

GERMANY THE NEXT REPUBLIC?

BY CARL W. ACKERMAN

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When the Allies Refused to Discuss Possible Terms of Peace With the Germans in Answer to the Teuton Offer and the Note of President Wilson They Played Into the Junkers' Hands, Who Have Tried to Impress Upon the People That This War Is a Battle for National Life

However, German Diplomacy in Dealing With Neutrals Fell Far Short of the Astuteness Displayed at Home, and Von Jagow, Rather Than Sign the Inflammatory and Inane Notes Written by the Foreign Office, Had the Courage to Resign His Post of Secretary of State

FROM all appearances in Berlin it was evident to every neutral diplomat with whom I talked that while Germany was proclaiming to the whole world her desire for peace she had in mind only the most drastic peace terms as far as Belgium, certain sections of northern France, Poland and the Balkans were concerned. Neutrals observed that Germany was so exalted over the Rumanian victory and the possibilities of that campaign solving the food problem that she was not only ready to defy the Allies but the neutral world unless the world was ready to bow to a German victory. There were some people in Germany who realized that the sooner she made peace the better peace terms she could get, but the Government was not of this opinion. The Allies, as was expected, defiantly refused the Prussian olive branch which had been extended, like everything else from Germany, with a string tied to it. For the purposes of the Kaiser and his Government the Allies' reply was exactly what they wanted.

The German Government was in this position: If the Allies accepted Germany's proposal it would enable the Government to unite all factions in Germany by making a peace which would satisfy the political parties as well as the people. If the Allies refused, the German Government calculated that the refusal would be so bitter that it would unite the German people political organizations and enable the Government to continue the war in any way it saw fit.

The Allied Statesmen Blunder

Nothing which had happened during the year so solidified the German nation as the Allies' replies to Berlin and to President Wilson. It proved to the German people that their Government was waging a defensive war, because the Allies demanded annexation, compensation and guarantees, all of which meant a change in the map of Europe from what it was at the beginning of the war. The interests which had been demanding a submarine warfare saw their opportunity had come. They knew that as a result of the Allies' notes the public would sanction an unrestricted sea warfare against the whole world, if that was necessary.

From December 12 until after Christmas discussions of peace filled the German newspapers. By January 1 all possibilities of peace had disappeared. The Government and the public realized that the war would go on and that preparations would have to be made at once for the biggest campaign in the history of the world in 1917.

Throughout the peace discussions one thing was evident to all Americans. Opposition to American intervention in any peace discussion was so great that the United States would not be able to take any leading part without being faced by the animosity of



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a great section of Germany. When it was stated in the press that Joseph C. Grew, the American Charge d'Affaires, had received the German note and transmitted it to his Government, public indignation was so great that the Government had to inform all of the German newspapers to explain that Germany had not asked the United States to make peace; that Germany had, in fact, not asked any neutrals to make peace, but had only handed these neutrals the German note in order to get it officially before the Allies. At this time the defiant attitude of the whole nation was well expressed in an editorial in the Morgen Post saying: "If Germany's hand is refused her fist will soon be felt with increased force."

As early as September, 1916, Ambassador Gerard reported to the State Department that the forces demanding an unrestricted

submarine campaign were gaining such strength in Germany that the Government would not be able to maintain its position very long. Gerard saw that not only the political difficulties, but the scarcity of food and the anti-American campaign of hate were making such headway that unless peace were made there would be nothing to prevent a rupture with the United States. The latter part of December, when Gerard returned from the United States after conferences with President Wilson, he began to study the submarine situation.

He saw that only the most desperate resistance on the part of the Chancellor would be able to stem the tide of hate and keep America out of the war. On January 7 the American Chamber of Commerce and Trade in Berlin gave a dinner to Ambassador Gerard and invited the Chancellor, Doctor Helfferich, Doctor Solf, Min-

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ister of Foreign Affairs Zimmermann, prominent German bankers and business men, leading editors and all others who a few months before during the Sussex crisis had combined in maintaining friendly relations. At this banquet Gerard made the statement, "As long as such men as Generals von Hindenburg and Ludendorff led the armies, as long as Admirals von Capelle, von Holtzendorff and von Mueller headed the Navy Department and the Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg directed the political affairs there would be no trouble with the United States." Gerard was severely criticized abroad not only for this statement, but for a further remark "that the relations between Germany and the United States had never been better than they were today." Gerard saw before he had been in Berlin a week that Germany was desperate, that conditions were getting worse and that with no possibilities of peace Germany would probably renew the Von Tirpitz submarine warfare. He chose desperate means himself at this banquet to appeal to the democratic forces in Germany to side with the Chancellor when the question of a ruthless submarine warfare again came up.

Germany Had Made Its Plans

The German Government, however, had planned its moves months in advance. Just as every great offensive on the battlefields is planned, even to the finest details, six months before operations begin, so are the big moves on the political chessboard of Europe.

There are very few men in public life in Germany who have

TO MY ARMY AND MY NAVY!

ONCE more a war year lies behind us, replete with hard fighting and sacrifices, rich in successes and victories. Our enemies' hopes for the year 1916 have been blasted. All their assaults in the East and West were broken to pieces through your bravery and devotion! The latest triumphal march through Rumania has, by God's decree, again pinned imperishable laurels to your standards. The greatest naval battle of this war, the Skagerak victory, and the bold exploits of the U-boats have assured to my navy glory and admiration for all time. You are victorious on all theatres of war, ashore as well as afloat! With unshaken trust and proud confidence the grateful Fatherland regard you. The incomparable warlike spirit dwelling in your ranks, your tenacious, untiring will to victory, your love for the Fatherland are guarantees to me that victory will remain with our colors in the 20th year also. God will be with us further! Main Headquarters, December 31, 1916. WILHELM.

the courage of their convictions to resign if their policies are overruled. Von Jagow, who was Secretary of State from the beginning of the war until December, 1916, was one of these "few." Because Von Jagow had to sign all of the foolish, explanatory and excusing notes which the German Government sent to the United States he was considered abroad as being weak and incapable. But when he realized early in November that the Government was determined to renew the submarine warfare unless peace was made Von Jagow was the only man in German public life who would not remain an official of the Government and bring about a break with America. Zimmermann, however, was a different type of official. Zimmermann, like the Chancellor, is ambitious, bigoted, cold-blooded and an intriguer of the first caliber. As long as he was Under Secretary of State he fought Von Jagow and tried repeatedly to oust him. So it was not surprising to Americans when they heard that Zimmermann had succeeded Von Jagow.

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(CONTINUED TOMORROW)

FIGURES IN FIFTH WARD CASE SNAPPED DURING SENSATIONAL HEARING IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT



DISTRICT ATTORNEY SAMUEL P. ROTAN



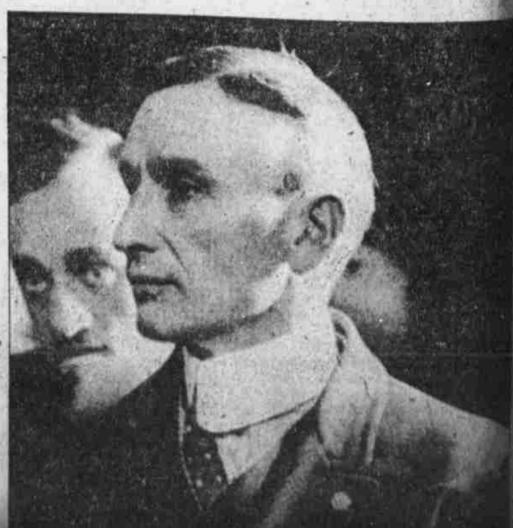
MAYOR SMITH AND HIS BODYGUARD ENTERING CITY HALL ON THE WAY TO THE HEARING



"IKE" DEUTSCH AS HE SAT IN COURTROOM



CHARLES G. HAIGNEY, A STAR WITNESS



LIEUTENANT BENNETT LISTENS TO TESTIMONY