

They must repeat what they have said in the letter covering this memorandum, that they regard this war as a crime deliberately plotted against the life and liberties of the people of Europe. It is a war that has brought death and mutilation to millions, and has left all Europe in terrible suffering. Starvation, unemployment, disease, stalk across that continent from end to end and for decades its people will groan under the burdens and disorganization the war has caused. They therefore regard the punishment of those responsible for bringing these calamities on the human race as essential, on the score of justice.

They think it not less necessary as a deterrent to others who, at some later date, may be tempted to follow their example. The present treaty is intended to mark a departure from the traditions and practices of earlier settlements which have been singularly inadequate in preventing the renewal of war. The allied and associated Powers, indeed, consider that the trial and punishment of those proved most responsible for the crimes and inhuman acts committed in connection with a war of aggression is inseparable from the establishment of that reign of law among nations which it was the agreed object of the peace to set up.

As regards the German contention that a trial of the accused by tribunals appointed by the allied and associated Powers would be a one-sided and inequitable proceeding, the allied and associated Powers consider that it is impossible to intrust in any way the trial of those directly responsible for offences against humanity and international right to their accomplices in their crimes. Almost the whole world has bonded itself together in order to bring to naught the German plan of conquest and dominion.

The tribunals they will establish, will therefore represent the deliberate judgment of the greater part of the civilized world. They cannot entertain the proposal to admit to the tribunal the representatives of countries which have taken no part in the war. The allied and associated Powers are prepared to stand by the verdict of history as to the impartiality and justice with which the accused will be tried. The ex-Emperor is arraigned as a matter of high international policy, as the minimum of what is demanded for a supreme offence against international morality, the sanctity of treaties and the essential rules of justice. The