AMERICAN FORCE STOPS BLOODSHED

Report on Landing of Sailors Presented by Knapp.

DANIELS TELLS SENATE

Secretary Transmits Account of Events to the Upper House.

ITALIANS REQUESTED HELP

Force Acted When Admiral in Command Requested Aid.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 2.—Intervention by the American naval forces at Trau, Dalmatia, prevented "bloodshed" which would perhaps have resulted in a state of actual war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia, according to a report from Admiral Knapp, commanding American naval forces in European waters, transmitted to the senate today by Secretary Daniels.

American sailors were not landed, Admiral Knapp said, until after American and Italian officers who had been sent to Trau had induced the Italian raiders to withdraw after they had surprised and captured the small Serbian garrison. One Italian officer and three men were left behind and the American bluejackets were sent ashore to protect them and police the town until Serbian troops could arrive, the admiral said.

The Americans acted, Admiral Knapp continued, at the request of the Italian admiral in command of the Dalmatian coast and the force was withdrawn immediately after the Serbians arrived and took charge. The commander of the Italian raiders was ordered to trial by court martial by the Italian admiral.

GREAT CROWD HEARS SEN. JAMES A. REED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

about to be surrendered and the people of this country are to be induced to abandon those great policies under which America has prospered and become rich.

"My friends, cities can be destroyed in a day that it took a century of time to build. Fortunes may disintegrate in a night that it took a lifetime to accumulate, and nations may be destroyed by one fatal mistake. Before we abandon a policy that has made us great, ought we not to examine it? Away back yonder when the foundations of this republic were being laid, there were great men. They had stood close to the fires of persecution; they had felt upon their back the lash of autocratic power; they knew the means and methods by which kings and despots ruled over peoples and crushed the liberties of men. And so these wise men laid down certain principles, and among them George Washington said: 'For all time let the American people avoid entangling alliances.' They tell me that George Washington is dead, and it is true that his dust lies there in Mount Vernon, the holiest spot of ground there is in all America. (Applause.) If George Washington is dead, his soul still lives, and an eternal truth never dies upon this earth. (Applause.)

No Entangling Alliances.

"Jefferson and Jackson and Monroe and Madison and Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt all live. (Applause.) If they are dead, when did they die? Did they die with these men? My countrymen, let me read you a statement and let's see what you have to say about this: 'It was not merely because of passing and transient circumstances that Washington said: 'We must keep free of entangling alliances and that we should not form alliances with any nation in the world.' Those who are right, those who study their consciences in determining their policies, those who hold their honor higher than their advantages do not need alliances. You need alliances when you are not strong and you are weak only when you are not true to yourselves.' That was said on the 24th day of May, 1814, and you will find it in the Congressional Record at page 9243, and it was the declaration of Woodrow Wilson. (Applause.) What was true then is true now. What happened to change the truth in that period of time? And again he said this: 'There are actually men in America who are preaching war, who seek entanglements in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water. They would have us abandon our constitutional and traditional policies and deliberately engage in the conflict which is now engulfing the world. I do not know what the standard of citizenship of these gentlemen may be, I only know it, for one, would not subscribe to their standard.' That was said at Des Moines, Iowa, on May 27, 1916, and the words were uttered by the distinguished president of the United States.

"I could continue to quote from the writings and books of President Wilson until the cocks crow in the morning and I would not exhaust the quotations similar to these. If this was true in 1916, why isn't it true today, my countrymen? And now, the man who uttered these words tells us this. (And I quote his exact language.) 'Article 13 of the covenant is my favorite article. As patriots now stand we must mind our own business, but when the league of nations is adopted, we can mind other people's business.' (Applause.) He said 'No' not once, but he said it on four different occasions and seemed to like it.

"It is very true. If we enter the league of nations we can mind other people's business, but at the same time we mind other nations' business when they acquire the right, by the same instrument, to mind the business of America. When we acquire the right to stick our noses into the business of 31 alien states they acquire the right to stick their 31 noses into the business of America. (Great cheers and applause.)

"Now, my countrymen, there is a great effort made to jam this thing through, to get it through without the American people knowing anything about it. They remind me of a man with a good trick. I never knew a man yet that wanted to dispose of a gold brick that wasn't anxious to make a quick bargain. (Laughter and applause.) I never knew a man yet that had a piece of gold that was twenty-four karat that wasn't anxious to have you take all the time you wanted and go down to the assayer and find out what was in it. (Cheers and applause.)

"Do you not think that before the penny that has existed in a country for a hundred and forty-six years or more is abandoned, the policy under which our country has prospered beyond any other, that the American people ought to have a chance to vote upon it? (Cheers and applause.)

"Not a One-Man Country"

"My friends, I am going to take the time just to lay a little foundation of old fashioned public school teaching that I went through when I was at school. I want to call these facts to your attention. Do you know, this is not a one-man country? This is a one hundred and ten million men country. (Cries of 'That's right.' Great cheers and applause.)

"You frequently talk about the government, but the government of the United States is only made up of men, and who are these men? They are the people's representatives. They have no authority except what you give them. All the power of the United States is vested in the people, and when you send men to Washington to represent you, you send them there as your servants, not as your bosses. And whenever this country will submit to a boss that is great and good it will have abandoned its ancient doctrines and will be in a position to submit to a boss who is bad and wicked. When you abandon the idea that the people are the bosses, you will have made a fatal mistake. And when our fathers set up this republic they knew in the history of the past that they ought not to centralize the power anywhere. They gave to the various states their powers, they gave to the federal government only limited power, and they said: 'It doesn't make any difference how good men are or how wise men are, no one man can be trusted, we shall have no king, we shall have no single ruler, but we will divide the powers of government.' And so they said, 'We will have a legislative body to enact the laws and we will divide that into two parts and we will elect those bodies in a way laid down in the constitution, and we won't trust the legislative bodies to execute those laws, but we will put a president in there whose sole duty it is to execute the will of the people, as expressed through the laws made by their representatives.' And then you said, 'We won't trust the president, and we won't trust the legislature, but we will write a constitution in which we reserve rights to ourselves that nobody can take away from us.' (Applause). Then you said, 'We will not trust the congress and the president and the constitution, we will erect a supreme court, who, if ever the president or the congress gets outside of their jurisdiction, this great tribunal can call them to account.' That is the kind of government you set up, and when you came to provide for dealings with other powers you provided that the president could negotiate the treaties and that your representatives should pass on those treaties. (Applause.)

"You said that unless two-thirds of the senate concur in those treaties they should not become laws or become binding as treaties. I should say that meant, didn't it, that the senate, representing the people, should perform its duty? Or did it mean that they should transform themselves into so many rubber stamps and obey the will of one man? (Cries of 'No.') If they were to do that, then there isn't any use in paying them salaries, call them home. (Cries of 'That's right.')

Hang Them on Gibbets.

"If you didn't elect these men to exercise their judgment there is no sense in keeping them down there.

"Very well, it meant a free and untrammelled opinion, a free and untrammelled judgment. Yet with that the case, when the president comes home, calls together the democratic national committee and asserts to it that if he had his way he would like to see hung upon gibbets as high as heaven, but pointed in the opposite direction, every senator who dares to differ with him on this question. (A voice: 'I don't blame him for quitting him.')

"Now, I am sorry to have to make that statement; I am sorry to make it, but I make it because it is true and I can prove it is true, and I have got the witnesses to prove it. (Cheers and applause.) He goes all over the country and tells the people that those who oppose his will in this matter ought to be gibbeted or will be gibbeted, and that they are astonished at the height of the effrontery. That was made in public address.

"Again, he accuses those who do not agree with him of pro-Germanism, about the ugliest term that can be applied to people. Does he do this in order that your representatives shall exercise their disinterested and calm judgment, or does he do this to appeal to passion and prejudice?

"My friends, let me stick one pin here. Go back and read the accounts in the papers for the last four months, or five or six, and you will find that substantially every German statesman in the world has declared for the league of nations. (Great cheers and applause.)

"And you will find that the leader today on the democratic side for this league is Mr. Hitchcock, who introduced the measure in congress that proposed to stop the United States furnishing arms or furnishing food to the allies when they were engaged in the war. (Cries 'You are right.' Applause.)

"Let me say to you that the league of nations document is the most complicated document that ever has been drawn to my knowledge by any body of men. It is a document that nobody except a skilled constitutional lawyer can analyze, more than that, you ought to be very well acquainted with all the treaties existing between nations and with all recent European history as well as ancient history, and I confess that when I approach it I do it with great humility. I appreciate the fact that the complications and intricacies of this instrument almost defy the human intellect. (Laughter and applause.)

"I, however, am going to try in the simplest way to put the naked outline of the league of nations before this audience. It is proposed that 32 nations, including colonies and dependencies of Great Britain shall constitute the league of nations. All the rest of the world is outside. These 32 nations propose to set up governing bodies, first an assembly, which consists of one representative from each of the 32 nations; second, a council which consists of nine members selected from nine of the 32 states; five of these members of the council are permanent; they are the representatives of the United States of Great Britain, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, the other four members of the council are temporary, those are the two governing bodies of the league.

Have Great Authority.

"The league is a world government; it has a world capital over at Geneva. It has a flag, it has a secretariat, who constitutes something very akin to the executive department of our own government. The representatives of this league enjoy diplomatic privileges the same as diplomatic representatives of governments of the earth. Now, you have got the organization of 32 states altogether to operate through these two councils, you might almost compare them in a way with the house of representatives and with the senate, except there are no representatives on the council of 32 of these states and there are four or five of the members of the council that are permanent, as I have said, the other four are called by the assembly.

"Now let's see what the powers are of this body. It is laid down in the league that 'The assembly (that is the body that has a representative from each state) may deal at its meeting with any matter within the sphere of action of the in its opinion, affects the peace of the world.' This assembly can deal with any question that in its judgment affects the peace of the world. The council has exactly the same power they have given to it in article four. It is used in exactly the same language. 'The council may deal at its meeting with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.' So that either one of these bodies has by express language, the right to take jurisdiction of any question which, in its opinion, affects the peace of the world. When any man tells you that this assembly is a debating society in the face of that language you must pass your judgment and I shall not express my opinion. (Applause.)

"Now, the next thing I want to speak about is some of the specific and particular powers of this assembly. It is laid down that the assembly can admit no member, not by a unanimous vote, but by a two-thirds vote and by a one-third vote and one additional vote it can keep out of the league all of the other nations of the earth, or by a two-thirds vote it can let in any nation, whether we want it in or we do not want it in. There are at the present, outside the league, 42,000,000 more white men than there are white men in the league and the question of whether Germany will be admitted, Austria admitted, Bulgaria admitted, all of them our enemies, is to be settled by a two-thirds vote of this league, whether we want it or whether we do not want it. We can't help ourselves if there is that much of a vote.

"Second. It is laid down that this assembly—that they told you was a debating society—shall elect four of the nine members of the league at will. There is a doubt as to five. I am going to be fair about this, whether that has to be a unanimous vote or whether it is to be a majority vote. If it is a unanimous vote then the four members that are there now, viz., Greece and Belgium and Spain and Brazil, all of them second or third-rate powers, will stay there forever, for they will never vote to take themselves out of the council, and the provision for election would be null and void, it would be nugatory, it would be worthless. My own judgment about it, after a careful analysis is that it is done by a majority vote, then it is an absolute farce, so that you have got the power in the assembly first to re-elect all the other nations of the earth, except certain privileged ones that are permitted to come in if they come in within so many days' time, and

"Second—To admit these enemies of ours, whether we want them in or not, and third—the power to control the council, for whoever can control four out of the five members of the council electing them and putting them in and fearing them down at will you know will ultimately control the majority of the council, because always there will be one of the five members that will operate with them.

Control of Council.

"You have been told we can't be in jeopardy if we enter the league because the president says that no man can ever be bound unless he consents by giving a unanimous vote—my countrymen, I wish to God that were true. If it were true, a great many of my objections to this league would be gone, but if it were true, then we would have a league that could not function, for no nation can decide a case against itself, and if you had to have a unanimous vote by Uncle Sam, you would have to have a unanimous vote of course, of all other nations, for they have the same privilege we have, and the result would be that you would have a tribunal ultimately meeting to decide that a nation had to do something that they were going to do anyhow and that they were wanting to do. How foolish that would be! How silly that would be! And that is not the case. It is laid down in plain English and I shall read it to you. I am reading from article 15. That all the disputes that may be likely to lead to rupture shall be submitted (now, notice) either to arbitration or to the council.

"It is then laid down that 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 such breaches, are declared to be those questions which must be submitted to arbitration or the council.

"Let me stop here a minute. Is there a lawyer here, is there a business man here, is there an educator here, is there a farmer here, a laborer, who can tell me a single international dispute that is not covered by that language? Every question in international law, every question under treaties, every proposition that comes up between nations is within the purview of that language.

"Very well, those questions now, by these articles, go to the council, but when they go to the council, if there is a unanimous vote, then there is a binding decision, the nation that does not obey it is liable to have war or economic pressure put upon it, and economic pressure means starvation, the last and most brutal thing in war.

"If there is not a unanimous vote of the council, then the thing is like a hung jury, nobody is bound, there is no decision and the world is ready or privileged to go to war if it wants to.

Usurp Power of Council.

"Now, this is the situation if it goes to the council, but, mrs, any nation can take it from the council by simply serving notice and sending it to the assembly for final decision. It goes to the assembly and to the assembly if there is a unanimous vote of the members of the council who sit in the assembly also a majority vote of the 31 members outside, then it has the effect of a unanimous decision, but if there is not that majority vote outside the members of the council, then there is no decision, it is a hung jury. So that we agree now to submit all these questions which involve the very life of our republic ultimately to this assembly? Very well, but there is one thing further that the president seems to have overlooked and that is this language in article 15. 'If the report of the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representative of the party to the dispute.' And again: 'If the report of the assembly is agreed to by the unanimous vote of the members of the council sitting on the assembly other than the parties to the dispute, then it follows that it is binding.' So you see that when Uncle Sam is brought to trial before the council he does not sit on the council. When he has a controversy with Japan, he sits at the table, he does not sit on the jury. When he has a controversy with Japan and it is before the assembly, again he sits like the prisoner in the dock, or a party on the trial. He does not sit on the jury, he has no vote, he has no voice, he can't offset the vote of those gentlemen or stop it by his simple objection to it. Yet you have been told from the Atlantic to the Pacific that that is the construction, and I will stake my life upon it that the statement I make to you here is absolutely true. (Cheers and applause.)

"Let's see, then, the shape we are in. We have a controversy with Japan and it arises over the question whether our treaty with Japan entitles Japanese children to go to school with the white children of California.

"We have got a treaty, Japan claims that they have that right and you remember they got so excited about it a few years ago that Bryan hurried across the continent in a special train to stop the California legislature from passing a law if had a perfect right to do under our form of government, which proposed to make the Japanese children go to separate schools.

"Now, there is a question that comes up before this assembly. Uncle Sam sits back here on that side of the table with his counsel and Japan sits over here on this side of the table with its counsel and seven aliens decide the fate of the United States. (Cries of 'No, No.')

"Who are these seven aliens? I did not come here to try to arouse a race prejudice or feeling, but I look the world in the face and I never saw a vision in my life, and I never 'acted on a dream' in my life. The days of prophets are passing.

"We are on trial. Great Britain sits there, Great Britain, the ally of Japan, tied to her by a thousand ties, and by a common interest in the orient. France sees his interests in the Orient and is tied to Great Britain by chains of steel and chains of gold, for France could not stand alone for even a year, I believe, unless she had the backing of Great Britain. Then you have got little Belgium, and in the name of Heaven what has Belgium been but the stepchild of France and England, who put her there to keep the Germans out, and they did a good thing. And

CONTINUED ON PAGE SEVEN

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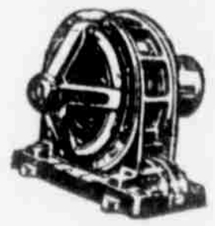

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