CLEMENCEAU INDICTS TEUTONS FOR CRIMES

Covering Note Declares Judgment of World Will Be Passed on War Guilty. Rebukes Germany for False Proposals

"Tiger" Explains Justice of Allied Exactions and Insists Enemies Must Atone for Offenses Against Humanity

"Reparation Is Essence of Justice"—Clemenceau

By the Associated Press

Paris, June 17.—The covering letter from M. Clemenceau, president of the Peace Conference, to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, president of the German delegation, in answer to the Teuton counter-proposals, follows:

"The Allied and associated powers have given the most earnest consideration to the observation of the German delegates on the draft treaty of peace. The reply protests against the peace on the ground that it conflicts with the terms upon which the armistice of November 11, 1918, was signed and that it is a peace of violence and not a peace of justice. The protest of the German delegation shows that they fail to understand the position in which Germany stands today. 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 virtually the whole of civilized mankind.

War Greatest Crime

"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 the growing prosperity and influence to which Germany was entitled and which all other nations were willing to accord her, 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 in the doctrine that might was right in international affairs. They never ceased to expand German armaments by land and sea and to propagate the falsehood that it was necessary because Germany's neighbors were jealous of her prosperity and power.

"She sought to sow hostility and suspicion, instead of friendship, between nations. The Germans developed a system of espionage and intrigue through which they were enabled to stir up international rebellion 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. 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 assert their predominance in Europe by force.

"As soon as their preparations were complete they encouraged a subservient ally to declare war on Serbia on 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 herself the guaranty of Belgium, Germany violated the rules 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 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 mid-ocean, far from succor, at the mercy of the winds and the water and 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 practiced against their prisoners of war, from which the most uncivilized people would have recoiled.

Conduct Unexampled

"The conduct of Germany is almost unexampled in human history. The terrible responsibility which lies at her doors can be seen by the fact that not less than seven million dead lie buried in Europe, while more than twenty million 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.

"This attitude of the Allied and associated powers was made perfectly clear 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 covering the peace—'Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response, till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those 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.'"

Just Punishment Promised

M. Clemenceau in the letter also quotes from speeches delivered by Premier Lloyd George, of Great Britain; himself as premier of France and Premier Orlando, of Italy, in which it was specifically declared that when victory was won compromise as to peace terms was impossible and just punishment should be meted out, and continues:

"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 made orphans and bereaved that Europe might be fre 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.

"That 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.

Reason for Trials

"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 on 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 wounded.**

"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 a convenient peace.

"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.

People Supported War

"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 credits, subscribed to the war loans, obeyed every order, however savage, of their government. They shared the responsibility for the policy of the 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.

"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 to live an independent national and economic life.

"These intentions were made clear not only in President Wilson's address to Congress of January 8, 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.

"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 territories inhabited by German majorities, save for a few isolated towns and for colonies established on land recently forcibly appropriated 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.

Danzig Free City

"Danzig has been constituted as a free city, so that the inhabitants will be autonomous, and do not come under Polish rule or form any 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 20,000,000 people, whose nationals are in a majority all the way to the coast, in order to maintain territorial connection between East and West Prussia, and whose trade has always been mainly seaborne.

"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, though inhabited by a two-to-one majority of Poles (1,250,006 to 650,000, German census of 1910), wishes to remain a part of Germany, they are willing that the question of whether upper Silesia will form part of Germany or of Poland should be determined by the vote of the inhabitants themselves.

Saar Basin Proposal

"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 league of nations. This method has the double advantage that involved 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 meantime 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 France or the continuance of the regime provided for in the treaty."

M. Clemenceau takes up various territorial settlements, including the German colonies, which he says the Allied powers are satisfied are strongly opposed to being again brought under Germany's sway. The Allied powers, therefore, are not prepared to modify their territorial proposals, except in certain respects laid down.

With regard to the economic and financial clauses, M. Clemenceau says: "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 that 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 actions. 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. 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."

No Reparations Changes

With regard to reparation proposals, M. Clemenceau says while the Allied powers are not prepared to modify them, they recognize that, with the German delegation, the advantage of arriving as soon as possible at the fixed and definite sum which shall be payable by Germany. They are 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, for a settlement of the claims.

The Allied and associated powers have given careful consideration to the request of the German delegation that Germany be admitted to the league of nations as one of the conditions of peace, but that the Allies are unable to accede to this request. It adds that the German revolution was postponed to the last moment of the war, and that there is no guarantee that it represents a permanent change, and that it is impossible in the present temper of international feeling "to expect the free nations of the world to sit down immediately in equal association with those by whom they have been so grievously wronged."

It is added that the Allied and associated powers believe if the German people prove 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."

Blockade Legal

M. Clemenceau refers to the denunby Germany of the blockade of the Allies. It declares that the blockade always has been a legal and recognized method of war. It adds that if the Allies imposed a blockade of exceptional severity on Germany it was "because of the criminal character of the war initiated by Germany and of the barbarous methods adopted by her in prosecuting it."

"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 German observations and counter-proposals with earnest attention and care. They have, in consequence, made important modifications in the draft treaty, but in its principle 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."

The clause adds that the treaty creates the machinery for the peaceful adjustment of all international problems by discussion and consent and represents a sincere and deliberate attempt to establish "that reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by organized opinion of mankind," which was the agreed basis of peace.

It is added that the treaty in its present form must be accepted or rejected.

"The Allied and associated powers," it continues, "therefore require a declaration from the German delegation within five days (later extended forty-eight hours) 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 modification provided for in Article XI of the convention of the 16th of February, 1919, prolonging the armistice signed on the 11th of November, 1918, and again prolonged by the agreement of the 13th of December, 1918, and the 16th of January, 1919, and the said **armistice will then terminate and the Allied and associated powers will take such steps as they think needful to force their terms.**"

1919 Legislature Defended by McCain

Continued From Page One

would meet and deliberate a day or two, and then adjourn till the following Monday night. Thus the weeks slipped by. The House lacked an appreciation of the value of time. Besides, there has been little or no effort to make up the time lost in the early days of the session.

The desire among members of the House up to the present time to get away from Harrisburg has become acute. The magnet of getting their local appropriation bills through failed to hold many of them.

The spectacle presented last Thursday of lack of a quorum, with sergeant-at-arms scurrying over the state, and telegraph wires burdened with messages recalling absent members to their duties, was a visible culmination of the session's carelessness and indifference. The last five months have been distinguished by an amount of dawdling, inexcusable adjournment, and waste of time almost unprecedented.

Many Financially on Thin Ice

Yet scores of members should be charitably absolved for their display of anxiety to get away. Financially they are skating on thin ice. Their salaries have been spent and they are losing money daily by remaining in Harrisburg. I believe that a proposition to extend the session a week beyond the date set for adjournment would precipitate a riot in the House.

There are but eight working days left, including Saturday. A mass of appropriation bills must be acted upon. In the mad rush to get through it is misjudgment to imagine that intelligent consideration can be accorded each one. The outcome is obvious to any one familiar with Legislature procedure.

The appropriation bills will be rushed through, the House will adjourn and to Governor Sproul will be relegated the work of cutting the appropriations to fit available funds. From a purely superficial view, I am not so sure that the verb "slaughter" should now be substituted for "cuting" in reference to these measures.

Constituents Are Feared

The present situation is pointed out as an impressive argument in favor of the pending bill to increase the salary of members from $1500 to $2500. The cost of living in Harrisburg during a session has more than doubled in recent years. There are no passes, as in the glorious days of old, and railroad fares are a big item in the expense account of legislators who come from remote sections of the state. Many find it cheaper to go home over the week-end, even to considerable distances, than to remain in Harrisburg. I am convinced that nothing but the fear of their constituents, as was always the case in the past, has withheld the present House from rushing the salary increase to a finish, which it still is likely to do.

Within the next ten years the present session of the Legislature, in point of length, will be regarded as a short sitting. On several recent occasions Governor Sproul has assumed the garb of a prophet to declare that future biennial meetings of the Legislature will remain in session much longer than at present. A most careful consideration of the needs of the state demand it.

There has been a great increase in the permanent population of the commonwealth. Vast industries have sprung up like fungi over night, and new demands for their regulation and control must be met with adequate enactments carefully considered. The day of slap-dash legislation is gone forever.

Senator Magee Worked Fast

Thirty odd years ago the late Senator Christopher L. Magee, of Pittsburgh, came down to Harrisburg one Monday evening with a bill in his inside pocket which provided for an entirely new office for that city. On Wednesday night he returned home with a law, signed, sealed and a matter of official record, creating the office of delinquent tax collector for Pittsburgh. The new official, selected in advance, was appointed, installed and doing business almost before the people of Pittsburgh were aware of the fact.

It is Governor Sproul's idea, based upon observations covering a period of more than twenty years, that greater care and deliberation must be given to the matter of lawmaking in the future. Coming Legislatures must get down to business quicker and stick to it longer than at any time in the past. Sessions protracted into midsummer are not only probable but confidently may be anticipated. A commonwealth so potential, with industries and interests so vast, shauld have lawmaking bodies whose deliberations are not limited to a time schedule or a matter of a few weeks more or less.

ASCOT'S GLORIES REVIVED

British Royalty Attends Race Meet as in Days of Yore

London, June 17.—(By A. P.)—Another pre-war royal function was revived today with a visit of King George, Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales and Princess Mary to the Ascot races, where they headed the semi-state procession in a four-horse carriage with postilions and outriders.

The "Royal Ascot" is a designation of this week's racing on the prettiest course in England, and is the opening event of the social season in England. It is usually the signal for the display of the latest creations in dresses, and after a lapse of five years through the war, today's spectacle exceeded anything previously known in the matter of hats, dresses and general brilliancy.

FIRE ON U. S. HOSPITAL

American Cars on Train Which Is Attacked by Reds

Vladivostok, June 17.—(By A. P.)—A band of seventy Bolsheviki attacked a train, including American hospital and mail cars, near Spassk, north of Vladivostok, last Wednesday night. They compelled the train to stop by loosening the rails. Shots were fired into all the cars and one Russian was killed. None of the Americans was injured.

The attack occurred on the section of the railroad guarded by the Japanese, who sent re-enforcements to the scene on the following day.

Cadet Exercises Tonight

The annual commencement of the cadet girls of the John Wanamaker Commercial Institute will be held in the Wanamaker store tonight. Mrs. I. H. O'Harra, M. A., will deliver an address and award the diplomas to the graduates. Following the impressive ceremony in University Hall an exhibition drill will be given by the cadets.

REDS WIN AT STOCKHOLM

Independent Socialist Congress Adopts Bolshevik Policy

Stockholm, June 17.—(By A. P.)—The Congress of Independent Socialists voted 186 to 22, to join the "third internationale of Moscow" and adopted resolutions favoring Bolshevik measures, such as the placing of production control in the hands of laborers, and, to effect a revolution, that workers must be armed and the bourgeoisie unarmed.

The parliamentary members vainly protested and warned against any attempt at a proletarian dictatorship. It is expected that the humanitarian wing of the party will secede.

Hoover Remains in aPris

Paris, June 17.—Paris heard with surprise reports from England that Herbert C. Hoover, director general of the inter-Allied relief work, had sailed for the United States. Mr. Hoover was at his desk in his office here yesterday as usual.

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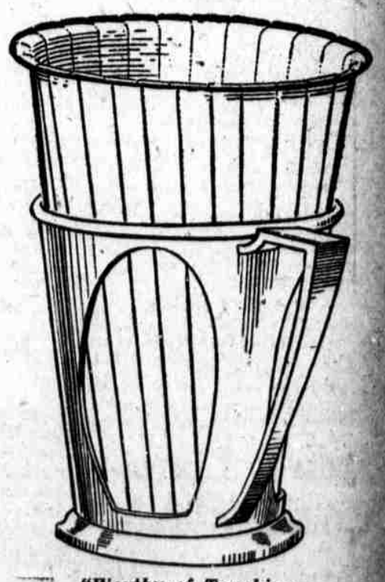

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