

## GREAT PLAINS SENATORS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

by

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On July 10, 1919 President Woodrow Wilson addressed the United States Senate, on which occasion he strongly urged that body to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>1</sup> The Treaty, which less than two weeks earlier had been signed by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and several other of the victorious World War I belligerents, called for American participation in the recently established League of Nations.<sup>2</sup> During the following nine months the Senate and the Wilson Administration would be preoccupied with the Treaty and the League.

In early September the Senate Foreign Relations Committee issued its formal report on the Treaty of Versailles. A majority of the committee's members, including nine of the ten Republicans, advocated that forty-five amendments and four reservations be attached to the Treaty.<sup>3</sup> President Wilson had previously insisted that the Treaty be promptly accepted without amendments or reservations. Thus, by the time the Treaty was scheduled for debate on the Senate floor, it was quite apparent that a massive confrontation was developing between the President and a substantial number of Senators.<sup>4</sup>

Among those vested with the solemn constitutional responsibility of determining whether to approve or reject the Treaty of Versailles were the ten senators from the states of the Great Plains. These gentlemen, like their colleagues from other parts of the nation, would cast numerous votes affecting the fate of the Treaty and the League. Indeed they were destined to participate in one of the most prolonged and acrimonious foreign policy debates in the nation's history.

In the summer of 1919 the Great Plains were represented in the Senate by six Republicans and four Democrats.<sup>5</sup> Among these individuals were such well-known figures as Arthur Capper of Kansas, George W. Norris of Nebraska, Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota, and Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma. These four gentlemen and several other Great Plains senators were political activists and were to have long and eventful careers on Capitol Hill.

Two of these senators, Norris and Asle J. Gronna of North Dakota, were steadfast isolationists on foreign policy questions. Norris and Gronna had strenuously opposed both the arming of American merchant ships in early 1917<sup>6</sup> and the subsequent declaration of war against Germany.<sup>7</sup> Branded by a distraught President

Wilson in 1917 as members of "that little band of willful men," Norris and Gronna were to be firmly aligned with the so-called "irreconcilable" faction throughout the emotional debate over the Treaty.

In addition to Norris and Gronna two Great Plains senators, Charles Curtis of Kansas and Thomas Sterling of South Dakota, had indicated their sentiments on the prospective League of Nations even before the peace negotiations had been completed. On March 4, 1919 these two gentlemen had signed the highly publicized "Round Robin Resolution," generally construed as an emphatic warning to President Wilson against linking the Treaty and the League. A portion of the text of this resolution read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States in the discharge

of its constitutional duties in regard to treaties, That it

is the sense of the Senate that while it is their sincere desire that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, the constitution of the league of nations in the form now proposed to the peace conference should not be accepted by the United States; and be it

Resolved further, That it is the sense of the Senate that the

negotiations on the part of the United States should immediately be directed to the utmost expedition of the urgent business of negotiating peace terms with Germany satisfactory to the United States and the nations with whom the United States is associated in the war against the German Government, and that the proposal for a league of nations to insure the permanent peace of the world should then be taken up for careful and serious considerations.<sup>8</sup>

Although many Republicans were certainly zealous in assailing the League of Nations, one Great Plains Democrat, Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma, was to cause President Wilson enormous anguish in 1919. In the previous two years Gore had attracted nationwide attention as a scathing critic of Wilson's wartime policies. He had been especially outspoken in denouncing military conscription, food and fuel control, and the administration's alleged disregard of civil liberties.<sup>9</sup> Since Gore was one of Congress' most flamboyant orators, his Democratic colleagues feared that he might succeed in dramatizing the flaws of the Treaty of Versailles and influencing senators who did not harbor strong feelings on the League of Nations.

Four Great Plains senators who loyally supported the League of Nations during the spring and summer of 1919 were Democrats Edwin S. Johnson of South Dakota, Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, and Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska and Republican Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota. Johnson was to serve only one term in the Senate, while Owen, Hitchcock, and McCumber were to have illustrious careers paralleling several presidential administrations.

Referring to the League issue as the foremost question the Senate had been asked to consider since the founding of the government, Johnson hailed the League of Nations Covenant as a "wonderful document." The South Dakotan, stressing that the Senate was under obligation to facilitate the achievement of genuine peace as soon as possible, concluded:

I am going to vote for the league of nations on account of the protection of my family in future years. And when I vote for the good of my family, as I see it, I vote for the good of your family and for the good of every family in our great country. I shall vote for it because every German sympathizer in the world wishes it to fail; because every Bolshevik, every "I.W.W.", every man in the world who does not believe in law and order would vote against it, as they would vote against anything to compel them to obey the laws of God and man. Germany, Turkey, Bulgaria, and what is left of Austria-Hungary would like to see it fail.

And I do not propose that my vote be registered with that group.<sup>10</sup>

Owen, who had previously co-authored both the Federal Reserve (Glass-Owen) Act and the Federal Child Labor (Keating-Owen) Act, was firmly convinced that it was his duty as a senator to support the League without amendment or reservation. Certain that the League would "safeguard the peace of the world as well as our own," Owen acclaimed the League of Nations as the "blessing of God descended on earth." After analyzing the Covenant of the League in meticulous detail, the Oklahoman offered the following evaluation:

The present covenant precludes the possibility of military dynastic alliances. The present covenant establishes peace on earth, establishes a just and fair relationship between all nations, with all nations of the earth pledged to maintain the political integrity and existing political independence of every single member nation.<sup>11</sup>

Hitchcock was a member of one of Nebraska's pioneer political families. In addition to serving in both Houses of Congress, he was the publisher of the Omaha World-Herald. As both the senior Democrat on the powerful Foreign Relations Committee and Acting Minority Leader, Hitchcock assumed the ultimate responsibility of advocating ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. Charging that the Republican reservations were devised in a "spirit of suspicion and animosity against the very nations that fought and sacrificed with us," he asked the following ominous question: "Is the world to be organized for peace or war?". The Nebraskan, fearing the consequences of a Senate rejection of the League, warned:

...Unless this league is adopted we will have to take up universal military training; we will have to enter upon a career of militarism and giant appropriations; we will, as a Nation, having so much to defend, be compelled to turn

ourselves into a military camp, because we have offended the greatest power in the world and we must be ready to meet it when the time comes for revenge, unless there is some international organization to preserve the peace of the world and prevent wars of revenge in the future.<sup>12</sup>

McCumber, in the midst of his fourth and final Senate term, emphasized that the world needed an international law to "declare that war by one nation is a matter of concern to every other nation, and that no unjust war shall be waged by any nation." The North Dakotan vowed that he could not vote against a reasonable agreement to achieve world peace without a conviction that he had "committed an unpardonable offense against all future generations." According to McCumber, if the United States refused to join the League of Nations, the responsibility for another "damnable war" would rest upon it. Anticipating that every powerful country in the world would "proceed to devise means for the wholesale destruction of nations," the Senator foresaw that so "desperate will the next war be that all the hate and venom created by this struggle will be infinitesimal compared with the next."<sup>13</sup>

Three Great Plains senators who refrained from active participation in the numerous floor debates over the Treaty and the League were Republicans Arthur Capper and Charles Curtis of Kansas and Thomas Sterling of South Dakota. Although these three gentlemen were remarkably successful politicians, none had ever been particularly interested in foreign policy questions.

On the day after the Treaty of Versailles was signed Capper expressed the view that the Senate would not "fall into line with the suggestion from Paris that the treaty be taken just as it is and ratified." The Kansan, reacting to the President's July 10 address to the Senate, asserted that he was "more convinced than ever that I shall have to vote for reservations." After conferring with Wilson at the White House on July 18, Capper disclosed that he had "not changed his opinion that certain reservations are necessary in ratifying the treaty."<sup>14</sup>

Curtis, like his Kansas colleague, chose not to become involved in the public dialogue over the League of Nations. He had, however, endorsed the "Round Robin Resolution" of March 4, and, as the Senate's Assistant Republican Leader (Whip), maintained a record of close cooperation with Majority Leader Henry Cabot Lodge. In a lengthy newspaper interview published in late July, Curtis prophesied that forty senators would vote against ratification of the Treaty unless reservations were adopted. Certain that the Treaty

would never be approved with the reservations omitted, the Kansan intimated that the only viable solution to the problem was for the President to compromise with the Senate.<sup>15</sup>

Sterling, like Curtis, had signed the "Round Robin" proposal. In early June he had introduced a resolution which suggested that he was distinctly hostile to the League of Nations. The Sterling Resolution affirmed:

That the United States of America, in view of their remote situation with reference to European states of the eastern hemisphere and their more immediate interest in the territorial integrity and free institutions of the sovereign states of the western hemisphere and policies concerning which, and the cordial relation with which the United States will endeavor to maintain, expressly reserve to themselves the right to determine through Congress the justice or expediency of any fulfillment on the part of the United States of the obligations contained in or imposed by Article X of the covenant for a league of nations so far as such obligations at any time apply to the situation of any state or states of the eastern hemisphere.

Sterling explained that his resolution both upheld the Monroe Doctrine and left to Congress the right to decide whether the United States would actually defend other countries. Recalling that the nation's early leaders "strove and warned against European entangling alliances," the South Dakotan depicted the League of Nations requirement that members protect one another from external aggression as "utterly alien and un-American."<sup>16</sup>

The three Great Plains senators who remained intransigent in their opposition to both the Treaty and the League were Norris, Gronna, and Gore. These three gentlemen, disenchanted with the

foreign policy of the Wilson Administration, were convinced that the United States had failed *dismally* in its efforts to negotiate a just peace settlement.

Although Norris devoted most of his attention to condemning the political and territorial aspects of the Treaty, he stressed that the League of Nations contained "many objectionable features." The Nebraskan complained that the League lacked a stipulation requiring that "all international business should be done in public" and also regretted that the League was not predicated on the necessity "for the arbitration of international disputes." Norris was particularly upset that six nations affiliated with the British Empire would enjoy voting privileges in the League. Disturbed by the disproportionate influence likely to be wielded by nations with official ties to Great Britain, Norris commented:

There is not any justice in it. I do not see how any American citizen can stand for it, can approve any treaty that will say 'We are only one-sixth of the importance of some other nation.'<sup>17</sup>

Gronna, charging that the League of Nations was vested with "arbitrary and almost unlimited power," argued that it would be tragic to "bind ourselves and our posterity to support the dominant powers of every nation that belongs to this league, and to participate in their wars, their struggles, and their troubles." Warning his colleagues that the League constituted an "autocracy with powers unrivaled or unheard of among the family of man," the North Dakotan climaxed his remarks with the following indictment:

There never was presented to the American people a document so replete with inconsistencies and with provisions so dangerous and full of pitfalls as the proposed covenant. There never was in the history of our country presented to this legislative body a document so inimical to the best interests of our country and our people, and it really seems to me that every provision affecting American interests must have

been conceived in iniquity and born in sin.<sup>18</sup>

Insisting that the League lacked "both essentials of democracy — direct choice and direct responsibility," Gore emphasized that the representatives of the League were neither chosen by nor were responsible to the citizens of their nations. Gore also expressed consternation that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the League were "combined and centralized in the hands of the selfsame set of men." Not wishing to obligate the United States to participate in future foreign wars which in no way concerned its rights or interests, the Oklahoman concluded that membership in the League

...binds us to tax our people, to spend our money, to draft our boys, to shed their blood, to sacrifice their lives, in every war that happens involving the boundary lines of a member of this league, whether it be in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, or in the islands of the sea.<sup>19</sup>

After months of spirited discussion and dozens of roll calls on substantive amendments, the Senate agreed to resolve the Treaty and League issue on November 19. On that date the members of the Senate initially balloted on whether to ratify the Treaty with fourteen major reservations sponsored by Republican Leader Lodge.<sup>20</sup> This measure was defeated by a margin of 55-39. Among the ten senators from the Great Plains states the tabulation was evenly divided. Voting against attaching the reservations to the Treaty were three Wilson partisans, Johnson, Owen, and Hitchcock, and two staunch adversaries of any type of peace settlement, Norris and Gronna.<sup>21</sup>

Immediately following rejection of the Lodge Reservations, the Senate voted on whether to approve the original Treaty. Rejecting the appeals of the President, the Senate divided 53-38 against the Treaty. On this roll call Great Plains senators were aligned 6-4 with the majority. Supporting the unamended Treaty were Democrats Johnson, Owen, and Hitchcock and Republican McCumber.<sup>22</sup>

A third and final roll call was scheduled for March 19, 1920. When the Senate assembled on that date, the members voted on ratifying the Treaty with fifteen Lodge Reservations.<sup>23</sup> The official roll call was 49-35 in the affirmative, thus marking the first time that a majority was mustered in the Senate in behalf of the Treaty in any form. Although this margin was seven votes less than the necessary



two-thirds, it was noteworthy that many Democrats, including Owen of Oklahoma, reversed their previous stands against reservations.<sup>24</sup>

An analysis of the three roll calls strongly indicated that it would be virtually impossible for the Senate to reach a consensus on the Treaty. The sharp divisions of opinion within the Senate chamber made it increasingly unlikely that the United States would either ratify the Treaty of Versailles or affiliate with the League of Nations.

The official votes cast by Great Plains senators had absolutely no bearing on the outcomes of the three historic Senate roll calls. Excluding these ten gentlemen, in November 1919 the Lodge Reservations would have been rejected 50-34 and the original Treaty would have been defeated 47-34, and in March 1920 the Treaty with the additional Lodge Reservation would have received a mere 42-32 majority. These three fateful roll calls corresponded largely to party lines. A solid majority of Republicans both from the Great Plains and other parts of the nation favored incorporation of the Lodge Reservations on two separate occasions, whereas an overwhelming proportion of Democrats from all geographic regions supported the Treaty as submitted by the President to the Senate in early July 1919.

The League of Nations was undeniably a highly complex issue. While many senators concurred on the principle of establishing an international organization, they likewise believed that specific features of the League were either of doubtful value or might prove detrimental to the United States. The failure of President Wilson to adopt conciliatory tactics in his relations with the Senate or to recognize at least a few legitimate objections to the League hopelessly complicated an already difficult situation. Conversely, it would be naive to absolve several Republicans from resorting to excessive partisanship. These Republicans felt that Wilson had attempted to impose an unpalatable peace settlement on the American people and had treated their party contemptuously both during and immediately after World War I.

There was no realistic possibility that the President could have exerted meaningful political pressure on recalcitrant senators from the Great Plains. Six of these gentlemen represented the traditionally Republican states of Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. Three of the senators, Capper, Norris, and Sterling, had been handily elected by their constituents to six year terms in November 1918, while two others, Curtis and Gronna, had begun their existing terms in March 1915 and probably sensed that Wilson would not have much, if any, impact on their re-election prospects. Finally, Wilson had to contend with the defiance of Senator Gore of Oklahoma, who apparently delighted in tormenting the foremost dignitary of his own party.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, although the President delivered a number of eloquent speeches in behalf of

of the League during a tour of the Great Plains in September 1919, the senators from the region did not modify their positions.<sup>26</sup>

Between July 10, 1919 and March 19, 1920 the ten senators from the Great Plains participated in the highly publicized and momentous struggle over American membership in the League of Nations. As the duly elected spokesmen of the approximately six and one-half million citizens of the Great Plains, they had the responsibility of casting votes on one of the most vital foreign policy questions ever considered by the United States. These gentlemen were not only making history but also subjecting themselves to its verdict.<sup>27</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd (eds.), The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson: War and Peace (2 vols. ;) New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1927), I, 537-552; Post, Washington, D.C., July 11, 1919, pp. 1, 10.

<sup>2</sup>The Paris Peace Conference was in session between February and June of 1919. Detailed accounts of the role played by the United States may be found in the following works: Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945); Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson and the World Settlement (3 vols.; Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1922); Robert Lansing, The Peace Negotiations; A Personal Narrative (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921); and James T. Shotwell, At the Paris Peace Conference (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937).

<sup>3</sup>United States Senate, Report on the Treaty of Peace with Germany, September 10, 1919; Post, Washington, D.C., September 11, 1919, pp. 1, 5.

<sup>4</sup>Comprehensive studies of the Senate debate over the League of Nations may be found in the following books: Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945); Denna F. Fleming, The Treaty Veto of the American Senate (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930), pp. 136-167; John A. Garraty, Henry Cabot Lodge; A Biography (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), pp. 357-382; Ralph Stone, The Irreconcilables; The Fight Against the League of Nations (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1970).

<sup>5</sup>In the November 1918 congressional elections the Democrats lost six seats in the Senate. The new Senate consisted of forty-nine Republicans and forty-seven Democrats.

<sup>6</sup>United States Congress, Congressional Record, Sixty-Fourth Congress, Third Session (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1917), LIV, 4865, 4894-4896, 4990, 5004-5009; Seward W. Livermore, Politics is Adjourned; Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918 (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), pp. 12-13.

<sup>7</sup>Congressional Record, LV, 212-220, 254-256, 260-261; Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916-1917 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp 429-430.

<sup>8</sup>Congressional Record, LVII, 4974; Post, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1919, pp. 1, 4; March 5, 1919, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup>Congressional Record, LV, 1485-1487, 2270, 2457; LVI, 3312-3315, 3443, 4629-4643, 4719, 6057; Post, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1917, pp. 1, 2; May 28, 1917, p. 2; June 21, 1917, p. 2; August 7, 1917, p. 2; March 15, 1918, p. 2; May 5, 1918, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>10</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 2985-2988; Times, New York, N.Y., July 23, 1919, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 3404-3410; Post, Washington, D.C., August 1, 1919, p. 5; Dewey W. Grantham, "Robert Latham Owen," Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Four (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), pp. 640-642.

<sup>12</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 690-693, 1503-1507, 1740-1741, 2064-2074, 2079, 3688-3693, 4726-4731, 5451-5452, 5492-5493, 5955-5956, 6078-6090, 6401, 6481-6482, 6886-6889, 6945, 7072, 7115-7119, 7498-7499, 7550-7551, 7800-7812, 7882-7883, 7944-7948, 8020-8021, 8067, 8124, 8138, 8201, 8211-8218, 8424-8435, 8546-8549, 8569-8571, 8729-8730, 8739-8760, 8767-8800; J. L. Sellers, "Gilbert Monell Hitchcock," Dictionary of American Biography (22 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1958), XXI, 410-411; Kurt Wimer, "Senator Hitchcock and the League of Nations," Nebraska History, Summer 1963, pp. 189-204.

<sup>13</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 1264-1276; W. C. Hunter, "Porter James McCumber," Dictionary of American Biography, XXI, 525-526.

<sup>14</sup>Post, Washington, D.C., July 11, 1919, pp. 1, 10; July 19, 1919, pp. 1, 4; Times, New York, N.Y., June 29, 1919, p. 5; July 19, 1919, pp. 1, 2; Homer E. Socolofsky, Arthur Capper (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 128-134.

<sup>15</sup>Times, New York, N.Y., July 27, 1919, pp. 1, 2; James C. Malin, "Charles Curtis," Dictionary of American Biography, XXII, 136-137.

<sup>16</sup>S. Res. 78-Relating to the proposed peace treaty, including the covenant for a League of Nations, and proposing certain reservations in the event of ratification by the United States, June 12, 1919; Congressional Record, LVIII, 3607-3611; Post, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1919, p. 4; August 5, 1919, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 2592-2600, 7687-7689; Richard Lowitt, George W. Norris: The Persistence of a Progressive, 1913-1933 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 110-118.

<sup>18</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 7418-7430; William W. Phillips, "The Life of Asle J. Gronna: Self-Made Man of the Prairies," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri, 1958, pp. 568-573.

<sup>19</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 7953-7957; Post, Washington, D.C., July 9, 1919, pp. 1, 9; November 7, 1919, pp. 1, 5; November 9, 1919, pp. 1, 6; Monroe L. Billington, Thomas P. Gore (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1967), pp. 112-116.

<sup>20</sup>Appendix B.

<sup>21</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 8786; Post, Washington, D.C., November 20, 1919, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>22</sup>Congressional Record, LVIII, 8803; Post, Washington, D.C., November 20, 1919, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>23</sup>Appendix C.

<sup>24</sup>Congressional Record, LIX, 2917; Post, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1920, pp. 1, 5.

<sup>25</sup>Although Gore was destined to be defeated in Oklahoma's 1920 Democratic primary, he would ultimately be succeeded in the Senate by an anti-League Republican.

<sup>26</sup>In September 1919 President Wilson spoke at Omaha, Sioux Falls, and Bismarck. Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, II, 30-57, 89-137.

<sup>27</sup>Most of the Great Plains senators remained active in public affairs for many years after 1920. Capper, emerging as one of the leaders of the bipartisan congressional farm bloc during the nineteen twenties, co-authored the Cooperative Marketing (Capper-Volstead) Act of 1921 and the Grain Futures (Capper-Tincher) Act of 1923. Elected as Senate Majority Leader in 1925, Curtiss four years later became Vice-President of the United States. Norris, Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1921-1926, and the Committee on the Judiciary, 1926-1933, was primarily responsible for the Twentieth ("Lame Duck") Amendment and the Tennessee Valley Act of 1933. While presiding over the Committee on Finance in 1922 and 1923, McCumber co-authored the Tariff (Fordney-McCumber) Act of 1922 and the World War I Debt Commission Act. Although defeated for the renomination in 1920, Gore was to return to the Senate in 1921 and throughout the First Administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt attracted considerable attention as a scathing critic of the New Deal.

## APPENDIX A

### COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

#### Article 1, Part 3

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 10

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 16, Part 1

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, 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 nation and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or political intercourse between the nationals of a Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

#### Article 22, Part 1

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 shall 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.

## APPENDIX B

### LODGE RESERVATIONS

1. The United States so understands and construes article I that in case of notice of withdrawal from the league of nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.
2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations - whether members of the league or not - under the provisions of article 10; or to employ the military and naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution so provide.
3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under article 22, Part I, or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.
4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the league of nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.
5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the assembly or by the council of the league of nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any question, which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of such league of

nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

6. The United States withholds its assent to articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

7. The Congress of the United States will provide by law for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the assembly and the council of the league of nations, and may in its direction provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, or conference, or in the selection of any members thereof and for the appointment of members of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences, or any other representatives under the treaty of peace, or in carrying out its provisions, and until such participation and appointment have been so provided for and the powers and duties of such representatives have been defined by law, no person shall represent the United States under either said league of nations or the treaty of peace with Germany or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder, and no citizen of the United States shall be selected or appointed as a member of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Senate of the United States.

8. The United States understands that the reparation commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the league of nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the league of nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

10. If the United States shall adopt at any time any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the council of the league of nations under the provisions of article 8, it reserves the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking state, as defined in article 16 of the covenant of the league of nations, residing



within the United States or in countries other than that violating said article 16, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or any other article, section, or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII (articles 387 to 427, inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII, and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

14. The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any election, decision, report or finding of the council or assembly in which any member of the league and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote, and assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the council or assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the league. If such member of any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or parts of empire united with it politically has voted.

#### APPENDIX C

##### RESERVATION FIFTEEN (MARCH 19, 1920)

In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 5, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.