TEXT OF CLEMENCEAU'S APPEAL TO "SOUL OF AMERICA"

CLEMENCEAU APPEALS FOR OLD FRIENDSHIP WITH U. S.

Continued from Preceding Page.

and you lost a comparitively small number. It was because the war did not last longer. Otherwise we would have lost less and less and Gen. Pershing's troops would be losing more and more. But make up your mind that in the armistice, in the treaty and all that followed there was a great share of pure American work.

"For instance, in the armistice there was a line saying 'reparations'—damages, repairs. There was also a line in the fourteen points. There was a line in the armistice that was placed in the conditions of peace that I would not accept and Col. House agreed with me.

"In the armistice the damages were to be paid and President Wilson said if that kind of a peace is not assured we will go on. I did not ask them to be executed but I asked that they begin to be executed. If we had known that for three years the thing that was guaranteed to us was not coming to us we would have gone to Berlin.

"I don't want to take too long. I will try to stop as soon as I can. I see my dear friend Paderewski. He won honor both in the field of art as well as in the political field of his noble country. He is here as a witness to the conditions of peace.

"I will leave the French conditions and the American condition. It is not only a question of peace between France and Germany. We made something which nobody speaks of, which is the event of the country. America had freed herself 1776 and now in 1918 she freed the whole of Europe—all these people that had been put down under the sceptres of Germany, Austria and Russia. They began to breathe. They were called to liberty, and my friend Paderewski could tell you of the spectacle we had around the table—twenty-seven States calling for liberty, for justice.

"You don't know how, when the President came to Europe, when Woodrow Wilson landed in Paris, how the whole world extended their hands toward him. He brought them hope, the thing that they had been expecting, waiting for, prying for, for centuries.

"Paderewski could tell you how these noble people of Poland had been treated and how they had been trampled under foot and how they had submitted as martyrs for centuries. And when he [Wilson] came to France they said 'Here is the man that brings justice, that brings the right of man to life! Le jour de gloire est arrive!'

"You brought it, my friends. That's another one of these great debts that I owe your country and that everybody owed you. But a people may be great one day and small and mean another. Now, we had to study maps and mountains and rivers and such things trying to understand something that was brought to our attention. Deputies came to say to us, to ask this or that, and I saw Paderewski in the name of his country make to us one of the most eloquent and moving speeches I ever heard.

"It was the specter of all the wrongs of man against man and some of them said that they were betrayed. You must understand this. Of course, England went to war for English reasons and America for American reasons. It was their duty to do that. But they had to mix it with other countries and they had to measure it, and if you were long to come I know very well that you thought that you must be mixed up in European affairs more than you wanted to, and that it must bring complications which you wanted to avoid. With England, it isn't sure that she would have come if Belgium hadn't been violated. That was a great time for a policy of isolation.

"That fact is that England has always—I don't blame her—wanted the balancing power, preventing other countries from becoming too strong. About a year ago I was in London and had occasion to meet one of the great statesmen of the day. We spoke, quite naturally, of the war. I told him on the very day of the armistice that I thought England was no more with us.

"Every country makes mistakes, we have all made mistakes, it is a human trait. But we have to learn from our mistakes. We should take the lesson of the war and see the way to avoid some of the mistakes in the future.

"If the new order of things is not executed, what is to be done? You see where Germany is now. Germany began by not executing the conditions of the treaty. I am sorry to say that the Powers under the pressure of England accepted it, and we gave up all that we had gained by the treaty, most of it. And is it very extraordinary that Germany took advantage of that? That was the beginning, and the rest came, and we were told you must use the mentality of victory, and Mr. Shroeder, the Finance Minister, said, 'We are going to strike out the line reparations.'

Charges German Militarists Are Planning Civil War Coup

"Do you know that they are manufacturing cannon by the hundreds, that they are making machinery everywhere? The German taxpayer pays, I think, $13, let's say $14—the French $43. There is a line in the treaty that says Germany will have to pay as high as the Allies and all the rest.

"I tell you plainly, as I told Lloyd George before the war, they are preparing war again. Don't you see what is going on? Don't you read the papers? Why, haven't you heard of the treaty between the Turks and the Germans and the Russians? Look at all this manufacturing that is going on in Germany!

"Now I say that Gen. Ludendorff and Hindenburg are preparing for war, civil war, to crush the German democracy, if they can. Have you forgotten what the Prussians did after Jena, how with 50,000 men they brought Napoleon down? Now it is the same game. It is written. Nobody can deny it.

"And now I must tell you what I want. I don't want to bring any friction between your country and my country. I don't want you to do something that would put civilization in danger in circumstances that must be worse than before. We have been guaranteed a good frontier, England promised it. We haven't received it.

"Lloyd George said that America had made the same promise and had also not kept it, so he wasn't to blame exclusively. I respectfully ask leave to tell him he is grossly mistaken. The facts are these:

"One day I told Mr. Lloyd George I wanted the Rhine, and I gave him a paper; all my reasons were described, and after he had read it—the next day or two days after—he told me, "If you leave the Rhine I would bring you other guaranties," and he promised to do his best with Mr. Wilson to obtain the same thing from him. Mr. Wilson very wisely said that he was willing to agree, but of course it would be subject to acceptance by Congress.

"So it was with Great Britain. The fact that the United States didn't follow was no reason that the promise should not have been kept. And do you suppose that really because our allies didn't keep that promise, that we are going to stop and let our frontiers open? No, no!

"That we never did. Things must be plain. I come back to the question. It is almost a question of trust and banking, but it does not depend upon bankers to create the situation which we allow o make our friendships. If America could take upon it in some way to renew conversation with England and France, not to give a promise of anything that would engage the future that she had not intended doing during the war.

"We know that America interests itself in what happens in other countries. But it is not in your power to live happy, contented and wealthy in America, if you know that much of the rest of the world is suffering, that some of it is covered with blood with want and with pestilence. If you could have faith and simply say let us establish a plan of what is to be done and when we have established it, it should take into consideration guarantees.

"The moment it is done, it will do much to restore things to a more normal state. And I know that you will not be content to remain aloof and let many of the people in Europe suffer, when you have so much.

"I do not want you to run any risk. You don't run any. Now that will do for the present. Now, there remains the question of safety. I do not want safety. I do not ask for it. But don't you think if the frontier is protected on our side, you know the result would be a protection for Germany.

"If we are sure that Germany cannot attack us, she is sure that we won't attack her, without letting our friends go, which we are not going to do. When, at the end of the war, I was asked in the House of Representatives in Paris what will be your policy after peace is made, I answered, 'The same as in war: Remain with England and America just as united as in war.'

"You left after the contract was finished and you told us to execute it as we might. Well, now let us see, because I am coming to the point. And you were wrong in that. You left without any proposal whatever. When people have been mixing their blood—I am not speaking of the goods of the world—but their own blood on the field of battle, they have no right to leave, if there is a difference, without trying to adjust that difference.

"You broke all the organs of economic solidarity. Of course, a bank is interested in some manufactory and she wants to give it up. That is her right. They will not go to their friends and tell them 'to-morrow, Monday, the bank is to shut. We do not know you any more.'

"We were told that circumstances were such that we had to go. And what were those circumstances? The circumstances were that there seemed to be a great market opened in Germany, maybe in Russia and France was handicapped. She had 20,000 factories destroyed. Think of that.

Says France Won't Deny Debts And Germany Must Pay in Full

"Of course, she was no candidate running for those markets and at once we were alone. Now, we hear that we had better pay what we owe. Certainly. I do not want you to believe that we are such people that do not like to pay our debts. The question is really non-existent.

"Of course, to-day everybody speaks to us of our solidarity with Germany. It is perfectly true, but France, if it is solid with Germany, we will receive from her what belongs to us and it won't be half of what she has lost. I will say a word about the question in a moment, but I speak of it now simply to say that we are not people who deny our debts.

"We contracted an arrangement to pay you 20,000,000 dollars a year. We have done it thus far. It is not very far from what England itself has paid you. That question, I take it, to be of second rank. I do not suppose that you are going, one of these days, to say to us 'you pay to-morrow or the day after.' We will pay you.

"Now I must say that England was the first. And America did nothing but fight. Now, let us see—90 per cent. of the lay men, 90 per cent. of cotton, 90 per cent. of steel, and so, all our products—and out of 18,500,000 soldiers mobilized we lost 5,500,000 out of 18,000,000.

"So, you see, the case is not so plain as some people thought. We are the ones who suffered most. We are the ones who lost most men. But we showed our power of action and we showed the vitality of the people. That cannot be recorded for a long time. We lost all we had.

"The Germans devastated our lands. Nevertheless what has happened? In three years there has been taken from Germany fifty per cent. of their debts toward us under the pressure of England. Now, you Americans are fair-minded. You have got a great deal of business, private and public, at home. You are quite excusable if you make mistakes, but you should take the trouble to inquire before you pass severe judgment upon us.

"Against whom are we arming? Of course we don't think that we will fight England or America. So against whom? They say we want to dominate Europe. But we are the very ones that liberated Europe. How could we want to dominate after we have liberated Europe? Ask the liberated States if Europe is afraid of militarism. He would have another song to say.

"I don't know what this country thinks, but I shouldn't be surprised if it thought our future, and if it were taking precautions for that future. Military and economic clauses very often get mixed up. I am not very sure that you have not got a touch of economic imperialism. You indeed showed a touch of economic imperialism when you left us after the war was over directly.

"You have the best resources in the world—you and England. Nevertheless, you thought it might be good to insure yourself on your frontiers. But I notice that you, having good frontiers, when we have the worst in the world on the German side, you got an additional guarantee by suppressing the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and England got a guaranty by letting the German fleet sink in Scapa Flow.

"Take those guaranties. I believe we are entitled to guaranties to prevent another such invasion as took place before. Do you think that we want to threaten anyone? Do you think that we want to have a large army in order to threaten anyone? Who could we threaten? We have lost so many of our men that how could we be aggressive if we wanted to. But we want to be secure, we want to feel that we will not again be in a position such as we were in before.

"And about reparations, I think we are entitled to damages. Certainly we are entitled to reparations for damages which the war brought on us and which we had no hand in making. But I should say that what Germany ever pays will not be one-half of what the war cost us. We are not looking for trouble, we are merely seeking to put ourselves in a position where we can be assured that we will not be forced into another such terrible war as that we have just been through. I think that we are entitled to that.

"Safety. We have had a very bad frontier since the time of the Romans. Since that time it has been the threat of the Germans to invade us. Well, look at our frontiers. Now, this new Europe we speak of. I do not think there is any one of the new nations, if you were to ask it, 'Who would you depend upon to help you in case of danger?' who would not answer 'Upon France.'

"And if I were to meet you this afternoon I would say 'Upon America.' These new Powers in Europe—there are new Powers, and they have your thoughts and feelings when you live upon European feelings. And if you really think that you can live among yourselves get your own produce safe from the rest of the world and do just as you please, that is not what you said in 1776. I do not want to speak badly of the Monroe Doctrine. It did good. But you are wrong, and the policy of an old man is not the policy of a child.

"Now, my friends, I must come to a conclusion. I do not blame you. Let the past remain the past. We may see what the situation in Europe is to-day. The war of four years which brought the greatest damages ever known in Europe is over. The treaty which is to establish the new order of things is not executed.

"I didn't believe in the League of Nations, but I might. Oh, I might. Don't you think it is kind of a beginning of a cooperation? Let us talk practically. As to the League of Nations, I always said, particularly in the House of Representatives in Paris, I always said I do not believe in it, as a means of preventing war. I do not see how war will ever be prevented among men. But I believe in it as a means of arranging matters, avoiding wars when it is possible, giving people time to think, to ponder, before they determine to action. Therefore, you have the means of doing a great deal.

"I saw a banker in New York who told me 'arrange your matters with England and we will interfere,' but I do not want him to interfere.

"Are you very sure that your idea is to build walls around your country and to isolate yourselves from civilization? Moreover, if you bring Germany to reason, if you call her to atone in a reasonable measure, if that is done great good will come. I hardly dare pronounce the word but after all I will say it.

"Now, I say, that after such a war men cannot continue to fight each other, they cannot fight forever. There are after all, two Germanys. There is the Germany which is a Democratic Germany, which I think could, more easily at least, be called to reason. The others, who love war, have learned nothing and are preparing a revolution of civil war against their brothers just to begin the action against the European powers.

"Well, whatever may happen, the intervention of America—is that way. I leave it to you altogether for the moment. That is no business of mine. That is yours. You have seen one of the greatest dramas in the world. We may not understand all that it meant, and all that it represented.

"Now we are in the greatest crises, and nobody knows when it may end. Nobody knows whether European miseries won't have some effect upon American prosperity. You announced to the world that you would set them free. You proclaimed it in the peace treaty.

"Then I turned to you and asked you why you made war? Was it because you thought that you would be threatened? Was it to aid others? Was it for the liberation of suffering countries and to make, as President Wilson said, Democracy safe, or something like that?

"Tell me which of these points you have gained by this war. You have come to the point where you are granted by good fortune the time to think. Now, have you made up your minds? No sacrifice is demanded or exacted from you except to assert that you want to keep among the people of this world the great place that you have twice taken.

"If you take it, then you will see a great emotion among the people, liberty, liberation. If you don't, the prospect is dark and dreary. But you may be sure that we won't fall into it before we have done our best to try to avoid it."

Davis Introduces Clemenceau As a Living Symbol of France

John W. Davis, former Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, in introducing Clemenceau at the Metropolitan Opera House last night said:

"When civilization awoke in 1914 to find the enemy at her gates, it was France that barred the way and received on her undaunted crest the full weight of that foul attack. Later still, when our trial hour struck and we went to join forces against the common foe, it was the sight of France, weary and bleeding, but constant and invincible still in her majestic resistance, that gave us inspiration for our endeavor; and finally, when the common victory came, we left together in the soil of France the mute but sacred pledges of our eternal remembrance.

"Such thoughts are inseparable from a meeting like the present. They are enought without more, to insure to those who speak for France a hearing anywhere and everywhere in this broad land; but if these things needed a human symbol they would find it preeminently in the person of our guest. It may be true, as some one—perhaps Napoleon—has said, that Providence fights on the side of the heaviest battalions, yet something more is needed to win victories than men or ammunition; back of them both there must be a fixed and inflexible will that does not know the word 'defeat,' and cannot brook a suggestion of surrender.

"When the hearts of men grew faint in 1917 such a man and such a will appeared. He breathed fresh life into the weary hosts of all the allied armies, and his very coming struck dismay to the hearts of the enemies. With a determination that could not be shaken, he rallied them from each defeat to new victories, and earned, both from his grateful countrymen and an applauding world the soubriquet of 'Pere la Victoire.' Many men did their part toward the triumph of November, 1918; none did more than Georges Clemenceau.

"Speak to us, M. Clemenceau, and be assured that you stand among friends."

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