

PEACE PACT GIVEN AUSTRIA'S ENVOY

Permission to Join Germany Considered Unlikely.

VIENNA'S DOOM IS SEALED

Commercial Interest of Capital Sure to Be Curtailed Under Terms of Treaty.

PARIS, Sept. 3.—(By the Associated Press.)—Chancellor Karl Renner, head of the Austrian peace delegation, left last night for Vienna with the peace treaty, which was handed to the Austrians yesterday. He indicated that he probably would ask for an extension of time, as the Austrian general assembly would meet on Saturday and Sunday to discuss the terms.

The supreme council, it is announced, will extend the time if Austria so requests.

In their covering letter the allied and associated powers explain the impossibility of admitting that the people of Austria do not share the responsibility of the government that provoked the war or that they should escape making reparation to the utmost of their capacity.

Five Days Given for Answer.

Until the signing of the peace treaty Austria is considered an enemy state. Careful consideration, it is declared, has been given to the counter proposals, which are noted, the text of the treaty as presented today must be considered final. Requests are allowed for the Austrian answer.

The allied powers have studied the frontiers of the future republic of Austria from an historical, geographical, ethnological, economic and political point of view, and with the exception of one point, no modification has been made in regard to frontiers.

In defining the boundary of Czechoslovakia, it is pointed out, they have tried to assure this state a complete system of communications and have therefore departed from the historical frontier of the crown of Bohemia to assure east and west communities of southern Moravia and in the Gneiss region to give Bohemia a junction of the two large railroad lines, supplying this province.

Czechs to Get Access to Sea.

With respect to the frontiers between Austria and Hungary, the allied and associated powers have desired to guarantee access to the sea for the Czechoslovak state, and have therefore provided that Pressburg should have its access to the sea assured by transit across Hungarian as well as Austrian territory.

Concessions are granted to Austria in connection with the Serb-Croat-Slovene state, inasmuch as the nationality is given to the Austrians, also the basin of Marburg, Styria, is attached to the Serb-Croat-Slovene state, as previously determined.

A most important change in the treaty, however, is a provision for nationalities. All persons possessing citizenship of indigenous territory which forms part of the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall obtain ipso facto the nationality of Austria, the nationality of the state exercising sovereignty over such territory.

Property Restored to Owners.

The property of Austrian nationals in territory ceded to the allied powers is to be restored to its owners free from any measure of liquidation or seizure, and is guaranteed similar freedom from seizure of liquidation in the future. Contracts between Austria and persons who acquire under the treaty, an allied nationality, are maintained without objection.

Provisions are made to insure Austria supplies of coal from Czechoslovakia and Poland, in return for supplies of raw materials.

The period within which Austria is obligated to give favored-nation treatment in its commercial relations with the allied and associated powers is reduced by the treaty from five to three years.

The treaty was presented to the Austrian delegates by Paul Dufanta, general secretary of the peace conference. He also handed them the allied reply to the Austrian counter proposals and a covering letter reiterating that Austria had precipitated the war by an ultimatum unacceptable to Serbia.

Allies Promise Assistance.

It was set forth, however, that the allies were willing to assist Austria to adapt herself to her new situation and to admit her in the near future to the league of nations. The treaty was presented in French, English and Italian.

The treaty leaves the future of Austria very largely in the hands of the league of nations. The league, that is, would be able to decide whether Austria shall be permitted to join Germany, and as France is opposed to such a union, as are Switzerland and many other countries, there would appear to be little chance of Austria's securing permission to terminate her existence as a separate state, should she so desire in the future.

Vienna Seems Doomed.

Under the terms of the treaty, Vienna with its 2,000,000 inhabitants, seemed doomed to lapse into comparative commercial insignificance, as there is a population of only 4,000,000 within the country outside the city to support the capital, while with Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary existing as separate powers, Vienna can hardly hope to recover the business formerly drawn from their territories. If the internationalization of Flume were provided for, as is expected by many quarters, it is pointed out, Austria's shrunken commercial interests would thereby be protected to some extent, but it is generally thought that Vienna is doomed as a great capital and must inevitably relapse into a residential city.

Text of Note.

The note transmitting the allied reply to the observations of the Austrian delegation on the conditions of peace, addressed to Karl Renner and signed by M. Clemenceau, as president of the council, follows:

"Draft of the covering letter: 'The allied and associated powers have given most careful consideration to the observations of the Austrian delegation on the draft treaty of peace. The reply of the Austrian delegation objects to the draft treaty on the grounds that in view of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Austria ought not to be treated as an enemy state at all and that in consequence, she ought not to be made in any special way inheritor of responsibilities in regard to reparations to which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would undoubtedly be liable, did it still exist.'

"As these observations point to a fundamental misconception of the responsibilities of the people of Austria, the allied and associated powers feel it necessary to state as briefly as may be the principles which they consider must be applied to the settlement of the late war so far as Austria is concerned. The people of Austria, together with their neighbors, the

people of Hungary, bear in a peculiar degree responsibility for the calamities which have befallen Europe during the last five years.

"The war was precipitated by the ultimatum presented to Serbia by the government at Vienna and requiring acceptance within 48 hours of a series of demands which amounted to the destruction of the independence of a neighborly sovereign state. The royal government of Serbia accepted within the prescribed time all the demands except those which involved the virtual surrender of its independence.

War Opened on Serbia.

"Yet the then Austro-Hungarian government, refusing all offers of conference of conciliation on the basis of that reply, immediately opened hostilities against Serbia, thereby deliberately setting high seas afloat, which led directly to a universal war.

"It is now evident that this ultimatum was more than an insincere ruse for beginning a war for which the late autocratic government at Vienna in close association with the rulers of Germany, had long prepared and for which it considered the time had arrived. The presence of Austrian guns at the siege of Liege and the ultimatum to Belgium, which was required of the intimate association of the government of Vienna with the government of Berlin in its plea for the respect of public law and the liberties of Europe.

People Tolerated Militarism.

"The Austrian delegation appear to think that responsibility for these acts rested solely on the Hapsburg dynasty and its satellites and that by reason of the dissolution of that monarchy through the victory of the allies the people of Austria can escape responsibility for the deeds of the government, which was their own government and which had its home in their capital.

"Had the people of Austria in the years preceding endeavored to curb the militarist and domineering spirit by which the government of Hapsburg monarchy was animated; had they made any effective protest against the war, or refused to assist or support their rulers in prosecuting it, some attention might now be paid to the plea. But the fact that the war was proclaimed on its outbreak in Vienna, that the people of Austria were its ardent supporters from start to finish and that they did nothing to disassociate themselves from the policy of their government, their rulers and their allies, which has been defeated in the field, makes it clear, that, according to any canon of justice, they must be held to bear their full share of responsibility for a crime which has brought such misery on the world.

Minority in Control.

"There is, however, a further fact to which the allied and associated powers feel bound to point. The Hapsburg system became in its essence a system maintaining the ascendancy of the German and Magyar peoples over a majority of inhabitants of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This ancient and effective autocracy, with its militarist traditions, was maintained in existence through the vigorous support of the inhabitants of Austria and Hungary because it gave to them a position of political and economic domination over their fellow subjects.

"It was a policy of racial ascendancy and oppression to which the people of Austria and Hungary, the steady support, which was one of the deeper causes of the war. It led to those irredentist movements along the frontiers of Austria and Hungary which kept Europe in a ferment of unrest; it led to the growing dependence of Austria-Hungary on Germany and consequently to the subordinate position of the Austro-Hungarian policy to the German plans of domination, and in the end it led to a situation in which the rulers of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy could see no other way of preserving their own power than to set to work deliberately to destroy the liberty of small and dependent nations.

People Held to Share Guilt.

"In the opinion, therefore, of the allied and associated powers it is impossible to admit the plea of the Austrian delegation that the people of Austria do not share the responsibility of the government which provoked the war, or that they are to escape the burden of making reparation to the most of their capacity to those whom they and the government they sustained, have so grievously wronged.

"Until the signing of peace the people of Austria are, and will remain, an enemy people; upon its signature they will become a state with whom the allied and associated powers hope and expect to maintain friendly relations.

"The Austrian delegation, however, further protested against the arrangements under the treaty governing their relations with the new states formed out of the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Fruit of Old Policy.

"The allied and associated powers feel bound to point out that the dissimilitude between Austria and the rest of the world, which will arise, not from the provisions of the treaty, but mainly from the policy of ascendancy which its people have pursued in the past. Had the policy of Austria-Hungary been one of liberty and justice to all its peoples, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would have remained in friendly economic and political unity. As it was, the policy of ascendancy produced one of the cruellest tragedies of the late war, when millions of the subject peoples of Austria-Hungary were driven, under the pain of death, to fight against their rulers, who were bent upon perpetuating their own service, as well as to compass the destruction of liberty in Europe.

"Many of these peoples protested against the war, and for their protests suffered confiscation, imprisonment or death. Many more, who were captured or escaped, joined the armies of the allies and played their part in the war of liberation. But they are now one and all, determined, and they determine, to settle themselves up as independent states. They will trust Vienna no more. The policy of ascendancy has borne its inevitable fruit in the face of partition and it is this partition which lies at the root of Austria's troubles today.

"Vienna was made the economic and political center of the empire; everything was artificially concentrated there. Outlying districts and railways were starved in order that the capital might thrive. The break-up of Austria-Hungary, cutting these centralized filaments in two can hardly fail to inflict the severest blows upon the state of Austria and its capital. But the dissolution of the monarchy with its consequences, is the direct outcome of that fatal policy of domination for which the people of Austria are themselves principally to blame.

No Wish to Add to Hardships.

"The allied and associated powers, however, have no wish to add to the hardships of Austria's position. On the contrary, they are anxious to do all in their power to assist her people to accommodate themselves to their new position and to recover their prosperity, provided always that it is not at the expense of the new states formed out of the late empire.

"The break-up of the monarchy has given rise to many different problems in the relations between the new states which, under the treaty, are its heirs. It has been recognized as reasonable that the relations between the citizens of the succeeding states should be regulated in certain respects differently from the relations between the citizens of Austria and those of the other allied and associated powers, and, in view of the observations of the Austrian delegation, the allied and associated powers, while adhering to the general lines of the treaty, have made considerable modification in its economic provisions.

"The property of Austrian nationals in territories ceded to the allied pow-

ers is to be restored to its owners free from any measure of liquidation or seizure, and is guaranteed similar freedom from liquidation in the future.

Contracts between Austrian nationals and persons who acquire, under the treaty, an allied nationality are maintained without objection.

"Provision is made to insure Austria supplies of coal from Czechoslovakia and Poland, upon which she is dependent, in return for reciprocal obligations to supply certain raw materials. Outstanding questions affecting nationals of Austria which require settlement between Austria and its inheriting neighbors are to be regulated by separate conventions, and these conventions are to be drawn up by a conference on a footing of equality with the other states concerned.

"Details of these and other concessions will be found in the annexed reply. Finally the reparation commission will be instructed to carry out the duties confided to it in a strictly humanitarian manner.

"It will have due regard to the vital interests of Austria and will permit any mitigations which it may consider required by the food situation in Austria.

Historical Frontier Drawn.

"The allied and associated powers endeavor to determine the boundaries of the states formed out of the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy in such an equitable way as to bring a lasting peace to central Europe. Thus they have drawn for Czechoslovakia the historical frontiers of the crown of Bohemia, and for Austria the frontier which has long separated this frontier in two minor instances where the economic interests of the state concerned and an anti-apartheid, to outweigh the claims of the Austrian republic.

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