WEATHER
Fair and warmer to-day. To-morrow rain and colder. Winds south, increasing and shifting to the west to-morrow.
Full Report on Page 11

New York Tribune

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Vol. LXXVI No. 25,703 [Copyright 1917—The Tribune Ass'n.] SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1917 * * * ONE CENT In New York City

People's Cry For Liberty Stirs Berlin

Reflection of Russian Revolution Shown in Reichstag Debate

Members Denounce Rulers' Blunders

Censorship Relaxed, Newspaper Says People Must Help Themselves

London, March 30.—A reflection of the Russian revolution in a widespread stirring toward liberty among the German proletariat was unmistakably focussed in the Reichstag debate following Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech yesterday, according to advices from Amsterdam.

Even the Chancellor seems to have been affected by the change of sentiment, for he to-day made this peace gesture toward Russia:

"As far as we can see, the Emperor Nicholas has fallen a victim of his own tragic guilt. The Russian people, who did not want this war, can be without fear that we may interfere with their affairs. We wish nothing else but to live again as soon as possible with the Russian nation in a peace based upon conditions honorable for both parties."

Addresses by members of the Socialist party, National Liberals and even by one of the Conservatives sternly took the government to task for "ruthlessly" suppressing the appeal of the Russian Socialists to the world's workers to unite to end the war, for its blunders in the feeding system, for its war and diplomatic mistakes and, above all, for its failure to meet the general demand for internal reforms.

The alarm of the government at manifestations is evident. The press censorship has been lifted more than ever in the empire, and the papers take advantage of it to print radical utterances. The "Tageblatt" is quoted as regretting that the prospect for internal reform has taken the wrong path, and recalls the Chancellor's recent curse upon the "man who fails to understand his own age or lets slip his opportunity."

Resolute Deeds Urged

The "Vossische Zeitung," not ordinarily a radical paper, is quoted as saying:

"If the government leaves us in the lurch we shall have to help ourselves. Parliament, as the representative of the people, must take reform into its own hands. Deeds by a resolute Reichstag are of more weight than the words of a feeble Chancellor."

Even the official German account of the debate, issued from Berlin, while giving a wholly different cast to the proceedings, admits that statements were made which would not previously have been permitted in the Reichstag. Count von Westarp, a Conservative, is credited with saying: "Many believe that with Russia's entrance into the ranks of democratically ruled governments Germany will have to follow."

Gustav Noske, Socialist leader, who is quoted in the main as defending the government, is admitted to have said: "The pacifist masses of Russia would see that Germany did not intend to cooperate toward the reestablishment of imperialism."

In the Amsterdam dispatches, however, Herr Noske is quoted differently. He is said to have referred to the blunders of the present system of feeding in Germany and to have warned the government not to take lightheartedly the deplorable events at Barmen, Hamburg and Magdeburg.

Diplomatically Lost War

Dr. Gustave Stresemann, a National Liberal, is declared to have pointed out that Great Britain had created a great system of alliances with all possible peoples, even with a people who for thirty years had been allies of Germany.

"Diplomatically," he is reported to have said, "we lost the war before it had militarily begun."

Other speakers are declared to have referred to the Chancellor's decision to postpone franchise reform until the end of the war.

The German official account of the debate, as received here, says:

Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Catholic Centre party, said that the monarchs of all the Entente nations were tottering on their thrones. If it came to blows with America, Germany would be found ready.

In regard to Russia, Gustav Noske said it seemed the present leaders had decided to pursue the war to a victorious end, but the pacifist masses would see that Germany did not intend to cooperate toward reestablishment of imperialism.

"We Socialists are ready to oppose any such attempt in Germany," he continued. "Our government must take advantage of any Russian overtures to arrange early and honorable peace with our Eastern neighbors."

Germany was in no wise a reactionary country, he added, and people abroad might well envy Germany's social legislation. He said, however, that Prussia had a political system which was doomed, adding: "We are advised from abroad to recall, but we know better what to do, although we know the good will that inspires this advice."

Dr. Gustav Stresemann said: "A declaration of war by America will be possible only because American public opinion has been misled. New times demand new laws, and a beginning should be made with a new system in Germany," he asserted.

Count von Westarp said: "Many believe that with Russia's entrance into the ranks of democratically ruled states Germany will have to follow. All arguments, however, are against comparison of our country with enemy countries. Germany has shown superiority over all enemies which proves that the foundation of our state system is secure."

Dr. Eduard Davis, Socialist leader, after expressing the hope that the peace movement in Russia would succeed, said:

"That prince is strong who can rely on the majority of his people. The Chancellor spoke of a 'monarchy rooted in the people.' It really is a social kingdom in the sense of that of Frederick II and has our support. A people demands to be trusted by its king."

To Examine Constitution

After this debate the Reichstag, by a vote of 227 to 33, adopted a resolution of the National Liberals appointing a committee of twenty-eight to examine constitutional questions, especially as to the composition of the Reichstag and its relation to the government.

The Munich "Post," in an editorial, says:

"In the last fortnight the world has become quite another place, through Russia going over to democracy and the United States entering the lists against us. Germany now stands against an alliance of world democracy, and the people of the world are persuaded and are daily becoming convinced that the triumph of the freedom of the world is impossible as long as Germany remains what it is."

The Hague correspondent of "The London Chronicle" says the German reform movement is championed by the whole progressive press as an important factor which is going to play a great part during the remainder of the war, and adds: "The reactionaries will doubtlessly put up a fight, and there are hints that General von Ludendorff may be used as their champion against von Bethmann-Hollweg, who is accused of vacillation."

German Socialists' Power Gives Hope Of an Early Peace

By ARTHUR S. DRAPER

[By Cable to The Tribune]

London, March 30.—It is not Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech to the Reichstag, but the reaction of the Socialist party to the manœuvres of the government, which is the important—possibly overwhelmingly important—news from Germany.

The Socialist majority has now united with the Liebknecht party to form a most powerful organization.

No political move of recent months, except the Russian revolution, is calculated to have so far-reaching an effect on the course of the war as this decision of the German Labor party. For the first time the Laborites of Great Britain, France and Russia see some hope for a basis of peace negotiation. Faint though it is at this moment, it is highly encouraging for those who hope for an ending of the war before the total demoralization of the belligerents takes place.

What the Russians Remember

When Hollweg speaks of friendship, the Russians remember how no political refugee could find harbor in Germany; how German police have always commanded the Russian secret service; how the Kaiser offered the Czar an army corps to suppress the revolution in Poland in 1905; how Dauch, the famous revolutionist, was arrested in Germany, handed over to Russia and banished to Siberia for twenty years, and how Kropotkin was hounded by the German secret service.

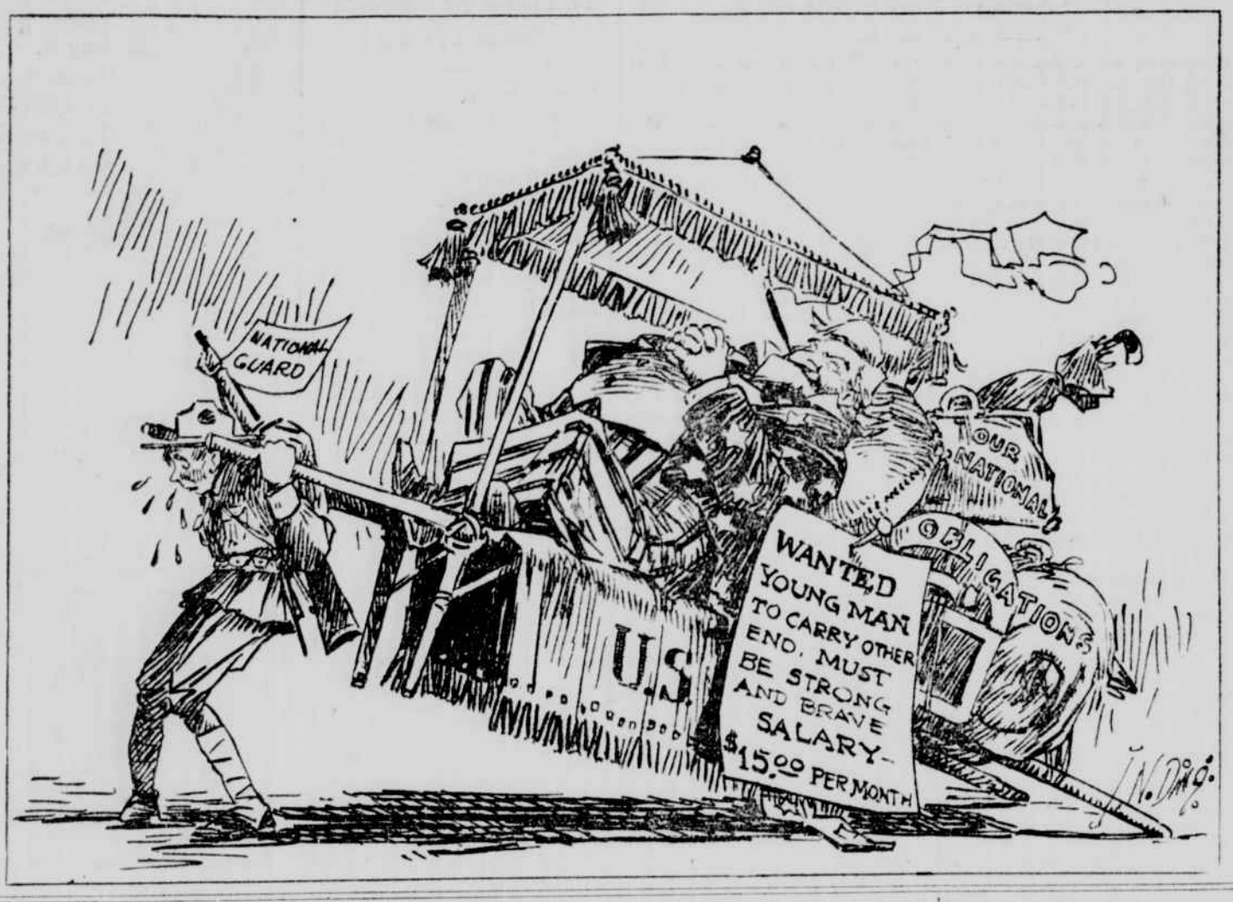
The very Russians Germany warred against then are now in power, and Hollweg knows this. That portion of his speech was intended for home consumption, with the hope of temporarily checking unrest. Even now Germany is attempting negotiations with the Russian socialists.

I can state the views both of the pacifists and extremists. Even the former declare there is no basis for negotiation until Germany announces definitely her willingness to evacuate Belgium and Northern France.

GOLF—UNITED NORTH & SOUTH TOURNAMENT, Pinehurst, N. C., April 2 to 7. Pullmans reserved to N.Y. 3:44 P. M. Ar. 8:00 A.M. Inq. "P. R. R." or Seaboard Air Line, 1184 B'way.—Adv.

GREENBRIER — White Sulphur Springs, West Va. Ideal time for the cure. Only one night from New York.—Adv.

THE VOLUNTEER SYSTEM



Going Naked Into War

By C. W. Gilbert

WASHINGTON, March 30.—With regard to military policy in the event of war, it is virtually agreed that this country shall raise an army whether we send it abroad or not.

The war party is for sending the army abroad whenever it can be trained and armed if the war is still going on. Their will is likely to prevail.

And it is agreed by every one that the army shall not be so large as to subtract seriously from the productive capacity of the country, our first duty being to make sure that the Allies are fed and munitioned.

Beyond that there is no plan, although German ruthlessness has been staring the Administration in the face for at least six months. The problem has not been thought out. No one knows how many men can be raised without decreasing the nation's productive capacity. Obviously, it depends upon what speeding up of the country can be brought about, and that depends upon rousing the people's will to make war and upon organizing industry for the energetic support of our allies and of our own forces when we have forces, a process that has hardly yet begun. Estimates in Cabinet circles as to the size of the army to be raised run all the way from 500,000 to 2,000,000 men.

An Army To Be Imagined

No one knows how this army shall be raised, whether by enlistment or by conscription. A law enacting universal military service can be had from Congress for the asking. No one knows whether the President will ask it. Senator Chamberlain, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, sought to interest the President on Thursday in universal military training, without response. The session is a few days off. A declaration of war or its equivalent is a few days off, yet Senator Chamberlain has not been told what the Administration wants in the way of military legislation or army appropriations. He has not been consulted. He sought and obtained Thursday's interviews, apparently without result.

So much for plans; now for actualities. The country has neither men nor guns nor ammunition. It has walked right up to the day of war without an army—we have a mere handful of men—and without guns or powder and shell. Neither trained men nor guns can be improvised. A supply of ammunition can be created much more quickly, thanks to the situation the war purchases of the Allies have created in this country. It takes France a year to train its men. It will take many months, a year or more, to arm any considerable body of troops raised in this country.

Not One Fully Equipped Brigade

Even if we should send a small body of troops to France or Belgium they would have to be supplied by the Allies with all the modern arms which this war has developed. They would have no heavy field artillery, no military airplanes, little or no field signalling apparatus for night work, no trench mortars, a negligible quantity of bombs or hand grenades. We couldn't put even a brigade in the field entirely equipped for modern fighting.

For a large army we lack not only these modern tools of war, but we lack everything. Even our little standing army is inadequately supplied. Take small arms, where we are best off. The country has 700,000 Springfield rifles. A modern army according to European practice should have three to five rifles for each foot soldier. This is to provide for loss, accidents, jamming and other incidents of service. The War Department has decided upon four rifles to a man. An army of 1,000,000 men, allowing for artillerymen, officers, etc., would require about 3,000,000 rifles. We have 700,000. We are making them at the rate of about fifty or sixty a day. The Springfield plant alone could turn out 250 or 300 a day. The Rock Island plant until a few days ago had been producing none.

Plans for Good Machine Guns

With regard to machine guns, one of the most important factors in the great war, our condition is deplorable. We have adopted a heavy type, the Vickers, but haven't begun to manufacture it. A light type has not yet been decided upon. Our light guns are useless with the exception of a few obtained with the consent of the British government for the recent Mexican excursion. The British have seventy-two machine guns for each 2,000 men. Our machine gun board recommended six for each 1,800 men.

The modern military airplane has been developed in the stress of war. Nothing like it is made in this country. A battle-plane has a speed of 120 to 130 miles an hour. Our airplanes are capable of 60 to 70 miles an hour. Foreign engines develop one horsepower of energy for two pounds of metal. Our engines are capable of one horsepower for four and a half pounds of metal. In fighting our airplanes would have as much chance against a foreign battle-plane as in naval warfare an old-fashioned protected cruiser would have against a modern battle-cruiser.

It would be possible to multiply illustrations. I have given the most striking. They show that the lessons of the great war have been ignored. We are utterly unready. We shall be ineffective for many months to come.

McAdoo's 3 Sons Volunteer

All for Naval Reserve, One Choosing Aviation Section

Washington, March 30.—Secretary McAdoo's three sons have volunteered for service in the Naval Reserve in case of war. Francis H. McAdoo, a New York lawyer, besides volunteering, has given the government the fast motor boat Adroit, for a submarine chaser. William G. McAdoo, jr., a senior at Princeton, will leave college immediately to serve in the aviation section. Robert H. McAdoo, the Secretary's youngest son, will leave school as soon as called upon.

Germany Knows U. S. Is Unprepared

How she expects to win the war before this government can prepare for adequate defence is told by Carl Ackerman on Page 13.

Forty Americans Prisoners of War In German Camp

Men Taken from British Ship by Moewe—St. Theodore Sunk After Raiding

Copenhagen, March 30.—More than forty Americans from the British ship Esmeraldas, which was captured by the German raider Moewe, are now held prisoner in Germany in a situation similar to that of the men of the Yarrowdale before their recent release, according to Jack Benson, an American sailor, who to-day reached this city.

However, while the Yarrowdale men were held in Germany under various pretexts, such as the sanitary condition of their internment camp, Benson says that the men from the Esmeraldas are regarded as prisoners of war.

Benson declares that nearly all of the Americans were horsemen aboard the Esmeraldas, which was transporting cavalry mounts for the British army.

The only exception whom Benson was able to mention was an American named Smith, who was aboard the British armed merchantman Brecknockshire. The Americans captured, together with the British crews, at last accounts were in a prison camp in Westphalia, having been taken from the Moewe three days after her arrival at Kiel.

Benson owes his release to the fact that he was serving on the unarmed Norwegian bark Staut, and not on an armed belligerent merchantman.

Benson shipped on the Staut at Norfolk, Va., for a voyage to the South Georgia Islands with coal and provisions for the whaling fleet. The Staut was returning to Queenstown with whale oil when she ran into the St. Theodore, a British steamer, which had been captured and armed and equipped as an auxiliary cruiser.

The St. Theodore, after making an independent cruise in which she captured and destroyed the Staut, rejoined the Moewe February 12 and was sunk the following night, after having been stripped of all her copper, brass and other metal fittings.

The Moewe, which had been operating well to the south of the equator, then headed northward and destroyed seven more steamers, two of which resisted stoutly. The Moewe passed the Skaggerak and through the sound disguised as a Swedish freighter and arrived at Kiel March 22.

Raider Sinks Many Ships Off Trinidad

French Bark Reaches Rio de Janeiro with 200 Survivors

Rio de Janeiro, March 30.—The French bark Cambronne has arrived here with 200 men of the crews of various steamers and sailing ships sunk by a German raider off the island of Trinidad. They reported that many sailors from the sunken vessels were drowned.

The rescued sailors, who are French, English and Italian, report that the raider is an armed sailing ship with a gasolene motor. They say the raider showed the Norwegian flag and when it sighted a ship signalled it to approach. As soon as the ship obeyed the signal the raider hoisted the German flag and opened fire.

The firing was continued until the crews surrendered. Then the raider would take the sailors aboard and sink the ships.

The French bark Cambronne, of 1,863 gross tons, was last reported as sailing from Antofagasta, Chili, on December 26 for Brest, France. While the Moewe was marauding in the South Atlantic she fitted out several of her prizes as subsidiary raiders. It is nearly 3,000 miles from Trinidad to Rio de Janeiro.

Zimmermann Says U. S. Is to Blame for War

Relations Broken Off with "Roughness," Says Secretary

Tried to Rouse Neutral Opposition

Admits He Sought Aid of Mexicans and Japanese, "of Same Race"

London, March 30.—Reuter's Amsterdam correspondent sends the following concerning the address of Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, Minister of Foreign Affairs, with regard to Germany's attempt to embroil Mexico and Japan with the United States:

Hugo Haase, leader of the Socialist minority in the Reichstag, remarked that the German offer of an alliance with Mexico had aggravated the situation with the United States, and Dr. Zimmermann, replying, said:

"I wrote no letter to General Carranza. I was not so naïve. I merely addressed, by a route that appeared to me to be a safe one, instructions to our representative in Mexico. It is being investigated how these instructions fell into the hands of the American authorities. I instructed the Minister to Mexico, in the event of war with the United States, to propose a German alliance to Mexico, and simultaneously to suggest that Japan join the alliance. I declared expressly that, despite the submarine war, we hoped America would maintain neutrality.

Leak "Not Unobjectionable"

"My instructions were to be carried out only after the United States declared war and a state of war supervened. I believe the instructions were absolutely loyal, as regards the United States. General Carranza would, up to the present, have heard nothing of it if the United States had not published the instructions, which came into its hands in a way which was not unobjectionable. Our behavior contrasts considerably with the behavior of the Washington government.

"President Wilson, after our note of January 31, 1917, which avoided all aggressiveness in tone, deemed it proper immediately to break off relations with extraordinary roughness. Our ambassador no longer had the opportunity to explain or elucidate orally our attitude. The United States government thus declined to negotiate with us. On the other hand, it addressed itself immediately to all the neutral powers to induce them to join the United States and break with us.

"Every unprejudiced person must see in this the hostile attitude of the American government, which seemed to consider it right before being at war with us to set the entire world against us. It cannot deny us the right to seek allies when it has itself practically declared war on us.

"Nothing to Object To"

"Herr Haase says it caused great indignation in America, of course. In the first instance, the affair was employed as an incitement against us. But meanwhile the storm abated slowly, and the calm and sensible politicians, and also the great mass of the American people, saw there was nothing to object to in these instructions in themselves. I refer especially to the statements of Senator Underwood. Even at times newspapers felt obliged to admit regretfully that not so very much had been made of this affair.

"I was reproached for thinking just of Mexico and Japan. First of all, Mexico was a neighboring state to America. If we wanted allies against America, Mexico would be the first to come into consideration. The relations between Mexico and ourselves since the time of Porfirio Diaz have been extremely friendly and trustful. The Mexicans, moreover, are known as good and efficient soldiers.

"It can hardly be said that the relations between the United States and Mexico have been friendly and trustful; but the world knows that antagonism exists between America and Japan. I maintain that these antagonisms are stronger than those which, despite the war, exist between Germany and Japan.

"Two Nations of Like Race"

"When I also wished to persuade Carranza that Japan should join the alliance there was nothing extraordinary in this. The relations between Japan and Mexico are long existent. The Mexicans and Japanese are of a like race and good relations exist between both countries.

"When further the Entente press affirms that it is shameless to take away allies, such reproach must have a peculiar effect coming from power who, like our enemies, made no scruple in taking away from us two powers and peoples with whom we were bound by treaties of more than thirty years. The powers who desire to make pliant an old European country of culture like Greece by unparalleled and violent means cannot raise such a reproach against us.

"When I thought of this alliance with Mexico and Japan, I allowed myself to be guided by the consideration that our brave troops already have to fight against a superior force of enemies and my duty is, as far as possible, to keep further enemies away from them. That Mexico and Japan suited that purpose even Herr Haase will not deny.

"Thus, I considered it a patriotic duty to release those instructions, and I hold to the standpoint that I acted rightly."

The emergency budget voted yesterday, the dispatch adds, authorized the Imperial Chancellor to meet the current expenditures of the empire for the months of April, May and June. The Reichstag continued the debate on the Foreign Office budget to-day.

DR. BRUSH'S KUMYSS. Not a medicine but a most healthful drink.—Adv.

Cabinet Expects Wilson's Message Will Be Warlike

War Party Is Satisfied with Outline Read at Meeting

Many Still Fear A Middle Course

Congress in Mood To Be Led, but Not Likely to Take Initiative

By STEVENSON H. EVANS

Washington, March 30.—The war party in the Cabinet is full of faith to-night that when the President goes before Congress next Tuesday or Wednesday it will be to deliver a war message "strong, aggressive and to the point."

The full text of the message which the President has prepared was not read to the Cabinet at the regular meeting this afternoon. A complete outline, however, was delivered, and "entire satisfaction" was expressed by all the Cabinet officers.

It is undoubtedly the desire of the Administration, judging by the frequent lifts of the veil of secrecy and the positive statements made by men in high quarters, that the impression now go to the country and to Congress, nearly all the members of which are now here, of an Administration determined upon warlike action.

Many Still in Fear Of Middle Course

But, notwithstanding all that has been said since the meeting of the Cabinet this afternoon and the apparent satisfaction of the men who are known to favor an aggressive policy toward Germany, nobody really knows exactly the line the President is to take in his address to Congress. Many here remain convinced that if there is a middle course remaining that middle course will be found.

There is no doubt that the President will lay a statement of facts before Congress—how for two years Uncle Sam has been living in a fool's paradise, hoping against hope that Germany would not carry out her threats; how 225 American men and women and twenty-four children have been slaughtered by German submarines and seventeen American ships have been sunk by their torpedoes, shells or gunfire; how, after the solemn pledge of the Sussex note, came the declaration of January 31, threatening ruthless sinking of all ships without warning; how since the dismissal of the German Ambassador and the recall of the American Ambassador at Berlin several American ships have been torpedoed without warning and more than a score of American lives lost.

It is believed that the President will discuss at some length his policy of armed neutrality and describe the measures that have been taken to protect American lives and property at sea by means of the armed guards.

Congress Wants Recommendations

Whether the President will ask Congress to declare war or merely to resolve that a state of war exists; whether he will urge a continuation of the policy of armed neutrality, a sort of de facto war of defence, or advocate immediate and adequate preparation in the army and the navy and industries of the nation for real war—these are questions that no one can answer. They may remain unanswered until the President makes his address next week. Congress is apparently in the mood to be led, but not in the mood to take full initiative upon the mere statement of a series of outrages without recommendation.

The members of Congress are nearly all here. It is difficult to give an accurate picture of the complex Congressional state of mind, but, basing the statement upon conversations with many members and upon their opinions of what their colleagues are thinking, this seems to be inside their minds:

That the country is looking for a declaration of war or that a state of war exists because of the outrages Germany has committed and threatens to continue to commit, and is resigned to such a declaration and to the expenditures and sacrifices which

Poll By Owen Shows Oklahoma In Favor of War

Replies to Referendum Unanimous for Firm Stand Against Germany

[From The Tribune Bureau]

Washington, March 30.—Oklahoma generally regarded as one of the pacifist states, is for war with Germany at once, and with all the strength of which the United States is capable, to judge from the replies from all parts of the state which have poured into the office of Senator Robert L. Owen in the last few days as a result of his referendum.

Mr. Owen did not address individuals—he felt that he could reach a much larger number of his constituents by writing to organizations in towns. In many instances, the replies showed mass meetings were held as a result of his inquiry as to the state of mind of the citizens. In no instance did any mass meeting of citizens or meeting of any organization go on record against a firm policy with Germany. For the most part they recorded themselves as favoring an immediate declaration of war, or at least a declaration that war with Germany existed.

The only message received by Mr. Owen against going to war with Germany was from an individual with a German name, of whom no one in Mr. Owen's office had heard before.

All of the replies from organizations favored a firm stand, grading up from an injunction to stand behind the President in the present emergency to a command to get into the war at once.

One of the strongest messages was the result of a mass meeting at Macalester, Okla., on March 27, which ended with a unanimous vote in favor of declaring war.

The Durant Commercial Club recognized that the United States was "virtually at war with Germany now," and urged a vigorous prosecution of that war.

In view of the pacifist attitude of the other Oklahoma Senator, Mr. Gore, at the time of the McLemore resolution when he introduced a somewhat similar resolution in the upper House, the demonstration that Oklahoma wants an end of pussy-footing is regarded as extremely important now.

Omaha Tells President The West Wants Action

Omaha, March 30.—The following telegram, signed by the Mayor of Omaha, the presidents of all the national banks there, the presidents of the Omaha Grain Exchange, the Commercial Club, the Rotary Club, the Omaha Club, and the secretary of the Associated Retailers of Omaha, was sent to President Wilson to-day:

"The people of this community and of the West generally, as we believe, do not favor a policy of inaction in the present crisis. They believe that our government should recognize officially the situation as it really exists. They will support you in your every effort to see that the honor and dignity of this nation are upheld."

$1,000,000 War Loan Is Raised in Boston

Bankers Provide for Guard Equipment in Less than Three Hours

Boston, March 30.—Local bankers formed a syndicate to-day for the raising of a patriotic war loan of $1,000,000 without interest, to be used for emergency purchases for equipment of regular and National Guard soldiers in this quartermaster district. The loan was raised in less than three hours by a committee of five business men appointed by the Council of National Defence at Washington.

The banking houses of Lee, Higginson & Co. and Kidder, Peabody & Co. contributed $250,000 each. The other half of the loan was contributed by ten banks.

New Title for Kaiser Urged Upon Reichstag

Petitioners Call Emperor "The Faithful" in Their Appeal

London, March 30.—The German Reichstag, according to Reuter's correspondent at Amsterdam, is being flooded with petitions urging it to bestow upon Emperor William the title of "The Faithful," so that he may be so known in history as one who kept his trust. It is said that the Reichstag petition committee will discuss the suggestion.

Berlin newspapers are quoted as saying that five thousand petitions have been placed before the Reichstag. A large number of these deal with the titular demand for the Emperor.

Bomb Found in Ship's Coal

Buenos Ayres, March 30.—A report received here says that on the voyage from New York to Rio Janeiro a bomb was found in the coal cargo of the steamer Tennyson.

According to the newspapers, eight bombs were discovered in the coal cargo of the Norwegian ship Olderny during her trip from New York.