

PEACE PROGRAM IS ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT

Justice to All, No Conquest, Wilson Declares in Address to Congress.

14 DEMANDS BY AMERICA

Reparation to France for Taking Alsace; Free Poland and Autonomous States in Austria-Hungary—Evacuation of All Russian Territory—Belgium Must Be Freed.

Washington, Jan. 8.—President Wilson yesterday, addressing congress, delivered a restatement of war aims in agreement with the recent declaration by the British premier, David Lloyd George.

The president spoke as follows: "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 representatives of the central powers to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

Presented Definite Statement.
"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 settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added.

"The program proposed no concessions at all, either to sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the population 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 force 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.

Full of Significance.
"The Russian representatives were sincere and 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 empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their 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 democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been listening then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German reichstag on 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 unrecanted and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions.

World Peace at Stake.
"Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

"But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the central empires, they have again attempted 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.

"Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in 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 treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure 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 right and imperative as he does.

"There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and 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.

Russ Power Shattered.
"Their power apparently is shattered, and yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. The 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 refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

"They call to us to 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.

No Secret Understandings.
"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 entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence.

"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, wish to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples 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:

Wants Open Covenants.

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.

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 principle 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.

Must Evacuate Russia.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation 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 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 accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension 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.

Must Free France.

8. All French territory should be freed 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 all 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 and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

Evacuate Balkans.

11. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia 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 development, 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 indisputable Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

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 the 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 removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove.

Not Jealous of Germany.

"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 wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

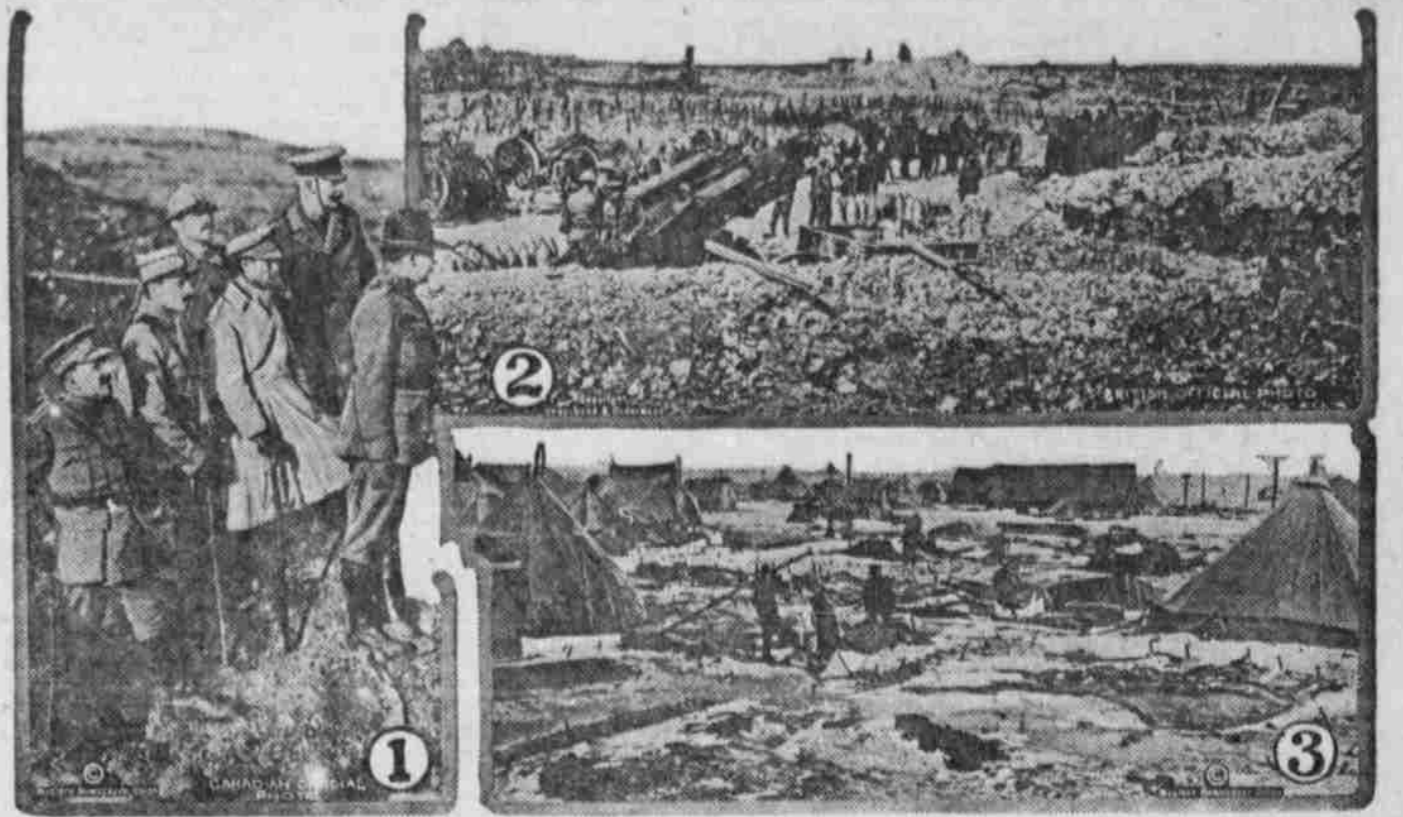
"Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the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

Fight for Honor.

"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 devote their lives, their honor and everything that they possess.

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



1—Allied officers on the firing line at Lens, Maj. Prince Amerashov of Siam being the one in the light coat. 2—British howitzers in Flanders that continually hammer the German lines. 3—Camp Mills, Long Island, after being ravaged by a severe wind and snow storm.

NEWS REVIEW OF THE PAST WEEK

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LUCID STATEMENT OF AMERICA'S WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS.

PUTS THE ONUS ON GERMANY

Bolsheviki Make Peace With Bulgaria and Resume Negotiations at Brest-Litovsk—Snow Stops Teutons in Italy—Secretary Baker's Elaborate Defense.

By EDWARD W. PICKARD.

President Wilson's statement of the war aims of America, following and almost identical with that of Premier Lloyd George, placed flatly before the people of the central powers the choice between a reasonable peace and a continuance of the war until they are forced to accept the terms offered them by victorious foes. Moreover, the choice of the German government must soon be made, for according to credible reports from Europe the statements of the president and the premier have brought close to a crisis the political dissension in the Fatherland and have served to unmask the pan-Germans, who demand, with threats, that the kaiser shall align himself with them for a "strong peace." The socialists stand as firmly as ever for a democratic peace, and if Wilhelm sides against them, he and the Prussian militarists will have before them the impossible task of making good with decisive military victories over the armed forces of Great Britain, France and the United States. If they fall, as fall they must, it is easy to predict a sweeping revolution in Germany, but between now and that event must intervene a long period of bloody fighting. The pan-Germans have no idea of yielding tamely, especially if they are supported by the emperor, which seems likely.

In the main Mr. Wilson's address coincided with that of Mr. Lloyd George so far as the essentials of peace are concerned. He was a little more insistent on some points, a little less on others; and he spoke more at length about Russia, expressing the deep sympathy of America for the struggling people of that country and encouraging the bolsheviki to stand firm against the terms of German conquest.

All through the program set forth by the president, runs, as he said, the principle of justice to all peoples and all nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

Just one of the peace essentials as stated by Mr. Wilson met with some criticism in the United States, and that from certain Republican leaders. This was the section calling for the "establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance." If that means the elimination of all tariffs, a world free trade, say the Republican statesmen, they cannot assent to it. All who were quoted concerning the message declared it most timely, for they believe with the president that the moral climax of the war has come.

The German press generally condemns President Wilson's peace aims as it did those of Lloyd George, most of the papers calling his program utterly impossible, especially as regards Alsace-Lorraine, the internal affairs of Austria-Hungary and the partition of Turkey.

Peace Conference Resumed.

Apparently backing water, the Russian delegates, headed by Trotsky himself, returned to Brest-Litovsk on Tuesday and resumed the peace negotiations with the central powers. Before departing from Petrograd the bolsheviki foreign minister expressed his deep suspicion of the motives of the entente allies, declaring they wanted Germany to make an advantageous separate peace with Russia so Germany would be more willing to surrender what the allies want in the west. Incidentally, Trotsky repeated the story that 25,000 German troops in

the Kovno district had deserted because they were about to be moved to the west front.

M. Radek, one of the Russian delegates, asserted Monday that the Russians were strengthening the front and would send home every soldier who was not willing to fight. He asserted they wanted no help from the allies or America because their strength lay in their weakness; that the country for many miles was destitute, and that while the Germans could drive them back it would do them no good and they would not want to have millions of starving people on their hands.

Conditions in Petrograd are becoming more desperate daily. The city is full of crime, disorder and dirt, and the people have little food and coal. Very severe winter weather is adding to the distress there.

Break-Up of Russia Continues.

The bolsheviki seem content, for the present, to permit the breaking up of Russia into separate nationalities. A kind of a truce has been patched up with the Ukrainians, and the many other new "governments" apparently are not molested. Lithuania is the latest to declare itself independent. Finland is well on the way to independence, having been recognized by Germany, Sweden and France, and its representatives being well received by other governments.

The Cossacks of the south were having a harder time; official dispatches from Petrograd reporting that they had been defeated and put to flight by the bolsheviki forces.

The Bulgarian parliament was informed by Premier Radoslavoff that a peace compact had been formed between Bulgaria and Russia, with the consent of the other central powers. On the other hand, the bolsheviki government rejected the separate peace proposals made by Turkey, asking the latter to participate in the general conference.

Col. William B. Thompson, who commanded the American Red Cross mission to Russia, has just returned to this country and has much good to say of the bolsheviki government. He is convinced its leaders are honest and sincere and not in the pay of the Germans, and he believes the movement they have set on foot may result in a world peace.

Fighting of the Week.

A number of attacks in force and continuous activity of the artillery marked the week along the west front, but there was no great battle and no serious attempt to break through the lines by either side. The sector selected by the German high command for the expected big offensive was not revealed, but the belief grows that it will be in Belgium and that the main objective of the kaiser will be the capture of Calais. Possession of this port of course, would be of incalculable value to Germany, both in the submarine campaign and in threatening England with direct attack, as well as in interrupting the short route between England and France.

In Italy the weather and possibly shortage of ammunition brought almost to a standstill the attempts of the Austro-Germans to break through into the Venetian plains. Heavy snows fell in the Alps and threatened to shut off communication between the Trentino and the fighting line, and the weather was stormy all the way from the mountains to the Adriatic.

Vice Admiral Sims reported the torpedoing of the American steamship Harry Luckenbach, nine members of the crew being missing. The British admiral announced that the hospital ship Reva was torpedoed and sunk in the Bristol channel. She was full of wounded soldiers, but all of them were safely landed, though three Lascars of the crew were lost. This new brutal crime of the Germans afforded the London Times opportunity for mild criticism of President Wilson's high idealism, the paper asking: "Is any peace thinkable with the authors and supporters of a system by which such crimes are coldly sanctioned as legitimate acts of war?"

The Reva was displaying all the lights and markings required by the Hague convention and was not within the so-called barred zone, but such facts no longer mean anything to the Germans, if indeed they ever did.

Baker Defends Himself.

The investigation of war preparations by the senate committee reached the stage on Thursday where the presence of Secretary Baker was required, His continuance in the cabinet position he holds has been the object of attack, both in the committee and in the country generally, and with full knowledge of that fact he appeared with a long and detailed statement of the war department's doings that served as an elaborate defense of it and of himself as its head. Summing up the department's chief accomplishments, Mr. Baker said a large army is in the field and in training, enlisted and selected without serious dislocation of the country's industries; its substance is above criticism, its clothing supply is now substantially complete; arms of the most modern kind have been provided by manufacture or purchased for the soldiers in France and will be available for every man who can be got to France in 1918; a substantial army is already on French soil and ready for active service, and lines of communication and supply and vast storage and other facilities are in process of construction there; great programs for the manufacture of additional equipment and new instruments of war have been formulated.

The American army now in the field or in training, Mr. Baker said, numbered nearly a million and a half, and he added: "No army of similar size in the history of the world has ever been raised, equipped or trained so quickly. No such provision has ever been made for the comfort, health and general well-being of an army."

The secretary did not undertake to deny that weak places in the department's organization had been discovered, but maintained that the reorganization of bureaus and the creation of the war council had brought strength and efficiency. "We can now see the entire situation," he said. "The initial rush needs are substantially supplied. The technical corps have been expanded and reorganized upon industrial and efficient lines."

Despite Mr. Baker's defense, the sentiment in congress for a separate cabinet department of munitions seems to be growing stronger and the Republican members set a day to consider the adoption of a resolution favoring such action.

Problems of Labor and Fuel.

Secretary of Labor Wilson asserts there is an ample supply of labor in the country, but the problem is one of proper adjustment. Therefore the government has set in motion the machinery for the mobilization and distribution of an army of about 3,000,000 workers for agriculture, shipbuilding and war contract plants. A network of interrelated labor exchanges will be established to recruit workers and transfer them from one section to another according to the demands. John B. Densmore of Montana was selected to be national director of this service.

More insistent and more immediately painful than the labor problem is the matter of fuel. The coal shortage, blamed by some authorities on the selfish greed of the operators, became so pronounced last week, especially in the east, that many industries were forced to close their doors and many more went on part time.

In the house of representatives there was sharp criticism of the federal fuel administration, and one congressman declared that if the government could not control prices it should take over the mines. Fuel Administrator Garfield on Thursday announced the appointment of Mark L. Requa of Oakland, Cal., to take charge of the oil industry of the country, and it was understood the government would take over the control of fuel oil as it has of coal. Distribution of the oil will come first and later the question of price regulation will be taken up. One most desirable result of this move will be to assure the navy an adequate supply of oil, which is the fuel of most of the recently built vessels.

If the women of America win the right to vote, as seems probable, the suffragists will have to thank the man whom they have scolded, abused and picketed for a long time. The Susan B. Anthony amendment was approved by the house Thursday by only the bare two-thirds majority required, and it is fair to assume that it would not have given it hearty and unexpected endorsement. Fifteen Southern Democrats who voted against national suffrage two years ago voted for it this time. Of the 274 votes in favor of the amendment, 165 were cast by Republicans. The resolution now goes to the senate, where the cause must gain several converts to carry it through.