

WILSON'S TOUR IS DOOMED TO FAIL

Fess Says Treaty Foes Will Win on Basis of Undiluted Americanism.

U. S. RIGHTS IN BALANCE Representative Holds Partisanship Has Been Injected by Administration.

Special Despatch to THE SUN. WASHINGTON, Sept. 28. President Wilson by his "swing around the circle" has made the issue of the peace treaty "undiluted Americanism" and for that reason his efforts are doomed to fail, Representative Fess (Ohio), chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, declared in a statement tonight.

Referring to the President's statement that "this cause was greater than the Government itself," Mr. Fess said: "No party ever did nor even can win a contest before the American people on a foreign issue."

"The Senate Republicans have accepted the President's challenge, not on the basis of partisanship but Americanism," the Congressman said. "His statements are taken to indicate the near unanimous approval among House Republicans of the opposition in the Senate to unreserved and unamended ratification of the treaty."

"The country will accept the challenge against an American policy or the detraction of the peace treaty, but it will not accept the complete retention of genuine Americanism, built upon our sovereignty and independence, reserving to itself all rights that belong to a sovereign nation, with possible exception of foreign countries whose interests are not ours, Mr. Fess continued.

Wilson Forced Issue. "Upon this issue of an altruistic internationalism now forced by this Administration upon the country by a command to ratify the present league without the crossing of the detour of the 'swing round the circle' Republicans, not as Republicans but as American citizens, will neither hesitate in accordance nor falter in defense of our national ideals."

"We demand first of all the security and preservation of our nationality, both in its spirit and life, and reserve to ourselves the unqualified right to determine when and how we will enter into the quarrels of foreign nations among themselves. Let the issue stand as now proposed by the President and his friends. The second 'swing round the circle' the purpose of which was to compel a legislative branch to obey an Executive decree, is ended."

"The President's effort to force the House to accept his view on reconstruction did not succeed notwithstanding the presence in the House of members who are satisfied with the plans of his opponents."

"There never has been any substantial belief that President Wilson could compel the Senate to accept his view on the League of Nations. He has, however, accentuated the President's estimate of the importance of the league which he demanded in his recent address to Congress at whatever cost of independent action of the Government."

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FRANCE OPENS WAY TO LEAGUE CHANGES

Continued from First Page.

After he had tried in vain to show that the treaty under Article 163 furnished all necessary means of diminishing Germany. As a result of the compromise reached it may well be asked if France can request new negotiations with the Allies with respect to unattainable parts of the treaty, why cannot the United States make a similar demand concerning those reservations which it deems vital to its own interests?

A question put in the Chamber by M. Renaudel, the Socialist leader, is causing the Government to give attention to Article V, which says that the first meeting of the League of Nations shall be called by the President of the United States. He asked how the league would begin to function if the President of the United States had not given up his right to participate in the league. The question was not answered.

More and more in the comment in Parliament and out of it there appears the idea that what sentiment is behind the league here is due to the belief which seems to prevail in all France that through a new section of the treaty the league can become of economic assistance to France and the United States can be made to bear some of France's financial burdens.

Little Confidence in League. Never was confidence throughout Europe in the workability of the League of Nations less than at the present time. The British and the American Senate, it may be deemed by Premier Clemenceau and his highly efficient aid, Capt. Andre Tardieu, who by Premier Lloyd George, but that does not hide the fact, apparent to every one who mingles in political and diplomatic circles here, who comes into contact not only with French opinion but with the opinion of the British, Greeks and Rumanians, that the league cannot and will not function in the way that its promoters insist that it will and which they are trying to bring about.

The chief reliance, or rather that of its promoter, President Wilson, is the economic power and that is regarded here as of little value because its use against any nation implies a concert of purpose, and the solidarity of other nations such as cannot be attained. It is regarded as more, the continual brandishing of that weapon by the American representatives here and the implied threats that the United States is reacting severely against the United States.

Plainly under the inspiration of the League of Nations, the Americans here have been talking constantly of the league as a weapon in connection with the problems now before the Peace Conference, and threats, even though they are supported by the Allies, are being made, already are driving the other nations into political groups. They bring up all the political and trade rivalries of Europe.

Rumanian Blockade Farce. Rumania is defying the conference because she has grain to sell and France wants to buy it rather than be indebted to the United States for the grain. Consequently the economic blockade of Rumania is a farce, according to everybody in well informed French circles, as well as in those of the United States, while she professes to be trying to use economic pressure on Rumania.

The threat of economic isolation for Italy should be declared, in the opinion of the Foreign Relations Committee, which is almost certain not to favor it. Senators Harding and Lodge (Indiana) and Williams constitute this committee. It has held some hearings and will hold more. The real interest, however, is to know why the resolution was introduced. Apparently the President has promised to do something in that quarter and wants to be sure of his power to act.

Warning of a Diplomat. Apropos all this Armenian discussion a former American ambassador, than whom few persons are better qualified to experience, has addressed to the committee of the Foreign Relations Committee a letter on the Armenian situation which is expected to have a good deal of weight in the crystallization of the Senatorial opinion.

It is his name for the present at least cannot be given. This letter is permitted to publish the following extracts from it which bear on the Armenian problem and incidentally express the opinions of a veteran diplomatist on the League of Nations questions. The letter came to the Senator, who has permitted THE SUN to make these excerpts:

"No greater mistake was ever made than our departure for moment from Washington's advice, 'no entangling alliances,' and the sooner that the unwritten law becomes a part of our constitutional law, the better; and how any sensible American can approve either the League of Nations pact or the special alliance agreement is beyond my comprehension."

"If the day should ever come when with our natural safeguards and isolations we are unable to defend our territory (land or sea) from the invader, the only thing left for us to do would be to either select one or more virile nations still on the upward march, as allies, or go out of business, on the last terms we could make, as an independent nation."

"With the growing Socialist tendencies, together with the negro and other problems we have to solve, it is not to be expected that the United States will have more of the same kind within a day or two," said the Senator. It develops that the same kind of influence is being organized widely for the same end and that President Wilson has given some form of assurance as to what he will do in Armenia, and the English newspapers constantly reflect the belief on the other side that if the treaty were ratified the country presently would assume the Armenian burden that Great Britain is anxious entirely to lay down.

So long as the treaty is in discussion it would be the worst of policy to permit the country definite knowledge of any promises of this kind that have been made on behalf of the Government, for the idea of European or Asiatic mandates is proving highly unpopular. Yet the fact is constantly being repeated that the European diplomats are endeavoring to understand that the United States is going to take a larger part in the troubled regions and that matters will be made clear as soon as the ratification of the treaty gives Mr. Wilson a free hand.

Dangers in Armenia. "No thought of a mandate should be tolerated for a moment, and above all that of so-called Armenia, which is only a deceptive geographical expression, as a national viewpoint. Armenia is co-existent with the old world and the British naval forces in the Baltic have defeated the Russian Bolshevik naval forces there. An Estonian army, well equipped with the assistance of the Entente Powers, is reported amply capable of advancing and taking Petrograd before winter. The Entente Powers are anxious this should be done, but recently the Estonians apparently have lost interest in the enterprise and London reports that Estonia insists on recognition of its independence by the Allies, and is regarded as a move before it will order its army to move.

The western European Powers have been slow about recognizing Estonia, and left to the European Powers who have insisted on judgment of reason the enclosing territory from Turkey, including many districts largely populated by Armenians, in order to satisfy their own selfish interests; this irrespective of the native population and greatly to the disadvantage of the commercial interests. The 'open door' will hereafter be in practice but a small crack (with a chain) zealously guarded.

WILSON RETURN DUE TO FOREIGN CRISES

Continued from First Page.

Senator Williams's resolution is regarded as evidence that the Administration has some understandings with the European Governments as to the part the United States will assume in Armenia. There has been much discussion of an American mandate for Armenia and a considerable propaganda has been started in this country to bring pressure on the Senate in favor of accepting such a mandate.

One day last week two bishops of an important Protestant denomination wrote the Senator from their State urging him to support the proposal of an American mandate for Armenia.

"I have no doubt that I will have more of the same kind within a day or two," said the Senator. It develops that the same kind of influence is being organized widely for the same end and that President Wilson has given some form of assurance as to what he will do in Armenia, and the English newspapers constantly reflect the belief on the other side that if the treaty were ratified the country presently would assume the Armenian burden that Great Britain is anxious entirely to lay down.

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Situation in Northern Russia. In Northern Russia there is a situation that recently has aroused great interest here. The British naval forces in the Baltic have defeated the Russian Bolshevik naval forces there. An Estonian army, well equipped with the assistance of the Entente Powers, is reported amply capable of advancing and taking Petrograd before winter. The Entente Powers are anxious this should be done, but recently the Estonians apparently have lost interest in the enterprise and London reports that Estonia insists on recognition of its independence by the Allies, and is regarded as a move before it will order its army to move.

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"Turkey always has been forced to 'pay the bill.' Treaties with her have never been respected nor has justice or proper consideration of the difficulties she has to contend with ever been accorded to her. The reversal of England's and France's policy for nearly two centuries, of keeping Turkey's arch enemy Russia from absorbing Constantinople and securing control of the straits, the Balkans threw Turkey into the hands of Germany, as the alliance formed by these two countries with Russia in recent years for their own particular interests, after fighting the Crimean and other wars to keep Russia in check, led to entanglements that caused them to fight together."

Where the Error Was Made. The future peace of the world would have been much safer had the integrity of the Ottoman Empire been maintained, and even the mixed population would have been better contented. The constitution granted in 1908 granted equal rights to Christians and Moslems, and had it not been for the revolutionary movements in the Balkans, the Greeks inspired by Russia and Greece among their coreligionists residing in Turkey with a view of securing large areas of Turkish territory a fairly good Government might have been established in Turkey long before this.

"Good government was to Moslems equally as interesting as to the Christian population and the European Powers could readily have enforced it, having been granted special privileges by the Berlin treaty of 1878 for that very purpose; but unhappily for Turkey they were otherwise interested, having their own selfish ambitions and designs to serve."

"The Orient has been the centre of the world's political disturbances for many years and is apt to remain so under proposed carving up schemes for a very long time to come. It would be suicidal on our part to allow ourselves to be dragged into the hopeless mire in any manner. The time is not many years off when we will be seriously condemned for having idly stood by and allowed Turkey to be ruthlessly dismembered."

"Our people must be blinding to the fact that while we are dreaming of high ideals and talking of brotherly love our new made friends (we did not have a friend in Europe during the Spanish war) are quietly absorbing, under one guise or another, all the free markets of the world. Although deeply indebted to see our people display such rancid simplicity as to allow these things to go on right under their noses without realizing the intent and danger of what is being done, it is an insult to our intelligence."

The Foreign Minister's statement was followed by a lively discussion in the Chamber. Deputy Don Colonna di Cesarò, a Nationalist, strongly criticized what he referred to as the submissive attitude of the Italian delegation at the Peace Conference. As to the Council of Four, he declared, where three of the members spoke English, while Premier Orlando did not understand a word, he resembled another figure, "not between two, but among three thieves."

"No formula will be acceptable which does not give 'Flume to Italy,'" the Deputy concluded.

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BRITISH SENT OUR MEN TO DALMATIA

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ty to exercise control over American naval forces, except with the express permission of the American Secretary of the Navy.

TITTONI PLEDGES UNITY WITH ALLIES Italian Chamber Excitedly Discusses Flume.

Rome, Sept. 27 (delayed).—Italy must remain in unity with her allies, declared Tommaso Tittoni, the Foreign Minister, in the course of his speech to-day in the Chamber dealing with the situation growing out of the Flume incident, in which he offered to resign in favor of any member who believed he could handle the problem better.

The Foreign Minister had gone over the course of the peace negotiations at Padua, paying particular attention to the status of President Wilson in the peace activities and pointing out that the Italian delegates had had to adopt an attitude of compromise, because, while France and Great Britain had assured Italy of their support, they had avoided going beyond the point in which they would have come into conflict with President Wilson. The Foreign Minister went on:

"I should be a traitor if I did not recommend the avoidance of a course which would put Italy in open opposition to the Peace Conference, which would mean Italy's abandonment of the conference, with the loss of all the advantages of compromise, because, while with our complete isolation, with the renunciation of our position as a great Power—the committing of a folly of which we would soon repent."

He Issues Challenge. "If any one will rise in the Chamber who is confident he could attain better conditions for Italy than I have done, I am ready to cede my place immediately in the interests of the country, thanking him for the relief from the heavy burden."

It is indispensible that Italy be united in an accord with her Allies. The alliance formed for the war must necessarily continue during the peace."

Speaking of Italy's former enemies, the Foreign Minister said: "We wish a democratic evolution to occur in Germany to obliterate any remains of Prussian militarism; we wish Hungary and Bulgaria to become elements of the peace and equilibrium of eastern Europe, while as for Austria, now that we have reached the tops of

the Alps, our natural frontier, we are ready to consider the Austrians as brothers."

Referring to Asia Minor he said: "This problem will return for the Peace Conference at the end of October, when President Wilson will declare whether America will accept a mandate in Turkey or Armenia desert."

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