

## FIXING GUARANTEED PRICES FOR WHEAT.

A proclamation by the President of the United States of America.

Whereas under and by virtue of an act of Congress entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved by the President on the 10th day of August, 1917, it is provided among other things as follows:

"SEC. 14. That whenever the President shall find that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of the production of wheat, and that it is essential that the producers of wheat produced within the United States shall have the benefits of the guaranty provided for in this section, he is authorized from time to time, seasonably and as far in advance of seeding time as practicable, to determine and fix and to give public notice of what, under specified conditions, is a reasonable guaranteed price for wheat, in order to assure such producers a reasonable profit. The President shall thereupon fix such guaranteed price for each of the official grain standards for wheat as established under the United States grain standards act approved August 11, 1916. The President shall from time to time establish and promulgate such regulations as he shall deem wise in connection with such guaranteed prices, and in particular governing conditions of delivery and payment; and differences in price for the several standard grades in the principal primary markets of the United States adopting No. 1 northern spring or its equivalent at the principal interior primary markets as the basis. Thereupon the Government of the United States hereby guarantees every producer of wheat produced within the United States that, upon compliance by him with the regulations prescribed, he shall receive for any wheat produced in reliance upon this guaranty within the period, not exceeding 18 months, prescribed in the notice, a price not less than the guaranteed price therefor as fixed pursuant to this section. In such regulations the President shall prescribe the terms and conditions upon which any such producer shall be entitled to the benefits of such guaranty."

Now therefore I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, by virtue of the powers conferred upon me by said act of Congress, and especially by section 14 thereof, do hereby find that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of the production of wheat, and that it is essential that the producers of wheat produced within the United States shall have the benefits of the guarantee provided for in said section; and, in order to make effective the guarantee by Congress for the crop of 1919 and to assure such producers a reasonable profit, I do hereby determine and fix, and give public notice of reasonable guaranteed prices for No. 1 northern spring wheat and its equivalent at the respective principal primary markets as follows, to wit:

New York, N. Y., \$2.39½ per bushel.  
 Philadelphia, Pa., \$2.39 per bushel.  
 Baltimore, Md., \$2.38½ per bushel.  
 Newport News, Va., \$2.38½ per bushel.  
 Duluth, Minn., \$2.22½ per bushel.  
 Minneapolis, Minn., \$2.21½ per bushel.  
 Chicago, Ill., \$2.26 per bushel.  
 St. Louis, Mo., \$2.24 per bushel.  
 Kansas City, Mo., \$2.18 per bushel.  
 Omaha, Nebr., \$2.18 per bushel.  
 New Orleans, La., \$2.28 per bushel.  
 Galveston, Tex., \$2.28 per bushel.  
 Tacoma, Wash., \$2.20 per bushel.  
 Seattle, Wash., \$2.20 per bushel.  
 Portland, Oreg., \$2.20 per bushel.  
 Astoria, Oreg., \$2.20 per bushel.  
 San Francisco, Cal., \$2.20 per bushel.  
 Los Angeles, Cal., \$2.20 per bushel.  
 Salt Lake City, Utah, \$2 per bushel.  
 Great Falls, Mont., \$2 per bushel.  
 Pocatello, Idaho, \$2 per bushel.  
 Spokane, Wash., \$2 per bushel;

and that the guaranteed price for the other grades established under the United States grain standards act approved August 11, 1916, based on said price for No. 1 northern spring wheat at the respective principal primary markets of the United States above mentioned, will assure the producers of wheat produced within the United States a reasonable profit, the guaranteed prices in the principal primary markets above mentioned being fixed by adopting No. 1 northern spring wheat or its equivalents at the principal interior markets as the basis.

For the purposes of such guaranty only, I hereby fix the guaranteed prices at the respective principal primary markets above mentioned for the following grades of wheat, to wit: No. 1 northern spring, No. 1 hard winter, No. 1 red winter, No. 1 Durum, No. 1 hard white. The guaranteed price at the respective principal primary markets aforesaid of all other grades of wheat established under the United States grain standards act approved August 11, 1916, shall be based on the above guaranteed prices and bear just relation thereto.

The sums thus determined and fixed are guaranteed by the Government of the United States at the respective principal primary markets of the United States above mentioned, to every producer of wheat of any grade so established under the United States grain standards act, upon the condition that said wheat is harvested in the United States during the year 1919, and offered for sale before the 1st day of June, 1920, to such agent or employee of the United States, or other person as may be hereafter designated, at any one of the above-mentioned cities, which are hereby declared to be the principal primary markets of the United States, and provided that such producer complies with all regulations which may be hereafter promulgated in regard to said guaranty by the President of the United States.

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

Done in the District of Columbia, this 2d day of September, in the year of Our Lord 1918, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

[SEAL.]  
 By the President:  
 ROBERT LANSING,  
 Secretary of State.

## VALIDATION OF WAR CONTRACTS—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I present a conference report, and move that the Senate proceed to its consideration.

Mr. GORE. I should like to ask the Senator to what subject the report relates?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. To the validation of war contracts.

Mr. GORE. Does the Senator think it will require very long discussion?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not think so.

Mr. GORE. I ask that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, although I am not sure whether it is the unfinished business, for that matter.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator does not need to do that.

Mr. GORE. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The conference report presented by the Senator from Oregon will not displace the unfinished business, unless the Senate adjourns before its consideration is concluded.

Mr. GORE. I withdraw the request; I did not understand.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13274) to provide relief where formal contracts have not been made in the manner required by law.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read.

The Secretary read the report as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13274) to provide relief where formal contracts have not been made in the manner required by law, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to adjust, pay, or discharge any agreement, express or implied, upon a fair and equitable basis that has been entered into, in good faith during the present emergency and prior to November 12, 1918, by any officer or agent acting under his authority, direction, or instruction, or that of the President, with any person, firm, or corporation for the acquisition of lands, or the use thereof, or for damages resulting from notice by the Government of its intention to acquire or use said lands, or for the production, manufacture, sale, acquisition or control of equipment, materials or supplies, or for services, or for facilities, or other purposes connected with the prosecution of the war, when such agreement has been performed in whole or in part, or expenditures have been made or obligations incurred upon the faith of the same by any such person, firm, or corporation prior to November 12, 1918, and such agreement has not been executed in the manner prescribed by law: *Provided*, That in no case shall any award either by the Secretary of War or the Court of Claims include prospective or possible profits on any part of the contract beyond the goods and supplies delivered to and accepted by the United States and a reasonable remuneration for expenditures and obligations or liabilities necessarily incurred in performing or preparing to perform said contract or order: *Provided further*, That this act shall not authorize payment to be made of any claim not presented before June 30, 1919: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of War shall report to Congress at the beginning of its next session following June 30, 1919, a detailed statement showing the nature, terms, and conditions of every such agreement and the payment or adjustment thereof: *And provided further*, That no settlement of any claim arising under any such agreement shall bar the United States Government through any of its duly authorized agencies, or any committee of Congress hereafter duly appointed, from the right of review of such settlement nor the right of recovery of any money paid by the Government to any party under any settlement entered into or payment made under the provisions of this act, if the Government has been defrauded, and the right of recovery in all such cases shall exist against the executors, administrators, heirs, successors, and assigns of any party or parties: *And provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to relieve any officer or agent of the United States from criminal prosecution under the provisions of any statute of the United States for any fraud or criminal conduct: *And provided further*, That this act shall in no way relieve or excuse any officer or his agent from such criminal prosecution because of any irregularity or illegality in the manner of the execution of such agreement: *And provided further*, That in all proceedings hereunder witnesses may be compelled to attend, appear, and testify, and produce books, papers and letters, or other documents; and the claim

that any such testimony or evidence may tend to criminate the person giving the same shall not excuse such witness from testifying, but such evidence or testimony shall not be used against such person in the trial of any criminal proceeding.

"SEC. 2. That the Court of Claims is hereby given jurisdiction on petition of any individual, firm, company or corporation referred to in section 1 hereof to find and award fair and just compensation in the cases specified in said section in the event that such individual, firm, company or corporation shall not be willing to accept the adjustment, payment or compensation offered by the Secretary of War as hereinbefore provided, or in the event that the Secretary of War shall fail or refuse to offer a satisfactory adjustment, payment or compensation as provided for in said section.

"SEC. 3. That the Secretary of War, through such agency as he may designate or establish, is empowered, upon such terms as he or it may determine to be in the interest of the United States, to make equitable and fair adjustments and agreements, upon the termination or in settlement or readjustment of agreements or arrangements entered into with any foreign government or governments or nationals thereof prior to November 12, 1918, for the furnishing to the American Expeditionary Forces or otherwise for war purposes of supplies, materials, facilities, services or the use of property, or for the furnishing of any thereof by the United States to any foreign government or governments, whether or not such agreements or arrangements have been entered into in accordance with applicable statutory provisions; and the other provisions of this act shall not be applicable to such adjustments.

"SEC. 4. That whenever, under the provisions of this act, the Secretary of War shall make an award to any prime contractor with respect to any portion of his contract which he shall have sublet to any other person, firm, or corporation who has in good faith made expenditures, incurred obligations, rendered service, or furnished material, equipment, or supplies to such prime contractor, with the knowledge and approval of any agent of the Secretary of War duly authorized thereunto, before payment of said award the Secretary of War shall require such prime contractor to present satisfactory evidence of having paid said subcontractor or of the consent of said subcontractor to look for his compensation to said prime contractor only; and in the case of the failure of said prime contractor to present such evidence or such consent, the Secretary of War shall pay directly to said subcontractor the amount found to be due under said award; and in case of the insolvency of any prime contractor the subcontractor of said prime contractor shall have a lien upon the funds arising from said award prior and superior to the lien of any general creditor of said prime contractor.

"SEC. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, authorized to adjust, liquidate, and pay such net losses as have been suffered by any person, firm, or corporation by reason of producing or preparing to produce either manganese, chrome, pyrites, or tungsten in compliance with the request or demand of the Department of the Interior, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board, or the Emergency Fleet Corporation to supply the urgent needs of the Nation in the prosecution of the war; said minerals being enumerated in the act of Congress approved October 5, 1918, entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply.'

"The said Secretary shall make such adjustments and payments in each case as he shall determine to be just and equitable; that the decision of said Secretary shall be conclusive and final, subject to the limitation hereinafter provided; that all payments and expenses incurred by said Secretary, including personal services, traveling and subsistence expenses, supplies, postage, printing, and all other expenses incident to the proper prosecution of this work, both in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, as the Secretary of the Interior may deem essential and proper, shall be paid from the funds appropriated by the said act of October 5, 1918, and that said funds and appropriations shall continue to be available for said purpose until such time as the said Secretary shall have fully exercised the authority herein granted and performed and completed the duties hereby provided and imposed: *Provided, however,* That the payments and disbursements made under the provisions of this section for and in connection with the payments and settlements of the claims herein described and the said expenses of administration shall in no event exceed the sum of \$8,500,000: *And provided further,* That said Secretary shall consider, approve, and dispose of only such claims as shall be made hereunder and filed

with the Department of the Interior within three months from and after the approval of this act: *And provided further,* That no claim shall be allowed or paid by said Secretary unless it shall appear to the satisfaction of the said Secretary that the expenditures so made or obligations so incurred by the claimant were made in good faith for or upon property which contained either manganese, chrome, pyrites, or tungsten in sufficient quantities to be of commercial importance: *And provided further,* That no claims shall be paid unless it shall appear to the satisfaction of said Secretary that moneys were invested or obligations were incurred subsequent to April 6, 1917, and prior to November 12, 1918, in a legitimate attempt to produce either manganese, chrome, pyrites, or tungsten for the needs of the Nation for the prosecution of the war, and that no profits of any kind shall be included in the allowance of any of said claims, and that no investment for merely speculative purposes shall be recognized in any manner by said Secretary: *And provided further,* That the settlement of any claim arising under the provisions of this section shall not bar the United States Government, through any of its duly authorized agencies or any committee of Congress hereafter duly appointed, from the right of review of such settlement nor the right to recover any money paid by the Government to any party under and by virtue of the provisions of this section, if the Government has been defrauded, and the right of recovery in all such cases shall extend to the executors, administrators, heirs, and assigns of any party.

"That a report of all operations under this section, including receipts and disbursements, shall be made to Congress on or before the first Monday in December of each year.

"That nothing in this section shall be construed to confer jurisdiction upon any court to entertain a suit against the United States: *Provided further,* That in determining the net losses of any claimant the Secretary of the Interior shall, among other things, take into consideration and charge to the claimant the then market value of any ores or minerals on hand belonging to the claimant, and also the salvage or usable value of any machinery or other appliances which may be claimed as purchased to equip said mine for the purpose of complying with the request or demand of the agencies of the Government above mentioned in the manner aforesaid."

Amend the title so as to read: "An act to provide relief in cases of contracts connected with the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes."

And the Senate agree to the same.

GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,  
D. U. FLETCHER,  
C. S. THOMAS,  
F. E. WARREN,  
P. C. KNOX,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

S. H. DENT, Jr.,  
W. J. FIELDS,  
JULIUS KAHN,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, I make the point of order against the conference report, because it does not include matter that was passed by the House and which, substantially in the same form, was passed by the Senate. The matter to which I refer was left out of the conference report. I call the attention of the Chair first to Rule XXVII, which provides:

Conferees shall not insert in their report matter not committed to them by either House, nor shall they strike from the bill matter agreed to by both Houses.

I call the attention of the Chair to the wording of the rule, which says that the conferees shall not "strike from the bill matter agreed to by both Houses."

I read from page 3 of the bill as passed by the House:

*And provided further,* That the names of such contractors and the amounts of such partial or final settlements shall be filed with the Clerk of the House, for the information of Congress, and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or in the Official Bulletin or as a public document 10 days before confirmation and payment is authorized upon such contracts.

On page 14 of the bill, which passed the Senate on that subject is found the following:

*And provided further,* That the names of such contractors and the amounts of such partial or final settlements shall be filed with the Clerk of the House, for the information of Congress, and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—

I call the attention of the Chair to the fact that up to that point both bills are the same—

or as a public document within 10 days after such confirmation.

Mr. President, the gist of my contention is that matter has been left out which was agreed upon by both Houses, and, under the terms of the rule, that makes the report subject to a point of order. I refer to the provision that the names of the contractors and the amounts of such partial or final settlements should be filed with the Clerk of the House for the information of Congress and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is true that in the Senate a slight change was made in the remainder of that clause; that is, reference to the Official Bulletin was left out, and instead of the publication being required before confirmation it was required under the Senate bill to be made 10 days after confirmation; in other words, there is a difference as to time and as to publication in the Official Bulletin; but it was agreed by both Houses that there should be a publication of these data. This provision ought not to have been left out of the conference report, in my judgment, and I make the point of order that the conference report should be recommitted under the terms of the Rule XXVII, found on page 35 of the rules.

Mr. SMOOT and Mr. JONES of Washington addressed the Chair.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I yield first to one and then to the other of the Senators. I yield first to the Senator from Utah and then to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. SMOOT. I wanted to ask the Senator if the time fixed was the same in the House bill as in the Senate bill?

Mr. McKELLAR. No. It was 10 days before confirmation in the House and 10 days after such confirmation in the Senate. In other words, there was just a difference in time of applying that matter which had been agreed upon by both Houses.

Mr. SMOOT. Then what is the Senator complaining of in substance?

Mr. McKELLAR. The substance is identical. The question of time is immaterial, as it seemed to me at the time and as I believe now.

Mr. FLETCHER. And the mode of publication is identical.

Mr. McKELLAR. As to the mode of publication, the only difference is that it was left out of the Official Bulletin, and the Official Bulletin may or may not be in existence at the time the publication is made. I do not think that is material. I do not think either one of the two changes—the Official Bulletin or the time of publication—is material, but that the essential matter was the publication of this information, and it was agreed upon by both Houses.

Mr. SMOOT. And left out in the conference report?

Mr. McKELLAR. That was left out entirely. The Senator from Utah is a parliamentarian, and I should like to ask his opinion about the matter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the Chair rule first, and then any Senator can take an appeal from the ruling of the Chair, or the Senator from Utah can express his opinion on the ruling of the Chair.

The Chair has heretofore gone to great lengths in sustaining the rule of the Senate with reference to the insertion of new matter and the omission of matter agreed to by the two Houses. In an early opinion after this rule was adopted, the point of order was sustained where there was a section in the original bill of the House and a section in the original bill of the Senate which were identically the same. That ruling went further than the precedents of the House of Representatives have been, from the days of Speaker Colfax down. Those rulings are uniformly to the effect that where the House passes a bill and the Senate strikes out all after the enacting clause and passes another bill, when it goes to conference the matter is practically in the hands of the conferees to report such a bill, germane to the subject of the conference, as the conferees may think proper, and then it is for the two Houses to say whether or not they will adopt the conference report. As heretofore stated, however, the Chair, being extremely desirous of sustaining this rule of the Senate, did sustain a point of order under circumstances of a bill enacted by the House, all after the enacting clause stricken out, and a new bill inserted in the Senate, where in both bills there was a section identical in language.

Now, let us see where we are.

This is a proviso contained in each bill. It is not identical in the two bills at all, beyond the fact that each required the names of the contractors and the amounts of partial or final settlements to be filed with the House for the information of Congress. There it ends, so far as the terms are identical in the two bills. After that, in the House bill it is to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or in the Official Bulletin or as a public document 10 days before confirmation and payment is authorized upon such contract. The Chair is inclined to think that the important thing in the bill was the requirement that it be printed somewhere 10 days before confirmation and pay-

ment. In the Senate bill it is to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or as a public document within 10 days after such confirmation.

The Chair thinks there was just about 20 days in controversy before the conferees, and that they had a right to strike the proviso out. The Chair overrules the point of order. If Senators desire either provision retained, they can vote to reject the conference report for that reason.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, the Senator from Oregon knows the situation out in our western country with reference to the production of spruce. I have not had time and opportunity to examine this conference report. I should like to ask the Senator whether or not, under the terms of the conference report which is now presented, the contractors with the Spruce Production Co. would have relief under it on their contracts?

The Senator will remember that the language of the Senate bill was "any agency of the Government," and so forth. I have not heard whether or not that language is retained in the conference report.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will call the Senator's attention to the language of the first section:

That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to adjust, pay, or discharge any agreement, express or implied, upon a fair and equitable basis that has been entered into in good faith during the present emergency and prior to November 12, 1918, by any officer or agent acting under his authority, direction, or instruction, or that of the President.

I will say to the Senator that this question was in my mind at the time. It seems to me that the Spruce Production Corporation is an agency of the Government acting under the authority of the President. If it is not, this bill will not cover it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. It is an agency; but would it be considered an agent? The Senate bill contained the word "agency" as well as "agent." Now that language is apparently stricken out.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. After getting into conference we had a good deal of controversy and a good deal of trouble, as the Senator knows, to reach any agreement at all.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes; I know that.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The matter has been back and forth between the two Houses for a week or more; and in order to reach any agreement at all we practically took the House bill as a basis for reaching an agreement. If that language has been left out, it has been left out because it was not in the House bill. I will say to the Senator, however, that we did insert language in conference in order to meet the situation which the Senator suggests, not only where these contracts were made by any officer or agent acting under the Secretary of War, but where they were made by anyone acting under the authority or direction of the President. I thought that was broad enough to cover it. It may not be. I am perfectly frank to say so.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I do.

Mr. KNOX. The point that is made by the Senator from Washington, it seems to me, is rather a technical one. I recall very distinctly that the sole and only purpose for which this corporation was formed was to act as an agent or an agency for the Government, and I have not the slightest doubt myself that the language which has just been read by the Senator from Oregon covers the situation completely.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I am very glad, indeed, to have the opinion of the Senator from Pennsylvania with reference to the matter. I am inclined to think that it covers it, too, but I should like to be sure of it if it is at all possible, because, as the Senator knows, this Spruce Production Corporation was organized for the sole purpose of aiding the War Department and the Government in securing timber and materials for airplane work, and the contracts that these people made with the Spruce Production Corporation were, in fact, made for the Government, for the War Department.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. If the Senator will permit me just a moment. If the Senator will compare this section I with the section as originally passed by the House, he will find that we extended it further than contracts, express or implied, made by the Secretary of War and his agents. We extended it by the addition of giving the same right to contracts made by agents of those acting for or under the direction of the President. I think it is broad enough.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think this Spruce Production Corporation was acting more directly under the Secretary of War than under the President. I think it was headed by some

of the War Department officers. At any rate, these people who furnished materials and made their contracts made them with officers of the Army, and they seemed to think that they were dealing directly with the War Department. I think this corporation was more nearly an agent of the War Department than of the President; but it certainly was an agent of one or the other, it seems to me.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, were they getting out materials for aircraft production?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes; for the manufacture of airplanes.

Mr. FLETCHER. I should think they were operating under the Signal Corps branch of the Army, and they were either acting under orders of the Secretary of War or under orders of the President. The President had authority there, in connection, I think, with the material for production of airplanes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. They made their contracts with the Spruce Production Corporation. The Spruce Production Corporation, I have no doubt, was acting under the Signal Corps. I think its officers were largely officers of the Signal Corps, and so it seems to me that it is covered by this language, but I wanted to have the RECORD show the opinion of the Senators in charge of the matter.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I do not rise to discuss the amendment, but to protest against the ruling of the former occupant of the chair. I will say, as the Senator who proposed the amendment to the rules, that it was the intention of the amendment to prohibit conferees from doing what, according to the statement of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR], was done in this case. I did not appeal from the decision of the Chair because I know the importance of this legislation and how anxious the chairman is to get the matter disposed of to-day.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I simply want to enter my protest, so that the RECORD will not show that the ruling was agreed to by common consent. I do not expect to take an appeal from the ruling of the Chair. The reason why paragraph 2 of Rule XXVII was amended was because conferees included new legislation of the most vital character, legislation that was not acted upon by either House, and the practice grew to such proportions that the Senate decided that the only way to protect themselves was to amend the rules; and the rule, as above stated, was amended. If that action of the Senate can be set aside by striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting entirely new legislation, as will be the case if the ruling just made is allowed to stand, if this ruling is a correct interpretation of the rule, we will have to amend the rules again.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. So far as the matter left out is concerned, in the Senator's judgment, does not this ruling abrogate the rule itself to that extent?

Mr. SMOOT. That is my opinion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, has the title been amended?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I gave notice of some brief remarks this afternoon on the subject of the league of nations.

Which shall it be, Mr. President—war, and continued preparations for war, or a league of nations? Those are the alternatives.

Heretofore the world, through all the centuries down to the present time, has been afflicted and inflicted with the curse of war. The larger part of governmental appropriations, here and elsewhere, has been for the burdens of war. Through all the centuries this has continued. Every generation has sent its men to the slaughter. One eloquent critic of this proposed league of nations has read into the RECORD recently a list of 50 wars that have devastated the Old World during the last century. America has not been free from the curse. Besides our own Revolutionary War, our Civil War, and our Indian wars, we have had the War with Mexico, the War with Spain, the War with Germany and Austria-Hungary, and we have felt, even though using every effort to keep out of war, its awful effects. Our experiences in the war from which we are just now emerging have convinced us that we are a part of the world; that whenever the world is convulsed with war we are going to suffer from it, and probably participate in it. We,

too, therefore, find ourselves face to face with the question, Shall it be war, and preparations for war, or shall it be a league of nations?

Senators who criticize the league of nations seem to ignore the alternative. Let us face it. What if we have no league of nations?

Mr. GORE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I must, I regret to say, decline to yield on account of lack of time.

What if the peace to be signed becomes like other peaces that have been signed—merely a truce while nations make ready for another war? That inevitably means a resumption of war preparations on an increased scale.

Before this war the United States and the four great nations associated with the United States in forming this league of peace were expending about \$600,000,000 a year in military preparations and about \$600,000,000 a year in naval preparations. It is easy to see, if the league of nations fails and international chaos follows, that the world will sag back into the despair and desperation of a constant prospect of war. Every nation will become an armed camp, and military preparations and naval preparations will go on upon an unheard-of scale. The burdens of the people in that case will be enormously increased over what they have been in the past. There may not be a war for years; but the preparations for war will threaten bankruptcy, and they will certainly bend the backs of the taxpayers as they never have been bent before.

I am speaking now only of preparations for war, Mr. President; but what of actual war?

First, we have the cost in money, the least important and the least terrible penalty we pay for war. The war just concluded is estimated to have cost the seven nations which bore its burden something like one hundred and forty thousand million dollars. The taxpayers of those nations will stagger under that burden for generations yet unborn if no relief is afforded in the cost of war preparations. The late war cost 6,000,000 lives and millions more of cripples. It has destroyed hundreds of towns. It has widowed millions of wives. It has brought in its train the inevitable consequences of war—pestilence and famine. One of the war diseases alone has cost this country over 300,000 lives of the civilian population. It has let loose and inflamed the passions and lusts of men and crushed and humiliated millions of women. Massacre, torture, and assassinations have accompanied it. Law and order have been overthrown. Bolshevism and anarchy have been propagated. The confidence of men in government has been shaken. It will never be restored until governments devise some way to end war.

Mr. President, I have observed that so far in this discussion most of the opponents of the league of nations are those who would oppose any league of nations. They enormously magnify the possible evils and dangers of a league and convey the impression that the United States is giving up everything and gaining nothing by this great compact of honor and justice and peace between the nations of the earth.

Two of my eloquent colleagues attacked it as a form of internationalism. They object to internationalism. They are too late. Internationalism has come, and we must choose what form the internationalism shall take. We must choose between the internationalism of justice and honor and peace and mutual support between the civilized nations of the earth and the internationalism of the socialist, the anarchist, the Bolshevik.

Humanity will not long tolerate a condition of recurring war over questions between governments that can be settled by peaceful methods along the lines of justice and reason. The mass of men will not allow themselves to be forever led to the slaughter uselessly and unnecessarily. The taxpayers will not submit indefinitely to spoliation by enormous taxes to make unending preparation for unceasing wars.

Senators who oppose the league of nations have apparently ignored the enormous evil from which the world suffers. They have apparently ignored the rising tide of protest not only among the people of the United States but among the people of the whole civilized world against war. If we fail to adopt an internationalism of governments that will unite to end the wars we shall be face to face with the internationalism of the individual socialist. We can not ignore the fact that the Russian millions are now thoroughly committed to the communistic government. We can not deny the fact that France and Italy, the one a republic and the other a limited monarchy, are largely under the control of socialistic ideas and socialistic leaders. No other leader could get control in the state of public opinion. We can not ignore the fact that Germany is being rapidly and radically reorganized into a socialistic nation of 75,000,000 souls.