NATIONS' LEAGUE ONLY WAY TO END GREAT ARMAMENTS – WILSON

President Addresses Huge K. C. Crowd; Ridiculous to Talk of League as Tending Toward War; If Democracies Don't Destroy Autocracy Now, Must Do It Later; Shantung Proviso China's Club Over Japan.

(Continued from page 1.)

anywhere could control the majority.

People Do Not Rule in Russia.

"The men who now control the affairs of Russia," said Mr. Wilson, "represent nobody but themselves. They have no kind of a mandate. There is a closer monopoly of power in Moscow than there ever was in Wilhelmstrasse. And a man more cruel than the czar is controlling the destinies of that people.

"And if we don't want little groups of selfish men to plot the future of Europe, then we must see to it that little groups of selfish men do not plot the future of the United States."

Citing conditions in Armenia, Mr. Wilson said he "wondered that men do not wake up to the moral responsibility of what they are doing," when they were "debating and debating," while tragic situations waited to be dealt with as soon as the debating was over.

Hope for "every people" in the world that haven't got what they think they ought to have," was seen by the president in league provision which empowers one nation to call friendly attention to what it thinks is an injustice inside another nation. Every such people, said he, would have a "world forum," in which to present its case.

People Misled About Treaty.

The people, said the president, had been misled about the treaty by men who look at it "with the jaundiced eyes of those who have some private interests of their own." When these men were "gibbeted" by public opinion, he said, "they will regret that the gibbet is so high."

"If anybody dare to defeat this great instrument," he continued, "then they will have to gather together their counselors for the world and do something better. Negations will not save the world."

The president said some men opposed the treaty conscientiously, and he would take off his hat in the presence of any man's conscience. But these men, he added, based their opposition on "ignorance" of what was in the treaty.

Germany said the president, would be the only great nation left out of the league, "unless we decide to stay out and come in later with Germany."

Alluding to the American promise to set the Philippine islands free, Mr. Wilson said the league would solve the "very perplexing problem of how they were to be kept free after their independence had been granted. Mr. Wilson said he could imagine the shades of the fathers looking on with astonishment "that the American spirit has made a conquest of the world."

American Spirit Won War.

"I tell you," he added, "the war was won by the American spirit. And America in this treaty has realized what those gallant boys fought for. The men who make this impossible or difficult will have a life long reckoning with the man who won the war."

The president asked the audience not to think he had come out to "fight or antagonize" anybody.

"I have the greatest respect," he said, "for the senate of the United States. But I have come out to fight a cause that is greater than the senate and I intend to fight that cause in office or out, as long as I live."

Text of Kansas City Speech.

In his address, president Wilson said:

"I came back from Paris, bringing one of the greatest documents of human history. One of the things that made it great was that it was penetrated throughout with the principles to which America has devoted her life. Let me hasten to say that one of the most delightful circumstances of the work on the other side of the water was that I discovered that what we called American principles had penetrated the heart and to the understanding not only of the great peoples of Europe, but to the hearts and understandings of the great men who were representing the peoples of Europe.

9 Months' Discussion Before War.

"I think that I can say that one of the things that America has had at heart throughout her existence has been that there should be substituted for the brutal processes of war the friendly processes of consultation and that is done in the covenant of the league of nations. I am very anxious that my fellow citizens should realize that that is the chief topic of the covenant of the league of nations, the greater part of its provisions. The whole interest and purpose of the document are expressed in provisions by which all the member states agree that they will never go to war without first having done one or the other of two things, either submitted the matter in controversy to arbitration, in which case they agree to abide by the verdict, or submitted it to discussion in the counsel of the league of nations, and for that purpose they consent to allow six months for the discussion, and whether they like the opinion expressed or not, that they will not go to war for three months after that opinion has been expressed so that you have, whether you get arbitration or not, nine months' discussion and I want to remind you that that is the central principle of some 20 treaties entered into between the United States of America and some 30 other sovereign nations, all of which are confirmed by the senate of the United States.

U. S. Has Adopted Principle.

"We have such an agreement with France; we have such an agreement with Great Britain; we have such an agreement with practically every great nation except Germany, which refused to enter into such an agreement because, my fellow citizens, Germany knew that she intended something that didn't bear discussion and that if she and submitted the purpose which lead to this war to so much as one month's discussion, she never would have dared go into the enterprise against mankind, which she finally did go into (applause) and, therefore, I say that this principle of discussion is the principle already adopted by America. And what is the compulsion to do this? The compulsion is this that if any member state violates that promise to submit either to arbitration or discussion, it is thereby, ipso facto, deemd to have committed an act of war against all the rest. Then, you will ask, do we at once take up arms and fight them? No. We do something very much more terrible than that. We absolutely boycott him.

"Let any merchant put up to himself, that if he enters into a covenant and then breaks it and the people all around absolutely desert his establishment and will have nothing to do with him, ask him after that if it would be necessary to send the police. The most terrible thing that can happen to any individual and the most conclusive thing that can happen to a nation is to be read out of decent society (Applause).

Provides For Disarmament.

"There was another thing that we needed to accomplish, that is accomplished in this document. We wanted disarmament and this document provides in the only possible way for disarmament by common agreement. Observe, my fellow citizens, that just now every great fighting nation in the world is a member of this partnership except Germany, and inasmuch as Germany has accepted a limitation of her army to 100,000 men, I don't think for the time being she may be regarded as a great fighting nation.

"And you know, my fellow citizens, that armaments mean great standing armies, and great stores of war material. They do not mean burdensome taxation only.

"They do not mean merely compulsory military service, which eats the economic strength of the nation, but they mean the building up of a military class.

"Again and again, my fellow citizens, in the conference at Paris, we were face to face with this situation: That in dealing with a particular civil government we found that they would not dare to promise what their general staff was not willing that they should promise; and that they were dominated by the military machine which they had created, nominally for their own defence, but really—whether they willed it or not—for the provocation of war. And so, as long as you have a military class, it does not make any difference what your form of government is. If you are determined to be armed to the teeth, you must obey the orders and direction of the only men who can control the great machinery of war. It is not merely the cost of it (armament) although that is overwhelming, but it is the spirit of it, and America has never had and I hope in the providence of God, never will have that spirit. (Great applause.)

Peoples Are Emancipated.

"And there is no other way to dispense with great armaments except by the common agreement of the fighting nations of the world. And here is the agreement. They promise disarmament and promise to agree upon a plan. But there was something else we wanted, that is accomplished by this treaty. We wanted to destroy autocratic authority everywhere in the world. We wanted to see to it that there was no place in the world where a small group of men could use their fellow citizens as pawns in a game; that there was no place in the world where a small group of men, without consulting their fellow citizens, could send their fellow citizens to the battle field, and to deal in accomplishing something dynastic, some political plan that had been conceived in private, some object that had been prepared for by universal, world wide intrigue. That is what we wanted to accomplish. The most startling thing that developed itself at the opening of our participation in this war was not the military preparation of Germany—we were familiar with that, though we had been dreaming that she would not use it—but her political preparation; to find that every community in the civilized world was penetrated by her intrigue. The German penetrated by her intrigue that, but it was known in Wilhelmstrasse, where the central offices of the German government were, and Wilhelmstrasse was the master of the German people; and this war, my fellow citizens, has emancipated the German people as well as the rest of the world.

"We don't want to see anything like that done again, because we know that democracy will only have to destroy that form of government; and if we don't destroy it now, the job is still to be done and by a combination of all the great fighting peoples of the world to see to it that the aggressive purposes of such government cannot be realized, you make it no longer worth while for little groups of men to contrive the downfall of civilization in private conference.

"My fellow citizens, it does not make any difference what kind of a minority governs you, if it is a minority. And the thing we must see to is that no minority anywhere masters the majority. That is at the heart, my fellow citizens, of the tragical things that are happening in that great country which we long to help and can find no way that is effective to help—I mean the great realm of Russia. The men who are now measurably in control of the affairs of Russia represent nobody but themselves. They have again and again been challenged to call a constitutional convention. They have again and again been challenged to prove that they had some kind of a mandate even from a single class of their fellow citizens. And they dared not attempt it; they have no mandate from anybody. They are only 24 of them, I am told, and there were more than 24 men who used to control the destinies of Europe from Wilhelmstrasse.

"There is a closer monopoly of power in Petrograd and Moscow than there ever was in Berlin, and the thing that is intolerable is not that the Russian people are having their way, but that another group of men more cruel than the czar himself is controlling the destinies of that great people.

And I want to say here and now that I am against the control of any minority anywhere. Search your own economic history and what have you been uneasy about? Now and again you have said there were small groups of capitalists who were controlling the industry and, therefore, the development of the United States. Seriously, my fellow citizens, if that is so (and I sometimes have feared that it was), we must break up monopoly. I am not saying that there is any group of our fellow citizens who are conspiriously doing anything of the kind, and I am saying that these allegations must be proved. But if it is proved, that any class, any group anywhere, is without the suffrage of their fellow citizens in control of our affairs, then I am with you to destroy the power of that group. We have got to be frank with ourselves, however. If we do not want minority government in Germany, we must see to it we do not have it in the United States. If you do not want little groups of selfish men to plot the future of Europe, we must not allow little groups of selfish men to plot the future of America. Any man that speaks of a class must prove that he also speaks for all his fellow citizens and for mankind; and then we will listen to him.

Armenia Faces Destruction.

"Then there was another thing we wanted to do, my fellow citizens, that is done in this document. We wanted to see that helpless people were nowhere in the world put at the mercy of unscrupulous enemies and masters. There is one pitiful example which is in the hearts of all of us, I mean the example of Armenia. There was a Christian people, helpless, at the mercy of a Turkish government which thought it the service of God to destroy them. And at this moment, my fellow citizens, it is an open question whether the Armenian people will not, while we sit here and debate, be absolutely destroyed. When I think of words piled on words, of debate following debate, when there unspeakable things that cannot be handled until the debate is over, are happening in these pitifu. parts of the world, I wonder that men do not wake up to the moral responsibility of what they are doing. Great peoples are driven out upon a desert where there is no food and can be none, and they are compelled to die and then men, women and children thrown into a common grave, so imperfectly covered up that here and there is a pitiful arm stretched out to heaven; and there is not pity in the world. When shall we wake to the moral responsibility of this great occasion?

Would Give All Square Deal.

"And so, my fellow citizens, there are other aspects to that matter. Not all the populations that are having something that is not a square deal live in Armenia. There are others. And one of them glories of the great document which I brought back with me is this:

"That everywhere within the area of settlement covered by the political questions involved in that treaty, people of that sort have been given their freedom and guaranteed their freedom. But the thing does not end there because the treaty includes the covenant of the league of nations. And what does that say: That says that it is the privilege of any member state to call attention to anything anywhere that is likely to disturb the peace of the world or the good understanding between nations upon which the peace of the world depends, and every people in the world that have not got what they think they ought to have is thereby given a world forum in which to bring the thing to the bar of mankind. There never before has been provided a world forum in which the legitimate grievances of peoples entitled to consideration can be brought to the common judgment of mankind. And if I were the advocate of any suppressed people surely I could not ask any better forum than to stand up before the world and challenge the other party to make good its excuses for not acting in that case.

Plays Display of Party Passion.

"To reject that treaty, to alter that treaty, is to impair one of the first charters of mankind. And yet there are men who approach he question with passion, with private passion and party passion, who think only of some immediate advantage to themselves or to a group of their fellow countrymen, and who look at the thing with the jaundiced eyes of those who have some private purpose of their own.

"When at last, to the annals of mankind, they are gibbeted they will regret that the gibbet is so high.

"I would not have you think that I am trying to characterize those who conscientiously object to anything in this great document. I take off my hat in the presence of any man's genuine conscience, and there are men who are conscientiously opposed to it, though they will pardon me if I say ignorantly opposed. I have no quarrel with them. It has been a great pleasure to confer with some of them—and to tell them, as frankly as I would have told my most intimate friend, the whole inside of my mind and every other mind that I knew anything about that had been concerned with the conduct of affairs at Paris, in order that they might understand this thing and go with the rest of us in the confirmation of what is necessary for the peace of the world.

Has Fighting Spirit About Pact.

"I have no intolerant spirit in the matter; but I also assure you that from the bottom of my feet to the top of my head I have got a fighting spirit about it.

"And if anybody dares to defeat this great experiment, then they must gather together the counselors of the world and do something better.

"If there is a better reheme, I for one will subscribe to it, but I want to say now, as I said the other night, it is a case of 'put up or shut up.' Negation will not save the world. Opposition constructs nothing. Opposition is the specialty of those who are Bolshevistically inclined.

"And I assure you I am not comparing any of my respected colleagues to Bolshevists; but I am merely pointing out that the Bolshevistic spirit lacks every element of constructive opposition. They have destroyed everything and they have proposed nothing. (Applause and cheers.)

"And while there is a common abhorrence for political Bolshevism, I hope there will not be any such thing grow up in our country as international Bolshevism, the Bolshevism that destroys the constructive work of men who have conscientiously striven to cement the good feeling of the great peoples of the world.

Simplifies Philippine Problem.

"Is it not a great vision, my fellow citizens, this of the thoughtful world combined for peace and this of all the great peoples of the world associated to see that justice is done, that the strong who intend wrong are restrained and that the weak who cannot defend themselves are made secure. We have a problem ahead of us that ought to interest us in this connection. We have promised the people of the Philippine islands that we will set them free. It has been one of our perplexities how we should make them safe after we set the mfree. Under this arrangement they will be safe from the outset. They will become members of the league of nations and every great nation in the world will be obliged to respect and preserve against external aggression from any quarter the territorial integrity and political independence of the Philippines. It simplifies one of the most perplexing problems that has faced the American public.

"But it does not simplify our problems merely, gentlemen. It illustrates the triumph of the American spirit. I do not want to attempt any flight of fancy, but I can fancy those men of the first generation, that so thoughtfully set this great movement up, the generation of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson and the Adamses—I can fancy their looking on with a sort of enraptured amazement that the American spirit should have made conquest of the world.

Has No Doubt of Result.

"If anything that I have said has left the impression on your mind that I have the least doubt of the result, please dismiss the impression. And if you think I have come out on this crand tonight anybody please dismiss that from your mind. I have not come to fight or antagonize any individual or body of individuals. I have, let me say, without the slightest affectation, the greatest respect for the

(Continued on page 3, column 1.)

Declares Wilson Won't Tell Facts About Shantung

So Senator Tells How Bill Kaiser Got Shantung Farm From John Chinaman.

Washington, D. C., Sept. 6.—Senator Norris, Republican, of Nebraska, speaking in the senate today on the claims of China to Shantung, said the president would not tell the facts regarding the disposition of that privonce "because it would cast some reflection on the peace conference."

Supporters of the administration, he said, "dare not because it would incur the displeasure of their great leader," so the senator announced he himself would relate the story of "the troubled community."

Talks in Narrative Form.

In narrative form that usually begins "once upon a time," senator Norris told the story of Shantung. Throughout his speech, nations were referred to as individuals, Germany being styled Bill Kaiser, Japan, Mr. Jap, Great Britain, France and Italy as John Bull, Mr. French and Mr. Italiano, respectively, while the United States was named Miss Columbia.

Mr. Jap Seizes Property.

Bill Kaiser, pictured as a husky fellow who trained himself in the use of firearms with the idea of despoiling his neighbors, the senator said, forcibly took the "Shantung farm" from John Chinaman, and later, when the other members of the community were engaged in punishing Bill Kaiser, Mr. Jap, taking advantage of Bill Kaiser's preoccupation in other fields, seized the property.

The senator's story of the sittings of the peace conference included a satirical account of the journeys and methods of Miss Columbia, one who "possessed a beautiful voice and a wonderful command of language," adding that "she surpassed by far the greatest of her sex in her ability to talk."

WILSON ADOPTS NEW METHODS

Uses Rooseveltian Tactics in Bringing Arguments Home to People.

(Continued From Page 1)

makes an open bid for support by hinting that America cannot intrude upon England's affairs now, but that under a league of nations Ireland can get a hearing and the moral support of the United States.

Five—With respect to foreign wars and sending troops across the seas, Mr. Wilson emphasizes that American boys cannot be compelled to fight unless the representatives of the United States in the league council so advises, and our representative would be under instructions to take no such step without the sanction of congress.

Sixth—Faith in Japan's intentions to return Shantung to China is expressed without qualification by the president, and to those who do not trust Japan and want to give the territory back to China immediately, Mr. Wilson addresses this question:

"How will you take Shantung away from Japan when Great Britain and France are pledged already and have been pledged for two years to give Japan all the rights which Germany enjoyed? Does America want to fight Great Britain and France and Japan, and is that the way to keep America out of the war?"

Mr. Wilson presented no apology for Japan, but says Great Britain and France had to promise her Shantung in order to get Japan to come into the war and help keep the Pacific clear of German raiders. Mr. Wilson admits the bargain and denounces secret treaties, but says the remedy for the whole deplorable plight of China lies in the league of nations and its processes for revision of all grants of territory to other powers as well as Japan.

Most Telling Argument.

Seventh—Finally, and this is where the president always makes his biggest hit, he reminds his hearers that America went into the war to end war, that conscription was put into operation and liberty loans were floated and hard earned dollars were taken from American pockets and the flower of America's manhood went to foreign graves, not merely to beat Germany, but to prevent any other nation from trying the same experiment which Germany tried.

Eight—The discussion, he contends, would have been enough to prevent the last European war, as Germany would not have gone in if she knew England would fight, and she would certainly have held her horses if she dreamed America might come in. Now the president points out nine months would be provided for arbitrations or discussion before there could be a war, and if there were war, the economic boycott would be effective.

Fears War Without League.

Stubborn nations would be starved into submission, they would be commercially isolated and financially bankrupted unless they accepted the verdict of mankind. If the league is not set up and Europe goes as it has before, he thinks there will be more war and America will be drawn into it and our boys will not be a couple of hundred thousand, but millions of men.

So it will be seen from the foregoing that the president is appealing to the peaceful instincts of the American people and the deeply imbedded passion for peace which elected him in 1916 on a platform of "keep out of war" and then supported him wholeheartedly on a platform of freeing the world from militarism and of safeguarding democracy.

Mr. Wilson cynically recalls the enthusiasm of certain of the league's opponents when America entered the war, and says that when he led America into war to put an end to the war business, he meant it.

Dramatically, he exclaims, that he would not be able to look into the fact of a widowed wife or a bereaved parent if he came back from Paris without a program to end future wars. To those who would turn away from the weak and helpless in Europe, the new nations which hitherto have been the pawns of the strong because on power interceded in their behalf, Mr. Wilson applies the epithet, "contemptible quitters," and it is mild language compared to that which he will use before he gets through denouncing those in America who he thinks are selfishly refusing to see the job through.

Slowly Drawing Line.

Slowly, but surely, the president is drawing a line between the peace at a price elements, who wanted to warn Americans of the danger and wanted to amend the conscription act so that our troops might not help the allies and those who supported the war with Germany in the hope that out of it would come some kind of a concert of moral and physical power to preserve peace.

Mr. Wilson admits flaws in the covenant, but says they can be corrected in time, and that unless the league is set up now, the whole international combination which was set up to beat Germany will fall apart and will not easily be brought up together again. Business men who heard the president at St. Louis said his appeal to cchew party politics drew loud applause from the Republican president, and that Mr. Wilson made headway. Some said they had not understood before how deeply American business was involved in the controversy of the league.

Business Men Awakened.

The St. Louis chamber of commerce is hardly Wilsonian. Men sat at the guest table who had attacked him bitterly heretofore, but when he said that he was touring the country, not as a party man, but as an American, they jumped to their feet and joined in the applause and cheers. Unquestionably, Mr. Wilson will make a better impression as he removes from the public mind the notion of party politics, which he unfortunately built up when he took only men of his personal persuasion to Paris with him and ignored the Republican party.

The present Republican leadership on the treaty is not popular. Leading Republicans here and there, as we travel, whisper to us that they think the course of Henry Cabot Lodge and senator Philander C. Knox is mistaken, but they also say the president's tactics hitherto have made many partisans. President Wilson might be the last to admit it, but his professions of political innocuousness and his clear exposition of articles in the treaty on which he has heretofore been vague and ambiguous have done him more good in this section of the middle west than all the studied statements, letters and academic addresses to congress since getting back from Europe.

He is at last lifting the treaty discussion out of the mire of politics and personal ambition to the broad issues of international cooperation which helped civilization triumph over barbarism and must inevitably safeguard the victory that was so painfully won.—Copyright, 1919, the El Paso Herald.

GEN. PERSHING IS DUE MONDAY

Border Friends of Commander Flocking to New York to Join in Welcome.

New York, Sept. 6.—A radio message received here today by the naval communication service from the transport Leviathan, which is bringing home Gen. Pershing stated that the ship was due to reach Ambrose lightship at 4 a. m. Monday, and would dock at 5 o'clock.

Other officers on the Leviathan, the message said, were Maj. Gens. A. W. Brewster, J. L. Hines and C. E. Summerall; Brig. Gens. R. E. Davis, Walter Bethel and F. Cooper; Cols. G. C. Marshall, J. G. Quakemeyer, L. C. Griscomb, R. C. Burnett, E. C. McNeil, A. Morvne and C. S. Babcock.

Boyhood and Mexican border friends of Gen. Pershing are flocking to this city to take part in his welcome. The mayor of El Paso, Texas, and other business men of that city are due here, together with a party from Cheyenne, Wyo., the home of the general's wife, who lost her life in a fire at The Presidio.

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