

aimed at the breaking up of the German peoples or the disintegration of their state. Our wish is not to destroy Germany's great position in the world, but to turn her aside from schemes of military domination to devote her strength to the beneficent task of the world. We are not fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or the rich lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish. We are not fighting to destroy the German constitution, although we consider a military, autocratic constitution a dangerous anachronism. Our viewpoint is that the adoption of a democratic constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that her old spirit of military domination had indeed died in this war, and it would make it much easier for us to conclude a broad, democratic peace with her. But that is a question for the German people to decide.

"It is more than a year since the President of the United States advised the belligerents by suggestion that each side should state clearly the aims for which they were fighting. We replied. The Central Powers did not, and they have maintained complete silence as to the objects for which they are fighting. Even on so crucial a matter as their intention regarding Belgium they have declined to give any trustworthy indication. The days of the Treaty of Vienna are long past. We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators striving to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation. Therefore, government with the consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement. For that reason also, unless treaties be upheld, it is obvious that no treaty of peace can be worth the paper on which it is written.

"The first requirements always made by the British and their allies have been the complete restoration, political, territorial and economic, of the independence of Belgium, and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces. It is no demand for war indemnity, but insistence that before there can be any hope of stable peace this great breach of public law in Europe must be repudiated and, so far as is possible, repaired. Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence on payment for injury done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality. Next comes the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro and the occupied parts of France, Italy and Roumania. The complete withdrawal of alien armies and reparation for injustice done is the fundamental condition of a permanent peace.

"We mean to stand by the French democracy to the death in the demand they make for a reconsideration of the great wrong of '71, when Alsace-Lorraine was torn away. This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century, and until cured healthy conditions cannot be restored. Nobody who knows Prussia and her designs toward Russia can doubt her ultimate intention. Whatever phrases she uses to delude Russia, she does not mean to surrender any of the Russian provinces and cities now occupied. Under the name of another they will henceforth be part of the Prussian dominions, ruled by the Prussian sword, and the rest of the Russians will be enticed or bullied into complete economic and ultimate political enslavement.

TO STAND BY ALLIES.

"Democracy in this country will stand to the last by the democracies of France and Italy. We should be proud to fight to the end side by side with the new Russian democracy. So would America, France

and Italy. But if the present rulers of Russia act independently we have no means to arrest the catastrophe. Russia can only be saved by her own people. An independent Poland, comprising all genuinely Polish elements, who desire to participate, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe.

"Though we agree with President Wilson that the breaking up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, we feel that unless genuine self-government on the true democratic principles is granted those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it, it is impossible to hope for a removal of those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which have so long threatened the general peace. On the same grounds we regard as vital the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to the men of Roumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations. If these conditions were fulfilled Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace and freedom of Europe instead of the instrument of a pernicious Prussian military autocracy. Outside of Europe we believe that the same principles should be applied.

FUTURE OF TURKEY.

"While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race, with its capital Constantinople—the passage between the Mediterranean and Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to recognition of their separate national conditions. What the exact form of that recognition should be need not here be discussed, beyond stating that it will be impossible to restore to their former sovereignty the territories to which I have referred. Much has been said about the arrangements we have made with our allies on this and other subjects. I can only say that as new circumstances, such as the Russian collapse and the separate Russian negotiations, have changed the conditions in which the arrangements were made, we are always ready to discuss them with our allies.

"Respecting the German colonies, they are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of their native inhabitants. The governing consideration in all these cases must be that the inhabitants shall be placed under control of an administration acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purposes will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or governments. Finally, there must be reparation for injuries done in violation of international law. The peace conference must not forget our seamen and the services they rendered and the outrages they have suffered. To secure the conditions I have enumerated, the British Empire is prepared to make even greater sacrifices."

GERMANY'S ANSWER TO WILSON'S 14 POINTS.

To the declaration by the United States and Great Britain, replies were made on January 24, by the German Chancellor, Count von Hertling, and by the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Czernin, the former in the main committee of the Reichstag, at Berlin; the latter at Vienna.

"And now, gentlemen, I come to President Wilson. Here also I admit that the tone has changed. It appears that the unanimous rejection at the time of the attempt of Mr. Wilson, in the reply to the