

WEATHER:
North and South Caro-
lina—Fair tonight and
Tuesday; colder to-
night, warmer Tues-
day.

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THE WILMINGTON DISPATCH

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WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA, MONDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 11, 1918.

TOMORROW IS
MEATLESS
DAY

PRICE FIVE CENTS

PRESIDENT REPLIES TO TEUTON PREMIERS

Russia Declares the State of War at an End

CZERNIN IS REGARDED AS MORE FAVORABLE THAN VON HERTTLING

President Wilson Addresses
Congress on Attitude of
United States

WILL CARRY ON WAR
OF EMANCIPATION

President Says America Will
Go on to the Goal Set for
it—Lays Down Five
Tests for Belligerents

Washington, Feb. 11.—President Wilson, appearing unexpectedly before Congress again today, replied to the recent peace speeches by Count von Hertling, the German Chancellor, and Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister by reminding those statesmen that peace can be discussed only on the basis of permanency and essential justice and broadly warning the people of the Central Empires that the participation of the United States in the war for the emancipation of humanity only has begun.

Plainly, the President warned the German military autocracy that there was to be no pausing in the mobilization of America's vast military resources and that if peace were to be discussed it would have to be on a basis of sincerity.

Otherwise the President made it plain there was to be no turning back until military autocracy was crushed by force of arms.

Count Czernin's speech, the President openly regarded sympathetically.

Chancellor Hertling's speech, however, "very vague and very confusing" and "full of equivocal phrases leading nowhere," the President characterized as "very clearly."

There was a test, the President said, which would show whether it was of any avail to go on exchanging peace views, and it could be made by applying the following principles:

1. Each part of the final settlement must be based upon essential justice to bring a permanent peace.
2. Peoples and provinces are not to be battered about like chattels to establish a balance of powers.
3. Territorial settlements must be for the benefit of people concerned and not merely adjustment of rival states' claims.
4. Well defined national aspirations must be accorded all possible satisfaction.

"A general peace," said he, "erected on such foundations could be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on."

The President was interrupted by applause at every reference of the United States standing steadfastly against a patched up peace. Probably the greatest applause broke out when the President said the military autocracies of Germany were the only elements now preventing a world peace.

When he concluded, after speaking twenty minutes, the entire audience rose and cheered.

Approval of the address was expressed by many members of both houses, who thought it opportune and the essence of a permanent peace.

Senator Reed, Democrat, thought it "absurd move to dissolve Germany and Austria."

"It was very opportune, eloquent and fine and I heartily approve of it," said Senator Clegg.

President Wilson spoke as follows: Gentlemen of the Congress:

On the eighth of January I had the honor of addressing you on the subject of the war as our people conceive it. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To the addresses the German Chancellor replied on the 24th and Count Czernin for Austria on the same day. It is gratifying to have our differences of views on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address of the eighth of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encourag-

aging approach to the views of his own government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two governments. He is reported to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads, it is not clear, where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes, the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk.

His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international counsel. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate, in this case, to generalities, and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three States now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general counsel, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood. He agrees that the seas should be free but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated, and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland.

"In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan States, he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations, which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

It must be evident to every one who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is it, in fact, living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national agreements.

ment or of arrangements between State and State.

The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security, and the peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained.

They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be re-opened.

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind, that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say "issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world?" The Reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. People are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful states. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it; because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles and of the way in which they should be applied. But she entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is entrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered as nearly as may be impossible.

This war had its roots in the disregard of the right of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost. If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international relations as much as access to raw

materials and fair and equal conditions of trade.

Count von Hertling wants the essential basis of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. Take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern. That course he concedes; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve, and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must be of course, because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. The essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much farther had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

After all whether the test is possible for either government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First, That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second, That peoples and provinces are not to be battered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,

Third, Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and,

Fourth, That all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objections have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety.

Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order, the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hands to the

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TERMINATION OF PEACE BETWEEN UKRAINE AND HUN POWERS

Agreement Between New Republic and the Quadruple Alliance

WAS SIGNED EARLY SATURDAY MORNING

War to End at Once and Friendly Diplomatic Relations Resumed Immediately

Amsterdam, Feb. 11.—A dispatch from Brest-Litovsk via Berlin giving the details of the conference at which the peace treaty between the Central Powers and the new Ukrainian republic was signed has been received here. The dispatch follows:

"It was possible to announce at the beginning of the last pause in the negotiations that the basis for the conclusion of peace between the Quadruple Alliance and the Ukrainian People's Republic has been found. After the return of the delegation to Brest-Litovsk negotiations on this basis were continued, and agreement on all points was established. Owing to the technical difficulties connected with the five treaty texts it was not possible to hold a formal sitting and affix signatures until in the early morning hours of Saturday.

"Dr. Richard von Kuehlmann, German Foreign Minister, as president, opened the sitting shortly before 9 o'clock in the morning with the following speech:

"Gentlemen: None of you will be able to close his eyes to the historical significance of the hour at which the representatives of the four allied powers are met with the representatives of the Ukrainian People's Republic to sign the first peace attained in this world war.

"This peace, signed with your young state, which has emerged from the storms of the great war, gives special satisfaction to the representatives of the allied delegation. May this peace be the first of a series of blessed conclusions; peace, blessed both for the allied powers and for the Ukrainian People's Republic for the future of which we all cherish the best wishes."

"The president of the Ukrainian delegation replied:

"We state with joy that from this day peace begins between the Quadruple Alliance and Ukraine. We came here in the hope that we should be able to achieve a general peace and make an end of this fratricidal war. The political situation, however, is such that not all of the powers are met here to sign a general peace treaty. Inspired by the most ardent love for our people and recognizing that this long war has exhausted the cultural national powers of our people, we must now divert all of our strength to do our part to bring about a new era and a new birth. We are firmly persuaded that we conclude this peace in the interests of great democratic masses and that peace will contribute to the general determination of the great war. We gladly state here that the long hard labor performed at Brest-Litovsk has been crowned with success and that we have attained a democratic peace honorable to both parties. From today the Ukrainian People's Republic is born to new life and it enters as an independent state the circle of nations. It ends war on its front and it will see to it that all of the powers which in it lie will rise to new life and flourish."

Dr. von Kuehlmann then invited the representatives to sign the peace treaty. At 11 o'clock, before 2 o'clock, Dr. von Kuehlmann, as the first signatory, signed a copy of the treaty prepared for Germany and by 2:20 o'clock, all of the signatures appeared.

The treaty is entitled "A treaty between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on one part and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other."

The preamble states that the Ukrainian people having in course of the present world war declared itself to be independent and expressed a wish to restore peace between itself and the powers at war, Russia desires "to take the first step toward a lasting world's peace, honorable to all parties, which shall not only put an end to the horrors of war, but also lead to the restoration of friendly relations of the people, in political, legal, economic and intellectual realm."

The names of all the plenipotentiaries engaged in the negotiations are then set forth and they are declared to have reached an agreement on the following points:

Article I. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other, declare that the state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

Article II. Between Austria-Hun-

RUSSIA NOW COMPLETELY OUT OF WAR

RUSSIA DECLARES
HERSELF OUT OF
THE WORLD WAR

This is Done Without the
Formality of Signing
Peace Treaty

AMERICANS FOUGHT
DESPERATE FIGHT

Every Man did Heroic Work
in the Struggle With a
Superior Enemy Force
Near St. Mihiel

Russia has declared herself out of the war. Without formally signing a peace treaty, she has through her representatives at Brest-Litovsk declared the state of war with the Central Powers at an end and ordered her troops on all fronts demobilized. This news, coming through Berlin today, follows quickly the announcement of the signing of a peace with the Ukraine. With Rumania isolated and helpless, the war on the entire Eastern front may now be said to be at an end.

Peace negotiations between the Central Powers and the Bolshevik government which seized power in Petrograd in November, were opened on December 23 last, after the way had been paved by the signing of an armistice on December 4. Many times reported broken off, the negotiations have been in progress with brief intervals, ever since, culminating in the announcement of today.

It has been recognized quite generally that some such conclusion as that now reached, was probably inevitable, as Russia through interior disorganization had virtually put it out of her power to continue fighting. The Bolsheviks, moreover, have held up to their people the idea that the peoples of the Central Powers would not permit further attacks by their armies upon the Russian proletariat and that these powers and in fact, the entire world, would soon be in the throes of a revolution similar to that of the proletariat in Russia in which the established order would be overthrown and what they call democratic peoples governments set up.

Details of the encounter on Friday night with the superior German forces in the region of St. Mihiel show that every American fought desperately to overcome the larger force of the enemy. Suddenly coming upon Germans in No Man's Land, the little party of fourteen Americans quickly changed formation and in the minute and a half that followed before the enemy retreated the rifle gave way to hand grenades and automatics, so close were the combatants. On Saturday an American artillery man was killed by shell fire and five others wounded. These casualties, though light, indicate that the American forces in the trenches have assumed their full share of the burden in the sector under their control.

As on other fronts the big guns are bearing the brunt of the work in Italy. On the Asiago plateau and west of Monte Grappa artillery duels are reported to be lively. Advanced Italian posts repulsed two enemy raids south of Daone-Chiese.

Formal Announcement of
Cessation of Hostilities on
the Eastern Front

HAS PLAYED VITAL
PART IN THE WAR

Though Doing, Nothing for
Months Past, Russia was a
Factor for Allies in Early
Struggle.

Amsterdam, Feb. 11.—Russia has declared the state of war to be at an end and has ordered the demobilization of Russian forces on all fronts, according to a dispatch received here today from Brest-Litovsk dated Sunday.

Complete demobilization of Russian delegation at today's (Sunday) sitting stated that while Russia was desisting from signing a formal peace treaty, it declared the state of war to be ended with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, simultaneously giving orders for complete demobilization of Russian forces on all fronts.

Russia steps formally out of the war by act of the Bolshevik government which seized the reins of power in Petrograd last November and almost immediately opened peace negotiations with the Central Empires. The authority of this government seems virtually unquestioned at present in Northern Russia and the Teutonic powers have already assured the cessation of even nominal hostilities along virtually all the remainder of the original long line in the east by signing a peace with the Ukraine and isolating Rumania.

Although cutting little figure in the war for nearly a year past, Russia's great, indeed, vital part, in the conflict comes forcibly to mind as the circumstances leading up to her exit are reviewed. Becoming a belligerent on August 1, 1914, through Germany's declaration of war upon her, her troops were soon sweeping through east Prussia, creating a diversion which hampered the Germans in their first dash through Belgium and upon Paris. Though disastrously defeated by Hindenburg at Tannenberg, she rallied quickly and by winter was hammering again at the German borders and her great armies overrunning Austrian territory in Galicia, were at the crests of the Carpathians and threatening an invasion of Hungary.

It took the bulk of the Austrian armies and a large portion of Germany's virtually an entire year's campaign; in 1915 to break Russia's hold on Galicia, drive her out of Poland and the lower Baltic territory and force her armies to the line at Brest-Litovsk. But not yet disorganized, she fought through 1916, creating havoc among the Austrian armies in Volhynia and Galicia, and in Asia-Minor, driving the Turks out of virtually all Turkish Armenia.

The opening of last year found Russia under the old bureaucratic regime. Her oppressed, war-worn people were ripe for the revolution, and in March, 1917, came the crash, the deposition of Emperor Nicholas and the formation of the first provisional government. Under Kerensky, as minister of war, her armies in July, 1917, began an offensive in Volhynia and Galicia, which was in the full tide of success when disaffection among her troops broke out and stopped the effort.

Since August last Russia has figured in the great world conflict as a military factor only by reason that she still held numbers of German and Austrian troops on her frontiers, awaiting the times of disorganization within, to bring about her final

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