GERMANY TALKS **PEACE TO DISARM** ENEMY FORCES

Time to Parley With Hun Is When He Is Beaten and That Time Is Not Yet Arrived.

PREVIOUS EFFORT IS MADE

Collapse of Russia and Resumption of Field Activities Followed First Peace Offensive.

(Continued from Page One)

is shaken only as it applies to the expected complete victory by arms. Defeat in the sense of invasion, of surrender, has not yet been established as a possibility in the minds of the masses of the German people

Hun Would Bargain

The only notion of peace which now exists in the minds of the German people is a peace by bargain. Germany will pay back some of her stolen profits provided she can keep others. The German people demand of the government that it shall show its moderation and generosity by offering terms of this sort : the government is entrenching itself against criticism at home by putting Austria up to offer such terms and then indorsing the proposal of the subordinate. It is an utterly false view to hold that Germany is exhausted, believes herself beaten and has offered peace proposals in a panic to escape defeat. This is not the case.

On the contrary, the German has had recourse again to the peace offensive, because his military operations have tem-perarily turned out badly. This is exwhat he did in 1916, and now as then, his peace offensive is a war offensive, it is a method of winning the war on his own terms, it is a preparation for military operations later, just as the loosing of poison gas and the deliv-ery of an artillery bombardment are preparations for an infantry attack. Looking Backward

The very best way in which to understand the present German offensive is to go back for a moment and examine the first peace offensive. Then it will be how completely the peace agitation is subordinate to the general and central idea, which is to win the war. If the American people are to understand the German campaign they must at once dismiss two apprehensions, one, that a beaten Germany is seeking e by surrender to escape defeat and disaster; two, that when the German talks about peace he means peace in our sense, or means anything but the use of may fall upon him again and destroy

Six days after the fall of Bucharest in purposes or the actual dangers which had been created by the German gesture. Now, after two years, we can see clearly In a word, the Germans calculated, what the Germans had in mind in De-

Roumania Betrayed In the first place, they knew that Russia was at the end of her rope, exhausted and incapable of a new military their correctness of vision. effort. They knew that the Sturmer ministry, realizing that revolution was at hand, had betrayed Roumania to them in order that the defeat of Roumania might demonstrate that victory was impossible and peace by negotiation inevitable. Only thus could the bureau-

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE



Black indicates territory to be taken from Germany and Austria to create: (1) Poland, (2) Greater Roumania, (3) Bohemia (Czecho-Slovaks), (4) Greater Roumania, (5) Jugo-Slavia, to be united with Serbia and Montenegro; also to give Italy her Irredenta and France Alsace-Lorraine.

making use of the revolutionists.

Russia's Plight Diagnosed Accurately the Germans diagnosed people, mad for peace, would destroy their rulers and reject their alliances. quite correctly, that a peace proposal would complete the work of Hindenburg and Mackensen and put Russia out of the war. Then they could have be lost in the war; capital, apprehentheir way in the east. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk was the final proof of

Eve of Submarine Campaign

Again, the Germans were on point of launching their submarine campaign, and there was deadly danger this should involve them in war with the United States. But they hoped cracy in Russia hope to save itself and that if they assumed the attitude of turn against the revolutionists the seeking peace, affirmed a willingness

roops recalled from the war. The to end the war, adopted the tone of idealists were centering a dangerous at-Sturmer ministry had fallen, but the reasonableness without giving any awk- tack. Instead of assailing the enemy Russian conditions remained, and hav- ward guarantees of good faith, the ening dealt with the cabinet the Ger- emy nations would at once reject their for his great crimes, these pacifists and mans were now operating through the proposals and the result would be the so-called "liberals" were denouncing algutter; having exploited the minister- creation of a public sentiment in Amer- lied war alms, alleging that these aims ial fear of the revolutionists it was now ica against allied obstinacy, and that wars German in character and responthis sentiment would lead to an acceptance of the pew submarine regulations.
Believing that the American people would see the war prolonged by allied obstinacy, the Germans hoped to escape 1916 the Germans made a peace proposal. the Russian situation. They foresaw obstinacy, the Germans hoped to escape They did it on the morrow of a great the revolution, which they manufac- conflict with America. In this they

> was undermining public confidence. At the other and of the line selfishness was making itself heard; labor, fearful sive lest a prolongation of the war should lead to the destruction of capital and the elimination of all ancient privileges, was becoming nervous and ooking eagerly toward a settlement. England Divided

In addition, there was in Britain disappointment with the government which had just led to the fall of Asquith and the coming of Lloyd George, and upon

were German in character and respon-

They did it on the morrow of a great the revolution, which they man did it on the morrow of a great the revolution, which they make the close of a campaign was getting under way, skin-victory, but at the close of a campaign tured; they understood that the mass miscalculated, but what is important is fully engineered by German agents and in which they had been defeated both at Verdun and at the Somme. This proposal was at once hailed in all allied countries as an evidence of weakness and despair and was rejected by allied statesmen with little thought as to the real men with little tho French interests, but to serve British France-Germany offered it, but the French government was bound to the British chariot. International finance in London and in Paris lifted its head

Russia Eliminated

Now, the leaders of the allied nations, in rejecting the German peace proposal, did not thereafter take the necessary steps to abolish the consequent danger. They had their eyes fixed upon the German public and were sat-isfied that German morale was breaking down at the very moment when German morale was unshaken and the morale of their own peoples was becoming seriously affected. Once more they had been surprised; they had failed to gather the drift of the new attack; they had imagined that in mak-ing the proposal Germany was confessing weakness and in rejecting it they were revealing strength; the truth was

All of this is revealed in the course of events in 1917. Russia fell, the Bolsheviki rising to power turned to Germany. accepting German peace gestures as made in good faith and broke with their old allies. Russia was eliminated from the war, and the Germans at last reached a situation where they could concentrate their energies on a single front. The defeat of the French army at the Aisne gave a new energy to the efeatist campaign in France, and the norale of the army, affected by that of the people, sunk to the lowest level in three years of war. In Britain there disorder among the various elements which was fatal to national unity of purpose and action. In Italy the sitwas still worse, and out of this situation came the disaster of Caporetto

Military Offensive Revived In sum, twelve months after she had opened her peace offensive, Germany had by it eliminated Russia from the war, brought Italy to the edge of ruin, lmost broken the nerve of France, pro luced a situation in Britain out of which o leader could have improvised victory But for the failure in America the peace offensive might have won the war, but the failure had been followed by the enrance of the United States into the war, low, it is not too much to say that no Berman military campaign in the four which has occurred between August 914, and December, 1917, had achieved my such results as this peace offensive. But by the opening of the new year he peace offensive had completed its work and we saw Germany resume her military offensive. The "liberals" in the reichstag, who had been making loud demands for peace without annexation or indemnity, lapsed into silence; the movement for democratising German inthe German general staff went to Brest-Litovsk and had its way with Russia, and then Ludendorff launched his great offensive on the western front, which began with great victories and narrowly escaped reaching Paris. Allies Awaken.

Fortunately for mankind, allied pub-lics woke up in time. Clemenceau came o power in Paris and saved France despite the outery of so-called "liberals" in all western nations; Lloyd George tuck to his guns in Britain, and a comnon peril at last became patent to all nen. To save their lives and to premen. To save their lives and to pre-serve their country from destruction, the very people who had been playing with the peace idea to the utter demoraliza-tion of their own nation's will to live and to the complete benefit of Germany suddenly began to see the drift of events and gave over their suport of the enemy agitation, a support which was blind

the same sort of advantage he had ac-quired in 1916 by invading Belgium. He secured the moral initiative and he used this until he regained the military initiative, at which point he dropped the mask and became the Prussian, and not the angel of peace, once more. Repetition Is Obvious

It seems to me nothing is more obvious, now then, that the German is again maneuvering for the moral initia-tive. I do not believe his peace gesture is any more unrelated to his war plans than was that of December, 1916. I do not believe that the German people are defeated in their own opinion and eager for peace at any price. On the con-trary, I believe they will fight long and desperately to escape the only kind of settlement the western nations can or will accept. I do not believe that the peace proposal is a sign of weakness. any more than the shifting of an attack rom one flank to another, in battle, is an evidence of panic or the collapse of the will to win the battle.

On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that this German maneuver is a war device, a method for winning the war on German terms, a de-liberate effort to exploit war weariness once more, to get our "liberals" and idealists to talking again about the iniquity of allied purposes and the need for a restatement of allied war aims. It is an effort to exploit the fears of both capital and labor for the future, it is a desperate attempt to break down allied morale behind the firing lines, in the hope that this collapse —ill be felt at the front, as a similar collapse was felt in 1917, that the German may have a chance to return to the offensive as and the payment of indemnities for last spring. And believing these things confess to a very great apprehension at this time lest blindness or ignorance on the part of the allied leadership. allied publics and allied press may enable the German to repeat his achievement of 1916, and escape from the evil military situation in which he now stands by exploitation of the advantages derived from regaining the moral in-

Allied Blindness

fensive of 1916-17. It was never a move on this ridiculous form of optimism to for peace; it was always a variation build a solemn edifice of early victory. of the manner in which Germany still solutions of early victory. This is our peril now, when new successes in the field have given rise to new tory, and when its possibilities had been and in part unreasoning optimism. We exhausted the German returned to the have stopped the German advance, we the same purpose in the summer of 1917. military method once more and won the have driven the German back to the lines We heard about reichstag reforms and pattles of Picardy, Flanders and the from which he emerged last March to "peace without annexation or indemnity"

excited because our long range guns are the selfishness of the enemy nations firing upon the forts of Metz, but the alike, which renewed the alliance be-German armies are still only 70 miles tween the "Puritan and the blackleg." from Paris, and the Germans still occupy ground along the Aisne from which they had been driven four long years ago. Losing battles the German is losing ground, losing men and guns, but in this situation he turns to the strategy which he used with complete success two years ago, after he had been defeated at Verdun and driven backward at the Somme

The Austrian Proposal The Austrian proposal is only the opening move of the German peace offensive, just as the note addressed to the allied governments by Germany in December two years ago, was only the first move in that earlier operation. There seemed to be then the same unanimous rejection of the proposal on the part of the allied peoples that we perceive now. But out of the maneuver there developed thereafter the greatest peril to the allied cause, now become our cause, which had existed since the first battle of the Marne. We have, then, every reason for fearing that there may be great dangers resulting from a new maneuver. It is essential at all times to put aside

the delusion that a beaten Germany is seeking peace by surrender or peace by negotiation which must mean the sacrifice of what Germany has acquired in this war, the release of subject peoples enslaved as the result of other wars, committed in the present

There is no escape for Germany from approximate economic ruin, no deliverance of the dynasty and the ruling elements from impending ruin on the political side, apart from military victory. Therefore, by all means, military and otherwise, all Germans are bound to and was highly pleased with the man- for that reason he left for Washingseek that military victory, and there is ner in which his utterances were re- ton this morning. A few of the connot the smallest chance that we shall ceived in this country. He appeared gratulatory messages from Europe be able to accomplish those things, to anxious to get the state department were forwarded to him here and be which we have dedicated our youth and advices regarding the manner in which

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lives, but almost fatal to their own on the allied side have been cursed by broken the military power of Germany Such, then, was the German peace of in Germany as we wanted them to be and and the comman territory. and the occupation of German territory.

The apparent agitation now going for-Meral Initiative Sought

Seek victory. We have inflicted a terrible loss in men upon him and we have morale was being undermined by these by lying, by proposing a negotiation a reasonable ground for hope that we same devices. But we had a sudden end shall drive him to the Belgian frontier. he did not desire, by exploiting the shall drive him to the Belgian frontier to all this "revolution" in Germany when credulity of the liberals, the war weariness of the masses, the selfishness of the classes, the German gained in 1916 age which is considerable and will be achieved its desired end in allied counenormous.

The danger of losing the European phase of the war, which was acute last ter of life and death for us to perceive March, has passed, the opportunity to win the war is beginning to develop. But it is only beginning to develop. We are swept into its course the idealism and tween the "Puritan and the blackleg," which almost broke our home front, our firing line and our power of morale and, military resistance to the enemy.

No Victory by Regotiation Victory will not be won by negotia-tion or by the discussion of peace terms. We had an ultimate demonstration of what the German really means by peace at Brest-Litovek and again at Bucharest. The great German military teacher, Clausewitz, once said that "war was only an extension of policy." A German orator, Herr David, a Socialist member of the reichstag, said last year: "Germany must squeeze her enemies with a pair of pinchers. The German armies must continue to fight vigorously, while German Socialists encourage and stimulate pacifism among Germany's ene-mies." The two utterances comprehend the present and the past peace offensives of the German government. They will also explain any future maneuver. Ger many is still seeking to win the war, all the civilized instincts in enemy countries are to be turned to her advantages; she talks peace to disarm her enemies, but while she talks she sharpens her own weapons. We are at the beginning of a new campaign, more dangerous than that other German offensive which Foch broke at the Marne.

Hundreds Wire President New York, Sept. 28 .- (I. N. S.)-Hundreds of congratulatory messages were received here today by President Wilson concerning his "peace based on equal justice for all peoples" speech

last night. The president was up early today From the very outset of this war we our material resources until we have the speech was received abroad; and departure for the national capital.

Completely Demolishes Elaborate Complaints of Unfairness by Hun Rulers.

By John Edwin Nevin Washington, Sept. 28 .- (L. N. S.)-President Wilson's New York speech o last night must have a powerful effect on the whole war outlook. The president last night again doclared Germany outlawed before the world. He reiterated that her military power must be far wider the doorway to an early peace, in the opinion of diplomats here, who say that if the Bulgarian crisis can be handled along the lines suggested by the chief executive, the early collapse of Austria and Turkey can be looked for and powerful inroads made on the control of the German junkers.

The most significant paragraph of the president's address was his explanation that the United States must stand opposed to "special, selfish economic combinations" within the league of nations that will enforce peace, and to the "em-ployment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the league of nations itself as a

In his clear, decisive manner the president, with the use of a single paragraph has completely demolished the defense Burian of Austria, who have just finshed telling the peoples of the two great central powers that their enemies wanted to destroy them and that this was the only reason why they are fighting on. The president has made it plain, diplomate pointed out today, that despite their foul crimes against humanity, the central powers can save their economic structures and start anew, free and untrammeled by accepting a peace based solely on impartial justice to all nations and peoples.

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