the contemplation of death's great mystery. On the threshold of eternity, many a soldier, I can well believe, wondered how his ebbing blood would color the stream of human life, flowing on after his sacrifice. His patriotism was none less if he craved more than triumph of country; rather, it was greater if he hoped for a victory for all human kind. Indeed, I revere that citizen whose confidence in the righteousness of his country inspired belief that its triumph is the victory of humanity.

This American soldier went forth to battle with no hatred for any people in the world, but hating war and hating the purpose of every war for conquest. He cherished our national rights, and abhorred the threat of armed domination; and in the maelstrom of destruction and

suffering and death he fired his shot for liberation of the captive conscience of the world. In advancing toward his objective was somewhere a thought of a world awakened; and we are here to testify undying gratitude and reverence for that thought of a wider freedom.

On such an occasion as this, amid such a scene, our thoughts alternate between defenders living and defenders dead. A grateful Republic will be worthy of them both. Our part is to atone for the losses of heroic dead by making a better Republic for the living.

Sleeping in these hallowed grounds are thousands of Americans who have given their blood for the baptism of freedom and its maintenance, armed exponents of the nation's conscience. It is better and nobler for their deeds. Burial here is rather more than a sign of the Government's favor, it is a suggestion of a tomb in the heart of the nation, sorrowing for its noble dead.

Today's ceremonies proclaim that the hero unknown is not unhonored. We gather him to the nation's breast, within the shadow of the Capitol, of the towering shaft that honors Washington, the great father, and of the exquisite monument to Lincoln, the martyred savior. Here the inspirations of yesterday and the conscience of today forever unite to make the Republic worthy of his death for flag and country.

Ours are lofty resolutions today, as with tribute to the dead we consecrate ourselves to a better order for the living. With all my heart, I wish we might say to the defenders who survive, to mothers who sorrow, to widows and children who mourn, that no such sacrifice shall be asked again.

It was my fortune recently to see a demonstration of modern warfare. It is no longer a conflict in chivalry, no more a test of militant manhood. It is only cruel, deliberate, scientific destruction. There was no contending enemy, only the theoretical defense of a hypothetical objective. But the attack was made with all the relentless methods of modern destruction. There was the rain of ruin from the aircraft, the thunder of artillery, followed by the unspeakable devastation wrought by bursting shells; there were mortars belching their bombs of desolation; machine guns concentrating their leaden storms; there was the infantry, advancing, firing, and falling—like men with souls sacrificing for the decision. The flying missiles were revealed by illuminating tracers, so that we could note their flight and appraise their deadliness. The air was streaked with tiny flames marking the flight of massed destruction; while the effectiveness of the theoretical defense was impressed by the simulation of dead and wounded among those going forward, undaunted and unheeding. As this panorama of unutterable destruction visualized the horrors of modern conflict, there grew on me the sense of the failure of a civilization which can

leave its problems to such cruel arbitrament. Surely no one in authority, with human attributes and a full appraisal of the patriotic loyalty of his countrymen, could ask the manhood of kingdom, empire, or republic to make such sacrifice until all reason had failed, until appeal to justice through understanding had been denied, until every effort of love and consideration for fellow men had been exhausted, until freedom itself and inviolate honor had been brutally threatened.

I speak not as a pacifist fearing war, but as one who loves justice and hates war. I speak as one who believes the highest function of government is to give its citizens the security of peace, the opportunity to achieve, and the pursuit of happiness.

The loftiest tribute we can bestow today—the heroically earned tribute—fashioned in deliberate conviction, out of unclouded thought, neither shadowed by remorse nor made vain by fancies, is the commitment of this Republic to an advancement never made before. If American achievement is a cherished pride at home, if our unselfishness among nations is all we wish it to be, and ours is a helpful example in the world, then let us give of our influence and strength, yea, of our aspirations and convictions, to put mankind on a little higher plane, exulting and exalting, with war's distressing and depressing tragedies barred from the stage of righteous civilization.

There have been a thousand defenses justly and patriotically made; a thousand offenses which reason and righteousness ought to have stayed. Let us beseech all men to join us in seeking the rule under which reason and righteousness shall prevail.

Standing today on hallowed ground, conscious that all America has halted to share in the tribute of heart and mind and soul to this fellow American, and knowing that the world is noting this expression of the Republic's mindfulness, it is fitting to say that his sacrifice, and that of the millions dead, shall not be in vain. There must be, there shall be, the commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare.

As we return this poor clay to its mother soil, garlanded by love and covered with the decorations that only nations can bestow, I can sense the prayers of our people, of all peoples, that this Armistice Day shall mark the beginning of a new and lasting era of peace on earth, good will among men. Let me join in that prayer.

Our Father who are in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

LETTER

[The Higher Surtax Rates on Incomes.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 17, 1921.**My dear Mr. Fordney:*

In response to your inquiry as to the wisest course in dealing with the difference between the two Houses of Congress in the matter of higher surtax on incomes, I can say only that in view of our earlier conference on tax matters and the ultimate adoption of the higher surtax rate of 32 per cent, I still believe the rate approved by the House to be the nearer to a just levy and the more promising one in returns to the public treasury.

The responsible administration is anxious, first of all, to lay the necessary taxes to meet the demands of the Treasury. There is a moral obligation, however, on the party in power to do everything possible to keep faith with promises made to the public.

We have been collecting the highest surtax on incomes levied at this time in all the world. The effect has been the restriction of the easy flow of capital in the channels most essential to our normal and very necessary activities. No one challenges the levy of the higher tax in the stress of war, but now we are struggling for the readjustments of peace.

Where there is so wide a difference in the judgment of the two Houses, I have thought it might be possible, and wholly desirable, to reach an equitable compromise, say a maximum surtax levy of 40 per cent. This would put the higher Federal tax on incomes at a total of 48 per cent, which would measurably meet the expectations of those who are, above all else, concerned with the return of hopeful investment of capital, and the application of our capital resources to profitable productivity. I am wholly confident that the helpful results spreading therefrom to every active participant in our industrial and economic life, from management to every wage earner, would be vastly more advantageous to our people than the maintenance of war-time levies as peace-time penalties on capital, which are certain to hamper the restoration of our activities for which we all so much hope.

One experience will afford a convincing illustration. In seeking to hasten the railway settlements growing out of Federal control, I authorized the Director General to invite the cooperation of the War Finance Corporation to convert salable securities into the cash needed for the settlements in process of making. During the period of public belief in a 32 per cent surtax as provided by the House, the sale of these bills receivable was progressing in a most promising way. Indeed, we had converted more than a hundred millions of railway notes into

ready cash. The very moment the higher surtax became a likely levy, those conversions ceased entirely. Manifestly the prohibitive surtax tends to divert our available and much-needed capital from employment in our everyday activities to investment in tax-free securities. The records show that it is making a continued diminution in our receipts from income taxes and it is making more difficult the normal financing of every sort of essential activity and is emphasizing the tendency to turn to the Government for that paternalistic relief of both industry and agriculture which has no rightful place in a peace-time policy.

I am well convinced that a fair compromise between the rates adopted by either House will be the best possible solution of the situation, and an early decision will put an end to existing anxiety, even though the larger expectations of the country are not fully met.

Very truly yours,

WARREN G. HARDING.

HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[American Education Week—1921.]

Whereas, public education is the basis of citizenship and is of primary importance to the welfare of the Nation, and

Whereas, more than five million boys and girls in America are not availing themselves of our free school advantages and are lacking in that youthful schooling which is so essential to the making of an intelligent citizenship, and

Whereas, the experience of the war revealed vast elements of population that are illiterate, physically unfit, or unfamiliar with American ideals and traditions; and our future strength and security are much dependent on their education and commitment to American ideals;

Therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, do urge the Governors of the various States and Territories to set apart December 4th to 10th, inclusive, 1921, as American Education Week, during which

Citizens in every state are urged to give special and thoughtful attention to the needs and the aims of the public schools. It is particularly recommended that effort be addressed to a practical expression of community interest in public education. To that end organizations for civic advancement and social betterment are earnestly requested, when it can be made practicable, to provide programs which will inform the

people concerning the vital needs in this direction, instruct them regarding shortcomings and deficiencies in present facilities, and bring to their attention specific, constructive methods by which, in the respective communities, these deficiencies may be supplied. The subject of public education has always been very close to the American heart, and to the fact that it has been made a chief responsibility of local governmental units, we largely owe the wide diffusion of educational facilities. It is believed that a widespread and earnest effort at observance of Education Week would do much to emphasize this feeling of immediate responsibility. Therefore it is suggested that the pulpit, press, schools, and public gatherings be enlisted in behalf of this special effort.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-ninth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred twenty-
[SEAL.] one, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred forty-sixth. WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

SPECIAL MESSAGES

[Work of Fine Arts Commission.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 22, 1921.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the ninth report of the National Commission of Fine Arts for the period from July 1, 1919, to June 30, 1921.

The report deals with the progress made during the past twenty years in realizing the comprehensive plan for the entire District of Columbia reported to the Senate, as a result of extensive studies of the plans of capital cities in Europe. This plan was prepared as a public service by men of the highest standing in the professions of architecture, sculpture, and landscape architecture. Professedly it was based upon the L'Enfant plan of 1792 for the Federal city in the District of Columbia, designed under the personal supervision of President Washington; and, indeed, was largely an extension of that plan to cover the entire District. The L'Enfant plan was the first and most comprehensive design for a national capital ever adopted. The plan of 1901 reasserted the authority of the original plan; extended it to meet the needs of the Nation after a century of growth in power, wealth and dignity; and marked the path of future development. During the past two decades

the essential features of the plan have been established, so that the work of the future will be largely a filling in of outlines. It is a source of satisfaction that so much has been done to make the city of Washington conspicuous among national capitals in respect of dignity, orderliness, convenience and beauty. All that has been done increases the importance of adhering to a plan that during nearly a century and a quarter has abundantly justified the foresight and the vision of the founders of the Republic.

The report of the Commission of Fine Arts deals also with the plans made under the direction of the Secretary of War for the cemeteries in Europe where rest the bodies of American men and women who gave their lives in the World War. By reason of their location on the field of battle the French cemeteries have a double claim to our reverent consideration—they mark both the places of burial of our heroic dead, and also the very field on which their sacrifice was made. These cemeteries are indeed fields of honor. They represent in the highest and most sacred way the participation of this nation in the Great War. They should be treated in a manner befitting their representative character.

Further, the report discloses the work of the commission in its many details. During the eleven years since Congress created that body its helpfulness has constantly increased. In many fields it has established and maintained standards of taste; and in furthering and safeguarding the plan of Washington it is especially useful.

WARREN G. HARDING.

[Transmitting Budget.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 5, 1921.*

To the Congress of the United States:

I submit herewith the budget of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923. It will be noted that the estimated ordinary expenditures for 1922 show a reduction of \$1,513,537,682.20, compared with the actual ordinary expenditures for 1921; and that the estimated ordinary expenditures for 1923 show a reduction of \$447,704,239 under 1922, making the estimated ordinary expenditures under the budget for 1923 \$1,961,241,921.20 less than the actual ordinary expenditures for 1921. Including transactions in the principal of the public debt and investments of trust funds, the total estimated expenditures for 1922 show a reduction under the total actual expenditures for 1921 of \$1,570,118,323.30 and the total estimated expenditures for 1923 show a reduction of \$462,167,639 under the total estimated expenditures for 1922, making a reduction in total expenditures in the

estimated budget for 1923, as compared with the total actual expenditures for 1921, of \$2,032,285,962.30. It will also be noted that the total estimated receipts for 1922 are in approximate balance with the total estimated expenditures, including reduction in the principal of the public debt, and that the total estimated receipts for 1923 are within approximately \$150,000,000 of a balance with the total estimated expenditures of that year. Such a discrepancy is unavoidable, when authorizations of expenditure are being enacted during the process of budget closing, but ways are provided for relatively easy adjustment, without added taxation.

For the purpose of providing a portion of the funds necessary to balance the budget for 1923, in which the estimated expenditures exceed the estimated receipts by the sum of approximately \$150,000,000, I recommend the following legislation in connection with the naval appropriation bill for 1923, which would result in the eventual automatic release of \$100,000,000 now held in the naval supply account of the Navy Department:

"Hereafter, until the naval supply account shall have been reduced to a maximum sum of \$150,000,000, which shall not thereafter be exceeded, one-half of all reimbursements otherwise due to the naval supply account, whether from current issues or from sales, shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts, and only one-half shall be credited to the naval supply account."

With continued pressure for economy in all departments and the passage of such legislation, the balancing of total receipts and total expenditures for the fiscal years 1922 and 1923 should be accomplished.

I also transmit herewith the report of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget on the budget of the United States and the operations of the Bureau of the Budget.

The details of the budget are shown in the accompanying statements, and may be briefly summarized as follows:

BUDGET SUMMARY

Exclusive of postal revenues and postal expenditures paid from postal revenues

	1923, estimated	1922, estimated	1921, actual
Total receipts	\$3,338,182,750	\$3,943,453,663	\$5,624,932,960.91
Total expenditures, including reduction in principal of public debt	3,505,754,727	3,967,922,366	5,538,040,689.30
Excess of expenditures	\$ 167,571,977	\$ 24,468,703
Excess of receipts	\$ 86,892,271.61

WARREN G. HARDING.

THE WHITE HOUSE, December 5, 1921.

To the Congress of the United States:

I submit herewith the alternative budget for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, as required by section 205 of the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921.

The information regarding revenues and expenditures is the same as that contained in the budget, with such changes in arrangement as will better present the facts in connection with the spending departments.

The estimates of appropriations in the alternative budget have been so assembled and correlated that all estimates for any given department are included in one chapter.

WARREN G. HARDING.

FIRST ANNUAL ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

[December 6, 1921.]

Mr. Speaker and Members of the Congress:

It is a very gratifying privilege to come to the Congress with the Republic at peace with all nations of the world. More, it is equally gratifying to report that our country is not only free from every impending menace of war, but there are growing assurances of the permanency of the peace which we so deeply cherish.

For approximately ten years we have dwelt amid menaces of war or as participants in war's actualities, and the inevitable aftermath, with its disordered conditions, has added to the difficulties of government which adequately can not be appraised except by those who are in immediate contact and know the responsibilities. Our tasks would be less difficult if we had only ourselves to consider, but so much of the world was involved, the disordered conditions are so well-nigh universal, even among nations not engaged in actual warfare, that no permanent readjustments can be effected without consideration of our inescapable relationship to world affairs in finance and trade. Indeed, we should be unworthy of our best traditions if we were unmindful of social, moral and political conditions which are not of direct concern to us, but which do appeal to the human sympathies and the very becoming interest of a people blest with our national good fortune.

It is not my purpose to bring to you a program of world restoration. In the main such a program must be worked out by the nations more directly concerned. They must themselves turn to the heroic remedies for the menacing conditions under which they are struggling, then we can help, and we mean to help. We shall do so unselfishly because there is compensation in the consciousness of assisting, selfishly because the commerce and international exchanges in trade, which marked

our high tide of fortunate advancement, are possible only when the nations of all continents are restored to stable order and normal relationship. In the main the contribution of this Republic to restored normalcy in the world must come through the initiative of the executive branch of the Government, but the best of intentions and most carefully considered purposes would fail utterly if the sanction and the cooperation of Congress were not cheerfully accorded.

I am very sure we shall have no conflict of opinion about constitutional duties or authority. During the anxieties of war, when necessity seemed compelling, there were excessive grants of authority and an extraordinary concentration of powers in the chief executive. The repeal of war-time legislation and the automatic expirations which attend the peace proclamations have put an end to these emergency excesses, but I have the wish to go further than that. I want to join you in restoring, in the most cordial way, the spirit of coordination and cooperation, and that mutuality of confidence and respect which is necessary in representative popular government. Encroachment upon the functions of Congress or attempted dictation of its policy are not to be thought of, much less attempted, but there is an insistent call for harmony of purpose and concord of action to speed the solution of the difficult problems confronting both the legislative and executive branches of the Government.

It is worth while to make allusion here to the character of our government, mindful as one must be that an address to you is no less a message to all our people, for whom you speak most intimately. Ours is a popular government through political parties. We divide along political lines, and I would ever have it so. I do not mean that partisan preferences should hinder any public servant in the performance of a conscientious and patriotic official duty. We saw partisan lines utterly obliterated when war imperiled, and our faith in the Republic was riveted anew. We ought not find these partisan lines obstructing the expeditious solution of the urgent problems of peace. Granting that we are fundamentally a representative popular government, with political parties the governing agencies, I believe the political party in power should assume responsibility, determine upon policies in the conference which supplements conventions and election campaigns, and then strive for achievement through adherence to the accepted policy.

There is vastly greater security, immensely more of the national viewpoint, much larger and prompter accomplishment where our divisions are along party lines, in the broad and loftier sense, than to divide geographically, or according to pursuits, or personal following. For a century and a third parties have been charged with responsibility

and held to strict accounting. When they fail, they are relieved of authority; and the system has brought us to a national eminence no less than a world example. Necessarily legislation is a matter of compromise. The full ideal is seldom attained. In that meeting of minds necessary to insure results, there must and will be accommodations and compromises, but in the estimate of convictions and sincere purposes the supreme responsibility to national interest must not be ignored. The shield to the high-minded public servant who adheres to party policy is manifest, but the higher purpose is the good of the Republic as a whole.

It would be ungracious to withhold acknowledgment of the really large volume and excellent quality of work accomplished by the extraordinary session of Congress which so recently adjourned. I am not unmindful of the very difficult tasks with which you were called to deal, and no one can ignore the insistent conditions which, during recent years, have called for the continued and almost exclusive attention of your membership to public work. It would suggest insincerity if I expressed complete accord with every expression recorded in your roll calls, but we are all agreed about the difficulties and the inevitable divergence of opinion in seeking the reduction, amelioration and readjustment of the burdens of taxation. Later on, when other problems are solved, I shall make some recommendations about renewed consideration of our tax program, but for the immediate time before us we must be content with the billion dollar reduction in the tax draft upon the people, and diminished irritations, banished uncertainty and improved methods of collection. By your sustainment of the rigid economies already inaugurated, with hoped-for extension of these economies and added efficiencies in administration, I believe further reductions may be enacted and hindering burdens abolished.

In these urgent economies we shall be immensely assisted by the budget system for which you made provision in the extraordinary session. The first budget is before you. Its preparation is a signal achievement, and the perfection of the system, a thing impossible in the few months available for its initial trial, will mark its enactment as the beginning of the greatest reformation in governmental practices since the beginning of the Republic.

There is pending a grant of authority to the administrative branch of the Government for the funding and settlement of our vast foreign loans growing out of our grant of war credits. With the hands of the executive branch held impotent to deal with these debts we are hindering urgent readjustments among our debtors and accomplishing nothing for ourselves. I think it is fair for the Congress to assume that the executive branch of the Government would adopt no major policy in

dealing with these matters which would conflict with the purpose of Congress in authorizing the loans, certainly not without asking congressional approval, but there are minor problems incident to prudent loan transactions and the safeguarding of our interests which can not even be attempted without this authorization. It will be helpful to ourselves and it will improve conditions among our debtors if funding and the settlement of defaulted interest may be negotiated.

The previous Congress, deeply concerned in behalf of our merchant marine, in 1920 enacted the existing shipping law, designed for the upbuilding of the American merchant marine. Among other things provided to encourage our shipping on the world's seas, the Executive was directed to give notice of the termination of all existing commercial treaties in order to admit of reduced duties on imports carried in American bottoms. During the life of the act no Executive has complied with this order of the Congress. When the present administration came into responsibility it began an early inquiry into the failure to execute the expressed purpose of the Jones act. Only one conclusion has been possible. Frankly, members of House and Senate, eager as I am to join you in the making of an American merchant marine commensurate with our commerce, the denouncement of our commercial treaties would involve us in a chaos of trade relationships and add indescribably to the confusion of the already disordered commercial world. Our power to do so is not disputed, but power and ships, without comity of relationship, will not give us the expanded trade which is inseparably linked with a great merchant marine. Moreover, the applied reduction of duty, for which the treaty denouncements were necessary, encouraged only the carrying of dutiable imports to our shores, while the tonnage which unfurls the flag on the seas is both free and dutiable, and the cargoes which make a nation eminent in trade are outgoing, rather than incoming.

It is not my thought to lay the problem in detail before you to-day. It is desired only to say to you that the executive branch of the Government, uninfluenced by the protest of any nation, for none has been made, is well convinced that your proposal, highly intended and heartily supported here, is so fraught with difficulties and so marked by tendencies to discourage trade expansion, that I invite your tolerance of non-compliance for a very few weeks until a plan may be presented which contemplates no greater draft upon the public treasury, and which, though yet too crude to offer it to-day, gives such promise of expanding our merchant marine that it will argue its own approval. It is enough to say to-day that we are so possessed of ships, and the American intention to establish a merchant marine is so unalterable, that a plan of reimbursement, at no other cost than is contemplated in the existing

act, will appeal to the pride and encourage the hope of all the American people.

There is before you the completion of the enactment of what has been termed a "permanent" tariff law, the word "permanent" being used to distinguish it from the emergency act which the Congress expedited early in the extraordinary session, and which is the law today. I can not too strongly urge an early completion of this necessary legislation. It is needed to stabilize our industry at home; it is essential to make more definite our trade relations abroad. More, it is vital to the preservation of many of our own industries which contribute so notably to the very lifeblood of our nation. There is now, and there always will be, a storm of conflicting opinion about any tariff revision. We can not go far wrong when we base our tariffs on the policy of preserving the productive activities which enhance employment and add to our national prosperity.

Again comes the reminder that we must not be unmindful of world conditions, that peoples are struggling for industrial rehabilitation and that we can not dwell in industrial and commercial exclusion and at the same time do the just thing in aiding world reconstruction and readjustment. We do not seek a selfish aloofness, and we could not profit by it, were it possible. We recognize the necessity of buying wherever we sell, and the permanency of trade lies in its acceptable exchanges. In our pursuit of markets we must give as well as receive. We can not sell to others who do not produce, nor can we buy unless we produce at home. Sensible of every obligation of humanity, commerce and finance, linked as they are in the present world condition, it is not to be argued that we need destroy ourselves to be helpful to others. With all my heart I wish restoration to the peoples blighted by the awful World War, but the process of restoration does not lie in our acceptance of like conditions. It were better to remain on firm ground, strive for ample employment and high standards of wage at home, and point the way to balanced budgets, rigid economies, and resolute, efficient work as the necessary remedies to cure disaster.

Everything relating to trade, among ourselves and among nations, has been expanded, excessive, inflated, abnormal, and there is a madness in finance which no American policy alone will cure. We are a creditor nation, not by normal processes, but made so by war. It is not an unworthy selfishness to seek to save ourselves, when the processes of that salvation are not only not denied to others, but commended to them. We seek to undermine for others no industry by which they subsist; we are obligated to permit the undermining of none of our own which make for employment and maintained activities.

Every contemplation, it little matters in which direction one turns,

magnifies the difficulties of tariff legislation, but the necessity of the revision is magnified with it. Doubtless we are justified in seeking a more flexible policy than we have provided heretofore. I hope a way will be found to make for flexibility and elasticity, so that rates may be adjusted to meet unusual and changing conditions which can not be accurately anticipated. There are problems incident to unfair practices, and to exchanges which madness in money have made almost unsolvable. I know of no manner in which to effect this flexibility other than the extension of the powers of the Tariff Commission, so that it can adapt itself to a scientific and wholly just administration of the law.

I am not unmindful of the constitutional difficulties. These can be met by giving authority to the chief executive, who could proclaim additional duties to meet conditions which the Congress may designate. At this point I must disavow any desire to enlarge the Executive's powers or to add to the responsibilities of the office. They are already too large. If there were any other plan I would prefer it. The grant of authority to proclaim would necessarily bring the Tariff Commission into new and enlarged activities, because no Executive could discharge such a duty except upon the information acquired and recommendations made by this commission. But the plan is feasible, and the proper functioning of the board would give us a better administration of a defined policy than ever can be made possible by tariff duties prescribed without flexibility.

There is a manifest difference of opinion about the merits of American valuation. Many nations have adopted delivery valuation as the basis for collecting duties; that is, they take the cost of the imports delivered at the port of entry as the basis for levying duty. It is no radical departure, in view of varying conditions and the disordered state of money values, to provide for American valuation, but there can not be ignored the danger of such a valuation, brought to the level of our own production costs, making our tariffs prohibitive. It might do so in many instances where imports ought to be encouraged. I believe Congress ought well consider the desirability of the only promising alternative, namely, a provision authorizing proclaimed American valuation, under prescribed conditions, on any given list of articles imported.

In this proposed flexibility, authorizing increases to meet conditions so likely to change, there should also be provision for decreases. A rate may be just to-day, and entirely out of proportion six months from to-day. If our tariffs are to be made equitable, and not necessarily burden our imports and hinder our trade abroad, frequent adjustment will be necessary for years to come. Knowing the impos-

sibility of modification by act of Congress for any one or a score of lines without involving a long array of schedules, I think we shall go a long ways toward stabilization if there is recognition of the Tariff Commission's fitness to recommend urgent changes by proclamation. I am sure about public opinion favoring the early determination of our tariff policy. There have been reassuring signs of a business revival from the deep slump which all the world has been experiencing. Our unemployment, which gave us deep concern only a few weeks ago, has grown encouragingly less, and new assurances and renewed confidence will attend the congressional declaration that American industry will be held secure.

Much has been said about the protective policy for ourselves making it imposible for our debtors to discharge their obligations to us. This is a contention not now pressing for decision. If we must choose between a people in idleness pressing for the payment of indebtedness, or a people resuming the normal ways of employment and carrying the credit, let us choose the latter. Sometimes we appraise largest the human ill most vivid in our minds. We have been giving, and are giving now, of our influence and appeals to minimize the likelihood of war and throw off crushing burdens of armament. It is all very earnest, with a national soul impelling. But a people unemployed, and gaunt with hunger, face a situation quite as disheartening as war, and our greater obligation to-day is to do the Government's part toward resuming productivity and promoting fortunate and remunerative employment.

Something mere than tariff protection is required by American agriculture. To the farmer has come the earlier and the heavier burdens of readjustment. There is actual depression in our agricultural industry, while agricultural prosperity is absolutely essential to the general prosperity of the country. Congress has sought very earnestly to provide relief. It has promptly given such temporary relief as has been possible, but the call is insistent for the permanent solution. It is inevitable that large crops lower the prices and short crops advance them. No legislation can cure that fundamental law. But there must be some economic solution for the excessive variation in returns for agricultural production.

It is rather shocking to be told, and to have the statement strongly supported, that 9,000,000 bales of cotton, raised on American plantations in a given year, will actually be worth more to the producers than 13,000,000 bales would have been. Equally shocking is the statement that 700,000,000 bushels of wheat, raised by American farmers, would bring them more money than a billion bushels. Yet these are not exaggerated statements. In a world where there are tens of millions

who need food and clothing which they can not get, such a condition is sure to indict the social system which makes it possible.

In the main the remedy lies in distribution and marketing. Every proper encouragement should be given to the cooperative marketing programs. These have proven very helpful to the cooperating communities in Europe. In Russia the cooperative community has become the recognized bulwark of law and order, and saved individualism from engulfment in social paralysis. Ultimately they will be accredited with the salvation of the Russian state. There is the appeal for this experiment. Why not try it? No one challenges the right of the farmer to a larger share of the consumer's pay for his product, no one disputes that we can not live without the farmer. He is justified in rebelling against the transportation cost. Given a fair return for his labor, he will have less occasion to appeal for financial aid; and given assurance that his labors shall not be in vain, we reassure all the people of a production sufficient to meet our national requirement and guard against disaster.

The base of the pyramid of civilization which rests upon the soil is shrinking through the drift of population from farm to city. For a generation we have been expressing more or less concern about this tendency. Economists have warned and statesmen have deplored. We thought for a time that modern conveniences and the more intimate contact would halt the movement, but it has gone steadily on. Perhaps only grim necessity will correct it, but we ought to find a less drastic remedy.

The existing scheme of adjusting freight rates has been favoring the basing points, until industries are attracted to some centers and repelled from others. A great volume of uneconomic and wasteful transportation has attended, and the cost increased accordingly. The grain-milling and meat-packing industries afford ample illustration, and the attending concentration is readily apparent. The menaces in concentration are not limited to the retarding influences on agriculture. Manifestly the conditions and terms of railway transportation ought not be permitted to increase this undesirable tendency. We have a just pride in our great cities, but we shall find a greater pride in the nation which has a larger distribution of its population into the country, where comparatively self-sufficient smaller communities may blend agricultural and manufacturing interests in harmonious helpfulness and enhanced good fortune. Such a movement contemplates no destruction of things wrought, of investments made, or wealth involved. It only looks to a general policy of transportation, of distributed industry, and of highway construction, to encourage the spread of our



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THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

THE ARMAMENT LIMITATION CONFERENCE

The circumstances surrounding the holding of the Conference on Limitation of Armaments, which convened in Washington on November 12, 1921, are narrated on page 9037, and the following pages contain the most important documents and decisions to which the Conference gave birth.

The possibility of limiting naval armaments interested President Roosevelt intensely, and he gives his views on the subject on pages 6923, 6993 and 7113. President Taft continues the discussion on pages 7494 and 7656, and President Wilson, after the outbreak of the World War, discusses, on pages 8203 and 8424, the relation of limitation of armaments to lasting peace after the War.

The work of the Hague Peace Conferences is discussed in the Encyclopedic Index article under that heading and also on pages 6664, 7060, 7118. A view of the so-called Peace Palace at The Hague will be found opposite page 6485. Facing the reader, at the head of the table, from left to right, are Prime Minister Briand, of France; Senator Lodge, Mr. Root, Senator Underwood and Secretary of State Hughes, the United States delegation; Mr. Balfour and Lord Lee, of the British delegation.

population and restore the proper balance between city and country. The problem may well have your earnest attention.

It has been perhaps the proudest claim of our American civilization that in dealing with human relationships it has constantly moved toward such justice in distributing the product of human energy that it has improved continuously the economic status of the mass of people. Ours has been a highly productive social organization. On the way up from the elemental stages of society we have eliminated slavery and serfdom and are now far on the way to the elimination of poverty.

Through the eradication of illiteracy and the diffusion of education mankind has reached a stage where we may fairly say that in the United States equality of opportunity has been attained, though all are not prepared to embrace it. There is, indeed, a too great divergence between the economic conditions of the most and the least favored classes in the community. But even that divergence has now come to the point where we bracket the very poor and the very rich together as the least fortunate classes. Our efforts may well be directed to improving the status of both.

While this set of problems is commonly comprehended under the general phrase "Capital and Labor," it is really vastly broader. It is a question of social and economic organization. Labor has become a large contributor, through its savings, to the stock of Capital; while the people who own the largest individual aggregates of capital are themselves often hard and earnest laborers. Very often it is extremely difficult to draw the line of demarcation between the two groups; to determine whether a particular individual is entitled to be set down as laborer or as capitalist. In a very large proportion of cases he is both, and when he is both he is the most useful citizen.

The right of Labor to organize is just as fundamental and necessary as is the right of Capital to organize. The right of Labor to negotiate, to deal with and solve its particular problems in an organized way, through its chosen agents, is just as essential as is the right of Capital to organize, to maintain corporations, to limit the liabilities of stockholders. Indeed, we have come to recognize that the limited liability of the citizen as a member of a labor organization closely parallels the limitation of liability of the citizen as a stockholder in a corporation for profit. Along this line of reasoning we shall make the greatest progress toward solution of our problem of Capital and Labor. In the case of the corporation which enjoys the privilege of limited liability of stockholders, particularly when engaged in the public service, it is recognized that the outside public has a large concern which must be protected; and so we provide regulations, restrictions,

and in some cases detailed supervision. Likewise in the case of Labor organizations, we might well apply similar and equally well-defined principles of regulation and supervision in order to conserve the public's interests as affected by their operations.

Just as it is not desirable that a corporation shall be allowed to impose undue exactions upon the public, so it is not desirable that a Labor organization shall be permitted to exact unfair terms of employment or subject the public to actual distresses in order to enforce its terms. Finally, just as we are earnestly seeking for procedure whereby to adjust and settle political differences between nations without resort to war, so we may well look about for means to settle the differences between organized Capital and organized Labor without resort to those forms of warfare which we recognize under the name of strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and the like.

As we have great bodies of law carefully regulating the organization and operations of industrial and financial corporations, as we have treaties and compacts among nations which look to the settlement of differences without the necessity of conflict in arms, so we might well have plans of conference, of common counsel, of mediation, arbitration, and judicial determination in controversies between Labor and Capital. To accomplish this would involve the necessity to develop a thoroughgoing code of practice in dealing with such affairs. It might be well to frankly set forth the superior interest of the community as a whole to either the labor group or the capital group. With rights, privileges, immunities, and modes of organization thus carefully defined, it should be possible to set up judicial or quasi-judicial tribunals for the consideration and determination of all disputes which menace the public welfare. In an industrial society such as ours the strike, the lockout, and the boycott are as much out of place and as disastrous in their results as is war or armed revolution in the domain of politics. The same disposition to reasonableness, to conciliation, to recognition of the other side's point of view, the same provision of fair and recognized tribunals and processes, ought to make it possible to solve the one set of questions as easily as the other. I believe the solution is possible. The consideration of such a policy would necessitate the exercise of care and deliberation in the construction of a code and a charter of elemental rights, dealing with the relations of employer and employee. This foundation in the law, dealing with the modern conditions of social and economic life, would hasten the building of the temple of peace in industry which a rejoicing nation would acclaim.

After each war, until the last, the Government has been enabled to give homes to its returned soldiers, and a large part of our settlement

and development has attended this generous provision of land for the nation's defenders. There is yet unreserved approximately 200,000,000 acres in the public domain, 20,000,000 acres of which are known to be susceptible of reclamation and made fit for homes by provision for irrigation. The Government has been assisting in the development of its remaining lands, until the estimated increase in land values in the irrigated sections is full \$500,000,000, and the crops of 1920 alone on these lands are estimated to exceed \$100,000,000. Under the law authorizing these expenditures for development the advances are to be returned, and it would be good business for the Government to provide for the reclamation of the remaining 20,000,000 acres, in addition to expediting the completion of projects long under way.

Under what is known as the coal and gas lease law, applicable also to deposits of phosphates and other minerals on the public domain, leases are now being made on the royalty basis, and are producing large revenues to the Government. Under this legislation, 10 per centum of all royalties is to be paid directly to the federal treasury, and of the remainder 50 per centum is to be used for reclamation of arid lands by irrigation, and 40 per centum is to be paid to the states in which the operations are located, to be used by them for school and road purposes. These resources are so vast, and the development is affording so reliable a basis of estimate, that the Interior Department expresses the belief that ultimately the present law will add in royalties and payments to the treasuries of the Federal Government and the states containing these public lands a total of \$12,000,000,000. This means, of course, an added wealth of many times that sum. These prospects seem to afford every justification of Government advances in reclamation and irrigation.

Contemplating the inevitable and desirable increase of population, there is another phase of reclamation full worthy of consideration. There are 79,000,000 acres of swamp and cut-over lands which may be reclaimed and made as valuable as any farm lands we possess. These acres are largely located in Southern states, and the greater proportion is owned by the states or by private citizens. Congress has a report of the survey of this field for reclamation, and the feasibility is established. I gladly commend Federal aid, by way of advances, where state and private participation is assured. Homemaking is one of the greater benefits which government can bestow. Measures are pending embodying this sound policy to which we may well adhere. It is easily possible to make available permanent homes which will provide, in turn, for prosperous American families, without injurious

competition with established activities, or imposition on wealth already acquired.

While we are thinking of promoting the fortunes of our own people I am sure there is room in the sympathetic thought of America for fellow human beings who are suffering and dying of starvation in Russia. A severe drought in the valley of the Volga has plunged 15,000,000 people into grievous famine. Our voluntary agencies are exerting themselves to the utmost to save the lives of children in this area, but it is now evident that unless relief is afforded the loss of life will extend into many millions. America can not be deaf to such a call as that. We do not recognize the government of Russia, nor tolerate the propaganda which emanates therefrom, but we do not forget the traditions of Russian friendship. We may put aside our consideration of all international politics and fundamental differences in government. The big thing is the call of the suffering and the dying. Unreservedly I recommend the appropriation necessary to supply the American Relief Administration with 10,000,000 bushels of corn and 1,000,000 bushels of seed grains, not alone to halt the wave of death through starvation, but to enable spring planting in areas where the seed grains have been exhausted temporarily to stem starvation.

The American Relief Administration is directed in Russia by former officers of our own armies, and has fully demonstrated its ability to transport and distribute relief through American hands without hindrance or loss. The time has come to add the Government's support to the wonderful relief already wrought out of the generosity of the American private purse. I am not unaware that we have suffering and privation at home. When it exceeds the capacity for the relief within the states concerned, it will have Federal consideration. It seems to me we should be indifferent to our own heart promptings, and out of accord with the spirit which acclaims the Christmastide, if we do not give out of our national abundance to lighten this burden of woe upon a people blameless and helpless in famine's peril.

There are a full score of topics concerning which it would be becoming to address you, and on which I hope to make report at a later time. I have alluded to the things requiring your earlier attention. However, I can not end this limited address without a suggested amendment to the organic law.

Many of us belong to that school of thought which is hesitant about altering the fundamental law. I think our tax problems, the tendency of wealth to seek nontaxable investment, and the menacing increase of public debt, federal, state and municipal—all justify a proposal to change the Constitution so as to end the issue of nontaxable bonds.

No action can change the status of the many billions outstanding, but we can guard against future encouragement of capital's paralysis, while a halt in the growth of public indebtedness would be beneficial throughout our whole land. Such a change in the Constitution must be very thoroughly considered before submission. There ought to be known what influence it will have on the inevitable refunding of our vast national debt, how it will operate on the necessary refunding of state and municipal debt, how the advantages of nation over state and municipality, or the contrary, may be avoided. Clearly the states would not ratify to their own apparent disadvantage. I suggest the consideration because the drift of wealth into nontaxable securities is hindering the flow of large capital to our industries, manufacturing, agricultural and carrying, until we are discouraging the very activities which make our wealth.

Agreeable to your expressed desire and in complete accord with the purposes of the executive branch of the Government, there is in Washington, as you happily know, an International Conference now most earnestly at work on plans for the limitation of armament, a naval holiday, and the just settlement of problems which might develop into causes of international disagreement. It is easy to believe a world-hope is centered on this Capital City. A most gratifying world-accomplishment is not improbable.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Transfer of Certain Historical Papers From the Department of State to the Library of Congress.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 19, 1921.*

Whereas, an Executive Order of March 9, 1903, of President Roosevelt directed that certain historical archives in the Department of State, known as the Revolutionary Archives, being the papers of the Continental Congress, George Washington, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, James Monroe, and Benjamin Franklin, be transferred from the Department of State to the custody of the Library of Congress by authority of the Act approved February 25, 1903, entitled, "An Act making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial expenses of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for other purposes";

And whereas, the said order authorized the Secretary of State to retain such papers in each of the collections enumerated above as in his discretion might be required for the continuity and completeness of the records and archives of the Department of State;

And whereas, the Secretary of State has represented that certain of

the papers retained at that time and certain other historical papers now in his custody are not needed for the use of his Department, and recommends that they be transferred to the Library of Congress, to become a part of the historical papers which now constitute the collections in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress;

It is hereby order that the following papers be transferred from the Department of State to the possession and custody of the Library of Congress, to be there preserved and rendered accessible for historical and other legitimate uses, under such rules and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by the Librarian of Congress:

1. The Journal, Acts and Proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States.
2. The Articles of Confederation ratified March 1, 1781.
3. Thomas Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence.
4. Papers of the Continental Congress, a detailed list of which is hereunto appended.
5. Certain papers of James Madison, a detailed list of which is hereunto appended.
6. Certain papers of Benjamin Franklin, a detailed list of which is hereunto appended.

WARREN G. HARDING.

STATEMENT BY STATE DEPARTMENT

September 29, 1921.

Secretary Hughes has been impressed with the fact that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States which are now deposited with the State Department are not in a place of such absolute safety as the importance of the documents requires, as the Department building is always subject to fire risk. Moreover, the State Department has no exhibition room and has been unable for some years past to exhibit these documents under satisfactory conditions, although nearly all visitors to Washington desire to see them. It has seemed that the Library of Congress is the most suitable place for the preservation and exhibition of these muniments, that building being of modern fire-proof construction with appropriate exhibition halls and the manuscripts which are in its custody being in charge of expert archivists. On the recommendation of the Secretary of State, President Harding has signed an executive order as follows:

The original engrossed Declaration of Independence and the original engrossed Constitution of the United States, now in the Department of State, are, by authority provided by the Act of Congress entitled "An Act making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for other purposes," approved February 25, 1903, hereby ordered to be transferred from the Department of State to the custody of the Library of Congress, to be there preserved

and exhibited under such rules and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by the Librarian of Congress.

This order is issued at the request of the Secretary of State, who has no suitable place for the exhibition of these muniments and whose building is believed to be not as safe a depository for them as the Library of Congress, and for the additional reason that it is desired to satisfy the laudable wish of patriotic Americans to have an opportunity to see the original fundamental documents upon which rest their Independence and their Government.

Secretary Hughes' letter to the President recommending the transfer was accompanied by a brief history of these documents. It showed that on July 24th, 1789, Charles Tomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, having resigned his office, deposited the papers with Mr. Roger Alden, who had been deputy secretary of the Congress, and who, at General Washington's request, took charge of them until the Department of State was created by the Act of September 15, 1789. They have been officially in the custody of the Secretary of State ever since that date. It appears, however, that they have not been continuously in the physical custody of the Secretary of State.

On August 20, 1814, just before the capture of Washington by the British, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the other records of the Department were taken away from Washington and put in an unoccupied grist mill belonging to Edgar Patterson, situated on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, a short distance from the Chain Bridge, two miles above Georgetown. On August 24th, for greater safety, all the papers were moved to Leesburg, twenty-five miles farther away, and placed in an empty house, where they were locked up and the keys intrusted to the Reverend Mr. Littlejohn, who was then, or had been, a collector of Internal Revenue. There the papers remained for several weeks, not being brought back to Washington until the British fleet had left the Chesapeake. In 1841, when the Patent Office (which was then a part of the State Department) went into a new building which was supposed to be fireproof (which was burned some thirty-five years later), the Declaration of Independence was put in that building and there it remained until 1877, except for nine months from May, 1876, to February, 1877, when it was in Independence Hall at Philadelphia. It was transferred in 1877 from the Patent Office to the State Department, which had recently been moved to the building which it now occupies.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Relief for Russia.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 24, 1921.*

By virtue of an act of Congress entitled "An Act for the Relief of the Distressed and Starving People of Russia," approved December 22, 1921, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of said act hereby appoint the Secretary of Commerce, James P. Goodrich, of Indiana, Edward M. Flesh, of Missouri, Edgar Rickard, of New York, Don Livingston, of South Dakota, as a commission to be known as the "Purchasing Commission for Russian Relief," and designate such Commission as the agency for the purpose of the purchase, transport, and delivery of "corn, seed grain, and preserved milk, for the relief of the dis-

tressed and starving people of Russia, and for spring planting in areas where seed grains have been exhausted." Overseas transport to be under the provisions of said Act.

I hereby authorize said Commission to purchase said commodities from time to time and in such amount as may be found necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act and not exceeding the amount mentioned in said Act.

I further authorize and direct the United States Grain Corporation to act as the fiscal agency of said Commission and to pay out of its available funds all bills and obligations incurred, but all under the direction of said Commission in the purchase, transport, and delivery of the aforesaid commodities, provided, however, that the total amount so expended by the United States Grain Corporation for such purposes shall not exceed the sum of \$20,000,000.

I further authorize and direct the American Relief Administration to accept from the Purchasing Commission for Russian Relief the said commodities so purchased and transported and to distribute the same in Russia for the purposes set out in this Act, and by such methods and means and to such places and persons as it in its discretion may determine. On the completion of the work contemplated in said Act and herein designated, the said Grain Corporation shall render to the President of the United States not later than the 15th day of December, 1922, an itemized and detailed report of the expenditures incurred by it, and the said American Relief Administration shall not later than said date submit to the President a report of the work conducted by it under the authority of said Act and this Executive Order.

WARREN G. HARDING.

SPECIAL MESSAGE

[Transmitting Report of International Joint Commission on Making the St. Lawrence River Navigable for Ocean-Going Vessels.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 16, 1922.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

By section 9 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1919, the Congress expressed a desire that the International Joint Commission investigate what further improvement of the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Lake Ontario is necessary to make the river navigable for ocean-going vessels, together with the estimated cost thereof.

Under date of January 21, 1920, the Governments of the United States and Canada by agreement referred the matter to the International Joint Commission pursuant to the provisions of article 9 of the treaty relating to the boundary waters between the United States and Canada, signed by the United States and Great Britain on January 11, 1909.

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress and for such action as it may deem appropriate, a report, bearing date of December 19, 1921, submitted to the Department of State by a letter of the joint secretaries of the commission, dated January 6, 1922, presenting the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the commission regarding the matter.

WARREN G. HARDING.

The recommendations of the Commission were as follows:

1. That the Governments of the United States and Canada enter into an arrangement by way of treaty for a scheme of improvement of the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Lake Ontario.

2. That the new Welland Ship Canal be embodied in said scheme and treated as a part thereof.

3. That the proposed works between Montreal and Lake Ontario be based upon the report of the engineering board accompanying this report, but that before any final decision is reached, the report of the board, together with such comments, criticisms and alternative plans as have been filed with the commission, be referred back to the board, enlarged by other leading members of the engineering profession, to the end that the whole question be given that further and complete study that its magnitude and importance demand, and that after completion the administrative features of this improvement be carried out as set forth in recommendations 7 and 8 hereof.

4. That there shall be an exhaustive investigation of the extent and character of the damage through flowage involved in the plan of development finally adopted.

5. That, assuming the adoption of the plan of the Engineering Board, or of other plans also, involving a readjustment of the international boundary, in order to bring each of the power houses on its own side of the boundary, appropriate steps be taken to transfer to one country or the other, as the case may be, the slight acreage of submerged land involved.

6. That Canada proceed with the works necessary for the completion of said new Welland Ship Canal in accordance with the plans already decided upon by that country.

7. That such "navigation works" as do not lie wholly within one country or are not capable of economic and efficient construction, maintenance and operation within one country, as complete and independent units, be maintained and operated by a board hereinafter called the "International Board," on which each country shall have equal representation.

8. That such navigation works as lie wholly within one country, and are capable of economic and efficient construction, maintenance and operation as complete and independent units, be maintained and operated by the country in which they are located, with the right of inspection by the said International Board, to insure economy and efficiency.

9. That "power works" be built, installed and operated by and at the expense of the country in which they are located.

10. That, except as set forth in recommendation 11, the cost of all navigation works be apportioned between the two countries on the basis of the benefits each will receive from the new waterway. Provided, that during the period ending five

years after completion of the works—and to be known as the construction period—the ratio fixing the amount chargeable to each country shall be determined upon by certain known factors, such as the developed resources and foreign and coastwise trade of each country within the territory economically tributary to the proposed waterway, and that that ratio shall be adjusted every five years thereafter and based upon the freight tonnage of each country actually using the waterway during the previous five-year period.

11. That the cost of navigation works for the combined use of navigation and power over and above the cost of works necessary for navigation alone should be apportioned equally between the two countries.

In reply to questions addressed to it by the two Governments, the Joint Commission, among other things, reported:

The Commission believes that the greatest beneficial use of the waters of the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Lake Ontario may be obtained by a combination of navigation and power development in the international section, and of navigation alone in the national section, with power development therein at some future date. It also approves of a combination of dams and side canals with locks in the international section and side canals with locks in the national section, as recommended by the Engineering Board.

The draft of water recommended is twenty-five feet in the canals and thirty feet on the sills of the locks. The estimated cost of the completed works between Montreal and Lake Ontario, as recommended by the Engineering Board, is \$252,000,000. To this must be added the cost of the new Welland Ship Canal, in order to ascertain the total expenditure involved.

So far as the physical features of the improvement are concerned, the Commission believes that the works at and near the Long Sault Rapids, whose completion may be expected to require the greatest amount of time, should be commenced as soon as funds are available, and that all other works, both in the international and national sections of the river, should be commenced in time to insure their completion at approximately the same time as the Long Sault works. This method and order of procedure would at one and the same time secure through deep water navigation and make possible the development of power at the earliest practicable date.

The capital cost of navigation works and of the new Welland Canal should be apportioned between the two countries on the basis of the benefits to be derived by each country from the use of the new waterway. The capital cost of power works should be borne by the country in which they are located. The capital cost of navigation works for the combined use of navigation and power over and above the cost of works necessary for navigation alone to be apportioned equally between the two countries.

The Commission has reached the general conclusion that sufficient traffic will seek the new water route, irrespective of new traffic created as the result of the opening of that route, to justify its construction. The Commission has so much confidence in the virility and resourcefulness of the people of these two countries that it is convinced the traffic available for the new waterway will rapidly increase with the development of the area tributary thereto, and that the creation of new hydraulic power in connection with the waterway will stimulate industrial growth both in manufactures and transportation.

Concerning shipbuilding on the Lakes the Commission reported:

Previous to the war the Great Lakes plants were devoted mainly to the production of lake shipping, but the insistent demand for ocean ships to carry food and munitions to Europe forced them to turn more and more to that branch of shipbuilding until in 1918 the plants on the United States side of the Great Lakes actually built and delivered a very considerable portion of the total tonnage constructed by the country in that year. The capacity of these plants was more than doubled during the war, and this applies to both sides of the lakes. It appears that with this equipment, with the thousands of skilled workmen trained in the art of shipbuilding and with their strategic position in relation to raw materials, the shipbuilding plants of the Great Lakes would be in a position to compete on very favorable terms with plants on the seaboard in the construc-

tion of ocean-going ships, if a deep waterway were available by which these ships could be taken down to tidewater.

CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

[After the fervor evoked by the participation of the United States in the World War had begun to cool, there arose in this country a strong sentiment in favor of a sharp reduction in the armaments of the United States and of other countries. That sentiment was typified by the action of Congress, early in 1921, in reducing the number of enlisted men in the army to 175,000, despite the opposition and veto of President Wilson, and in reducing that figure to 150,000 early in President Harding's administration, despite the opposition of Secretary of War Weeks.

In May, 1921, Senator Borah proposed in the Senate an amendment to the pending Naval Appropriation Bill authorizing and requesting the President to confer with Great Britain and Japan with a view to an understanding regarding reduction of naval armaments during the following five years. It was understood that the Administration was opposed to the Borah proposal, because it would interfere with plans toward international agreement on that subject already being pursued by the Administration. (In the Presidential campaign of 1920, President Harding, in rejecting the League of Nations, had promised, if elected, to effect "an association of nations.") But public opinion, organized and unorganized, swung enthusiastically behind Senator Borah's proposal, so that it was finally added to the bill by the Senate at the end of the month, the bill itself being finally approved in July, 1921.

After the passage of the Borah proposal, there were many intimations from the Administration that it was planning an international conference on a larger scope than that of the Borah proposal. The Department of State on July 27, 1921, made the following statement "with regard to the proposed Conference in Washington on the Limitation of Armament which will also embrace the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions":—]

Upon the President's announcement of the plan Great Britain, France and Italy expressed their approval and their readiness to receive the proposed invitation.

Japan expressed its willingness to accept an invitation to the Conference on the Limitation of Armament, but desired to be advised as to the scope and nature of the subjects to be discussed in connection with Pacific and Far Eastern matters. After conversations between the Secretary of State and the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, the Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy at Tokio delivered, on July 23, 1921, the following memorandum to the Imperial Government:

The Government of the United States deeply appreciates the readiness of the Imperial Japanese Government to accept the invitation to attend the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments.

The Secretary of State of the United States in the course of informal conversations with His Excellency, the Imperial Japanese Ambassador at Washington, has expressed the hope that the Imperial Government would not press its inquiry as to the nature and scope of the Pacific and Far Eastern problems to be discussed at the proposed conference in view of the fact that it is desirable that the full acceptance of the invitation of the American Government leave this matter open for adjustment in the precise agenda to be arrived at later.

The Secretary of State is willing to proceed with exchanges of opinion regarding the agenda prior to the meeting of the conference. He considers

it inadvisable, however, at the present moment to hamper the program and in particular to delay the arrangements for the conference pending an agreement regarding this matter.

Today the Department of State has received, through the American Embassy at Tokio, the following reply:

The Japanese Government has taken note of the contents of the American memorandum of July 23rd, received through the American Chargé d'Affaires, in reply to the Japanese memorandum of July 13th, on the subject of a conference on the limitation of armaments to be held at Washington.

It has been brought to the knowledge of the Japanese Government that the Government of the United States is willing to proceed with exchanges of opinion regarding the agenda prior to the meeting of the conference and that it considers it advisable to adjust in that agenda the nature and scope of the Pacific and Far Eastern questions to be discussed at the proposed conference. The Japanese Government, on that understanding, are happy to be able to inform the American Government that it is their intention gladly to accept an invitation for a conference which shall embrace the discussion of the Pacific and Far Eastern questions.

The Japanese Government has been made aware through the communications and the published statement of the American Government and the conversations between the Secretary of State and Baron Shidehara that the proposition of the American Government to discuss the Pacific and Far Eastern problems is based on the close bearing they have on the question of the limitation of armaments, which is the original and principal aim of the conference, and that therefore the main object of discussing these problems is to reach a common understanding in regard to general principles and policies in the Pacific and the Far East. Desiring, as they do, to contribute to the establishment of an enduring peace and to the advancement of human welfare, the Japanese Government earnestly hopes that the proposed conference may attain the expected results and their ideals may thereby be brought nearer to realization.

In order to insure the success of the conference, the Japanese Government deems it advisable that the agenda thereof should be arranged in accordance with the main object of the discussions as above defined, and that introduction therein of problems such as are of sole concern to certain particular Powers or such matters as may be regarded as accomplished facts should be scrupulously avoided.

According to the President's announcement, China will be invited to participate in the discussion of Far Eastern questions and has indicated her willingness to accept the invitation. Other Powers having interests in the Far East may also be invited to take part in that discussion. Formal invitations have not yet been issued, and the details of the arrangements are being perfected.

INVITATION

[The text of the invitations to attend the conference was announced from the White House on August 11, 1921, as follows:]

The President is deeply gratified at the cordial response to his suggestion that there should be a Conference on the subject of Limitation of Armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions should also be discussed.

Productive labor is staggering under an economic burden too heavy to be borne unless the present vast public expenditures are greatly reduced. It is idle to look for stability, or the assurance of social justice, or the security of peace while wasteful and unproductive outlays deprive effort of its just reward and defeat the reasonable expectation of progress. The enormous disbursements in the rivalries of armaments manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity; and avoida-

ble or extravagant expense of this nature is not only without economic justification but is a constant menace to the peace of the world rather than an assurance of its preservation. Yet there would seem to be no ground to expect the halting of these increasing outlays unless the Powers most largely concerned find a satisfactory basis for an agreement to effect their limitation. The time is believed to be opportune for these Powers to approach this subject directly and in conference; and while, in the discussion of limitation of armament, the question of naval armament may naturally have first place, it has been thought best not to exclude questions pertaining to other armament to the end that all practicable measures of relief may have appropriate consideration. It may also be found advisable to formulate proposals by which in the interest of humanity the use of new agencies of warfare may be suitably controlled.

It is, however, quite clear that there can be no final assurance of the peace of the world in the absence of the desire for peace, and the prospect of reduced armaments is not a hopeful one unless this desire finds expression in a practical effort to remove causes of misunderstanding and to seek ground for agreement as to principles and their application. It is the earnest wish of this Government that through an interchange of views with the facilities afforded by a conference, it may be possible to find a solution of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, of unquestioned importance at this time, that is, such common understandings with respect to matters which have been and are of international concern as may serve to promote enduring friendship among our peoples.

It is not the purpose of this Government to attempt to define the scope of the discussion in relation to the Pacific and Far East, but rather to leave this to be the subject of suggestions to be exchanged before the meeting of the Conference, in the expectation that the spirit of friendship and a cordial appreciation of the importance of the elimination of sources of controversy will govern the final decision.

Accordingly, in pursuance of the proposal which has been made, and in the light of the gracious indication of its acceptance, the President invites the Governments of Great Britain (Japan, Italy, France) to participate in a Conference on the subject of Limitation of Armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions will also be discussed, to be held in Washington on the 11th day of November, 1921.

RUSSIA NOT INCLUDED

[Statement by State Department.]

September 19, 1921.

The American Legation at Peking received recently from an agent of the so-called Far Eastern Republic a request that representatives thereof should be admitted to the approaching conference on limitation of armament, at which questions affecting the Far East will also be discussed.

As the so-called Far Eastern Republic has not been recognized by the Government of the United States, nor by the other Governments of the world, no formal reply has been made to this communication, but the American Minister at Peking has been instructed to convey to the agent of the Far Eastern Republic informal observations in the following sense:

In the absence of a single, recognized Russian Government the protection of legitimate Russian interests must devolve as a moral trusteeship upon the whole

Conference. It is regrettable that the Conference, for reasons quite beyond the control of the participating Powers, is to be deprived of the advantage of Russian cooperation in its deliberations, but it is not to be conceived that the Conference will take decisions prejudicial to legitimate Russian interests or which would in any manner violate Russian rights. It is the hope and expectation of the Government of the United States that the Conference will establish general principles of international action which will deserve and have the support of the people of Eastern Siberia and of all Russia by reason of their justice and efficacy in the settlement of outstanding difficulties.

ADDITIONAL INVITATIONS

[The Secretary of State, on behalf of the President, on October 4, 1921, sent formal invitations to Belgium, The Netherlands and Portugal to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in connection with the Conference for the Limitation of Armament, to be held in Washington on the 11th day of November, 1921. China had previously been invited so to participate.

The invitations were cabled by the Secretary of State to our Embassy at Brussels and to our Legations at The Hague and Lisbon for delivery in each case to the Foreign Office of the respective Governments.

The text of the invitation was as follows, the only difference being in the name of the Government:]

The invitation of the President of the United States to the Governments of France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan to send representatives to a Conference to be held in the City of Washington on November 11, 1921, on the subject of Limitation of Armaments, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions will also be discussed, has been graciously accepted. The Government of China has also been pleased to accept the President's invitation to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions.

It is the earnest wish of this Government that with the facilities afforded by a Conference it may be possible to find a solution of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, by a practical effort to reach such common understandings with respect to matters which have been and are of international concern as may serve to promote enduring friendship.

In view of the interest of Belgium in the Far East, the President desires to invite your Excellency's Government to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions at the Conference, and I have the honor to enclose herewith the tentative suggestions as to the agenda of the Conference, relating to Pacific and Far Eastern questions, proposed by the Government of the United States.

[The tentative suggestions as to the agenda of the Conference, in so far as they related to Pacific and Far Eastern questions, accompanied the invitation in each case.]

AGENDA

The agenda, or program of discussion, of the conference were as follows:

Limitation of Armament:

1. Limitation of naval armament; basis of limitation; extent of limitation; fulfillment of conditions.
2. Rules for control of new agencies of warfare.
3. Limitation of land armament.

Pacific and Far Eastern Questions:

1. Questions relating to China; principles to be applied.

2. Application to subjects.
 - A. Territorial integrity.
 - B. Administrative integrity.
 - C. Open door; equality of administrative and industrial opportunity.
 - D. Concessions, monopolies and other economic privileges.
 - E. Development of railways.
 - F. Preferential railroad rates.
 - G. Status of existing commitments.
3. Questions relating to Siberia; similar to questions relating to China.
4. Mandated islands.

[Although summoned for November 11th, 1921, the Conference did not formally assemble until the following day, owing to the exercises on November 11th, at Arlington Cemetery, in connection with the burial of an unknown American soldier.

The chairman of the Conference was Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States, who was also chairman of the United States delegation. The other United States representatives were Elihu Root, former Secretary of State; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate; and Senator Oscar W. Underwood, Democratic leader in the Senate.

Aristide Briand, prime minister of France, was in attendance at part of the Conference. The other French delegates were René Viviani, former prime minister, Albert Sarraut, minister of colonies, and Jules J. Jusserand, French ambassador to the United States.

David Lloyd-George, prime minister of Great Britain, was unable to attend the Conference and the head of the British delegation was Arthur J. Balfour, Lord President of the Council and former prime minister. The other British delegates were Lord Lee of Fareham and Sir Auckland Geddes, British ambassador to the United States.

The Japanese delegation was composed of Baron Kato, minister of the navy; Prince Tokugawa, president of the House of Peers; Baron Shidehara, Japanese ambassador to the United States; and Masanao Hanihara, vice minister for foreign affairs.

The leading figures in the Chinese delegation were S.-K. Alfred Sze, Chinese minister to the United States, and V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese minister to Great Britain.

The Italian mission was headed by Senator Carlo Schanzer; the Belgian, by Baron de Cartier, Belgian ambassador to the United States; the Dutch, by Foreign Minister Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeck; and the Portuguese, by Viscount d'Alte, Portuguese minister to the United States.

There was an advisory committee to the United States commission, composed of certain officials of the Government especially concerned with the deliberations of the Conference and certain eminent private citizens.]

PRESIDENT HARDING'S OPENING ADDRESS

[The Conference was opened by President Harding on November 12, 1921, in the Continental Memorial Hall in Washington, where the plenary sessions of the Conference were held, with the following address:]

Mr. Secretary and Members of the Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great and happy privilege to bid the delegates to this Conference a cordial welcome to the Capital of the United States of America. It is not only a satisfaction to greet you because we were lately participants in a common cause, in which shared sacrifices and sorrows and triumphs brought our nations more closely together, but it is gratifying to address you as the spokesmen for nations whose convictions

and attending actions have so much to do with the weal or woe of all mankind.

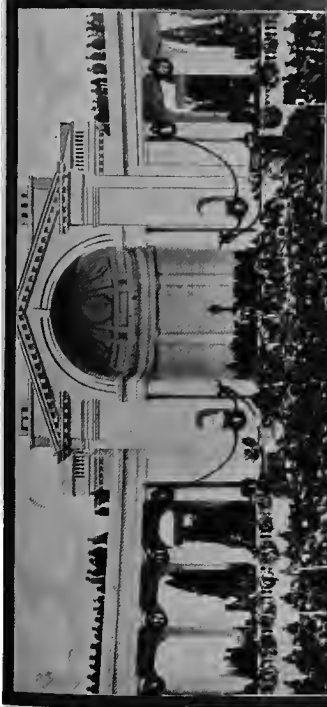
It is not possible to overappraise the importance of such a conference. It is no unseemly boast, no disparagement of other nations which, though not represented, are held in highest respect, to declare that the conclusions of this body will have a signal influence on all human progress—on the fortunes of the world.

Here is a meeting, I can well believe, which is an earnest of the awakened conscience of twentieth century civilization. It is not a convention of remorse, nor a session of sorrow. It is not the conference of victors to define terms of settlement. Nor is it a council of nations seeking to remake humankind. It is rather a coming together, from all parts of the earth, to apply the better attributes of mankind to minimize the faults in our international relationships.

Speaking as official sponsor for the invitation, I think I may say the call is not of the United States of America alone, it is rather the spoken word of a war-wearied world, struggling for restoration, hungering and thirsting for better relationship; of humanity crying for relief and craving assurances of lasting peace.

It is easy to understand this world-wide aspiration. The glory of triumph, the rejoicing in achievement, the love of liberty, the devotion to country, the pangs of sorrow, the burdens of debt, the desolation of ruin—all these are appraised alike in all lands. Here in the United States we are but freshly turned from the burial of an unknown American soldier, when a nation sorrowed while paying him tribute. Whether it was spoken or not, a hundred millions of our people were summarizing the inexcusable causes, the incalculable cost, the unspeakable sacrifices, and the unutterable sorrows, and there was the ever impelling question: How can humanity justify or God forgive? Human hate demands no such toll; ambition and greed must be denied it. If misunderstanding must take the blame, then let us banish it, and let understanding rule and make good will regnant everywhere. All of us demand liberty and justice. There can not be one without the other, and they must be held the unquestioned possession of all peoples. Inherent rights are of God, and the tragedies of the world originate in their attempted denial. The world to-day is infringing their enjoyment by arming to defend or deny, when simple sanity calls for their recognition through common understanding.

Out of the cataclysm of the World War came new fellowships, new convictions, new aspirations. It is ours to make the most of them. A world staggering with debt needs its burden lifted. Humanity which has been shocked by wanton destruction would minimize the agencies of that destruction. Contemplating the measureless cost of war and



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BURIAL OF AN UNKNOWN AMERICAN SOLDIER

BURIAL OF AN UNKNOWN AMERICAN SOLDIER.

Arlington Cemetery, November 11, 1921.

Following the earlier examples of Great Britain and France, on the anniversary of the day when hostilities in the World War came officially to an end, in 1921 the United States buried with full honors of war in the Memorial Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, the body of an American soldier who had perished unknown in the conflict. The significance of the deed and the occasion is discussed by President Harding on page 9010. The preceding illustration shows him reading his address at the Amphitheatre of the Cemetery, in the presence of a distinguished company, including the most prominent of the delegates assembled for the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, which convened at Washington on the following day; and placing a wreath upon the coffin as it lay in state at the Capitol.

Under the heading, World War, the Encyclopedic Index presents a succinct but thorough account of this most stupendous armed struggle between nations in the entire history of mankind.

the continuing burden of armament, all thoughtful peoples wish for real limitation of armament and would like war outlawed. In soberest reflection the world's hundreds of millions who pay in peace and die in war wish their statesmen to turn the expenditures for destruction into means of construction, aimed at a higher state for those who live and follow after.

It is not alone that the world can not readjust itself and cast aside the excess burdens without relief from the leaders of men. War has grown progressively cruel and more destructive from the first recorded conflict to this pregnant day, and the reverse order would more become our boasted civilization.

Gentlemen of the Conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate or apprehend no conquest. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone.

We wish to sit with you at the table of international understanding and good will. In good conscience we are eager to meet you frankly, and invite and offer cooperation. The world demands a sober contemplation of the existing order and the realization that there can be no cure without sacrifice, not by one of us, but by all of us.

I do not mean surrendered rights, or narrowed freedom, or denied aspirations, or ignored national necessities. Our Republic would no more ask for these than it would give. No pride need be humbled, no nationality submerged, but I would have a merging of minds committing all of us to less preparation for war and more enjoyment of fortunate peace.

The higher hopes come of the spirit of our coming together. It is but just to recognize varying needs and peculiar positions. Nothing can be accomplished in disregard of national apprehensions. Rather, we should act together to remove the causes of apprehensions. This is not to be done in intrigue. Greater assurance is found in the exchanges of simple honesty and directness, among men resolved to accomplish as becomes leaders among nations, when civilization itself has come to its crucial test.

It is not to be challenged that government fails when the excess of its cost robs the people of the way to happiness and the opportunity to achieve. If the finer sentiments were not urging, the cold, hard facts of excessive cost and the eloquence of economics would urge us to reduce our armaments. If the concept of a better order does not appeal, then let us ponder the burden and the blight of continued competition.

It is not to be denied that the world has swung along throughout the ages without heeding this call from the kindlier hearts of men. But the same world never before was so tragically brought to realization of the utter futility of passion's sway when reason and conscience and fellowship point a nobler way.

I can speak officially only for our United States. Our hundred millions frankly want less of armament and none of war. Wholly free from guile, sure in our own minds that we harbor no unworthy designs, we accredit the world with the same good intent. So I welcome you, not alone in good will and high purpose, but with high faith.

We are met for a service to mankind. In all simplicity, in all honesty and all honor, there may be written here the avowals of a world conscience refined by the consuming fires of war, and made more sensitive by the anxious aftermath. I hope for that understanding which will emphasize the guarantees of peace, and for commitments to less burdens and a better order which will tranquilize the world. In such an accomplishment there will be added glory to your flags and ours, and the rejoicing of mankind will make the transcending music of all succeeding time.

SECRETARY HUGHES'S OPENING ADDRESS

[On nomination of Mr. Balfour, of Great Britain, Secretary of State Hughes was unanimously chosen the chairman of the Conference. His opening address, following that of President Harding, was as follows:]

Gentlemen, it is with a deep sense of privilege and responsibility that I accept the honor you have conferred.

Permit me to express the most cordial appreciation of the assurances of friendly cooperation which have been generously expressed by the representatives of all the invited Governments. The earnest desire and purpose, manifested in every step in the approach to this meeting, that we should meet the reasonable expectation of a watching world by effective action suited to the opportunity is the best augury for the success of the conference.

The President invited the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan to participate in a conference on the subject of limitation of armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions would also be discussed. It would have been most agreeable to the President to have invited all the Powers to take part in this conference, but it was thought to be a time when other considerations should yield to the practical requirements of the existing exigency, and in this view the invitation was extended to the group known as the principal Allied and associated Powers, which, by reason of the conditions produced by the war, control in the main the armament of the world. The opportunity to limit armament lies within their grasp.

It was recognized, however, that the interests of other Powers in the Far East made it appropriate that they should be invited to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and, with the approval of the five Powers, an invitation to take part in the discussion of those questions has been extended to Belgium, China, The Netherlands and Portugal.

The inclusion of the proposal for the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions was not for the purpose of embarrassing or delaying an agreement for limitation of armament, but rather to support that undertaking by availing ourselves of this meeting to endeavor to reach a common understanding as to the principles and policies to be followed in the Far East, and thus greatly to diminish, and if possible wholly to remove, discernible sources of controversy. It is believed that by interchanges of views at this opportune time the Governments represented here may find a basis of accord and thus give expression to their desire to assure enduring friendship.

In the public discussions which have preceded the conference there have been apparently two competing views; one, that the consideration of armament should await the result of the discussion of Far Eastern questions, and another, that the latter discussion should be postponed until an agreement for limitation of armament has been reached. I am unable to find sufficient reason for adopting either of these extreme views. I think that it would be most unfortunate if we should disappoint the hopes which have attached to this meeting by a postponement of the consideration of the first subject. The world looks to this conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay. It is therefore proposed that the conference should proceed at once to consider the question of the limitation of armament.

This, however, does not mean that we must postpone the examination of Far Eastern questions. These questions of vast importance press for solution. It is hoped that immediate provision may be made to deal with them adequately, and it is suggested that it may be found to be entirely practicable through the distribution of the work among designated committees to make progress to the ends sought to be achieved without either subject being treated as a hindrance to the proper consideration and disposition of the other.

The proposal to limit armament by an agreement of the Powers is not a new one, and we are admonished by the futility of earlier efforts. It may be well to recall the noble aspirations which were voiced twenty-three years ago in the imperial rescript of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia. It was then pointed out with clarity and emphasis that "The intellectual and physical strength of the nations' labor and capital are for the major part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though today regarded as the last word of science, are destined tomorrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each Power increase, so do they less and less fulfill the object which the Governments have set before themselves. The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments a l'outrance and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war materials, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the calamity which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance. To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is today imposed on all States."

It was with this sense of obligation that His Majesty the Emperor of Russia proposed the conference which was "to occupy itself with this grave problem" and which met at The Hague in the year 1899. Important as were the deliberations and conclusions of that conference, especially with respect to the pacific settlement of international disputes, its result in the specific matter of limitation of armament went no further than the adoption of a final resolution setting forth the opinion "that the restriction of military charges, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind," and the utterance of the wish that the Governments "may examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea, and of war budgets."

It was seven years later that the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Elihu Root, in answering a note of the Russian ambassador suggesting in outline a program of the second peace conference, said: "The Government of the United States, therefore, feels it to be its duty to reserve for itself the liberty to propose to the second peace conference, as one of the subjects for consideration, the reduction or limitation of armaments, in the hope that, if nothing further can be accomplished, some slight advance may be made toward the realization of the lofty conception which actuated the Emperor of Russia in calling the first conference." It is significant that the Imperial German Government expressed itself as "absolutely opposed to the question of disarmament" and that the Emperor of Germany threatened to decline to send delegates if the subject of disarmament was to be discussed. In view, however, of the resolution which had been adopted at the first Hague conference the delegates of the United States were instructed that the subject of limitation of armament "should be regarded as unfinished business, and that the second conference should ascertain and give full consideration to the results of such examination as the Governments may have given to the possibility of an agreement pursuant to the wish expressed by the first conference." But by reason of the obstacles which the subject had encountered, the second peace conference at The Hague, although it made notable progress in provision for the peaceful settlement of controversies, was unable to deal with limitation of armament except by a resolution in the following general terms: "The conference confirms the resolution adopted by the conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure; and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the Governments should resume the serious examination of this question."

This was the fruition of the efforts of eight years. Although the effect was clearly perceived, the race in preparation of armament, wholly unaffected by these futile suggestions, went on until it fittingly culminated in the greatest war of history; and we are now suffering from the unparalleled loss of life, the destruction of hopes, the economic dislocations, and the widespread impoverishment which measure the cost of the victory over the brutal pretensions of military force.

But if we are warned by the inadequacy of earlier endeavors for limitation of armament, we can not fail to recognize the extraordinary opportunity now presented. We not only have the lessons of the past to guide us, not only do we have the reaction from the disillusioning experiences of war, but we must meet the challenge of imperative economic demands. What was convenient or highly desirable before is now a matter of vital necessity. If there is to be

economic rehabilitation, if the longings for reasonable progress are not to be denied, if we are to be spared the uprisings of peoples made desperate in the desire to shake off burdens no longer endurable, competition in armament must stop. The present opportunity not only derives its advantage from a general appreciation of this fact, but the power to deal with the exigency now rests with a small group of nations, represented here, who have every reason to desire peace and to promote amity. The astounding ambition which lay athwart the promise of the second Hague conference no longer menaces the world, and the great opportunity of liberty-loving and peace-preserving democracies has come. Is it not plain that the time has passed for mere resolutions that the responsible Powers should examine the question of limitation of armament? We can no longer content ourselves with investigations, with statistics, with reports, with the circumlocution of inquiry. The essential facts are sufficiently known. The time has come, and this conference has been called, not for general resolutions or mutual advice, but for action. We meet with full understanding that the aspirations of mankind are not to be defeated either by plausible suggestions of postponement or by impracticable counsels of perfection. Power and responsibility are here, and the world awaits a practicable program which shall at once be put into execution.

I am confident that I shall have your approval in suggesting that in this matter, as well as in others before the conference, it is desirable to follow the course of procedure which has the best promise of achievement rather than one which would facilitate division; and thus, constantly aiming to agree so far as possible, we shall, with each point of agreement, make it easier to proceed to others.

The question, in relation to armament, which may be regarded as of primary importance at this time, and with which we can deal most promptly and effectively, is the limitation of naval armament. There are certain general considerations which may be deemed pertinent to this subject.

The first is that the core of the difficulty is to be found in the competition in naval programs, and that, in order appropriately to limit naval armament, competition in its production must be abandoned. Competition will not be remedied by resolves with respect to the method of its continuance. One program inevitably leads to another, and if competition continues its regulation is impracticable. There is only one adequate way out and that is to end it now.

It is apparent that this can not be accomplished without serious sacrifices. Enormous sums have been expended upon ships under construction, and building programs which are now under way can not be given up without heavy loss. Yet if the present construction of capital ships goes forward other ships will inevitably be built to rival them and this will lead to still others. Thus the race will continue so long as ability to continue lasts. The effort to escape sacrifices is futile. We must face them or yield our purpose.

It is also clear that no one of the naval Powers should be expected to make these sacrifices alone. The only hope of limitation of naval armament is by agreement among the nations concerned, and this agreement should be entirely fair and reasonable in the extent of the sacrifices required of each of the Powers. In considering the basis of such an agreement, and the commensurate sacrifices to be required, it is necessary to have regard to the existing naval strength of the great naval Powers, including the extent of construction already effected in the case of ships in process. This follows from the fact that one nation is as free to compete as another, and each may find grounds for its action.

What one may do another may demand the opportunity to rival, and we remain in the thrall of competitive effort. I may add that the American delegates are advised by their naval experts that the tonnage of capital ships may fairly be taken to measure the relative strength of navies, as the provision for auxiliary combatant craft should sustain a reasonable relation to the capital ship tonnage allowed.

It would also seem to be a vital part of a plan for the limitation of naval armament that there should be a naval holiday. It is proposed that for a period of not less than ten years there should be no further construction of capital ships.

I am happy to say that I am at liberty to go beyond these general propositions, and on behalf of the American delegation, acting under the instructions of the President of the United States, to submit to you a concrete proposition for an agreement for the limitation of naval armament.

It should be added that this proposal immediately concerns the British Empire, Japan, and the United States. In view of the extraordinary conditions due to the World War affecting the existing strength of the navies of France and Italy, it is not thought to be necessary to discuss at this stage of the proceedings the tonnage allowance of these nations, but the United States proposes that this matter be reserved for the later consideration of the conference.

In making the present proposal the United States is most solicitous to deal with the question upon an entirely reasonable and practicable basis, to the end that the just interests of all shall be adequately guarded and that national security and defense shall be maintained. Four general principles have been applied:

(1) That all capital-ship building programs, either actual or projected, should be abandoned;

(2) That further reduction should be made through the scrapping of certain of the older ships;

(3) That in general regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the Powers concerned;

(4) That the capital-ship tonnage should be used as the measurement of strength for navies and a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft prescribed.

The principal features of the proposed agreement are as follows:

CAPITAL SHIPS
UNITED STATES

The United States is now completing its program of 1916 calling for ten new battleships and six battle cruisers. One battleship has been completed. The others are in various stages of construction; in some cases from 60 to over 80 per cent of the construction has been done. On these fifteen capital ships now being built over \$330,000,000 have been spent. Still the United States is willing in the interest of an immediate limitation of naval armament to scrap all of these ships.

The United States proposes if this plan is accepted—

(1) To scrap all capital ships now under construction. This includes six battle cruisers and seven battleships on the ways and in course of building, and two battleships launched.

The total number of new capital ships thus to be scrapped is fifteen. The total tonnage of the new capital ships when completed would be 618,000 tons.

(2) To scrap all of the older battleships up to, but not including, the *Dela-*

ware and North Dakota. The number of these old battleships to be scrapped is fifteen. Their total tonnage is 227,740 tons.

Thus the number of capital ships to be scrapped by the United States, if this plan is accepted, is thirty, with an aggregate tonnage (including that of ships in construction, if completed) of 845,740 tons.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The plan contemplates that Great Britain and Japan shall take action which is fairly commensurate with this action on the part of the United States.

It is proposed that Great Britain—

(1) Shall stop further construction on the four new Hoods, the new capital ships not laid down but upon which money has been spent. These four ships, if completed, would have tonnage displacement of 172,000 tons.

(2) Shall, in addition, scrap her predreadnaughts, second-line battleships, and first-line battleships up to, but not including, the *King George V* class.

These, with certain predreadnaughts which it is understood have already been scrapped, would amount to nineteen capital ships and a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons.

The total tonnage of ships thus to be scrapped by Great Britain (including the tonnage of the four Hoods, if completed) would be 583,375 tons.

JAPAN.

It is proposed that Japan—

(1) Shall abandon her program of ships not yet laid down, viz., the *Kii*, *Owari*, No. 7 and No. 8 battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 battle cruisers.

It should be observed that this does not involve the stopping of construction, as the construction of none of these ships has been begun.

(2) Shall scrap three capital ships (the *Mutsu* launched, the *Tosa*, and *Kago* in course of building) and four battle cruisers (the *Amagi* and *Akagi* in course of building, and the *Atoga* and *Takao* not yet laid down, but for which certain material has been assembled).

The total number of new capital ships to be scrapped under this paragraph is seven. The total tonnage of these new capital ships when completed would be 289,100 tons.

(3) Shall scrap all predreadnaughts and battleships of the second line. This would include the scrapping of all ships up to, but not including, the *Settsu*; that is, the scrapping of ten older ships, with a total tonnage of 159,828 tons.

The total reduction of tonnage on vessels existing, laid down, or for which material has been assembled (taking the tonnage of the new ships when completed), would be 448,928 tons.

Thus, under this plan there would be immediately destroyed, of the navies of the three Powers, sixty-six capital fighting ships, built and building, with a total tonnage of 1,878,043.

It is proposed that it should be agreed by the United States, Great Britain and Japan that their navies, with respect to capital ships, within three months after the making of the agreement shall consist of certain ships designated in the proposal and numbering for the United States eighteen, for Great Britain twenty-two, for Japan ten.

The tonnage of these ships would be as follows: Of the United States, 500,650; of Great Britain, 604,450; of Japan, 299,700. In reaching this result, the age factor in the case of the respective navies has received appropriate consideration.

REPLACEMENT.

With respect to replacement, the United States proposes—

(1) That it be agreed that the first replacement tonnage shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the agreement;

(2) That replacement be limited by an agreed maximum of capital ship tonnage as follows:

	Tons
For the United States.....	500,000
For Great Britain.....	500,000
For Japan.....	300,000

(3) That subject to the ten-year limitation above fixed and the maximum standard, capital ships may be replaced when they are twenty years old by new capital ship construction.

(4) That no capital ship shall be built in replacement with a tonnage displacement of more than 35,000 tons.

I have sketched the proposal only in outline, leaving the technical details to be supplied by the formal proposition which is ready for submission to the delegates.

The plan includes provision for the limitation of auxiliary combatant craft. This term embraces three classes, that is (1) auxiliary surface combatant craft, such as cruisers (exclusive of battle cruisers), flotilla, leaders, destroyers, and various surface types; (2) submarines; and (3) airplane carriers.

I shall not attempt to review the proposals for these various classes, as they bear a definite relation to the provisions for capital fighting ships.

With the acceptance of this plan the burden of meeting the demands of competition in naval armament will be lifted. Enormous sums will be released to aid the progress of civilization. At the same time the proper demands of national defense will be adequately met and the nations will have ample opportunity during the naval holiday of ten years to consider their future course. Preparation for offensive naval war will stop now.

I shall not attempt at this time to take up the other topics which have been listed upon the tentative agenda proposed in anticipation of the conference.

CHINA'S "TEN POINTS"

[The ten proposals submitted to the Conference by the Chinese delegation on November 16 were as follows:]

1. (a) The Powers engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic.

(b) China upon her part is prepared to give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or littoral to any power.

2. China, being in full accord with the principle of the so-called open door, or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China, is prepared to accept and apply it in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception.

3. With a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East, the Powers agree not to conclude among themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions without previously notifying China and giving her an opportunity to participate.

4. All special rights, privileges, immunities or commitments, whatever their character or contractual basis, claimed by any of the Powers in or relating to China are to be declared, and all such or future claims not so made known are to be deemed null and void. The rights, privileges, immunities and commitments now known to be declared are to be examined with a view to determining their

scope and validity, and if valid, to harmonize them with one another and with the principles declared by this conference.

5. Immediately, or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political, jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action are to be removed.

6. Reasonable, definite terms of duration are to be attached to China's present commitments, which are without time limits.

7. In the interpretation of instruments granting special rights or privileges, the well-established principle of construction that such grants shall be strictly construed in favor of the grantors is to be observed.

8. China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party.

9. Provision is to be made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Pacific and the Far East.

10. Provision is to be made for future conferences to be held from time to time for the discussion of international questions relative to the Pacific and the Far East as a basis for the determination of common policies of the signatory Powers in relation thereto.

THE FOUR-POWER PACIFIC TREATY

[At the plenary session of the Conference on December 10, Senator Lodge, for the United States delegation, read the text of a proposed treaty, as follows:]

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan—

With a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean—

Have determined to conclude a treaty to this effect and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries—

The President of the United States of America,

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India,

And for the Dominion of Canada,

For the Commonwealth of Australia,

For the Dominion of New Zealand,

For India,

The President of the French Republic,

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

Who having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

I.

The high contracting parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean,

If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other high contracting parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

II.

If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other Power the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures

to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

III.

This agreement shall remain in force for ten years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force subject to the right of any of the high contracting parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.

IV.

This agreement shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Great Britain and Japan, which was concluded at London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate.

AMERICAN DELEGATION'S RESERVATIONS TO THE ABOVE TREATY

[In signing the treaty on December 13, the American delegation made the following reservations in writing:]

In signing the treaty this day between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, it is declared to be the understanding and intent of the signatory Powers:

(1) That the treaty shall apply to the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean, provided, however, that the making of the treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to the mandates and shall not preclude agreements between the United States of America and the mandatory Powers respectively in relation to the mandated islands.

(2) That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article 1 refers shall not be taken to embrace questions which, according to principles of international law, lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective Powers.

AMERICAN-JAPANESE AGREEMENT ON YAP AND OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDS

[Made Public at Washington, December 12, 1921.]

1. It is agreed that the United States shall have free access to the Island of Yap on the footing of entire equality with Japan or any other nation in all that relates to the landing and operation of the existing Yap-Guam cable or of any cable which may hereafter be laid by the United States or its nationals.

2. It is also agreed that the United States and its nationals are to be accorded the same rights and privileges with respect to radio telegraphic service as with regard to cables. It is provided that so long as the Japanese Government shall maintain on the Island of Yap an adequate radio telegraphic station, co-operating effectively with the cables and with other radio stations on ships and shore, without discriminatory exactions or preferences, the exercise of the right to establish radio telegraphic stations at Yap by the United States or its nationals shall be suspended.

3. It is further agreed that the United States shall enjoy in the Island of Yap the following rights, privileges and exemptions in relation to electrical communications:

(a) Right of residence without restriction; and rights of acquisition and enjoyment and undisturbed possession upon a footing of entire equality with Japan or any other nation or their respective nationals of all property and interests, both personal and real, including lands, buildings, residences, offices, works and appurtenances.

(b) No permit or license to be required for the enjoyment of any of these rights and privileges.

(c) Each country to be free to operate both ends of its cables, either directly or through its nationals, including corporations or associations.

(d) No cable censorship or supervision of operation or messages.

(e) Free entry and exit for persons and property.

(f) No taxes, port, harbor or landing charges or exactions, either with respect to operation of cables or to property, persons or vessels.

(g) No discriminatory police regulations.

4. Japan agrees that it will use its power of expropriation to secure to the United States needed property and facilities for the purpose of electrical communication in the island, if such property or facilities cannot otherwise be obtained. It is understood that the location and area of land to be so expropriated shall be arranged each time between the two governments according to the requirements of each case. American property and facilities for the purpose of electrical communication in the island are to be exempt from the process of expropriation.

5. The United States consents to the administration by Japan of the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator, subject to the above provisions with respect to the Island of Yap and also subject to the following conditions:

(a) The United States is to have the benefit of the engagements of Japan set forth in the mandate, particularly those as follows:

Article III.—"The mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited and that no forced labor is permitted except for essential public work and services, and then only for adequate remuneration.

"The mandatory shall also see that the traffic in arms and ammunition is controlled in accordance with principles analogous to those laid down in the convention relating to the control of the arms traffic signed on September 10, 1919, or in any convention amending same.

"The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited."

Article IV.—"The military training of the natives, otherwise than for purposes of internal police and the local defense of the territory, shall be prohibited. Furthermore, no military or naval bases shall be established or fortifications erected in the territory."

(b) With respect to missionaries, it is agreed that Japan shall insure complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality, and that missionaries of all such religions shall be free to enter the territory and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools throughout the territory. Japan shall, however, have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government and to take all measures required for such control.

(c) Japan agrees that vested American property rights will be maintained and respected.

(d) It is agreed that the treaties between the United States and Japan now in force shall apply to the mandated islands.

(e) It is agreed that any modifications in the mandate are to be subject to the consent of the United States, and, further, that Japan will address to the United States a duplicate report on the administration of the mandate.

A formal convention embodying these provisions will be drawn up for signature and will be subject to ratification by the Senate.

AGREEMENT ON CAPITAL FIGHTING SHIPS

[Officially Announced at Washington, December 15, 1921.]

The following are the points of agreement that have been reached in the course of the negotiations between the United States of America, Great Britain and Japan with respect to their capital fighting ships:

An agreement has been reached between the three Powers—the United States of America, the British Empire and Japan—on the subject of naval ratio. The proposal of the American Government that the ratio should be 5-5-3 is accepted.

It is agreed that with respect to fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific region, including Hongkong, the status quo shall be maintained, that is, that there shall be no increase in these fortifications and naval bases, except that this restriction shall not apply to the Hawaiian Islands, Australia, New Zealand and the islands composing Japan proper, or, of course, to the coasts of the United States and Canada, as to which the respective Powers retain their entire freedom.

The Japanese Government has found special difficulty with respect to the *Mutsu*, as that is their newest ship. In order to retain the *Mutsu*, Japan has proposed to scrap the *Settsu*, one of her older ships, which, under the American proposal, was to have been retained. This would leave the number of Japan's capital ships the same, that is, ten, as under the American proposal. The retention of the *Mutsu* by Japan in place of the *Settsu* makes a difference in net tonnage of 13,600 tons, making the total tonnage of Japan's capital ships 313,300 tons, as against 299,700 tons under the original American proposal.

While the difference in tonnage is small, there would be considerable difference in efficiency, as the retention of the *Mutsu* would give to Japan two post-Jutland ships of the latest design.

In order to meet this situation and to preserve the relative strength on the basis of the agreed ratio, it is agreed that the United States shall complete two of the ships in course of construction, that is, the *Colorado* and the *Washington*, which are now about 90 per cent completed, and scrap two of the older ships, that is, the *North Dakota* and the *Delaware*, which, under the original proposal were to be retained.

This would leave the United States with the same number of capital ships, that is, eighteen, as under the original proposal, with a tonnage of 525,850 tons, as against 500,650 tons as originally proposed. Three of these ships would be post-Jutland ships of the Maryland type.

As the British have no post-Jutland ships except one *Hood*, the construction of which is only partly post-Jutland, it is agreed that in order to maintain proper relative strength the British Government may construct two new ships, not to exceed 35,000 gross tons each, that is, calculating the

tonnage according to British standards of measurement, or, according to American calculations, the equivalent of 37,000 tons each.

It is agreed that the British Government shall, on the completion of these two new ships, scrap four of their ships of the King George V. type, that is, the *Erin*, *King George V.*, *Centurion* and *Ajax*, which were to have been retained under the original American proposal. This would leave the British capital ships in number twenty, as against twenty-two under the American proposal.

Taking the tonnage of the two new ships according to American calculation, it would amount to 74,000. And the four ships scrapped having a tonnage of 96,400 tons, there would be a reduction in net tonnage of 22,400 tons, leaving the British tonnage of capital ships 582,050 instead of 604,450. This would give the British as against the United States an excess tonnage of 56,200 tons, which is deemed to be fair, in view of the age of the ships of the Royal Sovereign and the Queen Elizabeth types.

The maximum limitation for the tonnage of ships to be constructed in replacement is to be fixed at 35,000 legend tons, that is, according to British standards of measurement, or, according to American calculations, the equivalent of 37,000 tons.

In order to give accommodation to these changes, the maximum tonnage of capital ships is fixed, for the purpose of replacement, on the basis of American standards of calculation, as follows:

United States, 525,000 tons.

Great Britain, 525,000 tons.

Japan, 315,000 tons.

Comparing this arrangement with the original American proposal, it will be observed that the United States is to scrap thirty ships as proposed, save that there will be scrapped thirteen of the fifteen ships under construction and seventeen instead of fifteen of the older ships.

The total tonnage of the American capital ships to be scrapped under the original proposal, including the tonnage of ships in construction, if completed, was stated to be 845,740 tons. Under the present arrangement the tonnage of the thirty ships to be scrapped, taking that of the ships in construction if completed, would be 820,540 tons.

The number of the Japanese ships to be retained remains the same as under the original proposal. The total tonnage of the ships to be scrapped by Japan under the original American proposal, taking the tonnage of new ships when completed, was stated to be 448,923. The total tonnage of the ships to be scrapped under the present arrangement is 435,328 tons.

Under the original proposal Great Britain was to scrap nineteen capital ships (including certain pre-readnaughts already scrapped), whereas under the present arrangement she will scrap four more, or a total of twenty-three. The total tonnage of ships to be scrapped by Great Britain, including the tonnage of the four Hoods to which the proposal referred as laid down, if completed, was stated to be 583,375 tons. The corresponding total of scrapped ships under the new arrangement will be 22,600 tons more, or 605,975 tons.

Under the American proposal there were to be scrapped sixty-six capital fighting ships built and building, with a total tonnage (taking ships laid down as completed) of 1,878,043 tons. Under the present arrangement, on the same basis of calculation, there are to be scrapped sixty-eight capital fighting ships with a tonnage of 1,861,643 tons.

The naval holiday of ten years with respect to capital ships as originally proposed by the American Government is to be maintained except for the permission to construct ships as above stated.

This arrangement between the United States, Great Britain and Japan, is, so far as the number of ships to be retained and scrapped is concerned, dependent upon a suitable agreement with France and Italy as to their capital ships, a matter which is now in course of negotiation.

NOTE FROM HUGHES TO BRIAND

[Danger to Naval Agreement in Stand of France.]

December 16, 1921.

My dear M. Briand:

In view of your distinguished service at the Conference on Limitation of Armament and of my responsibilities as chairman of the conference, I venture to address to you this personal word. I am happy to say that the conversations between the United States, Great Britain and Japan as to the proposal which I made on behalf of the American Government at the opening of the conference with respect to capital ships have resulted in a provisional agreement. Great Britain and Japan have accepted the naval ratio as proposed and the reduction of capital ships with such modifications as do not seriously affect the principle involved. Japan keeps the *Mutsu* and scraps the *Settsu*.

The United States finishes two ships—the *Colorado* and the *Washington*, now about 90 per cent completed—and scraps the *North Dakota* and the *Delaware*. Great Britain will build two new ships and scrap four, to wit, the *Erin*, the *King George V*, the *Centurion* and the *Ajax*. The result is that the United States still scraps thirty ships—that is, thirteen of the ships under construction and seventeen, instead of fifteen, of the older ships—leaving the number of ships the same as under the original proposal, with a tonnage of 525,000 tons, instead of 500,000 tons. Thus the United States scraps 322,000 tons of her ships (exclusive of pre-readnaughts). Great Britain and Japan scrap to an equivalent extent. Japan retains the same number of ships as proposed and scraps seventeen as proposed, her new tonnage being 313,300, instead of about 300,000.

Great Britain scraps 22,600 tons more than originally proposed, leaving her tonnage 582,000, instead of 604,400, her excess being allowed in view of the age of her existing ships. The new limits are very little different from those proposed, being 525,000 tons for the United States and Great Britain and 315,000 tons for Japan. The naval holiday as to capital ships is agreed upon except for the construction of the ships above mentioned. In short, under the original American proposal there were to be scrapped by the three Powers sixty-six capital fighting ships, built and building, with a total tonnage (taking ships laid down as completed) of 1,878,000 tons. Under the present arrangement, on the same basis of calculation, there are to be scrapped sixty-eight capital fighting ships, with a tonnage of 1,861,000 tons.

You will thus observe that there has been simply a slight readjustment in the three navies with respect to the ships retained, but that the sacrifices proposed by the American Government have substantially been made and the principle as laid down is being carried out so far as these three Powers are concerned.

The agreement, however, as to the number of ships to be retained by them is dependent upon an appropriate agreement with France and Italy with

respect to their capital ships. Italy is desirous to reduce her capital ships, because of the obvious requirements of her economic life, to the lowest possible basis, and there will not be the slightest difficulty in making an agreement with Italy if we can reach a suitable understanding with France.

You will observe the attitude of France will determine the success or failure of these efforts to reduce the heavy burden of naval armament.

In dealing with Great Britain and Japan we have taken facts as they are. We have avoided an academic discussion of national needs and aspirations which in the nature of things could not be realized. It has been pointed out that the ratio of strength in capital ships is that which exists, and that it is futile to desire a better one, for it cannot be obtained if nations with abundant resources build against each other in competition. The predreadnaughts possessed by the three Powers are to be scrapped without any suggestion of replacement, and there has been a reduction of more than 40 per cent of the naval strength represented by dreadnaughts and superdreadnaughts. Now, France has seven dreadnaughts, with a tonnage of 164,500. Reducing in the same proportion as the United States has reduced, her tonnage of capital ships would be fixed at 102,000; or if the predreadnaughts of France were taken into calculation on her side, although omitted on the side of the United States, the total tonnage of France's capital ships being taken at 221,000, a reduction on the same basis would reduce France to 136,000 tons.

This would be the sacrifice of France if she made the same sacrifices that have been made by the other Powers. We do not ask this. We are entirely willing that France should have the benefit of an increased tonnage which would preclude the necessity of her scrapping her dreadnaughts. That is to say, her present strength in dreadnaughts is about 164,000 tons, and there is not the slightest objection to allowing this and an increase over this, or a total of 175,000 tons, which would be more than 70,000 tons over what she would have on the basis of relative strength as it exists.

If it be said that France desires a greater relative strength the obvious answer is that this would be impossible of attainment. If such an agreement as we are now proposing were not made the United States and Great Britain would very shortly have navies of over a million tons, more than six to one compared with France, and France would not be in a position to better herself, much less by any possible endeavor to obtain such a relative strength as has been suggested. In short, the proposed agreement is tremendously in favor of France by reducing the navies of Powers who not only are able to build, but whose ships are actually in course of construction, to a basis far more favorable to France than would otherwise be attainable. The proposed agreement really doubles the relative strength of the French navy.

In these circumstances I feel that the suggestion that has been made that France should build ten new capital ships in replacement with a tonnage of 300,000 tons or more suggests a program of such magnitude as to raise the greatest difficulties; in fact, I regret to say that after canvassing the matter thoroughly and taking the best information I can obtain I am compelled to conclude that it would not be possible on this basis to carry through the agreement.

I need not point out to you our great desire, which you yourself have so eloquently expressed, that the economic burden of armament should be

lifted. It is not against the interests of France that we express the hope that her industry and resources will be devoted to economic recuperation and the enhancement of her prosperity rather than be expended in the building of fighting ships. The particular situation of France with respect to land armament you have vividly portrayed; but that points, as it seems to us, to the very great importance of reduction in naval armament. At this time, when we are anxious to aid France in full recovery of her economic life, it would be most disappointing to be advised that she was contemplating putting hundreds of millions into battleships.

I have spoken to you thus frankly because of my deep appreciation of your friendship and of your solicitude for the success of the efforts we are making, and in the hope that the present matter, which represents perhaps the most critical position yet reached in the conference, may be adjusted on a satisfactory basis. I repeat that the provisional agreement reached with Great Britain and Japan hinges upon an appropriate agreement with France, and I cannot too strongly urge the most careful consideration of all the matters to which I have taken the liberty to allude. Permit me to assure you of my highest respect and of the keen desire we entertain in America that you should visit us again at an early date.

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

BRIAND'S ANSWER

LONDON, December 18, 1921.

My dear Mr. Hughes:

At the moment of my departure for London Mr. Herrick handed me your friendly telegram in regard to the difficulties which have arisen in the Naval Disarmament Commission in reference to the tonnage of capital ships which have been asked for by the French delegation.

You fear that the maintenance of this French request may have as its effect to hinder the agreement between the five Powers.

The will of the French Government is to do everything which is compatible with the care of the vital interests of France, with a view to reconcile our points of view.

In the question of naval armament the preoccupation of France is not the offensive point of view, but uniquely the defensive point of view.

With regard to the tonnage of capital ships, that is to say, attacking ships, which are the most costly, I have given instruction to our delegates in the sense which you desire. I am certain that I shall be sustained by my Parliament in this view.

But so far as the defensive ships are concerned (light cruisers, torpedo boats and submarines), it would be impossible for the French Government without putting itself in contradiction with the vote of the chambers, to accept reductions corresponding to those which we accept for capital ships under this formal reserve, which you certainly will understand.

The idea which dominates the Washington Conference is to restrict naval armaments which are offensive and costly. But I do not believe that it is in the program to deny to a nation like France, which has a large extent of coasts and a great number of distant colonies, the essential means of defending its communications and its security.

I am certain, my dear Mr. Hughes, that you will appreciate the effort of conciliation which we are making in order to respond to your request.

I beg you to kindly accept my cordial remembrances and the ardent wish which I form for the complete and striking success of the conference over which you preside with so much authority and brilliancy.

BRIAND

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT HARDING

[In an interview with newspaper correspondents on the afternoon of December 20, President Harding announced that, according to his understanding, the Four-Power Treaty did not cover the islands which form Japan proper. On the evening of the same day, however, the White House issued a statement to the effect that the American delegation to the Conference construed the treaty as covering Japan proper, and that the President had no objection to that construction. A later statement by President Harding alluding to this difference of opinion was as follows:]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *December 23, 1921.*

The President will offer no comment on the disputes which attempt to magnify the differing constructions on the Four-Power Treaty. To him these are unimportant. The big things aimed at are understanding for peace and an agreement to meet and discuss the preservation of peace whenever it is threatened.

No alliance or entanglement is thought of, none will be negotiated. It would be better to rejoice over things accomplished than to dwell on differing views which can be of no great consequence.

The President is unwilling that the unjustified charge that the United States delegates are withholding information shall go unchallenged. He had full confidence, else he had not chosen them, and he has full confidence now and is more than gratified over their efforts, because they are working out the greatest contribution to peace and good-will which has ever marked the Christmas time in all the Christian era.

It is one thing to talk about the ideals of peace, but the bigger thing is to seek the actuality. This the Conference is doing, in harmony with an overwhelming American sentiment and world sentiment, too, and in full accord with cherished American traditions.

HUGHES' TENTATIVE SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE'S
ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES

[Official Communiqué, December 28, 1921.]

After M. Sarraut, speaking for the French, had delivered his statement to the committee, declining, on the part of his Government, to yield upon submarines, Secretary Hughes said that the committee had heard the statement on behalf of the French Government; it was a definite statement, made after careful deliberation, and he assumed that it should be accepted as the final expression of the attitude of the French Government in regard to limitation of naval armament. He was greatly gratified at the willingness of the French Government to limit the tonnage of their capital ships to 175,000 tons. He felt that the importance of this statement should not in any way be minimized.

Capital ships were the chief weapon of offense. If the Conference could succeed, as it was now evident that it would, in reducing in a fairly satisfactory manner armament as represented in capital ships, it would have done

much to relieve the burden of taxation and would aid in establishing a better basis for a lasting peace. He wished to repeat that he was highly gratified and appreciated the manner in which the problem had been approached by the French Government. He understood that there were certain reservations with respect to replacements and the duration of the agreement. These matters must receive further consideration and be the subject of continued negotiations.

He confessed that he was disappointed with the statement concerning submarine and auxiliary craft. If submarines were to be available for distinctly defensive purposes in connection with the movements of fleets, it would seem that they should bear some definite proportion to the fighting fleets; thus, if they were to be used in connection with the laying of mines, scouting, etc.—the necessities inherent in large defensive preparations—they should bear some relation to the operations of the fleet as a whole. The suggestion that France should have 90,000 tons of submarines would, on any basis of a practicable ratio, involve the assumption that Great Britain and the United States should greatly increase their submarine tonnage. This could hardly be called a limitation or reduction.

Furthermore, if a large number of submarines were to be provided, then cruisers and destroyers, the natural enemies of submarines, would have to be provided in numbers adequate to deal with the situation created by a large submarine fleet. It was a serious question whether there was hope of accomplishing anything like limitation in regard to submarines and auxiliary craft. He understood that the attitude of the French Government was that, regardless of the requirements of other nations, 90,000 tons of submarines was deemed to be the minimum essential for France. If this was so, the suggestion of 330,000 tons of auxiliary vessels for France would have its bearing on what was considered necessary for the other nations, and might make it difficult to arrive at an agreement limiting submarines and auxiliary craft.

He did not desire at this time and in view of the existing situation to discuss details, but he wished to say that an agreement for the expansion of armament was not under consideration. The Conference was called to consider the limitation of armament. He left it for the committee to decide, in the light of the very definite statement of the French Government, what was practicable to be done.

In conclusion, he wished to say that in expressing his disappointment in regard to submarines he did not wish in any way to detract from the importance of the definite acceptance by France of the program for capital ships. This was a matter of the first importance, and he could assure his French colleagues that their attitude was cordially and sincerely appreciated.

ROOT RESOLUTIONS ON SUBMARINES

[On January 5, 1922, the following resolutions, presented by Elihu Root, chairman of the subcommittee for drafting resolutions regarding submarines, were unanimously adopted at the meeting of the Committee on Limitation of Armament:]

I.

The signatory Powers, desiring to make more effective the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants at sea in time of war, declare that among those rules the following are to be deemed an established part of international law:

(1) A merchant vessel must be ordered to submit to visit and search to determine its character before it can be seized.

A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to submit to visit and search after warning or to proceed as directed after seizure.

A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety.

(2) Belligerent submarines are not under any circumstances exempt from the universal rules above stated and if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules, the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and from seizures and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested.

II.

The signatory Powers invite all other civilized Powers to express their assent to the foregoing statement of established law so that there may be a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents.

III.

The signatory Powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violating, as they were violated in the recent war of 1914-1918, the requirements universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants, and to the end that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations, they now accept that prohibition as henceforth binding as between themselves, and they invite all other nations to adhere thereto.

JAPANESE OCCUPANCY OF EASTERN SIBERIA AND SAKHALIN.

[At the meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions on January 24, 1922, Chairman Hughes made the following statement:]

The American Delegation has heard the statement by Baron Shidehara and has taken note of the assurances given on behalf of the Japanese Government with respect to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Province of Siberia and from the Province of Sakhalin. The American Delegation has also noted the assurance of Japan by her authorized spokesman that it is her fixed and settled policy to respect the territorial integrity of Russia, and to observe the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of that country, as well as the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in every part of the Russian possessions.

These assurances are taken to mean that Japan does not seek, through her military operation in Siberia, to impair the rights of the Russian people in any respect, or to obtain any unfair commercial advantages, or to absorb for her own use the Siberian fisheries, or to set up an exclusive exploitation either of the resources of Sakhalin or of the Maritime Province.

As Baron Shidehara pointed out, the military expedition of Japan to Siberia was originally undertaken in common accord and in cooperation with the United States. It will be recalled that public assurances were given at the outset by both Governments of a firm intention to respect the territorial integrity of Russia and to abstain from all interference in Russian politics. In view of the reference by Baron Shidehara to the participation of the American Government in the expe-

dition of 1918, I should like to place upon our records for transmission to the Conference the purposes which were then clearly stated by both Governments.

The American Government set forth its aims and policies publicly in July, 1918. The purposes of the expedition were said to be, first, to help the Czecho-Slovaks consolidate their forces; second, to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance; and, third, to guard the military stores at Vladivostok.

The American Government opposed the idea of a military intervention, but regarded military action as admissible at the time solely for the purpose of helping the Czecho-Slovaks consolidate their forces and get into successful cooperation with their Slavic kinsmen, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance. It was stated that the American Government proposed to ask all associated in this course of action to unite in assuring the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that none of the governments uniting in action either in Siberia or in northern Russia contemplated any interference of any kind with the political sovereignty of Russia, any intervention in her internal affairs, or any impairment of her territorial integrity either now or thereafter, but that each of the Associated Powers had the single object of affording such aid as should be acceptable, and only such aid as should be acceptable, to the Russian people in their endeavor to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory and their own destiny.

What I have just stated is found in the public statement of the American Government at that time.

The Japanese Government, with the same purpose, set forth its position in a statement published by the Japanese Government on August 2, 1918, in which it was said:

The Japanese Government, being anxious to fall in with the desires of the American Government and also to act in harmony with the Allies in this expedition, have decided to proceed at once to dispatch suitable forces for the proposed mission. A certain number of these troops will be sent forthwith to Vladivostok. In adopting this course, the Japanese Government remain unshaken in their constant desire to promote relations of enduring friendship with Russia and the Russian people, and reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declare that, upon the realization of the projects above indicated, they will immediately withdraw all Japanese troops from Russian territory and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military.

The United States of America withdrew its troops from Siberia in the spring of 1920, because it considered that the original purpose of the expedition had either been accomplished or would no longer be subserved by continued military activity in Siberia. The American Government then ceased to be a party to the expedition, but it remained a close observer of events in Eastern Siberia and has had an extended diplomatic correspondence upon this subject with the Government of Japan.

It must be frankly avowed that this correspondence has not always disclosed an identity of views between the two governments. The United States has not been unmindful of the direct exposure of Japan to Bolshevism in Siberia and the special problems which the conditions existing there have created for the Japanese Government, but it has been strongly disposed to the belief that the public assurances given by the two governments at the inception of the joint expedition

nevertheless required the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from all Russian territory—if not immediately after the departure of the Czecho-Slovak troops, then within a reasonable time.

As to the occupation of Sakhalin in reprisal for the massacre of the Japanese at Nikolaievsk, the United States was not unimpressed by the serious character of that catastrophe; but, having in mind the conditions accepted by both governments at the outset of the joint expedition, of which the Nikolaievsk massacre must be considered an incident, it has regretted that Japan should deem necessary the occupation of Russian territory as a means of assuring a suitable adjustment with a future Russian Government.

The general position of the American Government was set forth in a communication to Japan of May 31, 1921. In that communication appears the following statement:

"The Government of the United States would be untrue to the spirit of co-operation which led it, in the summer of 1918, upon an understanding with the Government of Japan to dispatch troops to Siberia, if it neglected to point out that, in its view, continued occupation of the strategic centers in Eastern Siberia—involving the indefinite possession of the port of Vladivostok, the stationing of troops at Habarovsk, Nikolaievsk, De Castries, Mago, Sophiesk and other important points, the seizure of the Russian port of Sakhalin, and the establishment of a civil administration, which inevitably lends itself to misconception and antagonism—tends rather to increase than to allay the unrest and disorder in that region.

"The military occupation"—I am still reading from the note of May 31, 1921—"the military occupation in reprisal for the Nikolaievsk affair is not fundamentally a question of the validity of procedure under the recognized rules of international law."

The note goes on to say that "the issue presented is that of the scrupulous fulfillment of the assurances given to the Russian people, which were a matter of frank exchanges and of apparently complete understanding between the Governments of the United States and of Japan. These assurances were intended by the Government of the United States to convey to the people of Russia a promise on the part of the two governments not to use the joint expedition, or any incidents which might arise out of it, as an occasion to occupy territory, even temporarily, or to assume any military or administrative control over the people of Siberia."

Further, in the same note, the American Government stated its position as follows:

"In view of its conviction that the course followed by the Government of Japan brings into question the very definite understanding concluded at the time troops were sent to Siberia, the Government of the United States must in candor explain its position and say to the Japanese Government that the Government of the United States can neither now nor hereafter recognize as valid any claims or titles arising out of the present occupation and control, and that it cannot acquiesce in any action taken by the Government of Japan which might impair existing treaty rights or the political or territorial integrity of Russia.

"The Government of Japan will appreciate that, in expressing its views, the Government of the United States has no desire to impute to the Government of Japan motives or purposes other than those which have heretofore been so frankly avowed. The purpose of this Government is to inform the Japanese

Government of its own conviction that, in the present time of disorder in Russia, it is more than ever the duty of those who look forward to the tranquilization of the Russian people, and a restoration of normal conditions among them, to avoid all action which might keep alive their antagonism and distrust toward outside political agencies. Now, especially, it is incumbent upon the friends of Russia to hold aloof from the domestic contentions of the Russian people, to be scrupulous to avoid inflicting what might appear to them a vicarious penalty for sporadic acts of lawlessness, and above all to abstain from even the temporary and conditional impairment by any foreign Power of the territorial status which, for them, as for other peoples, is a matter of deep and sensitive national feeling transcending, perhaps, even the issues at stake among themselves."

To that American note the Japanese Government replied in July, 1921, setting forth in substance what Baron Shidehara has now stated to this committee, pointing out the conditions under which Japan had taken the action to which reference was made, and giving the assurances, which have here been reiterated, with respect to its intention and policy.

While the discussion of these matters has been attended with the friendliest feeling, it has naturally been the constant and earnest hope of the American Government—and of Japan as well, I am sure—that this occasion for divergence of views between the two Governments might be removed with the least possible delay. It has been with a feeling of special gratification, therefore, that the American Delegation has listened to the assurances given by their Japanese colleagues, and it is with the greatest friendliness that they reiterate the hope that Japan will find it possible to carry out within the near future her expressed intention of terminating finally the Siberian expedition and of restoring Sakhalin to the Russian people.

My suggestion would be, if it is not desired otherwise by the delegates, that the statement made on behalf of the Japanese Government by Baron Shidehara, and the one I have made setting forth the position of the American Government, which is as stated in its communication of May 31, 1921, which I have read, should be communicated to the Conference for the purpose of being spread upon its records. (Assented to.)

SINO-JAPANESE AGREEMENT ON SHANTUNG

[On February 1, 1922, it was announced that China and Japan had reached an agreement on the return of Shantung to China by Japan. A summary of the agreement is as follows:]

Article I. provides that Japan shall restore to China the former German leased territory. Japan and China each will appoint a commissioner with powers to arrange for the transfer of the properties. The transfer will be required within six months and the Japanese Government agrees to hand over to China all archives, deeds and other papers relating to Kiaochow.

Article II. provides for transfer by Japan to China of all public property in Shantung, whether originally German-owned or built subsequently by the Japanese. One provision declares that no compensation shall be claimed by Japan for such property, except such purchased since Japanese occupation or that of the Germans which Japan has improved. For these China agrees to refund the bare amount of the Japanese expenditures.

Article III. provides for withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shantung, especially on the railroad and including Japanese gendarmes as soon as possible,

when the Chinese police are ready to take over the railway. It is stipulated that the Japanese troop retirement will be effected by sections on the railway at dates to be arranged between Japanese and Chinese authorities. Entire withdrawal of Japanese troops is to be effected within three months if possible, and not later than six months. The Japanese garrison at Tsingtao is to be withdrawn within thirty days.

Article IV., dealing with maritime customs, provides that the Japanese shall return to China the custom house at Tsingtao.

Article V. covers the transfer of the Shantung Railway. To effect the transfer China and Japan are to appoint three commissioners to compose a joint railway commission, which is to appraise the railway's actual value and arrange for its transfer in not less than nine months.

The arrangement for traffic management and administration of the railroad is to be in effect pending Chinese redemption of the railway.

Article VI. deals with two extensions of the Shantung Railway and provides that the extensions shall be "thrown open to common activities of an international group" under the Chinese management.

Article VII. deals with the Shantung mines, which the treaty provides are to be taken over by a corporation organized under a special charter of the Chinese Government in which Chinese and Japanese capital shall be equally balanced.

Article VIII. provides for the opening of the former German-leased territories to all on an equal basis and that foreign rights, established and future, shall be respected.

Article IX. declares that Japanese interests in the salt mines shall be bought by the Chinese Government at a fair compensation within six months.

By Article X. the rights on two submarine cables at Shantung are ceded by Japan to China, provided that China shall arrange for cable landings.

Article XI. provides that Japanese wireless stations in Shantung are to be transferred to China with compensation.

CLOSING ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT HARDING

[At the concluding session of the Conference, February 6, 1922.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE:

Nearly three months ago it was my privilege to utter to you sincerest words of welcome to the capital of our republic, to suggest the spirit in which you were invited, and to intimate the atmosphere in which you were asked to confer. In a very general way, perhaps, I ventured to express a hope for the things towards which our aspirations led us.

To-day it is my greater privilege, and an even greater pleasure, to come to make acknowledgment. It is one of the supreme compensations of life to contemplate a worth-while accomplishment.

It can not be other than seemly for me, as the only chief of government so circumstanced as to be able to address the Conference, to speak congratulations, and to offer the thanks of our nation, our people, perhaps I dare volunteer to utter them for the world. My own gratification is beyond my capacity to express.

This conference has wrought a truly great achievement. It is haz-

ardous sometimes to speak in superlatives, and I will be restrained. But I will say, with every confidence, that the faith plighted here to-day, kept in national honor, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human progress.

Stripped to the simplest fact, what is the spectacle which has inspired a new hope for the world? Gathered about this table nine great nations of the earth—not all, to be sure, but those most directly concerned with the problems at hand—have met and have conferred on questions of great import and common concern, on problems menacing their peaceful relationship, on burdens threatening a common peril. In the revealing light of the public opinion of the world, without surrender of sovereignty, without impaired nationality or affronted national pride, a solution has been found in unanimity, and to-day's adjournment is marked by rejoicing in the things accomplished. If the world has hungered for new assurance it may feast at the banquet which the Conference has spread.

I am sure the people of the United States are supremely gratified, and yet there is scant appreciation how marvelously you have wrought. When the days were dragging and agreements were delayed, when there were obstacles within and hindrances without, few stopped to realize that here was a conference of sovereign Powers where only unanimous agreement could be made the rule. Majorities could not decide without impinging national rights. There were no victors to command, no vanquished to yield. All had voluntarily to agree in translating the conscience of our civilization and give concrete expression to world opinion.

And you have agreed in spite of all difficulties, and the agreements are proclaimed to the world. No new standards of national honor have been sought, but the indictments of national dishonor have been drawn, and the world is ready to proclaim the odiousness of perfidy or infamy.

It is not pretended that the pursuit of peace and the limitations of armament are new conceits, or that the Conference is a new conception either in settlement of war or in writing the conscience of international relationship. Indeed, it is not new to have met in the realization of war's supreme penalties. The Hague conventions are examples of the one, the conferences of Vienna, of Berlin, of Versailles are outstanding instances of the other.

The Hague conventions were defeated by the antagonism of one strong Power whose indisposition to cooperate and sustain led it to one of the supreme tragedies which have come to national eminence. Vienna and Berlin sought peace founded on the injustices of war and sowed the seeds of future conflict, and hatred was armed where confidence was stifled.

It is fair to say that human progress, the grown intimacy of inter-

national relationship, developed communication and transportation, attended by a directing world opinion, have set the stage more favorably here. You have met in that calm deliberation and that determined resolution which have made a just peace, in righteous relationship, its own best guaranty.

It has been the fortune of this conference to sit in a day far enough removed from war's bitterness, yet near enough to war's horrors, to gain the benefit of both the hatred of war and the yearning for peace. Too often, heretofore, the decades following such gatherings have been marked by the difficult undoing of their decisions. But your achievement is supreme because no seed of conflict has been sown; no reaction in regret or resentment ever can justify resort to arms.

It little matters what we appraise as the outstanding accomplishment. Any one of them alone would have justified the Conference. But the whole achievement has so cleared the atmosphere that it will seem like breathing the refreshing air of a new morn of promise.

You have written the first deliberate and effective expression of great Powers, in the consciousness of peace, of war's utter futility, and challenged the sanity of competitive preparation for each other's destruction. You have halted folly and lifted burdens, and revealed to the world that the one sure way to recover from the sorrow and ruin and staggering obligations of a world war is to end the strife in preparation for more of it, and turn human energies to the constructiveness of peace.

Not all the world is yet tranquilized. But here is the example, to imbue with new hope all who dwell in apprehension. At this table came understanding, and understanding brands armed conflict as abominable in the eyes of enlightened civilization.

I once believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come now to believe there is a better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it. And justice is better served in conferences of peace than in conflicts at arms.

How simple it all has been. When you met here twelve weeks ago there was not a commitment, not an obligation except that which each delegation owes to the Government commissioning it. But human service was calling, world conscience was impelling, and world opinion directing.

No intrigue, no offensive or defensive alliances, no involvements have wrought your agreements, but reasoning with each other to common understanding has made new relationship among Governments and peoples, new securities for peace, and new opportunities for achievement and attending happiness.

Here have been established the contacts of reason, here have come

the inevitable understandings of face-to-face exchanges when passion does not inflame. The very atmosphere shamed national selfishness into retreat. Viewpoints were exchanged, differences composed, and you came to understand how common, after all, are human aspirations; how alike, indeed, and how easily reconcilable, are our national aspirations; how sane and simple and satisfying to seek the relationships of peace and security.

When you first met I told you of our America's thought to seek less of armament and none of war; that we sought nothing which is another's, and we were unafraid, but that we wished to join you in doing that finer and nobler thing which no nation can do alone. We rejoice in the accomplishment.

It may be that the naval holiday here contracted will expire with the treaties, but I do not believe it. Those of us who live another decade are more likely to witness a growth of public opinion, strengthened by the new experience, which will make nations more concerned with living to the fulfillment of God's high intent than with agencies of warfare and destruction. Since this conference of nations has pointed with unanimity to the way of peace to-day, like conferences in the future, under appropriate conditions and with aims both well conceived and definite, may illumine the highways and byways of human activity. The torches of understanding have been lighted, and they ought to glow and encircle the globe.

Again, gentlemen of the Conference, congratulations and the gratitude of the United States! To Belgium, to the British Empire, to China, to France, to Italy, to Japan, to the Netherlands, and to Portugal—I can wish no more than the same feeling, which we experience, of honorable and honored contribution to happy human advancement, and a new sense of security in the righteous pursuits of peace and all attending good fortune.

From our own delegates I have known from time to time of your activities, and of the spirit of conciliation and adjustment, and the cheering readiness of all of you to strive for that unanimity so essential to accomplishment. Without it there would have been failure; with it you have heartened the world.

And I know our guests will pardon me while I make grateful acknowledgment to the American delegation—to you, Mr. Secretary Hughes; to you, Senator Lodge; to you, Senator Underwood; to you, Mr. Root; to all of you for your able and splendid and highly purposed and untiring endeavors in behalf of our Government and our people; and to our excellent Advisory Committee which gave to you so dependable a reflex of that American public opinion which charts the course of this republic.

It is all so fine, so gratifying, so reassuring, so full of promise, that

above the murmurings of a world sorrow not yet silenced, above the groans which come of excessive burdens not yet lifted but now to be lightened, above the discouragements of a world yet struggling to find itself after surpassing upheaval, there is the note of rejoicing which is not alone ours or yours, or of all of us, but comes from the hearts of men of all the world.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT HARDING TO THE SENATE

[In Laying Before It, for Ratification, a Group of Treaties Negotiated by the Conference, February 10, 1922.]

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

I have come to make report to you of the conclusions of what has been termed the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament, and to lay before you the series of treaties which the United States and the other Powers participating in the conference have negotiated and signed, and have announced to the world. Apart from the very great satisfaction in reporting to the Senate, it is a privilege as well as a duty to ask that advice and consent which the Constitution requires to make these covenants effective.

Accompanying the treaties I bring to you the complete minutes of both plenary sessions and committee meetings, and a copy of the official report made to me by the American delegation to the conference. Both the complete minutes and the official report of the American delegation are new accompaniments to the Executive report of a treaty or treaties, but they are fitting testimonials to that open and simpler diplomacy for which the world has asked, and the practice of which contributed largely to the success of the conference so recently adjourned. I trust they will facilitate that ample and helpful understanding which is desirable in the Senate, and reflect that understanding which was the keynote of the conference itself.

The whole transaction is quite out of the ordinary. I am not thinking of the achievement, which I hope the Senate will come to appraise highly as I do, and as the world seems to do. I am not thinking of the commendable processes by which agreements were wrought, though this was a conference wholly of free nations, exercising every national right and authority, in which every agreement was stamped with unanimity. Indeed, it was a conference of friends, proceeding in deliberation and sympathy, appraising their friendly and peaceful relations and resolved to maintain them, and give to the world new assurances of peace and actual relief from the burdens of excessive and competitive armament. But the out-of-the-ordinary phases which I have in mind are that the Senate—indeed, the Congress—has already advised in favor of one—and inferentially of two—of the treaties laid before you today, and the naval pact negotiated and signed is in accordance with your

expressed wish. It calls a halt in the competitive construction of capital ships in the great navies of the world, and affords the first actual relief from naval burdens which peoples have been able to acclaim since steam and steel combined to add to naval strength in warfare.

But, though the treaty recommended by the Congress marks the beginning of a naval holiday and that limitation of naval armament which accords with a world aspiration, the particular justification of this progressive and highly gratifying step was the settlement of the international problems of the Pacific, attended by new understandings in place of menacing disagreements, and established sureties instead of uncertainties which easily might lead to conflict. Much as it was desirable to lift the burdens of naval armament and strike at the menace of competitive construction and consequent expenditure, the Executive branch of the Government, which must be watchful for the nation's safety, was unwilling to covenant a reduction of armament until there could be plighted new guaranties of peace, until there could be removed the probable menaces of conflict. Therefore all the treaties submitted for your approval have such important relationship, one to another, that, though not interdependent, they are the covenants of harmony, of assurance, of conviction, of conscience, and of unanimity. These we have believed to be essential to perfect the fulfillment which the Congress has in mind.

As a simple matter of fact, all of the agreements, except those dealing directly with the limitation of armament, take the place of various multi-Power treaties, arrangements or understandings, formal or informal, expressed or implied, relating to matters in the Pacific Ocean, in which all the Powers signatory were essentially, if not equally, concerned. The new agreements serve to put an end to contradictions, to remove ambiguities, and establish clear understandings.

No matter what mental reservations may have existed, or what doubts may have prevailed, because here was an experiment new in many phases, all of the Powers came to the conference knowing it was to deal with very practical situations affecting their international relations. There was mutual interest, quite apart from the greater achievement for world peace, and a way to common understanding was found to be practical and speedily arranged. If it has developed a new-world school of diplomacy, let it be so called. It revealed the ends aimed at in the very beginning, and pointed the way to their attainment. The Powers in conference took the world of the Pacific as they found it in fact. They dealt with actualities by voluntary and unanimous agreement, and have added to mankind's assurances and hopefully advanced international peace.

It is worth while saying that the Powers in this conference sought no concert to dispossess any Power of its rights or property. All the

signatories have given up certain rights which they had, as their contribution to concord and peace, but at no sacrifice of national pride, with no regret or resentment to later flame in conflict. Some relinquished certain rights or prerogatives which they had asserted, notably in the settlement of the Shantung controversy, dealt with in a covenant quite apart from the group herewith submitted. But every concession was a willing one, without pressure or constraint. The Conference record is quite unparalleled, not alone because there was the maximum of good feeling and neighborliness throughout the session, but common rejoicing in the results; and the separations in departure were marked by genuine cordiality, good will, and new hopes.

It is not necessary to remind you that the conference work was not directed against any Power or group of Powers. There were no punishments to inflict, no rewards to bestow. Mutual consideration, and the common welfare, and the desire for world peace impelled. The conclusions reached and the covenants written neither require nor contemplate compulsive measures against any Power in the world, signatory or nonsignatory. The offerings are free will; the conscience is that of world-opinion; the observance is a matter of national honor.

These treaties leave no Power despoiled. The delegates of every Power participating adjourned with every right and every authority with which they came, except that which was willingly and gladly given up to further the common welfare. I can assure you the nine Powers have been brought more closely together, they are stauncher neighbors and friends, they have clearer and better estimates of one another, they have seen suspicion challenged and selfishness made to retreat, they have keener and more sympathetic understandings, and they are more strongly willed for right and justice in international relations than ever before. I believe, with all my heart, the Powers in conference have combined to make the world safer and better and a more hopeful place in which to live.

It was a helpful thing to have the Conference reveal how common our human aspirations are and how easy it is, when the task is properly approached, to reconcile our national aspirations. There are mutual and essential interests affecting the welfare and peace of all nations, and they can not be promoted by force. They can be revealed and magnified in that understanding which, it is now proven, the conference of peace promotes, and the same understanding makes compulsion and despoilment hateful in the eyes of mankind.

The treaties submitted, seven in number, are—

The covenant of limitation to naval armament between our republic, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan.

The treaty between the same Powers in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.

The treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan relating to their insular possessions and their insular dominions in the Pacific.

A declaration accompanying the four-power treaty reserving American rights in mandated territory.

An agreement supplementary to the four-power treaty defining the application of the term "insular possession and insular dominions" as relating to Japan.

A treaty between the nine Powers in the conference relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China.

A treaty between the nine Powers relating to Chinese customs tariff.

I invite your prompt approval of all of them. It is quite impossible to readjust our naval program until the naval treaty has your sanction, even though you urged its negotiation. It is not possible to make the readjustment in full confidence, until the whole program has commended itself to your approval.

I am not unmindful, nor was the conference, of the sentiment in this chamber against Old World entanglements. Those who made the treaties have left no doubt about their true import. Every expression in the Conference has emphasized the purpose to be served and the obligations assumed. Therefore, I can bring you every assurance that nothing in any of these treaties commits the United States, or any other Power, to any kind of an alliance, entanglement, or involvement. It does not require us or any Power to surrender a worthwhile tradition. It has been said, if this be true, these are mere meaningless treaties, and therefore valueless. Let us accept no such doctrine of despair as that. If nations may not establish by mutual understanding the rules and principles which are to govern their relationship; if a sovereign and solemn plight of faith by leading nations of the earth is valueless; if nations may not trust one another, then, indeed, there is little on which to hang our faith in advancing civilization or the furtherance of peace. Either we must live and aspire and achieve under a free and common understanding among peoples, with mutual trust, respect, and forbearance, and exercising full sovereignty, or else brutal, armed force will dominate, and the sorrows and burdens of war in this decade will be turned to the chaos and hopelessness of the next. We can no more do without international negotiations and agreements in these modern days than we could maintain orderly neighborliness at home without the prescribed rules of conduct which are more the guaranties of freedom than the restraint thereof.

The world has been hungering for a better relationship for centuries since it has attained its larger consciousness. The conception

of the League of Nations was a response to a manifest world hunger. Whatever its fate, whether it achieves the great things hoped for, or comes to supersedure, or to failure, the American unwillingness to be a part of it has been expressed. That unwillingness has been kept in mind, and the treaties submitted to-day have no semblance or relationship save as the wish to promote peace has been the common inspiration.

The Four-Power Treaty contains no war commitment. It covenants the respect of each nation's rights in relation to its insular possessions. In case of controversy between the covenanting Powers it is agreed to confer and seek adjustment, and if said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any outside Power, these friendly Powers, respecting one another, are to communicate, perhaps confer, in order to understand what action may be taken, jointly or separately, to meet a menacing situation. There is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no written or moral obligation to join in defence, no expressed or implied commitment to arrive at any agreement except in accordance with our constitutional methods. It is easy to believe, however, that such a conference of the four Powers is a moral warning that an aggressive nation, giving affront to the four great Powers ready to focus world opinion on a given controversy, would be embarking on a hazardous enterprise.

Frankly, Senators, if nations may not safely agree to respect each other's rights, and may not agree to confer if one to the compact threatens trespass, or may not agree to advise if one party to the pact is threatened by an outside Power, then all concerted efforts to tranquilize the world and stabilize peace must be flung to the winds. Either these treaties must have your cordial sanction, or every proclaimed desire to promote peace and prevent war becomes a hollow mockery.

We have seen the eyes of the world turned to the Pacific. With Europe prostrate and penitent, none feared the likelihood of early conflict there. But the Pacific had its menaces, and they deeply concerned us. Our territorial interests are larger there. Its waters are not strange seas to us, its farther shores not unknown to our citizens. Our earlier triumphs of commerce were there. We began treaty relationships with China full eighty years ago, in the youthful vigor of our republic, and the sailings of our clipper ships were the romance of our merchant marine, when it successfully challenged the competition of the world. Seventy years ago Commodore Perry revealed Japan to commerce, and there followed that surpassing development of the island empire, with whom our unbroken peace found a most gratifying reflex in the conference just closed.

A century ago we began planting the seeds of American friendship in Hawaii, and seventy years ago Webster told the Senate that the

United States could "never consent to see these islands taken possession of by either of the great commercial Powers of Europe." Whether it was destiny, or the development of propinquity, or the influence of our colonists, or faith in our institutions, Hawaii came under the flag in 1898, and rejoices to-day as a part of our republic.

The lure of the waters, or the march of empire, or the call of commerce or inscrutable destiny led us on, and we went to the South Seas and planted the flag in Samoa. Out of the war with Spain came our sponsorship in the Philippines, and the possession of Guam; and so we are deeply concerned in the mid-Pacific, the South Seas, and the very center of the Far East. We crave peace there as we do on the continent, and we should be remiss in performing a national duty if we did not covenant the relations which tend to guarantee it. For more than a half century we have had a part in influencing the affairs of the Pacific, and our present proposed commitments are not materially different in character, nor materially greater in extent, though fraught with vastly less danger, than our undertakings in the past.

We have convinced the on-looking and interested Powers that we covet the possessions of no other Power in the Far East, and we know for ourselves that we crave no further or greater governmental or territorial responsibilities there. Contemplating what is admittedly ours, and mindful of a long-time and reciprocal friendship with China, we do wish the opportunity to continue the development of our trade peacefully, and on equality with other nations, to strengthen our ties of friendship, and to make sure the righteous and just relationships of peace.

Holding the possessions we do, entertaining these views, and confessing these ambitions, why should we not make reciprocal engagements to respect the territory of others and contract their respect of ours, and thus quiet apprehension and put an end to suspicion?

There has been concern. There has been apprehension of territorial greed, a most fruitful cause of war. The Conference has dissipated both, and your ratification of the covenants made will stabilize a peace for the breaking of which there is not a shadow of reason or real excuse. We shall not have less than before. No one of us shall have less than before. There is no narrowed liberty, no hampered independence, no shattered sovereignty, no added obligation. We will have new assurances, new freedom from anxiety, and new manifestations of the sincerity of our own intentions; a new demonstration of that honesty which proclaims a righteous and powerful republic.

I am ready to assume the sincerity and the dependability of the assurances of our neighbors of the Old World that they will respect our rights, just as I know we mean to respect theirs. I believe there is an inviolable national honor, and I bring to you this particular covenant

in the confident belief that it is the outstanding compact of peace for the Pacific, which will justify the limitation of armament and prove a new guarantee to peace and liberty, and maintained sovereignty and free institutions.

No allusion has been made to the treaty restraining and limiting the use of the submarine, and the prohibition of noxious gases in warfare. Since we are asking the world's adherence, it is easily assumed that none in America will hold aloof.

Nor need I dwell on the Nine-Power Treaty relating to principles and policies to be followed in the relationship of the signatory Powers to China. Our traditional friendship for the ancient empire, our continued friendship for the new republic, our commitment of more than twenty years to the open door, and our avowed concern for Chinese integrity and unimpaired sovereignty, make it easy to assume that the Senate will promptly and unanimously assent. China's own satisfaction in the restorations covenanted here has been officially expressed, quite apart from the testifying signatures.

Perhaps I may fittingly add a word which is suggested by my relationship as a former member of the Senate. I had occasion to learn of your very proper jealousy of the Senate's part in contracting foreign relationships. Frankly, it was in my mind when I asked representatives of both the majority and minority to serve on the American Delegation. It was designed to have you participate. And you were ably represented.

The Senate's concern for freedom from entanglements, for preserved traditions, for maintained independence, was never once forgotten by the American delegates. If I did not believe these treaties brought us not only new guaranties of peace but greater assurances of freedom from conflict, I would not submit them to your consideration.

Much depends on your decision. We have joined in giving to the world the spectacle of nations gathering about the conference table, amid the convictions of peace, free from all passion, to face each other in the contacts of reason, to solve menacing problems, and end disputes, and clear up misunderstandings. They have agreed to confer again when desirable, and turn the revealing light of world opinion on any menace to peace among them. Your Government encouraged, and has signed the compacts which it had much to do in fashioning. If to these understandings for peace, if to these advanced expressions of the conscience of leading Powers, if to these concords to guard against conflict and lift the burdens of armament, if to all of these

the Senate will not advise and consent, then it will be futile to try again. Here has been exercised every caution consistent with accomplishment. Here was a beginning on your advice, no matter when conceived, and the program was enlarged, only because assurances of tranquillity were deemed the appropriate concomitants of the great experiment in arms limitation.

I alluded a moment ago to my knowledge of the viewpoint of the Senate, from personal experience. Since that experience I have come to know the viewpoint and inescapable responsibility of the Executive. To the Executive comes the closer view of world relationship and a more impressive realization of the menaces, the anxieties, and the apprehensions to be met.

We have no rivalries in our devotion to the things we call American, because that is a common consecration. None of us means to endanger, none of us would sacrifice a cherished national inheritance. In mindfulness of this mutuality of interest, common devotion, and shared authority, I submit to the Senate that if we can not join in making effective these covenants for peace, and stamp this conference with America's approval, we shall discredit the influence of the Republic, render future efforts futile or unlikely, and write discouragement where to-day the world is ready to acclaim new hope. Because of this feeling, because I believe in the merits of these engagements, I submit them to the Senate with every confidence that you will approve.

[All the treaties from the Conference submitted to the Senate for ratification were ratified by that body, although reservations were added to the Four-Power Pacific treaty and the treaty supplementary to it. The only serious opposition in the Senate centered upon the Four-Power Pacific Treaty, which was finally ratified on March 24, 1922, by vote of 67 (55 Republicans and 12 Democrats) to 27 (4 Republicans and 23 Democrats).]

THE NAVAL ARMAMENT LIMITATION TREATY

CHAPTER I. *General Provisions.*

ARTICLE I. The Contracting Powers agree to limit their respective naval armament as provided in the present Treaty.

ARTICLE II. The Contracting Powers may retain respectively the capital ships which are specified in Chapter II, Part 1. On the coming into force of the present treaty, but subject to the following provisions of this article, all other capital ships, built or building, of the United States, the British Empire and Japan shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 2.

In addition to the capital ships specified in Chapter II, Part 1, the United States may complete and retain two ships of the *West Virginia* class now under

construction. On the completion of these two ships the *North Dakota* and *Delaware* shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 2.

The British Empire may in accordance with the replacement table in Chapter II, Part 3, construct two new capital ships not exceeding 35,000 tons (35,560 metric tons) standard displacement each. On the completion of the said two ships the *Thunderer*, *King George V.*, *Ajax* and *Centurion* shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 2.

ARTICLE III. Subject to the provisions of Article II, the Contracting Powers shall abandon their respective capital ship building programs, and no new capital ships shall be constructed or acquired by any of the Contracting Powers except replacement tonnage which may be constructed or acquired as specified in Chapter II, Part 3.

Ships which are replaced in accordance with Chapter II, Part 3, shall be disposed of as prescribed in Part 2 of that chapter.

ARTICLE IV. The total capital ship replacement tonnage of each of the Contracting Powers shall not exceed in standard displacement, for the United States 525,000 tons (533,400 metric tons); for the British Empire 525,000 tons (533,400 tons); for France 175,000 tons (177,800 metric tons); for Italy 175,000 tons (177,800 metric tons); for Japan 315,000 tons (320,040 metric tons).

ARTICLE V. No capital ship exceeding 35,000 tons (35,560 metric tons) standard displacement shall be acquired by, or constructed by, for, or within the jurisdiction of any of the Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE VI. No capital ship of any of the Contracting Powers shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 16 inches (406 millimetres).

ARTICLE VII. The total tonnage for aircraft carriers of each of the Contracting Powers shall not exceed in standard displacement, for the United States 135,000 tons (137,160 metric tons); for the British Empire 135,000 tons (137,160 metric tons); for France 60,000 (60,960 metric tons); for Italy 60,000 tons (60,960 metric tons); for Japan 81,000 tons (82,296 metric tons).

ARTICLE VIII. The replacement of aircraft carriers shall be effected only as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 3, provided, however, that all aircraft carrier tonnage in existence or building on November 12, 1921, shall be considered experimental, and may be replaced, within the total tonnage limit prescribed in Article VII, without regard to its age.

ARTICLE IX. No aircraft carrier exceeding 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement shall be acquired by, or constructed by, for or within the jurisdiction of any of the Contracting Powers.

However, any of the Contracting Powers may, provided that its total tonnage allowance of aircraft carriers is not thereby exceeded, build not more than two aircraft carriers, each of a tonnage of not more than 33,000 tons (33,528 metric tons) standard displacement, and in order to effect economy any of the Contracting Powers may use for this purpose any two of their ships, whether constructed or in course of construction, which would otherwise be scrapped under the provisions of Article II. The armament of any aircraft carriers exceeding 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement shall be in accordance with the requirements of Article X, except that the total number of guns to be carried in case any of such guns be of a calibre exceeding 6 inches (152

millimetres), except anti-aircraft guns and guns not exceeding 5 inches (127 millimetres), shall not exceed eight.

ARTICLE X. No aircraft carrier of any of the Contracting Powers shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 8 inches (203 millimetres). Without prejudice to the provisions of Article IX, if the armament carried includes guns exceeding 6 inches (152 millimetres) in calibre the total number of guns carried, except anti-aircraft guns and guns not exceeding 5 inches (127 millimetres), shall not exceed ten. If alternatively the armament contains no guns exceeding 6 inches (152 millimetres) in calibre, the number of guns is not limited. In either case the number of anti-aircraft guns and of guns not exceeding 5 inches (127 millimetres) is not limited.

ARTICLE XI. No vessel of war exceeding 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement, other than a capital ship or aircraft carrier, shall be acquired by, or constructed by, for, or within the jurisdiction of, any of the Contracting Powers. Vessels not specifically built as fighting ships nor taken in time of peace under government control for fighting purposes, which are employed on fleet duties or as troop transports or in some other way for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of hostilities otherwise than as fighting ships, shall not be within the limitations of this article.

No vessel of war of any of the Contracting Powers, hereafter laid down, other than a capital ship, shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 8 inches (203 millimetres).

ARTICLE XIII. Except as provided in Article IX, no ship designated in the present Treaty to be scrapped may be reconverted into a vessel of war.

ARTICLE XIV. No preparations shall be made in merchant ships in time of peace for the installation of warlike armaments for the purpose of converting such ships into vessels of war, other than the necessary stiffening of decks for the mounting of guns not exceeding 6 inch (152 millimetres) calibre.

ARTICLE XV. No vessel of war constructed within the jurisdiction of any of the Contracting Powers for a non-Contracting Power shall exceed the limitations as to displacement and armament prescribed by the present Treaty for vessels of a similar type which may be constructed by or for any of the Contracting Powers; provided, however, that the displacement for aircraft carriers constructed for a non-Contracting Power shall in no case exceed 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement.

ARTICLE XVI. If the construction of any vessel of war for a non-Contracting Power is undertaken within the jurisdiction of any of the Contracting Powers, such Power shall promptly inform the other Contracting Powers of the date of the signing of the contract and the date on which the keel of the ship is laid; and shall also communicate to them the particulars relating to the ship prescribed in Chapter II, Part 3, Section I (b), (4) and (5).

ARTICLE XVII. In the event of a Contracting Power being engaged in war, such Power shall not use as a vessel of war any vessel of war which may be under construction within its jurisdiction for any other Power, or which may have been constructed within its jurisdiction for another Power and not delivered.

ARTICLE XVIII. Each of the Contracting Powers undertakes not to dispose by gift, sale or any mode of transfer of any vessel of war in such a manner that such vessel may become a vessel of war in the navy of any foreign Power.

ARTICLE XIX. The United States, the British Empire and Japan agree that the status quo at the time of the signing of the present Treaty, with regard to fortifications and naval bases, shall be maintained in their respective territories and possessions specified hereunder:

(1) The insular possessions which the United States now holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of the United States, Alaska and the Panama Canal Zone, not including the Aleutian Islands, and (b) the Hawaiian Islands;

(2) Hongkong and the insular possessions which the British Empire now holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, east of the meridian of 110° east longitude, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of Canada, (b) the Commonwealth of Australia and its Territories, and (c) New Zealand;

(3) The following insular territories and possessions of Japan in the Pacific Ocean, to wit: the Kurile Islands, the Bonin Islands, Amami-Oshima, the Loochoo Islands, Formosa and the Pescadores, and any insular territories or possessions in the Pacific Ocean which Japan may hereafter acquire.

The maintenance of the status quo under the foregoing provisions implies that no new fortifications or naval bases shall be established in the territories and possessions specified, that no measures shall be taken to increase the existing naval facilities for the repair and maintenance of naval forces, and that no increase shall be made in the coast defences of the territories and possessions above specified. This restriction, however, does not preclude such repair and replacement of worn-out weapons and equipment as is customary in naval and military establishments in time of peace.

ARTICLE XX. The rules for determining tonnage displacement prescribed in Chapter II, Part 4, shall apply to the ships of each of the Contracting Powers.

CHAPTER II.—*Rules Relating to the Execution of the Treaty—Definition of Terms.*

PART 1.—CAPITAL SHIPS WHICH MAY BE RETAINED BY THE CONTRACTING POWERS.—In accordance with Article II ships may be retained by each of the Contracting Powers as specified in this Part.

Ships which may be retained by the United States.

Name	Tonnage	Name	Tonnage
Maryland	32,600	New York	27,000
California	32,300	Texas	27,000
Tennessee	32,300	Arkansas	26,000
Idaho	32,000	Wyoming	26,000
New Mexico	32,000	Florida	21,825
Mississippi	32,000	Utah	21,825
Arizona	31,400	North Dakota	20,000
Pennsylvania	31,400	Delaware	20,000
Oklahoma	27,500		
Nevada	27,500	Total tonnage	500,650

On the completion of the two ships of the *West Virginia* class and the scrapping of the *North Dakota* and *Delaware*, as provided in Article II, the total tonnage to be retained by the United States will be 525,850 tons.

Ships which may be retained by the British Empire.

Name	Tonnage	Name	Tonnage
Royal Sovereign	25,750	Iron Duke	25,000
Royal Oak	25,750	Marlborough	25,000
Revenge	25,750	Hood	41,200
Resolution	25,750	Renown	26,500
Ramillies	25,750	Repulse	26,500
Malaya	27,500	Tiger	28,500
Valiant	27,500	Thunderer	22,500
Barham	27,500	King George V.....	23,000
Queen Elizabeth	27,500	Ajax	23,000
Warspite	27,500	Centurion	23,000
Benbow	25,000		
Emperor of India	25,000	Total tonnage	580,450

On the completion of the two new ships to be constructed and the scrapping of the *Thunderer*, *King George V*, *Ajax* and *Centurion*, as provided in Article II, the total tonnage to be retained by the British Empire will be 558,950 tons.

Ships which may be retained by France.

Name	Tonnage (metric tons)	Name	Tonnage (metric tons)
Bretagne	23,500	Courbet	23,500
Lorraine	23,500	Condorcet	18,890
Provence	23,500	Diderot	18,890
Paris	23,500	Voltaire	18,890
France	23,500		
Jean Bart	23,500	Total tonnage	221,170

France may lay down new tonnage in the years 1927, 1929 and 1931, as provided in Part 3, Section II.

Ships which may be retained by Italy.

Name	Tonnage (metric tons)	Name	Tonnage (metric tons)
Andrea Doria	22,700	Roma	12,600
Caio Duilio	22,700	Napoli	12,600
Conte Di Cavour	22,500	Vittorio Emanuele	12,600
Giulio Cesare	22,500	Regina Elena	12,600
Leonardo Da Vinci	22,500		
Dante Alighieri	19,500	Total tonnage	182,800

Italy may lay down new tonnage in the years 1927, 1929 and 1931, as provided in Part 3, Section II.

Ships which may be retained by Japan.

Name	Tonnage	Name	Tonnage
Mutsu	33,800	Kirishima	27,500
Nagato	33,800	Haruna	27,500
Hiuga	31,260	Hiyei	27,500
Ise	31,260	Kongo	27,500
Yamashiro	30,600		
Fu-So	30,600	Total tonnage	301,320

PART 2.—RULES FOR SCRAPPING VESSELS OF WAR.—The following rules shall be observed for the scrapping of vessels of war which are to be disposed of in accordance with Articles II and III:

I. A vessel to be scrapped must be placed in such condition that it cannot be put to combatant use.

II. This result must be finally effected in any one of the following ways:

(a) Permanent sinking of the vessel;

(b) Breaking the vessel up. This shall always involve the destruction or removal of all machinery, boilers and armour, and all deck, side and bottom plating;

(c) Converting the vessel to target use exclusively. In such case all the provisions of paragraph III of this Part, except sub-paragraph (6), in so far as may be necessary to enable the ship to be used as a mobile target, and except sub-paragraph (7), must be previously complied with. Not more than one capital ship may be retained for this purpose at one time by any of the Contracting Powers.

(d) Of the capital ships which would otherwise be scrapped under the present Treaty in or after the year 1931, France and Italy may each retain two sea-going vessels for training purposes exclusively, that is, as gunnery or torpedo schools. The two vessels retained by France shall be of the *Jean Bart* class, and of those retained by Italy one shall be the *Dante Alighieri*, the other of the *Giulio Cesare* class. On retaining these ships for the purpose above stated, France and Italy respectively undertake to remove and destroy their conning-towers, and not to use the said ships as vessels of war.

III. (a) Subject to the special exceptions contained in Article IX, when a vessel is due for scrapping, the first stage of scrapping, which consists in rendering a ship incapable of further warlike service, shall be immediately undertaken.

(b) A vessel shall be considered incapable of further warlike service when there shall have been removed and landed, or else destroyed in the ship:

(1) All guns and essential portions of guns, fire-control tops and revolving parts of all barbettes and turrets;

(2) All machinery for working hydraulic or electric mountings;

(3) All fire-control instruments and range-finders;

(4) All ammunition, explosives and mines;

(5) All torpedoes, war-heads and torpedo tubes;

(6) All wireless telegraphy installations;

(7) The conning tower and all side armour, or alternatively all main propelling machinery; and

(8) All landing and flying-off platforms and all other aviation accessories.

IV. The periods in which scrapping of vessels is to be effected are as follows:

(a) In the case of vessels to be scrapped under the first paragraph of Article II, the work of rendering the vessels incapable of further warlike service, in accordance with paragraph III of this Part, shall be completed within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, and

the scrapping shall be finally effected within eighteen months from such coming into force.

(b) In the case of vessels to be scrapped under the second and third paragraphs of Article II, or under Article III, the work of rendering the vessel incapable of further warlike service in accordance with paragraph III of this Part shall be commenced not later than the date of completion of its successor, and shall be finished within six months from the date of such completion. The vessel shall be finally scrapped, in accordance with paragraph II of this Part, within eighteen months from the date of completion of its successor. If, however, the completion of the new vessel be delayed, then the work of rendering the old vessel incapable of further warlike service in accordance with paragraph III of this Part shall be commenced within four years from the laying of the keel of the new vessel, and shall be finished within six months from the date on which such work was commenced, and the old vessel shall be finally scrapped in accordance with paragraph II of this Part within eighteen months from the date when the work of rendering it incapable of further warlike service was commenced.

PART 3.—REPLACEMENT. The replacement of capital ships and aircraft carriers shall take place according to the rules in Section I and the tables in Section II of this Part.

SECTION I.—RULES FOR REPLACEMENT.

(a) Capital ships and aircraft carriers twenty years after the date of their completion may, except as otherwise provided in Article VIII and in the tables in Section II of this Part, be replaced by new construction, but within the limits prescribed in Article IV and Article VII. The keels of such new construction may, except as otherwise provided in Article VIII and in the tables in Section II of this Part, be laid down not earlier than seventeen years from the date of completion of the tonnage to be replaced, provided, however, that no capital ship tonnage, with the exception of the ships referred to in the third paragraph of Article II, and the replacement tonnage specifically mentioned in Section II of this Part, shall be laid down until ten years from November 12, 1921.

(b) Each of the Contracting Powers shall communicate promptly to each of the other Contracting Powers the following information:

- (1) The names of the capital ships and aircraft carriers to be replaced by new construction;
- (2) The date of government authorization of replacement tonnage;
- (3) The date of laying the keels of replacement tonnage;
- (4) The standard displacement in tons and metric tons of each new ship to be laid down, and the principal dimensions, namely, length at waterline, extreme beam at or below waterline, mean draft at standard displacement;
- (5) The date of completion of each new ship and its standard displacement in tons and metric tons, and the principal dimensions, namely, length at waterline, extreme beam at or below waterline, mean draft at standard displacement, at time of completion.

(c) In case of loss or accidental destruction of capital ships or aircraft carriers, they may immediately be replaced by new construction subject to the ton-

nage limits prescribed in Articles IV and VII and in conformity with the other provisions of the present Treaty, the regular replacement program being deemed to be advanced to that extent.

(d) No retained capital ships or aircraft carriers shall be reconstructed except for the purpose of providing means of defense against air and submarine attack, and subject to the following rules: The Contracting Powers may, for that purpose, equip existing tonnage with bulge or blister or anti-air attack deck protection, providing the increase of displacement thus effected does not exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) displacement for each ship. No alterations in side armor, in calibre, number or general type of mounting of main armament shall be permitted except:

(1) In the case of France and Italy, which countries within the limits allowed for bulge may increase their armor protection and the calibre of the guns now carried on their existing capital ships so as not to exceed 16 inches (406 millimetres) and

(2) the British Empire shall be permitted to complete, in the case of the *Renown*, the alterations to armor that have already been commenced but temporarily suspended.

SECTION II. REPLACEMENT AND SCRAPPING OF CAPITAL SHIPS

UNITED STATES

Year	Ships laid down	Ships completed	Ships scrapped (age in parentheses)	Ships retained. Summary	
				Pre-Jutland	Post-Jutland
			Maine (20), Missouri (20), Virginia (17), Nebraska (17), Georgia (17), New Jersey (17), Rhode Island (17), Connecticut (17), Louisiana (17), Vermont (16), Kansas (16), Minnesota (16), New Hampshire (15), South Carolina (13), Michigan (13), Washington (0), South Dakota (0), Indiana (0), Montana (0), North Carolina (0), Iowa (0), Massachusetts (0), Lexington (0), Constitution (0), Constellation (0), Saratoga (0), Ranger (0), United States (0)*	17	1
1922		A, B†	Delawars (12), North Dakota (12)	15	3
1923				15	3
1924				15	3
1925				15	3
1926				15	3
1927				15	3
1928				15	3
1929				15	3
1930				15	3
1931	C, D			15	3
1932	E, F			15	3
1933	G			15	3
1934	H, I	C, D	Florida (23), Utah (23), Wyoming (22)	12	5
1935	J	E, F	Arkansas (23), Texas (21), New York (21)	9	7
1936	K, L	G	Nevada (20), Oklahoma (20)	7	8
1937	M	H, I	Arizona (21), Pennsylvania (21)	5	10
1938	N, O	J	Mississippi (21)	4	11
1939	P, Q	K, L	New Mexico (21), Idaho (20)	2	13
1940		M	Tennessee (20)	1	14
1941		N, O	California (20), Maryland (20)	0	15
1942		P, Q	Two ships West Virginia class	0	15

*The United States may retain the *Oregon* and *Illinois*, for noncombatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III (b).

†Two West Virginia class.

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, etc., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement, laid down and completed in the years specified.

BRITISH EMPIRE

Year	Ships laid down	Ships completed	Ships scrapped (age in parentheses)	Ships retained. Summary	
				Pre-Jutland	Post-Jutland
			Commonwealth (16), Agamemnon (13), Dreadnought (15), Bellerophon (12), St. Vincent (11), Inflexible (13), Superb (12), Neptune (10), Hercules (10), Indomitable (13), Temeraire (12), New Zealand (9), Lion (9), Princess Royal (9), Conqueror (9), Monarch (9), Orion (9), Australia (8), Agincourt (7), Erin (7), 4 building or projected.*	21	1
1922	A, B†			21	1
1923				21	1
1924				21	1
1925		A, B	King George V (13), Ajax (12), Centurion (12), Thunderer (13)	17	3
1926				17	3
1927				17	3
1928				17	3
1929				17	3
1930				17	3
1931	C, D			17	3
1932	E, F			17	3
1933	G			17	3
1934	H, I	C, D	Iron Duke (20), Marlborough (20), Emperor of India (20), Benbow (20)	13	5
1935	J	E, F	Tiger (21), Queen Elizabeth (20), Warspite (20), Barham (20)	9	7
1936	K, L	G	Malaya (20), Royal Sovereign (20)	7	8
1937	M	H, I	Revenge (21), Resolution (21)	5	10
1938	N, O	J	Royal Oak (22)	4	11
1939	P, Q	K, L	Valiant (23), Repulse (23)	2	13
1940		M	Renown (24)	1	14
1941		N, O	Ramillies (24), Hood (21)	0	15
1942		P, Q	A (17), B (17)	0	15

*The British Empire may retain the *Colossus* and *Collingwood* for noncombatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III (b).

†Two 35,000-ton ships, standard displacement.

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, etc., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement laid down and completed in the years specified.

JAPAN

Year	Ships laid down	Ships completed	Ships scrapped (age in parentheses)	Ships retained. Summary	
				Pre-Jutland	Post-Jutland
			Hisen (20), Mikasa (20), Kashima (16), Katori (16), Satsuma (12), Aki (11), Settsu (10), Ikoma (14), Ibuki (12), Kurama (11), Amagi (0), Akagi (0), Kaga (0), Tosa (0), Takao (0), Atago (0). Projected program 8 ships not laid down.*	8	
1922				8	2
1923				8	2
1924				8	2
1925				8	2
1926				8	2
1927				8	2
1928				8	2
1929				8	2
1930				8	2
1931	A			8	2
1932	B			8	2
1933	C			8	2
1934	D	A	Kongo (21)	7	3
1935	E	B	Hiyei (21), Haruna (20)	5	4
1936	F	C	Kirishima (21)	4	5
1937	G	D	Fuso (22)	3	6
1938	H	E	Yamashiro (21)	2	7
1939	I	F	Ise (22)	1	8
1940		G	Hiuga (22)	0	9
1941		H	Nagato (21)	0	9
1942		I	Mutsu (21)	0	9

*Japan may retain the *Shikishima* and *Asahi* for noncombatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III (b).

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, etc., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement, laid down and completed in the years specified.

FRANCE

Year	Ships laid down	Ships completed	Ships scrapped (age in parentheses)	Ships retained. Summary.	
				Pre-Jutland	Post-Jutland
1922				7	0
1923				7	0
1924				7	0
1925				7	0
1926				7	0
1927	35,000 tons.			7	0
1928				7	0
1929	35,000 tons.			7	0
1930		35,000 tons.	Jean Bart (17), Courbet (17)	5	(*)
1931	35,000 tons.			5	(*)
1932	35,000 tons.	35,000 tons.	France (18)	4	(*)
1933	35,000 tons.			4	(*)
1934		35,000 tons.	Paris (20), Bretagne (20)	2	(*)
1935		35,000 tons.	Provence (20)	1	(*)
1936		35,000 tons.	Lorraine (20)	0	(*)
1937				0	(*)
1938				0	(*)
1939				0	(*)
1940				0	(*)
1941				0	(*)
1942				0	(*)

*Within tonnage limitations: number not fixed.

NOTE.—France expressly reserves the right of employing the capital ship tonnage allotment as she may consider advisable, subject solely to the limitations that the displacement of individual ships should not surpass 35,000 tons, and that the total capital ship tonnage should keep within the limits imposed by the present Treaty.

ITALY

Year	Ships laid down	Ships completed	Ships scrapped (age in parentheses)	Ships retained. Summary.	
				Pre-Jutland	Post-Jutland
1922				6	0
1923				6	0
1924				6	0
1925				6	0
1926				6	0
1927	35,000 tons.			6	0
1928				6	0
1929	35,000 tons.			6	0
1930				6	0
1931	35,000 tons.	35,000 tons.	Dante Alighieri (19)	5	(*)
1932	45,000 tons.			5	(*)
1933	25,000 tons.	35,000 tons.	Leonardo da Vinci (19)	4	(*)
1934				4	(*)
1935		35,000 tons.	Guilio Cesare (21)	3	(*)
1936		45,000 tons.	Conte di Cavour (21), Duilio (21)	1	(*)
1937		25,000 tons.	Andrea Doria (21)	0	(*)

*Within tonnage limitations: number not fixed.

NOTE.—Italy expressly reserves the right of employing the capital ship tonnage allotment as she may consider advisable, subject solely to the limitations that the displacement of individual ships should not surpass 35,000 tons, and the total capital ship tonnage should keep within the limits imposed by the present Treaty.

Note Applicable to All the Tables in Section II.—The order above prescribed in which ships are to be scrapped is in accordance with their age. It is understood that when replacement begins according to the above tables the order of scrapping in the case of the ships of each of the Contracting Powers may be varied at its option; provided, however, that such Power shall scrap in each year the number of ships above stated.

PART 4.—DEFINITIONS.— For the purposes of the present Treaty, the following expressions are to be understood in the sense defined in this Part.

Capital Ship.—A capital ship, in the case of ships hereafter built, is defined as a vessel of war, not an aircraft carrier, whose displacement exceeds 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement, or which carries a gun with a calibre exceeding 8 inches (203 millimetres).

Aircraft Carrier.—An aircraft carrier is defined as a vessel of war with a displacement in excess of 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement designed for the specific and exclusive purpose of carrying aircraft. It must be so constructed that aircraft can be launched therefrom and landed thereon, and not designed and constructed for carrying a more powerful armament than that allowed to it under Article IX or Article X as the case may be.

Standard Displacement. The standard displacement of a ship is the displacement of the ship complete, fully manned, engaged, and equipped ready for sea, including all armament and ammunition, equipment, outfit, provisions and fresh water for crew, miscellaneous stores and implements of every description that are intended to be carried in war, but without fuel or reserve feed water on board.

The word "ton" in the present Treaty, except in the expression "metric tons," shall be understood to mean the ton of 2240 pounds (1016 kilos).

Vessels now completed shall retain their present ratings of displacement tonnage in accordance with their national system of measurement. However, a Power expressing displacement in metric tons shall be considered for the application of the present Treaty as owning only the equivalent displacement in tons of 2240 pounds.

A vessel completed hereafter shall be rated at its displacement tonnage when in the standard condition defined herein.

CHAPTER III. *Miscellaneous Provisions.*

ARTICLE XXI. If during the term of the present Treaty the requirements of the national security of any Contracting Power in respect of naval defence are, in the opinion of that Power, materially affected by any change of circumstances, the Contracting Powers will, at the request of such Power, meet in conference with a view to the reconsideration of the provisions of the Treaty and its amendment by mutual agreement.

In view of possible technical and scientific developments, the United States, after consultation with the other Contracting Powers, shall arrange for a conference of all the Contracting Powers which shall convene as soon as possible after the expiration of eight years from the coming into force of the present Treaty to consider what changes, if any, in the Treaty may be necessary to meet such developments.

ARTICLE XXII. Whenever any Contracting Power shall become engaged in a war which in its opinion affects the naval defence of its national security, such Power may after notice to the other Contracting Powers suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under the present Treaty other than those under Articles XIII and XVII, provided that such Power shall notify the other Contracting Powers that the emergency is of such a character as to require such suspension.

The remaining Contracting Powers shall in such case consult together with a view to agreement as to what temporary modifications if any should be made in the Treaty as between themselves. Should such consultation not produce

agreement, duly made in accordance with the constitutional methods of the respective Powers, any one of said Contracting Powers may, by giving notice to the other Contracting Powers, suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under the present Treaty, other than those under Articles XIII and XVII.

On the cessation of hostilities the Contracting Powers will meet in conference to consider what modifications, if any, should be made in the provisions of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XXIII. The present Treaty shall remain in force until December 31st, 1936, and in case none of the Contracting Powers shall have given notice two years before that date of its intention to terminate the Treaty, it shall continue in force until the expiration of two years from the date on which notice of termination shall be given by one of the Contracting Powers, whereupon the Treaty shall terminate as regards all the Contracting Powers. Such notice shall be communicated in writing to the Government of the United States, which shall immediately transmit a certified copy of the notification to the other Powers and inform them of the date on which it was received. The notice shall be deemed to have been given and shall take effect on that date. In the event of notice of termination being given by the Government of the United States, such notice shall be given to the diplomatic representatives at Washington of the other Contracting Powers, and the notice shall be deemed to have been given and shall take effect on the date of the communication made to the said diplomatic representatives.

Within one year of the date on which a notice of termination by any Power has taken effect, all the Contracting Powers shall meet in conference.

ARTICLE XXIV. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other Contracting Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other Contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES	} (for United States)	A. SARRAUT	} (for France)
HENRY CABOT LODGE		JUSSERAND	
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD		CARLO SCHANZER	} (for Italy)
ELIHU ROOT		V. ROLANDI RICCI	
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	} (for Great Britain)	LUIGI ALBERTINI	} (for Japan)
LEE OF FAREHAM		T. KATO	
A. C. GEDDES		K. SHIDEHARA	
G. F. PEARCE, (for Australia)		M. HANIHARA	
		R. L. BORDEN, (for Canada)	
		JOHN W. SALMOND, (for New Zealand)	
		ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, (for Union of South Africa).	
		V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, (for India)	

THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, GREAT
BRITAIN, JAPAN, FRANCE AND ITALY REGARDING
THE USE OF SUBMARINES AND POISON GAS.

[The Treaty embodied the Root Resolutions as given on pages 9060 and 9061, except that Article III. there became Article IV. of the Treaty, whose Article III. was as follows:]

The Signatory Powers, desiring to insure the enforcement of the humane rules of existing law declared by them with respect to attacks upon and the seizure and destruction of merchant ships, further declare that any person in the service of any Power who shall violate any of those rules, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any Power within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

[Article V. of the Treaty was as follows:]

The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials or devices, having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world and a prohibition of such use having been declared in treaties to which a majority of the civilized Powers are parties,

The Signatory Powers, to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law binding alike the conscience and practice of nations, declare their assent to such prohibition, agree to be bound thereby as between themselves and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto.

[The treaty provided also for the adherence of any Power not originally signatory thereto.]

[The text of the Four-Power Pacific Treaty, together with the Declaration accompanying it, is given on pages 9051 and 9052. The reservation added by the Senate in ratifying was as follows:]

The United States understands that under the statement in the preamble or under the terms of this treaty there is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join in any defense.

[The Treaty supplementary to the above was as follows:]

The term "insular possessions and insular dominions" used in the aforesaid Treaty shall, in its application to Japan, include only Karafuto (or the Southern portion of the island of Sakhalin), Formosa and the Pescadores, and the islands under the mandate of Japan.

The present agreement shall have the same force and effect as the said Treaty to which it is supplementary.

The provisions of Article IV of the aforesaid Treaty of December 13, 1921, relating to ratification shall be applicable to the present Agreement.

[In ratifying this Treaty, the Senate added the following reservation:]

1. That the Four-Power Treaty relating to Pacific possessions shall apply to the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean: *Provided, however,* That the making of the treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to the mandates and shall not preclude agreements between the United States of America and the mandatory Powers, respectively, in relation to the mandated islands.

2. That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article I of the Four-Power Treaty relating to Pacific possessions refers shall not be taken to embrace questions which, according to principles of international law, lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective Powers.

THE NINE POWER TREATY ON CHINA

ARTICLE I. The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

ARTICLE II. The Contracting Powers agree not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another, or, individually or collectively, with any Power or Powers, which would infringe or impair the principles stated in Article I.

ARTICLE III. With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the Contracting Powers, other than China, agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking:

(a) any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

(b) any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government, or with any local authority, in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that the foregoing stipulations of this Article are not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial, or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.

China undertakes to be guided by the principles stated in the foregoing stipulations of this Article in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries, whether parties to the present Treaty or not.

ARTICLE IV. The Contracting Powers agree not to support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create Spheres of Influence or to provide for the enjoyment of mutually exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory.

ARTICLE V. China agrees that, throughout the whole of the railways in China, she will not exercise or permit unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in

respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese Railways.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, assume a corresponding obligation in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise.

ARTICLE VI. The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree fully to respect China's rights as a neutral in time of war to which China is not a party; and China declares that when she is a neutral she will observe the obligations of neutrality.

ARTICLE VII. The Contracting Powers agree that, whenever a situation arises which in the opinion of any one of them involves the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the Contracting Powers concerned.

ARTICLE VIII. Powers not signatory to the present Treaty, which have Governments recognized by the Signatory Powers and which have treaty relations with China, shall be invited to adhere to the present Treaty. To this end the Government of the United States will make the necessary communications to nonsignatory Powers and will inform the Contracting Powers of the replies received. Adherence by any Power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IX. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other Contracting Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other Contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the Sixth day of February One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

(For United States.)	{ CHARLES EVANS HUGHES	[L. s.]
	{ HENRY CABOT LODGE	[L. s.]
	{ OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD	[L. s.]
(For Belgium.)	{ ELIHU ROOT	[L. s.]
	{ BARON DE CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE	[L. s.]
(For Great Britain.)	{ ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	[L. s.]
	{ LEE OF FAREHAM	[L. s.]
	{ A. C. GEDDES	[L. s.]
(For Canada.)	{ R. L. BORDEN	[L. s.]
(For Australia.)	{ G. F. PEARCE	[L. s.]
(For New Zealand.)	{ JOHN W. SALMOND	[L. s.]

(For South Africa.)	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	[L. s.]
(For India.)	V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI	[L. s.]
(For China.)	SAO-KE ALFRED SZE	[L. s.]
	V. K. WELLINGTON KOO	[L. s.]
	CHUNG-HUI WANG	[L. s.]
(For France.)	A. SARRAUT	[L. s.]
	JUSSERAND	[L. s.]
(For Italy.)	CARLO SCHANZER	[L. s.]
	V. ROLANDI RICCI	[L. s.]
	LUIGI ALBERTINI	[L. s.]
(For Japan.)	T. KATO	[L. s.]
	K. SHIDEHARA	[L. s.]
	M. HANIHARA	[L. s.]
(For The Netherlands.)	BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND	[L. s.]
	W. DE BEAUFORT	[L. s.]
(For Portugal.)	ALTE	[L. s.]
	ERNESTO DE VASCONCELLOS	[L. s.]

THE NINE POWER TREATY ON THE CHINESE TARIFF

ARTICLE I. The representatives of the Contracting Powers having adopted, on the fourth day of February, 1922, in the City of Washington, a Resolution, which is appended as an Annex to this Article, with respect to the revision of Chinese Customs duties, for the purpose of making such duties equivalent to an effective 5 per centum *ad valorem*, in accordance with existing treaties concluded by China with other nations, the Contracting Powers hereby confirm the said Resolution and undertake to accept the tariff rates fixed as a result of such revision. The said tariff rates shall become effective as soon as possible but not earlier than two months after publication thereof.

ANNEX. With a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, the Powers represented at this Conference, namely the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, and Portugal agree:

That the customs schedule of duties on imports into China adopted by the Tariff Revision Commission at Shanghai on December 19, 1918, shall forthwith be revised so that the rates of duty shall be equivalent to 5 per cent. effective as provided for in the several commercial treaties to which China is a party.

A Revision Commission shall meet at Shanghai, at the earliest practicable date, to effect this revision forthwith and on the general lines of the last revision.

This Commission shall be composed of representatives of the Powers above named and of representatives of any additional Powers having Governments at present recognized by the Powers represented at this Conference and who have treaties with China providing for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per cent. *ad valorem* and who desire to participate therein.

The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible with a view to its completion within four months from the date of the adoption of this Resolution by the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

The revised tariff shall become effective as soon as possible but not earlier than two months after its publication by the Revision Commission

The Government of the United States, as convener of the present Conference, is requested forthwith to communicate the terms of this Resolution to the Governments of Powers not represented at this Conference but who participated in the Revision of 1918, aforesaid.

ARTICLE II. Immediate steps shall be taken, through a Special Conference, to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin and for the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in Article VIII of the Treaty of September 5th, 1902, between Great Britain and China, in Articles IV and V of the Treaty of October 8th, 1903, between the United States and China, and in Article I of the Supplementary Treaty of October 8th, 1903, between Japan and China, with a view to levying the surtaxes provided for in those articles.

The Special Conference shall be composed of representatives of the Signatory Powers, and of such other Powers as may desire to participate and may adhere to the present Treaty, in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII, in sufficient time to allow their representatives to take part. It shall meet in China within three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, on a day and at a place to be designated by the Chinese Government.

ARTICLE III. The Special Conference provided for in Article II shall consider the interim provisions to be applied prior to the abolition of likin and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in the articles of the treaties mentioned in Article II; and it shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports as from such date, for such purposes, and subject to such conditions as it may determine.

The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per centum *ad valorem*, provided, that in case of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the Special Conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, the total surtax may be increased but may not exceed 5 per centum *ad valorem*.

ARTICLE IV. Following the immediate revision of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China, mentioned in Article I, there shall be a further revision thereof to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the aforesaid immediate revision, in order to ensure that the customs duties shall correspond to the *ad valorem* rates fixed by the Special Conference provided for in Article II.

Following this further revision there shall be, for the same purpose, periodical revisions of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China every seven years, in lieu of the decennial revision authorized by existing treaties with China.

In order to prevent delay, any revision made in pursuance of this Article shall be effected in accordance with rules to be prescribed by the Special Conference provided for in Article II.

ARTICLE V. In all matters relating to customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and opportunity for all the Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE VI. The principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China is hereby recognized. The Special Conference provided for in Article II shall make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle; and it is authorized to make equitable adjustments in those cases in which a customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic advantage.

In the meantime, any increase in the rates of customs duties resulting from tariff revision, or any surtax hereafter imposed in pursuance of the present

Treaty, shall be levied at a uniform rate *ad valorem* at all land and maritime frontiers of China.

ARTICLE VII. The charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of 2½ per centum *ad valorem* until the arrangements provided for by Article II come into force.

ARTICLE VIII. Powers not signatory to the present Treaty whose Governments are at present recognized by the Signatory Powers, and whose present treaties with China provide for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per centum *ad valorem*, shall be invited to adhere to the present Treaty.

The Government of the United States undertakes to make the necessary communications for this purpose and to inform the Governments of the Contracting Powers of the replies received. Adherence by any Power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IX. The provisions of the present Treaty shall override all stipulations of treaties between China and the respective Contracting Powers which are inconsistent therewith, other than stipulations according most favored nation treatment.

ARTICLE X. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other Contracting Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the English and French texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other Contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-two.

[Among the Resolutions adopted were the following:]

NO. I. RESOLUTION FOR A COMMISSION OF JURISTS TO CONSIDER AMENDMENT OF LAWS OF WAR.

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan have agreed:—

I. That a Commission composed of not more than two members representing each of the above-mentioned Powers shall be constituted to consider the following questions:—

(a) Do existing rules of International Law adequately cover new methods of attack or defense resulting from the introduction or development, since the Hague Conference of 1907, of new agencies of warfare?

(b) If not so, what changes in the existing rules ought to be adopted in consequence thereof as a part of the law of nations?

II. That notices of appointment of the members of the Commission shall be transmitted to the Government of the United States of America within three months after the adjournment of the present Conference, which after consultation with the Powers concerned will fix the day and place for the meeting of the Commission.

III. That the Commission shall be at liberty to request assistance and advice from experts in International Law and in land, naval and aerial warfare.

IV. That the Commission shall report its conclusions to each of the Powers represented in its membership.

Those Powers shall thereupon confer as to the acceptance of the report and the course to be followed to secure the consideration of its recommendations by the other civilized Powers.

NO. 2. RESOLUTION LIMITING JURISDICTION OF COMMISSION OF JURISTS PROVIDED IN RESOLUTION NO. I.

Resolved, That it is not the intention of the Powers agreeing to the appointment of a Commission to consider and report upon the rules of International Law respecting new agencies of warfare that the Commission shall review or report upon the rules or declarations relating to submarines or the use of noxious gases and chemicals already adopted by the Powers in this conference.

No. 3. RESOLUTION REGARDING A BOARD OF REFERENCE FOR FAR EASTERN QUESTION.

The representatives of the Powers assembled at the present Conference at Washington, to-wit:

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal:

Desiring to provide a procedure for dealing with questions that may arise in connection with the execution of the provisions of Articles III and V of the Treaty to be signed at Washington on February 6th, 1922, with reference to their general policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity;

Resolve that there shall be established in China a Board of Reference to which any questions arising in connection with the execution of the aforesaid Articles may be referred for investigation and report.

The Special Conference provided for in Article II of the Treaty to be signed at Washington on February 6th, 1922, with reference to the Chinese Customs Tariff, shall formulate for the approval of the Powers concerned a detailed plan for the constitution of the Board.

[For the subjects covered by the other resolutions, and for the declarations of national policy proclaimed at the Conference, consult the Encyclopedic Index article on "Armament Limitation Conference." The treaty with Japan regarding the island of Yap embodied the points set forth in the agreement on pages 9052, 9053 and 9054.]

[The two following messages were called forth by action and statements in the Senate during the debate on the ratification of the treaties produced by the Conference.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 20, 1922.*

TO THE SENATE:

Responsive to Senate Resolution No. 237, asking for records, minutes, arguments, debates, conversations, etc., relating to the so-called Four-Power Treaty, I have to advise that it is impossible to comply with

the Senate's request. Many of the things asked for in the resolution it is literally impossible to furnish, because there were many conversations and discussions quite outside the conference, yet vital to its success. Naturally these are without record.

I do not believe it to be compatible with public interest or consistent with the amenities of international negotiation to attempt to reveal informal and confidential conversations or discussions, of which no record was kept, or to submit tentative suggestions or informal proposals, without which the arrival at desirable international understandings would be rendered unlikely if not impossible.

While I am unable to transmit the information requested, I do, however, take this opportunity to say most emphatically that there were no concealed understandings, and no secret exchanges of notes, and there are no commitments whatever except as appear in the Four-Power Treaty itself and the supplementary agreement, which are now in the hands of the Senate.

Respectfully,

WARREN G. HARDING

Washington, March 11, 1922

MY DEAR SENATOR: I understand that in the course of debate in the Senate upon the Four-Power Treaty questions have been raised with respect to its authorship. It seems to be implied that in some way the American delegates have been imposed upon, or that they were induced to accept some plan cunningly contrived by others and opposed to our interests. Apart from the reflection upon the competency of the American delegates, such intimations betray a very poor and erroneous conception of the work in connection with the conference, no part of which—whether within or outside the conference meetings—was begun, prosecuted, or concluded in intrigue. Nothing could be further from the fact.

It is, of course, wholly inconsistent with the amenities of international intercourse that the informal and confidential suggestions and conversations incident to negotiations should be stated, but the Senate may be assured that a full disclosure of everything said or done in the course of the negotiations would reveal nothing derogatory to the part taken by any of the American delegates, or involve any consideration or acceptance of any position not entirely consistent with the traditional policies of this Government.

It should be remembered that the Four-Power Treaty dealt with a subject—the Anglo-Japanese alliance—which, as an agreement between two Powers competent to make and continue it, was not, and in the nature of things could not be, appropriately placed upon the Conference agenda. Technically it was a matter outside the Conference, although the Conference furnished an excellent opportunity for conversations regarding it.

While I cannot, of course, undertake to state what was proposed or suggested in confidence by any of the delegates, I think it entirely proper to say that the negotiations relating to the Four-Power Treaty were conducted within limitations defined by the American Government. The views of this Government as to the importance of the termination of the Anglo-Japanese alliance had been communicated long before the Conference met, and it had also been clearly stated that this Government could enter into no alliance or make any commitment

to the use of arms, or which would impose any sort of obligation as to its decisions in future contingencies. It must deal with any exigency according to its constitutional methods. In preparation for the Conference the American delegates reviewed the matter thoroughly, and the entire course of negotiations in connection with the Four-Power Treaty were in accord with these principles, and, as I have said, within the limits which we defined.

The treaty itself is very short and simple, and is perfectly clear. It requires no commentary. Its engagements are easily understood, and no ingenuity in argument or hostile criticism can add to them or make them other or greater than its unequivocal language sets forth. There are no secret notes or understandings.

In view of this, the question of authorship is unimportant. It was signed by Four Powers, whose delegates, respectively, adopted it, all having made various suggestions.

I may say, however, with respect to the general course of negotiations that after assent had been given by Great Britain and Japan that France should be a party to the agreement, I prepared a draft of the treaty based upon the various suggestions which had been exchanged between the delegates. This draft was first submitted to Senator Lodge and Mr. Root, as you were then absent on account of the death of your mother. After the approval of the American delegates, who were here, the draft was submitted to the representatives of other Powers, and became the subject of discussion between the heads of the delegations concerned, and with a few changes, which were approved by the American delegates, and which did not affect the spirit or substance of the proposed treaty, an agreement was reached. Immediately upon your return I went over the whole matter with you, and the proposed agreement received your approval. I should add that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding I prepared a memorandum to accompany the treaty with respect to its effect in relation to the mandated islands and reserving domestic questions.

At this stage, while it was not strictly a conference matter, in order to insure publicity at the earliest possible moment, the treaty as thus agreed upon, and before it had been signed, was presented by Senator Lodge to the Conference in plenary session and its import and limitations stated. His statement met with the acquiescence of all.

The treaty as thus drawn and notified was deemed to embrace the main islands of Japan. Later, in view of the sentiment, both in this country and Japan, it was deemed to be preferable to exclude these main islands, and a supplementary treaty was prepared to this effect, which designated the islands of Japan which it was to include.

There is not the slightest mystery about the treaty or basis for suspicion regarding it. It is a straightforward document which attains one of the most important objects the American Government has had in view, and is of the highest importance to the maintenance of friendly relations in the Far East upon a sound basis. As the President recently said, in his communication to the Senate, it is an essential part of the plan to create conditions in the Far East at once favorable to the maintenance of the policies we have long advocated and to an enduring peace.

In view of this, and in view of the relation of the treaty to the results of the Conference, its failure would be nothing short of a national calamity.

I am, my dear Senator, faithfully yours,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

To the Honorable Oscar W. Underwood, United States Senate.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Relief for Russia.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 24, 1922.*

By virtue of an Act of Congress entitled, "An Act to authorize the President to transfer certain medical supplies for the relief of the distressed and famine-stricken people of Russia," approved January 20th, 1922, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of said Act, hereby select, designate and appoint the American Relief Administration as the relief organization to receive from the War, Navy and Treasury Departments, and the United States Shipping Board, out of the surplus supplies of said Departments, medicines, medical, surgical and hospital supplies for the relief of the distressed and famine-stricken people of Russia, in an amount not to exceed four million dollars original cost to the United States, and as may be delivered to and accepted by such American Relief Association without cost for transportation to the United States, provided said medicines, medical, surgical, and hospital supplies are delivered to the American Relief Administration within four months from the date of the passage of said Act.

I further authorize and direct the American Relief Administration, upon delivery to and acceptance by it of the medicines, medical, surgical and hospital supplies provided for in said Act, to transport to, and to distribute the same in, Russia for the purposes set out in the Act, and by such methods and means and to such places and persons as it, in its discretion, may determine. Provided, that, in making such distribution, the American Relief Administration may, in its discretion, if it believes there are other American relief organizations ministering to the relief of the suffering people of Russia that are better able to distribute such supplies in certain localities than the American Relief Administration, turn over such supplies in such amounts, to such other American relief organizations.

I further direct that the War, Navy and Treasury Departments, and the United States Shipping Board, shall report to the President the amounts of medicines, medical, surgical and hospital supplies delivered by each to the American Relief Administration, and the American Relief Administration shall make report as to the disposition made of said supplies.

WARREN G. HARDING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Lehman Caves National Monument—Nevada.]

Whereas, certain natural caves, known as the Lehman Caves, which are situated upon partly surveyed lands within the Nevada National

Forest in the State of Nevada, are of unusual scientific interest and importance, and it appears that the public interests will be promoted by reserving these caves with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof as a National Monument.

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the Act of Congress approved June eight, nineteen hundred and six, entitled, "An Act for the preservation of American antiquities," do proclaim that there are hereby reserved from all forms of appropriation under the public land laws, subject to all prior valid adverse claims, and set apart as a National Monument, all tracts of land in the State of Nevada shown as the Lehman Caves National Monument on the diagram forming a part hereof.

The reservation made by this proclamation is not intended to prevent the use of the lands for National Forest purposes under the proclamation establishing the Nevada National Forest, and the two reservations shall both be effective on the land withdrawn but the National Monument hereby established shall be the dominant reservation and any use of the land which interferes with its preservation or protection as a National Monument is hereby forbidden.

Warning is hereby given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, deface, remove, or destroy any feature of this National Monument, or to locate or settle on any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL.] twenty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

LETTER

[Taxation for Proposed Bonus to World War Veterans.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 16, 1922.*

My Dear Mr. Fordney:

In accordance with the promise made to yourself and your associates on the Senate and House committees, charged with the responsibility of formulating proposed bonus legislation, I have carefully looked into the program of taxation which has been suggested. In addition thereto I have made inquiry into the feasibility of issuing either short-time

Treasury Notes or long-time bonds to meet the financial obligations which the proposed legislation will impose. It is not possible to commend to you either of the plans suggested.

It continues to be my best judgment that any compensation legislation enacted at this time ought to carry with it the provisions for raising the needed revenues and I find myself unable to suggest any commendable plan other than that of a general sales tax.

Such a tax will distribute the cost of rewarding the ex-service men in such a manner that it will be borne by all the people whom they served, and does not commit the Government to class imposition of taxes or the resumption of the burdens recently repealed, the maintenance of which can be justified only by a great war emergency.

It is fully realized how great is the difficulty which confronts the Congress in solving the difficult problem. I am aware of the strong sentiment in Congress in favor of this adjusted compensation. I have spoken approvingly myself, always with the reservation that the bestowal shall be made when it may be done without such injury to the country as will nullify the benefits to the ex-service men themselves which this expression of gratitude is designed to bestow.

It is not an agreeable thing to suggest that action be postponed again, but frankly I do not find myself favorable to the piecemeal payment plan, which is manifestly designed to avoid embarrassment to the Treasury. The long-drawn-out payments will not afford an effective helpfulness to the service men.

We have no serious problem in beginning the allotments of public lands and the immediate issue of paid-up insurance. The real difficulty lies in the payment of the cash bonus. Rather than provide that the maximum cash payments shall extend over a period of two and a half years it would be a vastly better bestowal if we could await the day when we may safely undertake to pay it once in full, so that the award may be turned to real advantage.

Inasmuch as the Treasury is to be called upon to meet more than \$6,000,000,000 of maturing obligations in the sixteen months immediately before us, it is not possible to recommend the issue of several hundred millions of additional short-time notes. Further excessive borrowings would likely undo all that has been accomplished in readjusting interest rates and stabilizing the financial world, both vitally essential to the resumption of industrial and commercial activities.

Granting that it is not fair to oppose any proposed plan without offering a substitute, let me repeat, that I believe the American people will accept a levy of a general sales tax to meet the proposed bonus payments, and we should contribute thereby no added difficulties to the problems of readjustment. If Congress will not adopt such a plan,

it would be wise to let the legislation go over until there is a situation which will justify the large outlay.

We are driving for large economies, we are pushing the disposition of surplus war property, and have other transactions under consideration which ought to provide great relief to the federal Treasury. It is not consistent to enact legislation in anticipation of these things, but it would be a prudent plan to await the developments, and I can see in such a postponement no lack of regard for the service men in whom all the American people are so genuinely interested.

I take it that the ex-service men themselves are no less concerned than others about the restoration of business and the return to abundant employment. Those of their wounded or sick comrades who were impaired by their war service are being cared for with the most liberal generosity the nation can bestow. There are here and there exceptional cases of neglect and attending complaint, but we are seeking them out and correcting with all possible speed.

It has not been possible to meet all the demands for special hospitalization, but we are building to that end, without counting the cost. We are expending \$400,000,000 a year in compensation hospitalization and rehabilitation. These things are recited to reassure you that such delay as will enable Congress to act in prudence for the common good, will have no suggestion of unmindfulness or ingratitude.

Yours very truly,

WARREN G. HARDING.

HON. JOS. W. FORDNEY, *House of Representatives*,
Washington, D. C.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

[Assistance to Merchant Marine.]

February 28, 1922.

Members of the Congress:

When addressing the Congress last December I reported to you the failure of the Executive to carry out the intent of certain features of the merchant marine act of 1920, notably the provision for the notice of cancellation of all commercial treaties which hindered our grant of discriminating duties on imports brought to our shores in American ships. There was no doubt about the high purpose of Congress to apply this proven practice to the upbuilding of our merchant marine. It had proven most effective in the earlier days of American shipping; it had, at various times, demonstrated its effectiveness in the upbuilding of commercial shipping for other nations.

The success of the earlier practice for this republic came at a time when we had few treaties, when our commerce was little developed

Its supersedure by reciprocity in shipping regulations, and the adoption of other methods of upbuilding merchant marines, through various forms of Government aid, and the century of negotiation of commercial treaties, all combined to develop a situation which should lead to endless embarrassment if we denounced our treaties. We should not only be quite alone in supporting a policy long since superseded through the growing intimacy of international relationships, but we should invite the disturbance of those cordial commercial relations which are the first requisite to the expansion of our commerce abroad.

Contemplating the readiness of Congress to grant a decreased duty on imports brought to our shores in American bottoms, and facing the embarrassments incident to readjustment of all treaty arrangements, it seemed desirable to find a way of applying suitable aid to our shipping, which the Congress clearly intended, and at the same time avoid the embarrassment of our trade relationships abroad.

The recommendation of to-day is based wholly on this commendable intent of Congress. This proposed aid of the Government to its merchant marine is to have its chief source in the duties collected on imports. Instead of applying the discriminating duty to the specific cargo, and thus encouraging only the inbound shipment, I propose that we shall collect all import duties, without discrimination as between American and foreign bottoms, and apply the heretofore proposed reduction to create a fund for the Government's aid to our merchant marine. By such a program we shall encourage not alone the carrying of inbound cargoes subject to our tariffs but we shall strengthen American ships in the carrying of that greater inbound tonnage on which no duties are levied, and, more important than these, we shall equip our merchant marine to serve our outbound commerce, which is the measure of our eminence in foreign trade.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the heretofore proposed plan of discriminating tariffs on imports, carried to our shores in American bottoms, that the total value of all dutiable imports for 1920, in all vessels, was \$1,985,865,000, while the cargoes admitted free of duty, on which no discrimination was possible, were valued at \$3,115,958,000. The actual tonnage comparison is even more significant from the viewpoint of cargo carrying, because the dutiable cargoes measured, in round numbers, 10,000,000 tons, and the non-dutiable cargoes were 25,000,000 tons. The larger employment, by two and a half times, was in nondutiable shipments.

Continued trade must be reciprocal. We can not long maintain sales where we do not buy. In the promotion of these exchanges we should have as much concern for the promotion of sales as for the

facilitation of our purchases. There is not a record in all history of long-maintained eminence in export trade, except as the exporting nations developed their own carrying capacity.

No story of national development is more fascinating or so full of romance as that of developing capacity for the exchanges of commerce. Expanding civilization may be traced over the avenues of exchanging cargoes. No matter how materialistic it may sound nations have developed for themselves and have influenced the world almost precisely as they have promoted their commerce. We need not refer to the armed conflicts which have been incident thereto. When commerce has been destroyed fading glories have attended.

It will avail nothing to attempt even the briefest résumé of our own efforts to reestablish that American importance in commerce carrying on the high seas which was recorded in the earlier days of the Republic. The aspiration is nation wide. The conflict between two schools of political thought heretofore has defeated all efforts to employ the governmental aid which other nations found advantageous while we held aloof, and the terms "subsidy" and "subvention" were made more or less hateful to the American public. But the nation-wide desire to restore our merchant marine has outlived all defeats and every costly failure.

Eight years ago the aspiration found expression in a movement to have the Government sponsor an enterprise in which individual genius seemingly had failed. It would be difficult correctly to appraise the policy, because the World War put an end to all normal activities. Before we were involved our shipyards were suddenly turned to feverish and costly activities by the call of the Allied Powers for shipping, without which they could not hope to survive. American energies were applied to construction for others, as we had never dreamed of doing for ourselves. When we were later engaged we trebled and quadrupled the output on our own account. Allied resources were called upon to build to meet the destruction by submarine warfare, and ships were so essential that material for them was given priority over arms and munitions. There was the call for ships, and ships, and yet more ships, and we enlarged old yards and established new ones without counting the cost. We builded madly, extravagantly, impractically, and yet miraculously, but we met a pressing need and performed a great service.

A people indifferent to the vital necessity of a merchant marine to the national defense, ungrudgingly expended at five times the cost of normal construction and appropriated billions where millions had been denied before. We acquired vast tonnage. Some of it, much of it, is suited to the peace service of expanded commerce. Some of it, much of it, may be charged to the errors and extravagances of

war-time anxiety and haste. The war program, and that completion of contracts which followed because such a course seemed best to those then charged with responsibility, gave us something more than 12,000,000 gross tonnage, not counting the folly of the wood construction, at a total outlay of approximately three and one-half billions of dollars.

We thus became possessed of the vehicles of a great merchant marine. Not all of it was practical for use in the transoceanic trades; little of it was built for the speed which gives the coveted class to outstanding service. But here was vast tonnage for cargo service; and the Government, in the exceptional call of commerce which immediately followed the war, sought the establishment of shipping lines in every direction calculated to enhance our foreign trade and further cement our friendly relations.

The movement lacked in most cases that inherent essential to success which is found in individual initiative. It was rather a Government experiment, where lines were established in high hope and little assurance, because the Public Treasury was to bear the burden. There was the mere suggestion of private enterprise, inasmuch as allocations and charters were made under which private management was to share in profits and private interests were paid to make the experiment, though the Government was to bear all the losses. I forbear the detailed recital. The misadventure was so unfortunate that when the present administration came into responsibility the losses were approximately \$16,000,000 a month, and to the cost of failure was added the humiliation of ships libeled in foreign ports.

In spite of all the later losses in operation, however, it is quite beyond question that our abundance of American tonnage was mainly responsible for our ability to share in the good fortunes of world trade during the two years immediately following the war. In all probability the losses we have sustained in our shipping activities were fully compensated to the American people in the saving of ocean freights in that period.

To-day we are possessed of vast tonnage, large and very costly experience, and the conviction of failure. It is fair to say that a mistaken policy was made more difficult by the unparalleled slump in shipping which came late in 1920 and prevailed throughout the year so recently closed. It was the inevitable reflex of the readjustments which follow a great war, and there were heavy losses in operations which had to be met by long-established and heretofore successful shipping lines, and ships built at top war costs took the slump in prices below the normal levels of peace.

But we have our ships, the second largest tonnage in the world, and we have the aspiration, aye, let me say, the determination, to

establish a merchant marine commensurate with our commercial importance. Our problem is to turn the ships and our experience and aspirations into the effective development of an ocean-going shipping service without which there can be no assurance of maintained commercial eminence, without which any future conflict at arms will send us building again, wildly and extravagantly, when the proper concern for this necessary agency of commerce in peace will be our guaranty of defense in case that peace is disturbed.

Out of the story of the making of great merchant marines and out of our own experience we ought to find the practical solution. Happily we are less provincial than we once were, happily we have come to know how inseparable are our varied interests. Nobody pretends any longer that shipping is a matter of concern only to the ports involved. Commerce on the seas is quite as vital to the great interior as it is to our coast territory, east, south, or west. Shipping is no more a sectional interest than is agriculture or manufacturing. No one of them can be prospered alone.

We have had a new manifestation of this broadened vision in the enthusiasm of the great Middle West for the proposed Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway, by which it is intended to connect the Great Lakes ports with the marts of the world. There is far-seeing vision in the proposal, and this great and commendable enterprise, deserving your favorable consideration, is inseparable from a great merchant marine.

What, then, is our problem? I bring to you the suggestions which have resulted from a comprehensive study which are recommended to me by every member of the United States Shipping Board. It is a program of direct and indirect aid to shipping to be conducted by private enterprise. It is proposed to apply generally the benefits which it was designed to derive from discriminating duties to all ships engaged in foreign commerce, with such limitation on remuneration as will challenge every charge of promoting special interests at public cost.

In lieu of discriminating duties on imports brought to us in American bottoms it is proposed to take 10 per cent of all duties collected on imports brought to us in American or foreign bottoms, and create therefrom a merchant marine fund. To this fund shall be added the tonnage charges, taxes and fees imposed on vessels entering the ports of continental United States, also such sums as are payable to American vessels by the Post Office Department for the transportation by water of foreign mails, parcel posts excepted.

Out of this fund shall be paid the direct aid in the development and maintenance of an American merchant marine. The compensation shall be based on one-half of 1 cent for each gross ton of any vessel, regardless of speed, for each 100 miles traveled. When the

speed is 13 knots or over, but less than 14, two-tenths of a cent on each gross ton shall be added; for 14 knots, three-tenths of a cent; for 15 knots, four-tenths of a cent; for 16 knots, five-tenths; for 17 knots, seven-tenths; for 18 knots, nine-tenths; for 19 knots, eleven-tenths; for 20 knots, thirteen-tenths shall be added to the basic rate. For 23 knots the maximum is reached at 2.6 cents for each gross ton per 100 miles traveled.

I will not attempt the details of requirements, or limitations, save to say that all vessels thus remunerated shall carry the United States mails, except parcel post, free of cost, and that all such remuneration must end whenever the owner of any vessel or vessels shall have derived a net operating income in excess of 10 per cent per annum upon his actual investment, and thereafter the owner shall pay 50 per cent of such excess earnings to the merchant marine fund, until the full amount of subsidy previously received is returned to its source. In other words, it is proposed to encourage the shipping in foreign trade until the enterprise may earn 10 per cent on actual investment, whereupon the direct aid extended is to cease and the amount advanced is to be returned out of a division with the Government of profits in excess of that 10 per cent. The provision makes impossible the enrichment of any special interest at public expense, puts an end to the Government assumption of all losses, and leaves to private enterprise the prospective profits of successful management.

The cost of such a program probably will reach fifteen millions the first year, estimated on the largest possibilities of the present fleet. With larger reimbursement to high-speed vessels and the enlargement of the merchant marine to a capacity comparable with our commerce the total outlay may reach the limits of thirty millions, but it is confidently believed that the scale may in due time thereafter be turned, until the larger reimbursements are restored to the Treasury. Even if we accept the extreme possibility—that we shall expend the maximum and no return will ever be made, which is to confess our inability to establish an American merchant marine—the expenditure would be vastly preferable to the present unfortunate situation, with our dependence on our competitors for the delivery of our products. Moreover, the cost for the entire year would be little more than the deficit heretofore encountered in two months during the experiment of the Government sponsoring the lines and guaranteeing the cost of their operation.

The proposed plan will supersede all postal subventions, postal compensations, and extra compensations, excepting parcel-post freights, all of which combined are fast growing to approximately five millions annually. It will ultimately take the Government out of a business which has been, and is now, excessively costly and wasteful and involv-

ing a loss in excess of the highest subsidy proposed. It will bring to shipping again that individual initiative which is the very soul of successful enterprise. It should enable the Government to liquidate its vast fleet to the highest possible advantage.

The making of a successful American merchant marine, which must face the stiffest possible competition by the fleets of the maritime nations, requires something more than the direct aid to which I have alluded. The direct aid proposed, even though it ultimately runs to \$30,000,000 annually, is insufficient alone to offset the advantages of competing fleets. There are more than wage costs, and working conditions and the higher costs of rationing, which no considerable American sentiment will consent to have lowered to competing standards.

The men who sail the seas under our flag must be permitted to stand erect in the fullness of American opportunity. There is the higher cost of construction, the larger investment, the higher cost of insurance outlay, even though the rate is the same. There are higher interest charges. Our problems in shipping are very much the same as are those of our industries ashore, and we should be as zealous in promoting the one as we are in protecting the other. We may and must aid indirectly as well as directly.

We need a favoring spirit, an awakened American pride, and an avowed American determination that we shall become, in the main, the carriers of our own commerce, in spite of all competition and all discouragements. With direct and indirect aid, I bring to you a definite program. Those who oppose it ought, in all fairness, to propose an acceptable alternative. There can be no dispute about the end at which we are aiming.

Of the indirect aids there are many, practically all without draft upon the public treasury, and yet all highly helpful in promoting American shipping.

It is a simple thing—seemingly it ought not require the action of Congress—but American officials traveling on Government missions at Government expense ought to travel on American ships, assuming that they afford suitable accommodations. If they do not afford the requisite accommodation on the main routes of world travel, the argument that we should upbuild is strongly emphasized.

I think we should discontinue, so far as practical, the transport services in the Army and Navy, and make our merchant and passenger ships the agents of service in peace as well as war.

We should make insurance available at no greater cost than is afforded the ships under competing flags, and we can and will make effective the spirit of section 28 of the Jones Act of 1920, providing for preferential rail and steamship rates on through shipments on American vessels. American railways must be brought into coopera-

tion with American steamship lines. It is not in accord with either security or sound business practice to have our railways furthering the interests of foreign shipping lines, when the concord of American activities makes for common American good fortune.

Contemplating the competition to be met, there ought to be an amendment to the interstate commerce act which will permit railway systems to own and operate steamship lines engaged in other than coastwise trade. There is measureless advantage in the longer shipments where rail and water transportation are coordinated, not alone in the service but in the solicitation of cargoes which ever attends an expanding commerce.

We may further extend our long-established protection to our coastwise trade, which is quite in harmony with the policy of most maritime Powers. There is authority now to include the Philippines in our coastwise trade, and we need only the establishment of proper facilities to justify the inclusion of our commerce with the islands in our coastwise provisions. The freedom of our continental markets is well worth such a favoring policy to American ships, whenever the facilities are suited to meet all requirements.

Other indirect aids will be found in the requirement that immigration shall join wherever it is found to be practical in aiding the merchant marine of our flag under which citizenship is to be sought, and in the establishment of the merchant-marine naval reserve. The remission of a proportion of income taxes is wholly compatible when the shipping enterprise is of direct Government concern, provided that such remission is applied to the cost of new ship construction.

Congress has already provided for a loan fund to encourage construction. It might well be made applicable to some special requirements in reconditioning.

It is also worth our consideration that, in view of suspended naval construction, the continued building of merchant ships is the one guaranty of a maintained shipbuilding industry, without which no nation may hope to hold a high place in the world of commerce or be assured of adequate defense.

A very effective indirect aid, a substitute for a discriminating duty which shall inure to the benefit of the American shipper will be found in the proposed deduction on incomes, amounting to five per centum of the freight paid on cargoes carried in American bottoms. The benefits can have no geographical restrictions, and it offers its advantages to American exporters as well as those who engage in import trade.

Our existing ships should be sold at prices prevailing in the world market. I am not unmindful of the hesitancy to sacrifice the values to current price levels. We constructed at the top cost of war when

necessity impelled, when the building resources of many nations were drawn upon to the limit to meet a great emergency. If there had come no depression, a return to approximate normal cost would have been inevitable. But the great slump in shipping has sent tonnage prices to the other extreme, not for America alone, but throughout the world.

If we held our ships to await the recovery we should only make more difficult our response to beckoning opportunity. One of the outstanding barriers to general readjustment is the tendency to await more favorable price conditions. In the widest view, the nation will ultimately profit by selling now. We may end our losses in an enterprise for which we are not equipped, and which no other Government has successfully undertaken, and the low prices at which we must sell to-day will make a lower actual investment with which we deal in promoting permanent service.

If I were not deeply concerned with the upbuilding of our merchant marine, I should nevertheless strongly urge Congress to facilitate the disposal of the vast tonnage acquired or constructed in the great war emergency. The experiment we have made has been very costly. Much has been learned, to be sure, but the outstanding lesson is that the Government can not profitably manage our merchant shipping. The most fortunate changes in the personnel of management would still leave us struggling with a policy fundamentally wrong and practically impossible.

Having failed at such enormous cost, I bring you the proposal which contemplates the return to individual initiative and private enterprise, aided to a conservative success, wherein we are safeguarded against the promotion of private greed, and do not discourage the hope of profitable investment, which underlies all successful endeavor.

We have voiced our concern for the good fortunes of agriculture, and it is right that we should. We have long proclaimed our interest in manufacturing, which is thoroughly sound, and helped to make us what we are. In the evolution of railway transportation we have revealed the vital relationship of our rail transportation to both agriculture and commerce. We have been expending for many years large sums for deepened channels and better harbors and improved inland waterways, and much of it has found abundant return in enlarged commerce. But we have ignored our merchant marine. The World War revealed our weakness, our unpreparedness for defense in war, our unreadiness for self-reliance in peace.

It would seem as though transpiring events were combining to admonish us not to fail now to reassert ourselves. In the romantic days of wooden hulls and whitened sails and the sturdiest men of

the sea we outsailed the world, and carried our own cargoes, revealed our flag to the marts of the world.

Up to the World War we were a debtor nation. Our obligations were held largely by the maritime Powers. Apart from the advantages in carrying our commerce, they sought our shipments for the balances due to them. There is a different condition now. They are concerned with shipments to us, but not so interested in our shipments to them. It is our high purpose to continue our exchanges, both buying and selling, but we shall be surer of our selling, notably our foodstuffs, if we maintain facilities for their transportation.

Contemporaneous with the awakening, we have the proposal to carry our ocean-going facilities to the great "unsalted seas," which shall place the farms of the upper Mississippi Valley on a market way to the marts of the Old World. We should fail to adjust our vision to the possibilities if we halted in making for American eminence on the ocean highways now awaiting our return.

We have recently joined the great naval Powers in a program which not only puts an end to costly competition in naval armament and reduces the naval forces of the world, but adds to the confidence in maintained peace. The relativity of strength among the Powers would be wholly one of disappointing theory, if ours is to be a merchant marine inadequate for the future. I do not care to stress it as a means of defense. The war and our enforced outlay have already stressed that point.

The merchant marine is universally recognized as the second line of naval defense. It is indispensable in the time of great national emergency. It is commendable to upbuild and maintain, because it is the highest agency of peace and amity, and bears no threat and incites no suspicion. And yet it is a supreme assurance, without which we should be unmindful of our safety and unheeding of our need to continued growth and maintained influence.

I am thinking of the merchant marine of peace. Commerce is inseparable from progress and attainment. Commerce and its handmaidens have wrought the greater intimacy among nations, which calls for understandings and guaranties of peace. However we work it out, whatever our adjustments are to promote international trade, it is inevitable that the hundred millions here, outstanding in genius and unrivaled in industry and incalculable in their resources, must be conspicuous in the world's exchanges. We can not hope to compete unless we carry, and our concord and our influence are sure to be measured by that un failing standard which is found in a nation's merchant marine.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Appointment of General Russell as High Commissioner to Haiti.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 2, 1922.**To the Senate:*

In response to your resolution of February 23, requesting a copy of any order, commission, or other authorization issued by me or under my direction to Brigadier General John H. Russell authorizing him to act for or on behalf of the Government of the United States in Haiti, with a copy of any instructions, etc., I am inclosing herewith a copy of the commission issued to General Russell. I trust the information conveyed in the copy of the commission will satisfactorily convey such information as the Senate desires, because I very respectfully submit that it would not be compatible with the public interest to make public the specific instructions under which he is charged with the performance of his duties as the American high commissioner.

Very respectfully,

WARREN G. HARDING.

WARREN G. HARDING, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To all who shall see these presents, greeting:

Know ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity and ability of Brigadier General John H. Russell, United States Marine Corps, I do appoint him high commissioner, with the rank of ambassador extraordinary, to represent the President of the United States in Haiti for the purpose of investigating, reporting upon, and supervising the performance of their duties by the officers nominated by the President of the United States and appointed by the President of Haiti pursuant to the provisions of the treaty between the United States and Haiti, signed at Port au Prince, September 16, 1915, in order that the purposes of said treaty may be fully accomplished.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, this 11th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1922 and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

[SEAL]

WARREN G. HARDING.

*By the President:*CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Exportation of Arms or Munitions of War to China Unlawful.]

Whereas, Section 1 of a Joint Resolution of Congress, entitled a "Joint Resolution to prohibit the exportation of arms or munitions of war from the United States to certain countries, and for other purposes," approved January 31, 1922, provides as follows:

"That whenever the President finds that in any American country, or in any country in which the United States exercises extraterritorial jurisdiction, conditions of domestic violence exist, which are or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States, and makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes, any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to such country until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress."

And whereas, it is provided by Section II of the said Joint Resolution that:

"Whoever exports arms or munitions of war in violation of Section I shall on conviction, be punished by fine not exceeding \$10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both."

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred in me by the said Joint Resolution of Congress, do hereby declare and proclaim that I have found that there exist in China such conditions of domestic violence which are or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States as contemplated by the said Joint Resolution; and I do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States and every person to abstain from every violation of the provisions of the Joint Resolution above set forth, hereby made applicable to China, and I do hereby warn them that all violations of such provisions will be rigorously prosecuted.

And I do hereby enjoin upon all officers of the United States, charged with the execution of the laws thereof, the utmost diligence in preventing violations of the said Joint Resolution and this my Proclamation issued thereunder, and in bringing to trial and punishment any offenders against the same.

And I do hereby delegate to the Secretary of State the Power of prescribing exceptions and limitations to the application of the said Joint Resolution of January 31, 1922, as made effective by this my Proclamation issued thereunder.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this fourth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

HENRY P. FLETCHER, *Acting Secretary of State.*

STATE DEPARTMENT NOTE

[Declining Invitation to Attend International Economic Conference at Genoa, Italy.]

Washington, March 8, 1922

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note transmitting the invitation addressed by the Italian Government to the Government of the United States to take part in an "economic and financial" conference to be convened at Genoa, pursuant to the resolution adopted on January 6, 1922, by the Allied Governments in conference at Cannes. I have also received your later notes with respect to American representation, the proposed agenda and the postponement of the date of the proposed conference.

Since the receipt of your Excellency's first note the question of American participation in the proposed conference has had the most earnest attention. I am sure that you will realize that the Government of the United States must take a deep interest in any conference which holds promise of effective measures to promote the economic rehabilitation of Europe, since not only do we keenly desire the return of prosperity to the peoples who have suffered most severely from the wastes and dislocations of war, but it is also manifest that there can be no improvement in world conditions in the absence of European recuperation. It is with this sympathetic spirit, and with the utmost reluctance to withhold its support from any appropriate effort to attain this object, that the Government of the United States has examined the resolution adopted at Cannes and the suggested agenda for the conference.

I regret to inform your Excellency that, as a result of this examination, it has been found impossible to escape the conclusion that the prospective conference is not merely an economic conference, as questions appear to have been excluded from consideration without the satisfactory determination of which the chief causes of economic disturbance must continue to operate, but is rather a conference of a political character in which the Government of the United States could not helpfully participate.

This Government can not be unmindful of the clear conviction of the American people, while desirous, as has been abundantly demonstrated, suitably to assist in the recovery of the economic life of Europe, that they should not unnecessarily become involved in European political questions. It may be added, with respect to Russia, that this Government, anxious to do all in its power to promote the welfare of the Russian people, views with the most eager and friendly interest every step taken toward the restoration of economic conditions which will permit Russia to regain her productive power; but these conditions, in the view of this Government, cannot be secured until adequate action is taken on the part of those chiefly responsible for Russia's present economic disorder.

It is also the view of this Government—and it trusts that view is shared by the Governments who have called the conference—that while awaiting the establishment of the essential basis of productivity in Russia, to which reference was made in the public declaration of this Government on March 25, 1921, and without which this Government believes all consideration of economic revival to be futile, nothing should be done looking to the obtaining of economic advantages in Russia which would impair the just opportunities of others, but that the resources of the Russian people should be free from such exploitation and that fair and equal economic opportunity in their interest, as well as in the interest of all the Powers, should be preserved.

While this Government does not believe that it should participate in the proposed conference, it sincerely hopes that progress may be made in preparing the way for the eventual discussion and settlement of the fundamental economic and financial questions relating to European recuperation which press for solution.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

His Excellency,

Senator Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, *Ambassador of Italy.*

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO SENATE

[Effect of Lansing-Ishii Agreement on China.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 8, 1922.*

To the Senate:

I have received the resolution (S. Res. 251) requesting me, if not incompatible with the public interest—

to advise the Senate as to the present status and binding effect of what is known as the Lansing-Ishii agreement between the United States and the Empire of Japan.

Secondly, as to whether or not the Four-Power pact, now before the Senate for consideration, if ratified, will abrogate, nullify, or in any way modify such agreement, and as to what will be the status of said agreement after the ratification of said Four-Power pact.

The so-called Lansing-Ishii Agreement, signed November 2, 1917, was not a treaty, but was an exchange of notes between the Secretary of State of the United States and Viscount Ishii, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Japan on special mission. It was described in the notes themselves as a public announcement of the desires and intentions shared by the two Governments with regard to China. This exchange of notes, in the nature of things, did not constitute anything more than a declaration of executive policy. It is hardly necessary to point out that such a declaration, or exchange of notes, could not have any effect whatever inconsistent with treaty obligations whether existing or thereafter coming into force.

The statement in the notes in question which apparently called forth your resolution is as follows:

The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, and particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

In the light of the other declarations of the notes in question, it has been the view of the Government of the United States that this reference to special interests in China did not recognize any right or claim inconsistent with the sovereignty or political independence of China or with our "open-door" policy.

That this was not an erroneous construction appears from the

meaning ascribed to the phrase "special interests in China," which is found in the final statement made on behalf of Japan at the recent conference (S. Doc. No. 126, 67th Cong., 2d sess., p. 223). The phrase was interpreted to mean that propinquity gave rise to an interest differing only in degree, but not in kind, as compared with the interests of other Powers. It was said to intimate "no claim or pretension of any kind prejudicial to China or to any other foreign nation," and not to connote "any intention of securing preferential or exclusive economic rights in China."

Happily, as a result of the conference, it is not now necessary to consider any possible ambiguity in the expressions used in the Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917, as any question which they might have raised has been completely set at rest by the treaty now before the Senate, to which the United States and Japan are parties. I refer to the treaty between the nine Powers which explicitly sets forth the principles and policies to be maintained by the signatory Powers in relation to China.

It is thus agreed to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government; to use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China; to refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to secure special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

More specifically the signatory Powers agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking, any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China, or any such monopoly or privilege as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any local authority, in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration, or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

And, further, the signatory Powers agree not to support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create spheres of influence or to provide for the enjoyment of mutually exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory.

The negotiation of this treaty is in itself the most formal declaration of the policy of the Executive in relation to China, and supersedes any

Executive understanding or declaration that could possibly be asserted to have any contrary import. If the Senate assents to this treaty, the principles and policies which the treaty declares will be supported and enforced by a binding international agreement.

My answer, then, to your first question is that the so-called Lansing-Ishii Agreement has no binding effect whatever, either with respect to the past or to the future, which is in any sense inconsistent with the principles and policies explicitly declared in the Nine-Power Treaty to which I have referred.

As to your second question, I may say that the Four-Power Treaty does not refer to China and hence does not directly bear upon the Lansing-Ishii notes which related exclusively to China. The Four-Power Treaty, however, is an essential part of the plan to create conditions in the Far East at once favorable to the policies we have long advocated and to an enduring peace.

WARREN G. HARDING.

A PROCLAMATION

[Germany—Suspension of Tonnage Dues.]

Whereas, Section 4228 of the Revised Statutes in part provides as follows:

Upon satisfactory proof being given to the President, by the Government of any foreign nation, that no discriminating duties of tonnage or imposts are imposed or levied in the ports of such nation upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States, or upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in the same from the United States or from any foreign country, the President may issue his proclamation, declaring that the foreign discriminating duties of tonnage and impost within the United States are suspended and discontinued, so far as respects vessels of such foreign nation, and the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported into the United States from such foreign nation, or from any other foreign country; the suspension to take effect from the time of such notification being given to the President, and to continue so long as the reciprocal exemption of vessels, belonging to citizens of the United States, and their cargoes, shall be continued, and no longer.

Whereas, satisfactory proof was received by me from the German Government on November 11, 1921, that no discriminating duties of tonnage or imposts are levied or imposed in the waters of Germany upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States or upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in such vessels, from the United States, or from any foreign country:

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by Section four thousand, two hundred and twenty-eight of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby declare and proclaim that the foreign

discriminating duties of tonnage and imposts within the United States are suspended and discontinued so far as respects the vessels of Germany and the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in said vessels into the United States from Germany, or from any other foreign country; the suspension to take effect from November 11, 1921, and to continue so long as the reciprocal exemption of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States and their cargoes shall be continued, and no longer.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 22nd day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, [SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-sixth. WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

STATE DEPARTMENT IDENTIC NOTE

To Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium.

[Collection of Costs of the American Army of Occupation in Germany.]

*March 20, 1922**

The Government of the United States has believed, and still believes, that the Governments of the Allied Powers have no disposition to question the right of the United States to be paid, upon an equal footing with them, the actual cost of its army of occupation which it has maintained in Germany since the joint armistice agreement of November 11, 1918. While the attitude of the Government of the United States in expecting full payment of these costs has been repeatedly set forth, it is deemed to be appropriate, in view of recent developments, to make this statement of its position.

The amount of the claim of the United States for its army costs is understood to be well known and to be free from any substantial dispute. According to the information and accounts in the possession of the Allied Governments it appears that the total cost of all the armies of occupation from November 11, 1918, to May 1, 1921, amounted to 3,639,282,000 gold marks; that the amounts due to Belgium, France and Italy for their army costs for that period have been paid in full (chiefly through deliveries of property), and that the unpaid balance of army costs due May 1, 1921, amounted to 1,660,090,000 gold marks due to the United States and the British Empire as follows:

United States, 966,374,000 gold marks.

British Empire, 693,716,000 gold marks.

It is understood that between May 1, 1921, and December 31, 1921, the British Government received cash payments as against this balance, of about 130,696,000 gold marks. In view of the position taken by the Government of the United States, this payment was expressly made and received subject to the rights of the United States.

In November, 1921, the commission appointed by the Supreme Council to

*Made public March 25, 1922.

give its opinion on the expenses of the armies of occupation made its report, dealing with the army costs since May 1, 1921. This included calculations with respect to the American army, and its actual costs since that date were included in the proposed provision for payment *pari passu* with the other Powers. It had been supposed that this report to the Supreme Council would be referred to the Conference of Ambassadors and would pave the way for suitable action with respect to the American army costs both current and accumulated. It was with surprise that the Government of the United States recently learned that negotiations in connection with and following the meeting at Cannes in January last, apparently contemplated the substitution for the recommendation of the army costs commission of other arrangements which would ignore American army costs altogether, although estimates both for army costs and reparations were being made on the basis of the entire capacity of the German Government to pay.

When it came to the notice of this Government that it was proposed at the meeting of the Finance Ministers to convene at Paris on March 8, definitely to assign the greater portion of the amount heretofore paid in cash by Germany, and not yet finally allocated, to the payment of army costs without making any provision for those of the American army, it was deemed advisable again to direct attention to the position of the United States. The Government of the United States had been advised that all the arrangements of the Finance Ministers have been made subject to the rights of the United States and that these Ministers have also suggested that the Government of the United States should take up the question directly with the Governments concerned.

The armistice agreement concluded between the Allied and associated Governments and Germany on November 11, 1918, provided for military occupation by the Allied and United States forces jointly, and it was expressly provided that

The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhine districts (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

It is not believed that the meaning of this agreement can be regarded as doubtful. It had not only its expressed provision, but its necessary implications. It is the view of this Government, and it is confidently believed that it is the view of all the Governments concerned, that this agreement on the part of the Allied and associated Governments with Germany and with each other had the clear import that the Powers associated in this joint enterprise should stand upon an equal footing as to the payment of all the actual costs of their armies of occupation, and that none of the Powers could, consistently with the agreement, make any arrangements for a preferential or exclusive right of payment.

Further, it is assumed that it would not for a moment be contended that any of the Allied Powers would have been entitled to enter into any arrangement by which all the assets or revenues of the German Empire and its constituent states would be taken for their benefit to the exclusion of any of the other Powers concerned.

It was apparently in recognition of the existing and continuing obligation as to army costs that in the Treaty of Versailles, in undertaking to place "a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent states" (Article 248) priority was given to the total costs of all armies of the Allied and associated Governments in occupied German territory from the date of the signature of the armistice agreement.

Article 248 and 251 of the Treaty of Versailles provide:

ARTICLE 248. There shall be paid by the German Government the total cost of all armies of the Allied and associated Governments in occupied German territory from the date of the signature of the armistice of November

11, 1918, including the keep of men and beasts, lodging and billeting, pay and allowances, salaries and wages, bedding, heating, lighting, clothing, equipment, harness and saddlery, armament and rolling stock, air services, treatment of sick and wounded, veterinary and remount services, transport service of all sorts (such as by rail, sea or river, motor lorries), communications and correspondence, and in general the cost of all administrative or technical services the working of which is necessary for the training of troops and for keeping their numbers up to strength and preserving their military efficiency.

ARTICLE 251. The priority of the charges established by Article 248 shall, subject to the qualifications made below, be as follows:

(A) The cost of the armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 during the armistice and its extensions:

(B) The cost of any armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 after the coming into force of the present treaty.

By the treaty between the United States and Germany, signed August 25, 1921, the ratifications of which were exchanged on November 11, 1921, it is provided that the United States shall have and enjoy the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of Versailles, notwithstanding the fact that the treaty has not been ratified by the United States. The Government of the United States entertains the view and submits it to the consideration of the Allied Governments, that the United States is entitled to payment of the costs of its army of occupation *pari passu* with the Allied Governments and that payments received by them from Germany in the circumstances disclosed cannot be used to the exclusion of the United States without its consent.

The Government of the United States is unable to conclude that the justice of its claim is not fully recognized. The Governments of the Allied Powers will not be unmindful of the fact that the Government of the United States has repeatedly and earnestly been solicited not to withdraw its army of occupation and this army has been continued upon the basis of the right to be paid its actual cost upon an equal footing with the Allies. But, while it is believed that the Allied Governments cannot fail to appreciate the manifest equity of the claim of the United States, it is understood that it has been suggested that there are technical difficulties which stand in the way of its recognition.

While willing to give full consideration to every possible question, this Government is unable to find any such technical obstacle. It is assumed that if any technical question were raised, it would be based upon the fact that the United States has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles. It may be pointed out, however, that Germany has explicitly consented to the priority of payment of the cost of the American army of occupation, notwithstanding the fact that the Treaty of Versailles has not been ratified by the United States. Hence, any technical objection to the application of the payments made by Germany to the discharge of the just claim of the United States for the cost of its army of occupation upon the ground that the United States had not ratified the Treaty of Versailles would necessarily rest not upon any action or lack of action on the part of Germany, but solely upon the refusal of the Governments of the Allied Powers themselves to permit the discharge of an admittedly equitable claim and thus to seek to maintain in their behalf exclusively a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent states for demands exhausting the full capacity of the German Government to pay. The Government of the United States finds it impossible to conceive that any such attitude would be taken by the Allied Governments.

The Government of the United States believes that its right to priority of payment for its actual army costs, upon an equal footing with the Allied Powers,

is not in any way affected by its failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. The right of the United States to share in this priority was not expressly conditioned, and in view of the nature of the claim and of the fact that the treaty purported to create a first charge upon all assets and revenues of the German Empire should not be construed as being conditioned upon the ratification of the treaty by the United States.

It may be noted that the treaty was to come into force on the ratification on the part of Germany and of three of the principal Allied and associated Powers. By Article 251, quoted above, there is provision for priority of the cost of the armies of occupation during the armistice and its extensions and the cost of "any armies" of occupation after the coming into force of the treaty. This would seem clearly to embrace the cost of the army of occupation maintained by the United States.

The Government of the United States believes that its right to be paid the actual cost of its army of occupation *pari passu* with the cost of the armies of the Allied Powers is not only a clearly equitable right but is free from any technical objection.

This Government will welcome any suggestion from the Allied Governments for the reasonable adjustment of this matter. Upon receiving assurances of payment, this Government will be only too happy to proceed to the consideration of suitable means by which its just claim may be satisfied. Pending such consideration and adjustment, this Government earnestly hopes that the Allied Governments will be disposed to refrain from giving effect to any arrangements for the distribution of cash payments received from Germany to the exclusion of the United States.

HUGHES.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE*

In its note of March 22, 1922, the Government of the United States stated that according to the information and accounts in the possession of the Allied Governments, it appeared that the amount due to France for its army costs to May 1, 1921, had been paid in full, chiefly through the deliveries of property.

The Government of the United States is now informed that it is proposed to postpone the debt to France for the value of the Sarre mines as though delivery were made in kind during the year 1922. This Government does not deem it to be necessary at this time to enter into questions relating to debits or credits in the account or to consider the effect of the postponement of the debt for the value of the Sarre mines, and all questions of this character are fully reserved. It is deemed to be sufficient to say that it is the view of the Government of the United States that the question whether or not there would be a deficit in the French account for army costs as of May 1, 1921, upon a final agreed statement of that account, is a matter which does not affect the position of this Government with respect to its right to receive the payment of the actual cost of its army of occupation upon an equal footing with the Allied Powers.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT OF ABOVE

After the dispatch of the instructions to the American diplomatic representatives for delivery of the identic note on army costs, the Department of State was informed that it had been proposed to postpone the debit to France, as against its army costs, of the value of the Sarre mines to the year 1922. The postpone-

*Made public March 22, 1922

ment of this debit would affect the balance of the account as of May 1, 1921. Accordingly, the Department of State sent instructions on Wednesday, March 22, to the American diplomatic representatives to deliver an identic supplementary note to the Governments of Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

[Celebration of One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Declaration of Independence.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 24, 1922.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

It seems appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to the fact that the 4th day of July, 1926, will mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and the beginning of our separate national existence. I am sure the Congress will agree that such an epochal event, which has meant so much to our own Republic, and has provided such a stimulating example to liberty-loving peoples throughout the world, should have fitting commemoration.

The Declaration of Independence was written and signed in Philadelphia. In that city also the Constitution of the United States was framed. So that fine and characteristically American city may claim honors as the birthplace of the Nation and also of its permanent governmental institutions.

Because of these things the centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was signalized by a World Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. Mindful of the success of that enterprise, and of its helpful influences, a movement was recently initiated by the mayor of that city, which is already cordially supported by an organization of its representative citizenship, to celebrate the sesquicentennial anniversary by holding "an exhibition of the progress of the United States in art, science, and industry, in trade and commerce, and in the development of the products of the air, the soil, the mine, the forest, and the seas; to which exhibition the people of all other nations will be invited to contribute evidences of their own progress, to the end that better international understanding and more intimate commercial relationships may hasten the coming of universal peace."

I am advised that it is proposed to hold this exhibition on a scale of impressive grandeur commensurate with the occasion to be celebrated, and the position of eminence in world progress which our nation has come to occupy. The city of Philadelphia has pledged an appropriation of \$5,000,000, and the State of Pennsylvania has taken suitable action to provide for the generous participation of the Commonwealth, and the request now comes to the federal Government to signify its approval so that the participation and cooperation of the nations properly may be invited.

There is every assurance that necessary additional funds for the

general expenses of construction and operation will be assured by the public-spirited citizens of Philadelphia through the Sesquicentennial Exhibition Association, which is now organized and heartily committed to the task of making the occasion in every way worthy of the great event it will celebrate.

I believe the proposed celebration worthy of the indorsement of the Congress, and I recommend, therefore, the enactment of a suitable measure fixing the year 1926 as the time for commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, and designating the city of Philadelphia as the place for the official ceremony, and for holding an international exposition in which all the nations may be asked to participate. Such a sanction will not only challenge the attention of our own people to the patriotic and ennobling deeds of the American founders, and lead them to survey anew the basic landmarks of our history, but it will contribute materially to the growing spirit of amity among the peoples of the earth and to the fuller realization that the progress of mankind is shared by all nations. It will emphasize the advantages of peaceful and friendly intercourse and remind all mankind that its greater achievements are along the ways of peace. Finally, and this I would especially emphasize, it will fittingly signalize a new era in which men are putting aside the competitive instruments of destruction and replacing them with the agencies of constructive peace.

All races and nations have contributed generously to bring civilization thus far on the way to realization of the human commonwealth. Each has contributed of its especial genius to the common progress; each owes to every other a debt which can not too often be acknowledged. This is the one debt which men may go on forever increasing, with assurance that it will impose no burdens, but only add to their prosperity and good fortune. We can not doubt that the great international expositions heretofore held have done much to bring to all mankind a feeling of unity in aspiration and of community in effort. Nor can we question, I think, that in this era of larger cooperation and unprecedented eagerness for helpful understandings there is peculiar reason for emphasizing the thought of mutual support in all the enterprises which promise further advance toward the goal of universal good.

So it seems wholly fitting that this occasion should receive suitable sanction by the Congress, that the lessons of American development and progress may be emphasized at home, and a new spirit of American sympathy and cooperation signalized to all the nations. In inviting display of evidence of the progress and achievements of other peoples, we will further inspire our own endeavors, and prove our interest in the accomplishments of all who contribute to human advancement, wherever they may be.

In connection herewith I am inclosing copies of a chronology of the sesquicentennial project, together with a copy of the resolution passed by the city council and approved by the mayor of Philadelphia on the 1st day of February, 1922.

WARREN G. HARDING.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Forest Protection Week and Golden Anniversary of Arbor Day.]

Whereas, the protection and perpetuation of our forests are vital to our continued industrial welfare and national strength, and to our individual health, comfort, and prosperity, and

Whereas, a period of fifty years has passed since, in April, 1872, there was instituted in the State of Nebraska observance of a day especially set apart and consecrated for tree planting, and known as Arbor Day, and

Whereas, both through widespread annual celebration of Arbor Day and through the increasing observance of Forest Protection Week public attention has been commendably directed to the value of trees, the unnecessary waste of our diminishing forests through preventable fires, the deplorable effects of forest devastation, and the need for remedial measures against depletion of an essential natural resource:

Therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, do urge upon the Governors of the various States to designate and set apart the week of April 16-22, 1922, as Forest Protection Week, and the last day of that week, April 22, as the Golden Anniversary of Arbor Day, and to request officers of public instruction, of counties, cities and towns, and of civic and commercial organizations to unite in thought and action for the preservation of our common heritage by planning such educational and instructive exercises as shall bring before the people the disastrous effects of the present waste by forest fires, and the need of individual and collective effort to conserve the forests and increase our tree growth for ornament and use.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 31st day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand, nine hundred and twenty-two, and [SEAL.] of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES, *Secretary of State.*

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Removing and Replacing Certain Officers of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 31, 1922.*

On and after this date the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, James L. Wilmeth, and the Assistant Director, James M. Fisher, are removed. Louis A. Hill is hereby appointed to be Director, and John P. Perry to be Assistant Director. This action is taken for the good of the service.

The following named offices in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are hereby abolished, and the present incumbents of these offices are dismissed for the good of the service: (Exception is made of those who are eligible for retirement for age. Such persons shall be placed on the retired list, as of this date). viz:—

All offices of Chief of Division; All offices of Assistant Chief of Division; The office of Custodian of Dies, Rolls and Plates; The office of Chief Clerk; The office of Experimental Engineer; The office of Mechanical Expert and Designer; The office of Superintendent of Work; The office of Superintendent of Picture Engravers; The office of Superintendent of Transfers; The office of Superintendent of Photo-litho. Section; The office of Superintendent of Electrolytic Section; The office of Foreman of Building and Cleaners; The office of Foreman of Garage; The office of Foreman of Plate Cleaners; The office of Storekeeper.

In lieu of the above offices the following offices are hereby established:

All offices heretofore known as Chief of Division and Assistant Chief of Division shall hereafter be designated Superintendent of Division and Assistant Superintendent of Division, respectively; the office heretofore known as Custodian of Dies, Rolls and Plates shall be designated Superintendent of Plate Vault; the office heretofore known as Chief Clerk shall be designated Chief Accountant; the office heretofore known as Foreman of Building and Cleaners shall be designated Superintendent of the Building; the office heretofore known as Foreman of Garage shall be designated Assistant Superintendent of the Building; the office heretofore known as Foreman of Plate Cleaners shall be designated Technical Foreman of Plate Cleaners and the office heretofore known as Storekeeper shall be designated Custodian of Supplies.

All vacancies created by the above described plan of reorganization shall be filled by the Director of the Bureau.

WARREN G. HARDING.

RUSSIA

CHINA

JAPAN

PHILIPPINE ISL.

AUSTRALIA

4396 M.

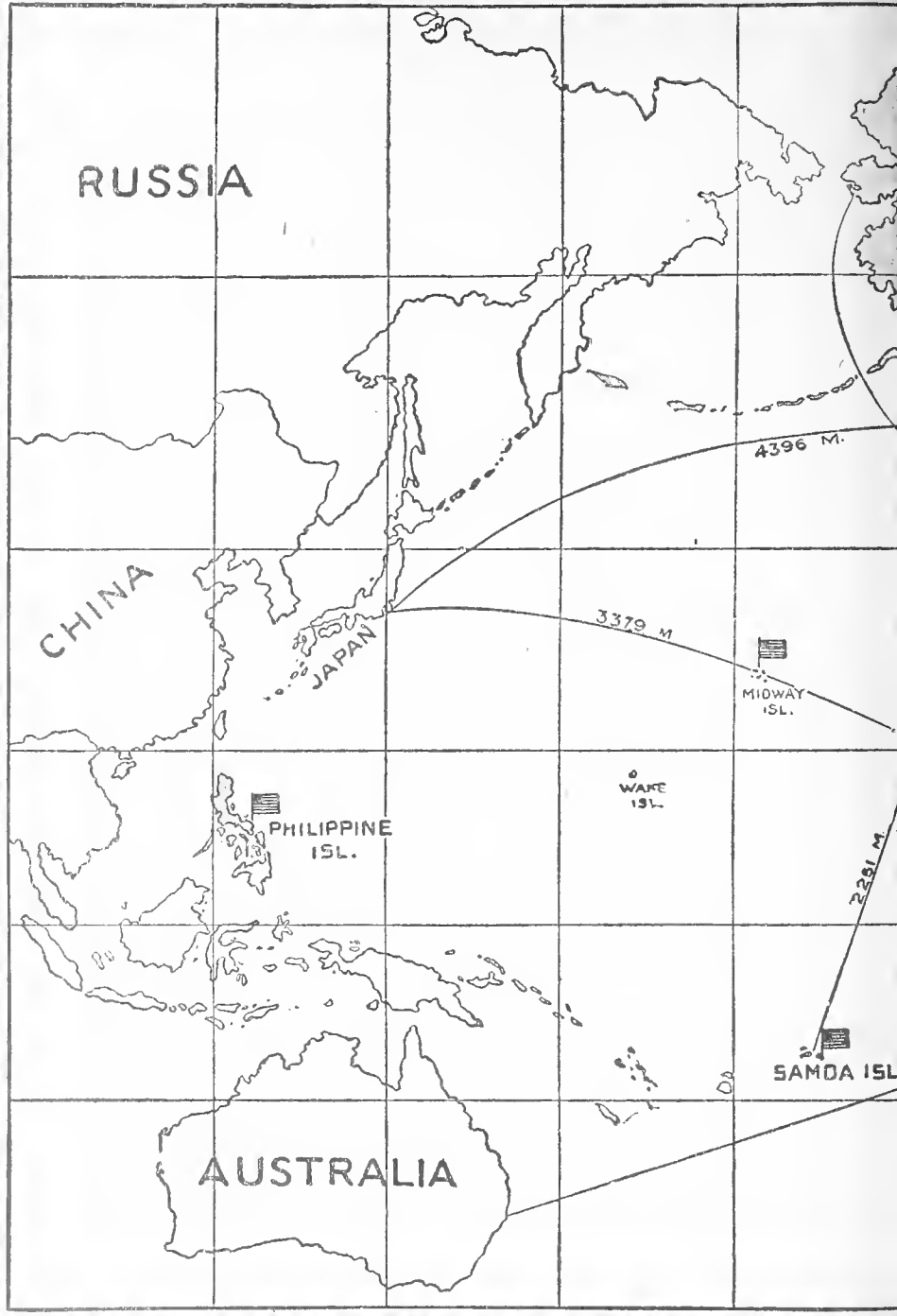
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WAKE ISL.

MIDWAY ISL.

2281 M.

SAMOA ISL.



KA

CANADA

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PORTO RICO ISL

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HAWAII ISL.

4711 M.

M.

VENEZUELA

COLUMBIA

GUIANA

ECUADOR

BRAZIL

PERU

BOLIVIA

PARAGUAY

ARGENTINA

CHILE

