SUMMARY OF THE REPLY OF THE ALLIES TO GERMAN COUNTER PROPOSALS

ALLIES PLEDGE SILESIAN COAL IN NEW DRAFT

Financial Clauses Modified to Permit Germany to Have Working Capital.

MAIN TERMS UNCHANGED

Clemenceau in Covering Letter Again Condemns Enemy as Barbarous.

PARIS, June 16.—The final reply of the allied and associated Powers to the conditions of peace handed to the Germans at Versailles May 7 was delivered to the German delegation to-day and made public shortly after.

The principles of the original conditions have been vigorously upheld as establishing a peace of justice, but certain modifications in detail, and many explanations of the effect of execution are made. The reply is in two parts, a general covering letter of about 4,500 words, and seriatio discussions of the general counter proposals.

The changes include a plebescite for upper Silesia with guarantees of coal therefrom; frontier rectifications in West Russia; omission of the third zone of the Schleswig plebescite; temporary increase of the German army from 100,000 to 200,000 men; declaration of intention to submit within a month of signature a list of those accused of violation of the laws and customs of war; offer to cooperate with a German commission of reparations and to receive suggestions for discharging the obligation; certain detailed modifications in the finance, economic and ports and waterways clauses, including abolition of the proposed Kiel Canal commission, and the assurance of membership of the League of Nations in the early future, if Germany fulfills her obligations.

Clemenceau's Letter.

The covering letter from Premier Clemenceau, president of the Peace Conference, to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, president of the German delegation, follows:

"Mr. President, the allied and associated Powers have given the most earnest consideration to the observation of the German delegates of the draft treaty of peace. The reply protests against the peace on the grounds that it conflicts with the terms upon which the armistice of the eleventh of November, 1918, was signed, and that it is a peace of violence and not of justice. The protest of the German delegation shows that they fail to understand the position in which Germany stands to-day. They seem to think that Germany has only to 'make sacrifices in order to attain peace,' as if this were but the end of some mere struggle for territory and power. The allied and associated Powers therefore feel it necessary to begin their reply by a clear statement of the judgment of the world which has been forged by practically the whole of civilized mankind.

"In the view of the allied and associated Powers the war which began on August 1, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and freedom of the people that any nation calling itself civilized has ever consciously committed. For many years the rulers of Germany, true to the Prussian tradition, strove for a position of dominance in Europe. They were not satisfied with that growing prosperity and influence to which Germany was entitled, and which all other nations were willing to accord her, of the society of free and equal position. They required that they should be able to dictate and tyrannize over a subservient Europe as they dictated and tyrannized over a subservient Germany. In order to attain their ends, they used every channel through which to educate their own subjects of the doctrine that might was right in international affairs.

"They never ceased to expand German armaments by land and sea and to propaganda the falsehood that it was necessary because Germany's neighbors were jealous of her prosperity and power. She sought to show hostility and suspicion instead of friendship between nations. They developed a system of espionage and intrigue through which they were enabled to stir up international rebellion and unrest and even to make secret offensive preparations within the territory of their neighbors whereby they might, when the moment came, strike them down with greater certainty and ease.

Kept Europe in Ferment.

"They kept Europe in a ferment by threats of violence, and when they found that their neighbors were resolved to resist their arrogant will they determined to assist their predominance in Europe by force. As soon as their preparations were complete they encouraged a subservient ally to declare war on Serbia at forty-eight hours notice, a war involving the control of the Balkans, which they knew could not be localized and which was bound to unchain a general war. In order to make doubly sure they refused every attempt at conciliation and conference until it was too late and the world war was inevitable, for which they had plotted and for which alone among the nations they were adequately equipped and prepared.

"Germany's responsibility, however, is not confined to having planned and started the war. She is no less responsible for the savage and inhuman manner in which it was conducted. Though Germany was itself the guaranty of Belgium, the rules Germany violated after a solemn promise to respect the neutrality of this unoffending people. Not content with this, they deliberately carried out a series of promiscuous shootings and burnings, with the sole object of terrifying the inhabitants into submission by the very frightfulness of their action.

"They were the first to use poisonous gas notwithstanding the appalling suffering it entailed. They began the bombing and long distance shelling of towns for no military object, but solely for the purpose of reducing the morale of their opponents by striking at their women and children. They commenced the submarine campaign, with its piratical challenge to international law and its destruction of great numbers of innocent passengers and sailors in midocean, far from succor, at the mercy of the winds and the waves, and the yet more ruthless submarine crews.

"They drove thousands of men and women and children with brutal savagery into slavery in foreign lands, they allowed barbarities to be practised against their prisoners of war from which the most uncivilized people would have recoiled. The conduct of Germany is almost unexampled in human history. The terrible responsibility which lies at her doors can be seen in the fact that not less than 7,000,000 dead lie buried in Europe, while more than 20,000,000 others carry upon them the evidence of wounds and suffering, because Germany saw fit to gratify her lust for tyranny by resort to war.

"The allied and associated Powers believe that they will be false to those who have given their all to save the freedom of the world if they consent to treat war on any other basis than as a crime against humanity and right.

Quotes Wilson's Words.

"This attitude of allied and associated Powers was made perfectly [omission] to Germany during the war by their principal statesmen. It was defined by President Wilson in his speech of April 6, 1918, and explicitly and categorically accepted by the German people as a principle governing the peace: 'Everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response; the will, the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thoughts and utterly defeat the force of these who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.'

"It was set forth clearly in a speech of the Prime Minister of Great Britain dated the 14th of December, 1917: 'There is no security in any land without certainty of punishment. There is no protection for life, property or money in a State where the criminal is more powerful than the law. The law of nations is no exception, and until it has been vindicated, the peace of the world will always be at the mercy of any nation whose professors have assiduously taught it to believe that no crime is wrong so long as it leads to the aggrandizement and enrichment of the country to which they owe allegiance. There have been many times in the history of the world criminal States. We are dealing with one of them now. There will always be criminal States until the reward of international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive.'

"It was made clear also in an address of M. Clemenceau of September, 1918:

"'What do they [the French soldiers] want? What do we ourselves want? To fight, to fight victoriously and unceasingly, until the hour when the enemy shall understand that no compromise is possible between such crime and "justice."'

"Similarly Signor Orlando, speaking on the 3d of October, 1918, declared:

"'We shall obtain peace when our enemies recognise that humanity has the right and duty to safeguard itself against a continuance of such causes as have brought about this terrible slaughter; and that the blood of millions of men calls not for vengeance, but for the realization of those high ideals for which it has been so generously shed. Nobody thinks of employing—even by way of legitimate retaliation—methods of brutal violence or of overbearing domination or of suffocation of the freedom of any people—methods and policies which made the whole world rise against the Central Powers.

"'But nobody will contend that the moral order can be restored simply because he who awaits in his iniquitous endeavor declares that he has renounced his aim. Questions intimately effecting the peaceful life of nations once raised must obtain the solution which justice requires.'

"Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German delegation asks for, and says that Germany has been promised. But it must be justice for all. There must be justice for the dead and wounded and for those who have been orphaned and bereaved, that Europe might be freed from Prussian despotism. There must be justice for the peoples who now stagger under war debts which exceed $30,000,000,000 that liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and lands, ships and property German savagery has spoliated and destroyed.

"This is why the allied and associated Powers have insisted as a cardinal feature of the treaty that Germany must undertake to make reparation to the very uttermost of her power, for reparation for wrongs inflicted is of the essence of justice. That is why they insist that those individuals who are most clearly responsible for German aggression and for those acts of barbarism and inhumanity which have disgraced the German conduct of the war must be handed over to justice which has not been meted out to them at home. That, too, is why Germany must submit for a few years to certain special disabilities and arrangements.

"Germany has ruined the industries, the mines and the machinery of neighboring countries, not during battle, but with the deliberate and calculated purpose of enabling her own industries to seize their markets before their industries could recover from the devastation thus wantonly inflicted upon them. Germany has despoiled her neighbors of everything she could make use of or carry away. Germany has destroyed the shipping of all nations in the high seas, where there was no chance of rescue for their passengers and crews.

"It is only justice that restitution should be made, and that these wronged peoples should be safeguarded for a time from the competition of a nation whose industries are intact and have even been fortified by machinery stolen from occupied territories. If these things are hardships for Germany, they are hardships which Germany has brought upon herself. Somebody must suffer for the consequences of the war. Is it to be Germany or the peoples she has wronged?

"Not to do justice to all concerned would only leave the world open to fresh calamities. If the German people themselves, or any other nation, are to be deterred from following the footsteps of Prussia; if mankind is to be lifted out of the belief that war for selfish ends is legitimate to any State; if the old era is to be left behind and nations as well as individuals are to be brought beneath the reign of law, even if there is to be early reconciliation and appeasement, it will be because those responsible for concluding the war have had the courage to see that justice is not deflected for the sake of convenient peace.

German Revolution.

"It is said that the German revolution ought to make a difference, and that the German people are not responsible for the policy of the rulers whom they have thrown from power. The allied and associated Powers recognize and welcome the change. It represents a great hope for peace and a new European order in the future. But it cannot affect the settlement of the war itself. The German revolution was stayed until the German armies had been defeated in the field, and all hope of profiting by a war of conquest had vanished.

"Throughout the war, as before the war, the German people and their representatives supported the war, voted the credits, subscribed to the war loans, obeyed every order, however savage, of their Government. They shared the responsibility for the policy of their Government, for at any moment, had they willed it, they could have reversed it. Had that policy succeeded they would have acclaimed it with the same enthusiasm with which they welcomed the outbreak of the war. They cannot now pretend, having changed their rulers after the war was lost, that it is justice that they should escape the consequences of their deeds.

"2. The allied and associated Powers therefore believe that the peace they have proposed is fundamentally a peace of justice. They are no less certain that it is a peace of right on the terms agreed. There can be no doubt as to the intentions of the allied and associated Powers to base the settlement of Europe on the principle of freeing oppressed peoples and redrawing national boundaries as far as possible in accordance with the will of the peoples concerned, while giving to each the facilities of living an independent national and economic life.

"These intentions were made clear not only in President Wilson's address to the Congress of the eighth of January, 1918, but in the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses which was the agreed basis of the peace. A memorandum on this point is attached to this letter.

Reconstitution of Poland.

"Accordingly, the allied and associated Powers have provided for the reconstitution of Poland as an independent state with 'free and secure access to the sea.' All territories inhabited by indubitably Polish populations have been accorded to Poland. All territory inhabited by German majorities, save for a few isolated towns and for colonies established on land recently forcibly expropriated and situated in the midst of indubitably Polish territory, have been left to Germany.

"Wherever the will of the people is in doubt a plebiscite has been provided for. The town of Danzig has been constituted as a free city, so that the inhabitants will be autonomous and do not come under Polish rule and form no part of the Polish state. Poland has been given certain economic rights in Danzig, and the city itself has been severed from Germany because in no other way was it possible to provide for that 'free and secure access to the sea' which Germany has promised to concede.

The German counter proposals entirely conflict with the agreed basis of peace. They provide that great majorities of indisputably Polish population shall be kept under German rule. They deny secure access to the sea to a nation of over twenty million people, whose nationals are in the majority all the way to the coast, in order to maintain territorial connection between east and west Prussia, whose trade has always been mainly sea borne. They cannot therefore be accepted by the allied and associated Powers. At the same time in certain cases the German note has established a case for rectification, which will be made, and in view of the contention that upper Silesia, inhabited by a 2 to 1 majority of Poles (1,250,000 to 650,000), wishes to remain a part of Germany, they are willing that the question of whether or not upper Silesia shall form part of Germany or of Poland should be determined by the vote of the inhabitants themselves. In regard to the Saar basin the regime proposed by the allied and associated Powers is to continue for fifteen years.

This arrangement they considered necessary both to the general scheme for reparation, and in order that France may have immediate and certain compensation for the wanton destruction of her northern coal mines. The district has been transferred not to French sovereignty, but to the control of the Society of the League of Nations. This method has the double advantage that it involves no annexation while it gives possession of the coal field to France and maintains the economic unity of the district, so important to the interest of the inhabitants. At the end of fifteen years the mixed population, which in the meanwhile will have had control of its own local affairs under the governing supervision of the League of Nations, will have complete freedom to decide whether it wishes union with Germany, union with France, or the continuance of the regime provided for in the treaty.

People to Have Vote.

"As to the territories which it is proposed to transfer from Germany to Denmark and Belgium, some of these were robbed by Prussia by force, and in every case the transfer will only take place as the result of a decision of the inhabitants themselves, taken under conditions which will ensure complete freedom to vote.

"Finally, the allied and associated Powers are satisfied that the native inhabitants of the German colonies are strongly opposed to being again brought under Germany's sway; and the record of German rule, the traditions of the German Government, and the use to which these colonies were put as bases from which to prey upon the commerce of the world, make it impossible for the allied and associated Powers to return them to Germany, or to trust to her responsibility for the training and education of their inhabitants.

"For these reasons the allied and associated Powers are satisfied that their territorial proposals are both in accord with the agreed basis of peace and are necessary to the future peace of Europe. They are, therefore, not prepared to modify them except in the respects laid down.

"Arising out of the territorial settlement are the proposals in regard to international control of rivers. It is clearly in accord with the agreed basis of the peace that inland States should have secure access to the sea along rivers which are navigable to their territory. They believe the arrangements they propose are vital to the free life of the inland States.

They do not think they are any denial of the rights of the other riparian States if viewed according to the discredited doctrine that every State is engaged in a desperate struggle for ascendancy over its neighbors, no doubt such arrangement may be an impediment to the artificial strangling of a rival. But if it be the ideal that nations are to cooperate in the ways of commerce and peace, they are natural and right. The provisions of the presence of representatives of important non-riparian States on the commissions is security that the commissions will consider the interests of all. A number of modifications, however, have been made in the original proposals, the details of which will be found in the attached memorandum.

Under the heading of economic and financial clauses the German delegation appears to have seriously misinterpreted the proposals of the allied and associated Powers. There is no intention on the part of the allied and associated Powers to strangle Germany or to prevent her from taking her proper place in international trade and commerce. Provided she abides by the treaty of peace and provided also that she abandons those aggressive and exclusive traditions which have been apparent in her business no less than in her political methods, the allied and associated Powers intend that Germany shall have fair treatment in the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods, subject to those temporary provisions already mentioned in the interests of the nations ravaged and artificially weakened by Germany's action.

It is their desire that the passions engendered by the war should die as soon as possible, and that all nations should share in the prosperity which comes from the honest supply of mutual needs. They wish that Germany shall enjoy this prosperity like the rest, though much of the fruit of it must necessarily go for many years to come in making reparation to her neighbors for the damage she has done. In order to make their intention clear, a number of modifications have been made in the financial and economic clauses of the treaty, but the principles upon which the treaty is drawn must stand.

Mistaken Interpretations.

The German delegation have greatly misinterpreted the reparation proposals of the treaty. These proposals confine the amounts payable by Germany to what is clearly justifiable under the terms of the armistice in respect of damage caused to the civilian population of the Allies by the aggression of Germany. They do not provide for that interference in the internal life of Germany by the reparation commission which is alleged. They are designed to make the payment of that reparation which Germany must make as easy and convenient to both parties as possible, and they will be interpreted in that sense. The allied and associated Powers, therefore, are not prepared to modify them.

But they recognise, with the German delegation, the advantage of arriving as soon as possible at the fixed and definite sum which shall be payable by Germany and accepted by the Allies. It is not possible to fix this sum to-day, for the extent of damage and the cost of repair have not yet been ascertained. They are, therefore, willing to accord to Germany all necessary and reasonable facilities to enable her to survey the devastated and damaged regions, and to make proposals thereafter within four months of the signing of the treaty or a settlement of the claims under each of the categories of damage for which she is liable. If within the following two months an agreement can be reached, the exact liability of Germany will have been ascertained. If agreement has not been reached by then, the arrangement as provided in the treaty will be executed.

The allied and associated Powers have given careful consideration to the request of the German delegation that Germany should be admitted to the League of Nations as one of the conditions of peace. They are unable to accede to this request. The German revolution was postponed to the last moment of the war, and there is as yet no guarantee that it represents a permanent change. In the present temper of international feeling it is impossible to expect the free nations of the world to sit down immediately in equal association with those by whom they have been so grieviously wronged.

Must Prove Worthiness.

To attempt this too soon would delay and not hasten that process of appeasement which all desire. But the allied and associated Powers believe that if the German people prove by their acts that they intend to fulfill the conditions of the peace, and that they have abandoned forever those aggressive and estranging policies which caused the war, and have now become a people with whom it is possible to live in neighborly good fellowship, the memories of these past years will speedily fade, and it will be possible at an early date to complete the League of Nations by the admission of Germany thereto. It is their earnest hope that this may be the case. They believe the prospects of the world depend upon the close and friendly cooperation of all nations in adjusting international questions and promoting welfare and progress of mankind, but the early entry of Germany into the league must depend principally upon the action of the German people themselves.

In the course of its discussion of their economic terms and elsewhere, the German delegation has repeated its denunciation of the blockade instituted by the allied and associated Powers. Blockade is and always has been a legal and recognized method of war, and its operation has been from time to time adapted to changes in international communication. If the allied and associated Powers have imposed upon Germany a blockade of exceptional severity, which throughout they have consistently sought to conform to the principles of international law, it is because of the criminal character of the war initiated by Germany and of the barbarous methods adopted by her in prosecuting it.

The allied and associated Powers have not attempted to make a specific answer to all the observations made in the German note. The fact of their omission does not, however, indicate that they are either admitted or open to discussion.

In conclusion the allied and associated Powers must make it clear that this letter and the memorandum attached constitute their last word. They have examined the German observations and counter proposals with earnest attention and care. They have, in consequence, made important modifications in the draft of the treaty.

But in its principles they stand by it. They believe that it is not only a just settlement of the great war, but that it provides the basis upon which the peoples of Europe can live together in friendship and equality, at the same time it creates the machinery for the peaceful adjustment of all international problems by discussion and consent, and whereby the settlement of 1919 itself can be modified from time to time to suit new facts and new conditions as they arise. It is frankly not based upon a general condonation of the events of 1914-1918. It would not be a peace of justice if it were, but it represents a sincere and deliberate attempt to establish "that reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind" which was the agreed basis of the peace.

Get Seven Days to Sign.

As such, the treaty in its present form, must be accepted or rejected. The allied and associated Powers therefore require a declaration from the German delegation within five (since changed to seven) days that they are prepared to sign the treaty as now amended. If they declare within the period that they are prepared to sign the treaty as it stands, arrangements will be made for the immediate signature of the peace at Versailles. In default of such a declaration this communication constitutes the notification provided for in Article Eleven of the convention prolonging the armistice signed on November 11, 1918. The said armistice will then terminate and the allied and associated Powers will take such steps as they think needful to force their terms.

The detailed reply follows exactly the scheme of the original conditions of peace which was in turn followed by the Germans in their counter proposals.

The allied and associated Powers are in complete eaccord with the German delegation that the basis of negotiations lies in the correspondence immediately preceding the armistice. In an attempt to prove a breach of this agreement the latter have quoted from a number of speeches, most interdating this correspondence and many made by allied statesmen when not at war with Germany or not in office. It is sufficient to refer to the reply of the allied Powers on January 10, 1917, in response to the President's inquiry as to their conditions of peace.

It cannot be disputed that allied statesmen have never expressed a desire for any other peace than the one which should undo the wrongs of 1914, vindicate justice and international right, and reconstruct the political foundations of Europe on lines which would give libery to all its peoples, and, therefore, the prospect of a lasting peace.

The German claim of a contradiction between the terms of the treaty and President Wilson's promise of justice to the German people is met by a quotation demanding "the destruction of every arbirary power everywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world." If similarly the Germans clam contradition in the territorial terms, it must be borne in mind that this is not the result of any purpose to act unjustly toward Germany but rather of the fact that an appreciable amount of German territory consisted of districts unjustly appropriated by her in the past.

The economic objections are answered by the statement that Germany's economic condition is intact and in no wise crippled by a devastation like that brought upon the allied peoples. The German contention that peoples have been bartered about is similarly unfounded, as every territorial settlement has been reached after most careful and labored consideration of all the racial, religious and linguistic factors and the legitimate hopes of peoples long under alien rule.

Her complaint that she has not been invited to join the league of nations cannot find justification in any of President Wilson's declarations, for indeed he carefully laid down that such admission was possible only after Germany has proved her character.

The allied and associated Powers regarding the League of Nations as the basis of the treaty of peace and as bringing into the relations of people an element of progress which the future will confirm and develop, have never had the intention of indefinitely excluding Germany or any other Power from membership. Every country whose Government has proved its stability and its desire to observe its international obligations, particularly those of the peace treaty, will be supported in its demand for admission. In Germany's case the events of the past five years prove the need of a definite test, the length of which will depend on the acts of the German Government, especially toward the treaty. No reason is seen, however, provided these necessary conditions are assured, why Germany should not become a member in the early future.

Inclusion in the covenant of the German proposals regarding economic questions is considered unnecessary. The allied and associated Powers will guarantee protection, under the league, of German minorities in ceded territories and intend to open negotiations immediately for a general reduction of armaments, as provided in the covenant, in the expectation that Germany carries out her engagements in this regard.

European Political Clauses.

The territories of Eupen and Malmedy, separated from Belgian territories in 1814, without consideration of the people, have continued in close relations with Belgium despite a century of Prussianization, and at the same time have been made a basis for German militarism by construction of the great camp at Elsenborn and various strategic railroa is directed against Belgium. The reunion of these territories with Belgium seems justified. The German claim for a neutralized Moresnet is wholly justified, while the communal woods in Prussian Moresnet are awarded to Belgium in partial compensation for the destruction of Belgian forests.

The plebiscite in northern Schleswig promised by Prussia by treaty after its seizure in 1864, but never granted is now assured on the request of Denmark and the people concerned. Territory as far as the Elder and the Schlei is to be evacuated by the Germans and administered by residents on the spot with no other preoccupation but their own welfare, and at the end of fifteen years will be free to choose the sovereignty under which they prefer to continue.

A plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine can not be admitted, because the whole purpose of the provisions in regard to these provinces has been so far as possible to repair the injustice committed in 1871, as agreed to by Germany, and to restore the situation then prevailing as far as it is possible after fifty years of suffering. The will of the inhabitants has been amply attested by the unanimous protests against annexation voiced by their representatives at Bordeaux in 1871 and repeated many other times since, even at the cost of their own tranquility and interests. There is no intention of applying the general principle of the treaty that States taking over ceded territory should bear part of the public debt of the ceding State and pay for the public property, as it is intended France should recover these provinces without prejudice.

Two cardinal principles have been followed in determining the eastern frontiers of Germany. First is the special obligation to reestablish the Polish (omission) by an international commission including Norway and Sweden, the limits of the territory having been altered, however, in consequence of a request by Denmark.

The German observations in Luxemberg require no answer because of two incontrovertible facts, Germany's violation of her neutrality and Luxembourg's denunciation of the eastern union.

Germany's declaration that she "has never had and will never have the intention of changing by violence the frontier between Germany and Austria" is noted.

None of the German observations to Russia requires change in the treaty.

Saar Decision Stands.

No alteration is permissible in the Saar terms. The allied and associated Powers have sought to impose for the destruction of the mines of northern France a form of reparation which by its exceptional nature will for a limited period be a definite and visible symbol. At the same time they intend, by assuring themselves of the immediate possession of actual security, to escape the risks to which the German memoir itself has drawn attention. The interests of the inhabitants have, however, been most scrupulously safeguarded. They will live for the first time since their forcible annexation to Prussia and Bavaria under a government the independence of which it was unjustly deprived more than a century ago. This was one of the greatest wrongs of which history has record, the memory and result of which has for long poisoned the political life of a large part of Europe, and which was one of the essential steps by which the military power of Prussia was built up and the whole political life, first of Prussia and then of Germany perverted. The second principle is that there shall be included in the restored Poland those districts inhabited by an indisputably Polish population.

Posen and west Prussia, which were predominantly Polish when the partition took place, might have been restored to Poland almost in their entirety according to the strict law of historic retribution, but instead there has been left to Germany, in an effort to avoid even the appearance of injustice and despite Germany's brutal colonization policy, all those districts on the west in which there is an undisputed German predominance contiguous to Germany. Nevertheless, the frontiers have been carefully reconsidered and certain modifications made in detail. In particular the historical frontier between Pomerania and West Prussia is to be reestablished.

Admission to League of Nations.

The allied and associated Powers, regarding the League of Nations as the basis of the treaty of peace and as bringing into the relations of people an element of progress which the future will confirm and develop, have never had the intention of indefinitely excluding Germany or any other Power from membership. Every country whose Government has proved its stability and its desire to observe its international obligations, particularly those of the peace treaty, will be supported in its demand for admission. In Germany's case the events of the past five years prove the need of a definite test, the length of which will depend on the acts of the German Government especially towards the treaty. No reason is seen, however, provided these necessary conditions are assured, why Germany should not become a member in the early future.

Inclusion in the covenant of the German proposals regarding economic questions is considered unnecessary. The allied and associated Powers will guarantee protection, under the league, of German minorities in ceded territories, and intend to open negotiations immediately for a general reduction of armaments, as provided in the covenant, in the expectation that Germany carries out her engagements in this regard.

European Political Clauses.

Belgium—The territories of Eupen and Malmedy, separated from Belgian territories in 1814, without consideration of the people, have continued in close relations with Belgium, despite a century of Prussianization, and at the same time have been made a basis for German militarism by construction of the great camp at Elsenborn and various strategic railroads directed against Belgium. The reunion of these territories with Belgium seems justified and petitions to this effect are sufficiently supported by the population under the League of Nations. The German claim for neutralized Moresnet is wholly justified, while the communal woods in Prussian Moresnet are awarded to Belgium in partial compensation for the destruction of Belgian forests.

The plebiscite in northern Schleswig promised by Prussia by treaty in 1864, but never granted, is now assured on the request of Denmark and the people concerned. Territory as far as the Elder and the Schlei is to be evacuated by the Germans and administered by residents on the spot with no other preoccupation but their own welfare, and at the end of fifteen years will be free to choose the sovereignty under which they prefer to continue.

Award of Alsace-Lorraine.

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The Eastern Frontier. Two cardinal principles have been followed in determining the eastern frontiers of Germany. First is the special obligation to reestablish the Polish (omission) by an international commission, including Norway and Sweden, the limits of the territory having been altered, however, in consequence of a request by Denmark.

Luxembourg. The German observations on Luxembourg require no answer because of two incontrovertible facts, Germany's violation of her neutrality and Luxembourg's denunciation of the eastern union.

Austria. Germany's declaration that she "has never had and will never have the intention of changing by violence the frontier between Germany and Austria."

Russia. None of the German observations to Russia require change in the treaty.

Saar Terms to Be Unchanged.

The Saar. No alteration is permissible in the Saar terms. The allied and associated Powers have sought to impose for the destruction of the mines of northern France a form of reparation which by its exceptional nature will for a limited period be a definite and visible symbol. At the same time they intend, by assuring themselves of the immediate possession of actual security, to escape the risks to which the German memoir itself has drawn attention. The interests of the inhabitants have, however, been most scrupulously safeguarded; they will live for the first time since their forcible annexation to Prussia and Bavaria under a government nation the independence of which it was unjustly deprived more than a century ago. This was one of the greatest wrongs of which history has record, the memory and result of which has for long poisoned the political life of a large part of Europe and which was one of the essential steps by which the military power of Prussia was built up and the whole political life, first of Prussia and then of Germany, perverted. The second principle is that there shall be included in the restored Poland and those districts inhabited by an indisputably Polish population.

Posen and West Prussia. These two provinces, which were predominantly Polish when the partition took place, might have been restored to Poland almost in their entirety according to the strict law of historic retribution, but instead there has been left to Germany, in an effort to avoid even the appearance of injustice and despite Germany's brutal colonization policy, all those districts on the west in which there is an undisputed German predominance contiguous to Germany. Nevertheless, the frontiers have been carefully reconsidered and certain modifications made in detail. In particular the historical frontier between Pomerania and West Prussia is to be reestablished.

Decision on East Prussia.

East Prussia. Germany's refusal to accept the separation of East Prussia from the rest of Germany is met by the statement that East Prussia was so separated for many hundreds of years, has always been recognized in Germany as a German colony and not as an original German land, and was not actually included in Germany's political frontiers till 1866. The interest of Germany in maintaining the land connection is no reason for continuing the dismemberment and partition of another nation and denying Poland's vital need of direct access to the sea. East Prussia's trade with Germany has always been sea borne, but as an added assurance careful revision has been made of the treaty clauses providing the fullest freedom of transit across the intervening Polish territory. Germany's objection to the plebiscite in certain parts of East Prussia causes surprise, especially when she admits doubt as to the nationality of the inhabitants and professes assent to the principle of self determination.

Danzig. The German comment as to the rape of Danzig shows an utter lack of appreciation of a settlement most carefully drawn. Danzig is to resume the character it held for many centuries when as a Hansa city it lay outside the frontiers of Germany and enjoyed in union with Poland a large measure of local independence and great commercial prosperity, to the time indeed of its forcible annexation to Prussia. As the population is predominantly German the city will not be incorporated in Poland, but as its economic interests are identical with Poland's as the great port of the valley of the Vistula, it is essential that there be close connection between them. It is not enough that Poland should have the use of Germany ports, the coast, short as it is, which is Polish, must be restored and the sole seaport available to her kept free from all foreign domination.

Memel. The cession of Memel does not conflict with the principle of nationality, for, while the city itself is in large part German, the district as a whole has always been Lithuanian.

Upper Silesia. While Upper Silesia was not formerly part of the kingdom of Poland, every German reference and school book teaches that the great majority of its population are Polish in origin and speech. Since, however, Germany contests the desire of the population to separate from her, it has been decided that the territory shall be immediately ceded to Poland, but that a plebiscite shall be held, even at the inconvenience of occupation by foreign troops and the necessity of a commission of administration. In order also to meet any further criticisms, the liquidation of German property is safeguarded in more detail; Germany is to be allowed to purchase mineral products, including coal, on the same terms as the Poles; and Germans transferred to Poland are to be adequately protected as to language, religion and education.

The protection of the interests of the people of Heligoland and of German navigation and the fishing industry, which Germany demands, has already been provided for, as the only harbor to be destroyed are the naval harbors within a specific area, which does not include harbors used by fishing vessels. The destruction will be solely to prevent the fortification of the island.

No concessions can be made as to the former German colonies and German rights outside Europe. The Allied and associated Governments, actuated above all by the interests of the natives cannot again abandon thirteen or fourteen million persons to a fate from which the war has delivered them. Germany's dereliction in colonial civilization, especially in cruel methods of repression, arbitrary requisition and various forms of forced labor have been amply attested by the formal charges made in the Reichstag, notably by Erzberger and Noske, by the depopulation of vast areas in German East Africa and the Cameroons, and the tragic fate of the Herero in Southwest Africa. Moreover, they have felt it necessary to safeguard their own security and the peace of the world against a military imperialism which sought to establish a basis for interference and intimidation against the other Powers.

That the loss of the colonies will not hinder Germany's normal economic development is shown by the fact that in 1913, but one-half of one per cent. of Germany's imports and one-half of one per cent. of her exports was with her own colonies. Moreover, experience has shown that but a very small proportion of the excess German population would go to German colonies.

No reason is seen to make an exception to the general rule for the transfer of all movable and immovable state property in ceded territory, except that in the case of Kiao Chow, the principle of private rights will apply to the railroads and mines if Germany can prove their private ownership. The nations of mandatories will not bear any part of the German debt incurred therein, as this was mostly for Germany's own interests. The Powers must reserve in the interest of the natives and of general peace, full liberty to determine the conditions under which Germans may establish themselves there, and think it no hardship that Germany agree in advance to humanitarian conventions as to the traffic in arms and spirits and the like.

Regarding Military Terms.

The military terms were not drawn solely with a view of making it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression, but also as the first step toward the general limitation of armaments aimed at as one of the most fruitful preventives of war and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote. As the colossal growth in armaments in the past few decades was forced upon Europe by Germany, it is right that the process of limitation should also begin with her. The Powers are willing, however, in the interests of general peace and the welfare of the German people to allow Germany to reduce her army more gradually than at present stipulated, namely to a maximum of 200,000 men within three months and at the end of that three months and every three months thereafter to allow their military experts to fix the strength for the following three months, the object to begin to reach the total of 100,000 stipulated as soon as possible and at least by March 31, 1920.

Fortresses situated in the neutral zone east of the Rhine not occupied by the powers shall be disarmed in two months and dismantled in six. Those in the occupied territory when ordered by the allied high command.

The naval terms, while leaving Germany adequate naval forces for protection and police, must be accepted unconditionally, the details to be worked out by the naval commission after the peace. No financial measures are contemplated as regards the surrender of warships, which must be unconditional.

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