

Proposed International Convention to Establish International Government to Coerce Militarism and Assure Permanent Peace.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. OWEN,  
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, August 23, 1917.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, on August 20 I introduced a joint resolution which I think may have a most far-reaching effect upon this war if it should meet the approval of the Congress.

This joint resolution proposes, as a war measure, an international convention for the purpose of terminating international anarchy, establishing international government in lieu thereof, and coercing the Teutonic military conspiracy by the organized commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of the world. I desire to read the joint resolution to the Senate, because it explains itself, requires but little explanation, and is the shortest way in which to present the proposals which I wish to offer.

"A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 94) proposing as a war measure an international convention for the purpose of terminating international anarchy, establishing international government in lieu thereof, and coercing the Teutonic military conspiracy by the organized commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of the world.

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the opinion of the representatives of the people of the United States assembled in Congress that international government, supported by international force, should be immediately organized to take the place of the existing international anarchy; that competing armaments should be replaced by a noncompetitive international army and navy; that the Teutonic military conspiracy to dominate the world should be overthrown by the combined commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of the world.

"That international government should be based upon the following principles:

"First. Every civilized nation and informed people should have the unquestionable right of internal self-government, with exclusive control within its own territory over immigration, emigration, imports, exports, and all internal affairs, with the right to make its own political and commercial affiliations.

"Second. The oceans and high seas should be free and open under international rules. All international waterways, straits,

9633--17843



and canals should be open on equal terms to the citizens of all nations. Equal terms should be arranged for fuel, repairs, and dockage in all ports for the ships belonging to the citizens of all nations.

"Third. All interior nations having no seaports should have the right of shipment of their goods in bond on equal terms and conditions, without tax, through any intervening territory to the seaports of any other nation with equal access to shipping facilities.

"Fourth. That there should be established by international agreement an international organization of all civilized nations with an international legislative council to draft rules of international law to be submitted to the several nations for approval. That when such rules of international law are approved by the parliaments, or lawmaking branch of the governments of three-fourths of the member nations, representing three-fourths of the total population of all the member nations, such international rules should be binding on all member nations. Such rules should be limited to the powers expressly delegated to such international legislative council and strictly confined to international affairs.

"Fifth. The international legislative council should elect and define the duties of a representative international executive cabinet to execute and enforce the rules established as international law.

"Sixth. The international legislative council should have representatives from each member nation exercising a voting power according to relative population, relative wealth, and relative governmental development, to be determined by international agreement.

"Seventh. The international legislative council should establish and define the duties of an international supreme court, with power to pass upon all questions of international controversy incapable of diplomatic adjustment but with no power to pass on questions affecting the reserved rights of nations.

"Eighth. The international legislative council should formulate the method for raising an international army and navy and for establishing an international blockade and other means for enforcing the rights of member nations under international law, such army and navy to be provided and sustained by the member nations pro rata according to relative population and wealth.

"Ninth. With the conclusion of the present war the nations of the world should agree to reduce in progressive stages their land and sea forces to a point preferably not to exceed internal or local police purposes and the quota required for the international army and navy.

"With progressive disarmament and international peace safeguarded by world government dissatisfied nations now held captive by dominant nations for strategical purposes could be safely given their liberty.

"Tenth. That the international army and navy should not be authorized to exercise military force further than to prevent or suppress the invasion of the territorial integrity of any of the member nations and in the blockade and embargo to enforce international law.

"Eleventh. That it should be a violation of international law and the highest international crime for any nation on any alleged ground to invade the territorial limits of another nation. The penalty of such invasion should be immediate international



blockade of the invading nation, embargo on all mail, express, and freight to or from such nation, and the suppression of such invasion by the international army and navy.

"Twelfth. That nations backward in education, industrial, and economic development, and in the knowledge of the principles of government should have their rights safeguarded on the principles of freedom, humanity, and justice by international agreement with a view to future self-government.

"Thirteenth. It is clearly realized that the program of progressive disarmament or permanent world peace is impossible of attainment until the military forces now ruling the Teutonic people, first, either voluntarily acquiesce in progressive disarmament and international justice as the basis of world peace; second, are forced to do so by the Teutonic people; or, third, are coerced to do so by the combined powers of the world.

"Fourteenth. That in order to bring this war to an early termination, the belligerent nations opposing the Teutonic powers should immediately cohere on a plan of international government pledging justice and peace to all member nations and the coercion of the military autocracy of Prussia by the commercial, financial, military, and naval forces of the world, giving assurance, nevertheless, to the Governments of Germany and Austria of their willingness to admit the Teutonic powers as members of the proposed international union on equal terms with other nations when they shall have met the conditions and given satisfactory guaranties.

"Fifteenth. In our opinion no reliance should be placed upon the vague suggestions of peace of the Teutonic military autocracy, but that their obscure proposals should be regarded merely as a military ruse. The peace resolution of the Reichstag, while promising well for the attitude of the German people, when they achieve self-government, can not at present be regarded as a proposal binding on or capable of enforcement by the German people, because they do not control their own Government, but are mere subjects and puppets of a military autocracy which has long conspired and still dreams of conquering the world by military force and terrorism. The United States and the nations opposing militarism should strenuously prosecute the war with every available resource, and no separate peace should be made by any of them until the menace of the military autocracy of Germany is removed.

"Sixteenth. It is our opinion that if a world-wide agreement can be established on the above principles, and the men now engaged in slaughter and destructive activities can be returned to productive industry, the world could quickly recover the gigantic shock of the present war and would be able without serious difficulty to soon repair the material injuries and losses already suffered.

"Seventeenth. The United States does not enter this war for material advantage, for any selfish purpose, or to gratify either malice or ambition. The United States will not approve forcible annexations or mere punitive indemnities, but it will approve a free Poland, the restoration of territory wrongfully taken from France and Italy, and restorative indemnity to Belgium and Serbia, and the adjustment of other differences by international conferences. It will favor extending international credits for the restoration of all places made waste by war. The United States enters this war in self-defense; to protect its



own citizens and the nations of the world in their present and future rights to life and liberty on land and sea. It does not wish the world to remain an armed camp.

"Eighteenth. No peace is desirable until the world can be safeguarded against a repetition of the present war. Competitive armaments must be ended and replaced by international cooperative armaments in order to assure permanent world peace.

"Nineteenth. That the President of the United States shall immediately submit the above resolution to the belligerent nations now defending themselves against Prussian military autocracy and invite them and all neutral nations by wire to an international convention for the purpose of considering the above principles and taking affirmative action for the early suppression of the Teutonic military autocratic conspiracy by the combined commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of all nations.

"Twentieth. The sum of \$400,000 is hereby appropriated to meet the cost of promoting such convention."

Mr. President, in waging war on the Prussian military autocracy for the suppression of its conspiracy to rule the whole world by military force and terrorism, the people of the United States have determined to use every resource at their command until this object is accomplished.

The Pan-German leaders are in control of the governmental powers and of the Army and Navy of Germany. They demand world power. They demand annexations and indemnities. They regard treaties as scraps of paper. They have terrorized the seas, made war on us and on all nations, and conspired against our future peace. They are using the German people as puppets and pawns on the checkerboard of war.

In vain do the democratic elements of Germany—the sane elements of Germany—urge international justice. The military, autocracy denounces the voice of moderation, of justice, of international reconciliation, except on their own terms and future dominance. They pretend to be willing to make peace, but it is a peace dictated by German victory that will leave the military group stronger than ever. They pretend to favor peace, but it is for the object of demoralizing the war-making activities of free Russia and of other opposing nations, while the military group gird up their loins for more strenuous efforts of a German victory with arms.

The conspiracy of the Prussian military autocracy to rule the world and destroy the democracies of the world is of long standing, as the secret treaty of Verona completely demonstrates. They capture neighboring territory and put the inhabitants to laboring for the military powers. They capture adjacent people and put the inhabitants in the trenches with rifles to help the military conspiracy in its lust for world-wide conquest.

Mr. President, heretofore I have submitted the language of the secret treaty of Verona. I call the attention of Senators again to this vital doctrine of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, the Romanoffs, the Bourbons. It is strange it ever found the light of day. I beg you to listen to this language. It was made in 1822 and resulted in our issuance of the Monroe doctrine to tell them to keep off our democratic Western Hemisphere.



## SECRET TREATY OF VERONA.

The undersigned, specially authorized to make some additions to the treaty of the holy alliance, after having exchanged their respective credentials, they agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The high contracting powers, being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with the monarchical principles as the maxim~~um~~ of the sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to representative governments and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known.

(See the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 13, 1917, p. 6554.)

Article 2 of that treaty pledged the destruction of the liberty of the press, because it was an agency by which representative governments, by which the liberty of men, made progress.

This treaty was framed in the interest of and signed by Metternich, representing the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria; by Bernstet, representing the Hohenzollerns of Prussia; by Nesselrode, representing the Romanoffs of Russia.

The Hohenzollerns have steadily pursued the policy to which it solemnly pledged its efforts in this treaty to destroy the democracies of the world and to suppress the liberty of the press.

They now have behind their policy 170,000,000 people—Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria—under the masterful control of the Prussian autocracy.

The world has not aroused itself any too soon if it wishes the democracies to survive.

It would be an act of madness for the world to temporize with this spirit, with this set and fixed policy of the Hohenzollerns of the Prussian autocracy.

German diplomacy throughout the world has been busy in weakening other nations whose powers might be used against the military autocracy.

I submit the record of the Hohenzollerns as compiled by the Security League (Exhibit D), which is convincing to any student of history.

They have gone to South America, to Central America, and to Mexico, and have made those people believe that the United States, loving liberty as it does, willing to make sacrifices for the good of mankind as it has been, free as it is from any desire to annex the territory of other nations—they have made those nations of the Western Hemisphere believe that the United States was the Colossus of the north, waiting a convenient time in which to absorb them and their property and overthrow their liberty.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am in full sympathy with what the Senator states. Would the Senator favor waging war to depose the present reigning house of Germany?

Mr. OWEN. Absolutely. That is what I am waging war on right now.

Mr. SHERMAN. And not leave it to the German people?

Mr. OWEN. And not leave it to the German people. I am not willing that the German people should be led by the Hohenzollern house under a military autocracy that threatens every neighboring nation and has finally gotten in its grasp



170,000,000 threatening the democracy of the world. If the Germans wish to use the Hohenzollerns as a social ornament, we should perhaps raise no objection; but if they use them as the head and front of a conspiracy to assault the democracies of the world and threaten our future peace, we should not agree to it; if the Hohenzollerns use the Germans, and, dominating them, compel the poor Germans to make war on others, then even the Germans should help to put this Jonah into the sea.

Mr. SHERMAN. May I inquire further if the Senator would restore the independence of Bohemia as a part of the Austria-Hungary Empire?

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the policies which are being laid down in this joint resolution will lead to the liberties of all the Teutonic people, including the people of Bohemia.

Mr. SHERMAN. That would follow with the restoration of Poland?

Mr. OWEN. It would follow with the restoration of liberty.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask specifically about Poland.

Mr. OWEN. I will answer the Senator by saying that both the German authorities and the Russian authorities agree upon an independent Poland. They differ as to means.

Mr. SHERMAN. That was the point. I wish to go along with the Senator on all these things. I think we are substantially agreed that the restoration of Poland will require some disciplining of one of our present allies. In 1772 the original partition of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Prussia took place.

Mr. OWEN. I will place in the Record, that was done by the Romanoffs, by the Hapsburgs, by the Hohenzollerns. I will place in the Record now the evidence that free Russia desires a free Poland.

Mr. SHERMAN. There is no difference between the Senator and myself on that.

Mr. OWEN. No, there is no difference, I am sure, in policies and purposes between the Senator and myself. The time has come for the United States to use every energy to organize the powers of the whole world in suppressing the Teutonic military autocracy and suppressing forever its conspiracy to rule mankind by military force and terrorism.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SHERMAN. The President not long ago, within the last two years, said that each independent sovereignty has a right to determine its own form of government. He was particularly speaking of Mexico at that time. That does not apply to Germany, does it?

Mr. OWEN. I think it does most fully, most completely. That is what I desire and hope to see.

Mr. President, in organizing the world to break down the Teutonic military conspiracy against the world the world should, nevertheless, give assurance to the Teutonic people that the world does not wish to crush the Teutonic people or require of them more than absolute justice demands in the way of restoring territory wrongfully taken, property seized, appropriated, or destroyed by the Teutonic people under the leadership of the Prussian military autocracy.

I have submitted Senate joint resolution No. 94, containing a plan which I believe will lead to an earlier overthrow of the Teutonic military conspiracy, which will lead to an earlier



awakening of the Teutonic people to the danger of such leadership, and to the necessity of their demanding the right of self-government in order that sanity may be restored to their councils. My proposal is an immediate international convention of all belligerent and neutral nations to establish an international government, with legislative, executive, and judicial powers and an army and navy to enforce the rights of member nations and to coerce Prussian militarism.

Mr. President, we have not any international law. The so-called Hague Conventions are scraps of paper; they are unanimous-consent agreements. Behind those conventions the Hohenzollerns concealed their military preparations until they could pounce upon their neighbors unawares. Those conventions are worse than useless, they have served an evil purpose. But the fact that 32 nations there agreed upon the adoption of compulsory arbitration, the fact that 32 nations there desired to bring about a means of ending international war and anarchy, the fact that those 32 nations represent seven-eighths of the people of the world, gives every reason to us to believe that they could now be cohered together in such a way as not to interfere with individual nations, not to interfere within the bounds of any nation, but use the combined efforts of all to prevent any nation becoming an international outlaw and threatening the liberties of the world.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SHERMAN. What would the Senator do with the German philosophers like Nietzsche and historians like Treitschke?

Mr. OWEN. I would leave them to the German people, who will take care of them.

Mr. SHERMAN. They are the responsible foundation, Mr. President, of the servility of the German people who have submitted to the doctrines of militarism.

Mr. OWEN. I can not agree with the Senator from Illinois in that respect.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator will permit me, the philosophy of Nietzsche is the foundation for the work of all the German professors who have led to the subordination of the civil to the military power.

Mr. OWEN. That is quite true; but these professors and these teachers are the hirelings of the Hohenzollerns, who for over a hundred years have had eulogy after eulogy paid for in Germany.

The Hohenzollerns are responsible for these moral, historical, psychological lunatics who have helped to make German opinion insane.

Mr. President, some critic has said, in relation to this world cooperation which I propose, "This is Utopia."

My answer is, first, Utopia is better than hell, and, second, that this proposition is not Utopian, and, third, it is already nearly an accomplished fact in the union of the great belligerents now waging a common war on Prussianism. Seventeen nations are now cohering on the battle line of Russia, of Italy, of Belgium, of France; 17 nations now are bound together in bonds of steel and of brotherhood against military autoeracy ruling



the world. We have only to take the step to bring them together around the council table, but it takes initiative to do it. Some nation has got to take the first step of inviting cooperation.

I pray the Father of us all it may be our great Republic that may perform this humane task and justify the prophecy of France in giving us the Bartholdi Statue—

“LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD.”

You will remember, Senators, that in 1899 Nicholas, although a Romanoff, in the compassion of his heart, proposed to the nations of the world gradual and universal disarmament. Who was it that defeated it? It was William II and his Teutonic group of military autocrats. Who was it, when The Hague Convention met in 1899, stood in the way of a similar proposal? It was the same group. Who was it, in 1907, who prevented the coherence of the world to prevent future wars? It was the Teutonic group again, led by William II.

Mr. President, without any adequate organized effort on the part of the United States, 17 out of 44 nations at The Hague have already declared war on the Prussian autocracy, to wit, Great Britain, the United States, France, Portugal, Italy, Russia, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, Greece, Japan, China, and little Cuba, and Panama, and Siam, and Liberia, and San Marino. These nations now at war with the Prussian military autocracy represent over three-fourths of the people of the whole world.

Brazil, Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Haiti have severed diplomatic relations and are on the point of war.

Argentina, Peru, Chile, and others are on the point of severing diplomatic relations.

Seven-eighths of the people of the world are at heart opposed to the ambitions of the Prussian military autocracy, and the United States should strenuously take steps to induce every neutral nation to combine with the entente allies in making war on the Prussian military autocracy. There are compelling reasons to justify the neutral nations to cooperate. We should give voice at the same time to the aspirations of mankind for the establishment of a means by which to assure through all future time the liberty, the peace, the happiness of all mankind. This is what every nation wants. China, the reserved, the oldest of organized nations, understands this, as shown by the presidential mandate declaring war on the Teutonic powers.

I beg Senators to listen to this language of the Far East. The proclamation declares:

The chief aim of this declaration is to put an end to the calamities of war and hasten the restoration of peace. \* \* \* Until considerations involving the existence of the nation forced this momentous decision, it was not thought possible that its rights—

China's rights—

under international law should have become impaired, the peace of the world retarded, and the position of the family of nations undermined. We are forced to fight in reestablishing the family of nations and to share in the happiness and benefits to be derived therefrom.

This mandate was signed by the premier of China and all the ministers.

Those ideas undoubtedly are American ideas, and if they were not transplanted to China previously, certainly they were presented by the representatives of the United States now at



Pekin. What persuades China will be persuasive also as to other nations.

Every nation which has already declared war upon the Prussian military autocracy has been moved by the spirit of self-defense against an international outlaw, against international anarchy, and in safeguarding its own future peace.

And the same considerations which have moved 17 nations to declare war, representing three-fourths of the inhabitants of the world, will suffice to cohere them in an international government against a future war by the Prussian military autocracy, and persuade every other self-respecting nation of the world to adhere to the same policy, except perhaps Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland, who stand in deadly awe of the contiguous Teutonic military forces, and they will adhere when the present war is over.

Mr. President, I believe the principles which are laid down in the proposed resolution as a basis of international government will be acceptable, in substance, to all the nations of the world, and to the better elements of the Teutonic people, but are not acceptable, of course, to the war-mad Prussian Pan German elements. The Pan German element demanding the doctrine of "Deutschland Uber Alles" will have to be coerced at home or conquered by foreign armies.

There is some reason to believe that the German people are about to awake from their dreams, and that even the military group may be coerced by German opinion; but certainly the world will never permit to prevail the conception of Gen. Von Liebert, a spokesman of the German war party, who is quoted in a speech at Rathenow, Prussia (Washington Post, Aug. 20, p. 3), as saying:

We can not sign a peace before we have Flanders coast, a colonial empire, and maritime bases. Should we not realize this now, we must prepare to work for it after the war *in view of the next war.*

Mr. President, the Prussian military autocracy is not going to have the power or opportunity to lead the world into any "next war." It is going to be disarmed by force, if necessary; and if the German people insist upon backing this war-mad Prussian conspiracy, the German people will unavoidably reap more unhappy consequences than are already in sight.

Gen. Von Liebert does not express the body of German opinion. The majority of the Reichstag seem ready for peace and to abandon the Pan-German military program of annexation and indemnity on their neighbors as a condition of peace. The willingness of the Reichstag to forgive Belgium and France and excuse them from the payment of indemnities is a sample of Teutonic magnanimity and lack of humor.

Hugo Haase on July 19 offered a resolution in the Reichstag representing a minority view, however, which shows some evidence of sanity, as follows:

The Reichstag strives for a peace without annexations of any kind whatever, and without war indemnification, upon the basis of the rights of the peoples to decide their own destinies. In particular, it expects the restoration of Belgium and the repair of the wrong done to Belgium. The Reichstag demands the initiation of immediate peace negotiations upon the foundation of this program. It demands an international agreement about general disarmament, freedom of international trade and intercourse unrestricted international freedom of movement, an international agreement for the protection of workmen from exploitation,



recognition of the equal rights of a State without regard to nationality, sex, race, language, and religion; protection of national minorities, and obligatory international arbitration for the settlement of all disputes.

The urgent preliminary condition for the achievement of peace and the carrying out of this peace program is the immediate raising of the state of siege. Moreover, it is necessary to effect the complete democratization of the constitution and administration of the Empire and its several States, and *this must end in the creation of a social republic.*

Herr Scheidemann, leader of the Social Democrats, on August 7, at Monheim, demanded a government really representing the will of the German people, and said:

But that is still not enough. When the Reichstag met we said, "This thing has got to go further. We want democratization; we want a clear declaration on the question of our war aims."

The Reichstag with its peace program has invaded the foreign policy of the Empire and brought about a complete defeat of the annexationists. But now the fight is going on over the decisive influence of the people in Empire and State. We want a State government consistent with the meaning of the suffrage message, and we want an Imperial Government consistent with the meaning of the Reichstag program. Our whole foreign policy must be conducted consistently with this program. And the German press must not be made the instrument of those who would gladly abolish the Reichstag resolution altogether from the world. Press and parliament belong to one another.

It is significant, Mr. President, that the authorities of Germany are now permitting on the interior of Germany an "offensive campaign for peace." It is significant that the proposals of Pope Benedict are immediately approved by Austria, and that the German authorities are indicating their disposition to acquiesce.

But it is also true, Mr. President, that German opinion will be greatly stimulated in favor of peace on the terms of international justice and on the terms which the entente allies will accept if we cohere against the Prussian military autocracy, every nation on earth, which we can do, and do speedily, because they are anxious to establish world-wide liberty to end the terrorism of the Prussian conspiracy.

The proposal of the Reichstag and of the chancellor (Exhibit A) solemnly declare that—

Germany took up arms in defense of its liberty and independence and for the integrity of its territories. The Reichstag labors for peace and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic, and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace.

Mr. President, the whole world knows that this statement, while offered as a theory by the Prussian military autocracy to the German people, is utterly false. The Prussian military autocracy took up arms for the purpose of annexation, indemnity, profit, and world domination, and their leaders still confess and declare this to be their plan in spite of the Reichstag resolution to the contrary.

The unfortunate German people were mobilized and sent to the shambles not in defense of German liberty but in unjust offensive war on the liberty of Serbia, France, and Russia; not in defense of German independence but in offensive war on the independence of innocent neighbors; not in defense of the integrity of the territory of Germany but in offensive war on the integrity of the territory of innocent Belgium, Serbia; then France and Russia—the fixed Hohenzollern policy.

But it should not be forgotten, Mr. President, that the majority of the Reichstag represents, in a way, and inadequately, the



Social Democrats of Germany, who, with all the limitations on suffrage, had 4,000,000 voters before the war, and the opinion of the German socialist democracy is of importance in determining the opinion of the German people, subjects and vassals though they are. I submit the declared opinion of the German Social Democrats. (Exhibit B.)

The German socialist democracy are, in fact, opposed to annexations of territory by force. They are opposed to war indemnities. They are in favor of restoration of national independence of nations subjected in war, and while they take, naturally, a German view in various particulars, they do favor national disarmament and freedom of the seas, while the minority socialists go to the extreme of democracy. (Exhibit B.) The latter favor a republican Balkan federation of free people, and they seek an international understanding on the basis of democracy. These opinions in Germany ought not to be entirely ignored and these opinions will be immensely strengthened by the activity of the allies on the firing line against the Prussian military autocracy. They will be strengthened by the Germans discovering that the whole world is combined against the Prussian military conspiracy, and that the whole world desires to deal justly by the Teutonic people, as well as to compel the Teutonic powers and people to respect the rights of other people with the same scrupulous decency.

The entente allies, while pressing the battle on the trench lines, should encourage the democratic elements of the Teutonic Empires by giving them assurance of the just purposes of the entente allies, and meet the false dogma of the Pan-German militarists that the entente allies, if victorious, will crush and enslave the Teutonic people.

The opinion of the Russian people is shown by the declaration of the Provisional Government and the councils of workmen and social delegates (Exhibit C) of April 9, 1917, of May 1, 1917, of May 4, 1917, and of June 13, 1917. The Russian Government desires an independent Poland. The Russian Government does not seek annexations or indemnities for free Russia. It strenuously demands, however, that the menace of the Prussian military autocracy shall be ended by military force, and Russia would agree, I hope, to the proposals which I have submitted.

English opinion, I am satisfied, would approve some world arrangement for the speedy coercion of the Prussian military autocracy and would approve a world plan for the maintenance of the future liberties, peace, and happiness of mankind. Mr. Asquith very properly pointed out that the military autocracy possessing the political power of Germany not only did not give its free and full assent to the Reichstag resolutions, limited as they were, but made equivocal comments that left the autocracy open to demand a "German peace" based on German victory, which will not be considered by the entente allies, and he asks the German chancellor plainly a question whether the German Imperial Government is ready to grant Belgium absolute independence and make full reparation for the colossal damage done that devastated country, and he stated with great force that—

The German Government does not speak for the Reichstag, so the Reichstag itself does not speak for, or at any rate does not give full



expression to, the whole view and opinion of the mass of the German people. I believe that to be at this moment one of the greatest obstacles to the attainment of peace. It is one which does not lie within the power of the allies to remove. It lies within the power of the German people. It can not be too clearly, too emphatically, or too often stated this is a matter not for any governments but for the peoples or for the governments only in so far as they can claim to be the authentic spokesmen and interpreters of the peoples for whom they stand. Once that is generally realized throughout the democracies of the world, I believe that we shall be within measurable distance of a lasting and an honorable peace. Meantime we should not be helping the advent of peace if we were to give the impression that there is any halting in our determination or any doubt of our ability to carry on, if need be, the burden which we took up with a clear conscience for great ends and which we can only in honor lay down when we feel sure that those ends are going to be achieved.

Mr. Bonar Law, chancellor of the exchequer, said—

They tell us that Germany is quite ready for a reasonable peace. Why have the Germans never put down their peace aims in any shape or form? Ours may have gone too far; but at all events, we had the courage to state them before the world. Germany has never done anything of the kind. And why? Because she does not mean what those honorable gentlemen say she means, and because that would be found out the moment any peace terms were put in black and white. \* \* \* We are not only fighting for the freedom of ourselves, though that is the essence of our life; we are fighting for the rights of other nations besides Germany to live their lives in their own way. \* \* \*

Now I come to what is the real aim so far as this country is concerned in this war. I have thought from the beginning, and I repeat now, that the one thing which we are fighting for is peace, and security, *for peace in the time to come.*

Mr. President, there is only one way in which to have peace for time to come, and that is to end competitive armaments and the ambitions of military dynasties. This can be done by international government and the substitution of international police in lieu of competing armaments and in no other way.

Mr. President, the fact that Pope Benedict proposes "simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armaments" with the approval of Austria and apparently with the approval of the German Imperial Government, seems to promise that even the Teutonic autocracy is coming to its senses.

We will help them to reach a condition of sanity by multiplying our war efforts and by coordinating every nation in the world in this struggle against the world domination of the Teutonic powers.

With the end of competitive armaments, the Teutonic military dynasties would have no important function; they would have no real power. The Teutonic peoples would then control their own governments.

There would be no demand then for vassal States, with their subject rifles and economic resources. The German people would then have no need for the iron mines of Alsace-Lorraine for war-making purposes, but the iron ores of Alsace-Lorraine would be equally available for the German factories, the French factories, or any other factories in Europe. The whole "doctrine of balance of power" would be ended in Europe because the balance of power would not be then weighed in the scales between one alliance and an opposing alliance, between Teutonic alliance and entente alliance. The balance of power would be transferred to an international council of sovereign States in the interest of every nation in the world. There would no longer be any reason why there should not be organized republican



States in the Balkans, where each people speaking a common language could enjoy their own development and own self-government in harmonious relations with others.

The struggle over the Italia Iridenta would end, and Austria, who offered the Government of Italia Iridenta to Italy before the war, would have no reason whatever for then refusing this point under such favorable circumstances. The suspicions and jealousies which have existed heretofore between the nations would disappear before the establishment of progressive disarmament and the establishment of international police.

Mr. President, Mr. Bonar Law very wisely said that there was a great difference between the German people and the German Government, and when he said:

We shall not have peace in the time to come unless the German people are convinced that war does not pay, that their greatness and development must be found in other directions and not in plunging the world into war.

Mr. President, I think the German people will ultimately be satisfied that war does not pay. I earnestly hope that they may soon be satisfied on this point. I hope so for the sake of the youth of Europe, as well as for the sake of the youth of America, and of the nations of the earth now at war with the Imperial German Government. This end will be more speedily attained when the German people see that all the nations of the world are organized to end the military autocracy that has led the German people into this bloody conflict. The Germans will get no profit, but severe losses in men and property, which daily grows more fatal to her interests.

Mr. President, on May 27, 1916, President Wilson, after the issuance of the ultimatum to the Imperial German Government, said:

We believe these fundamental things:

First. That every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

Second. That the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and

Third. That the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of American when I say that *the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.*

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs.

On May 30, 1916, President Wilson stated at Arlington National Cemetery:

I have stated that I believe that the people of the United States are ready to become partners in an alliance of the nations that would guarantee public right above selfish aggression. Some of the public prints have reminded me, as I needed to be reminded, of what Gen. Washington warned us against. He warned us against *entangling alliances.*

I shall never myself consent to an entangling alliance, but would gladly assent to a *disentangling* alliance, an alliance which would dis-



entangle the people of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests and unite the people of the world to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and justice. There is liberty there, not limitation. There is freedom, not entanglement. There is achievement of the highest things for which the United States has declared its principles.

Mr. President, the program I have outlined is thus shown to be in substantial accord with the views of the President of the United States. I want to call your attention to what he said in his address to the Senate on January 19, 1917:

No peace can last or ought to last which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. \* \* \* The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right. \* \* \*

*There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.* The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind. \* \* \*

Let us plan for peace, Mr. President, by disarming on sensible lines.

The President said further:

I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear. \* \* \*

No nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that *every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.* \* \* \* *There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power.* When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

*I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence. These are American principles, American policies.*

All these principles are involved in Senate joint resolution 94.

Mr. President, the Democratic platform of 1916 voiced these American principles, and the Republicans believe the same doctrine:

We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power not only to make itself safe at home but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and both for this end and in the interest of humanity to assist the world in securing *settled peace and justice.*

We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live (government with the consent of the governed); that the small states of the world have the right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that *the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve these principles and maintain inviolate the complete security of the highways of the seas for the common unhindered use of all nations.*



Mr. Lloyd-George, who is the exponent of English opinion, at Glasgow, June 29, 1917, struck the keynote when he pointed out the necessity, in obtaining permanent world peace, of ending military autocracies. He said:

What will have to be guaranteed first of all by the conditions of peace is that they shall be framed upon so equitable a basis that nations will not wish to disturb them. *They must be guaranteed by the destruction of the Prussian military power*, that the confidence of the German people shall be in the equity of their cause and not in the might of their arms. May I say that a better guaranty than either would have been *the democratization of the German Government*. \* \* \*

No one wishes to dictate to the German people the forms of government under which they choose to live. That is a matter entirely for themselves, but *it is right we should say we could enter into negotiations with a free government in Germany*, with a different attitude of mind, a different temper, a different spirit, with less suspicion, *with more confidence than we could with a Government whom we knew to be dominated by the aggressive and arrogant spirit of Prussian militarism*.

Mr. President, the destruction of Prussian militarism may come in one of three ways—first, by *consent* of the military leaders before physical destruction comes; second, by the will of the German people before physical ruin ensues; third, by the physical force of the military powers of the entente allies.

The third means will be more costly in life to all nations, but will be applied if necessary, and is in very active operation at this time.

Lloyd-George well said:

Now we are faced with the greatest and grimmest struggle of all—liberty, equality, fraternity not amongst men but amongst nations; great, yea small; powerful, yea weak; exalted, yea humblest; Germany, yea Belgium; Austria, yea Serbia—equality, fraternity amongst peoples as well as amongst men. That is the challenge which has been thrown to us. Europe is again drenched with the blood of its bravest and best, but do not forget these are the great successions of hallowed causes. *They are the stations of the cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind*. Let us endure as our fathers did. *Every birth is an agony, and the new world is born out of the agony of the old world*.

My appeal to the people of this country, and, if my appeal can reach beyond, it is this:

That we should continue to fight for the great good of international right and international justice, *so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice nor barbaric strength wield the scepter of right*.

Mr. President, only by international government, backed by international force, is this ideal possible; only by terminating competing armaments and substituting therefor international cooperating armaments shall we see this great prayer adequately answered. Public opinion in the United States would assuredly approve permanent world peace on the basis proposed by Senate joint resolution 94.

The plan is essential—absolutely essential—to attain the ideal of permanent world peace and the overthrow of progressive militarism, so ardently desired by the statesmen of the entente allies.

Mr. President, we already have 17 nations waging this war in concert. We already have 17 nations allied together for the suppression of the Prussian autocracy. We already have nations representing three-fourths of the people of the world allied together for the purpose of crushing the menace to the liberties of the world of Prussian militarism. These nations ought to have their representatives meeting around a table



for common action, declaring a common policy, and not compelled to carry on an interchange of views at variable distances of thousands of miles which circle the earth from China to the United States, from Japan to London. We ought to get together in common concert, in a common understanding as to international rules to safeguard our future relations toward each other and toward the common enemy. What sound argument can be urged against it? It is not an entangling alliance; it is what President Wilson very appropriately called a "disentangling alliance." An alliance with one of two military groups contending for greater power would be an entangling alliance. An alliance with all the nations of the world to prevent any nation or group of nations threatening the world is a *disentangling* alliance, which we ought to establish as speedily as possible.

Mr. President and Senators, I have submitted the proposal. I pray it may be considered thoughtfully by you and by the thinking men of all nations.

Improve upon it, perfect it, but act; act at once, while the iron is hot to hammer in shape the links which shall bind us to other nations in bonds of fraternity, liberty, equality, and guarantee to all mankind, including the Teutonic people, perpetual prosperity and happiness.

[For exhibits A, B, C, D see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 23, 1917, p. 6887.]

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