

英 漢 合 璧

威爾遜和議演說

嵯縣錢智修譯

商務印書館出版

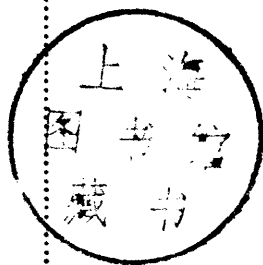
上海圖書館藏書



美總統威爾遜和議演說

目次

和平問題及其感想·····	一
無政府之恐慌·····	二十
人類精神已醒悟矣·····	二十四
國際同盟者世界和平之保障也·····	二十七
美國政策之說明·····	三十二
新時代之原則·····	四十
國際同盟之必要·····	四十四
宣讀國際同盟草案·····	五十一



美總統威爾遜和議演說 目次

二

爲同盟問題敬告美民……………六十三

附國際同盟草案……………八十三

美總統威爾遜和議演說

和平問題及其感想

一千九百十八年（中華民國七年）十二月二日在美國兩院聯合會演說

國會議員諸君

世界命運
將起重大
變化

自余前次蒞貴院聯合會。盡憲法職權。報告國政以來。距今已一年矣。此一年中。事變紛乘。手續繁賾。其所得結果。尤足使吾國及全世界之命運。起重大變化。度諸君亦均目睹之矣。吾人身處局中。不僅不能預測其所以然。即已然之事。亦不能遽下斷語。惟後世子孫。始能有此資格耳。雖然。其中有萬不能錯認之事實也。且有吾人所不容不應付之事實也。今所爲報告於諸君者。亦欲藉此定立法行政之步驟。以應付此種事實耳。一年以前。吾人已派出兵士十四萬九千九百十八人。嗣又陸續派出一

美國參戰
軍之數

百九十九萬零九百十三人。以每月平均數計算。則爲十八萬二千九百四十二人。自本年五月起。爲二十四萬九千九百九十七人。六月增至二十七萬八千七百六十人。七月又增至三十萬七千一百八十二人。八月二十八萬九千九百七十人。九月二十九萬七千四百三十八人。

派出之兵。須渡越三千哩之海洋。又須備適當之軍裝糧餉。是蓋亘古未有之事也。途中險象環生。攻擊突起。防不勝防。然吾人仍得安然出險。總計赴歐參戰之兵。其爲敵所乘而殞命者。不過七百六十八人耳。其中六百三十人。係乘英國運輸艦。沈於瓦克尼島 Orkney Islands 附近者。

吾人所以能派此大兵之原因。余可無煩細述。如全國實業界。均能合羣衛國。其生產力之組織完備。精神活潑而結果優良。均駕乎各交戰國之上。即吾人強有力之後援也。夫各交戰國之重視實業而從事於整頓者。

實業界之
組織完備
爲美軍強
有力之後
援

蓋三年於茲矣。莫不罄其國之富源。以全副精力對付之。而吾人則能集思廣益。取各國之榜樣經驗。一一資爲我用。吾人雖一後進學徒。然其學之也甚速。又能急起直追。同心協力以實行之。其能以空前之力。奏孟晉之功。而大副吾人服務於世界之雄心。不亦宜乎。

雖然。余不欲僅述物質方面之供給準備。及派兵輸餉之盡善盡美也。余所欲稱述者。尤在精神方面。如參戰之軍官兵士。及保護海洋之海軍。均勇氣勃發。品性高尚。而全國人民。又能急公好義。爲軍士之後盾。皆余所服膺不置者也。夫世界之有海陸軍也久矣。問有能如美兵之踴躍從公。樂就戰場之試驗者乎。無有也。問有能如美兵之膽略豪壯。成功偉大者乎。無有也。彼指揮此番大戰。以博最後勝利之人。見國民將彼輩成績。留爲佳話。歷久不忘。其快慰當何如耶。蓋此番之大戰。爲軍官者。上自潘興

人能自知
其力量則
能確保成
功

與將士以
戰勝之機
會

以新力量
加入自由
軍

Pershing 西門司 Sims 二大將。下至最年幼之下級將佐。既莫不深知其所膺之重寄。以熱心毅力。履行職務。建立勳名。卽部下士卒。亦人人自好。不必命令敦迫。自願躬冒大險。盡其勇敢聰明之能事。所謂人能自知其力量則能確保其成功也。

余得與如此勇敢之將士。生於同國。余實引以自豪。吾人之居國中者。亦各自盡其職。非吾人與以戰勝之機會。度彼諸勇將。亦不能克敵致果。奏厥膚功也。然吾人苟能同往作戰。豈不更爲榮耀。古所謂『吾人不得身列行間。當深自刻責。而愧其無勇者。』吾人聞人談聖彌哈爾 Mihiel 或沙都底雷 Château-Thierry 之戰功。殆亦有同感矣。

吾人所當感謝上蒼者。則我軍出戰。正值世界命運危迫之秋。能以新力量。加入自由軍。而挽狂瀾於既倒也。自此以後。敵軍着着退步。永無前進

國中優秀
分子均願
斥私利盡
智能以供
給戰費

之期。故未及四閱月。彼德奧統兵官。咸知敗徵已定。不能挽救。今則彼等所託身之帝國。亦在土崩瓦解中矣。然則吾國民精神之高尙優美爲何如乎。蓋惟吾人有一致之宗旨。不懈之熱心。且始終以高尙之觀念。表示偉大之力量。故其成效亦大可觀也。

居於國內之從事組織。供給軍需者。恨不得與兵士摩肩作戰。余前已言之矣。然吾人却不必以是爲恥。蓋國中優秀分子。均願斥私利。盡智能。以供給戰費。其功固不可沒也。吾人得與此等人共事。又何樂如之。

此等人熱誠愛國。公而忘私。各窮年累月。盡其材力於勞苦之工作中。實足與參戰之海陸軍。稱良友而無愧。是不特華盛頓政府中人爲然也。政府中人。不過盡發縱指示之勞耳。若工廠。若農場。若煤鐵銅礦。舉凡製造品所出產及製備之地方。乃至若船塢。若鐵路。若碼頭。若海洋。舉凡維持

戰備所必要之工作。莫不有人殫智竭能。盡其一分子之責任。此等人雖未衝鋒陷陣。然其對於前敵諸同胞。則已仁至義盡。無稍愧怍。雖謂彼輩亦出力以求戰勝可也。雖謂吾美海陸軍之能確保勝算。出於彼輩之賜可也。

女界之熱
心助戰

以參政權
答女界之
大功

今當進述女界之功矣。吾美女界諸君。任作何事。均聰敏絕倫。又能結團體。謀互助。使其治事紀律嚴明。效能宏大。雖其事爲素所未習。仍能以勇往直前之態度實行之。且能矢其犧牲精神。貢勞力輸資財以助成之。皆吾人所當亟爲表揚者也。其貢獻於國家者。既鉅。故其結果亦至爲優良。可使美國婦女史。大增光彩。吾人欲報答大功。決非許其與男子享同等政權不可。蓋吾美女界。無論爲公爲私。早已在實驗場中。崢嶸露頭角。較諸鬚眉。初無遜色也。今當大功告成之日。非有此舉。將何以示公道乎。且

以和平爲
正義公道
之新基礎

吾人所求
者爲世界
之公道非
僅一國之
治安

女界所盡力者。非僅以實際服務爲限也。吾人之崇尚節儉。因得節衣縮食。以振濟海外難民。供給前敵戰士。亦出女界提倡之功。其他類此之事。尤罄竹難書。吾人惟有永志勿諼。且感謝上蒼。以得與此等婦女爲同胞爲幸而已。

吾人用偌大犧牲以求之之勝利。今已可操左券矣。勝利之來。今已完全無缺憾矣。惟吾人則尤將鼓勝利之餘勇。以應付和平事業。此之和平。必當根柢鞏固。非專制君主及野心武士所能破壞而後可。尤必能建設新秩序。爲正義公道之新基礎而後可。否則非余之所謂和平也。且吾人之建設此和平也。非專爲吾人本身設想也。實兼爲世界各國人民設想。使各國人民。能俯從吾人之意見。吾人固樂爲之盡力也。要而言之。則吾人所求者。爲世界之公道。而非僅一國之治安。凡歐亞兩洲及近東遠東。罔

非吾人所日營心注。若本國議和以後應行施設諸端。則猶非今日所甚急者也。

對於鄰邦
掃除誤會

經濟實業
之整理問題

吾人既欲整頓與世界各國之關係。則對於鄰邇諸邦。尤不可不掃除誤會。表示真正之友誼。故望參議院諸君。許余將吾國與可倫比亞共和國未批准之友誼條約。重述一過。且望諸君對於此重大事件。早日贊助之。余以爲時至今日。爲公道計。爲寬大計。爲適應吾人所甫經跨入之新時代之精神計。均不可不速行是舉。度諸君當與有同情也。

至就內治而論。則吾人於和平恢復時所應注意者。爲經濟實業之整理問題。此一問題。在我國較爲輕鬆。不如他國作戰較久損失較鉅者之棘手。且我國人民。向不需人指導。彼輩富於自治能力。凡事之有待於整理者。彼輩肆應既速。智慮亦豐。且有固定之目的。自信之精神。苟有人欲指

揮之。不久必大失所望。蓋人民對於此等指揮。必仍漠視不顧而自行其道也。故吾輩爲立法及行政界公僕者。但須就各方面改革之程序。居間疎通。卽已盡職。余屢次聞人獻議。謂應如何設謀定策。并當躬親其事。以求速效。然果有重定國是之大計畫。能使吾有精神之商家。及能自助之工人。心悅誠服者乎。余蓋未之前聞矣。

當戰事進行之際。吾人曾設機關多所。因此故能指導全國工業。盡其應盡之職分。因此故能確保此等工業。供給充分之需要品。因此故能阻止不正當之貿易。而鼓勵有益戰事之貿易。因此故能使政府之購買部。操縱必要物品之價格。因此故能限制對敵貿易。使可用之船舶。盡其效益。因此故能使公私兩方之經濟事務。循系統而行。免起無謂之紛擾。要而言之。則此等機關之設。在將全國物力。駕御而控制之。而使吾人併力一

控制權之
取消

美國戰時
所設之工
業部、商
業部、勞
動部、糧
食部、燃
料部等調

心。以完成此一大事業而已。

然吾人得休戰條約簽字之消息。此等控制物。亦即卸去。前者政府懼供給軍隊之工業。有缺乏原料之虞。嘗徵收而保存之。今則此等原料。已重置於普通市場矣。前者政府嘗將大工廠之機器及全部出品。收爲國用。今則此等物品。均已解放。俾復其戰前之功用矣。惟對於糧食及航務之控制權。一時尙難取消。則因世界各國。今仍仰給於吾美。而船舶則仍須輸送餉需於遠征軍。且歐洲亂象一止。即須運兵歸國故也。但此等限制。今亦就時勢所許。逐漸解放。日見寬鬆。

吾美行政機關。其能深悉勞動界與實業界供求相劑之狀況而肆應咸宜者。未有及今之戰時工業部、戰時商業部、勞動部、糧食部、及燃料部者也。凡此諸部。組織均極完備。且非獨立不相統屬。均由政府固定機關。派

劑勞動界
與實業界
之成績

和平基礎
恢復之迅
速
政府之贊
助不如國
民之自助

員指揮之。其所以能爲統一及互助行爲之關鍵。抑有由也。故自休戰確定（此實無異敵軍之完全降服）以後。行政部之意。頗擬將此等機關所知之事情。供全國實業界之用。且應各方面之要求。使此等機關。盡其居間調劑之勞焉。

停戰以來。不過三星期耳。而和平基礎之恢復。則已進行甚速。令人可驚。若政府之考查贊助。均將瞠乎出其後者。實則政府之贊助。固不如國民之自助之善。吾美實業家。固皆智識敏銳而富於自動力者也。但歸國軍隊。若用私人自動之常法。恐不能立時予以職業。彼資格老練者。藝有專長者。熟悉商情者。歸耕農畝者。乃至聲望素隆。將有人慕名聘請者。自不難覓取位置。除此以外。則非爲謀勞來安頓之方。其能免於凍餒者。幾希矣。蓋戰事既停。則過剩勞力亦夥。又胡可聽其瑣尾流離而不爲之所耶。

開濬利源
以消納過
剩之勞力

是故據余之意。各種公共事業。均須速行恢復。力圖發展。庶幾程度較淺之工人。亦有謀生機會。其荒廢之土地及天然之資產。尤當設法墾闢。以濬利源。吾美天然資產。以前此無人提倡。其蘊而未發者。殆不知凡幾矣。余所欲諸君注意者。尤在此事之實施計畫。此項計畫。內務總長。已列入常年報告書中。交貴院委員會審查。即開墾已乾之沼澤。及木材已經伐盡之森林是也。此項土地。若得各州贊助。從事墾植。約可得良田三百兆畝。哀格。(一哀格合中國六畝)單就西美之乾地論。已有十五兆至二十兆畝。哀格。祇須蓄水灌溉。即可開墾也。其木材伐去而荒廢不耕之地。則約二百三十兆畝。哀格。碁布星羅。遍於全美。此外又有地勢汗下。淪為沼澤。或時被水災之地。約八十兆畝。哀格。因含水太多。不能耕種。祇供畜牧之用。然疏濬而保衛之。亦甚易易也。開墾乾地之舉。頃已由內務總長着手試辦。祇

欲發展農
業與人民
以自助之
機會其法
莫妙於墾
荒

航務控制
權

救濟比法
之難民

須擴充規模。增加經費。即可爲國會安頓回國兵士之用。蓋欲發展農業。與人民以自助之機會。其法莫妙於利用荒地。內務總長今已規畫周詳。豫備實行。吾知必可博諸君友誼的注意也。

航務控制權。今尙不能取消。余前已言之矣。實則此控制權之行使。恐須時日略久。亦未可知。一則海外遠征軍。應享運載歸國之優先權利。一則欲拯救戰地之飢民。及回復被兵地域之原狀。須船舶運貨以接濟之也。今請更一論比利時及法國北部之需要可乎。此二地創鉅痛深。雖得大宗賠款。亦無濟於事。故欲救衰起廢。必當於籌款以外。更設他法。非僅恃金錢充足原料豐富。所能旦夕見功。復其世界工業之地位。蓋其在戰前所握之重要地位。自被兵以來。已靡有孑遺矣。其工廠則淪爲廢墟矣。其機器則燬略殆盡矣。其人民則四方播越矣。其良工則多半死亡矣。苟非

有人加以援手。俾得重造工場。更置機器。行見其所有市場。皆爲他人囊中物耳。當此大戰既停。原料品與工業品。瞬將起劇烈競爭之際。吾人又安可袖手旁觀。聽彼等之自生自活乎。故余不勝大願。願國會許戰時商業部有對於輸出品之優先權。俾得供給法比之人民。蓋吾人既仗義興師。使此等人民脫離德國之恐怖。決不可爲德不卒。任彼等處於慘烈之競爭場中。而流離失所也。

整頓國內
商業以確
定之稅率
爲前提

將欲整頓國內商業。而謀穩固便利之道。則第一着應將一九一八、一九一九、及一九二〇之三年間之稅率決定。商人負擔綦鉅。苟使行政費有着。吾人必當有以減輕之也。抑有當爲商界要人告者。彼等對於政府之負擔。此後數年。必可較爲畫一。蓋不確定之負擔。其貽害於國家者至鉅。故一俟議有端緒。吾人即當實行革除。斷不爲一日之稽延。若不去此不

六千兆元
之稅額

維持海外
之參戰軍

確定之現象。而徒議整頓商業之法。所謂空言無補於實事也。夫使歐戰而延長者。則吾國一九一九年度之稅額。固至少非八千兆元不可。今幸歐戰已停。大約減至六千兆元。已足敷用。余與財政總長。已協議及此矣。惟欲望行政費立時大減。亦頗難辦到。蓋所有戰時供給品之合同。雖儘速取消清算。然一行清算之手續。則財政部數月內之支出。亦甚鉅也。海外國軍。仍當籌款維持之。緣其一大部分。於佔據期內。當仍留歐洲。而其調回之一部分。若運載之船舶。退伍之經費。亦需鉅款也。又戰時公債。亦當照常付息。且當籌定款項。償清政府所負之債務。然此種用度。究不如繼續作戰之鉅。故有六千兆元。儘足供一年間之開支。吾國法定稅額。本祇四千兆元。財政總長之意。謂可從戰時合同及戰時商業之贏利中。再抽二千兆元。余實完全贊成。惟此項課稅。應以一九一八或一九一九

欲求經濟
之復原實
業之發達
必應掃除
疑慮且以
簡單之法
規定之

海軍擴張
案

年戰時商業所得之贏利爲限。故余所望諸君採納此議者。亦以上述時期爲限。若一九二〇年之稅額。則自當從六千兆減至四千兆元耳。至其他不確定之辦法。則當此整頓商業之緊要關頭。非特無益。反足以增疑慮而滋紛擾。蓋吾人所望者。在當機立斷。使國家早渡難關。凡真心爲商業謀利益者。當不願從中挑撥。而令其延長時日也。要而言之。則欲求經濟之復原。實業之發達。必應掃除疑慮。下一清楚之決斷。且以簡單之法規定之。如是而已。

未參戰前所定之海軍政策。想國會必仍當實行之。頃海軍總長已將此後三年間之建築計畫。提交貴委員會通過。此項計畫。悉照國會原定政策進行。並非戰時例外條件。不過欲實行海軍之擴張耳。此余所爲亟望其成功而不至間斷者也。將來世界政策一變。吾國之海軍政策。固亦當

鐵路政策

量予變通。惟今日則計猶太早耳。

余所最關心者。厥惟鐵路政策。且深冀諸君各抒偉論。示我周行。蓋余尙無確有把握之主張也。此問題複蹟已甚。雖富有思想之人。亦不敢遽下斷語。然吾人仍當從速研究。且以大公無我之心研究之。凡解決特別問題。不容有黨派之見存也。（威君演說至此，略述戰爭期內政府管理私有鐵路之必要，又曰：余信明年春初歐戰可以正式條約告終云云。）

報告赴歐之旨趣

歐洲各國均承認美國之構和原則

余請乘此機會。報告於國會。蓋余將有巴黎之行。與共戰中歐帝國之各政府之代表。討論和約大旨也。余亦知此時去國遠行。極爲不便。然此行實義不容辭。非泛泛作汗漫遊者可比。余意如此。想諸君亦具有同情也。夫協約政府。既承認余本年一月八日。在國會所宣布之構和原則矣。卽

美政府所
提出之解
決純以誠
懇之心爲
各關係國
共謀公益
無一毫自
利之見

中歐帝國亦然。然則彼輩欲余親身出席。一述此原則之解釋及應用。詎非題中應有之義乎。且此種解釋。余亦極樂爲之。以必如此始能表示美政府所提出之解決。純以誠懇之心。爲各關係國共謀公益。無一毫自利之見也。以此次待商之和約。爲吾美計。爲世界計。均非常重要。非尋常之事務或利益所能同年語也。夫吾海陸諸勇士之戮力於戰場也。豈苟焉而已哉。亦本其良知。爲主義而戰。且知此種主義。卽國家之主義耳。余亦嘗將此種主義。勉力表示。幸承彼等嘉許。謂能與彼等之思想及鵠的適相符合。一如協約政府之承認余之表示也。故余對於彼等。實負有一種義務。義務維何。卽監督此種主義。不受僞誤之解釋。且盡力設法使其實現而已。海陸軍貢其生命之血。以期有所獲得。而余之義務。則在鞠躬盡瘁。不負彼等之所期。余以爲任舉何事。斷無有重大於此者矣。余雖作客

海外。仍將與諸君警欬相通。尤不敢置國事於度外。卽余之所爲。諸君亦當備知其詳也。

法英政府。業已俯從余請。取消海電檢查。此項檢查令。兩星期前。猶厲行不輟。今則除對敵貿易之電信外。均可免除檢查矣。余以爲巴黎與我國務院間。及法國與我陸軍部間。均須有一公開海線。又以爲此項海線。不可受他種電信之阻礙。故已暫時將此兩線接管。收爲專用。余之此舉。係受海電局中深有經驗者之勸告。所冀結果能饜余所望。使此後數月間。大西洋兩岸之消息。得以自由傳遞。略無留難耳。

國會諸君乎。余將赴大西洋彼岸。盡其忠實之力。以解釋吾人所愛之國之主義與鵠的矣。此事任大責重。諸君其亦樂輸將伯。以增余勇氣而匡余不逮乎。余深知余職務之艱鉅。且深知余責任之重大。余國民之公僕

贊助協約
領袖開誠
布公獲一
公共之解
決法

也。今既膺此重大之使命矣。又胡敢含一毫私意。自作主張。亦惟有盡余所能。贊助協約國諸領袖。開誠心。布公道。俾獲一公共之解決法耳。而諸君之協助與獎勵。則余所奉爲南針者也。余以得海電及無線電之助。故雖與諸君遠隔重洋。仍不啻一堂晤對。諸君有嘉謀嘉猷相告。或欲余有所盡力者。儘可源源見示。卽余亦以時時得與聞國內大事爲樂也。余之去國。當竭力節減期間。不稍濡滯。所望歸國之時。吾亞美利加所奮力而爭之偉大理想。能一一有見諸實事之保證。使余得於暢敘離悰之際。舉以報告於諸君。則余之厚幸矣。

無政府之恐慌

一千九百十八年（中華民國七年）十二月二日在美國兩院聯合會演說之一節

戰事既如是告終矣。蓋德國既接受休戰條約。彼之將帥。決無死灰復燃之餘地也。此戰結局如何。今尙未能逆料。所可知者。則此次慘烈之戰爭。

帝國主義
既敗決無
人更圖恢
復
媾和條約
當以大公
無我爲前
提
一面承認
強國之權
利一面保
護弱小之
邦使其滿
意
協約國人
道主義之
見端

如燎原之火。肇禍一國而遍布於寰宇。今已烟消火滅。而美民當仁不讓。能於存亡危急之秋。參加戰局。奏此大功。尤足引以自豪耳。戰爭之目的。吾人亦審知之。惟彼武裝之帝國主義。其收局竟如是之速。則頗爲意料所不及。此殆由德國當局。知彼輩不法之野心。足以自召咎徵而翻然憬悟故也。夫彼輩既翻然憬悟矣。則誰又甘心爲戎首。而更圖恢復者哉。共同作戰之列強。今已同心一致。冀得締造和平。慰全世界之期望。全世界所期望者。爲大公無我之正義。故此次媾和條約。亦當以大公無我爲前提。務使其可大可久。與專顧列強互競之私者不同。夫戰勝國之居心。今所無庸疑義者也。彼輩信誓旦旦。奔走於共同目的之下。豈有他哉。亦一面承認強國之權利。一面則保護弱小之邦。使其滿意而已。且戰勝國各政府之秉仁心。持公道也。業已見諸行事。證據甚多。近者協

約代表。在凡賽爾 Versailles 開最高軍事會議。以全體一致之表決。通告中歐人民。謂凡可以供給食物及救濟彼等生命之方法。苟時勢所許。必當辦到。且當照救濟比國之例。立即施行。即協約國人道主義之見端也。中歐帝國。久未駛行之船舶。綦夥。竊謂正可用以救其地水深火烈之人民。俾回復其精神能力。以任改造政治之艱鉅。此實彼輩當前之職責。刻不容緩者也。若迫之以飢餓。則祇能發生狂易。與種種背常失紀之惡德。以擾亂治安耳。又惡有改良政治之望哉。

然則中歐帝國之政治改革。果已實現耶。吾人屢聞各種決議。然此種決議。朝令暮更。殊無確定之象。非待彼有思想之人。見機自悟。認定其所建之政府。所行之政體。吾人又安能與之締結和約耶。即彼輩亦將以何種權力。與吾人議和。以何種保證。保和約之有效耶。此事關係至鉅。斷不容

和約之成
當先問他
方面是否
有信守約
言履行義
務之人

過激之行
爲斷難成
事可以證
事爲證

現今世界
以知自治
守法紀之
國民爲主
人翁將來
世界以能
擴仁心愛
人類者爲
主人翁爲
武力之戰
勝爲暫時
之戰勝

掉以輕心。略涵疑義。蓋和約之成。非吾人一方面事。尤當問他方面是否
有信守約言。履行義務之人也。此余所望吾人開誠布公。而弗以上述諸
問題爲可立時解決者也。

過激之行爲。斷難成事。彼悲慘之俄羅斯。卽其殷鑒也。行事之無秩序者。
不久亦必自敗。縱使其國不幸。一時有過激無秩序之事發生。然設吾人
能協力援助。不施無謂之干涉。則事過情遷。悔悟之心生。而建設之期至
矣。吾人須知現今世界。以知自治守法紀之國民爲主人翁。而將來世界。
則以能擴仁心愛人類者爲主人翁。均無所用其武力。若徒恃武力。則縱
獲戰勝。亦暫時之戰勝耳。吾友邦諸國。亦既受自由之教訓。沈毅用壯。爲
有秩序之試驗矣。自今以往。其亦能廣友助之懷。以仁心義聞。戰勝全世
界乎。余敢信其必然矣。

用無政府
主義之手
段決不能
達自由之
目的

美總統威爾遜和議演說

二十四

凡人民甫脫專制之軛。而謀復自由。若以無政府之手段求之。決不能達其目的。蓋其所關徑途。一染同胞之血。勢必前顧茫茫。陷於絕望也。彼輩今日。正爲初步試驗。故吾人不可不大放光明。使得棄迷途而循正軌。同時又當建設和平。使彼輩在國際間。得相當位置。而無強鄰蠶食舊主復辟之虞。如是則彼輩於秩序既復之後。庶能享其安業之生活也。彼輩之目的若材能。吾人可無庸置疑。蓋彼輩之知自治主義與平和生活之可貴。而擇以自處。今已不乏其良徵也。設彼輩果能如此。則吾人亦惟有貢他山之助。供彼輩取資而已。遑敢自惜其力。否亦惟有持鎮靜之心。表同情之感。以徐待時機。蓋否極則泰來。彼輩既歷危疑震撼之途。終必有起死回生之日。是固可操券以俟者也。

人類精神已醒悟矣

一千九百十八年（中華民國七年）十二月二十一日
巴黎索爾朋 Sorbonne 大學授名譽博士時之答詞

校長先生學長先生

頃荷巴黎大學校寵錫殊榮。授余以學位。心感何既。貴大學人材輩出。名譽彰著。全球學界。莫不聞風景仰。余因此得與諸名儒把臂入林。尤爲無上榮幸。乃者貴校長所言之教育原理。此在法國。固已奉爲南針。見諸行事。卽余在美國。亦嘗設法提倡之。蓋深幸與貴校長之嘉言。不謀而合也。余平日感想。以爲教育主旨。在能提醒精神。彼文學上之宏篇佳著。傳誦藝林者。豈有他哉。亦人類精神之表示耳。人類之良知。經古來名儒哲匠。闡發奧祕。筆諸於書。日有警醒之象。此良知之覺悟。卽教育之方便法門也。世人嘗謂此次所經惡戰。非特國與國之戰爭。亦兩種教育制度之戰爭。斯言也。可謂實獲我心。此兩種教育制度維何。卽一爲外鑠制度。用科學而廢良心。求智識而忘德義。縱人心之材能。以肆惡於人類。一爲回想

教育主旨
在能提醒
人類之精
神

此次大戰
爲兩種教
育制度之
戰爭

外鑠制度

回想制度

制度。使回想人類之嘉言懿行。與其以強毅不屈之精神。爭公理求自由之歷史是已。此次大戰。自由主義。既大獲勝利。即可徵第二制度之精神。已無敵於天下。道德之勢力。獨大風焉。今方披靡全球。一日千里。苟有逆風而行者。行見其受辱而踣耳。

不遵人類
之命令者
必失敗

以國際同
盟爲人類
有機體之
道德勢力

世間各種
問題苟能

日內會集此間以商訂和約者。非人類之主宰也。實爲人類之公僕。故責任雖大。仍屬輕而易舉。惟彼專己奮私。不遵人類之命令者。則必自取咎殃。於世界史上。永留話柄耳。余所主張之國際同盟。其觀念亦正在此。蓋欲使其爲人類有機體之道德勢力。用以宰制世界也。無論何時何地。苟有人設陰謀。圖侵略。則此良心之光。必將洞燭其奸。毫髮無隱。而世人亦必羣起詰責曰。『爾意何居。詎非欲破壞世界之幸福耶。』

世間各種問題。苟能開誠布公。大都可迎刃而解。彼中歐諸國。果能費半

開誠布公
皆可迎刃
而解

以公共生
活闡發大
學精神

月之力。將此戰目的。一加研究。則戰禍又何致發生乎。若能研究一年。則更無發生戰事之餘地。余所謂此次之戰。與大學精神有密切關係者此也。任舉何事。凡足以抑制人類心靈。阻礙思想發達者。與夫有害於真理之輸入。身心之修養者。皆與大學精神不相容。而大學生徒。尤可藉時勢之力。益勵其邁往精進之心。大學所提倡者。爲真理之精神。今則此種精神。業已大占勝利矣。抑余尤有引以自豪者。則余嘗以一大國之公共生活。闡發大學精神也。今日諸君錫余以寵榮。實不啻寵榮余所代表之人民。余所欲表白之精神。亦即余所代表之人民之精神也。余、人民之公僕也。其擁護自由之功。以其所服務於人民者爲正比例。諸君贈余學位。是益增余大學生生活之光榮也。此余所願掬誠以謝者也。

國際同盟者世界和平之保障也

一千九百十八年（中華民國七年）十一月二十八日在倫敦市政廳演說

市長先生

盛會如斯。常令人增無窮觀感。而余之在此。其所感者爲尤深。頃余所聆之歡迎詞。詞意溫厚。設想正大。而一片誠摯精神。流露於字裏行間。尤與今日所得聞於他處之教言。若合符節。是殆所謂天下之公言耶。

余荷諸君歡迎。實感無上榮幸。謹掬誠爲諸君謝。雖然。余不過際遇時機。爲其大團體之一分子耳。余於倫敦巴黎市上。屢聞歡迎之聲。每覺其中含意甚深。非尋常個人酬酢可比。余抱此見解。自以爲不同幻想。蓋余所聞者。實甲國民對於乙國民發言之聲。其感情之縈集。固歷歷可辨也。有以戰事告終。深致感激者。有以此戰收局之佳。不勝欣幸者。有以英法意諸邦。能產生如許英雄。効命疆場。而引以自豪者。誠以此次從征諸將。其勇氣。其成功。在在過人一等。足令人起高山景行之思也。

國民之發
言聲

良心之警告

霞飛上將

強國苟不
爲正義之
干城則弱
國決不能
自由生存

掃除舊秩
序建設新
秩序

雖然此發言中猶有其良心之警告也。即大事未完。死者已矣。勿辜負先烈決死之心是也。余雖未獲親臨前敵。亦嘗與從征諸將周旋矣。當法蘭西學會之舉霞飛 Joffre 上將爲會員也。余亦得躬逢其盛。此君老當益壯。顧在會場中。未嘗作一戰勝語。惟以簡單質樸之詞。歸功於部卒而已。至所以表示其信心者。尤能要言不煩。一語破的。此言余已不能述其原文。然其大意。則謂強大之國。苟不用其能力。爲正義之干城。則弱小之國。決不能自由生存於世界。吾法蘭西當永勿忘之。如是而已。

霞飛大意如此。引伸其義。則謂吾人今日。必當急起直追。獲取公平之解決。且使所解決者。得永久有效。而公理大伸於天下而已。余歷與軍人相晉接。知彼輩所以奮身作戰者。確爲一大事起義。此一大事。縱未能人人洞悉內容。顧使有人闡明其義。則莫不一致承認。其事維何。則掃除舊秩

勢力平均
之害

合各國
一強有力
之團體爲
世界和平
保障

序而建設新秩序是也。舊秩序之中心點與特性。在吾人所謂『勢力平均』Balance of power。其物變動不居。以雙方所投武器及競爭式之利益決定之。而其維持此平均也。尤必爾詐我虞。互相仇視。雖仇視之痕跡。常不甚明顯。然其根柢則牢不可破。非一朝一夕之故矣。

此番大戰諸將。皆自由國家之國民。故其平昔懷抱。皆欲剷除舊制。爲一勞永逸計。余周遊各地。歷驗各方面之人心。參以各議會之意見。莫不詢謀僉同。謂勢力平均一物。必當速去。謂此後斷不可聽甲強國團與乙強國團。縱橫捭闔。各肆陰謀。而當合各國爲一強有力之團體。爲世界和平保障。卽余與貴政府領袖晤談時。亦復意見一致。以爲和平之橐鑰。在有真實保障。而不在條約之虛文。誠以非強有力之固定團體。監視和約。則和約必無價值之可言也。此尤余所聞而欣慰。而歎爲世界未有之佳徵。

者也。

當戰事之初起也。聞有倡國際同盟之說者。大都視爲扣槃捫燭之談。以爲此種理想。實可名爲大學校生空想之一端。余聞斯言。每不勝其憤慨。蓋此大學校生一名詞。卽含有菲薄之意。而指其事之能說不能行者也。顧今則不然。世界領袖人物之富於經驗者。莫不欲實行此理想矣。人心感應。捷於桴鼓。宗旨既合。力量自雄。此非自有世界以來所未之前聞者乎。

宗旨既合
力量自雄

余既與諸君之代表。宗旨相同。故亟欲赴此事業。下一斷語。想諸君當不以爲怪也。余所尤樂爲諸君告者。則在前途障礙已清。基礎鞏固。蓋吾人今日已承認同一之主義也。此主義既經重言聲明。毫無疑義。故其應用之時。亦當無重大困難。且吾人之後。尙有世界所渴望之事焉。卽解決各

世人所期
望者不在
武力所得
之和平而
在人心合
意之和平

種擾亂之問題是也。廓清妨礙和平之危機是也。合世界正人君子。羣策羣力。以奔赴共同之目的。是也。然則吾人又胡敢不自勉也哉。

世界人民之期望和平。固已然。然其所期望者。不僅在武力所得之和平。而在人心合意之和平。余所爲遠涉重洋。與貴國人士相見者。卽爲此一大目的也。美國總統。向不得越國境一步。惟余之來此。則政府諸同僚。均能相諒。以爲責任重大。雖暫棄國內要職。亦出於不得不然。蓋余之來此。實欲竭余之智能。於人類一大事業。有所裨助。質言之。則謂此爲人類最終之事業可也。

美國政策之說明

一千九百十八年(中華民國七年)十二月三十日
英國孟哲斯特市政廳許爲自由民時之答詞

市長先生。諸貴婦及諸士紳……余更欲稱諸君爲同胞國民。諸君當亦許之。

共同利益
與共同服
務爲高尚
之友誼所
由生

諸君盛意歡迎。使余欣抃無量。余知諸君歡迎聲中。尙寓有同樣感情。以寵被余所代表之一大國民也。

英美兩大國民間。常有一種懇摯親切之友誼。余每至一處。輒覺苔岑之感。油然而生。而欲求其所以然之故。蓋友誼也。愛國心也。此非僅恃一時之客感也。必當有所根據之原則。此之原則。卽所以使吾人豐於施予而儉於責報者也。且友誼之爲物。不能僅以愛情爲根據。尤必有共同服務之心而後可。凡人之不願爲君服務者。君決不引以爲友。反之而君若不願爲彼服務。則亦非彼之友也。以共同利益導其因。而又益以共同服務之志願。此則吾人高尚之友誼所由生也。

是故自余觀之。吾人當此解決大事之時。必當奉共同利益爲吾心之信條。並當以決定何者爲吾人之共同利益。爲吾心之信條。

利益均分
主義之失
敗

共矢精誠
於天直

天職爲天
直之主要
條件

諸君皆知前此之宰制世界者。爲利益均分主義。今則此種主義亦已一敗塗地矣。利益也者。非能使人聯合。而徒使人攜貳者也。分配稍有不均。而猜忌之心起矣。其能使人同心協力。式好無尤者。祇有一事。卽共矢精誠於天直（英文 Right 含有正直公理權利諸義。舊譯權利。未能盡其義蘊。茲改從嚴譯。）是已。

自自由歷史開幕。世人無不以天直爲口頭禪者。及更歷數百年之久。始知天直之主要條件。厥惟天職。（*duty* 舊譯義務）人非盡其充分之天職。決不能享受天直也。惟天職之關係。能先得其平。而後社會之天直。亦無畸重畸輕之弊。吾人欲解剖現今時局。而知其真相。及預測未來時局。而施其搏控。捨此以外。殆別無其指導之南針矣。

美國有史以來。向不干預歐洲政治。此諸君之所審知者也。願余有欲爲

美國不願
入勢力團
體之林

志同道合
之真正聯
合

國際自覺
心

諸君正告者。則美國之在今日。亦未嘗願聞歐政。彼之所注意者。特歐美間所應共享之天直耳。

假使將來之事。僅屬一種保持世界勢力平均之新計畫。除此以外。別無其他作用。則美國必不願與聞。以美國不願入勢力團體之林也。以此之團體。非吾人之團體也。美國所注意者。則非僅歐洲之和平。而世界之和平也。

是故據余之意。吾人欲解決現今之時局。有一事焉。實爲其先決問題。而其難於措手。亦非舊時尋常之事可比。其事維何。則一志同道合之真正聯合是已。

顧難則難矣。而化難爲易之機。則亦已啓露。自世界有史以來。其國際自

一人之利
益即人人
之利益
以人之道
待人

覺心之銳敏。固未有過於今日者也。世人之困於爾詐我虞也久矣。物極則必反。故皆翻然有悔禍之心。所謂『一人之利益。即人人之利益。』與夫『以人之道視人』者。非特國家治制之正鵠。抑亦國際妥協之金科玉律矣。

人類之大聲。今已播揚寰宇。無遠勿聞。其勿聞者。必其兩耳之失聰者也。公共之良知。今已鬱極思伸。不可復抑。其強欲抑制之者。必將來歷史上不能道其誅責之罪人也。吾人所服從者。非黨派之命令。亦非政治之命令。而實人類之命令。余所以謂吾人所最爲經意之事。大率爲最無價值之事者。職是故也。

余非敢謂吾人所擬商訂之和約。能解決一切糾紛。而使其躊躇滿志也。余所望者。亦欲人注意於國界、主權、及民族精神之各種問題。而有所盡

注意國界
主權及民
族精神

糾正機關

力耳。莫謂此種問題。非一人一團體之力。所能爲正當解決也。解決縱不愜意。吾人自可起而糾正之。經隨時之糾正。而愜意之希望。亦庶幾乎可漸達矣。

吾人必當備有糾正機關。以保持善意而維護友誼。蓋友誼不能徒行。非有其所以行之之機關不可也。余若不能與君等接洽。則必不能知君等之意思。若不能與君等協力。亦必不能爲君等良友。故欲世界共敦和好。永爲友誼的團體。亦非有一友誼的機關不可。此之機關。卽所以使吾人通款曲酬酢之情者也。卽所以使吾人盡監護公益之責者也。

由是觀之。則吾人又安可不努力進行。以獲一彼此時相商榷之簡易方法乎。以如是則大事可化小事。小事可化無事。不至成燎原之勢也。余之生平。縱或與人有重大意見。顧一至晉接其人而與相談判。則所謂

人類之大敵其名爲驕

善意爲貿易之前驅商業之基礎

重大意見者。大都皆淺淺小事耳。人類之大敵。其名爲驕。人苟不染驕字之毒。而能開誠相見。殆未有不能互相聯合者。而既有此互相聯合之心。則其事已一半成功矣。

此地爲通商大埠。尤易了解此義。今有致疑於君等者。君等能與之貿易乎。又使有不信任君等者。君等能與之結工商業之關係乎。是固盡人而知其不能者也。是故善意者。貿易之前驅。商業之基礎也。而貿易則所以使世界共敦睦誼之關鍵也。

余嘗謂余之來孟哲斯特也。不啻仍居祖國。以孟哲斯特之情狀。多與美國大都會同也。吾國有某君者。性喜滑稽。嘗爲余述一故事。謂有一日。渠適就餐於俱樂部。見一人突如其來。拍其肩而語之曰。『谷雷。Culley。汝安好乎。』渠作夷然不屑狀曰。『余未嘗與君有一面緣。亦未知子何名也。』

惟子之容態。則頗熟悉耳。』

余亦未嘗知君等之名也。然君等之容態。則亦頗熟悉。且有相視而笑。莫逆於心之概。此余所以謂吾人藉商界通功易事和衷共濟之力。可以察見國際行爲之真相。較諸他人。更爲明晰也。

余所以謂孟哲斯特爲先識遠見之集中點者。其理由亦卽在此。此等人凡事能見其大。其布策設謀。斷不僅爲本城計。而能兼顧全帝國及全世界之利益。而有此遠見。則吾人之必能握手聯歡。抑可知矣。

締結一大
同盟爲人
類之良友
保天之直
勝利之友

余不勝大願。願吾儕能繩其祖武。勿墮宗風。當吾儕祖先之締正教同盟 Covenant (一六二八年、蘇格蘭長老教徒排斥監督教之同盟) 也。何等轟轟烈烈。願吾儕亦合英美法意以及世界各國。締結一大同盟。以誓爲人類之良友而保持天直之勝利。幸甚幸甚。

新時代之原則

一千九百十九年(中華民國八年)一月三日在羅馬意大利國會演說

皇帝陛下。議長閣下。

諸君。錫余以非常之光寵。余謹受不敢辭。因余信諸君以余爲一大國民之代表。故以殊榮待余也。余請藉此機會。披瀝吾美民對於意民之同情。吾人遠隔重洋。有時似情分甚疎。不相關切。但吾人之心理。則息息相通。永無此疆彼界之分。蓋美民之於意民。以種種歷史上之關繫。固久已聲應氣求。訢合無間也。及此邦人士。犯大難。蒙大苦。轟轟烈烈。奏偉績於疆場。美民見之。尤不覺其景仰之深。而因景仰之深。故其互相維繫之情。亦更爲深切焉。

且吾人之於諸君。尤有其膠結不可解之情焉。則以意民之作戰。出於崇正義衛公道之高尙主義。與美民所以作戰之主義同也。此又余所欲代

表美民。向諸君貢其誠摯之敬禮者也。

新時局之
要義

雖然、吾人不能爲戰爭所蒙蔽。而忽其所應行之事也。此事之難於措置。歷史上殆無其先例。蓋正義公道。言之匪艱。行之維艱。非世界各國。精白乃心。捐除自私自利之見。必不能達其目的也。因此之故。余願以新時局之要義。一陳於諸君之前。想諸君或亦不以爲忤耶。

巴爾幹問
題

此次大戰。有一顯著之事實。卽數大帝國之土崩瓦解是也。之數帝國者。嘗不問各民族之願意與否。而使其集合於武力威嚇與陰謀詭計之下。如巴爾幹諸邦。其困難之癥結。卽伏於此。蓋巴爾幹諸邦。卽向爲陰謀所操縱。而俯仰隨人者也。其北境之民。尤屬擾攘不安。其所以束縛而結合之者。非人民同情之感。友愛之懷也。不過一霸主之雄威耳。今者陰謀息矣。束縛解矣。然則吾人又將何以聯合此等民族。而使其相

安無擾乎。夫謂彼等無獨立之經驗。固也。然今則不可不聽其獨立。彼等應設何種政府。決無旁人置喙之餘地。斯固吾人所共認之主義也。惟吾人既爲彼等之朋友。亦不可不盡其爲友之義務。凡可以保護彼等而使其互相維繫者。吾人固不宜稍惜其力也。

除武力而外。其能結合各民族者。祇有一道。卽友誼與善意是已。人類賴友誼而結合。國家亦何嘗不賴友誼而結合。是以吾人在巴黎之職務。端在組織世界友誼。使正義公道自由所由造成之道德勢力。得以團結爲一。而成一世界人民所心誠悅服之重要機關。換言之。則吾人今日。無異欲創一國際之新心理。而使世界涵濡於新空氣之下矣。然則其職務之重大爲何如耶。

組織世界
的友誼使
正義公道
自由所由
造成之道
德勢力得
一以團結
爲

余所樂爲諸君告者。則余與貴國及法英兩國要人晤談之際。咸覺有此

阻力不足
以挫勇氣
反足鼓決
勝之心

以完全團
結之國際
同盟代勢
力平均

種空氣之吸集是也。彼等咸有執行公道建設友誼之志願。並有根據正義以締造和平之志願。夫吾人既有此共同之宗旨。則縱有阻力。亦何足懼。但出力以戰勝之可耳。蓋阻力之爲物。一遇勇士。非特不足挫其勇氣。反足以鼓其決勝之心也。此吾人所以當以戰勝阻力自豪。而勿爲其所懾者也。

吾人皆知此後斷不容再有所謂勢力平均者。蓋勢力平均一物。前已試行。彼之自身。尙不能保其平均。復何能爲人事之權衡乎。是故吾人不可不有一物以代之。今各大國之空氣中。處處皆有以完全團結之國際同盟。代勢力平均之思想。此余所爲欣慰不置者也。人事之變遷。其勢甚迫。初以爲空談理想者。未幾則成爲實事。且爲必要之事矣。新時代今方開幕。余知此時代中之新政治家。當能爲人類造福。以進於所努力期成之

新水平線也。

國際同盟之必要

一千九百十九年（中華民國八年）一月二十五日在巴黎講和大會演說

議長先生

頃荷諸君嘉許。得在本會提議國際同盟一案。實爲無上榮幸。吾人相聚於斯。目的有二。一則解決因戰事而發生之現局。一則於解決現局以外。籌議一維持世界和平之永久方法是也。以余觀之。此二目的。皆以國際同盟爲關鍵。今日所待解決者。多爲複雜問題。和會縱解決之。恐難達最終之目的。有於解決以後。當隨時覆議者。有於定議以後。當酌量修正者。蓋據余研究所及。有許多問題。今尙未能得確切之判斷也。

因此之故。吾人不可不設一機關。以成本會所未竟之功。蓋吾人相集於此。不能僅以解決現今時局爲盡其能事也。尤當一顧世界輿論。而自審

和會之目
的解決
因戰事而
發生之現
局二籌議
維持世界
和平之永
久方法

和會非政
府之代表
而人民之
代表

其所處之地位。質言之。則吾人非政府之代表。而人民之代表是也。然則徒使政府滿意。固無濟於事。而非有以副人類之公意不可矣。此戰至凶極猛。故各交戰國之負擔。亦非常之鉅。彼前敵戰士之斷脰絕頸。無論矣。卽國內之婦孺老弱。其受戰爭之害而傾家毀產者。亦幾罄筆難書。雖政府未能顧念及此。然人類之良心。則安能漠然無動者。吾人來此媾和。亦受此等人之命令。爲其謀一確保安全之法。以免將來之戰禍耳。實則彼輩當時所以犧牲一切。忍受戰爭之苦痛者。其理由亦卽在此。蓋彼輩固望戰局旣終。爲其代表之人。必能一堂把晤。思患豫防。使彼輩不致受第二次之犧牲也。

是以吾人尊嚴之義務。端在規定永久辦法。使公道得以大伸。和平得以維持。而吾人會議之主旨。亦卽在此。雖會議所解決者。僅屬暫時辦法。然

科學之破
壞文明

各國主張公道擁護和平之行爲。則必應悠久而長存。蓋吾人雖不能作悠久之判決。未始不可作悠久之進行也。然則其進行之道將奈何。曰。是亦在吾人盡其能力。以監視世界問題而已。試舉一事以證之。夫謂科學上之發見。試驗室之研究。與夫課堂中所極深研幾之問題。均可用以破壞文明。此豈非駭人聞聽之事。然在今日。則竟已實現矣。如吾人所甫經戰勝之德人。非夙以研究科學著稱。而用其所得。以肆其一網打盡之破壞手段者乎。此後欲使科學與武士。感受文化羈勒。而不肆破壞之謀。亦在吾人永久協力以監視之耳。

如實言之。此事之關切於美國者。本不如其他與會諸國之深。以美國幅員之廣漠。海岸之遼闊。縱使有敵來侵。其受害亦不如他邦之烈。其所以熱心此事者。不過爲盡力於國際社會計。欲實現此次戰爭所覺悟之理

美國無干
涉世界政
治之思想

歐洲解決
與世界和
平有密切
之關係

國際同盟
當爲活潑
有生氣之
一物

監察各國
公益之眼
目

想耳。初非出於畏禍防患之心也。美國自參戰以來。從未作干涉歐洲亞洲或世界他處政治之想。彼之所置念者。則以爲世界之在今日。必已志同道合。知人類雖有種族國界之殊。而其衛公道求自由之目的。則惟一而不可分也。若所與聞者。僅屬歐洲解決事件。則美國將覺其致力於戰爭者爲徒勞矣。且歐洲之解決。與世界和平有密切之關係者也。故欲擔保歐洲之解決。亦非合各國之力。監視世界和平不可。若僅僅擔保歐洲之解決耶。則美國亦何必參預其事哉。

是故據余之意。吾人必當集其最佳之判斷力。務使國際同盟。爲活潑有生氣之一物。有時急難相需。固可藉此物以鼓勇氣。籌應付。而尤當時時盡其監視之職。以顧全各國之利益。且其繼續也。亦當爲有生氣之繼續。使其監視工作之能。無一息間斷。設譬以明之。則國際同盟者。實一監察

各國公益之眼目。橫覽世界。遠矚遐荒。而不容偶一停瞬者也。

設吾人不盡其力。使此國際同盟。具有生氣者。則人民必致失望。以人民所期望者。實祇此一事也。自余渡海來遊。亦嘗歷訪諸邦。由各代表而得知人民之公意矣。其最切之希望。殆無不在國際同盟者。此誠余所大爲欣慰者也。諸君須知時至今日。彼居高位席優勢者。已非復人類之統治人。其能具操縱人類運命之權者。惟全世界之平民耳。故爲諸君計。亦當副其所望。不僅以締結和約爲能事。非然者。吾恐雖有辦法。亦終無以奠世界之和平也。

惟全世界
之平民能
具操縱人
類命運之
權

國際同盟
爲全局之
骨幹

美國代表所以擁護此國際同盟之大計畫者。其意思若何。諸君當能想象得之。蓋據吾人之意。國際同盟。實爲全局之骨幹。美民所藉以表示參戰之宗旨與觀念者。惟此。各國所認爲解決時事之根據者。亦惟此也。設

世界人民
當使從其
自己所願
以自擇其
主而定其
自己之命
運
戰禍之根
一政權私
相授受
二大國侵
陵小國
三以武力
建設帝國

余等過返祖國。而不盡力以求此事之實現。則在理必當受美民之詰責。誠以美民爲一平民政治之團體也。彼等所望於領袖者。在能代其發言。所望於代表者。在能爲其公僕。然則余輩亦祇能服從彼等之命令而已。又詎有其遲迴避就之途耶。

然余等之服從此命令也。實出於真摯悅服之誠。非有所強迫而然也。且余等知此事爲全局骨幹。故於其組織之條款。無不竭誠擁護。不敢有一字之遷就。如世界之和平。公道之態度。與夫吾人非人主而爲人僕。道在使世界人民。各從其自己所願以自擇其主。而定其自己之命運。皆國人所以詔告吾人之主義。余等所不敢讓步者也。而余等之來此。則在使此次戰禍之根。一一殲除。所謂戰根者何。卽（一）文武政權。私相授受。（二）大國侵陵小國。（三）以武力威脅不願受治之民。建設帝國。（四）少數人

用其強權。使世界從其志願。而以人民爲芻狗是也。此等禍根不除。則世界決無和平之望。美國代表所以勉任其難。不敢苟且者。亦以此爲國民所以詔示彼輩之主義。無一條件。有變更遷就之餘地耳。而各國胸襟高尚之人。來此與會者。亦皆認此等條件。爲解決時事之方針。此則吾人所當感謝上蒼者也。

議長先生。君亦知吾人採用國際同盟之原則。而決計實行之時。彼世人聞之。其心中所引爲憂慮者。將釋其大半乎。吾人今日。實處特殊之地位。當余之遊行於貴國市街也。每逢身衣美國軍服之人。此等人於余等發表宗旨以後。始趨入戰場。其急公好義之心。正與當年十字軍同。蓋不僅欲求戰爭之勝利。而欲求主義之勝利者也。而余實對於彼等而負責。因余既宣布宗旨。趣彼等作戰。則將其作戰之宗旨。編爲具體辦法。使有着

落。在余固責無旁貸也。故余之地位。亦與美軍相同。當爲擁護此等宗旨之十字軍。無論出何代價。盡何勞力。必當完成國人所奮力以求之目的。夫此事之今日。固已吾道不孤。同志之士。所在皆是。顧余猶鄭重以申明之者。亦不過欲使在會諸公。知與歐洲及東方政局略無關係如余等者。所以認此案爲時局關鍵之理由。與議長以宏通公溥之心。諉余提議此案之故耳。質言之。則余等提此議案。非敢謂惟余等能代表此主義。而實以得與君等共同代表此主義爲榮幸也。

余之所言。不過藉以表示余等所由熱心主張本案之根據耳。實則往古之覆轍。人類之同情。其可以爲本案之根據者。尤更僕難數。全世界之良知。固已勃發而不可抑止矣。

宣讀國際同盟草案

一千九百十九年（中華民國八年）二月十四日在巴黎講和大會演說

議長先生

十四國代
表同意之
草案

余得以媾和大會所組成之委員會名義。向諸君報告國際同盟之組織計畫。實屬榮幸之至。此項報告。係經美、英、法、意、日、比、巴西、中國、捷克斯拉夫、希臘、波蘭、葡萄牙、羅馬尼亞、塞爾維亞十四國代表之同意而成立。故余若得諸君許可。認此爲吾人所應造成之惟一報告而宣讀之。必能有裨實事。爲公衆所利賴。

至此，威氏遂宣讀草案。及讀至第十五條第二節有句云。『倘任何一方面有不服時。行政院應提議必要方法。使其主張發生効力。』威氏停頓作一解釋曰。『今假定某國有地一方。或其他實體之物。發生主權上之爭議時。其時外交方法。已無効力。則必將此案提出行政院請其判斷。而或所斷適爲原告方面所勝。被告則敗。則行政院當設必要

方法。使敗訴一方面。服從該院之判決。』

威氏讀至第十九條時。又停頓發言曰。『本條未加入以前。曾經五大國代表詳細討論。及一致同意後。始行成立云。』

及讀畢全文。威氏乃繼續演說如下……

吾人所慘淡經營之大約章。余已正式讀畢矣。願余尤有樂爲諸君告者。則當本委員會討論此案之時。不特具有最高之建設性質。且氣象甚佳。足以鼓人興會而增前途之樂觀是也。

當吾人之討論本案也。中有數問題。於其所以達到目的之方法。見解偶殊。固所不免。至對於所期達之目的。則大都意見從同。無十分之歧異。吾人雖因互相辯論。致無表示熱誠之機會。然每次開會。實以誠敬真摯之心。恪恭將事。此則余之所敢斷言。且敢決其他委員。亦皆具有同感者也。

表示和會
最高尙最
重要之目

共同目的
之聯合意
志

夫吾人受媾和大會之委託而草此約章。其責任詎輕易也哉。蓋所以表示本會最高尙最重要之目的之一也。未來世界之能萬衆一心。尊重公理。無危疑不穩之象。與各國團體之能和衷共濟。以高尚信條。國際義務。維持和平。皆非於草案中未雨繆綢。有確實之保障不可。其責任既如是之重。故吾人亦志不旁鶩。日以籌畫一盡善之法。完成此大目的爲事。今者草案告成。居然能收一致同意之結果。此誠吾人所視爲萬幸者矣。會議之代表。凡十四國。此十四國中。有爲便宜計。稱之曰大國者。而其餘諸國。亦各極其國情之殊異。利害之不同。此余所以認本案之結果。有至深之意義者也。質言之。則本案實一共同目的之聯合意志。具有不可抵抗之優勢。且無論何國。可決其不敢肆抵抗之謀者也。至於本草案之性質。則宣讀之時間雖長。而命意實極簡單。一言以蔽之。

國際同盟
以代表團
行政院與
永久秘書
廳組織之

代表團之
性質

每國各有
一代表決權
其代表則
以三人爲
限

日。國際同盟。以一代表團。一行政院。與一永
久祕書廳組織之而已。

當吾人議及代表團之性質時。咸知今日有一種感覺。業已寰宇風行。無
遠勿屆。此之感覺。余可得爲諸君述之。蓋今日出席於此會者。皆各國政
府之代表。卽余亦爲政府代表之一。然世人之意。則早已不滿於政府代
表之指導矣。吾人得各方面消息。咸謂此國際同盟之審議機關。苟僅以
代表各政府之官吏組織之。難保其不蹈官場之積習。鑄成大錯。然欲組
織一巨大複雜之議會。以副代表全世界人民之眞際。其事殊難於措手。
吾人會集此堂。以約數計之。所代表之人民。殆在十二萬萬以上。試問由
十二萬萬之人民。組織一代議機關。勢又詎能辦到。然若令每政府派一
員二員或三員之代表。則其事較易。蓋每國雖祇有一投票權。而其所派

代表。則不僅可隨時變更。且可全體改選。以一新其職志也。（中間無線電文意義含糊）

代表機關
具有複雜
性質

代表團有
無限制之
討論權

確保代表
團之平民
權力

以全世界
之道德勢
力為國際
同盟之後
援

是故據吾人之意。世人之欲開放門戶。使代表機關具複雜性質。而不限於少數官吏之手。實為普通平正之主張。蓋官吏之所為。往往不能信任也。而吾人之承認此主張而容納之。亦自謂合於杜漸防微之理。諸君讀此約章。將見代表團之對於國際問題。享有無限制之討論權。其關於戰爭、國際誤會、或足以引起危禍爭端之事。尤衆意僉同。認為人人切己之問題。誠以此等問題。每足害世界之和平也。且吾人以欲代表團確具平民權力故。立法尤不厭求詳。當一事發生。呈交行政院時。並非請求公斷。不過欲其互相討論耳。凡爭議之任何一方。有不服行政院之主張者。均可將原案撤回。付代表團大會公決。因經過此一機關。則吾人可恃一大

本約之武裝勢力

約文之簡單

勢力爲後援也。此之勢力。爲全世界輿論所成之道德勢力。自能深入人心。無思不服。從此陰謀無遁跡之區。詭計有發爆之日。一切非光天化日之下所能容者。今加以全世界訶責之光。則其醜愈彰而頃刻消滅矣。本約章固亦有武裝勢力。隱在後方。所謂備而不用者也。設道德勢力無濟於事。吾人自不得不借助於物質勢力。然亦必俟萬不得已時。始一用之。誠以本約章之主旨。在爲一和平之憲法。而非戰爭之盟約也。

約文之簡單。殆爲本約主要性質之一。蓋就余個人而論。此後國際同盟所待應付之情形。錯綜蕃變。實不能逆料及之。因亦不能通籌全局。預設必要機關。以備種種之意外也。設譬以明之。則本約章者。並非一拘制瘋人之胸衣。(Strait-jacket) 而爲一生活之車。此生活之物。今已產生矣。惟吾人加之以衣服耳。此車非具有能力之車也。然其駕馭之人。則可在

反抗侵略
主義之確
切保障

勞動問題

此車中。將能力斟酌運用之。且依時代之變遷而運用之。

本約雖富有伸縮之性。其條文亦但具概要。然有一事。則固定而不可移易。卽此約爲和平主義之確切保障。爲世界反抗侵略主義之確切保障。務使此次所遭世界文明幾於全局淪陷之巨禍。不至覆轍重尋是也。其目的業已公佈。無一刻之虛浮。其權力亦明白規定。無模糊影響之弊。蓋此非僅一取締世界和平之同盟。凡一切國際事件。均可藉此同盟。協力以解決之矣。

勞動問題之規定。所關亦至重要。勞動之狀況。可以協議談判之法改良者甚多。若本同盟所擬籌設之勞動局。一旦成立。余敢料其必大有效用也。夫勞動界之男女幼童。其屏伏於隱蔽之地而爲人所忽視也久矣。其政府則爾詐我虞。各施其裨闔縱橫之策。其政治家則長慮卻顧。用心於

勞動界將
受各國聯
合保護

國際條約
之公佈

商業財政諸大端。勞動問題。遂無人注意及之者。然設余之所見而可信。則勞動界之大團體。實已由隱蔽之地。進入前方。此等男女幼童。日擔維持世界之大責任。終日勤動。倦而後眠。迨醒時仍無活動之希望。無論出於吾人之故意與否。而事實要是如此。今後則此等人將入國際討論之範圍。而受各國政府聯合之保護矣。吾人能見及於此。詎非思想上之一大進步乎。

關於國際條約之公布。亦爲本約重要之條文。嗣後會員所締條約。設未向本會祕書長存案。概不得視爲有效。且無論何人。凡代表會員一分子者。均得向祕書廳檢閱條約。而祕書長尤有將各種條約。早日公布之義務。夫各國所訂條約。一年之中。何啻

數百。設欲將無關緊要之條約立時公布。其事又何等困難。此非熟悉外交之人。殆多不知其甘苦者。且即將此種條約公布。世界多數之國。亦必等閑視之。顧事雖如此。在祕書長終不可不早日公布之也。

尤有一事。余亦認爲極堪滿意之進步。卽併吞無援助人民之問題是也。夫強國之肆其併吞也。其所藉口者。不過曰開闢

併吞無援助人民之問題
凡居於教導
訓及指國
地位之國
家必先顧
及所指導
之民族之
利益而後
可顧及自
國之利益

利源耳。而吾人今日。乃以最神聖之態度。承認世界孱弱未開之民族。有處於此等境遇者。必吾人先顧彼等之利益。而後可利用彼等以謀自己之利益。且此後遇有此等事件。吾國際同盟。尤當盡其監察之職。使凡居於教訓及指導地位之國家。必先顧及所指導之民族之利益及發展。而後可顧及該指

導國之利益與欲望

諸君思之。此詎非空前之大進步乎。諸君試回溯世界歷史。將見彼無援助之人民。如俎上肉。如砧中魚。時時爲不仁之強國所宰割。如此次所甫經戰敗之一國。近年以來。卽專以造成此等慘狀爲事者也。蓋該國對於殖民地之人民。每加以不堪忍受之負擔。大背正義之待遇。其所注意者。彼等之滅絕耳。非彼等之發展也。其所期望者。佔彼等之土地以供歐洲之用耳。非欲得彼等信任。以增高人類之地位也。今世界旣於法律中表示良知。反對此事。卽應將良知專注於此事。凡對於此等事曾經表示良知之國家。此後將爲世界所屬望。俾無援助之人民。受其維護。以獲見新光明。達到新希望矣。

是故據余之意。謂此約爲實際之約章也可。謂此約爲人道之保證也亦無不可。其約文中含有同情之感。而亦具有約束之功。其適於實行固也。

人道之保證

世界之良
知藉本約
以表示之

以人道主
義治理殖
民地

然其目的則不止此。尤在清宿弊。矯舊失。使世界向上而進行。據余觀察所及。則此約出世。已不免有後時之歎。蓋世界之良知。其欲藉此種方法以表示也久矣。吾人對於無告之民。夙具同情。初非自今日始。今日所爲。不過此同情之表示耳。試以此次列席於本會之各大國證之。其持人道主義以治理殖民地者。又何止一國。（據余所知。各大國無不如此。）此等殖民地之人民。文明程度。原極低劣。今則進於完全自治者已不少矣。是故此約之立。並非一種主義之發明。不過此主義之共同實行。向者諸大國秉此主義以自理國政。各不相謀。今日之約。則將諸國結合爲一。俾得羣策羣力。以經營人道主義者也。人道之決議。世人久望其成爲實事。發生效力。但前此之人。均以爲此希望之實現。爲時尙早。而今日之約。則於人道決議之應成實事。業已明白承認。此詎非大可快慰者。

乎。夫人道主義之無實力。其貽禍於世者多矣。今作惡者亦已失敗。世人知正義能得多助。則凡心懷猜忌之人。必不能生存於此四海一家之世界。而縱橫捭闔之術。亦可一掃而空。吾知人類必將相顧而致其親愛之辭曰。『吾人皆兄弟也。目的相同。前未實現。今則已實現矣。而此約則吾人友誼之保障也。』

爲同盟問題敬告美民

一千九百十九年（中華民國八年）三月四日
在紐約京報劇場國際同盟協會演說

國民諸君

非俟大功
成誓不歸
故里

美民大多
數贊助同
盟

頃者所奏樂曲。有『非俟大功成。誓不歸故里』之辭。余敢不拜受嘉訓。然余爲和平計。爲世界計。尤欲禱籲上蒼。冀大功早日告成。

余所欲持告大西洋彼岸之人者。其第一事。卽爲美民大多數皆贊助國際同盟。余知此事甚爲的確。蓋余聆國中各方面之言論。已詢謀僉同。毫

無疑義。如樂音之字字皆真也。

塔孚脫之
同意

余得在今晚盛會中登壇演說。實爲無上榮幸。又得追隨塔孚脫 Taft 先生之後。爲此一大事盡力。私心尤覺快慰。塔君宗旨之高尙。與其急公爲國之熱誠。業已表著於世。無待贊揚。今亦贊成此舉。亦可知此非一黨之私事矣。質直言之。則此一大事。無論何黨。不得居爲己功。亦無論何黨。不敢出而反抗者也。

吾人聆頃間之演說。於國際同盟所擬條約。業已剴切詳明。備知大要。故是約內容如何。可無俟余再爲喋喋。余所欲爲諸君言者。則此約規定之經過耳。

余生平所受觀感。未有如此次委員會之深者。此會爲和平大會所立。擔國際同盟條約起草之責任。其組織此會相與商榷討論者。則爲十四國

同盟條規
起草會員
之觀感

文明世界
之聯合

中歐帝國
之野心

之代表。此十四國之代表。初非少不更事之人。凡皆於本國政情世界大勢。饒有經驗者也。以與會之人。皆針芥相投。抱同一之宗旨。故每次開會。必有一種至誠動人之勢力。隱相策勵。使對於此文明世界之聯合。表示同意。且表示實際有效力之同意焉。

吾人所以羣策羣力。感奮於不能自己者。有所據之信心焉。且此之信心。非僅僅一種之信心焉。其信心維何。則凡與會之人。咸知非盡力此事。將無以歸見國人而告無罪是已。

此大宗旨而萬一失敗者。其結果如何。塔孚脫先生業已明示諸君矣。吾人所以經年累月。受戰禍之苦者。徒以中歐帝國懷抱野心故。亦已既聞其詳矣。彼中歐帝國所製地圖。欲以爲其戰勝之塗徑者。吾人且親見之矣。此地圖中所劃路線。卽所謂自柏林至白格達 Baghdad 之榦線者。

君等亦知其在地乎。頃塔君所指各處。均在此線範圍之內。固矣。顧猶不止此。蓋完全之奧匈帝國。亦此線所經過之地也。夫奧匈帝國。詎非德之同盟。理當尊重其領土完全者乎。庸詎知其地即爲德人勝利之路線所從出耶。又如土耳其帝國。詎非德人所引爲同利害共患難者乎。庸詎知其地又適當德人所欲蹂躪之衝耶。

勝利之國
當爲各民
族保固遺
產

顧今則何如。奧匈帝國。業已土崩瓦解矣。土耳其帝國。亦成歷史上之陳跡矣。此次勝利。既爲民族解放之結果。故奏此勝利之國家。不可不以信託人自任。爲此等民族保固遺產。否則不僅以一孱弱民族。孤立於此路線之中。其勢滋險。行見各民族仍爲陰謀之毒種所播植。而滋蔓難圖耳。而國際同盟。則即以防此陰謀。爲其主旨之一端。蓋陰謀之爲物。決不能立於公開之地。但使國際同盟。能爲一平民政治之大團體。其力已足以

與世界和平相關之
問題決不
能逃審查
討論之手
續

殄滅陰謀而有餘也。

據國際同盟條約所規定。則凡與盟各國。對於認爲足以擾亂世界和平之事件。皆可以友誼之權利。請求注意。其事件之發生於何地。所弗計也。從此以後。無論何問題。凡與世界和平有關者。將決不能逃審查討論之手續。而余因此又不禁追憶德人之往事。蓋德人之侵略塞爾維亞。設能許世界各國。爲一星期之討論。斷不至構成戰禍也。余意如此。想今日在會諸君。當亦與有同情耳。

當德人之啓釁也。英國外交部。不嘗欲延緩期間。俾歐洲各國代表。得以開會討論。謀一解決之法乎。顧德人則並一日之討論期。而不敢許之。於是世界各國。咸知德人之不法。一倡百和。合爲大羣。而德人遂爲衆矢之的矣。

國際同盟
爲對一般
不法之警
告

歐洲政治
家無遠見

若德人於開戰之前。知英國將仗義執言。援助法俄者。則彼決不敢冒此大險。此事理甚明。無容疑議者也。而國際同盟。則無異對於一般不法國。普下警告。使知若有同等企圖出現。則不特英國。凡美國及世界各國。均將出而懲儆之。然則此同盟之締結。亦不過欲使世界用寶貴之血以擁護之之標準。永永維持於不敝而已。又寧有他意也哉。

吾人之出組同盟也。實動於奧匈帝國及土耳其帝國之被解放之民族。呼籲祈請之誠。非出於政治家之協議也。今日之歐洲。以政治家無遠見。故已成麻木不仁之景象。其能具此遠見者。惟平民耳。蓋人必身受其害。而後見事始明。彼等既受惡行之荼毒。故亦知正義與公道之可貴也。此等民族。或遭奧人之蹂躪。或被德人之積威。或受土耳其之虐政。其呼籲於世。以謀得公道。獲解放。求援助者。蓋不知其幾何世矣。然世界各國

謀大改革
出於人民
求自由之
向上心
抨擊同盟
者昧於世
界心理之
趨勢

之內閣。則均充耳不聞也。

彼私人團體。與夫痼瘵在抱之善男子善女人。固亦有惠解囊金。以振救此惇而無告之民者矣。顧迄未聞有一國警告彼負責之國家曰。『爾宜速止。此事爲情理所不能容。吾輩決不許爾』者。則甚矣遠見之爲物。惟平民乃有之也。

邦人諸友。此一提案。卽余所欲諸君加以思考者也。

凡謀大改革所必要之遠見。其出於國家之上層社會者常少。而出於多數人民求自由之向上心者常多。吾人爲此大舉。今尙有人肆其抨擊。余實無以解之。亦祇能視此等妄肆抨擊之人。昧於世界心理之趨勢而已。居今之世。竟有不知世界大勢之人。余雖不以爲懼。終不能不引以爲異。此等人直不知現代人類心理爲何物。然他人則無不知之矣。余不知彼

輩閉置於何地。竟至墮聰塞明。余不知彼輩受何種之魔障。竟至盲目盲心。余所知者。則彼輩與人類思潮相隔絕而已。故余在今日。不能不提出莊嚴之警告。抑此之警告。並非恐嚇手段。以世界之勢力。固不在恐嚇而在其實際之功用也。以世界之大潮流。固非單獨進行。而有其橫厲無前之力。使抗此潮流之人。屈服而不能自支也。質言之。則世界之良心。今已醒悟。決不可不使其滿意是也。

世界之良
心今已醒
悟

歐民所覺
悟之根本
原因

勿謂歐人之所以心感不平者。全出於經濟的基礎或經濟的動機也。彼其所根據者。蓋有較深於此者矣。彼輩見政府之不能保障人民。杜陰謀侵略之禍患。又見現代內閣。無一有防止陰謀侵略之遠見或原則。於是乃不得不尋其根本原因矣。如國家孤立無助。或以各懷猜忌之小團體。互相反對。實足以產生偏見。增加戰禍。而不能籌防止戰禍之方法。又如

國家之立不在顯名而在保護首之威名而在保其國之男女兒童
亞美利加之立國方針
歐人之希望

設世界而有正義有公道者。則擁護此正義與公道之國家。必不當各分畛域。皆彼輩所覺悟之根本原因也。

於是彼輩乃起而發言曰。設爾果謂戰禍之當弭者。則爾斷不能專顧各國互競之利益。而當顧及全世界之男女及兒童。

夫國家之所以立者。豈徒用縱橫捭闔之策。以顯元首之名威已哉。亦爲居於其國之男女兒童。保安樂謀繁昌耳。是故無論何國。斷無奪人類公益以徇其私利之權。而吾人所摯愛之美國。則尤不當有此。

蓋美國之立。實所以爲人類謀公益者也。實所以表示愛自由之人最高之熱情者也。今之世界。均深信而攸賴之。設吾人一旦自棄其立國之方針。不將使世界各國大失所望者哉。

國民諸君。余之欲以歐人真正之希望。報告於友朋之小團體。或較大之

團體者屢矣。然實告諸君。余殊無其報告之能力。蓋方余之思想。欲表見於言語之際。而此思想上之深邃之情緒。已障蔽而阻抑之。以致言語不能發表也。余今所感覺者。則此等無告之民希望之悲劇而已。

凡希望之不能完全實現者。謂之悲劇。然余則於悲劇之外。有一更爲迫切之感覺。以爲凡具有生氣之人。均不可不各竭其力。以保此希望之不致失敗。蓋人類若經此次流血之慘禍。猶不能合力以支配世界之大事。則勢必再陷於戰爭時代。及再陷於戰爭時代。則既無希望之心。亦無惻隱之懷矣。凡天下無希望心之地。決不能有惻隱心。以君等若自身猶岌岌不保。則斷無當顧惜他人之理也。以君等若自身不能得人哀憐。則斷無哀憐他人之必要也。以君等若自身猶受人虐待。則斷不能責君等以公道待人也。

無希望心
之人決無
惻隱心

尤有一事。彼抨擊國際同盟者。似亦未嘗留意。卽吾美渡海之好男兒。所具活潑氣象是也。余一念及此等人之光榮。每不覺引以自豪。誠以照憲法所規定。余固彼輩之統帥也。當吾人之參戰也。實以一種宣言爲基礎。而此種宣言。則余實發表之。故私心尤屬欣幸。蓋余固確信彼輩能代表美民之鵠的及理想者也。是故彼輩之赴歐。實以實現此種理想。爲神聖之義務。非僅僅爲征服德意志計。亦非僅僅爲向一特殊之不法國。尋仇洩憤計。質直言之。則彼輩之所以渡越三千哩之海洋者。不過欲使歐洲人知無論何處。設人類之權利而遭挫辱。則吾美國人必將不辭跋涉。而施其匡助之勞而已。

是故彼輩之赴歐。決不當靜坐戰壕。安然不動。亦決不當因歐洲統兵官之小心謹慎。而受其拘束。

美軍以精
神勢力戰
勝敵軍

吾美軍之赴歐。爲實行一大事起義也。而彼輩赴歐以後。亦果能實行之。自彼輩以勇往之精神。勇往之體魄。與敵軍相接觸。敵軍卽着着敗退。至戰局告終而後已。吾國民諸君聽諸。夫彼敵軍之所以着着敗退者。豈徒懼吾美勇少年之物質勢力哉。亦美軍強毅不屈之精神勢力。有以戰勝之耳。敵軍所感覺者。惟此精神勢力。敵軍所畏憚者。惟此精神勢力。故自敵軍視之。若吾美國少年得一立足地者。則彼等必不能再得之。是以凡美軍之所得地。無一寸一尺。非人類自由之永久勝利品。而其所以得奏勝利者。則亦惟此精神勢力也。

夫吾美國少年之赴歐參戰。其具爲人類服務之豪俠精神。而不以克敵戰勝爲榮。旣爲吾人所審知矣。然則爲余計。又詎可不振作精神。以期不負彼輩。且不負彼輩之主義者哉。余於演說開端。不嘗云『非俟大功成。

非全世界
有永久和
平之保障
不得謂之
成功

歐洲政治
家態度已
變

誓不歸故里』乎。實則此語之深意。恐諸君猶未盡解。蓋據余之意。非全世界各國均有永久和平之保障。即不得謂之成功也。設大西洋此岸之人。而能與大西洋彼岸之人。時通款曲者。其得益必非淺鮮。蓋吾人平日見解。每以爲歐洲有經驗之政治家。均是一種腦筋過敏之人。何謂腦筋過敏。即凡事均持悲觀是已。彼輩之恆言曰。『此世界爲實際之世界。』所謂實際世界者。即非理想世界之謂也。即不信天下之事。能以理想之基礎爲解決之謂也。此非吾美民測度歐洲政治家之言耶。

以上所言。宜若可信。蓋余前此。亦未嘗與歐洲政治家爲親切之接洽也。然彼輩從前縱常作此想。今則已不作此想矣。彼輩平日縱持此態度。今則因戰爭之可畏。與將來結局之重要。業已表示屈服矣。就余此次在巴

和約無國
際同盟爲
後盾必無
效力

國際同盟
爲和約之
線索

黎所接晤之人而言。殆無不以爲除簽名和約外。尙有其應爲之事。非於此事已經盡力而貿然歸國。若於良知上有所過不去者。蓋此次參預議和之人。咸知其所訂和約。設無如國際同盟之大組織。以盾其後而助之力。則和約自身。決無效力之可言。如頃聞塔孚脫先生所云云也。

當各代表之初赴和會也。亦頗疑國際同盟之未必能成。然咸以爲同盟若一旦告成。則於保和約各部分之效力。必將有無上之價值。而待至和約成立而歸。則居於大西洋此岸之人。將不僅見和約之中。有國際同盟存在。且將見國際同盟。實爲和約之線索而不可分離。強欲分之。勢非燬壞其全體不可。蓋和平之組織。若無國際同盟以貫注之。必至全無生氣也。試問誰又願遠涉重洋而拖一死屍以歸哉。

有數種之批評。實爲余所不惑不解。非不解其批評之言論也。批評之言

美國不能
援助世界
名譽上將
大受損失

溫和之報
復

論。縱全無理由。余猶可以解之。所不解者。則今日猶有批評國際同盟之事耳。人必生於世界空氣之內。獨彼批評家則不然。余誠不解其何以能生存也。

余不解彼輩之生存於世。何以能不與時事相接觸也。余尤不解彼輩身爲美國人。竟欲持過於謹慎之私利主義。到底不懈也。彼輩之批評。無寬洪之意見也。無建設之提議也。其爲余所累聞者。不過曰『吾人援助世界。其事滋險』而已。庸詎知吾人而不援助世界。且將受一致命之傷哉。設吾人而不助世界者。則向之以世界最有名譽最有力量之國自豪者。因此且立降爲最可輕鄙之國。是故人雖告余以美民贊助同盟。而余實無煩其相告。以余亦一美民。固深知美民之必能贊助也。

吾人對於世界。蓋已爲溫和之報復矣。彼輩不嘗譏笑吾人耶。彼輩不嘗

謂吾人不能礪守其宗旨耶。當一九一八年四月以前。彼輩猶作此想。蓋彼輩固不料吾人於派遣少數兵士以外。能出大力以援助彼輩也。及見吾美兵之渡海。累萬盈千。爭先恐後。又見吾美兵抵岸以後。踴躍從公。義不返顧。於是彼輩乃態度一變。驚訝而言曰。『此事乃果真乎。此國乃誠爲人類之友。不負其向所期許之言乎。』而彼輩態度既變以後。所發生之熱心之希望。之對於將來之信任。則非言語之所能形容矣。

就美民之個人而言。其十中之九。大都自適己事。專顧私利。然就美民之團體而言。則雖殺身以殉其主義。亦所甘心。所謂溫和之報復。非他。卽吾人既篤信正義。則必有爲正義而擲最高之犧牲之決心是已。此最高之犧牲。爲吾人幸福計。亦爲全世界人之幸福計也。頃者塔孚脫先生。不啻論及華盛頓所言外交聯合之糾紛乎。據余鄙見。塔君之解釋。可謂深得

爲正義擲
最高之犧牲

眞意。今人曲解雖多。然諸君若細玩華盛頓之言。則必將見除此以外。不能有他種解釋。蓋華盛頓所渴望之一事。卽吾人今日所欲貢獻於世之一事也。其事維何。則以一種協定。解除全世界外交聯合之糾紛是也。個人本無糾紛事也。其所以陷入糾紛者。因持私利主義以與他人相聯合故耳。國家亦本無糾紛事也。其所以受拘攣束縛之苦者。因聯合甲國以反對乙國故耳。而國際同盟。則能將各種聯合之糾紛。盡行解除之。以照同盟條約之規定。無論何國。不得違反盟約而與他國生任何關係也。凡與盟諸國。皆允不結協約。皆允不再作爾詐我虞之聯合。皆允此後祇許有一種聯合。而此之聯合。則世界各國之聯合。以共敵作惡不義之國家者也。是故余之重渡海洋。以賡續舊職。實挾新生之勇氣以俱行。美民平日之精神。余固未嘗忘之。顧自歸國以來。重相把晤。而余之精神。乃益

有振作日新之象。余初亦不知余良好之家庭。作何感想。及余歸國以後。乃恍然知其故矣。

美民之感
情無待解
釋

凡能增人快感之地。必其地之事物。無待於解釋者也。而美民之感情。則尤無解釋之必要。余之此語。卽指美民對於根本大事而言。夫人之對於政策也。意見不同。固所恆有。有時其不同之政策。或極爲合理。有時且不同之判斷。紛出不窮。然此非感情之不同也。亦非目的之不同也。又非觀念之不同也。而以君等遇事無待解釋。故一聞有人妄作曲解。卽能立辨其誤。此其得益。又詎淺鮮也哉。

昔有於邊荒之地。得一講真話之人者。然此人未嘗講真話也。惟果聞真話。則彼固能傳述之耳。而余對於抨擊之言論。亦可作如是觀。雖議論紛紜。浮言蠶起。余之腦中。實未稍留印象。以國中無傳達此種議論之媒介。

和局之進步

參預和議之人爲一種集合勢力

惟正義能亙古常存

也。以國人一致之感情。均反對此種狹隘自利之見解也。所願彼好作抨擊之人。能與國人交通。以化除錮蔽之私耳。

然則將來之局面果如何乎。據余之意。則前途景象甚佳。大可使吾人告慰。自余歸國以後。屢得巴黎好消息。知彼中應付各種難題。業已大有進步。而從此以往。和會中之解決各事。必將更爲捷速。則又余之所深信而不疑者也。

此猶就余已知之事而言也。然尤有一事。亦爲余之所深信。所信維何。則此次參預和議之人。實爲一種集合勢力。任至何地。常存勿失。及彼輩所尋得之宗旨之集合體。與理想之集合體。其範圍之廣。將出於彼輩預期之外是也。且此之勢力。錯綜蕃變。故其交互作用中。常有一種向上運動。循正義之目的而進行。人類之在今日。已知世界之能亙古常存者。除正

義外。別無他物。故凡謬誤之解決。其勢斷難持久。縱使暫時成立。人類之精神。亦必將起而反對之。而此人類之精神。則今已嚴裝待發矣。

當余之遊意大利也。嘗有一羣跛足傷兵來訪。余當時頗不能測其用意。及既相見。所言乃極爲簡單。蓋彼輩向余上國際同盟請願書。而其受傷之肢體。則所以擁護同盟之惟一證據也。此種簡單之要求。卽余所欲盡力以助成之。而使後世子孫。不再受同等之犧牲者也。

此種要求。余在歐洲各都會市街中。蓋時時遇之。余嘗聞羣衆之呼籲矣。其所呼籲者非他。則國際同盟也。此等人頭腦簡單。於同盟之進行。何嘗有特別見解特別辦法。然其心中之意。則固可以想象得之。卽既以全世界之人類合爲大羣。必將有其產生之結果是也。

設吾人而旅行歐洲之鄉間者。必將有衰年老婦。持花相贈。夫吾人不過

大西洋外之遠客耳。亦何必贈之以花者。其所以如此者亦因吾人負友誼與希望之使命耳。以遠道之良朋。忽與以極大之希望。彼輩心焉感之。故以此花略表謝忱。然則吾人又詎有使其失望之理。吾亞美利加人識諸。來日匪遙。此次以必要之犧牲。合腕力與道德力爲一。以保障公理。而爲全世界之各等人盡力。他年回思往事。必有理得心安。欣慰不置者。願上帝賜吾人以力量。願上帝賜吾人以遠見。俾得善用其力量。尤願上帝賜吾人以智慧。俾知吾人之所以爲此。不過因吾人爲真正之亞美利加人故。不過因吾人葆愛自由實行正義故。固不必問其所出之代價如何也。

附國際同盟條約草案

一九一九年中華民國八年二月
十四日在巴黎媾和大會宣讀

緒言 署名本約之列強。爲承認不用戰爭之義務。規定各國間公允榮譽之交誼。確立

以國際公法爲各政府間行爲正規之了解。維持公道與彼此交際中對於各種條約義務之尊重。以增進國際之協助。並鞏固國際之和平起見。採用此國際同盟之約章。

第一條 各締約國依據本約條例之行爲。由代表各該國之代表團之集會。及由行政議會、與設立於同盟會所在地點之永久國際祕書廳之時時集會而發生效力。

第二條 代表團之會議。應在規定期間舉行。并得依時勢之需要。隨時舉行。以辦理同盟會行爲範圍內之事件。代表團之會議。應在同盟會所在地、或認爲便利之他處舉行。以締約國之代表組成之。每一締約國。各有一表決權。但不得有三人以上之代表。

第三條 行政議會。以美英法意日之代表。及同盟中其他四國之代表組成之。此四國由代表團依據其認爲適當之原則與方法擇定之。他國之此項代表未經任命以前。代表員（某某等）得爲行政議會之會員。此議會之集會。得就時勢之需要。隨時舉行。至少每年一次。其開會地點。隨時決定。如不能決定。則在同盟所在地舉行。凡在同盟範圍內或關於世界和平之事件。均得在此項會議中辦理之。會議時討論之事件。如對於任何國

之利益有直接影響者。應邀請該國與議。苟未邀請與議。則議會之決案。該國可不受其約束。

第四條 代表團或行政議會開會時之議事程序。連同調查特殊事情之委員之委任。應由代表團或行政議會規定。并得交由與會各國。多數決定之。第一屆代表團與行政議會之集會。則由美國總統召集之。

第五條 國際同盟之永久祕書廳。應設於(某地)即以該地爲同盟會之所在地。祕書廳應有之祕書與職員。均受本會祕書長之指揮與管理。其祕書長則由行政議會選任之。祕書處人員。由祕書長選任。但須得行政議會之認可。祕書長應在代表團或行政議會之集會時。盡其法定職務。祕書廳之經費。則按照萬國郵政同盟經費之比例。由列名本同盟之諸國分擔之。

第六條 締約國之代表及同盟會之代表。於辦理同盟會事務時。得享外交上之特權及豁免稅項。凡同盟會之會所。或其職員及參與會議之代表所居之房屋。均得享治外法

權之利益。

第七條 凡未署名於本約及未在議定書中稱爲國家之國。如欲加入同盟。須得代表團所代表之各國三分二之同意。且以完全自治之國爲限。其領地與殖民地。亦在此例。凡國家苟不能供給有力之保障。以證明遵守國際義務之誠意。或不服從本會所定關於海陸軍備之大綱者。均不得加入同盟。

第八條 締約國公認之原則。以爲維持和平。須將各國軍備。減至最低度。以無礙於國家安寧。及國際義務共同行爲之實施爲限。其各國之地勢與狀況。亦應特別注意。此項減少軍備之實施計畫。由行政議會擬定之。又按照減兵程序所定之標準。軍事置備。如何始稱公允。亦由行政議會決定之。以供各政府之考慮與施行。凡已經議定之限度。苟未經行政議會認可。不得超過之。締約國又公認以私人企業製造軍械戰備。足以引起嚴重反對。故命行政議會籌畫方法。以避免隨此種製造而起之惡果。並兼顧各國未能自造軍械戰備。以保其安寧者之需求。締約國中之實業。有可供戰爭作用之情形者。及其

軍備之程度如何。均不得互相隱瞞。並允完全坦白。交換關於海陸軍進行之消息。

第九條 組織永久委員會。以備向同盟各國。建議關於第八條規定之實施事宜。與一切關於海陸軍之問題。

第十條 締約國應擔任尊重與會各國之領土完全。與其現有之政治獨立。如有侵略事件或侵略之恐慌發生時。行政議會應籌議方法。俾國際義務得以履行。

第十一條 凡戰爭或戰爭之威嚇。無論其與任何締約國。是否有直接之關係。自立約以後。均認爲與本同盟有關係之事件。得由締約國採用認爲適當有效之行爲。以保障國際和平。又立約以後。每締約國。應有友誼的權利。如遇關於國際交涉之任何情勢。足以擾亂國際和平。或擾亂和平所恃之國際良好了解者。得請代表團或行政議會注意及之。

第十二條 締約國公認。如各該國間發生爭議。不能以尋常外交手續調處時。非先將所牽涉之諸問題與諸事件。交由行政議會仲裁或調查。並候仲裁員判決或行政議會建

議已發表之三月後。不得開戰。卽在三月以後。仍不能與會中遵從仲裁員判決或行政議會建議之國開戰。無論何案。仲裁員應依本條之規定。於相當時期內判決之。其行政議會之建議。則應於爭議提出後六個月內發表之。

第十三條 締約國公認。無論何時。各該國間發生爭議或異見。爲彼等所認爲應提交仲裁。且非外交所能圓滿解決者。彼等願將全案提交仲裁。受理此案之仲裁法庭。應爲雙方同意。或彼此間現行條約中所規定之法庭。其所下之判決及命令。彼此均願以誠意遵行之。如有不遵判決者。行政議會得建議最妥之辦法。使該判決發生效力。

第十四條 行政議會。應規定建設一永久國際法庭之計畫。該法庭一經成立。得以聽受雙方依據上條規定提交該法庭仲裁之任何事件而判決之。

第十五條 同盟會中各國。如彼此發生可以引起決裂之爭議。而未照上述規定。提交仲裁者。則締約國公認彼等。應將爭議事件移交行政議會。凡相爭之任何方面。均可將爭議報告祕書長。由祕書書辦理各種必要之籌備。以便詳密之調查與考慮。因此項目的。

雙方并允將彼等爭議之一切記載。連同有關係之文件。儘速通告祕書長。并可由行政議會傳諭宣布之。如行政議會之力。能解決爭議時。應發表一說明書。敘明爭議之性質。解決之條件。及其適宜之一切解釋。如爭議未曾解決。則行政議會應發表報告。詳列一切必要之事實與解釋。及該議會視為正當解決之建議。如行政會議會員。除相爭之雙方外。對此報告。一致同意。則締約國共認決不向遵從建議之一方開戰。並共認如有任何方面。不肯遵從。行政議會應提出必要方法。使建議可發生效力。如此項報告。不能繕具。則多數之國。依照責任。當發表說明書。敘明彼等所信之事實。與彼等所視為正當之理由。即少數國。亦有發表此項說明書之特權。行政議會對於本條所規定之任何案件。可將爭議移交代表團決定之。但須經相爭之一方面申請。始可移交。此項申請。須在提出爭議後十四日內為之。凡有案件移交代表團時。則本條與第十二條關於行政議會行為與職權之規定。對於代表團之行為與職權。亦適用之。

第十六條 締約國中。如有破壞或漠視第十二條之條文者。則應視該國為對於同盟之

其他各國。施行作戰行爲。其他各國。應立與斷絕各種商業上或財政上之關係。禁止其國人與違約國人民間之各種往來。並阻止其他國民。與該違約國之人民。有財政商業或私人之往來。行政議會遇此等事件。應盡其職務。提出建議。使同盟各國。各出有力之陸軍或海軍。以保護同盟之公約。并由締約國公認。依本條規定所執行之財政或經濟方法。彼此互相扶助。俾得減少損失。並允彼此互相扶助。以抵制違約國對於同盟會中一國而行之任何特殊方法。且許協同保護同盟公約之任何締約國之軍隊。假道於其地。

第十七條 如同盟之一國。與非同盟之一國。或兩國均未列名同盟。發生爭議之時。締約國公認應請此未列同盟之一國或數國。照行政議會視爲正常之條件。爲此項爭議之目的。接受同盟一分子之義務。所請之國。既接受此種請書。應即參照同盟會所視爲必要之修正。適用上條之規定。此種表示。一經披露。行政議會即應調查爭議之情形與性質。並提出其所視爲最佳最有力之辦法。如被請之國。不允因爭議之故。接受同盟會

一分子之義務。則該國若爲列名同盟之一國。應認爲違背第十二條之規定。得適用第十四條之規定以抵制之。如被請之雙方。皆不願爲此爭議接受同盟會一分子之義務時。則行政議會可取適當之行動。或發適當之建議。以阻止戰爭。而使爭議得以解決。

第十八條 締約國公認。凡某某國軍械及軍火之貿易。爲公利共益計。有取締之必要者。應信任同盟會。使全部監督之。

第十九條 殖民地與屬地。因此次戰事之結果。不復受治於前有其地之國家之主權。而住居其地之人民。在現世紀之奮鬪情形中。今尙未能自立者。則應適用以此種人民之幸福及發展。爲文化尊嚴信託之原則。其使此項信託歷久不變之保障。應於同盟會約章中詳載之。欲使此原則發生實際上之效果。其最善之法。在以此種人民之保護權。託諸因富源經驗及地勢上之理由。最能盡其責任之先進國。而由該先進國。以受同盟會委託之資格。接受此保護權。至委託之性質。則視此等人民發達之情形。地方之形勢。與經濟之狀況等事而異。如前屬諸土耳其帝國之某種民族。已發展至可以暫時認爲獨

立國之程度。則但須由受託國。予以發達之指導與扶助。至其能自立之時爲止。其受託國之選擇。尤必以此等民族之志願爲主要條件。至於其他人民。如中斐洲之民族等。則其地方行政。必由受託國負擔責任。此項受託國。措施地方行政。須受條件之約束。以擔保信仰自由。維持公安與道德。禁止奴隸販賣。軍火貿易。烈酒貿易等事。並不得建築砲臺。設立海陸軍根據地。又除警察及國防之目的外。不得以軍事訓練。施諸當地人民。且須予同盟中其他各國以工商業上之均等機會。此外各地。如西南斐洲及南太平洋某某羣島等處。或因居民稀少。或因地方狹小。或因與文化中心點距離遼遠。或因地勢與受託國相接。或因他種情形。最宜受治於受託國法律之下。而完全爲受託國之一部。但受託國須遵上述保障當地人民利益各條件之約束。受託國無論受何等委託。每年應向同盟會報告託管各地之事件。又受託國所施行之統治權或行政權。其範圍之大小。如先未經締約國逐層議定。應由行政議會。於特別條例中明白規定之。并由締約國公認。在同盟會所在地。設立一委託審查會。以接收及考查受託國之常年報告。並襄助同

盟會。確保委託條件之遵行。

第二十條 締約國願竭力爲男子婦女幼童。在其本國及有工商業關係之各國。獲得公允人道之勞動狀況而維持之。並因達此目的。設立一國家勞動局。定爲同盟會機關之一部。

第二十一條 締約國公認。應由同盟會之機關。訂定辦法。使同盟各國。獲得運輸之自由。與商業上之平等待遇而維持之。除應有各節外。尤應注意於一九一四年至一九一九年間曾遭兵燹各區之需要。訂定特別辦法。

第二十二條 締約國公認。凡由一般條約規定所已經設立之國際局所。如經締結此項條約之方面認可。應將此種國際局所。置於同盟會管理權之下。並根本承認。凡將來設立此種國際局所。皆須由同盟會管理之。

第二十三條 締約國公認。嗣後同盟中任何國家所訂之條約或國際契約。均應在祕書長處存記。且應儘速由祕書長公布之。此項條約或國際契約。非經照例存記者。皆不發

生效力。

第二十四條 代表團有權隨時勸告同盟各國。重行審查不能適用之條約。及廢續實行有礙世界和平之其他國際條件。

第二十五條 締約國公認。所有條約義務。與本約之條文不適合者。皆得由本約取消之。並莊嚴承認。此後不得締結與本約條文不適合之任何契約。凡任何國家之署名本約。而加入同盟者。如於署名本約之前。負有與本約條文不合之義務時。則該國責任所在。應立即設法取銷其所負之義務。

第二十六條 本約文之修正。應由組織行政議會各代表之國批准。並由組織代表團各代表之國。四分之三批准。始得發生效力。

商 務 印 書 館 發 行

美國總統威爾遜參戰演說

蔣夢麟先生譯述

漢文單行本
定價二角五分
英漢合璧本
定價五角

▲諸君欲知美國參戰之主
義乎？

▲諸君欲知世界種種問題

▲之解決方法乎？

▲諸君欲知吾國對於參戰

▲之地位乎？

▲諸君欲知吾國應盡之責

▲任如何而後可以參與此

▲次議和大會乎？

◎戰事已停

◎和議將始

◎凡關心時

勢者

◎不可不讀

是書

洋 裝
一 冊

參 觀 歐 洲 大 戰 記

定 價
六 角

順德黃慎圖博士。通六國語言文字。以私人資格。赴歐洲實地參觀戰事。由西

比利亞而俄而奧而德而法而

英。如世人盛傳最近之末斯

河戰事與登堡戰事

聖康丹戰事。博士皆躬

歷而目擊焉。最後由英北海航

空而達俄都。閱時數月。於此次

戰事之主因及兩軍

交攻之真相各國

國力軍備之比較分

章敘述。列說繪圖。復附當時攝

影數十幅。裒為是書。共計七萬

餘言。

丙(869)

Anglo-Chinese Edition

President Wilson's Speeches on Peace

Commercial Press, Ltd.

All rights reserved

中華民國八年三月初版

(英漢) 威爾遜和議演說一冊

(每冊定價大洋陸角)

(外埠酌加運費匯費)

譯述者 嶧縣錢智修

發行者 商務印書館

印刷所 上海北河南路北首寶山路 商務印書館

總發行所 上海棋盤街中市 商務印書館

分售處 商務印書分館

長沙常德成都重慶瀘縣福州
廣州潮州香港桂林梧州雲南
貴陽 張家口 新嘉坡

此書有著作權翻印必究

總統
圖書

PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECHES ON PEACE

TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE

BY

CH' IEN CHIH-HSIU

FIRST EDITION

COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
SHANGHAI
1919

PREFACE

This volume contains the more important speeches that President Wilson has made since the signing of the armistice. The speeches deal with peace, the problems that peace call up, and how to solve them wisely and permanently. The first two were addresses delivered to the Houses of Congress of the United States, and the others were the utterances of President Wilson in France, England, Italy, at the Peace Conference, and in New York City.

They form a fitting companion volume to his "Speeches on the World War." Because of the favorable reception accorded to the former volume and the great influence that President Wilson's ideas have in molding the destiny of the world at this juncture of its history, we publish the present collection of addresses, which are characterized by the same poise, dignified style, high ideals, and broad humanity that marked his other speeches.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Peace and the Questions It Excites - -	1
Danger of Anarchy - - - - -	23
The Soul's Awakening - - - - -	28
League of Nations as Trust of Peace of the World - - - - -	32
American Policy Expounded - - -	38
Elements of the New Situation - - -	46
Necessity for Formation of League of Nations	51
Speech to Peace Conference Submitting League of Nations Charter - - -	60
Appeal for League of Nations - - -	73
Covenant of League of Nations - - -	93

PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECHES ON PEACE

PEACE AND THE QUESTIONS IT EXCITES

President Wilson addressed a joint session of the Houses of Congress on December 2, 1918, as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

The year that has elapsed since last I appeared before you to fulfill my constitutional duty to give Congress information of the state of the union has been so crowded with great events, great processes, and great results that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its transactions or far-reaching changes which have been brought in the life of the nation and of the world. You have witnessed these things, as I know. It is too soon to assess them, and we who stand in the midst of them and a part of them are less qualified than another generation will be to say what they mean or even what they have been. But there stand out facts which are unmistakable and with which it is our

duty to deal. To state them is to set the stage for legislative and executive action which must grow out of them, and which we have yet to shape and determine.

A year ago we had sent 149,918 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,990,913, an average of 162,942 each month, the number in fact rising in May last to 249,997, in June to 278,760, and in July to 307,182, continuing to reach similar figures in August and September—August, 289,970; September, 297,438.

No such movement of troops ever took place before across 3,000 miles of sea, followed by adequate equipment and supplies carried safely through extraordinary dangers and attacks which were alike strange and infinitely difficult to guard against. In all this movement only 768 men were lost by enemy attacks, 630 of whom were upon an English transport sunk near the Orkney Islands.

I need not tell you what lay back of this great movement. Back of it lay a supporting organization of the industries of the country and all its productive activities, more complete, more spirited and more thorough in methods and effective in results than any other great belligerent has ever been able to effect. We profited greatly by

the example and experiences of the nations which already had been engaged for nearly three years in the exigent and exacting business, every resource, every proficiency, every efficiency taxed to the utmost. We were pupils. But we learned quickly and acted with promptness and readiness in coöperation that justify our great pride that we were able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplishment.

But it is not the physical scale of executive efficiency and preparation of supply and equipment and dispatch that I wish to dwell upon, but the mettle and quality of the officers and men we sent over and the sailors who kept the sea and the spirit of the nation that stood behind them. No soldiers or sailors ever proved themselves more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more splendid courage and achievement when put to the test. Those who played some part in directing the great progress by which the war was pushed irresistibly forward to final triumph may never forget all that delights our thoughts with the story of what our men did. There are the officers, who understood the exacting task they had undertaken and performed it with audacity, efficiency, and unhesitating courage, and imperishable distinction, from their chiefs,

Pershing and Sims, down to the youngest lieutenant. And their men were worthy of them, such men as hardly need be commanded and go to their terrible adventure blithely and with quickness and intelligence: those who know just what their strength will accomplish.

I am proud to be a fellow countryman of men of such stuff and valor. Those of us who stayed at home did our duty. The war could not be won or the gallant men who fought it given their opportunity to win it otherwise, but for many a long day we shall think ourselves "Accurst that we were not there and hold our manhood cheap while any speaks that fought" with those at St. Mihiel or Chateau-Thierry.

THE FATEFUL MOMENT

What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude is that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance, and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle, turn it once for all so that thenceforth it was back, back, back for their enemies, always back, never again forward. After that it was only a scant four months before

the Commanders of the Central Empires knew themselves beaten, and now their very Empires are in liquidation. And through it how fine the spirit of the nation was—what unity of purpose, what untiring zeal, what elevation of purpose ran through all its splendid display of strength; what untiring accomplishment.

I have said that those of us who stayed at home to do the work of organization and supply will always wish we had been with the men whom we had sustained by our labor, but we can never be ashamed. It has been an inspired thing to be here in the midst of the fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their training and capacity to tasks that supplied the sinew to the whole great undertaking.

NATION'S ONE THOUGHT

The patriotism, unselfishness, thoroughgoing devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their toilsome labors day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades of the men in the trenches and on the sea. And not men here in Washington only. They have but directed vast achievements. Throughout innumerable factories, upon innumerable farms, in

the depths of coal, iron, and copper mines, wherever the stuffs of industry were to be obtained and prepared, in the shipyards, on the railways, at the docks, on sea, in every labor that was needed, to sustain the battle lines, men have vied with each other to do their part and do it well. They can look any man-at-arms in the face and say, We also strove to win and gave the best that was in us to make our fleets and armies sure of their triumph.

And what shall we say of our women—of their instant intelligence and quickening in every task they touch, their capacity for organization and coöperation which gave their action discipline and enhanced the effectiveness of everything they attempted, their aptitude at tasks to which they had never before set their hand, their utter self-sacrifice alike in what they did and in what they gave? Their contribution has been great and the result beyond appraisal. They have added new luster to the annals of American womanhood. The least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievement would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice. Besides the

immense practical services they have rendered, the women of the country have been the moving spirits in the systematic economics by which our people voluntarily assisted to supply the suffering peoples of the world and the armies upon every front with food and everything else that we have that might serve the common cause. The details of such a story can never be fully written but we carry them at our hearts and thank God we can say we are kinsmen of such.

THE GREAT TRIUMPH

And now we are sure of the great triumph for which every sacrifice was made. It has come, come in its completeness and, with the pride and inspiration of these days of achievement quick within us, we turn to the tasks of peace again—a peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and ambitious military coteries and made ready for a new order, for the new foundation of justice and fair dealing. We are about to give order and organization to this peace, not only for ourselves but for the other peoples of the world as well, as far as they will suffer us to serve them. It is international justice we seek, not domestic safety merely. Our thoughts have dwelt of late upon Europe, upon Asia, upon the Near

and Far East, and very little upon the acts of peace and accommodation that wait to be performed at our own doors.

While we are adjusting our relations with the rest of the world is it not of capital importance that we should clear away all ground for misunderstanding with our immediate neighbors and give proof of the friendship we really feel? I hope the members of the Senate will permit me to speak once more of the unratified treaty of friendship and adjustment with the Republic of Colombia. I very earnestly urge upon them early favorable action upon that vital matter. I believe they all feel with me that the stage of affairs is now set for such action as will be not only just, but generous, and in the spirit of the new age upon which we have so happily entered.

READJUSTMENT PROBLEMS

So far as our domestic affairs are concerned, the problem of our return to peace is a problem of economic and industrial readjustment. That problem is less serious for us than it may turn out to be for nations which have suffered disarrangements and losses of war longer than we. Our people, moreover, do not wait to be coached or led. They know their own business, are quick

and resourceful at every readjustment, definite in purpose and self-reliant in action. Any leading strings we might seek to put them in would speedily become hopelessly tangled, because they would pay no attention to them and go their own way. All that we can do as their legislative and executive servants is to mediate in the process of change here, there, and elsewhere as we may. I have heard much counsel as to plans that should be formed and personally conducted to a happy consummation, but from no quarter have I seen any general scheme of reconstruction emerge, which I thought it likely we could force our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers to accept with due pliancy and obedience.

While the war lasted we set up many agencies by which to direct the industries of the country in services it was necessary for them to render by which to make sure of abundant supply of materials needed, by which to check undertakings that could for the first time be dispensed with, and to stimulate those that were most serviceable in war, by which to gain for the purchasing departments of the Government a certain control over prices of essential articles and materials, by which to restrain trade with alien enemies, to make the most of available shipping

and to systematize financial transactions, both public and private, so that there would be no unnecessary conflict or confusion, by which, in short, to put every material energy of the country in harness to draw, load, and make of us one team in the accomplishment of a great task.

THE HARNESS OFF

But the moment we knew the armistice to have been signed we took the harness off. Raw materials upon which the Government had kept its hands for fear they should not be enough for industries that supplied the armies have been released and put into the general market again. Great industrial plants whose whole output and machinery had been taken over for uses of the Government have been set free to return to uses to which they were put before the war. It has not been possible to remove so readily or so quickly control of foodstuffs and shipping, because the world has still to be fed from our granaries and the ships are still needed to send supplies to our men oversea and to bring the men back as fast as the disturbed conditions on the other side of the water permit; but even these restraints are being relaxed as much as possible, and more and more as the weeks go by.

Never before have there been agencies in existence in this country which knew so much of the field of supply of labor and of industry as the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the Labor Department and the Food Administration and the Fuel Administration have known since their labor became thoroughly systematized; and they have not been isolated agencies; they have been directed by men who represented the permanent departments of the Government and so have been the centers of unified and coöperative action. It has been the policy of the executive, therefore, since the armistice was assured (which is in effect a complete submission of the enemy) to put the knowledge of these bodies at the disposition of the business men of the country and to offer their intelligent mediation at every point and in every matter where it was desired.

WORK FOR SOLDIERS

It is surprising how fast the process of a return to a peace footing has moved in the three weeks since the fighting stopped. It promises to outrun any inquiry that may be instituted and any aid that may be offered. It will not be easy to direct it any better than it will direct itself. The American business man is of a quick initiative.

The ordinary and normal processes of private initiative will not, however, provide immediate employment for all of the men of our returning armies. Those who are of trained capacity, those who are skilled workmen, those who have acquired familiarity with established business, those who are ready and willing to go to their farms, all those whose attitudes are known or will be sought out by employers will find no difficulty, it is safe to say, in finding place and employment. But there will be others who will be at a loss where to gain a livelihood unless pains are taken to guide them and put them in the way of work. There will be a large flowing residuum of labor which should not be left wholly to shift for itself.

It seems to me important, therefore, that the development of public works of every sort should be promptly resumed in order that opportunities should be created for unskilled labor in particular and that plans should be made for such developments of our unused lands and our natural resources as we have hitherto lacked stimulation to undertake.

ROUGH PLACES SMOOTH

I particularly direct your attention to the very practical plans which the Secretary of the

Interior has developed in his annual report and before your committees for the reclamation of the arid swamp and cut-over lands which might, if the States were willing and able to coöperate, redeem some three hundred million acres of land for cultivation. There are said to be fifteen or twenty million acres of land in the west at present arid, for whose reclamation water is available if properly conserved. There are about two hundred thirty million acres from which the forests have been cut but which have never yet been cleared for the plow and which lie waste and desolate. These lie scattered all over the Union. And there are nearly eight million acres of land that lie under swamps or subject to periodical overflow or too wet for anything but grazing, which it is perfectly feasible to drain and protect and redeem. Congress can at once direct thousands of the returning soldiers to the reclamation of the arid lands which it has already undertaken if it will but enlarge the plans and appropriations which it has entrusted to the Department of Interior. It is possible in dealing with our unused land to effect a great rural and agricultural development which will afford the best sort of opportunity to men who want to help themselves; and the Secretary of the Interior has thought the possible

methods out in a way which is worthy of your most friendly attention.

I have spoken of the control which must yet for a while, perhaps for a long while, be exercised over shipping because of the priority of service to which our forces overseas are entitled and which should also be accorded the shipments which are to save the recently liberated peoples from starvation and many devastated regions from permanent ruin.

BELGIUM AND FRANCE

May I not say a special word about the needs of Belgium and Northern France? No sums of money paid by way of indemnity will serve of themselves to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come. Something more must be done than merely to find the money. If they had money and raw material in abundance to-morrow they could not resume their place in the industry of the world to-morrow—the very important place they held before the flame of war swept across them. Many of their factories are razed to the ground. Much of their machinery is destroyed or has been taken away. Their people are scattered and many of their best workmen are dead. Their markets will

be taken by others if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their factories and replace their lost instruments of manufacture. They should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition for materials and for industrial facilities which is now to set in. I hope, therefore, that the Congress will not be unwilling, if it should become necessary, to grant to some such agency as the War Trade Board the right to establish priorities of export and supply for the benefit of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the German terror and whom we must not now thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitiless competitive market.

PAYING THE BILL

For the steadying and facilitation of our domestic business readjustment nothing is more important than the immediate determination of the taxes that are to be levied for 1918, 1919, and 1920. As much of the burden of taxation must be lifted from business as sound methods of financing the Government will permit, and those who conduct the great essential industries of the country must be told as exactly as possible what obligations to the Government they will be

expected to meet in the years immediately ahead of them. It will be of serious consequence to the country to delay the removing of all uncertainties in this matter a single day longer than the right processes of debate justify. It is idle to talk of successful and confident business reconstruction before these uncertainties are resolved. If the war had continued it would have been necessary to raise at least eight billion dollars by taxation, payable in the year 1919; but the war has ended, and I agree with the Secretary of the Treasury that it will be safe to reduce the amount to six billions. An immediate rapid decline in the expenses of the Government is not to be looked for. Contracts made for war supplies will indeed be rapidly canceled and liquidated but their immediate liquidation will make heavy drains on the Treasury for the months just ahead of us.

NO CLOG ON THE FUTURE

The maintenance of our forces on the other side of the sea is still necessary. A considerable proportion of these forces must remain in Europe during the period of occupation and those which are brought home will be transported and demobilized at heavy expense for months to come. The interest on our war debt must of course be

paid and provision made for the retirement of the obligations of the Government which represent it. But these demands will of course fall much below what a continuation of military operations would have entailed and six billions should suffice to supply a sound foundation for the financial operations of the year. I entirely concur with the Secretary of the Treasury in recommending that the two billions needed in addition to the four billions provided by existing law be obtained from the profits which have accrued and shall accrue from war contracts and distinctively war business, but that these taxes be confined to the war profits accruing in 1918 or in 1919 from business originating in war contracts. I urge your acceptance of his recommendation that provision be made now, not subsequently, and that the taxes to be paid in 1920 should be reduced from six to four billions. Any arrangements less definite than these would add elements of doubt and confusion to the critical period of industrial readjustment through which the country must now immediately pass and which no true friend of the nation's essential business interests can afford to be responsible for creating or prolonging. Clearly determined conditions, clearly and simply charted, are indispensable to the economic revival

and rapid industrial development which may confidently be expected if we act now and sweep all interrogation points away.

I take it for granted that the Congress will carry out the naval program which was undertaken before we entered the war. The Secretary of the Navy has submitted to your Committees for authorization that part of the program which covers the building plans of the next three years. These plans have been prepared along the lines and in accordance with the policy which the Congress established, not under the exceptional conditions of the war, but with the intention of adhering to a definite method of development of the Navy. I earnestly recommend the uninterrupted pursuit of the policy. It would clearly be unwise for us to attempt to adjust our program to a future world policy as yet undermined.

The question which causes me the greatest concern is the question of the policy to be adopted towards the railroads. I frankly turn to you for counsel upon it. I have no confident judgment of my own. I do not see how any thoughtful man can have who knows anything of the complexity of the problem. It is a problem that must be studied, studied immediately and studied without bias or prejudice.

Nothing can be granted by becoming partisans of any particular plan of settlement.

The President here summarized the necessity under war conditions for the Government assuming control of privately owned railroads. In this connection President Wilson said:

We may hope, I believe, for the formal conclusion of the war by treaty by the time spring has come.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

In conclusion President Wilson said:

I welcome this occasion to announce to Congress my purpose to join in Paris the Representatives of the Governments with which we have been associated in the war against the Central Empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the Treaty of Peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me. The Allied Governments have accepted the basis of peace which I outlined to Congress on January 8 last, as the Central Empires also have, and they

very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable that I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute without selfish purpose of any kind to settlements that will be of common benefit to all the nations concerned may be made fully manifest. The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance both to us and to the rest of the world and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence over them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express these ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose as the associated governments have accepted them; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this. I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side of the water and you will know all that I do.

A GIRDLE ROUND THE EARTH

At my request the French and English Governments have absolutely removed the censorship on cable news which until a fortnight ago they had maintained, and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this end except upon attempted trade communications with enemy countries. It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the Department of State and another between France and the Department of War. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with other users of the cables I have temporarily taken over control of both cables in order that they may be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials and I hope the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

May I not hope, Gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and added strength of your united

support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking and I am perfectly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the rest that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving in conference with the other working heads of the Associated Governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. Cables and wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.

DANGER OF ANARCHY

President Wilson, addressing a joint meeting of the two houses of Congress on November 15, said, in part:

The war thus comes to an end for, having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German commanders to recover. It is not now possible to assess the consequences of this great conflagration. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flame was swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end and that it was the privilege of our own people to enter it at its critical juncture in such a fashion and in such force as to contribute in a way of which we are all deeply proud, to the great result. We know, too, the object of the war. Even now we don't realize that armed imperialism, such as the men who were but yesterday the masters of Germany understood, is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will seek to revive it?

THE VICTORS' PURPOSE

The great nations which associated themselves to it have now definitely united in the

common purpose to set up a peace that will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states. There is no longer conjecture as to the objects the victors have in mind. Their avowed and concerted purpose is to satisfy and protect the weak as well as to accord their just rights to the strong.

The human temper and intention of the victorious Governments has already been manifested in every practical way. Their representatives in their supreme War Council of Allies at Versailles have by unanimous resolution assured the peoples of the Central Empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their lives; and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium. By the use of the idle tonnage of the Central Empires it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of the latter's misery from their oppressed populations and set their minds and energy free for the great and hazardous

tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand. Hunger does not breed reform; it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an ordered life impossible.

HAVE THEY CHANGED?

But to these Empires, have political changes in government really come? Resolutions have come, resolutions which seem yet to assume no final and ordered condition but to run from one fleet change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves as to what government, and of what sort, are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace? With what authority will they meet us and with what assurance will their authority abide and claim security for the international arrangement into which we are about to enter? There is matter for no small anxiety and misgiving. When peace is made, upon whose promises and engagements besides our own is it to be? Let us be frank with ourselves and admit that these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered now or at once.

Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished proof recently of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excess should occur, if disorder should in time raise its

head, over all a second thought will follow and a day of constructive period, if we help and do not hinder. The present and all that it holds belongs to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the lawful processes of government; the future to those who prove themselves true friends of mankind. To conquer with arms is to make a temporary conquest; I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession to its ordered practice are now about to make conquest of the world by the sheer power of example of friendly helpfulness.

THE PATH OF BLOOD

The people who have just come out from under the yoke of arbitrary government and are now coming at last into their freedom will never find their treasures of liberty they are in search of by the light of anarchy, for they will find that every pathway that is so stained with the blood of their brothers leads to the wilderness, not to the seat of their hopes. They are face to face with the initial test. We will hold the light steady until they find themselves. And in the meantime, if it be possible, we must establish a peace that will justly define their place among

the nations, remove all fear of their neighbors and of their former masters and enable them to live in security and contentment when they have settled their affairs in order.

Do not doubt their purpose or their capability. There are some happy signs that they know and will choose the way of self-control and peaceful accommodation. If they do so, we shall put our aid at their disposal in every way that we can. If they do not, we must await with patience and sympathy their wavering and the recovery that will surely come.

THE SOUL'S AWAKENING

President Wilson, in acknowledging the honor of the Diploma of Doctor "Honoris Causa," which Sorbonne University conferred on him on December 12, 1918, said:

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. RECTOR:

I feel very keenly the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me by the great University of Paris and it is very delightful to me also to have the honor of being inducted into the great company of scholars whose life and fame have made the history of the University of Paris a thing admired among men of cultivation in all parts of the world. By what you have said, sir, of the theory of education which has been followed in France, and which I have tried to promote in the United States, I am tempted to venture upon a favorite theme.

I have always thought, sir, that the chief object of education was to awaken the spirit, and that inasmuch as literature whenever it touched its great and higher notes was an expression of the spirit of mankind, the best induction into education was to feel the pulses of humanity which had beaten from age to age through the

utterances of men who had penetrated to the secrets of the human spirit. And I agree with the indication which has been conveyed to-day that the terrible war through which we have just passed has not been only a war between nations, but that it has been also a war between the systems of culture—the one system, the impressive system, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints, and using every faculty of the human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system reminiscent of the high tradition of men, reminiscent of all those struggles, some of them obscure but others clearly revealed to the historian, of men of indomitable spirit everywhere struggling towards the right and seeking above all things else to be free. The triumph of freedom in this war means that spirits of that sort now dominate the world. There is a great wind of moral force moving through the world, and every man who opposes himself to that wind will go down in disgrace.

SERVANTS OF MANKIND

The task of those who are gathered here, or will presently be gathered here, to make the settlements of this peace is greatly simplified by the

fact that they are masters of no one; they are the servants of mankind, and if we do not heed the mandates of mankind we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world. My conception of the League of Nations is just this, that it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world, and that whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them, and men everywhere will ask, "What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?"

Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the Central Powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight, it never would have happened, and if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it for a year, war would have been inconceivable. So I feel that this war is, as has been said more than once today, intimately related with the university spirit. The university spirit is intolerant of all the things that put the human mind under restraint. It is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of the truth, the purification of life; and every university man can ally himself with the forces of the present

time with the feeling that now at last the spirit of truth, the spirit to which universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant. If there is one point of pride that I venture to entertain, it is that it has been my privilege in some measure to interpret the university spirit in the public life of a great nation, and I feel that in honoring me to-day in this unusual and conspicuous manner you have first of all honored the people whom I represent. The spirit that I try to express I know to be their spirit, and in proportion as I serve them I believe that I advance the cause of freedom. I, therefore, wish to thank you, sir, from the bottom of my heart for a distinction which has in a singular way crowned my academic career.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS TRUST OF PEACE OF THE WORLD

President Wilson, speaking at the Guildhall on December 28 in response to an address of welcome by the Lord Mayor, said:

MR. LORD MAYOR:

We have come upon times when ceremonies like this have a new significance which must impress me as I stand here. The address which I have just heard is most generously and graciously conceived and the delightful accent of sincerity in it seems like a part of that voice of counsel which is now everywhere to be heard.

JOY AT PEACE AND VICTORY

I feel that a distinguished honor has been conferred upon me by this reception and I beg to assure you, sir, and your associates of my very profound appreciation, but I know that I am only part of what I may call a great body of circumstances. I do not believe that it was fancy on my part that I heard in the voice of welcome uttered in the streets of this great city and in the streets of Paris something more than a personal welcome. It seemed to me that I heard the voice of one

people speaking to another people and it was a voice in which one could distinguish a singular combination of emotion. There was surely there the deep gratefulness that the fighting was over. There was the pride that the fighting had had such a culmination. There was that sort of gratitude that the nations engaged, had produced such men as the soldiers of Great Britain and of the United States and of France and of Italy—men whose prowess and achievements they had witnessed with rising admiration as they moved from culmination to culmination.

DEATHS MUST NOT BE IN VAIN

But there was something more in it, the consciousness that the business is not yet done, the consciousness that it now rests upon others to see that those lives were not lost in vain. I have not yet been to the actual battle fields but I have been with many of the men who have fought the battles and the other day I had the pleasure of being present at a session of the French Academy when they admitted Marshal Joffre to their membership. That sturdy serene soldier stood and uttered not the words of triumph but the simple words of acceptance for his soldiers and the conviction which he summed up in a sentence,

which I will not try accurately to quote but reproduce in its spirit, was that France must always remember that the small and the weak could never live free in the world unless the strong and the great always put their power and their strength in the service of right.

OLD ORDER MUST GO

That is the afterthought—the thought that something must be done now not only to make the just settlements, that of course, but to see that the settlements remained and were observed and that honor and justice prevailed in the world. And as I have conversed with the soldiers I have been more and more aware that they fought for something that not all of them had defined but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one and the center and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the “balance of power,” a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in the one side or the other, a balance which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competitive interests, a balance which was maintained by jealous watchfulness and an antagonism of interests which

though it was generally latent was always deep-seated.

The men who have fought in this war have been the men from free nations who were determined that that sort of thing should end now and forever. It is very interesting to me to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every concert of counsel there comes the suggestion that there must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set off against another but a single overwhelming powerful group of nations who shall be the trust of the peace of the world. It has been delightful in my conference with the leaders of your government to find how our minds moved along exactly the same line and how our thoughts were always that the key to the peace was the guarantee of the peace not the items of it: that the items would be worthless unless there stood back of them a permanent concert of power for their maintenance. That is the most reassuring thing that has ever happened in the world.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PRACTICAL

When this war began the thought of a League of Nations was indulgently considered as the interesting thought of closeted students. It

was thought of as one of those things that it was right to characterize by a name which as a university man I have always resented. It was said to be academic as if that in itself were a condemnation, something that men could think about but never get. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it. No such sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed in the world before.

Do you wonder, therefore, gentlemen, that in common with those who represent you, I am eager to get at the business and write the sentences down? And that I am particularly happy that the ground is cleared and the foundations laid—for we have already accepted the same body of principles? Those principles are clearly and definitely enough stated to make their application a matter which should afford no fundamental difficulty. And back of us is that imperative yearning of the world to have all disturbing questions, to have all threats against peace silenced, to have just men everywhere come together for a common object.

The peoples of the world want peace and they want it now not merely by conquest of arms but by agreement of mind. It was this incomparable great object that brought me overseas.

It has never before been deemed excusable for a President of the United States to leave the territory of the United States but I know that I have the support of the judgment of my colleagues in the Government of the United States in saying that it was my paramount duty to turn away even from the imperative tasks at home to lend such counsel and aid as I could to this great, may I not say final, enterprise of humanity.

AMERICAN POLICY EXPOUNDED

President Wilson, speaking at Manchester after visiting the Manchester Ship Canal and being presented with the honorary freedom of Manchester in the Town Hall on December 30, said:

MY LORD MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—Perhaps I may be permitted to add FELLOW CITIZENS:

You have made me feel in a way that is deeply delightful the generous welcome which you have accorded me and back of it I know there lies the same sort of feeling for the great people whom I have the privilege of representing.

There is a feeling of cordiality, fraternity, and friendship between the two great nations and as I have gone from place to place and have been made everywhere to feel the pulse of sympathy that is now beating between us, I have been led to some very serious thoughts as to what the basis of it all is. For I think you will agree with me that friendship is not a mere sentiment, patriotism is not a mere sentiment, it is based upon a principle, upon the principle that leads a man to give more than he demands. Similarly friendship is based not merely upon affection but upon common

service. The man is not your friend who is not willing to serve you and you are not his friend unless you are willing to serve him. And out of that impulse of common interest and desire of common service arises that noble feeling which we consecrate as friendship.

And so it does seem to me that the theme that we must have in our minds now in this great day of settlement is the theme of common interest and the determination of what it is that is our common interest.

BALANCE OF POWER

You know that heretofore the world has been governed or at any rate the attempt has been made to govern it by partnership of interest and that they have broken down. Interest does not bind men together. Interest separates men. For the moment there is the slightest departure from the nice adjustment of interests then jealousies begin to spring up.

There is only one thing that can bind peoples together and that is a common devotion to right.

Ever since the history of liberty began men have talked about their rights and it has taken several hundred years to make them perceive that the principal condition of right is duty and that

unless man performs his full duty he is entitled to no right. It is a fine correlation of the influence of duty that right is the equipoise and balance of society.

And so when we analyze the present situation and the future that we now have to mold and control it seems to me there is no other thought than that that can guide us.

AMERICA'S INTEREST

You know that the United States has always felt from the very beginning of her history that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connection with European politics.

I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe.

If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power the United States would take no interest because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe but in the peace of the world.

Therefore it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more

delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose.

But while it is difficult there is an element present that makes it easy.

Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now. Men all over the world have been embarrassed by international antagonism and that the interest of each is the interest of all and that men as men are the objects of government and international arrangement.

A GREAT VOICE OF HUMANITY

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear it is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which if any statesman resist, will gain him the most unenviable eminence in history.

We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

That is the reason why it seems to me that the things that are most often in our minds are the least significant.

I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement which we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory.

One has only to apply his mind to any one of the questions of boundary and of altered sovereignty and of racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man and no body of men who know just how they ought to be settled and yet if we are to make unsatisfactory settlements we must see to it that they are rendered more and more satisfactory by the subsequent adjustments which are made possible.

MUST HAVE MACHINERY

We must provide the machinery for readjustments in order that we have the machinery of good will and friendship. Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot coöperate with you I cannot be your friend, and if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests.

That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and

constant method of conference, so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big.

I never thought if I had a big difference with a man that I did not find when I came into conference with him that, after all, it was rather a little difference and that if we were frank with one another and did not too much stand upon that great enemy of mankind which is called pride we could come together.

It is the wish to come together that is more than half of the process.

TRADE AND GOOD WILL

It is a doctrine which ought to be easy of comprehension in a great commercial center like this. You cannot trade with a man who suspects you. You cannot establish commercial and industrial relations with those who do not trust you.

Good will is the forerunner of trade. Good will is the foundation of trade and trade is the great amicable instrument of the world on that account.

I felt before I came here at home in Manchester—because Manchester has so many of the characteristics of our great American cities. I was reminded of an anecdote of a humorous fellow

countryman of mine who was sitting at luncheon in his club one day and a man whom he did not like particularly came up and slapped him on the shoulder and said "Hello, Culley, how are you?" He looked at him coldly and said, "I don't know your face and I don't know your name but your manners are very familiar."

I don't know your name but your manners are very familiar and very delightfully familiar, so that I felt that in the community of interest and understanding which is established in great currents of trade we are enabled to see inter-national processes perhaps better than they can be seen by others.

MANCHESTER'S GLORY

I take it I am not far from right in supposing that is the reason why Manchester has been the center of the great forward-looking sentiments of men who had the instinct of large planning not merely for the city itself but for the Kingdom and the Empire and the world.

And with that outlook we can, we sure can go shoulder to shoulder together.

I wish it were possible for us to do something like some of my very stern ancestors did, for among my ancestors are those very determined

persons who were known as the Covenanters. I wish we could not only for Great Britain and the United States but for France, for Italy, and the world enter into a great League and Covenant declaring ourselves, first of all, friends of mankind and uniting ourselves together for the maintenance of the triumph of right.

ELEMENTS OF THE NEW SITUATION

Speaking at the Italian Parliament in Rome on January 3, President Wilson said:

YOUR MAJESTY, MR. PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER:

You are bestowing upon me an unprecedented honor which I accept because I believe that it is extended to me as a representative of the great people for whom I speak, and I am going to take this first opportunity to say how entirely the heart of the American people has been with the great people of Italy. We have seemed, no doubt, indifferent, at times to look from a great distance, but our hearts have never been far away. All sorts of ties have long bound the people of the United States to the people of Italy and when the people of the United States, knowing this people, have witnessed its sufferings, its sacrifices, its heroic action upon the battle field, we have been bound by a new tie of profound admiration.

Then back of it all and through it all, running like the golden thread that wove it together, was our knowledge that the people of Italy had gone into this war for the same exalted

principles of right and justice that moved our own people. And so I welcome this opportunity of conveying to you the heartfelt greetings of the people of the United States.

DISPELLING INTRIGUE

But we cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things awaiting us which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice, and they will require a purity of motives and disinterestedness of object which the world has never witnessed before in the Council of Nations. It is for that reason that it seems to me that you will forgive me if I lay some of the elements of the new situation before you for a moment.

The distinguishing fact of this war is that great empires have gone to pieces, and the characteristics of those empires were that they held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue. The great difficulty among such states as those of the Balkans has been that they were accessible to secret influence, that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort and another

and that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together not by sympathy and friendship but by the coercive force of a military power.

Now the intrigue is checked and the bands are broken, and what are we going to provide anew to cement, to hold, these people together? They have not been accustomed to being independent; they must now be independent. I am sure that you recognize the principle as I do that it is not our privilege to say what sort of government they should set up, but we are friends of these people and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them; something supplied which will hold them together.

A COLOSSAL TASK

There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and good will; the only thing that binds men together is friendship, and by the same token the only thing that binds nations together is friendship. Therefore our task in Paris is to organize the friendship of the world, to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a vital

organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond. In other words our task is no less colossal than this, to set up a new international psychology, to have a new real atmosphere.

I am happy to say that in my dealings with the distinguished gentlemen who lead your nation and those who lead France and England I feel that atmosphere gathering, that desire to do justice, that desire to establish friendliness, that desire to make peace rest upon right and, with this common purpose, no obstacles need be formidable. The only use of an obstacle is to be overcome. All that any obstacle does with brave men is not to frighten them, but to challenge them, so that it ought to be our pride to overcome everything that stands in the way.

NEW AGE DAWNING

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting for the best of all reasons; that it does not stay balanced inside itself and a weight which does not hold together cannot constitute a make-weight in the affairs of men. Therefore there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the

air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united League of Nations. What men once considered theoretical and idealistic turns out to be practical and necessary. We stand at the opening of a new age in which a new statesmanship will, I am confident, lift mankind to new levels of endeavor and achievement.

NECESSITY FOR FORMATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

President Wilson addressed the Peace Conference on January 25 as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN :

I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes, to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war, and also to secure the peace of the world not only by the present settlement but by the arrangements we shall make at this Conference for its maintenance. The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements which perhaps cannot be successfully worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of the settlements will need subsequent consideration, that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for if I may judge by own study of some of these questions

they are not susceptible for confident judgment at present.

It is, therefore, necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this Conference should be rendered complete. We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say without straining the point that we are not representatives of governments, but representatives of peoples. It will not suffice to satisfy government circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind. The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world and how the real strain of the war has come where the eye of government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beat. We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by the people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again and I venture to say that

it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

JUSTICE AND PEACE

It is a solemn obligation on our part therefore to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained. This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up permanent decisions. Therefore it seems to me that we must take, so far as we can, a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as gained fertilities. They whom we have just overcome had at their seats of learning some of the principal centers of scientific study and discovery and used them in order to make destruction sudden and

complete; and only the watchful and continuous coöperation of men can see to it that science as well as armed men are kept within the harness of civilization.

MAINTAINING PEACE

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than the other nations should suffer; and the ardor of the order of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations, not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come to consciousness in this war. In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe or the politics of Asia or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place. Therefore, the United States would feel that its part in this war had been played in vain if there ensued upon it a number of

European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interest of the nations and that its continuity should be a vital continuity that would not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations to keep watch upon the common interest, an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive.

THE PEOPLE IN POWER

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? Shall we disappoint the expectations of the people? This is what their thoughts center upon. I had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water and every time the voice of the body of the people reached me through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope of the League of Nations. Gentlemen, the select classes

of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their confidence not only by established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, gentlemen, I dare say, the sentiments of the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keystone of the whole, which expressed our purposes and ideals in the war and which the so-called nations accepted as the basis of the settlement. If we returned to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow citizens. For they are a body that constitute a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak, their representatives to be their servants. We have no choice but to obey their mandate.

EMANCIPATION DEMANDED

But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate; and because

this is the keystone of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions, we would not dare compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish but as they wish. We are here to see that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great powers upon small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to mold the world to their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace. You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have laid down for them the unalterable

lines of principles. And, thank God, these lines have been accepted as the lines of settlements by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginning of this great business.

Mr. Chairman, when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principles of the League of Nations and mean to work out those principles in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load and anxiety from the hearts of the men everywhere. We stand in a peculiar case. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after we had uttered our purpose. They came as crusaders not merely to win a war, but to win a cause; and I am responsible to them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do in honor, to accomplish the object for which they fought. I have been glad to find that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely reverting to this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are designated from the politics of this great continent

and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch and why it occurred to the generous mind of our President to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the foundations of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those foundations spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the surface in this enterprise.

SPEECH TO PEACE CONFERENCE
SUBMITTING LEAGUE OF
NATIONS CHARTER

Delivered in Paris, February 14, 1919.

MR. CHAIRMAN :

I have the honor, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the Commission constituted by this Conference on the formation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report—a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, and Serbia. I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make.

President Wilson then read the draft.

When he reached Article XV and had read through the second paragraph, he paused and said:

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read. "If any party shall refuse to comply: the Council shall propose measures

necessary to give effect to the recommendations.” A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: suppose there is in the possession of a particular Power a piece of territory, or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject matter in dispute. In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decision of the Council.

After having read Article XIX President Wilson also stopped and said:

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows:

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of our discussions which occurred at the sitting of the Commission, was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort.

It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment, with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking. Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiments, I think, the other members of the Commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting. Because we felt that in a way this Conference did intrust unto us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty: that the coöperation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms

of honor and of international obligations. The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those Powers which for convenience we have called the Great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say no nation will run risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a body of delegates, and an Executive Council and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of

delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various governments the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made, might not be repeated. It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because as I roughly reckon it, we represent as we sit at this table more than twelve hundred million people. You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only, with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may originate the choice of its several representatives.

(*Wireless here unintelligible*)

Therefore, we thought this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy. And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings or anything that may lead to friction or trouble is everybody's business because it may affect the peace of the world. And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body it provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted it is not to arbitration but to discussion by the Executive Council; it can upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council on the larger form of the general body of delegates: because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity:

so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background: and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which this League would have to deal. I was unable therefore to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore I should say of this document that it is not a strait-jacket, but a vehicle of the life. A living thing is born and we must see to it that clothes be put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise in and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time.

And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in one thing that we were called to make it definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by the world against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin. Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for coöperation in any international matter.

That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set by the League. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages and sometimes seem to be forgotten while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the maneuvers of one another, while the thought of statesman has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and of finance. Now,

if I may believe the pictures which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day, fall, whether we wish it to do so or not: people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help and will be among the wards of the combined governments of the world. That is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the Secretary General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time. I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year and how difficult it might be to

publish the more unimportant of them immediately. How uninteresting it would be for most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary General to publish them.

Then there is a feature about this movement which to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that has been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily, before we use them for our interests, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself. There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to Powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent

years that the great Power, which has just been, happily, defeated, put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development: that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next high level. Now the world, expressing its conscience in law, say there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate.

And I want to say that so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in such a way. We are not just now discovering our

sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are presented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization. We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an admission, therefore, for the profound satisfaction, that this humane decision should have been reached in matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope. Many terrible things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of a majority of right. People that were suspicious of

one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust of intrigue is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying, "We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship."

APPEAL FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS

President Wilson spoke at the League of Nations meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House of New York, on March 4, as follows:

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

I accept the intimation of the air just played. "We'll not come back till it's over over there." And yet I pray God, in the interests of peace and of the world, that that may be soon.

The first thing that I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League of Nations. I know that that is true; I have had unmistakable intimations of it from all parts of the country and the note rings true in every voice.

I count myself fortunate to speak here under the unusual circumstances of this evening. I am happy to associate myself with Mr. Taft in this great cause. He has displayed an elevation of view and a devotion to public duty which is beyond praise, because this means that this is not a party issue. No party has the right to appropriate this issue and no party will in the long run dare to oppose it.

We have listened to so clear and admirable an exposition of many of the main features of the proposed covenant of the League of Nations that it is perhaps not necessary for me to discuss in any particular way the contents of the document. I will seek rather to give you its setting.

IMPRESSED BY PARIS CONFERENCES

I do not know when I have been more impressed than by the conferences of the commission set up by the conference of peace to draw up a covenant for the League of Nations. The representatives of fourteen nations who sat in argument at that board were not young men; were not men inexperienced in the affairs of their own countries; not men inexperienced in the politics of the world; and the inspiring influence of every meeting was the concurrence of purpose on the part of all those men to come to an agreement and an effective working agreement with regard to this league of the civilized world.

There was a conviction in the whole impulse; there was a conviction of more than one sort; there was the conviction that not a man there would venture to go home and say that he had not tried to do it.

LEAGUE MEANS END OF INTRIGUE

Mr. Taft has set the picture for you of what a failure of these great purposes would mean. We have been hearing for all these weary months that this agony of war has lasted because of the sinister purposes of the Central Empires, and we have maps of the course that they meant their conquests to take. Where did the lines of that map lie, or that central line that we used to call from Berlin to Bagdad? They laid through these very regions to which Mr. Taft has called your attention. But they lay then through an united Empire—the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose integrity Germany was bound to respect as her ally, lay in the path of that line of conquest: the Turkish Empire, whose interest she professed to make her own, lay in the direct path she intended to tread.

And now what has happened? The Austro-Hungarian Empire has gone to pieces and the Turkish Empire has disappeared, and the nations that effected that great result—for it was a result of liberation—are now responsible as the trustees of the assets of those nations. You not only would have had a weak nation lying in this path, but you would have nations in which that old poisonous seed of intrigue could be planted with the certainty that the crop would be abundant;

and one of the things that the League of Nations is intended to watch is the course of intrigues. Intrigue cannot stand publicity and if the League of Nations were nothing but a great democratic society it would kill intrigue.

COMMON RIGHT TO WARN

It is one of the agreements of this covenant that it is the friendly right of every nation, a member of the League, to call attention to anything that it thinks will disturb the peace of the world, no matter where that thing occurs.

There is no subject that may touch the peace of the world which is exempt from inquiry and discussion, and I think everybody here present will agree with me, that Germany would never have gone to war if she had permitted the world to discuss the aggression upon Servia for a single week.

The British Foreign Office suggested that there might be some delay so that the representatives of the nations of Europe could get together and discuss the possibilities of a settlement. Germany did not dare to permit a day's discussion. You know what happened. So soon as the world realized that an outlaw was at large the nations began one by one to draw together against her.

We know for a certainty that if Germany had thought for a moment that great Britain would go in with France and with Russia she never would have undertaken the enterprise, and the League of Nations is meant as a notice to all outlaw nations that not only Great Britain, but the United States and the rest of the world will go in to halt enterprises of that sort. And so the League of Nations is nothing more nor less than the covenant that the world will always maintain the standards which it has now vindicated by some of the most precious blood ever spilt.

STATESMEN HAVE HAD NO VISION

The liberated people of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of the Turkish Empire call out to us for this thing. It has not arisen in the council of statesmen. Europe is but sick at heart at this very moment because it is seen that statesmen have had no vision, and that the only vision has been the vision of the people. Those who suffer see. Those against whom wrong is wrought know how desirable is right and the righteous.

The nations that have long been under the heel of the Austrian, that have long covered before the German, that have long suffered the indescribable agonies of being governed by the

Turk, have called out to the world, generation after generation, for justice, for liberation and for succor. No cabinet in the world has heard them.

Private organizations, pitying hearts, philanthropic men and women have poured out their treasure in order to relieve these suffering people, but no nation has said to the nations responsible: "You must stop. This thing is intolerable and we will not permit it." And the vision has been with the people.

My friends, I wish you would reflect upon this proposition.

DARE NOT THWART MASSES

The vision as to what is necessary for the great reforms has seldom come from the top of the nations of the world. It has come from the sad and the self-aspiration of the great bodies of men who mean to be free. And I can explain some of the criticisms which have been leveled against this great enterprise only by the supposition that the men who utter the criticisms have never felt the great pulse of the heart of the world.

And I am amazed, not alarmed, but amazed that there should be in some quarters such a comprehensive ignorance of the state of the world. These gentlemen do not know what the mind of

men is just now. Everybody else does. I do not know where they have been closed: I do not know by what influences they have been blinded: I do know that they have been separated from the general currents of the thought of mankind. And I want to utter this solemn warning—not in the way of threat: The forces of the world do not threaten. They operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are going to rise and run along—they rise and in their majesty and overwhelming might, and those who stand in the way are overwhelmed. Now that the heart of the world is awake, the heart of the world must be satisfied.

GREAT UNDERLYING MOTIVES

Do not let yourselves suppose for a moment that the uneasiness in the populations of Europe is due entirely to an economic basis or to economic motives. Something very much deeper underlies it all than that. They see that their governments have never been able to defend them against intrigue or aggression, and that there is no force of foresight or of principle in any modern cabinet to stop such. Therefore they say: "There must be some fundamental cause for this. The fundamental cause, they are beginning to perceive, is

that nations have stood single or in little jealous groups against each other, fostering prejudice, increasing the danger of war rather than concerting on measures to prevent it. And that if there is right in the world, if there is justice in the world, there is no reason why nations should be divided in the support of justice.

They are therefore saying that if you really believe that wars ought to be prevented, cease thinking about the rival interest of nations and think about men and women and children throughout the world.

NATIONS MEANT FOR PEOPLE

Nations are not made to afford distinction to their rulers by way of success in the maneuvers of politics. Nations are meant, if they are meant for anything, to make the men and women and children in them secure and happy and prosperous, and no nation has the right to set up special interests against the interests and benefits of mankind, least of all, this great nation which we love.

It was set up for the benefit of mankind. It was set up to illustrate the highest aspirations of men who wanted to be free. And the world, the world of to-day, believes that and counts on us

and would be thrown back into the blackness of despair if we deserted it.

I have tried once and again, my fellow citizens, to say to little circles of friends, or to larger bodies, of what seemed to be the real hope of the peoples of Europe, and I tell you frankly I have not been able to do so because when the thought tries to crown itself into speech the profound emotion of the thought must envelop it and speech will not carry. I have felt the tragedy of the hope of those suffering peoples.

It is a tragedy because it is a hope which cannot be realized in its perfection, and yet I have felt besides its tragedy, its compulsion upon every living man to exercise every influence that he may have to the utmost to see that as little as possible of that hope is disappointed, because if men cannot now, after this agony of bloody sweat, come to themselves and see how to regulate the affairs of the world, we will sink back into a period of struggle in which there will be no hope and therefore no mercy. There can be no mercy where there is no hope, for why should you spare another if you yourself expect to perish? Why should you be pitiful if you can get no pity? Why should you be just if upon every hand you are put upon?

SPIRIT OF MEN IN ARMS

There is another thing which I think the critics of this covenant have not observed. They have not observed the temper of those splendid boys in khaki that they sent across the seas. I have had the proud consciousness of the reflected glory of those boys because the constitution made me their commander-in-chief, and they have taught me some lessons. When we went into the war we went into it on the basis of declarations which it was my privilege to utter, because I believed them to be an interpretation of the purpose and thought of the people of the United States. And those boys went over there with the feeling that they were sacredly bound to the realization of those ideals. That they were not only going over there to beat Germany. They were not going over there merely with resentment in their hearts against a particular outlaw nation. But that they were crossing those three thousand miles of sea in order to show to Europe that the United States, when it became necessary, would go anywhere where the rights of mankind threatened.

They should not sit still in the trenches. They would not be restrained by the prudence of experienced continental commanders.

WON BY SPIRITUAL FORCE

They had come over there to do a particular thing, and they were going to do it and do it at once. And just as soon as that rush of spirits as well as a rush of body came in contact with the lines of the enemy they began to break and they continued to break until the end. They continued to break, my fellow citizens, not merely because of the physical force of those lusty youngsters, but because of the irresistible spiritual force of the armies of the United States. It was that they felt. It was that that awed them. It was that that made them feel if those youngsters got foothold they could never be dislodged, and therefore every foot of ground that they won was permanently won for the liberty of mankind.

And do you suppose that having felt that crusading spirit of these youngsters who went over there, not to glorify against, but to serve their fellow men, I am going to permit myself for one moment to slacken in my efforts to be worthy of them, and their cause? What I said at the opening I said with a deeper meaning than perhaps you have caught: I do mean not to come back until "it's over over there," and it must not be over until the nations of the world are assured of the permanency of peace.

DIPLOMATS NO LONGER CYNICAL

Gentlemen on this side of the water would be very much profited by getting into communication with some gentlemen on the other side of the water. We sometimes think, my fellow citizens, that the experienced statesmen of Europe are an unusually level-headed set of men, by which we generally mean, although we do not admit it, that they are a bit cynical. That they say: "This is a very practical world." By which you always mean that it is not an ideal world: that they do not believe that things can be settled upon an ideal basis.

Well, I never came into intimate contact with them before, but if they used to be that way they are not that way now. They have been subdued, if that was once their temper, by the awful significance of recent events and the awful importance of what is to ensue. And there is not one of them with whom I have come in contact who does not feel that he cannot in conscience return to his people from Paris unless he has done his utmost to do something more than attach his name to a treaty of peace. Every man in that conference knows that that treaty of peace of itself will be inoperative, as Mr. Taft has said, without this constant support and energy of a great

organization such as is supplied by the League of Nations.

TREATY TIED TO COVENANT

Men who, when they first went over there were skeptical of the possibility of forming a League of Nations, admitted that if we could but form it it would be an invaluable instrumentality through which to secure the operation of the various parts of the treaty. And when that treaty comes back, gentlemen on this side will find the covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant, that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure. The structure of peace will not be vital without the League of Nations, and no man is going to bring back a cadaver with him.

I must say that I have been puzzled by some of the criticisms—not by the criticisms themselves; I can understand them perfectly even when there was no foundation for them, but the fact of the criticism. I cannot imagine how these gentlemen can live and not live in the atmosphere of the world.

I cannot imagine how they can live and not be in contact with the events of the times, and

I particularly cannot imagine how they can be Americans and set up a doctrine of careful selfishness throughout to the last detail. I have found no counsel of generosity in their criticism. I have heard no constructive suggestion. I have heard nothing except: "Will it not be dangerous to us to help the world?" It would be fatal to us not to help it.

From being what I will venture to call the most famous and the most powerful nation in the world we would of a sudden have become the most contemptible. So I did not need to be told as I have been told, that the people of the United States would support this covenant. I am an American and I knew they would.

A SWEET REVENGE

What a sweet revenge it is upon the world. They laughed at us once. They thought we did not mean our professions of principles. They thought so until April of 1918. It was hardly credible to them that we would do more than send a few men over and go through the forms of helping, and when they saw multitudes hastening across the sea and saw what those multitudes were eager to do when they got to the other side they stood amazed and said: "The thing is real! This

nation is the friend of mankind as it said it was!" The enthusiasm, the hope, the trust, the confidence in the future, brought by that change of view is indescribable.

Take an individual American and you may, out of ten, find him selfish and confined to his special interests but take the American in the mass and he is willing to die for an idea. The sweet revenge therefore is this: that we believed in righteousness and now we are ready to make the supreme sacrifice for it—the supreme sacrifices of throwing in our fortunes with the fortunes of men everywhere. Mr. Taft was speaking of Washington's utterance about entangling Alliances and if he will permit me to say so, he put the exactly right interpretation upon what Washington said the interpretation that is inevitable if you read what he said, as most of these gentlemen do not, and the thing that he longed for was just what we now are about to supply: an arrangement which will disentangle all the Alliances in the world.

ONLY SELFISHNESS ENTANGLES

Nothing entangles, nothing enmeshes a man except selfish combinations with somebody else. Nothing entangles a nation, hampers it, binds it, except to enter into a combination with some-

other nation against the other nations of the world. And this great disentanglement of all Alliance is now to be accomplished by this covenant because one of the covenants is that no nation shall enter into any relationship with another nation inconsistent with the covenants of the League of Nations. The nations promise not to have Alliances, not to make combinations against each other. Nations agree that there shall be but one combination, and that is the combination of all against the wrongdoer. And so I am going back to my task on the other side with renewed vigor. I had not forgotten what the spirit of the American people is, but I have been immensely refreshed by coming in contact with it again. I did not know how good home felt until I got there.

The only place a man can feel at home is where nothing has to be explained, least of all of which to me in America is the sentiment of the American people. I mean about great fundamental things like this. There are many differences of judgment as to policy and perfectly legitimate. Sometimes profound differences of policy are perfectly legitimate. Sometimes profound differences of judgment arise, but those are not differences of sentiment. Those are not

differences of purposes. Those are not differences of ideals. And the advantage of not having to have anything explained to you is that you recognize a wrong explanation when you hear it.

PROOF AGAINST NARROWNESS

In a certain rather abandoned part of the frontier at one time it was said they found a man who told the truth. He was not found telling it but he could tell it when he heard it, and I think I am in that situation with regard to some of the criticisms I have heard. They do not make any impression on me because I know there is no medium that will transmit them. That the sentiment of the country is proof against such narrowness and such selfishness as that. I commend these gentlemen to communion with their fellow citizens.

What are we to say then as to the future? I think, my fellow citizens, that we can look forward to it with great confidence. I have heard cheering news since I came to this side of the water about the progress that is being made in Paris toward the discussion and clarification of a great many difficult matters. And I believe that settlements will begin to be made rather rapidly from the time on at those conferences.

CONFERENCE GATHERING MOMENTUM

But I believe what I know as well as I believe in this: that the men engaged in those conferences are gathering force as they go, not losing it, that they are finding community of purpose and community of ideal to an extent that perhaps they did not expect; and that amidst all the interplay of influence—because it is infinitely complicated—amidst all the interplay of influence there is a forward movement which is running toward the right. Men have at last perceived that the only permanent thing in the world is the right, and that a wrong settlement is bound to be a temporary settlement for the very best reason of all, that it ought to be a temporary settlement, and the spirits of men will rebel against it and the spirits of men are now in the saddle.

When I was in Italy a limping group of wounded Italian soldiers sought an interview with me. I could not conjecture what it was they were going to say to me and with the greatest simplicity, with a touching simplicity, they presented me with a petition in favor of the League of Nations. Their wounded limbs and their impaired vitality were the only argument they brought with them. It was a simple request that

I lend all the influence that I might happen to have to relieve future generations of the sacrifices that they had been obliged to make.

ANSWERS CRY OF WORLD

That appeal has remained in my mind as I have ridden along the streets of European capitals and heard the cries of the crowd, cries for the League of Nations from the lips of the people, who, I venture to say, had no particular notion of how it was to be done, who were not ready to propose a plan for a League of Nations, but whose hearts said that something by way of a combination of all men everywhere must come out of this.

As we drove along country roads weak old women would come and hold flowers to us. Why should they hold flowers up to strangers from across the Atlantic? Only because they believed that we were the messengers of friendship and of hope and these flowers were their humble offerings of gratitude that friends from so great a distance should have brought them so great a hope. It is inconceivable that we should disappoint them and we should not. The day will come when men in America will look back with swelling hearts and rising pride that they should have been privileged to make the sacrifice which it was necessary to

make in order to combine their might and their moral power with the cause of justice for men of every kind everywhere. God give us strength and vision to use it wisely! God give us the privilege of knowing that we did it without counting the cost and because we were true Americans, lovers of liberty and doing right.

COVENANT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The following is the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations read at the plenary session of the Peace Commission on February 14.

PREAMBLE

In order to promote international coöperation and secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to the actual rule of conduct among Governments and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this Covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE I

The action of the High Contracting Parties under the terms of this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the High Contracting Parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of

an Executive Council and a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

ARTICLE II

Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters in the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the bodies of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be found convenient and shall consist of representatives of the High Contracting Parties. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall have one vote, but may not have more than three representatives.

ARTICLE III

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives
(blank left for names) shall be members of the

Executive Council. Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time, as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League and any matter within the sphere of action of League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings. Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the Council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Powers unless so invited.

ARTICLE IV

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V

The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at _____, which shall

constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council. The secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General, subject to confirmation by the Executive Council. The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council. The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States—members of the League—in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VI

The representatives of the High Contracting Parties and of those of the League, when engaged in the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials or the representatives attending the meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality.

ARTICLE VII

Admission to the League of States not signatories to the Covenant and not named in the

Protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the Covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of delegates and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies. No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to each principle as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

ARTICLE VIII

The High Contracting Parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State; and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armaments is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament,

and these limits when adopted shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council. The High Contracting Parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objection and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being paid to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. The High Contracting Parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the conditions of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to war purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

ARTICLE IX

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE X

The High Contracting Parties shall undertake to respect and preserve, as against external

aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States—members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Executive Council shall advise upon means by which the obligations shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the High Contracting Parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the High Contracting Parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and efficient to safeguard the peace of nations. It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the High Contracting Parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE XII

The High Contracting Parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without

previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitrations or to inquiry by the Executive Council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or recommendations by the Executive Council and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council. In any case, under this article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the disputes.

ARTICLE XIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that whenever any dispute or differences shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The High Contracting Parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that they may be rendered or ordered. In the

event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE XIV

The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as a subject for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

ARTICLE XV

If there should arise between States, members of the League, any dispute likely to lead to a rupture which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the High Contracting Parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council: either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their cases with all the relevant papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the Council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the Council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations and the recommendations which the Council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council, other than the parties to the dispute, the High Contracting Parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper. The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made

within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates the provisions of this article and of Article XII relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

ARTICLE XVI

Should any of the High Contracting Parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII it shall thereby, *ipso facto*, be declared to have committed an act of war as against all other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it (the offending power) to severance of all trade or financial relations and the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nations of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and nationals of any other State. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such cases to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League. The High Contracting Parties agree further that they will mutually

support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the High Contracting Parties who are coöperating to protect the covenants of the League.

ARTICLE XVII

In the event of disputes between one State, a member of the League, and another State which is not a member of the League or between States not members of the League, the High Contracting Parties agree that the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modification as may be deemed necessary by the League. Upon such indication being given the Executive Council shall institute inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend steps to be taken as seem to be best and effectual.

In the event of a Power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of a dispute which, in the case of a State, member of the League, would constitute a breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XIV shall be applicable as against the State taking such action. If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations that will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE XVIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that the League shall be entrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which control of this traffic is necessary to the common interest.

ARTICLE XIX

To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly owned them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the

strenuous conditions of the modern world, there has been applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the permanence of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League. The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, by experience, and by their geographical position can best undertake the responsibility and that this tutelage should be accepted by them as mandatories on behalf of the League. The characters of the mandate must differ according to the state of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, the economic conditions and other similar circumstances. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development that their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of advice toward development and assistance by a mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal condition in the selection of the mandatory Power. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at

such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the Administration of the territory subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military or naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes, and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League. There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory State, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory State as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interest of the indigenous population. In every case of mandates the mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory State shall, if not

previously agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a Special act or charter. The High Contracting Parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a Mandatory Commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory Powers, and to assist the League in ensuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

ARTICLE XX

The High Contracting Parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend: and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a government Bureau of Labor.

ARTICLE XXI

The High Contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States, members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special

arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1919.

ARTICLE XXII

The High Contracting Parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Fundamentally, they agree that all such international bureaux to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

ARTICLE XXIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State, member of the League, shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him and that no such treaties or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XXIV

It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States, members of the League, of treaties

which have become inapplicable, and other international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XXV

The High Contracting Parties severally agree that the present Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagement inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto and subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this Covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE XXVI

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

上海图书馆藏书



A541 212 0020 2458B

PRESIDENT WILSON'S
SPEECHES ON PEACE