

英 漢 合 聲

美國
總統
威爾遜
參議院
說

文麟博士譯

商務印書館出版

Eye should be made safe in America

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序言

威總統參戰演說八篇，代表大共和國光明正大之民意，爲世界求永久之和平，爲人類保公共之利權者也。今戰事已告終止，武力既摧，強權乃折。民意既彰，正義自伸。威總統之言，實爲世界大同之先導。凡愛平民主義者，莫不敬而重之。夫戰端初開之際，世界政治家，莫或能顯明率直，宣布戰爭之宗旨。威總統以平民之精神，大聲疾呼。一則曰求世界平民主義之安全。再則曰棄吾所有，救此世界。俾愛自由者，安居樂業於其間。三則曰此次戰爭，已成平民之戰爭。其言明白正當，無可誤會。其對於組織國際聯合會之計劃，尤爲吾人所當注意者。世界潮流，日趨共和。平民之意思，既操勢勝，軍閥政治，益無生存之餘地。謀國是者，其亦知所適從乎。

中華民國七年十一月十一日譯者序於上海涵芬樓

序言

一



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例言

- 一、本書選擇威爾遜總統演說之關於歐戰者八篇，欲知美國參戰之宗旨及將來和議之基礎者，儘可於此中得之。
- 一、書中譯法，以得其精神爲前提。故譯筆以淺明爲主。不遑修辭，讀者諒之。
- 一、篇中句法，逗用點，句用圈。
- 一、譯名除已通行者照舊外，均以江蘇省教育會草定之人地名詞譯音表爲準。
- 一、譯文與原文詞句，或稍有出入之處，蓋不欲以辭害意也。
- 一、是書英文原稿，承美國克羅先生 Mr. Carl Crow 代爲搜集，譯稿成後，承高夢旦先生多所指正，特誌於是用申謝悃。

美總統威爾遜參戰演說

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美總統威爾遜參戰演說

宣言與德絕交 一千九百十七年(中華民國六年)二月三日在美國國會演說

國會議員諸君

正月三十一日、日耳曼帝國政府、通告美國政府及其他中立國政府、謂二月一日以後、將實行潛水艇政策、於萬國公海劃定區域、無論何國船隻、不得在此區域內通行。今余將此事宣布、喚起諸君注意、亦余分內事也。

一九一六年四月十八日
美政府忠告德國勿

去年三月二十四日德國潛水艇擊沉瑟雪克斯的(Jesson)航船。因未先警告、致傷美國國民若干人。四月十八日、本政府通牒日耳曼帝國政府曰、「若日耳曼帝國政府、不顧國際公法之神聖、人道主義之要求、濫用潛

宣言與德絕交

濫用潛水艇妄擊商船
德如不聽
美將與德
絕交

一九一六年五月四日
日耳曼政府覆
文願限制潛水艇之
活動

宣言與德絕交

二

水艇、妄擊商船、合衆國政府、實迫處此、最後之辦法、惟一而已。帝國政府、若不將濫用潛水艇、妄擊客船及貨船之政策即行取消、合衆國政府、惟有與日耳曼帝國完全絕交之一辦法。』

日耳曼帝國政府以下文之宣言、答本政府。

『日耳曼政府將竭其所能、限制潛水艇之活動。在此戰爭期內、以攻擊交戰國之戰鬪力爲限。俾保全德美兩政府所共認之公海自由。』

『以此義爲根據、日耳曼政府謹告合衆國政府曰、日耳曼海軍、已得下文之命令、此後視察檢查及毀滅商船等項、須按照國際公法。若該商船不施抵抗、不圖遁逃、則必須先發警告或先救生命而後擊沉之。』

又言『德國以生存問題而戰。中立各國、難望德國限制其有效力之潛水艇政策、而一任敵國違犯國際公法而設種種之戰備。如中立國以此

五月八日
美政府公復
言尊重公
法之責任
爲絕對的
非比較的
德國置之
不復

爲要求，則殊與中立之原理不符。日耳曼政府，深知合衆國必不以此爲要求。蓋合衆國政府已一再宣言，堅持保障航海自由主義，無論何方面，不得違犯此主義也。

合衆國政府承認其宣言，並復曰。

「合衆國政府，以爲日耳曼帝國政府，並不以合衆國政府與他交戰國政府協商之結果，爲信守其近來宣布之政策之條件。惟本月四日帝國政府通牒中似含有此意，茲合衆國政府以欲免雙方誤會，謹告日耳曼政府曰，德國海軍尊重合衆國人民在公海上之權利，不當以他國政府有違害中立國及非戰鬪人權利之舉動爲藉口。蓋尊重公法之責任，爲單獨的、非聯帶的、爲絕對的、非比較的。」

對於此五月八日之通牒，日耳曼政府置之不答。

一十九日三
年一月三
十國取消
德國五月
去歲五月
四日宣言
回復自由
行動自由
並宣告劃
定區域二
月一日起
不准船隻
來往者一
之

宣言與德絕交

四

本星期三、即正月三十一日、德國大使致本國國務卿正式公文一通、並附下文之宣言。

「帝國政府深信合衆國政府深明德國爲協商國所迫處之地位、協商國以橫暴之方法、決意毀滅中歐列強諸國。協商國之意思既已顯明、德國勢不得不取消一千九百十六年五月四日對合衆國之宣言、回復自由行動。望合衆國政府深明此意。」

「德國處此地位、爲抵制敵國之不法條件計、將以一千九百十七年二月一日始、在英法意之沿海、及地中海內、劃定區域、禁止船隻來往、中立國之船隻亦在此列、俾斷絕英法諸國海上之交通。凡行駛於此區域內之船隻、將一一擊沉之。」

余思國會諸君將與余表同情。德國不先期通知、驟然之間取消千九百

美國撤回
駐德大使
與德絕交

十六年五月四日之宣言。本政府爲保全合衆國之尊嚴及名譽計，依本政府千九百十六年四月十八日之通牒，施行反對潛水艇之政策。

故余已命國務卿通知德國大使曰，合衆國與日耳曼帝國完全絕交，駐柏林美國大使即行撤回，並給德國大使出境之護照。

德美兩國之交誼正在危險之際，不料日耳曼政府忽有此取消信約之舉動，實屬可悲。其言雖已宣布，余猶不敢信其竟敢不顧輿論，欲人不爲之事，而已則自由行之也。謂彼竟敢不顧兩國國民素來之友誼，兩政府互換之信約，將行毀滅，美國船隻，殘害美國國民生命之強暴政策，實爲余所夢想不到，非待事跡昭然，余不敢信以爲真。

若余對於德國之信任心，竟失其根據。又若德國海軍將領，不諳公法，不知人道，竟以美國船隻，美國生命爲犧牲，則余將復來國會，請求給予事

請他中立
國實行同
一之主張

德國人民
為美國之
好友

保護自由
及正義不
圖絲毫之
私利

美國對德宣戰之理由

六

權、保護美國國民在公海上應享之權利。此外別無他策。余信各中立國亦將實行同一之主張。

吾人並不願與日耳曼帝國政府樹敵。德國國民為吾人之好友，極願與代表國民之政府，永遠和好。若非事跡顯然，吾人不敢遽信德國人民讐視吾人。吾人除保護國民之應享權利外，不欲有一分不正當之要求。且不願圖絲毫之私利。不過圖思想與行為一致之進行，以合於余兩星期前對於參議院所宣布之主義而已。吾人之所欲者，惟保護自由及正義之權利，與夫生命之安全。此為和平之基礎。吾國不得不極力保護之。非欲與德國挑戰也。願上帝佑我，勿使德國無理之行為，迫我不得不盡保護自由、正義、生命之責任。

美國對德宣戰之理由

一千九百十七年（中華民國六年）四月二日在國會非常會議之演說

國會議員諸君

余召集此非常會議，將欲與諸君共定最重要之政策，因其關係之大，國家憲法，不准余個人負其責任。

二月三日，余曾親至國會，正式宣布日耳曼帝國政府可驚之通告，謂二月一日以後，帝國政府將置法律人道於不顧，凡船隻之駛往大不列顛及愛爾蘭或西歐海岸者，或駛往在地中海中與德為敵國之海口者，德國將用潛水艇一一擊沉之。此種潛水艇政策，於戰爭之初，德國似已有實行之意。但自去年四月以來，帝國政府欲踐其所許我之信約，曾稍稍限制其潛水艇將領之活動。凡屬載客之船，不加攻擊。其他船隻如不施抵抗不圖逃遁，則必須先發警告或先救水手之生命而後擊毀之。雖其保護商船之辦法，未甚妥當。殘忍不人道之舉動，亦時有所聞。然尙知限

擊沉醫院
船隻

國際公法
失良心
之根據

制，不至趨於極點。若以現在之新政策而論，一切限制將掃除一空。凡各種船隻，不論其旗幟之國別，不顧其性質與貨物之種類，不問其駛往之終點，均遭擊沉。既不先發警告，又復不救生命。敵國友邦，同遭劫運。甚至醫院船隻，駛往比國，拯救倒懸之比民者，亦被擊沉。雖有顯明之標誌，在日耳曼政府所規定界綫內行駛之護照，亦歸無效。如此行爲，既忘正義，復無惻隱之心。殘害人道，於此已極。

余驟聞此事，不信號稱文明國之政府，竟敢不顧公論，行此暴舉。國際公法以尊重公海航道自由爲起源。經時既久，其效漸著。雖其勢較弱，要以人類共同之良心爲根據。今日耳曼政府以抵制敵國爲名，並將此區區之勢力掃除而空之。世界航道交通，爲人類之良心與共同之覺悟所許可。德國竟置良心覺悟於不顧，潛艇橫行，交通斷絕。損失之財產，猶可賠

與人類爲
敵與全世
界宣戰

勸人民持
冷靜態度
勿以感情
用事

武裝中立
之無效

償。殘害男女及幼兒之生命，究不可復。是德國潛水艇政策，非徒與商務爲敵，實與人類爲敵。德國此舉，實與全世界宣戰。美國船隻之被擊沉者，生命之被損失者，不知凡幾。他中立國之船隻及人民之同遭此禍者，較吾美爲尤甚。不論中立與交戰，友邦與敵國，均一律以敵人視之。此種政策，實與人類宣戰。各國當自定政策以對付之。吾人亦自有政策。然所擇之政策，必出之於中和之商權，冷靜之判斷。適合本國之國性與目的者。勿以感情用事。吾人之目的，不在復讐，亦不在強權制勝。不過使人類之公道，不爲暴行所湮沒。

當余於正月二十六日在國會演說時，余以爲但用武裝保護中立國之權利，使不爲暴力所凌加爲已足。今日方知武裝的中立爲不可能之事。蓋以德國施用潛水艇、攻擊商船之方法而論，實已越出國際公法防禦

敵艦之範圍。其行實同盜船。故公法所承認之商船自防法，實不足盡其自防之道。平常戰艦，日可得而見，故可預防。行同盜船之潛水艇，出沒無常，惟有一見即擊之之法。日耳曼政府，不認中立國船隻駛行其區域內，有武裝之權利。對待武裝船隻，猶對待海盜。故武裝的中立，非惟無效，且將召禍。使吾人入戰爭之旋渦，而不能享交戰國之權利。吾人不能屈服於德國之下，坐視神聖之國權，被人蹂躪。吾人所反對之非法行爲，非爲細故，實戕賊人類生命之根本。

今余服從憲法，盡吾重大之責任。戰戰兢兢，小心翼翼，出此傷心之一途。余謹告諸君，以國會名義作宣告曰：帝國政府實際上已對合衆國政府及人民宣戰。美國國會正式承認美國已居交戰團體之地位，且言明因被迫而出此。並即行預備一切，非惟使本國得完備之防禦，且將極其所

請國會宣
告戰爭狀
態之存在

以全國之
人力富厚

降服日耳曼政府

能以全國之人力富源降服日耳曼帝國政府，而消滅此次之戰爭。因此而生種種問題，亦吾人意中事也。戰事進行，必與對德宣戰之各國政府謀一致之行動，並施以經濟上之援助。對於國內，須組織一切原料之能力，俾應各種之要需。須即整飭海軍，並籌抵制潛水艇之善策。須即加增陸軍，依戰時法定之數，至少五十萬人。余意全國人民須共負服務軍役之責任。此數須按時增加，以應需要。又當與政府以經濟之權，徵收戰稅，以現代人民擔負之能力為度。

不欲重借大債以貽後患

余之所以言擔負之能力為度者，蓋余不欲重借大債，以貽後患也。吾人凡能盡力保護國民之處，必竭力保其無後患。勿使以莫大之債而貽鉅禍於國民也。

吾人推行此計劃時，當勿忘協助對德宣戰諸國，供給其必需之原料。惟

對於吾國軍備之進行，其阻力愈少愈妙。彼諸國者，現正在鎗林彈雨之中，吾人須處處爲之助也。

余並告諸君曰，余將命政府各機關預備一切計劃，請國會各股商酌。惟願諸君以各種計劃，爲政府各機關中人盡其心力所預備，勿加疑慮。蓋戰事之重任，實由政府直接負之也。

吾人推行以上所述種種重要諸事時，吾人之宗旨，仍光明顯白。雖於此兩月之中，事多悲觀，而余個人之思想仍保常度，絕無變遷。余知國民之思想，亦必不因此而改其常態也。余之心中，所抱之事物，與余於一月廿七日在參議院演說時同。亦與余於二月三日在國會演說時同。吾人之宗旨，在使世界和平公道之正義，不爲私心專制所降服。並與世界自由自治之民族，共圖一致進行，使威信正義之不可屈。當世界之和平，民族

以文明國
個人行爲
之法治爲
世界國際
行爲之標
準

德國人民
無罪釀成
戰禍者爲
德政府

之自由、爲不能代表民意之武裝專制政府所危害時、中立已成不可能之事。處此地位、中立之前程已告終止。以文明國個人行爲之法治、爲世界國際行爲之標準。將在此時代而開始。

吾人與德國人民、一無所爭執。除友誼親愛兩者外、別無他種感情。德國政府、開歐戰之端、非其國民之公意。宣戰之初、國民既未與聞、亦未贊同。故此次之戰爭、實與舊日君主及少數人權利之戰爭、以民命爲器械、未得人民之同意者相同。武人專制之國、參養多數之偵探、棋布於鄰國之境。醞釀奸計、藉起戰端。俾利用時機、以重兵壓鄰境。黑幕之中、密行布置。人民不敢聞問、暴力肆其所欲。貪謀所蓄、竟或傳至世世子孫、朝廷內幕、秘而弗宣。人民莫或能知之。若民治之國則不然。輿論勢力、足使政府公布其一切之政策。政既公開、公道自顯。

貴族政府
無信義

秘密為政
和平之誣
賊自由之民
族重視人
類之利益

俄國之政
變為平民
精神發達
之好現象

苟非以平民之國互相結合，而永久和平，必難保持。貴族政府，必無信義。難與言和平之道。知榮譽，重輿論，然後和平乃保。此必有待乎和平之政府。秘密為政，和平之誣賊。內幕之詭謀，敗政之中心。此恆見乎貴族之政府。惟自由之民族，始能愛共同之榮譽，與世界抱同一之宗旨，視人類之利益，較一國之利益為尤要。

近數星期之中，俄國釀成可欣可賀莫大之政變。吾人聞之，希望將來世界和平之心得毋加切乎。凡知俄國之內情者，莫不知俄人之心最愛平民主義。其思想之習慣，交際之感情，莫不具平民之精神。彼操政治之樞紐，享無上權利之貴族，執政雖久，行政雖暴，實非俄國所產生，亦不能代表俄民之意思。今日之政變，已將此貴族政治掃除一空。豁達大度之俄民奮勇而起，足為世界自由、正義、和平之保障者。榮譽者之結合，俄民其

一良夥也。

普露士貴族，必不能爲吾國之友。戰爭之初，德國卽派遣奸細，布滿我美全國。社會及政府各機關中，德國偵探，在在皆是。希圖破壞我國之工業。阻撓我國之商務。擾亂我國之和平。德國之偵探，於歐戰之前，已散布我國。證據確鑿，無可詭辯。其種種行爲，幾乎破壞我國實業，擾亂我國治安者。且爲駐美德國政府代表所主持。此非臆說，有法庭之事實可爲證也。吾人於取締此種種動作時，尙爲德國曲宥。蓋此種行爲，實出於德政府之少數人，私心行事，德國人民不知之。然德政府蔑視我國友誼，擾亂我國治安之舉動，已顯然矣。彼行文駐墨西哥公使，意欲嗾使鄰國發難於我國門戶之前。今事已洩漏，更足證其奸謀之實矣。

德國與我爲敵，吾人亦當之而弗辭。若爾政府，決不能爲我之友。其詭謀

為世界自由民
族之自由民
而戰亦為
德國人民
之自由而
戰

為世界求
平民主義
之安全

慷慨赴義
不圖酬報

隱伏，待機而動，吾人不知其抱何宗旨。詐道橫行，置世界平民政治於危
 險地位。吾人將與自由之蠱賊開戰。實迫處此，滅此詐道，雖犧牲全國之
 能力，亦所勿惜。今吾人已揭其內幕之真相。欣然從事。為世界最後之和
 平，與夫民族之自由而戰。亦為德國人民之自由而戰。國無大小，民無強
 弱，凡為國家公權所關，民族自由所繫者，均仗此一戰，以保正道。以求

世界平民主義之安全。 The world must be made safe for
 democracy. 和平之基礎，在政治自由 Political liberty。吾人一無私意
 存乎其間。既無并吞他人之思想，更無凌辱他國之意思。既不求賠款，復
 不思物質上之報施。慷慨赴義，不圖酬報。吾人惟欲作人類公權之保護
 者而已。苟能達此目的，吾人之志願已償，復何所他求。

吾人加入戰團，既無宿怨，復無私心。對於一己，絕無所要求，惟願與自由

以公平正義爲前提
不爲加禍
於人國
美國人民之
好友

國民享同等之利益而已。吾人所抱之志願既若是，吾人當消除戰時之感情作用，服從正義，待人以公道。吾人爲此而戰，當以身作則，躬行不倦。余於日耳曼政府之聯國諸政府未曾提及，因彼未向吾國宣戰，亦未侵我國之利權，犯我國之尊嚴也。奧匈政府對於德國橫暴之潛水艇政策，已宣告同意。故本政府已拒絕奧匈帝國政府新派之大使他耳璠斯奇伯爵。Count Tarnowski。然彼尙無對於美國國民在海上宣戰之舉動。故將兩國交涉事暫行不提。吾人加入戰爭，爲他人實迫處此，除此以外，實無他道以保護吾利權也。

吾人加入交戰團體，以公平正義爲前提，絕無仇恨之心。亦不欲加禍於人國。但以武裝反對一不負責任，不顧人道之政府而已。吾人爲德國人民之好友，甚願早日息爭，重敦舊交。彼雖未能一時信吾之真意。然吾人

之言，實出由衷。吾人在此數月之中，對於德國政府，一再忍耐，無他，爲其國民之友誼耳。吾人於日常交際之中，對於萬千德產人民，敦睦如舊。而彼日居吾人之社會中，亦能交好鄰里，效忠政府，此足以證兩方面之友誼也。大多數之德產，皆爲忠心之美民，苟有少數之人，出不正當之舉動，彼必友我而敵此少數之人也。設有悖逆之舉動發現，必嚴行取締，不稍放鬆。若一二暴徒，膽敢公行不法，則國法具存，不足爲慮也。

國會諸君，余作此宣言，余心中實抱無窮之痛苦。惟責任所在，不得不出此一策。遙望前程，知艱苦之時日正長。吾人之所當犧牲之事業亦正多。導我素愛和平之大國民，而入此最猛烈之戰爭，豈所樂爲哉。以文明之命運，有藉乎此，不得不然耳。公道之價值，較和平爲尤大。吾人當爲平民正義而戰。使屈於強權之下者，得伸其所素願，參與國政。小國之公權自

公道之價
較和平
爲尤大

灑吾熱血
爲正道和
平之保障

預備海陸
軍爲全部
份最簡單
之事

由、藉以保全。聯合自由之民族，造成一正義之大同世界。則國無大小，咸與昇平。世界或自此而長保自由矣。犧牲吾人之生命財產，作此莫大之紀念。灑吾熱血，用吾權力，爲正道和平作保障。豈不幸甚。上帝其佑吾美乎。吾美舍此道其奚由。

謹告國民 一千九百十七年（中華民國六年）四月十六日

國民諸君

自吾人所愛之國，爲援人道之溺，加入此猛烈之戰爭後，種種問題，因是而生。此皆爲吾人所當急切留意。謹掬誠爲國民告。

吾人已整飭海軍從事戰備。陸軍現亦在籌劃之中，偉大軍隊，不日告成。然此均屬全部份中最簡單之事。吾美加入戰團，絕無一毫私念存乎其間。吾人爲人類之公權戰。爲將來之和平戰。責任重大，當舍去一切私利。

謹告國民

十九

有聯帶關
係之事正
多

預備充分
之食物爲
第一要件

爲國服務。事體既大，其與之有聯帶關係者亦必多。吾人當竭其知能，爲國犧牲。

徒戰不足以制勝。戰事之外，其關係重要之事正多。苟不先事預備，戰事恐遭失敗。今請爲諸君言之。

吾人必備充分之食物。非徒供給本國之海陸軍，及人民之食料。且將以助與我抱同一宗旨之邦友。

吾人必備千百之船隻，運輸一切戰地應需之原料，與夫各種軍事用品。預備充分之煤炭，俾供船隻及工廠之用。預備充分之鋼鐵，俾供製造軍械之用。鐵軌以利行軍。汽車以便軍輸。驢馬牲畜以助工作。他若英法意俄所需要各種原料與機器，吾人當代爲之籌備。

吾國之工廠、田園、船塢、礦地、製造場，當大加整頓，使今後出產，倍蓰於平

整頓工廠
田園船塢
礦地製造
場等

謹告農家

戰爭之命
運強半操
於農民之
手

日。且須因時制宜，以應戰時之要求。余爲諸君告曰。凡男女國民，對於此種種事業，能竭其心思，盡其全力者，則其服務國家之功績，與身赴前敵者同。國中工業界之人材，無論男女，猶若一極大之爲國服務之軍隊。其對於救溺之功，與前敵之戰士同。數十萬之青年，因職務之關係，將免其軍役。彼得免軍役，從事於工場、田園、礦地，使接濟軍需，源源不絕者，其功與彼冒鎗林彈雨之勇士同。

故余謹告農家曰。本國與協商國需要最亟者，莫若食料。使食料豐裕不缺，爲全軍最要之事。若無充分之食料，則吾人所行之大計劃，必遭破裂而無餘。世界糧食之積貯不多，非惟戰時之所需，將仰給於吾國。卽和平以後，歐洲大部份之食料，亦將仰給於吾美。由是言之。戰爭之命運，大半操於美國農民之手。國家所希望於農民者正大。其能盡其責任，竭其知

謹告國民

二十一

南方農家
勿專事種
棉致糧食
產量減少

政府爲農
家協助

謹告行販
中人勿屯
積貨物希
圖漁利

能使增加其產量乎。時乎不可失。願農民即時預備，以達豐穰之目的。國
中青年老幼。凡爲增進農產能盡力者，速歸田園，勤懇勞苦，以助國家。
余對於南方農家，謹忠告曰：食物、棉花兩項，須同時並種。勿以棉價騰貴，
專事種棉。凡爲自由而戰之各國國民，所需之食料，將仰給於吾美。諸君
之能盡國家之責任與否，將以視各種食料之產量爲斷。

中央政府已與各州政府聯合，將爲農家協助，供給種子。招徠農工，置辦
肥料。購備農具。運輸農產。凡此種種，政府必竭其所能，爲農家助。並不准
少數商人，屯積食料，輾轉販賣，希圖漁利。此爲平民國家，宣示其效能之
機會。諸君其勿失之。

故余謹告業各種行販中人曰：諸君無論販賣食料或販賣製造原料，或
工廠產品等，須不忘責任，小心將事。全國之眼光，咸注射於諸君。此乃諸

鐵道人員

商家造船家

開礦家

製造家

君爲國效忠之時機。諸君能急公忘私以利用之否。全國國民之所希望於諸君者，與他人同。當此一髮千鈞之際，諸君須盡其所能，圖轉運之迅捷。於食料一項，尤須留意。以前敵戰士之精神爲精神，爲國家盡應盡之義務。余願諸君各盡其責以獲國民之信仰。謹告鐵路人員曰：諸君無論爲局長、爲僱員、爲駛車人，須知鐵路爲全國交通之命脈。諸君須負保護此命脈之責任。勿使有所阻滯。謹告商家曰：諸君當以『迅速交貨，不圖厚利』爲座右銘。謹告造船家曰：諸君須知戰事之成敗，全仗諸君運輸食料戰品，渡洋至歐，必需船隻。無論擊沉之多少，志在必行。其遭擊沉之船數，諸君必築新船以補充之。謹告開礦家曰：諸君之地位，與農家同。世界之大功，待諸君以成之。諸君如不負責任，致遭失敗，則軍隊與政治家，均無能爲力。謹告製造家曰：國家希望諸君趕工出貨。工廠之僱員，尤須

謹告國民

二十三

盡力爲國效忠。作工之志，切勿稍懈。愛自由愛國家諸君，必不以余言爲河漢也。

利用園庭
隙地種植
食物

主饋婦人
節省食料

廣爲傳布

余願更進而言曰，無論何人，凡能以休息時間，在空曠隙地，種植食物者，其功亦甚大。蓋將以助民食也。主饋婦人，節省食料，不使浪費，亦效忠國家之一法。吾美素蹈浪費之弊，改此惡習，此其時矣。無論男女，當各負責任。崇儉節用，以圖倉廩之實。愛國之道，固當如是。不然，無或能宥其罪。國家當此極大危機之時，願我國民，人人注意以上所言諸點。國中出版家、編輯家、廣告家，請竭其所能，將此意傳布四方。使窮鄉僻邑，咸與聞知。傳教人士，請以此爲宣講資料。務使家喻戶曉，共爲國謀。則幸甚矣。此爲試驗國家能力之時。願全國國民，同聲相應，合力共作。全國一致，爲國服務。

俄德之和平會議

中歐帝國
意在并吞
俄土
德奧所表
示之宗旨

宣布美國和平條件

一千九百十八年（中華民國七年）正月八日在國會演說

國會議員諸君

中歐諸帝國，今復表示其意思，願商議戰爭之目的，與夫平和之基礎。諸帝國代表，現正在亨雷斯立安物（Brest-Litovsk）地方，與俄國磋商。並通知各交戰團體，請協同磋商一切問題，及和平之條件。俄國代表，已將其所抱之主義，及推行此主義之辦法明白宣布。中歐諸帝國代表，亦宣布其大概之宗旨。其中所言，似頗近理。惟讀其實行之條件，實足有使人疑慮者。

中歐諸國所提出之條件中，對於俄國之主權，及人民之意思，一無所保障。惟欲將所得之土地，無論一尺一寸一市一城一省，一一并吞之而已。定此宗旨者，或為知德奧兩國民意之人，亦未可知。惟定條件者，必為軍

宣布美國和平條件

二十五

與辦法刺

閱中人，無可疑也。軍閥中人，不知大多數之民意，而惟以保守其所攫奪之權利爲事。故其言與民意相左耳。現和議已中止，其咎不在俄人。蓋俄國代表，對於此次磋商，誠實懇切，以冀成功。若乃俯首受制於人，俄其能之乎。

中歐代表
爲平民的
抑爲軍閥的

此事之經過，甚足惹起吾人注意。敢問俄國代表，相與磋商者，究何許人耶。中歐列強代表，究代表何許人耶。其代表議會中之多數黨乎。抑代表少數之軍閥黨乎。此軍閥黨非彼國之中心，操彼國之政權者乎。非迫土耳其、巴爾幹諸國爲彼同盟國者乎。

俄國代表
主張會議
公開

俄國代表主張此次會議，必須公開。使天下萬國，咸與聞知。不得在黑幕之中，私相授受。此種主張，實具平民主義之精神。大公無私，足爲天下法也。此次談判中，吾人所聞知者，何人之言乎。其七月九日，在德國衆議院，

作宣言之抱平民精神之黨員乎。抑反對平民精神，主張并吞主義之人物乎。抑吾人所聞知者，兩方面互相刺謬之言乎。以上諸端，均甚重要。和平之基礎，實賴乎此種種問題之解決。

然無論李雷斯立安物 *Pres. Litvosa* 會議之結果若何，中歐代表之意思若何。而中歐諸國已對世界表示其戰爭之目的，並欲敵國宣言其所抱之宗旨，與夫和平之條件。

吾人將以公平正直之言答之。吾人之思想與意思，已一再宣告於世界。爲天下所共知。非惟言其大概，且一再宣布其無疑義無誤會之和平條件。

羅亦佐治先生，*Lloyd George* 以直道之精神，已代表英國人民及政府，宣言其宗旨矣。

協商諸國
無參差之
意見

與德國處反對地位之諸國，一無參差之意見。亦無含糊不明之宗旨。彼動守秘密、含糊發言，不敢直說者，惟德國與其盟國而已。世界生死關鍵實繫於是種種問題。凡為政治家者，若無顯明正直之宗旨，代表多數人民意思之資格，實無權利犧牲其國民之生命與財產。

俄國之可
憐

戰至今日，呼籲之聲，震動世界。咸欲知此次戰爭顯明正當之宗旨。呼聲之最足以動人者，實為俄國。俄處今日之地位，全國擾攘，莫可收拾。德國乘勢長驅直入。俄人所處之境遇，有心人莫不憐之。彼德國者，但知武力之可恃，不知良心之發現。吾人豈能坐視其橫行無道乎。

俄國之精
神

俄國之行爲，最足令人欽佩。彼雖處此無可如何之境，而其直道不屈之精神，不爲稍懈。其對於正義之解釋，明白正當。凡爲人類，莫不與之表同情者。不爲威武所屈。不爲和平所誘。吾人咸敬其壯志。若乃棄友從敵，以

對於俄國
之宣言爲
助俄民得
享自由和
平之幸福

美國加入
戰爭之宗

保夕旦之安，俄國必不爲也。吾人之意思若何，實爲俄國所願聞者。吾人之宗旨與中歐諸國不同之點，實彼所欲知。吾國國民，焉得不顯明正直以言之乎。

無論現在俄國領袖諸人之信我與否，吾敢宣言曰，助俄民得享自由和平之幸福。吾人之宗旨也。和平會議之際，必自始至終，公開於世界。祕密授受之政策，使不再見於今日。吾人之志願也。昔時詐取強奪之行爲，已成過去之陳跡。凡祕密盟結，爲謀一二政府之私利者，決不令復見於斯世。蓋此實爲擾亂和平之導線也。

吾人所可喜者，爲現時朝野名流之思想，已不爲往時陳跡所束縛，其所抱之宗旨，實與正義和平相合，故不憚信口而直道之。

吾人加入戰爭，以保障正義故。正義不行，國將不國。吾人其何以生。故凡

旨

在此世界
求自治正
義公道之
幸福

威爾遜之
十四條件

一 公開之
和平條約
不得秘密
二 航海自
由

悖逆正義之行爲，吾人必盡其所能以反對之。

吾人對於此次戰爭，無一毫之私意存乎其間。不過爲世界求安全，使愛公道者，得生活於其中耳。凡愛和平諸國，如吾美者，必抱定主意，在此世界求自治、正義公道之幸福。而不使武力、私慾、橫行於天下。吾人對於世界各民族，皆當以推行此公道之夥友待之。蓋吾人苟不待人以公道，決不能望人以公道待我也。

求世界和平之計劃，即吾美之計劃也。舍此無他道。以吾人所見，其方法如左。

- 一、公開之和平條約，以公開之方法決定之。此後無論何事，不得私結國際之盟約。凡外交事項，均須開誠布公執行之。不得秘密從事。
- 二、領海以外，無論和平或戰時，須保絕對的航海自由。但於執行國際

三、掃除經濟障礙
 四、縮小武裝至最低額
 五、以殖民地人民之意思
 六、歸還俄國領土

三、條約時，得以國際之公意，封鎖一部分或全部之公海。

四、除却各種關於經濟之障礙物，使利益普及於愛和平及保障和平之各國。

五、立正確之保障，縮小武裝至最低額，而足以保護國內治安為度。

六、對於殖民地之處置，須推心置腹，以絕對的公道為判斷。殖民地人民之公意，當與政府之正當要求共適權衡。此種主義，各國須絕對尊重，不得絲毫假借。

七、凡已被佔據之俄國領土，須一律退還。凡關於俄國種種問題，須協助其自由發達為前提。俾其自定政策，建設相當之政府，並歡迎其入自由國之社會。不獨歡迎已也。且將供給其一切需要。各國待遇俄國之真意，當以能否對於俄國抱親愛主義，與夫能否表無私心

之同情為斷。

七 歸還比國領土
權恢復主權

七、

凡已被佔之比利士領土，須完全退還。其一切主權，不得絲毫加以限制。俾與世界自由國享同等之利權。此為全世界所公認者。若欲使各國信任共訂共守之法律，此舉實為首要。苟無此補救之道，則國際公法之勢力將永化烏有矣。

八 歸還法國領土
及薩斯羅蘭

八、

完全恢復法國領土之自由，凡被侵犯一部分之土地，即須歸還。阿耳薩斯羅蘭 *Alsace-Lorraine* 本為法屬，一千八百七十一年，為普魯士所強佔。因之擾亂世界和平，幾五十年。今須歸還，以維公道。俾得永保和平。

九 意大利疆界之重訂
十 奧匈發展自治

九、

重訂意大利疆界，其版圖之改定，當以居民之種族為根據。對於奧匈須予以享確保世界地位之權利。並自由發達之機會。

十一
羅塞黑
地三國土

十一、羅馬尼亞 Rumania 塞爾維亞 Serbia 黑山 Montenegro 諸國領土，須一律恢復。已被佔據之土地，一律歸還。塞爾維亞，當予以通海道之權利。巴爾幹 Balkan 諸國之關係，當和衷共濟，以歷史上之習慣與種族而定。巴爾幹諸國之政治經濟自由，由國際公共保障之。

十二
土耳其
其問題

十二、對於土耳其帝國之土耳其種族，須承認其主權。其在土耳其政權下之他種族，當享受保護生命發達自治之權利。多丁腦爾 Danellies 海峽，須由國際保障，永遠公開。俾世界各國，共享航路之自由。

十三
波蘭獨
立國

十三、建設波蘭 Polish 獨立國家，凡確為波蘭種族所居之地，均歸入其版圖。並予以通海道之權利。其自由獨立之統治權，以國際條約

宣布美國和平條件

保障之。

十四組織
國際聯合會

十四、確定約章，組織國際聯合會。General Association of Nations 其宗旨為各國交互保障其政治自由，及土地統轄權。國無大小，一律享同等之利權。

去暴惡，申正義。是吾人與各協商國抱同一宗旨。聯袂進行，反對帝制派。為吾人惟一之意思。必自始至終，堅持到底。

必實行上
列之條件
方休
不欲加禍
德國
不欲摧殘
德國之學
術及事業

吾人當勇猛前進，至上述之宗旨及辦法得實行後方休。吾人所希望者，在得正義之勢勝，俾和平得以永保，取締戰爭之條件，得以確立。吾人對於德國之強盛，絕無嫉妬之心。吾人所宣布之辦法，絕無加禍德國之意。德國學術之發達，事業之成績，光明照耀，世所共聞，吾人絕無摧殘之之意。吾人亦不欲阻礙其正當之勢力。若德國能維持正道，與世界愛和平

欲德國與
世界各國
處同等地
位不得不知
德國之代
表人究屬
代表何種
意思

惟一之主
義無強弱
國無均等
共享自由
之自由

各國爲友，吾人亦決不欲阻礙其商務之發展。吾人所希望者，爲德國與世界各國當處平等地位。然決不願其抱作世界主人翁之夢想也。

吾人絕無強迫德國改組社會各機關之意。但吾人與之交涉時，不得不知德國之代表爲何人，其代表衆議院多數之意思乎。抑代表軍閥黨之意思乎。若夫軍人，但知以武力壓制世界。吾人不欲與之交涉也。

吾人之宣言，均爲具體的。明白詳備，無所容其疑義。

以上種種之計劃，均根據惟一之主義。此主義惟何。曰，以正義爲前提，使國無強弱，共享均等之自由，與生命之安全而已。若非以此種主義爲基礎。國際正義，必不能維持。吾美國國民，必堅持之。此外別無他道。故將犧牲其生命，拋棄其一切所有，以爲此主義之保障。以戰爭解決道德問題之機會，今已成熟。人類自由之安全，實有賴乎此。吾美國國民，必出全力

以圖之。以高尚之宗旨，正當之主義，盡解決道德問題之責任。

武力與正義

千九百十八年（中華民國七年）四月六日美國加入戰團週年紀念及第三次自由公債開幕演說

國民諸君

今日爲吾國加入戰團週年紀念之日。去年今日，吾國因受德國之迫逼，爲生存自由而戰。爲世界自由人神聖不可侵犯之公權而戰。此全國所共知，不待贅言。吾人咸知此戰消耗物力之鉅，犧牲生命之多，或將盡棄吾人一切所有而與之一戰。公債猶小事耳。全國人民均知公債爲戰時所必需，卽歲入微薄之人，亦將日事犧牲，盡其所有以輸之。彼貪心重利，不知大義，有餘力而不爲者，必爲國人所共棄。故余之來非爲勸輸公債。蓋將以顯明正當之意思，爲諸君告也。

此次大戰之理由，戰爭之問題，已顯明無疑。吾人必堅持到底，以觀後效。

投資於萬
世不磨之
事業

對於德國
未有一語
出於武斷

以願欲人
者而加諸
人

不抱兼并
之野心

吾人爲公道而戰，人所共知。故公債之意義，不言而自明。卽寡聞之徒，亦知應輸公債，爲投資於永久不屈之正義，萬世不磨之事業也。國人咸知此事爲自己之事。萬一失敗，則國家在世界之聲望與事業，必亦隨之而失敗。

國民乎，諸君知之。余在此猛惡戰期內，未嘗以感情用事。對於德國之言論，未有一語出於武斷。方今之世，人類之命運懸於一髮。若余意在復仇，言近怒罵，將何以對吾國民乎？吾人必以欲人之加諸我者，而加諸人。余嘗欲於德國代表之言論中，求德國戰爭之宗旨。推心置腹，與之交涉。蓋望彼亦以此待我也。余已將吾人之宗旨，吾人之思想，開誠布公，一一明白表示。絕無含糊之辭。並請彼亦明白表示其宗旨。

吾人未嘗抱不義之思想，蓄兼并之野心。但願戰事告終時，德國與他國

亦以正義
待遇德國
不願以不
欲人之加
諸我者而
加諸人

德國欲以
勢力凌加
他人

德國之政
治家與武
人宗旨不
同

受同等之公道待遇耳。公道無偏黨，最後之結局，必以正義為基礎也。無論戰爭之結果如何，吾人若不平心靜氣，以正義待遇德國，則惟自傷其尊嚴，自違其初衷而已。吾人決不願以不欲人之加諸我者而加諸人也。余以此存心，而求德國代表之意思。彼之所欲者正義乎？抑勢力之足以凌加他人者乎？彼之意志已明白表示矣。彼非求正義也。實求勢力之足以凌加他人者耳。

此種意思，非出於德國之政治家，而實出於其武人者也。德國之政治家，已表示其愛和平之意思。願與敵國，共在和議會場，協商和平之條件。德國首相，已承認吾美所主張之主義。雖其語多含蓄，易起誤會。而其用意則固顯然易知也。當德國與俄國在李雷斯立安佛 Brest-Litovsk 議和時，其文人代表之言論，均趨向和平。以順人民之意志，求公道之和平。

爲宗旨。然其行動，則與言論相違。蓋其執行之權，操諸武人。武人好戰，故其結果，與宗旨大相違背。彼武人之暴行，彰明較著，無可掩蓋。吾人但觀其在俄、在芬蘭、在午克蘭 *Dinshio*、羅馬尼亞諸地所爲之事，可知矣。彼是否信任正義，但觀其行爲即可明瞭。彼在俄所占之勢勝，實卑卑不足道。凡好勇之人，必不敢自稱其功。何以言之？曰：俄國處此無可如何之境，遇惟聽人之魚肉而已。徼倖成功，何足自豪。彼德人者，無論何往，不顧正義，但以奪人利己爲事。既佔俄國土地，壓服其人民，而猶曰許其自由，自由果若是乎。

吾人敢曰：德國苟能以武力制勝西歐，彼亦將以待俄者待之。然彼雖以無數軍隊衝入西境，終不能達其制勝之目的。彼若一旦提議和平，許以公道待比法意諸國爲條件，其用意必在減輕西歐軍備。將移其全力，在

德國夢想
建世界帝
國

俄國及東方自由行動。吾苟以是疑德。得謂之過乎。噫。吾人已知其宗旨所在矣。彼之宗旨。蓋欲滅俄羅斯。奴巴爾幹。并土耳其。佔商務之優勝權。建帝國於其地。然後圖波斯。吞印度。而達乎遠東。推其雄視世界之心。而仇視南北美洲。侮弄西歐諸國。此種政策。與吾人之思想絕不相容。蓋吾人之意志。在正義。人道。自由。與民族之自由發達而已。夫民族之自由發達。世界所公認之主義也。德之所以敢放棄上述種種主義者。實另抱他種主義耳。蓋德國之主義。強權主義也。以強治弱。以大凌小。彼所主張者也。不顧人民之意思。而但以強權求商務之利益。亦彼所主張者也。察彼之心。必使全世界屈服於強權之下。而後乃快。吾人其能忍受之乎。若此種政策得勝。則敢與德爭勢勝諸國若吾美者。必增加軍備。以與之敵。蓋此種權力制勝於世界。則平民所應享。弱國所應有之一切權利。必

德若勢勝
則世界受
其禍

以誠信爲
和平基礎
俾國無強
弱咸受其
福

爲其所蹂躪而無餘。世界人類，將復爲自由正義而戰矣。吾美之一切功業，希望，爲累世所積聚而成者，將蕩滅無餘矣。慈悲之門，從此永閉。人類衆生，不將長沉苦海歟。

此種政策，實出人意料外，爲不可能之事。然視德國軍隊到處之舉動，其意若將實行此政策者。余不願以茫如捕風之意，作武斷之談。惟德國軍隊一切無心肝之動作，實爲周到完密。踵跡所至，莫不受其禍患。此足爲鐵案者也。

吾人將何從乎。以余個人而論，實願講和息爭以求太平。然必以誠信爲基礎。國無強弱，咸受其福。余每一提議此種和平，在俄國之德將，輒出與此意有背之舉動，以爲答復。故余已確知其意之所在矣。彼欲與我較權力，余當之而弗辭。余知諸君亦當之而弗辭。普天之下，亦

棄此世界
救愛自由
俾安居樂
業者其間

德國欲以
武力定和
平美將以
無上之權
力使正道
爲世界之
法律

皆知諸君當之而弗辭。吾人將犧牲一切，忘己從公，辭吾所愛，棄吾所有，救此世界。使愛自由若吾人者，得安居樂業於其間。此爲吾人所抱之宗旨。凡吾人一切所爲，均依此而行。國民乎！此後吾人之所言動，所計劃，皆以此爲方針。至協商國共同之權力，將彼不愛名譽，不重自由之勢力，掃除一空，而後止。德國一再聲言，欲以武力定正義與和平。人類之命運，賴美國之公道主義以判定乎。抑賴德國之權勢主義以判定乎。凡此皆不能不以武力決定之。德國用心如此。吾人惟以此而應之曰：權力乎，吾人將以極端之權力，無限之權力，正義制勝之權力，使正道爲世界之法律，擲私心之權勢於糞土之中。

獨立日記念 一千九百十八年（中華民國七年）七月四日在華盛頓公墓演說

外交團及國民諸君

華盛頓公
墓幽閑靜
寂使人得
靜觀世事

自由精神
早脫往事
陳迹之羈
扼

偉人之死
爲成功之
代表

今日爲吾國獨立記念日，與諸君共聚於此古代會議之場，幽閑靜寂，得乘此機會，與諸君談獨立記念之真義。是余私心之所竊喜者。此地萬籟俱寂，若與世事遠隔。昔者將軍華盛頓，與建造國家諸同志在此會議，優游從容，不爲囂塵之世事所擾。自此和藹之山坡，遙視世界之全體。晨光乍照，預卜將來之光明。送往古，迎來日，前途之希望正長。當時之抱自由精神者，固早脫往事陳迹之羈扼矣。

以此爲精神，故吾人雖在此神聖之墓前，未嘗覺其爲埋骨之鄉。蓋此實爲赫赫功業之發祥地也。人類發達之希望，實由此出產。吾人腦中所環繞之意念，均爲此長眠之英雄所成之事業。偉人之死，不過爲成功之代表，足以激發後人之志氣。吾人由此山麓而窺世界，心目中所見者，爲人類求自由之種種想像耳。

華盛頓及其同志，非代表一階級者也。其言論行爲，均爲全體人民之代表。與勒內米德 Runnymede 諸伯爵之行爲同也。註一千二百一十五年六月十五日英國諸

伯爵在勒內米德地方，道英王約翰給大憲章 Magna Charta 爲英國人民自治之基礎。吾人當知彼之言論動作，非僅爲

一國人民之代表，實爲世界人類之代表也。當時諸人之思想，不在南北諸州之大地主及大商家之利益，而實在人民公共之利益。大地主、大商家之利益，以社會之階級爲限，非人民公共意思所承認者。

華盛頓諸
人之宗旨
在謀人民
之公共利
益

彼絕無利己之思想，亦不圖特殊之利益。而其急急然所欲籌劃者，爲各階級之人民謀均等之自由。使吾美得爲自由民族安居之地。吾人不將以此爲行政之導綫乎。故彼之所欲，亦即吾人之所欲也。

吾人自信美國加入戰爭，不過承續華盛頓諸人之計劃耳。惟吾人爲世界各民族求自由，不僅限於一國。此其稍有不同者。苟彼諸人得若今日

成先人未
竟之功

之機會，彼必推己及人，包含世界。今吾人得乘此良好時緣，成先人未竟之功，曷勝欣幸。吾人受先人之餘蔭，必將世界諸問題，一一解決，以圖一勞永逸之功。猶當日華盛頓諸人之解決吾美問題也。今日在此聚會之地，得平心靜氣，振刷精神，以望事業之成功。使旁觀之友人、同事之伴侶，咸知吾人之宗旨。

吾人加入戰團之宗旨，今已明瞭，於此極端慘劇之中，其劇場之全景，劇本之諸幕，皆一一描寫，瞭如指掌。

今以大勢而論。一方面則世界之平民，或已居交戰團之地位，與民賊戰者。或受武力之壓制，雖欲戰而不得者。他方面則平民之仇敵，以少數人所組織之政府，操全國之重權。大兵握手，橫行暴舉，但圖私利，不顧正義。以人民為柴薪，供彼之燃燒。此種政府，實與野蠻時代同其程度。與現今

平民與民
賊

世界絕對不相容者也。

新舊兩時代之交戰

故此次之戰爭，爲新舊兩時代之相角。世界平民，輾轉而死於兩者之間。無調和之餘地。無中止之理由。

故吾人之戰，有一定之目的。在世界平民，咸爲一致。故必先達此目的，而後可言和平。此目的惟何。曰、

新時代之目的

一、凡足以擾亂世界和平之專制勢力，必一一掃除之。即不能一時掃除，亦必大行殺滅其勢力，至不能爲害而後已。

亂和之勢
專制之民
治民自

二、各種問題之判決，無論爲領土、爲主權、爲經濟、爲政治，必以直接有關係之人民的自由意志爲基礎。凡他國或他人民，不得以圖一己之勢力或利益而橫加干涉。

三、尊重國際信約

三、世界各國當承認以近世國家治個人行爲之法律，而爲治國際行

四組織保
守和平
之機關

自由與正
義爲達此
目的之方
法

爲之標準。以神聖不可侵犯之意義，共同保守國際信約。一切隱謀詭計，皆當掃除。俾互相尊重彼此之利權。

四、組織保守和平之一種團體，由世界各自由國聯合成之。保障正道，使毋敢有侵犯之者。並使世界公論，得占勢勝。俾得永保正義與和平。世界各國必尊重此公論機關之權力。凡國際交涉，爲直接有關係之民族所不能決定者，須受此機關之裁判。

吾人得以一言概括以上諸條件曰：吾人之所欲求者，爲法律之權力。以受治者之允許爲基礎，以人類有組織的輿論爲主體。

此種偉大之目的，不能以辨論達之。亦不能以調和政治家各自爲其國之意思而達之。達此目的之道，惟在人民所共認之正義與自由而已。

此間空氣和藹，此種主義之香味，似浮動其中，煦煦若撲吾鼻。當義師在

華盛頓之
精神將普
及於世界

平民精神
必制最後
之勝勢

此初起時、爲祖國所反對、視爲反叛正當主權之舉動。然時移世遷、人咸知此舉不獨爲祖國自己之人民得自由、且爲合衆國人民得自由也。余今日在此演說、確信此種所謂反叛之勢力、將普及於全世界之舞臺、而爲世界人類謀自由之幸福。彼愚盲之普露士人、不知此種勢力爲何物。不知不覺之間、已將此勢力挑動。動機一發、莫能遏止。蓋此勢力爲永存而不可滅、必護最後之大勝也。

勞動日記念一九一八年（中華民國七年）九月二日

國民諸君

一千九百十八年之勞動記念日、與往日不同。勞動記念日、素爲吾人所注重。今其更爲重要矣。

去年今日、吾人知吾國已入生死關頭之行程。今其更明矣。去年今日、吾

工業之器械與來復鎗同一功用

人知全國國民，誼若同舟，必衆心一致，共濟時艱。今其更明矣。吾人皆已被徵入伍，爲一大軍隊之軍人。國中事業，雖甚紛繁，其責任惟一。其宗旨亦惟一。工業之器械，卽軍隊之器械也。與來復鎗同一價值者也。進而言之。若無工業之器械，則來復鎗亦將失其功用矣。器械之用處，何在乎。戰爭之用意，何在乎。吾人何爲而入伍乎。若不入伍，吾人其不將無面目以見人乎。

戰爭之初，人以爲此戰之宗旨，但爲自衛之計。德國以其暴烈之軍隊，橫行於西歐。長驅入比，侵犯法境。將復行其一八七零及一八六六年之政策。稱雄全歐，然後乃快。彼以武力來，吾亦以武力禦之，如是而已。今知其猶有加於此也。

戰至今日，吾人已知此戰之結果，不獨打消歐洲之均勢主義已也。蓋殆

堅持正義
使政府為
民意之代
表
為世界解
脫專制之
勢力

政府為公
僕非為主
人翁

勞動界當
竭力協助
戰爭

有甚也。德將欲以武力打消世界自由民族所不可缺之利權也。此利權為何。曰、以民族自己之意思、定民族之前途、此其一也。堅持正義、使政府代表民意、而不為貴族圖私利、二也。此次戰爭、蓋欲為世界諸國及民族保安全、以反對德國貴族之勢力也。此次戰爭、欲為世界解脫其專制之勢力也。若非吾人捷奏凱旋、則世界人民、將永無自由之日、而不能享安居樂業之幸福矣。政府為公僕、非為主人翁之主義、將不明於世界矣。彼德國政府、為一部份私心專制之徒所組織。故敢驅德奧兩國於戰爭之場。其處心積慮、謀之已久。吾人若任其橫行無道、置人類之命運於其掌握之中、則禍亂相乘、世界尚有寧日乎。人類之生命及利權、尚得存於世界乎。人愛正道、彼尚奸謀、人具惻隱、彼則焚殺無辜之男女老幼、而不知稍加憐憫。由是言之、勞動家對於此次戰爭、得勿竭其能力、以盡協助

勞動界之
隊伍與戰
士同功

美國高尚
之思想

使正誼大
白於天下

之義務乎。

諸君既知此次戰爭之性質，則知必賴工業以維持之。勞動家之隊伍，留於國中者也。戰士之隊伍，出征於疆場者也。然兩者之功用相等。故勞動家猶戰士。戰士為勞動家之代表。苟戰事失敗，則勞動家所艱苦締造之事業，亦必隨之而失敗。前敵之戰士知之。故奮勇前進，莫敢稍避。彼戰士者，實近世之十字軍也。彼非為己國之私利而戰。凡敢以私己而戰者，彼必輕視之。彼拋棄生命而不顧者，果何為耶。蓋欲鞏固人類之家庭，使之神聖不可侵犯。俾愛自由者，得以安居於其中。吾美有高尚之思想，經萬世而不可移者。光明照耀，向彼極樂之鄉。彼鄉重正義，人人具自由之精神。此所以吾美戰士，奮發前進，具無上之快樂，萬夫不當之精神。今日逢此良辰，吾人當抱定宗旨，作神聖之記念。萬眾一心，使正義得大

則少數政
客不敢以
人民為傀

合則無敵
於天下分
孩則受制
孩提

組織國際聯合會之基本問題

五十二

白於天下。少數政客，將不敢以人民為傀儡，擾亂世界和平矣。吾人以信義相結，不問社會之階級，特殊之利益，全國一心，衆志成城。國有患難，猶經裂火。渣滓既焚，真金乃見。階級之界限既除，正義之光明高照。而今而後，吾人皆為兄弟，彼此當相扶助。合則無敵於天下，分則受制於孩提。願吾人聯袂共起，導世界於日進無疆之域。

組織國際聯合會之基本問題

一千九百十八年（中華民國七年）九月廿八日自由公債開幕時演說

國民諸君

今日余在此演說，余之目的不在勸諸君多購公債。諸君咸知公債之重要，何待余言。萬千男女國民，忠愛國家，必慷慨激昂，襄茲義舉。且得銀行家盡力協助，其成績優美，余敢預卜。余之來，將欲乘此機會，為諸君陳此次大戰之重要問題，使諸君更形熱心，為國家犧牲生命財產。男女國民，

此戰有積極之目的

政治家惟盡其所能達此目的而已

苟知此次戰爭之真義，則必盡其所能，犧牲一切。故今晚再將大戰之真義爲諸君詳細陳說。諸君聞之，必覺切膚之痛，而各盡其應盡之責。

每次戰勢有所變遷，吾人心中，常覺吾人所欲成之戰功，更有明白之理由。當吾人之希望達於最高度之際，吾人之思想亦更形精確。時機所懸，一髮千鈞。最後問題之解決，皆在此一戰。此戰有積極之目的，顯明正當，無可疑議。此目的爲此次戰爭之性質及大勢所釀成，非吾人所擬定，亦非吾人所能改之。非世界政治家或議院所擬定，亦非世界政治家或議院所能改之。

政治家或議院所可爲力者，惟盡其所能達此目的而已。戰爭之初，此目的或未明瞭。至今日已了如指掌。此次大戰，經已四年。世界各國盡被捲入漩渦。人類公共之意思，已將一二國家之私意掃除一空。政治家或得

已成平民
之戰爭

從事實
上研究戰
爭之問題

問題五條

以個人之力、開戰爭之端。然無一人或其反對黨得以任意而停止之。諸君須知此次戰爭已成爲平民之戰爭。無論種族之有異、貧富之不同、與此戰均不能脫離關係。影響所及、無國能袖手旁觀者。戰爭所至、感入人心者深。生命財產、不足與之較輕重。戰爭之呼聲、日益清明。呼聲所至、洞穿肺腑。各國戰地之同胞、與夫吾國死難之兄弟、大聲疾呼、求援於吾人。吾人焉得不赴湯蹈火以援助之。

四圍空氣、現已清明。光天化日。萬物盡入眼簾。吾人注目凝視、已得萬事之真相。戰爭之問題已盡從事實上得之。一部份人之解釋、不足以爲據。吾人當開誠布公、當此問題而不辭。此問題維何、曰

一國或數國之武力、得以自由操縱他國人民之命運乎。

強國得任意凌辱弱國而侵奪其人民之利益而爲己國用乎。

皆爲戰爭
所釀成

卽以內政而論，得任專橫不負責任之權力，凌加乎人民之上乎，抑人民得自由選擇其統治法乎。

世界之人民及國家，無論強弱，須受公道標準之判斷乎，抑強者得任所欲爲，而弱者忍辱聽命乎。

公道之主張，一任其自然之結果，或一時之聯盟乎，抑須有共同永久之結合而共守公共之規約以維持公道乎。

是爲戰爭所釀成之問題，非一人或一部份之人所舉之問題也。此種種問題，非待解決不可。然解決之道，不在一時之調和，或利益之分配，而在奠定永遠和平之基礎。此基礎惟何。曰吾人當視最弱國之利益，猶神聖不可侵犯，若最強國之利益也。若吾人真知灼見和平之真義，此卽吾人所謂永久之和平。

吾人不能以交換條件或彼此讓步之調和，與中歐帝國言和平。因吾人已與之交涉數次而無效。他交戰國政府亦曾在布雷斯特 Litovsk 及布卡雷斯 Bucharest 二次交涉而無效。

德國不知
殘信約故
欲與之言
和議誠爲
不可能之
事

吾人已深知敵國之不愛名譽而闇於公道。不踐信約，不知正義，但以暴力與私利爲前提。欲與彼國議和，誠爲不可能之事。德國人民當知吾人不能信任起釁國之宣言。吾人之思想與言論，與敵國已若冰炭之不相容。

爲公道而
戰不可絲
毫退讓

吾人須知和平一道，決非彼此讓步，或改變公道所可能。吾人爲公道而戰，不可絲毫退讓。故余將推心置腹爲諸君言推行公道之實踐辦法。

推行公道
之辦法

對於德國宣戰之協約政府，既抱同一之宗旨，於和平會議之際，咸願出永久和平之代價。創造一保護永久和平之利器。俾實踐及尊重和平之

和平之代價

約章。

國際聯合會

組織國際聯合會之要點

此代價惟何，曰和約條文之中，不論何國之利益相衝突，吾人必以無偏黨之正義爲前提。使有關係之國民成爲滿意。此必有賴乎利器。此利器惟何，曰國際聯合會之組織 League of Nations 是也。此種團體以有能力及有資格之政府聯合組織之。若無此利器，則世界之和平必不能保全。彼破壞公法者，復將乘他機會起而蹂躪和平。德國如欲與世界各國爲友，必先改變其國性。然國性之改變與否，吾人不能以德國在和平會中所發之言論爲據。而當以和議成後，德國能否實踐條約爲斷。以余所見，國際聯合會之憲法，及其種種目的物之解釋，爲議和最要之條件。然此非今日所能從事也。若今日頒定國際聯合會之憲法，則不過爲協商國共同對敵之一種盟約而已。卽戰事了結後，能卽成立與否，亦

一疑問。蓋和平必須有保障物。而又不能以事後補救之方得之。此其理由淺而易見。吾人不妨明言之。蓋和平會議中必有素不守信約之國，列席其間。吾人必籌種種方法，使和約有穩固之基礎。若聽各國政府自行保障之，則必遭破裂之禍。俄羅斯、羅馬尼亞之被蹂躪，其前車也。

概括之言論，不足以爲解決此問題之方法。吾人必規定施行之細則，使和平之約章，成實踐之程序單，而不爲一篇空言無補之大文章也。今請代表吾國政府之意思，以誠實懇切之道，述其細則如下。

一、凡不偏不黨之正義，不知有畛域之分。若以公道待吾之所愛，以不公道待吾之所惡，則偏矣。正義不容私情。除使各民族均沾同等之利權外，不知其他。

二、凡與全體之公共利益有衝突之處，一國或數國之特殊利益，或一

則實踐之細

一、以公道爲前提，不容私情

二、不承認特殊之利益

三、不得結
特別之
盟約

四、不得立
各種圖
私利之
經濟結
合

五、條約公
布

特殊盟結
經濟競爭
為釀造戰
爭大原因

部分之利益，不得列為條件，作妥協之基礎。

三、國際聯合會中，不得立各種之盟結，或各種特別之條約，及各種之允許。

四、國際聯合會中，不得立各種圖私利的經濟結合，亦不得施行關於經濟之各種抵制法。惟國際聯合會為約束各國起見，有禁止不守條約之國在世界商場活動之權，以示懲誡。

五、凡國際條約契結等項，無論其屬何種類，均須將全文宣布，毋得諱隱，俾世界各國，咸與聞知。

對於特殊盟結，經濟競爭，之種種慾望，種種策劃，為釀造近世戰爭之大原因。若不立明確之條件將此屏除，則世界之和平，終非出於誠意，必無穩固之希望。

美國決不
與他國結
特殊之盟
約

華盛頓之
遺訓

余今日所發種種言論，非惟根據於吾國世傳之遺風，且以國際舉動所當守之主義爲根據。余敢宣言曰，合衆國決不與他國結特殊之盟約。不寧惟是，合衆國且將盡其完全之義務，保障國際公共之約章，俾和平得以永保。華盛頓嘗有反對糾纏盟結之遺訓。萬世金言，吾人讀之，未有不嘆其所見之遠也。雖然，彼紛亂而不可解者，惟特殊及限於一局部之盟結耳。若共同之盟結，非惟得免糾纏之禍，且將使世界大放光明，而共同保障公共之利權也。

以上所述國際之實況，爲戰事所釀成。余之所以作此國際實況之分析者，非疑協商國諸領袖，抱不同之宗旨也。惟因戰時雲霧，時或遮日，致生無謂之疑慮，伏釀禍之議論。故不得不一再明白宣言，掃除一切不負責任之言論。使孰出和平詭計，孰爲軍勢衰弱，孰爲用意可疑等等無稽之

談、不復發現。故不憚繁複、一言再言、俾人人共知一切真相、而無絲毫之疑惑、

此次戰爭之問題、非余所倡作、亦非他國政府所倡作。余前已明白言之矣。余不過以見解所及、察其實況而言之耳。然余欣然決然、從事研究。今其實況愈現愈明。非有意作偽者、不能臆改此種種問題矣。故余不得不爲此而戰。余亦甚喜爲此而戰。蓋時日變遷、而此種種問題、愈益顯明。非惟爲余所獨知、世界各國、與余共知之矣。事實日趨顯明、吾人之熱心毅力、亦與之日進而無疆。

爲此種種問題而戰之各勢力、日益接近。千百兆之戰鬥力、已成無敵之勢。交戰國民、對於戰爭之問題、已成顯明之觀念。然此次戰爭有一種特別現象、此現象惟何、曰人民對於戰爭之目的、已日益顯白、而政治家之

此次戰爭
之特別現象

平民之勢
力日增政
治家之勢
力日減

目的，反漂搖無定，難於捉摸。吾人猶謂其能爲人民作先導乎。國家之意思日削，而人類公共之意思日操，勢勝。平民之勢力日增，而政治家之勢力日減。吾人猶得謂操政治之重權者，爲政治家乎。故曰，此乃平民之戰爭，非政治家之戰爭也。政治家必隨平民公共意思之後。不然，必遭覆沒之禍。

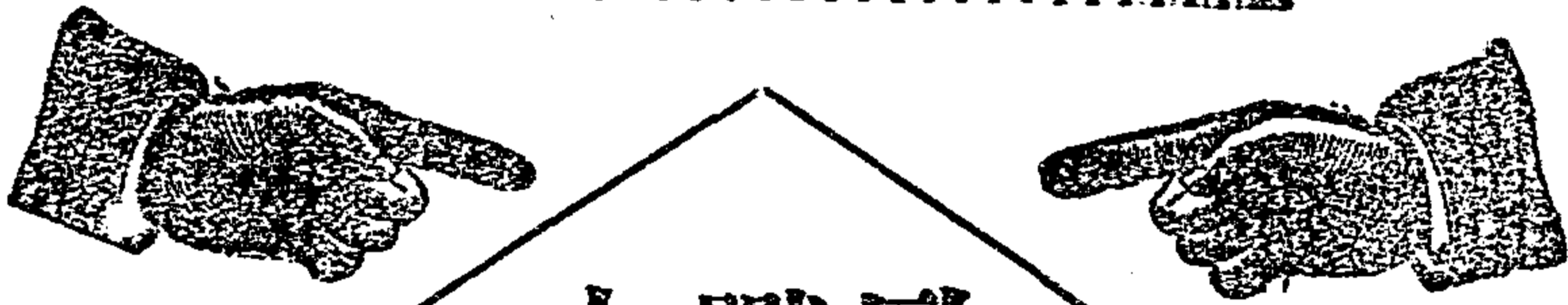
凡平民聚會之時，皆要求政府解釋其戰爭之意思，並宣告其妥協之條件。若政府不明白顯示，則平民終不肯放手。彼平民者，猶日在恐慌之中，以爲彼政府之條件，不過爲權力之分配，領土之并吞，而置日受痛苦之平民於不顧。若然，則大度包容之和平條件終不可得，而平民之希望終不可達也。或者，彼政治家猶朦然不知全世界思想之變遷耶。抑彼雖知之，猶不敢直說，以避應付之困難耶。

苟識余之
語言者必
無誤會之
餘地否則
可譯成本
國文字

正義與公
道

以余個人而論，余惟一之用意爲使余之意思明白曉暢於平民之思想中，而咸爲滿意。彼苟識吾之語言文字，必無誤會之餘地。苟不識之，可請人譯成其本國之文字，而讀之。余願協商國之政府，亦若余之明白直率，宣示其國人，並請對於余之言論，評隲其戰爭問題之解釋，是否有所差誤。與夫妥協之條件，是否能得滿意之結果。統一之宗旨與言論，與在戰場上統一之軍事權同一重要。宗旨合一，則完全之戰勝可操左券。別無他道也。苟協商國能設法保障世界之和平，使此種橫暴之戰爭，不復現於世界。則彼以僞和平爲嘗試者，必歸自然之消滅。德國日以宣告其彼所願受之條件爲事，殊不知世界並不要條件。而世界之所欲者，在正義最後之勝利，與夫公道而已。

梁 啓 超 著



歐 洲 戰 役 史 論

前 已 編 出

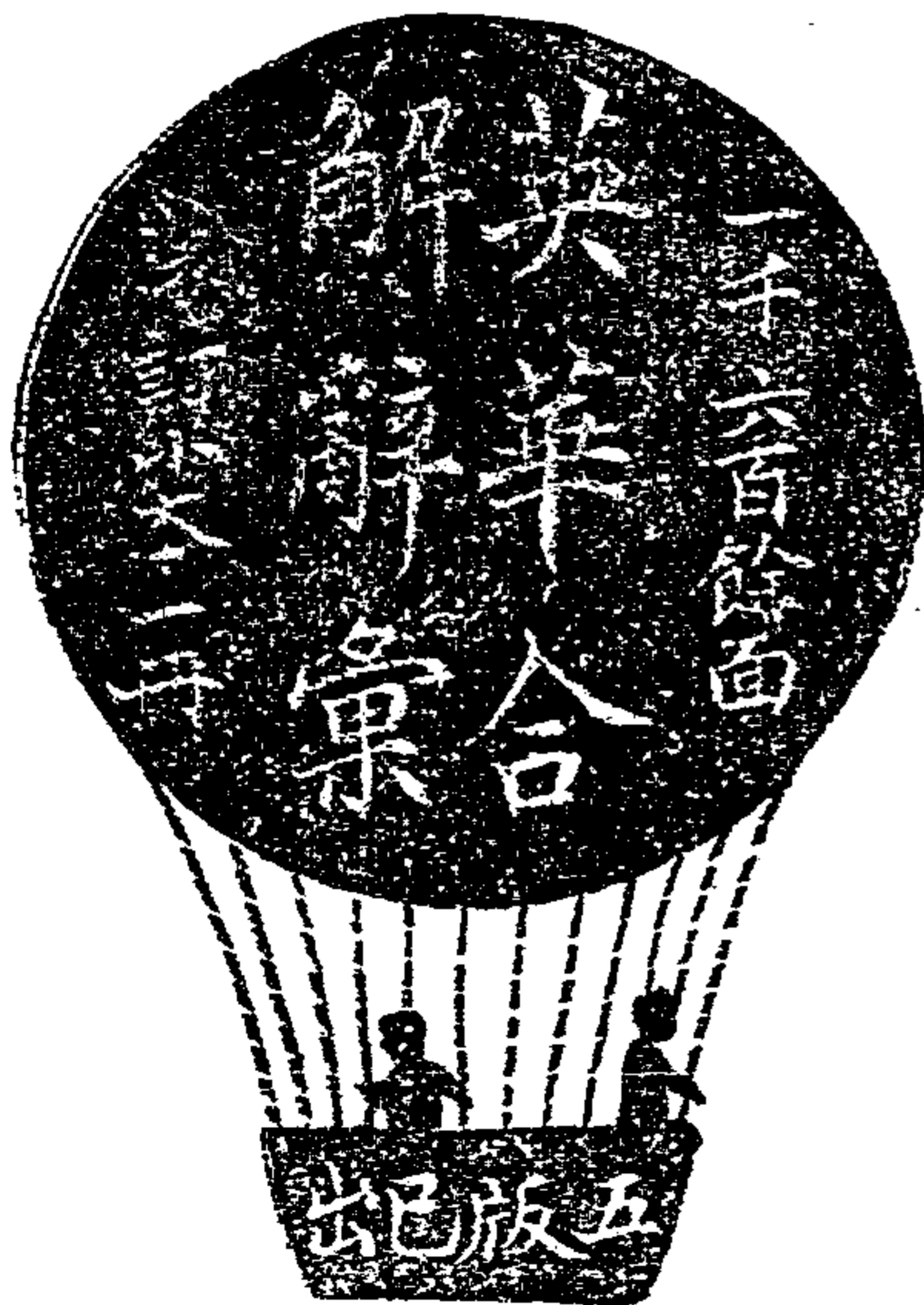
定 價 七 角

梁任公先生文章之價值。舉國所共知。論史之文。尤其特長。前此如意大利建國三傑等篇。讀者殆無不神飛肉躍。今茲戰役。因果糾紛。形勢詭異。非先生妙筆。孰能傳之。本館當戰事初起。即請先生編纂此書。幸承許可。而先生極鄭重其事。搜集材料。結構章法。幾經斟酌。致避露郊外。竭力以成之。本館敢信。無論何人一讀此書。必不能釋卷。非終篇斷不肯休。蓋先生之文本有一種魔力。此篇又其精心結撰之作。故趣味洋溢。感人極深。一讀是篇。則事勢瞭如指掌。洵為人人不可不閱之書。

卷首并有先生手編詩一首。詩格之雄深。書法之遒美。與本書可稱三傑。

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will feel free to say whether they think that I am any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of those issues may be obtained. Unity of purpose and counsel are as imperatively necessary in this war as was unity of command in the battle field; and with perfect unity of purpose and counsel will come assurance of complete victory. It can be had in no other way. "Peace drives" can be effectively neutralized and silenced only by showing that every victory of the nations associated against Germany brings the nations nearer the sort of peace which will bring security and reassurance to all peoples and make the recurrence of another such struggle of pitiless force and bloodshed forever impossible, and that nothing else can. Germany is constantly intimating the "terms" she will accept; and always finds that the world does not want terms. It wishes the final triumph of justice and fair dealing.

they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms,—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and divisions of power, and not in terms of broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace and the satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world. Perhaps statesmen have not always recognized this changed aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the questions asked because they did not know how searching those questions were and what sort of answers they demanded.

But I, for one, am glad to attempt the answer again and again, in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks and are, perhaps above all other, entitled to a reply whose meaning no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get some one to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of the governments with which we are associated will speak, as they have occasion, as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they

definition of their purpose and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded, more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place. The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who still retain the impression that they are playing a game of power and playing for high stakes, that is why I have said this is a peoples' war, not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they came together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their governments declare to them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they were seeking in this war, and what they think the items of the final settlement should be. They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that

weakening morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly, and if need be unceremoniously, aside and say things in the plainest words that can be found, even when it is only to say over again what has been said before, "as plainly if in less unvarnished terms."

As I have said, neither I nor any other man in governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command. But I have responded gladly and with a resolution that has grown warmed and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can pervert unless it be willfully. I am bound to fight for them, and happy to fight for them as time and circumstances have revealed them to me as to all the world. Our enthusiasm for them grows more and more irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid and unmistakable outline.

And the forces that fight for them draw into closer and closer array, organize their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of the peoples engaged. It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for a

always professed and followed. In the same sentence in which I say that the United States will enter into no special arrangements or understandings with particular nations let me say also that the United States is prepared to assume its full share of responsibility for the maintenance of the common covenants and understandings upon which peace must henceforth rest. We still read Washington's immortal warning against entangling alliances with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understanding and the maintenance of common rights.

I have made this analysis of the international situation which the war has created not, of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubtings and mischievous perversions of counsel and it is necessary once and again to sweep all the irresponsible talk about peace intrigues and

basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.

The confidence with which I venture to speak for the people in these matters does not spring from our traditions merely and the well-known principles of international action which we have

likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace; and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought. The reason, to speak in plain terms (?) is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the governments which we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Rumania.

But these general terms do not disclose the whole matter. Some details are needed to make them sound less like a thesis and more like a practical program. These, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively as respecting this government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or group of nations can be made the

necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under governments that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table but by what follows.

And, as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, and in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy. It is not

because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We cannot "come to terms" with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we cannot accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should be no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the practical implications that are involved in it.

If it be in deed and in truth the common object of the governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be

Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it; and they must be settled,—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

This is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace, if we speak sincerely, intelligently, and with a real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments of the Central Empires,

as they please. It has become a people's war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement. We came into it when its character had become fully defined and it was plain that no nation could stand apart or be indifferent to its outcome. Its challenge drove to the heart of everything we cared for and lived for. The voice of the war had become clear and gripped our hearts. Our brothers from many lands, as well as our own murdered dead under the sea, were calling to us, and we responded, fiercely and of course.

The air was clear about us. We saw things in their full, convincing proportions as they were; and we have seen them with steady eyes and unchanging comprehension ever since. We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

Shall the strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

self-denial. No man or woman who has really taken in what this war means can hesitate to give to the very limit of what they have; and it is my mission here to-night to try to make it clear once more what the war really means. You will need no other stimulation or reminder of your duty.

At every turn of the war we gain a fresh consciousness of what we mean to accomplish by it. When our hopes and expectations are most excited we think more definitely than before of the issues that hang upon it and of the purposes which must be realized by means of it. For it has positive and well-defined purposes which we did not determine and which we cannot alter. No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the war.

The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry them out or be false to them. They were perhaps not clear at the outset; but they are clear now. The war has lasted more than four years and the world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual states. Individual statesmen may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AN INDISPENSABLE INSTRUMENTALITY

*President Wilson's address delivered on September
28, at the opening of the American Fourth
Liberty Loan Campaign*

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

I am not here to promote the loan. That will be done—ably and enthusiastically done—by the hundreds of thousands of loyal and tireless men and women who have undertaken to present it to you and to our fellow citizens throughout the country; and I have not the least doubt of their complete success; for I know their spirit and the spirit of the country. My confidence is confirmed, too, by the thoughtful and experienced coöperation of the bankers here and everywhere, who are lending their invaluable aid and guidance. I have come, rather, to seek an opportunity to present to you some thoughts which I trust will serve to give you, in perhaps fuller measure than before, a vivid sense of the great issues involved, in order that you may appreciate and accept with added enthusiasm the grave significance of the duty of supporting the government by your men and your means to the utmost point of sacrifice and

for all men to places where justice is done and men live with lifted heads and emancipated spirits. That is the reason they fight with solemn joy and are invincible.

Let us make this, therefore, a day of fresh comprehension, not only of what we are about and of renewed and clear-eyed resolution, but a day of consecration also in which we devote ourselves without pause or limit to the great task of setting our own country and the whole world free to render justice to all and of making it impossible for small groups of political rulers anywhere to disturb our peace or the peace of the world or in any way to make tools and puppets of those upon whose consent and upon whose power their own very existence depends.

We may count upon each other. The nation is of a single mind. It is taking council with no special class: it is serving no private or single interest; its own mind has been cleared and fortified by these days which burn the dross away. The light of a new conviction has penetrated to every class among us: we realize as we never realized before that we are comrades dependent on one another, irresistible when united, powerless when divided.

And so we join hands to lead the world to new and better days.

which after long premeditation drew Austria and Germany into this war, are permitted to control the destinies and daily fortunes of men; plotting, while honest men work, and laying fires of which innocent men, women, and children are to be the fuel.

You know the nature of this war. It is a war which industry must sustain. The army of laborers at Home is as important, as essential, as the army of fighting men in the fields of actual battle. And the laborer is not only needed as soldiers in this war. The soldier is his champion and representative. To fail to win would be to imperil everything that the laborer has striven for and held dear since freedom first had its dawn and his struggle for justice began. The soldiers at the Front know this. It steels their muscles to think of it. They are Crusaders. They are fighting for no selfish advantage for their own nation. They would despise any one who fought for selfish advantage and his nation. They are giving their lives that homes everywhere, as well as the homes they love in America, may be kept sacred and safe and men everywhere be free, as they insist upon being free. They are fighting for the ideals of their own land: great ideals, immortal ideals, ideals which shall light the way

the military aggression of Germany. Belgium had been violated, France invaded and Germany was afield again, as in 1870 and 1866, to work out her ambitions in Europe, and it was necessary to meet her force with force.

But it is clear now that it was much more than a war to alter the balance of power in Europe. Germany, it is now plain, was striking at what free men everywhere desire and must have—the right to determine their own fortunes, to insist upon justice and to oblige governments to act for them and not for the private and selfish interests of the governing class. It is a war to make the nations and peoples of the world secure against every such power as German autocracy represents. It is a war of emancipation: not until it is won can men anywhere live free from constant fear or breathe freely while they go about their daily tasks and know that governments are their servants not their master.

This is, therefore, a war of all wars which Labor should support, and support with all its concentrated power. The world cannot be safe, men's lives cannot be secure, no man's rights can be confidently and successfully asserted against the rule and mastery of arbitrary groups and special interests so long as governments like that,

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LABOR DAY ADDRESS

September 2, 1918

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

Labor Day, 1918, is not like any Labor Day that we have known. Labor Day was always deeply significant with us. Now it is supremely significant. Keenly as we were aware a year ago of the enterprise of life and death upon which the nation had embarked, we did not perceive its meaning as clearly as we do now. We knew that we were all partners and must stand and strive together but we did not realize, as we do now, that we are all enlisted men; members of a single army of many parts and many tasks but commanded by a single obligation, our faces set toward a single objective. We now know that every tool in every essential industry is a weapon, and a weapon wielded for the same purpose that an army rifle is wielded, a weapon which, if we were to lay it down, no rifle would be of any use.

And a weapon for what? What is the war for? Why are we enlisted? Why should we be ashamed if we were not enlisted? At first it seemed hardly more than a war of defense against

have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as the people of the United States, and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself. The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they knew little of, forces which once roused can never be crushed to earth again, for they have at their heart the inspiration and purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph.

Fourthly, the establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of the free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

These great ends cannot be achieved by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish with their projects for balances of power and of national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the world desire with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority, but which it has long since seen to

These are the ends for which the Associated Peoples of the World are fighting and which must be conceded to them before there can be peace:

First, the destruction of every arbitrary power, anywhere, that can separately, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotence.

Secondly, the settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or political relationship upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

Thirdly, the consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and respect for the common laws of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of mutual respect for right.

written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy.

On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged but many others also who suffer under mastery but cannot act, peoples of many races and in every part of the world—the people of stricken Russia still among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless.

Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stands, isolated and friendless, a group of governments who speak no common purpose but only selfish ambitions of their own by means of which none can profit but themselves and whose people are fuel in their hands, governments which fear their people and yet are for the time their sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—governments clothed with the strange trappings and primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own.

The past and present are in deadly grapple and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them. There can be no compromise, no half-way decision would be tolerable, no half-way decision is conceivable.

and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men, and we take our cue from them, do we not? We intend what they intended.

We here, in America, believe our participation in this present war to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this: that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation what shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled once for all what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw to-day. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look upon our task that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment, and this is an appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who look on and to the friends with whom we have the happiness to be associated in our action, the faith and purpose with which we act.

This then is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is

reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded are the inspiring associations of that noble death which is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside we also ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes that world that lies about us and should conceive anew the purposes that must set men free.

It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot—that Washington and his associates, like the barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted not for a class but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted not for a single people only but for all mankind. They were thinking not of themselves and of the material interests which centered in the little groups of landowners, merchants, and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south thereof, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they had not themselves chosen to rule over them.

They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free

PRESIDENT WILSON'S INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH

*Delivered at Washington's Tomb at Mount Vernon,
July 4, 1918*

GENTLEMEN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND
FELLOW CITIZENS:

I am happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence. This place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from the past, which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure.

It is for this reason that we cannot feel even here, in the immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place of death. It was the place of achievement. A great promise that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and

those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force and force alone shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is therefore but one response possible for us: force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish even at this moment of utter disillusionment to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

What then are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer when I proposed such a peace came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all what we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of

which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power; for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not; that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the world, a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak must, for the being, be trodden under foot and disregarded and the old age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for, and lived and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization, will have fallen to utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

The thing is preposterous and impossible, and yet is not that what the whole course and

are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement; and the peoples of the conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their Western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East? Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic people, all the free and ambitious nations of the Balkan Peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled subject to their will and ambition and build upon that dominion an empire of force, upon which they fancy they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the America as to the Europe

was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said—in indefinite and uncertain terms indeed and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning but with as much plainness as he thought prudent—that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles that we had declared would be our own in the final settlement. At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; they professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with those fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We cannot mistake what they have done—in Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Roumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest. They

purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready whenever the final reckoning is made to be just to the German people, to deal fairly with the German Power as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause. For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the expectation of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered, answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it

higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come therefore to urge the Loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

The reasons for this great war, the reasons why it had to come, the need to fight it through and the issues that hang upon its outcome are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means because the cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least can now see plainly how the cause of justice stands and what the imperishable thing is he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than ever before that the cause is their own and that if it should be lost, their own great nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that at no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive

PRESIDENT WILSON ACCEPTS CHALLENGE OF GERMANY TO SETTLE WORLD'S DESTINY BY FORCE

Speech delivered before a meeting held to commemorate the first anniversary of the entrance of America into the war and to inaugurate the campaign for the third Liberty Loan, Baltimore, April 6, 1918

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

This is the anniversary of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free and for the sacred right of free men everywhere. The nation is awake. There is no need to call to it. We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men and, if need be, all that we possess. The Loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meager earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who demand a

devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the people of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the Military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question.

An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by regarding the chief provisions against war, which this program does regard. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it.

We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to

and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored, Servia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous developments, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and free independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their impression of her needs as distinguished from their own interests and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principles that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the sincerity (? society) of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment

impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their occurrence.

What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions and be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the people of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness.

Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace. It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world.

It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We have entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people

treasure unless he is beyond peradventure sure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them as right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power apparently is shattered.

FINENESS OF RUSSIA'S PART

And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to

to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory.

There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them.

Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in an admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain.

There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and

which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan States which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war?

The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conference they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been the audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the Liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradictions? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

ANSWER TO GERMAN CHALLENGE

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the conclusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterance of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted

That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied, every province, every city, every point of vantage, as a permanent addition to their territories and their power.

It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the forces of their own people's thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Powers speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective Parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority

PRESIDENT WILSON ANNOUNCES PEACE TERMS OF AMERICA

Speaking before Congress, January 8, 1918

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russia and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents have been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to the terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of a settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added.

and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

WOODROW WILSON.

kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service;" and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does: the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest, also, that every one who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man

unhampered as it is possible to make it and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great Democracy and we shall not fall short of it!

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any

The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done and done immediately to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

The Government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to coöperate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as

service will of right and necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are coöperating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency but for some time after peace shall come both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America. Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure, rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual coöperation in the sale and distribution of their products?

worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves but cannot now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and the women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battle field or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international, Service Army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military

enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice, it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting:

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea but also to clothe and support our people for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work, to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are coöperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS TO
HIS FELLOW COUNTRYMEN

April 16, 1917

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our navy upon an effective war footing and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the

it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it be may for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible

necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. **The world must be made safe for democracy.** Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister as Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if

crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce.

Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the

guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life. The autocracy that

of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully

very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February.

Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards

people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make

so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war of at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our

make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may

submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot

people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because

ment that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough result, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent

to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any govern-

WHY AMERICA WENT TO WAR

*President Wilson's Famous Address at the Opening of
the War Congress, April 2, 1917*

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its under-sea craft in conformity with its promise then given

sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago,—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the

withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the eighteenth of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to His Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty

On the thirty-first of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contains the following statement:

“The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies’ brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente Allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

“Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.”

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately

To this the Government of the United States replied on the eighth of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding,

“The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.”

To this note of the eighth of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

agreement with the Government of the United States.

“The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

“But,” it added, “neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.”

Imperial German Government in which it made the following declaration:

“If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.”

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

“The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in

PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECHES ON THE WORLD WAR



DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BROKEN

The President's Address to Congress, February 3, 1917

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

The Imperial German Government on the thirty-first of January announced to this Government and to the governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the eighteenth of April last, in view of the sinking on the twenty-fourth of March of the cross-channel passenger steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the

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PREFACE

This collection is made up of some of the great speeches of President Wilson on the world war. In them the President enunciated the fundamental principles for which the Allied nations fought. They clarified the thinking for the Allied peoples, and will serve as guiding principles in the coming peace conference.

The Chinese translation is done by Monlin Chiang, Ph. D. of Columbia University. The work is faithfully done, though in some places a careful rendering of the idea, rather than a literal translation, is aimed at. In a few places the translator has taken the liberty to make omissions. Some of the speeches are reproduced from press dispatches, so it is possible that inaccuracies have crept in.

Because of their captivating eloquence, their lofty ideals, and their lucid statement of great principles that animated the Allies and will guide the destiny of the world, these speeches have come to be regarded as classics of the English language. They will no doubt be studied as English literature in Chinese schools. The Chinese translation will render the book suitable for a text in translation classes.

FONG F. SEC.

November 15, 1918.

**PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECHES
ON THE WORLD WAR**

TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE

**BY
MONLIN CHIANG, PH. D.**

FIRST EDITION

**COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
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Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth President of the United States, was born at Staunton, Virginia, on December 28, 1856, and is of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His father was a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church.

He was brought up and received his first education in the South. Afterwards he entered Princeton University, graduating in 1879. In his college days he was noted for his ability as a debater and a writer.

He studied law at the University of Virginia, and took post-graduate work in political science at Johns Hopkins University, obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1886.

The first years of his active life were spent in academic work, as Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy. In 1902 he became President of Princeton University, and during his period of office introduced many reforms for the purpose of making that institution more democratic.

After resigning his presidency he entered upon political life and was elected Governor of the State of New Jersey in 1910. He was known as a Reform-Governor, and did much for the purification of State politics. He showed that the scholar and the practical man of affairs could be combined in one personality.

In 1912 he was elected as President of the United States, and was reelected for a second term in 1916.

Upon the outbreak of the European War he strove to keep the United States from becoming involved, but when the moral issues of the war became clearly defined, he called on the country to enter whole-heartedly into the struggle, and he assumed the place of leadership for which he was so eminently qualified.

With moral fervor, keen logic, and fine literary expression he formulated in speech and writing the aims and ideals of the Allied Nations.

His speeches will take rank in American literature with those of Webster and Lincoln.

The idea of publishing them in such a form that they can be used in educational work is a happy one.

From them the student can derive sound teaching in regard to democracy, and can obtain a model of good writing and speaking.

F. L. HAWKS POTT.



遜爾威統總大國美

WOODROW WILSON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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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。實為是書。共計七萬餘言。

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on the World War
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PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECHES
ON THE WORLD WAR