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SPECIAL FEATURES IN THIS ISSUE.

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LATEST NEWS SHORT ITEMS OF INTEREST FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

Indians for Salonica. Geneva, Tuesday. The Progress of Lyons announces that Indian cavalry is to be sent to Salonica.
Grand Duke Nicolai. Basel, Tuesday. The Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolavitch has been a guest of the Tzar at Staff Headquarters.

The Arrested Consuls. Paris, Tuesday. It is officially announced that the Consuls and their staffs, arrested at Salonica by order of General Sarrail, will be conveyed to Marseilles and then be passed over the Swiss frontier.

Censorship in France. Paris, Tuesday. M. Briand has taken the Censorship out of the hands of those who had directed it up till now and given it over to M. Gautier an old friend of his.

Russia Wants More Money. Petersburg, Tuesday. There is a financial scheme on hand for the raising of 200 million of roubles upon the security of the Russian national railroads.

The Birjwaia Viedemoeti states that the First National Bank is at the back of a big syndicate for the purpose of developing the industrial and mineral resources of Russia.

Cotton States Against England. Washington, Tuesday. The Senators of the Cotton states headed by Senator Hoke Smith are organising themselves so as to strengthen the President in his efforts to bring pressure to bear upon England for the free distribution of American cotton.

Two Authors of Indiscreet Letters

Denials of British Legation in Athens met by Publication of two Names of Writers. Vienna, Tuesday. As the British Legation in Athens has taken upon itself to deny the authenticity of the letters captured by an Austrian submarine from the pouch of a King's Messenger who was travelling aboard a Greek steamer; two names are now given.

MUTINY AMONGST THE ALLIED TROOPS.

Sofia, Tuesday. A despatch from Athens announces that the Commanders of the Entente troops were compelled to take away their soldiers from the Islands of Imbros, Tenedos and Lemnos on account of the openly expressed discontent of the men quartered there which had assumed a dangerous form.

ITALIAN ANXIETY ABOUT MONTENEGRO.

Lugano, Tuesday. The Idea Nazionale voices the general sentiment felt throughout Italy, to the effect that it has been a grave mistake not to have gone to the rescue of Montenegro. Now that it is too late the Italian Government appears to have realised the error and makes a feeble demonstration in Albania.

AMERICAN NOTE TO ENGLAND.

Washington, Tuesday. Secretary of State Lansing is preparing another Note to be sent to the British Government requesting a relaxation of the Blockade and the striking of foodstuffs off the list of contraband.

GALLIPOLI FIASCO MOST SERIOUS BLOW

FAILURE OF THE DARDANELLES EXPEDITION STANDS OUT AS WORST PAGE IN MILITARY HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. BOASTFUL PROPHECIES OF CHURCHILL, CECIL AND KITCHENER IN THE LIGHT OF BRITISH DEFEAT. LOSS OF BRITISH PRESTIGE IN ORIENT. UGLY RUMORS CONCERNING TIGRIS EXPEDITION.

London, Tuesday. The publication of the news of the English having had to abandon the last point, they held in Gallipoli, Sedd-ul-Bahr, which the London newspapers had proclaimed was going to be occupied by the British forces permanently, as a sort of second Gibraltar commanding the eastern end of the Mediterranean; has inflicted a staggering blow upon the already much shaken confidence of the British public in the assurances of the Ministers that "all is well!"

Awkward for Government. The bad news from Gallipoli is given just at a most awkward moment for the Government, and if it should come to an appeal to the polls under the influence of that bad news, the chances of the war Party representatives being returned in the majority, would be exceedingly meagre.

And just at this inauspicious moment there is published the long awaited report of General Ian Hamilton, upon his failures in Gallipoli and which turns out to be one of the latest military documents ever written. At one point General Hamilton says that he was not clear as to what was happening, at others he tells of the many times that much needed reinforcements failed to arrive: the best evidence of bad generalship.

England has lost about 250,000 men in Gallipoli. Up to October their losses amounted to 200,000; of that number no less than 90,000 had to be sent home owing to sickness; the casualties from this cause alone averaging 1000 per day.

Now that the Dardanelles Expedition has proved one of the most disastrous of failures, and by many perspicacious authorities considered to have sealed the fate of the Allies in the Campaign; the boastful and foolish words of three leading Englishmen are recalled.

Misleading the Public. In his speech at Dundee on June 5, 1915, Mr. Churchill, who against the advice of Lord Fisher had insisted upon the foolhardy expedition said:

The Army of Sir Ian Hamilton, the Fleet of Admiral de Robeck, are separated only by a few miles from a victory such as this war has not yet seen. When I speak of victory I am not referring to those victories which crowd the daily placards of any newspapers. I am speaking of victory in the sense of a brilliant and formidable fact, shaping the destinies of nations and shortening the duration of the war.

Through the Narrows of the Dardanelles and across the ridges of the Gallipoli Peninsula lie some of the shortest paths to a triumphant peace.

Big Words. Then again, when Churchill had been relegated to an obscure position in the Cabinet, his greatest friend, Lord Robert Cecil, who had promised to stand by the dethroned First Lord of the Admiralty; on Sept. 9, at Croyden said:

As regards the Dardanelles we are within little of a great success, a success which will have an enormous effect in all parts of the world.

A few days later, in the House of Commons, Lord Robert, who is nowadays Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, being questioned by an incredulous member as regards the veracity of the statement made to the public, replied, with the following:

The observation was truly reported but unfortunately it conveyed an impression which to my profound regret has not been justified by events.

Lord Kitchener's Mistake. But more remarkable still was the evidence given by Lord Kitchener as regards the manner in which he was mis-informed as to the true conditions existing in the ranks of the Turkish army.

On Sept. 15, 1915, Kitchener, in the House of Lords, committed himself to the following extraordinary statement, which subsequent events have shown to be absolutely without foundation.

There is now abundant evidence of a process of demoralisation having set in among the German-led (or rather German-driven) Turks, due no

doubt to their extremely heavy losses and to the progressive failure of their resources.

A Stupendous Blunder.

On the occasion of the withdrawal of the English from Sulva Bay, the Daily Mail remarked, "The withdrawal of the British troops from two of the three points held on the Gallipoli Peninsula may be taken as a sign that the Government has at last realised the stupendous blunder it committed in venturing upon this expedition, the earlier phases of which Mr. Churchill described as a "gamble." A gamble it has proved in the lives of the most heroic of our race."

In the Government press organ, the Daily Chronicle, on Jan. 1, Dr. J. Holland Rose, author of the life of Napoleon, writes:

"The failure at the Dardanelles is the most considerable in our history: that we must admit. In the third week of February, when the Anglo-French squadron dashed at the Turkish defences, our hopes seemed bright. Russia, it appeared, was about to assail the Bosphorus, while the Greeks smiled on the enterprise. Students who knew the story of Duckworth's failure at the Dardanelles in 1807, doubted its feasibility, apart from a considerable landing force to hold the Narrows; and such a force was not at hand in time. In vain, then, did a gallant handful clutch at the ridge dominating the Straits. Greece, swayed by her Queen, would not send a man, and Russia was soon too hard pressed in Poland and Caucasia to destroy the Bosphorus forts. Between March 18 and May 27 German submarines sank the Irresistible, Ocean, Bouvet, Goliath, and Majestic. Progress on land was slow and costly. Summer, with its flies and diseases, lasted a far heavier toll than the Turkish rifle. August 6 witnessed the memorable feat of Australians, New Zealanders and Britons at Anzac Cove. The sequel need not be told. The skillful withdrawal from Sulva and Anzac on December 20 ended the expedition in its larger aspects. We cling to the southern tip of the Peninsula, and, on a superficial view, that is all we have to show for a loss of more than 200,000 men (more than half of them cases of sickness)."

And now the last position of Sedd-ul-Bahr has fallen! The Allies had missed the golden opportunity when the Turks were short of ammunition, to push forward and win victory. Then, if ever, something was possible, but from the moment the Turks were furnished with sufficient artillery and munitions, the fate of the English at Gallipoli was sealed! And so the English have been forced to relinquish the small territory gained at the cost of such enormous loss of life, and the Dardanelles Expedition, heralded so boastfully by British statesmen and press, stands out as one of the greatest military failures and blunders on record in the wars of the world!

Very Important Cabinet Council

London, Tuesday. A Cabinet Council has been called here to consider, it is rumored, the much discussed question regarding the occupation of Salonica. It is well known that a strong divergence of opinion exists upon the wisdom of keeping the English troops in Greek Macedonia and that the British Government was only won over to the idea by the urgent and almost desperate appeals of General Joffre to it to stand by France and support that country in the Balkan Expedition.

But the highest British military opinion, including that of Lord Kitchener, is against the dividing up of the English forces and condemns the Salonica expedition as useless, and moreover highly dangerous on account of the bad climate and unsanitary conditions there existing, liable to prove devastating to the large number of troops assembled.

It is to be noted that Mr. Henderson, the Labor leader and Minister of Education, reported to have resigned, was present at the Cabinet Council.

AMERICAN CONSUL ANTI-GERMAN.

Stuttgart, Tuesday. The Kölnische Zeitung has published an article in which the American Consul here, Mr. Edward Higgins, is charged with utterances strongly anti-German. It is announced that the matter has been taken up officially.

Recruiting Montenegrins in America

WORK OF PROFESSOR MICHAEL PUPIN OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AS RECRUITING AGENT FOR THE WAR. STRANGE CONCEPTIONS OF NEUTRALITY.

A few days ago a Reuter despatch from Cettinge reported the torpedoing of an Italian transport from America, which carried 400 recruits for Montenegro. According to Reuter two of these recruits were drowned when the transport sank. Since then an Austrian despatch from Pola has confirmed the sinking of this transport but it corrected the Reuter statement by stating officially that two hundred of the Montenegrin and Serbian recruits on board the transport were drowned.

One wonders how those recruiting agents in America must feel who sent these poor Montenegrins and Serbs to their death. There is a law in the United States which forbids recruiting for a foreign country any where within the United States. When the United States issued its neutrality declaration at the outbreak of the present war, special stress was laid in the President's neutrality proclamation, on the impropriety of any American citizen aiding or abetting foreign recruiting agents in war time. This question has again been revived recently by the American Independence League of California in a protest addressed to President Wilson against British recruiting in California and by the demand of the Independence League that the British Consul General in San Francisco and other British consular agents in California and on the Pacific Coast, as well as the British Ambassador in Washington, should be recalled because of their open recruiting in California, since it was proved that the money for the recruiting stations was furnished by the British Embassy in Washington. No reply was made to this public protest.

Protest to President. In regard to the recruiting of Montenegrins and Serbs in New York a protest was likewise addressed to the President in Washington. In this protest the President's attention was drawn to the open recruiting agitation in New York that is being carried on by the Honorary Consul of Serbia and Montenegro in New York, Professor M. I. Pupin of Columbia University.

"Thus Professor Pupin, as "plenipotentiary" for Montenegro, published the following appeal to Montenegrins in America, from Peter Plamenac, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Montenegro:

"The English Government has most graciously consented to take care of the transportation of Montenegrin reservists to the war theatre. In the name of the King and the Montenegrin Government we appeal to all Montenegrins in America, to make themselves ready in shortest possible time for the voyage.

In regard to the sailing of the steamers and the number of passengers that can be carried, all Montenegrins capable of bearing arms are requested to get in touch with the English Consul, who will report to our Government."

To this official recruiting appeal Professor Pupin added on his own behalf: "The English expect information as to the exact number of Montenegrins who are ready to sail, so as to furnish the proper ships for transportation to Montenegro. Do not start before consulting me! My call to you will be issued in writing and in such manner so you will be privately informed beforehand by wire, so as to prevent our enemies from hindering us. I will let you know of a secret word and a secret sign of recognition which will reach you by mail. Thus every Montenegrin will be able to tell that the message in writing with my signature, with the seal of the Royal Montenegrin Government, with the secret word and secret sign, actually came from me. This will prevent outsiders from upsetting our plans".

No Hindrance Came. By the word "outsiders" in this connection, Professor Pupin evidently meant to refer to the American federal authorities; but as a matter of fact no hindrance seems to have come from them. Following this official appeal Professor Pupin issued another open appeal published by the Narodna Odrbana, the National Society for Greater Serbia in America, a branch of the Society that was implicated in the assassination of the Austrian

Continued on Page 2

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Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin.
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Deutsches Volksblatt, Vienna.
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Pädagogische Woche, Bochum.
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Neue Vogtländische Zeitung, Plauen.
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It is one of the deplorable results of this war that self-evident facts,—facts of which every educated person in every country that makes any claim to civilization, should be aware,—must be reiterated again and again. There is not only the vast bulk of deliberate calumny, falsehood and misrepresentation spread by the Entente Press, to combat, but also that lamentable negative ignorance upon the part of millions of people who would resent any reflection upon the extent or accuracy of their general knowledge. The Central Powers have learned this bitter lesson during the war:—that no matter how righteous a cause may be, the sympathy of the outer neutral world may be poisoned and perverted by the triumphant lie sown in the soil of ignorance.

The machinery for vilifying Austria-Hungary is the same, naturally, as that for vilifying Germany. The technique of the process may also be observed in the reverse operation—the whitewashing of that unscrupulously Russia so as to make her appear a fit partner in the immaculate circle of those holy priests of civilization—England and France. The ignorance abroad in the world with respect to Austria-Hungary is naturally far greater than that with respect to Germany. The lies and fables about the Dual Monarchy have consequently been far more preposterous than those spread in connection with its great ally. One need merely ask the

average neutral a few simple questions pertaining to the Austrians or the Hungarians in order to realize the almost incredible ignorance that prevails concerning these two historic nations, their country and their customs.

The Central Powers have therefore a great task before them so far as their reputation and representation in foreign lands are concerned;—they must not only combat falsehood, but educate the unknowing. To this end the "Continental Times" has always been glad to contribute by publishing from time to time, special articles or supplements, written by men who are experts and authorities in their respective fields. By this the "Continental Times" has performed a service to both parties. It has even contributed to the enlightenment of the enemies of the Central Powers by presenting the true condition of things. For instance, what French or English publicist or journalist might not profit by an open-minded perusal of the article upon "The Way to Peace" presented below? What absurdities uttered in the name of the "principle of nationality" might not be dissipated by cool consideration of the truths presented in "Theory and Practice?" The heralds of Truth may have but a scant audience to-day, but it will be seen that the trumpets they use have a strong resemblance to those rams' horns whose blasts brought the walls of Jericho, crashing to the ground!

R. L. O.

THE WAY TO PEACE

The Way to a Secure Peace Shown by the Central Powers.

The Rage for Conquest and Destruction Displayed by the Entente.

By Count Julius Andrássy.

Late Member of the Royal Hungarian Ministry.

There cannot be a man who does not in the depth of his heart long for peace, who would not gladly see an end of the butchery which mocks humanity, civilization and progress. He will be the greatest personage of the century who, after a victory, will be able to end the war at the very first moment that the vital interests of his country permit it to be done.

To show endurance in an unavoidable struggle is in itself a great virtue and a great service, but in one that can be evaded, even a victory gives but doubtful and transitory fame. The question must therefore be: what way will lead to peace? How can that end be reached, about the desirability of which there can be no difference of opinion, and which everyone recognizes as a noble aim?

Alas, I can see at present only one single means of reaching peace, and that is by further use of force, by a continuation of the struggle and by fresh victories. We must either inflict a decisive blow upon our principal adversaries, or our defensive operations must convince the Entente finally and completely, that they cannot change the results which have been reached thus far.

It is a sad and discouraging feeling that there is no other way than that indicated; but the history of the past weeks has made this quite evident. The proceedings of the German as well as of the Hungarian Parliament show strikingly that Central Europe is disposed to conclude a peace with moderate demands based on the present results of the war. Our enemies will not listen to anything of the kind. The German Imperial Chancellor has cited those declarations which make it as clear as day that the Entente has the insatiable wish to attain complete supremacy, and to overthrow entirely Central Europe. These declarations were on the whole, the same official and semi-official utterances to which I also referred in the Hungarian Parliament.

Since then, however, numerous additional statements have been made which show the aggressive spirit of the Entente, and on that account many more thousands of men must die, or be made cripples, and Europe be further exposed to devastation.

A leading French newspaper, *Le Temps*, has said that the love of peace as declared by the German socialist Liebknecht is as little adapted as the views of Bethmann-Hollweg to bring a solution, because the socialist will not assent to the surrender of Elsass-Lothringen, and because the preliminary condition for peace is not present so long as the German nation is not subdued. Liebknecht has indeed expressed the view that not a foot of land should be held by conquest, but even this moderation does not suffice for the Entente, their desire is to make conquests, and so long as we do not allow them a free choice of our own lands, so long as the strength of Central Europe, which is unendurable in their eyes, is not broken, just so long are they determined to keep on killing, to lay waste, to burn down and to bombard.

The *Times* gives itself airs and says that peace can under no circumstances be concluded with Germany, so long as it remains

unconquered and unsubdued, because such a peace would be only a truce, and that the Germans must first be taught to respect their own contracts, and to fulfil their pledged obligations. Even a peace that may appear to be acceptable should not be concluded because it may be assumed in advance that Germany would make use of it only for the purpose of preparing for a new attack. The military power of Germany, her militarism, must be destroyed, otherwise it was not at all worth while to enter into the war. In order to persuade those also who may not think it necessary to continue the war, and are unwilling to submit to such oppressive burdens and be subjected to such great dangers simply because of suppositions, the *Times* declares also that behind the peaceful words of Germany lies her purpose of making extensive conquests.

Since the speech of the Chancellor did not sufficiently inflame public opinion in England, the newspaper named took care to provide the necessary fuel by publishing an article written by a "citizen of a neutral state," which asserted that Germany would retain for herself all Belgium with Antwerp and all of Poland, and compel Holland, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania to enter into a customs-union with her. I am curious to learn how the citizen of a neutral state became acquainted with the most secret "intentions" of the German government. I do not know whether public opinion in England gave any credence to these assertions. For my part, I add only the remark: that it puts a man out of humor when he detects the ulterior purpose of such preposterous views. This article from a neutral is only one of those manifold attempts whose aim it is to keep alive the war spirit in England, and to induce a continuance of the struggle.

Russia is keeping silent. But her silence and her preparations indicate that she still longs for the possession of Constantinople, and strives for the permanent weakening and partition of Austria-Hungary. Italy has recently become a party to the London agreement, and evidences by this that she is determined to send her sons to the shambles as long as the dream of the French, English and Russian chauvinists remains unrealized.

Let it be then according to their wish. We shall stand fast in the war that has been forced upon us, and may the responsibility for the blood that is being shed rest exclusively upon the war party of our respective enemies.

The outbreak of the war was likewise due to the Entente, to their envy, their longing for revenge and their desire to expand. The growing strength of the Central European powers stood in their way; they did not wish that we should pluck from our flesh the Serbian splinter which had already begun to fester there. On this account they evoked the most terrible war known to human history. And yet certain external circumstances offered them the opportunity of placing the responsibility upon us. These were, for instance, the fact that we were driven by necessity to deliver an ultimatum to Serbia, and that the Germans were compelled by the progressive mobilisation of Russia, to send an ultimatum to that country; to these

we must add the circumstance that the connections of the Entente Powers with the rest of the world were closer and more intensive than ours. They have thus succeeded in bringing it about that the great majority of the people of the Entente group are fully persuaded that we caused the war, and that a large part of the neutral world has likewise taken a position against us.

However, just as the treatment of Greece by the Entente has shaken belief in the pretense that they had drawn the sword in the interest of small states, and to protect the rights of neutrals, so does their present openly acknowledged position against any thought of peace, and the admission of their intention to make conquests, show in a manner not to be misunderstood, that their aim from the beginning on, was the securing of their supremacy in Europe, and that to-day they are still pursuing this.

Let us nail fast these facts. Let us proclaim aloud that everyone in the world may hear: We should be forced to continue the war, even if we were willing to give up all the territory acquired with our blood, and to renounce all the fruits of our victory. Let us make the fact clear, that the war must be carried on, not because we are seeking to acquire a supremacy over the rest of the world, but solely and alone, because our enemies wish to secure for themselves a hegemony, because our enemies—as they indeed quite openly avow—would totally crush us. Mark it well; it is not because the *Fuor Teutonico*, as they so often declare, desires to break up the British empire, to lay waste the steppes of Russia and to destroy France, that neutral states must suffer and that mankind must busy itself with the works of devastation instead of being employed in those of peace, but because those who are talking so much of their high ideals have determined to tread us and the Germans under foot. It is not we who are carrying on the war on account of uncertain suppositions, but our enemies, who wish to continue it until we are completely overthrown and that we may not make a renewed attack, as they pretend to be able to force we might.

The Entente would deter their people from all utterances concerning peace. As soon as a favorable result for us in the Balkans was imminent, and as soon as it became likely, that having attained the immediate purpose of the war, we should begin to consider in some form the question of peace, that series of rumours with a purpose of which the Chancellor spoke were set afloat. The myth that we were exhausted made its appearance, then that the Germans were intriguing for peace, in which efforts we were taking part, because we could no longer hold out. The Entente as afraid of being put in the disagreeable plight—of having either to show a disposition for peace themselves—in which event negotiations would begin that would be more difficult to break off than to prevent *ab initio*—or to bear the responsibility for their bloodthirsty determination to continue the war. Fortunately they have not succeeded in hindering us from speaking out and expressing the feeling which, to our honor, has taken possession of us. The Entente Powers were compelled to let the mask fall, to cease for a time their hypocritical pretenses and to admit before God and the world that they wish war, and will reject any proposals for peace.

We properly do not allow ourselves to be terrified at those tactics of theirs by which they would misrepresent our inclination towards peace as a sign of weakness. It is only the conviction of strength, only the

greatness of our victories that has awakened in us the feeling that we are now in a position where we are able, and ought to speak of peace. This thought runs like a red line through all the utterances in the German Parliament, and is found among us in the speeches of the members of the government as well as in those of the speakers on the other side and likewise in the declarations of the socialists and of all shades of the Hungarian opposition. If the reports, based upon a complete perversion of our expressions, should yet find belief in certain circles of the Entente, our renewed operations, as positive indications of our strength and endurance, will, I believe, very soon completely dispel this error. For the rest, there is no protection against misrepresentations.

In this campaign of perversion, the Entente press has developed a most astounding audacity. The most striking example of this is shown by the fact that the article which I wrote for the *Neue Freie Presse* on the necessity of establishing more intimate relations with Germany was reproduced in French and English journals in a manner that represented me as falling foul of "German tutelage." Alleged sentences were quoted which I had never written, and which were contradictory to my views and statements.

I hold it to be a happy circumstance that the parliamentary debates, and especially the declarations of the governments, have succeeded in making it as clear as day that it is not we who are responsible for further blood-shedding. Not only does it afford us a feeling of solace, but it is of advantage to us and a source of strength, to know that it has been made manifest that not we are the disturbers of the peace, and that we do not endanger the balance of power. We are satisfied with such safeguards as will protect the position we have occupied up to now, without demanding the absolute destruction of our enemies; while the Entente wish to subjugate Central Europe physically so that they may erect their own supremacy in the place of a political equilibrium.

In the 20th century, notwithstanding all the apparent savagery of men, he occupies the more favorable position whose cause harmonises with the interests of humanity, and who receives absolution at the impartial judgment-seat—the collective conscience of mankind. The voice of public opinion is audible even amid the bursting of bombs and the cracking of rifles, and possesses influence. I am not able to give up the hope entirely that there will gradually dawn upon the minds of the great majority of our enemies, the consciousness that their leaders, in appealing to the patriotism and the spirit of sacrifice of the masses, are trifling with the feelings of their followers, and that the continuation of the struggle is demanded, not so much by interests belonging to the domain of foreign politics, as by the dangers which peace, without victory, would bring to the existing governments.

I am not able to resign the belief that the Frenchman to whom one speaks of the greatness and glory of his country will finally perceive that it would be much more advantageous for France to conclude a peace under conditions which are still possible to-day, than to expose his land to the danger of bleeding to death for the sake of an ambition exceeding its powers to realize. I believe that such a one will also recognize that France is being brought to the danger of destruction only for the sake of that clique, whose final overthrow would be the result of a peace without a victory.

The English workman will finally realize, when he is driven to the front, that the

question concerns more the interests of the present ruling parties than the honor and freedom of his country which even to-day is endangered by no one.

The Italian patriot will become conscious that his land, just as it became involved in the war only through its internal weakness, so likewise has been compelled to place its destiny in the hands of foreign powers, only for the sake of upholding the present regime.

In the Russian empire too the numerous peaceful elements will feel that the continuance of the war is not in the true interests of the country. It is to be hoped that the millions of people belonging to the Entente Powers will realize before the final breakdown of this group, that the longer the war lasts, the more bitterly inexorable will be the conditions of peace and the more thorough the collapse.

Our aim was self-defence. A peace which assures our position from attack we can be content with to-day, before the definitive overthrow of our enemies has been accomplished. Additional exertions, and additional sacrifices will however require us to make additional demands. In the circle of our enemies there are already many who think otherwise than the leaders, but the terror caused by the public temper in the name of patriotism and the directorial power of the governments, unavoidable in war, keep them from expressing their opinion.

I hope that the earnest voices which have been honorably raised on behalf of peace, together with the continuation of the series of our victories, will hasten along the psychological process of sobering our enemies that it may be possible to reach an agreement before they are completely subjugated. And even if I be deceived in this, yet I hold it to be indisputable that the utterance of the word "Peace" will in all cases confirm us in the reassuring conviction that we do not wish to postpone peace one day longer than is necessary, that we do not wage war out of a lust of conquest, out of an endeavor to obtain supremacy over the whole world, out of revenge or rage, and that we shall battle only until we have obtained the necessary safeguards for our existence. While the wild and exaggerated intentions expressed by the Entente will awaken sooner or later discord among them, our moderation and our aims, in harmony as they are, with the modern spirit, will only strengthen that internal concord which is so necessary in time of war.

But, alas, to-day, and with this I take leave of the subject which lies so near my heart—we still serve the cause of peace the most earnestly and effectively by continuing the inexorable struggle, without allowing it to slacken and with a persistence and preparation ever unweariedly renewed. Consequently we must begin the new year with the same energetic determination with which we entered upon the one just closing.

The voices speaking for peace have, up till now at least, left undisturbed the sanguinary phantasies and the wrought-up nervous system of the Entente. They have apparently not abandoned their exaggerated hopes; this work must be left now to our physical strength and to our victorious army to perform.

The conquest of Serbia and Gallipoli, and the death struggle of Montenegro—these three new reverses for the Entente, which have happened since the speeches of Bethmann-Hollweg and of Tisza, have ushered in a curative process, and awaken the hope that perhaps the war after all will not last so long a time as that for which we have had to prepare ourselves.

