

# GERMANY AND THE PEACE TREATY

## Historic Ceremony of Its Delivery to the German Delegates at Versailles—How It Was Received

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1919]

THE German delegates received the Treaty of Peace, a document of 80,000 words, from the hands of the Allies in the great dining hall of the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles on May 7, 1919. The historic ceremony began at 3:10 in the afternoon and lasted three-quarters of an hour. Delegates of twenty-seven nations composed the assemblage, which, by a curious coincidence, met on the fourth anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

The occasion marked the culmination of four months of unremitting labor on the part of the Entente. The period between the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, and the convening of the Peace Conference on Jan. 18, 1919, had been occupied in the selection and arrival of delegates, the organization of the conference under the chairmanship of M. Clemenceau, the preparation of claims and reports, and the untangling of hundreds of knotty problems attendant upon the formulation of the treaty.

No Peace Congress had ever faced so many intricate problems, problems on whose wise and equitable solution the whole future of the world depended. These included the making of a permanent peace; the creation of a League of Nations to control human jealousies and diminish the possibilities of war; the reconciling of conflicting boundary claims of many nations; the setting up of new States within the truncated areas of the vanquished powers, and the insuring of their liberty and unimpaired integrity; the assigning of mandates over millions of humanity in Asia and Africa; the creating of legislative machinery to improve the conditions of labor in all civilized nations of the world.

The program was gigantic, and yet the Peace Conference was everywhere accused of slowness.

As late as April 23 it was reported that the final drafting of the treaty was proceeding with difficulty, owing to the magnitude of the task and the great number of topics only partly concluded. The force working on the draft was doubled, and the Government printing facilities were greatly extended. Special complications were occasioned by the temporary departure of the Italian delegation during the Fiume controversy; it was feared that the Japanese delegation, following Italy's example, would leave the conference because of the Shantung question, but the decision proved to be in Japan's favor. At the last moment Belgium made serious objections to the smallness of the indemnity allowed and to the large share of African territory assigned to British rule, but generous financial concessions by the Allies finally won Belgium's assent to the treaty.

### GERMAN PEACE DELEGATES

The personnel and qualifications of the German peace delegation were not decided without diplomatic parleys. It was announced on April 20 that Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German Foreign Minister, purposed sending three envoys to Versailles, authorized only to receive the text of the Peace Treaty, considered as a preliminary document; this mission was to be composed of Herr Haniel von Heimhausen, Herr von Keller, and Herr Ernst Schmitt, the two last mentioned legation counselors, to be attended by two officials and two chancellery servants. To this publicly announced intention the allied Governments immediately protested; and on April 21 Germany notified them that she accepted all the allied conditions respecting the Versailles conference, and would send representatives of plenipotentiary rank,

invested with full power to negotiate and sign the treaty.

The personnel of the whole German peace delegation, as finally agreed upon, consisted of six main delegates and a long list of advisers, representatives of industry and finance, labor unions, and other divisions of German intellectual and economic life. The six peace delegates were:

ULRICH BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU, (Count.) German Foreign Minister, Chairman.

EDUARD DAVID, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Dr. WALTHER SCHUECKING, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Marburg, and authority on international law.

Dr. ADOLPH MULLER, lately German Minister at Berne.

JOHANN GIESBERTS, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

Theodor MELCHIOR, manager of Warburg & Co., bankers.

The Colonial representatives were:

Herr SCHNEE, Governor of German East Africa.

Herr MARQUARDSON, Privy Councillor.

Herr RUPPEL, Privy Councillor.

The expert advisers were the following named professional and business men:

1. Professor AEROBOE, Breslau, agricultural expert.

2. E. ARNHOLD, leader in German industries.

3. Professor BAUMGARTEN, theologian, (Evangelical.)

4. Herr BEUKENBERG of the Phoenix Iron Works, Westphalia.

5. Professor BONN of Munich, known as a great admirer of President Wilson, and author of a book in praise of him.

6. Professor von BRENTANO of Munich, best known for his advocacy of free trade and distinguished as an economist.

7. Dr. CUNO, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Hamburg-American Line.

8. Herr DEUTSCH, Director, A. E. G., (General Electric Company,) Charlottenburg.

9. Herr DODEL, Privy Councillor, Cologne.

10. EDUARD BERNSTEIN, Berlin.

11. Herr BOSCH, Anilin Dye Works, Mannheim, leader in war poison gas development.

12. Herr HARDT, Lennep, manufacturer.

13. LOUIS HAGEN, Cologne, banker and industrialist.

14. Herr HARTMANN, Berlin, German Trade Association.

15. Herr HEINECKEN, Bremen, General Director North German Lloyd Steamship Company.

16. Dr. HERGESSEL, Lindenburg, Director Aerological Institute.

17. Herr HILGER, official mining expert.

18. Frau JUCHATZ, member of National Assembly; Majority Socialist.

19. Herr H. STRUCK, Berlin, expert on art.

20. Herr KLEMM, Mannheim, manufacturer.

21. Bishop KORUM.

22. Herr LEGIEN, General Commissioner of Trade Unions of Germany.

23. Herr LUFSEN, Director of Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate.

24. Herr von MILLER, member of Reichsrat.

25. Herr PLATE, Chairman of Board of Trades Craftsmen.

26. ADOLPH POEHLMANN, Director of Vereinbank of Munich.

27. Dr. WALTER RATHENAU, President of the A. E. G. (General Electric Company.)

28. Dr. GUSTAF RATHIEN, Berlin.

29. Dr. von RIEDMANN, Hamburg, connected with oil interests.

30. LOUIS ROECHLING.

31. Herr SCHMIDT, Director of the Metal Gesellschaft of Frankfurt.

32. Herr von STAUSS, Berlin, Director of the Deutsche Bank; leader in finance and in petroleum industry.

33. Herr STEGERWALD of the Association of Christian Trade Unions of Berlin.

34. FREDERICK URBIG, Berlin.

35. Herr VORWERK, Hamburg.

36. MAX WARBURG of Hamburg, banker.

37. Professor MAX WEBER of Hamburg, economist.

38. Herr WITHOEFT of Hamburg.

It was announced on May 9 that eight new members of the German Peace Delegation had reached Versailles, among them Count Alfred von Oberndorff, a member of the German Armistice Commission, who brought credentials as a Minister Plenipotentiary.

## PENALTY FOR REFUSAL

German officials of high standing had intimated that Germany might refuse to sign the treaty, in case the conditions should prove to be so hard as to be unacceptable. That the allied Governments were prepared for this eventuality was seen on May 5, when it was officially stated that the complete economic isolation of Germany was being considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers as a measure to be adopted in the event that Germany refused to sign the peace as drawn. The passage of the official statement covering this decision reads as follows:

The council considered plans which had been formulated to bring about the complete economic isolation of Germany in

the event that the German delegates should refuse to sign the preliminaries of peace. The blockade section was directed to draw up and submit for the approval of the Council of Foreign Ministers a plan of blockade measures to be immediately put into effect should the associated Governments desire to have recourse to economic coercion.

### FIRST GERMAN ARRIVALS

The German official avant-couriers arrived at Versailles on April 25. They were received by Colonel Henry, liaison officer, and other French officials and taken to the Hôtel des Réservoirs, which had been assigned to the housing of the German delegation. This preliminary delegation consisted of Herr von Warendorff, Counselor of Embassy; Herr Walter, a postal Inspector, and Herr Duker of the Supply Department. A second party, headed by Baron von Lersner, arrived later in the day. Baron von Lersner, a former Secretary of the German Embassy at Washington, was accompanied by the banker, Herr Warburg, head of the financial delegation, and Herr Danker of the Food Administration. The arrival of this party was so quietly arranged that few people in Versailles knew of its coming. Adequate measures of police protection had been taken by the French Government to insure the safety of the German delegates. It was not expected that the Germans would take extended promenades through the vast park of Versailles, which stretches from their hotel in one direction far beyond the great palace of Louis XIV., and in the other to the Trianon and the Petit Trianon, replete with memories of Mme. Maintenon and Marie Antoinette; and all necessary police precautions had been taken to prevent annoyance by curiosity seekers or possibly by hostile persons in that part of the park adjoining the hotel through which they must pass to and from the Trianon Palace Hotel, where the preliminary discussions were scheduled to take place. The advance delegates settled down quietly, awaiting the arrival of the main delegation. This occurred on April 29.

The six main peace delegates, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, Herr Landsberg, Dr. Theodor Melchior, (replacing

Herr Warburg, who had declined appointment on this main mission,) Herr Leinert, Herr Giesberts, and Herr Schuecking, reached Vaucresson, three miles from Versailles, on the evening of April 29. The delegates, accompanied by some sixty experts, assistants, and journalists, traveled in two special trains. Their departure from Berlin had taken place in an atmosphere of pessimism and gloom.

The arrival of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, like so many other great historical events, was singularly unimpressive. The formalities on the station platform were of the briefest character. Baron von Lersner, who commanded the advance party, was there to meet the convoy, and was the first to enter the train. A few moments later he reappeared, followed by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, whom he presented to Colonel Henry and M. Chaleil, Prefect of the Department of the Seine et Oise. M. Chaleil received Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau with the following words:

Excellency, as Prefect of the department and in the name of the Government, I am charged to receive the delegation of the German plenipotentiaries. I have the honor to salute you. I name (Je vous nomme) to you Colonel Henry, Chief of the French Military Mission, who will act as intermediary between the German plenipotentiaries and the Government of the French Republic and the allied nations.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau bowed and thanked the Prefect, who led the way out of the station to where motor cars were waiting to take the party to Versailles.

After being photographed by press photographers, the German delegation was conveyed to Versailles and lodged in the hotel apartments provided. Among those who arrived with the party was Dr. Haniel van Heimhausen, already mentioned as one of the mission of three originally intended to be sent by Germany to receive the treaty.

The French plans of isolating the German plenipotentiaries from the general public were developed fully when barricades were erected, consisting of wooden palings bound with wire and set up on both sides of the Hôtel des Réservoirs,

one side of which was reserved for the Germans, the other for residents; strict control, furthermore, was established at all exits to prevent the Germans from leaving these limits without authority.

### PRESENTING CREDENTIALS

The German plenipotentiaries to the Peace Congress presented their credentials to the Allies on May 1, at a session beginning at 3:10 P. M. and lasting barely ten minutes. This was the first step in the peace negotiations. The credentials were submitted to representatives of the Allies and the United States. The ceremony took place in the room of the Trianon Palace Hotel previously used for the sessions of the Supreme Military Council.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, on entering, was accompanied by Herr Landsberg, Professor Schuecking and two secretaries. Waiting for him, the allied representatives were grouped around Jules Cambon, the former French Ambassador at Berlin, who is Chairman of the commission. Other members of the allied party included Henry White of the United States, Lord Hardinge of Great Britain, and Ambassador Matsui of Japan.

M. Cambon immediately addressed Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, stating that he was Chairman of the commission intrusted by the allied powers to receive and examine the credentials of the German delegates as the first step in a conference which, it was hoped, would lead to peace. "Here are ours," continued M. Cambon, extending, as he spoke, the formal credentials of the Allied Commission as plenipotentiaries to the Congress. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau surrendered the German credentials with even less of a formal address. After these brief ceremonies the Germans turned and left the hall, walking a few steps to the cars in waiting. They were followed immediately by the allied representatives.

### UNDER LOWERING SKIES

The skies were overcast, and there were occasional showers of rain. This caused abandonment of the original plan, which contemplated having the Germans walk from the Hôtel des Réservoirs

across the park to the Hôtel Trianon, following the historic precedent set by Louis Thiers, the French delegate, in discussing terms of peace with Bismarck in 1871. He, like the Germans of the present delegation, resided at the Hôtel des Réservoirs, and made his way afoot to the little hotel occupied by Bismarck, then the world's diplomatic centre.

At this meeting for the exchange of credentials, the question of Italian participation in the peace was not raised by the German delegates. Nor was the right of the German plenipotentiaries to represent Bavaria in its existing state of political turmoil contested by the allied powers. It was stated semi-officially that such a protest would have been met by the German delegates by a counterprotest on Italy. On May 4 the Interallied Commission met at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris to prepare a report to be submitted to the Germans in writing regarding their credentials. At this meeting Henry White represented the United States. It was understood that the interallied representatives found **nothing to question in the German credentials.**

On April 30 the spacious dining room of the Hôtel Trianon had received its Peace Congress installation—three long tables, arranged in horseshoe form, covered with the traditional green cloth of diplomacy. Each table extended forty or fifty feet through the room. At the head of the apartment was a table about thirty-five feet long, at which the representatives of the great powers were to sit, with President Poincaré and Premier Clemenceau in the middle. Inside the horseshoe was another table, covered with red plush, and in the space between one side of the horseshoe and the windows was a similar table. In the window openings were a number of smaller square tables for secretaries.

### DELIVERY OF THE TREATY

On May 7, just 177 days after the signing of the armistice and 109 days after the associated powers had begun their deliberations, Germany, in the persons of her plenipotentiaries, received through Premier Clemenceau the terms on which France, Great Britain, Italy,

Japan, the United States, and the lesser belligerents were willing to make peace. Though the ceremony had none of the pomp and glitter of earlier Peace Conferences—no such display of Court or military uniforms as marked the Congresses of Berlin and Vienna—the scene was solemnly impressive.

The ceremony, which attracted to the hall a crowd of correspondents and officials, started at 2:20 o'clock, when servants waited in great armfuls of the printed conditions of peace and distributed them, one copy to each delegation, around the hollow rectangle. The Germans only were excepted; their copy was delivered to them at 3:17 o'clock, during the translation of Premier Clemenceau's speech. Gradually, the hall filled with the main and lesser delegates. The assembly seated itself without signal at about 3 o'clock. A few moments later Colonel Henry, the French liaison officer, appeared in the chamber, heralding the approach of the German delegation. The Germans entered an instant later, preceded by a functionary of the French Government, wearing the glittering chain of his office, who announced in a loud voice. "Messieurs, the German Delegates." There was some confusion among the Germans while they were finding their proper places. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau took the middle chair, with his five colleagues and Director van Stockhammer of the Foreign Office flanking him on either hand. Five German secretaries and interpreters took their places at tables in the rear.

At the head of the table the striking faces of Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George and President Wilson attracted the glances of the spectators. Marshal Foch, sitting with the French delegation at the head of one of the side tables, was another conspicuous figure. The bearded faces of the Serbian statesman, M. Pashitch, and the Greek Premier, M. Venizelos, as well as the familiar features of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish Premier, also stood out prominently. The impassive features of the Japanese representatives, the Oriental lineaments of the Chinese, the brown countenances of the Arabs from Hedjaz, and the presence even of the delegates from Liberia

and Haiti gave evidence, were such needed, of the fact that this was a congress made up of many diverse nations.

### SPEECH OF M. CLEMENCEAU

Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Congress, rose and declared the session opened. He started immediately upon his opening speech, pausing to permit translation into English and German by French interpreters. His speech was as follows:

Gentlemen, Plenipotentiaries of the German Empire: It is neither the time nor the place for superfluous words. You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our account.

You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace. We shall present to you now a book which contains our conditions. You will have every facility to examine these conditions, and the time necessary for it. Everything will be done with the courtesy that is the privilege of civilized nations.

To give you my thought completely, you will find us ready to give you any explanation you want, but we must say at the same time that this second Treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace shall be a lasting one.

I will give you notice of the procedure that has been adopted by the conference for discussion, and if any one has any observations to offer he will have the right to do so. No oral discussion is to take place, and the observations of the German delegation will have to be submitted in writing.

The German plenipotentiaries will know that they have the maximum period of fifteen days [French idiom for "two weeks"] within which to present in English and French their written observations on the whole of the treaty. Before the expiration of the aforesaid period of fifteen days the German delegates will be entitled to send their reply on particular headings of the treaty, or to ask questions in regard to them.

After having examined the observations presented within the aforementioned period, the Supreme Council will send their answer in writing to the German delegation and determine the period within which the final worldwide answer must be given by this delegation.

The President wishes to add that when we receive, after two or three or four or five days, any observations from the

German delegation on any point of the treaty we shall not wait until the end of the fifteen days to give our answer. We shall at once proceed in the way indicated by this document.

## GERMANY HAS THE FLOOR

The French Premier added the customary phrase: "Has any one observations to make?" Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau raised his hand, but he was not recognized until the Premier's remarks had been translated. During the translation Paul Dutasta, General Secretary of the assembly, moved almost unnoticed across the open space within the rectangle and deposited a copy of the Peace Treaty before the head of the German delegation.

As soon as the translation had been concluded, Premier Clemenceau said: "Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau has the floor."

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, wearing big horn spectacles, then began to read a prepared speech, during which he remained seated. The speech and the translation proceeded together, the Count's guttural German ringing out on particularly vigorous words or phrases, as, for instance, when he declared that the admission by Germany of the sole guilt for the war would be "a lie," and when he forbade the Allies to speak of "cruelty and murder" in view of the sufferings and death of German civilians under the blockade continued after the signing of the armistice. At these moments the German delegates seemed to stiffen, as they sat, stern and silent, with folded arms, by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau's side.

## BROCKDORFF'S REPLY

In this speech of response Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau said:

Gentlemen: We are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German Army is broken. We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the conquerors make us pay as the vanquished, and punish those who are worthy of being punished.

It is demanded from us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie. We are far from declining any responsibility that this great war of the world has come to pass, and that it was made in the way in which it was made. The attitude of the former German Government at The Hague Peace Conference, its actions and omissions in the tragic twelve days of July, have certainly contributed to the disaster. But we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were making a war of defense, were alone guilty.

Nobody will wish to contend that the disaster took its course only in the ill-fated moment when the heir apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary fell the victim of murderous hands. In the last fifty years the imperialism of all the European States has chronically poisoned the international situation. The policy of retaliation and the policy of expansion and the disregard of the rights of peoples to determine their own destiny have contributed to the illness of Europe, which saw its crisis in the world war.

Russian mobilization took from the statesmen the possibility of healing, and gave the decision into the hands of the military powers. Public opinion in all the countries of our adversaries is resounding with the crimes which Germany is said to have committed in the war. Here, also, we are ready to confess wrong that may have been done.

We have not come here to belittle the responsibility of the men who have waged the war politically and economically, or to deny any crimes which may have been committed against the rights of peoples. We repeat the declaration which was made in the German Reichstag at the beginning of the war, that is to say: "Wrong has been done to Belgium," and we are willing to repair it.

But in the manner of making war also Germany is not the only guilty one. Every nation knows of deeds and of people which the best of that nation remember only with regret. I do not want to answer by reproaches to reproaches, but I ask them, when reparation is demanded, not to forget the armistice. It took you six weeks until we got it at last, and six more until we came to know your conditions of peace.

Crimes in war may not be excusable, but they are committed in the struggle for victory and in the defense of national existence, and passions are aroused which make the conscience of peoples blunt.

The hundreds of thousands of noncombatants who have perished since Nov. 11 by reason of the blockade were killed

with cold deliberation after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them. Think of that when you speak of guilt and of punishment!

## APPORTIONING THE GUILT

The measure of the guilt of all those who have taken part can only be stated by an impartial inquest before a neutral commission, before which all the principal persons of the tragedy are allowed to speak, and to which all the archives are open. We have demanded such an inquest, and we repeat this demand.

In this conference also, where we stand before our adversaries alone and without any allies, we are not quite without protection. You yourselves have brought us an ally, namely, the right which is guaranteed by the treaty and by the principles of peace.

The allied and associated Governments renounced in the time between the 5th of October and the 5th of November, 1918, a peace of violence and have written a peace of justice on their banner. On the 5th of October, 1918, the German Government proposed the principles of the President of the United States of North America as the basis of peace, and on the 5th of November their Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, declared that the allied and associated powers agreed to this basis, with two definite deviations.

The principles of President Wilson have thus become binding to both parties to the war—for you as well as for us and also for our former allies. The various principles demand from us severe national and economic sacrifices, but the holy fundamental rights of all peoples are protected by this treaty. The conscience of the world is behind it. There is no nation which might violate it without punishment.

You will find us ready to examine upon this basis the preliminary peace which you have proposed to us, with a firm intention of rebuilding in co-operation with you that which has been destroyed, and repairing any wrong that may have been committed, principally the wrong to Belgium, and to show to mankind new aims of political and social progress.

## TO REPAIR DEVASTATION

Considering the tremendous quantity of problems which arise, we ought as soon as possible to make an examination of the principal tasks by special commissions of experts, on the basis of the treaty which you have proposed to us. In this it will be our chief task to re-establish the devastated vigor of mankind and of all the people who have taken part by international protection of the life, health, and liberty of the working classes.

As our next aim, I consider the recon-

struction of the territories of Belgium and of Northern France which have been occupied by us and which have been destroyed by war.

To do so we have taken upon ourselves the solemn obligation, and we are resolved to execute it to the extent which shall have been agreed upon between us. This task we cannot do without the co-operation of our former adversaries. We cannot accomplish the work without the technical and financial participation of the victorious peoples, and you cannot execute it without us.

Impoverished Europe must desire that the reconstruction shall be fulfilled with the greatest success and with as little expense as is in any way possible. This method alone can be desired. It would be the worst method to go on and have the work done by German prisoners of war. Certainly this work is cheap, but it would cost the world dear if hatred and despair should seize the German people when they considered that their brothers, sons, and fathers who were prisoners were kept so beyond the preliminary peace in their former penal work.

Without any immediate solution of this question, which has been drawn out too long, we cannot come to a durable peace. Experts of both sides will have to examine how the German people may meet their financial obligations to repair, without succumbing under their heavy burden. A crash would deprive those who have a right to reparation of the advantages to which they have a claim, and would entail irretrievable disorder of the whole European economical system.

The conquerors, as well as the vanquished peoples, must guard against this menacing danger, with its incalculable consequences. There is only one means of banishing it—unlimited acknowledgment of the economic and social solidarity of all the peoples in a free and rising League of Nations.

## WANTS LEAGUE OPEN TO ALL

Gentlemen, the sublime thought to be derived from the most terrible disaster in the history of mankind is the League of Nations. The greatest progress in the development of mankind has been pronounced, and will make its way. Only if the gates of the League of Nations are thrown open to all who are of good-will can the aim be attained, and only then the dead of this war will not have died in vain.

The German people in their hearts are ready to take upon themselves their heavy burden, if the bases of peace which have been established are not any more shaken.

The peace which may not be defended in the name of right before the world

always calls forth new resistance against it. Nobody will be capable of subscribing to it with good conscience, for it will not be possible of fulfillment. Nobody could be able to take upon himself the guarantee of its execution which ought to lie in its signature.

We shall examine the document handed to us with good-will and in the hope that the final result of our interview may be subscribed to by all of us.

On concluding his speech, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau replaced his spectacles in their case, spread his hands out upon the table and waited. Premier Clemenceau immediately arose and in one or two sharp phrases brought the proceedings to a close.

The German delegates were the first to leave the Trianon Palace after the meeting. Before their reappearance the military guard had been withdrawn in order to avoid any semblance of military honor. On their appearance, they were quickly shown into automobiles, which left immediately under a French and British escort, and moved through crowded streets in an oppressive silence.

### MAIN TERMS OF TREATY

Pending the publication of the full text of the Treaty of Peace delivered to the German delegation at the ceremony above described, a brief analysis of its content is herewith given. It is the longest treaty ever drawn. It totals about 80,000 words, is divided into fifteen main sections, and represents the combined product of over a thousand experts working continually through a series of commissions for three and a half months, since Jan. 18. The treaty is printed in parallel pages of English and French, which are recognized as having equal validity. It does not deal with questions affecting Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, except in so far as binding Germany to accept any agreement reached with those former allies.

Following the preamble and deposition of powers comes the covenant of the League of Nations as the first section of the treaty. The frontiers of Germany in Europe are defined in the second section. European political clauses are given in the third, and extra-European political clauses in the fourth. Next are

the military, naval, and air terms as the fifth section, followed by a section on prisoners of war and military graves, and a seventh on responsibilities. Reparations, financial terms, and economic terms are covered in Sections VIII. to X. Then come the aeronautic section, ports, waterways, and railways section, the labor covenant, the section on guarantees, and the financial clauses.

### MUST GIVE UP LARGE AREA

Germany by the terms of the treaty restores Alsace-Lorraine to France, accepts the internationalization of the Sarre Basin temporarily and of Danzig permanently, agrees to territorial changes toward Belgium and Denmark, and, in the east, Prussia cedes most of Upper Silesia to Poland and renounces all territorial and political rights outside of Europe, as to her own or her allies' territories, and especially to Morocco, Egypt, Siam, Liberia, and Shantung. She also recognizes the total independence of German Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

Her army is reduced to 100,000 men, including officers; conscription within her territories is abolished; all forts fifty kilometers east of the Rhine are razed, and all importation, exportation, and nearly all production of war material stopped. Allied occupation of parts of Germany will continue till reparation is made, but will be reduced at the end of each of three five-year periods if Germany is fulfilling her obligations. Any violation by Germany of the conditions as to the zone fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be regarded as an act of war.

The German Navy is reduced to six battleships, six light cruisers, and twelve torpedo boats, without submarines, and a personnel of not over 15,000. All other vessels must be surrendered or destroyed. Germany is forbidden to build forts controlling the Baltic, must demolish Heligoland, open the Kiel Canal to all nations, and surrender her fourteen submarine cables. She may have no military or naval air forces except 100 unarmed seaplanes until Oct. 1 to detect mines, and may manufacture aviation material for six months.

## TO PAY FOR ALL DAMAGES

Germany accepts full responsibility for all damages caused to the allied and associated Governments and nationals, and agrees to reimburse all civilian damages, beginning with an initial payment of 20,000,000,000 marks, (about \$5,000,000,000 at pre-war reckoning,) subsequent payments to be secured by bonds to be issued at the discretion of the Reparation Commission. Germany is to pay shipping damage on a ton-for-ton basis by cession of a large part of her merchant, coasting, and river fleets, and by new construction; and to devote her economic resources to the rebuilding of the devastated regions.

She agrees to return to the 1914 most-favored nation tariffs, without discrimination of any sort; to allow allied and associated nationals freedom of transit through her territories, and to accept highly detailed provisions as to pre-war debts, unfair competition, internationalization of roads and rivers, and other economic and financial clauses. She also agrees to the trial of the ex-Kaiser by an international high court for a supreme offense against international morality, and of other nationals for violation of the laws and customs of war. Holland is to be asked to extradite the former Kaiser, and Germany is to be responsible for delivery of the other offenders.

Germany is required to deliver manuscripts and prints equivalent in value to those destroyed in the Louvain Library. She must also return works of church art removed from Belgium to Germany.

## THE OTHER DETAILS

The League of Nations is accepted by the allied and associated powers as operative, and by Germany, in principle, but without membership. Similarly, an international labor body is brought into being with a permanent office and an annual convention. A great number of international bodies of different kinds and for different purposes are created, some under the League of Nations, some to execute the Peace Treaty; among the former is the Commission to Govern the Sarre Basin till a plebiscite is held, fif-

teen years hence; the High Commissioner of Danzig, which is created into a free city under the League, and various commissions for plebiscites in Malmédy, Schleswig, and East Prussia. Among those to carry out the Peace Treaty are the Reparations, Military, Naval, Air, Financial, and Economic Commissions, the International High Court and Military Tribunals to Fix Responsibilities, and a series of bodies for the control of international rivers.

Certain problems are left for solution between the allied and associated powers, notably the details of the disposition of the German fleet and cables, the former German colonies, and the values paid in reparation. Certain other problems, such as the laws of the air and the opium, arms, and liquor traffic, are either agreed to in detail or set for early international action.

## PLEDGED TO PROTECT FRANCE

At the time that the official summary of the treaty was given out, a statement was also released in which the United States and Great Britain pledged themselves to take certain preliminary steps toward guaranteeing their assistance to France in case of future attack. This statement was as follows:

In addition to the securities afforded in the Treaty of Peace, the President of the United States has pledged himself to propose to the Senate of the United States, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain has pledged himself to propose to the Parliament of Great Britain, an engagement, subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany.

This pledge, according to information published in Paris, was made on the morning of May 7, prior to the ceremony of delivering the Treaty of Peace. Speculation as to the nature of the supplementary treaty was clarified from Washington on May 9, when Secretary Tumulty made public this cablegram from President Wilson regarding the proposed pledge to France:

Happily there is no mystery or privacy about what I have promised the Government here. I have promised to propose to the Senate a supplement in which we shall agree, subject to the approval of the

Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany, thus merely hastening the action to which we should be bound by the covenant of the League of Nations.

The President thus made it plain that action by the United States under the pledge, if approved by the Senate, would be subject to approval by the League of Nations. He also indicated that the pledge was for the purpose of enabling this country to act in case of an emergency.

It was understood in Paris that this tentative engagement gave great satisfaction in French official and military circles. It appeared that the pledge represented a culmination of conferences held

by Clemenceau and General Foch. The latter took the advanced military view for complete protection, and the French Premier sought to modify this with the more moderate view held by the Conference as a whole. The project of obtaining joint action under the covenant of the League of Nations was abandoned in favor of this new arrangement, which was in the form of a letter to be submitted to the United States Senate and the British Parliament. If approval were given, the engagement would then be submitted to the League Council. It was said that this was a temporary means of assuring French security until the League should be fully established and able to make France permanently secure.

## Discussing Treaty Terms by Means of Notes

### German Objections Formulated

WHEN the Peace Treaty was handed to the German delegates they were informed that no oral discussion would be allowed, and that all objections and suggestions must be made in written form. The result was a long interchange of notes. The first of these German communications, which was sent prior to May 10, was couched in the form of a tentative protest against the treaty as a whole. It read as follows:

The German peace delegates have finished the first perusal of the peace conditions which have been handed over to them. They have had to realize that on essential points the basis of the peace of right agreed upon between the belligerents has been abandoned. They were not prepared to find that the promise, explicitly given to the German people and the whole of mankind, is in this way to be rendered illusory.

The draft of the treaty contains demands which no nation could endure. Moreover, our experts hold that many of them could not possibly be carried out. The German peace delegation will substantiate these statements in detail and transmit to the allied and associated Governments their observations and their material continuously.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

To this letter the following reply was made on May 10:

The representatives of the allied and associate powers have received the statement of objections of the German plenipotentiaries to the draft conditions of peace. In reply they wish to remind the German delegation that they have formulated the terms of the treaty with constant thought of the principles on which the armistice and the negotiations for peace were proposed. They can admit no discussion of their right to insist on the terms of the peace substantially as drafted. They can consider only such practical suggestions as the German plenipotentiaries may have to submit.

### QUESTION OF THE LEAGUE

The second letter from the German representatives, sent at about the same time, read:

The German peace delegation has the honor to pronounce its attitude on the question of the League of Nations by herewith transmitting a German program which, in the opinion of the delegation, contains important suggestions on the League of Nations problem.

The German peace delegation reserves for itself the liberty of stating its opinions on the draft of the allied and associated Governments in detail. In the meantime it begs to call attention to the discrepancy lying in the fact that Germany is called on to sign the statute of the League of Nations as an inherent part of the treaty draft handed to us, and, on the other