

# GERMANY THE NEXT REPUBLIC?

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The title "Germany, the Next Republic?" is chosen because the author believes this must be the goal, the battlecry, of the United States and her Allies. As long as the Kaiser, his generals and the present leaders are in control of Germany's destinies the world will encounter the same terrorism that it has had to bear during the war. Permanent peace will follow the establishment of a republic. But the German people will not overthrow the present Government until the leaders are defeated and discredited. Today the Reichstag Constitutional Committee, headed by Herr Scheidemann, is preparing reforms in the organic law, but so far all proposals are mere makeshifts. The world cannot afford to consider peace with Germany until the people rule. The sooner the United States and her Allies tell this to the German people officially the sooner we shall have peace.

documents at the beginning of the war to show what was done to avoid it. These White Books were written to win public opinion. But why were they

suddenly became dependent upon this country. Not only the belligerents but the neutrals sought the leadership of a nation which could look after all the interests, except those of purely military and naval operations. The eyes of the world centered upon Washington, President Wilson, as the official head of the Government, was singled out as the one man to help them in their suffering and to listen to their appeals. The bel-

peace either now or at any other time that might be thought more suitable, as an occasion to serve you and all concerned in a way that would afford me lasting cause for gratitude and happiness.

### WOODROW WILSON.

The President's secretary tabled this to the Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary, the King of England, the Czar of Russia and the President of France. The President's brief note touched the chord of sympathy of the whole world; but it was too late then

at the bar of which we all sit. I would call your attention, incidentally, to the circumstance that it does not observe the ordinary rules of evidence, which has sometimes suggested to me that the ordinary rules of evidence had shown some signs of growing antique. Everything, rumor included, is heard in this court, and the standard of judgment is not so much the character of the testimony as the character of the witness. The motives are disclosed, the purposes are conjectured and that opinion is finally accepted which seems to be not the best founded in law, perhaps, but the best founded in integrity of character and of morals. That is the

be very dull and dry if it were not for this belief in the essential beauty of the human spirit and the belief that the human spirit should be translated into action and into ordinance. Not entirely. You cannot go any faster than you can advance the average moral judgment of the mass, but you can go at least as fast as that, and you can see to it that you do not lag behind the average moral judgments of the mass. I have in my life dealt with all sorts and conditions of men, and I have found that the flame of moral judgment burns just as bright in the man of humble life and limited experience as in the scholar and man of affairs. And I would like his voice always to be heard, not as a witness, not as speaking in his own case, but as if he were the voice of men in general, in our courts of justice, as well as the voice of the lawyers, remembering what the law has been. My hope is that, being stirred to the depths by the extraordinary circumstances of the time in which we live, we may recover from those steps something of a renewal of that vision of the law with which men may be supposed to have started out in the old days of the oracles, who commune with the intimations of divinity."

Before this war very few nations paid any attention to public opinion. France was probably the beginner. Some twenty years before 1914 France began to extend her civilization to Russia, Italy, the Balkans and Syria.

The very fact that the belligerents tried to mobilize public opinion in the United States in their favor shows that 1914 was a milestone in international affairs. This was the first time any foreign Power ever attempted to fight for the good will—the public opinion—of this nation. The Governments themselves realized the value of public opinion in their own boundaries, but when the war began they realized that it was a power inside the realms of their neighbors, too.

When differences of opinion developed between the United States and the belligerents the first thing President Wilson did was to publish all the documents and papers in the possession of the American Government relating to the controversy. The publicity which the President gave the diplomatic correspondence between this Government and Great Britain over the search and seizure of vessels emphasized in Washington this tendency in our foreign relations. At the beginning of England's seizure of American merchantmen carrying cargoes to neutral European countries, the State Department lodged individual protests, but no heed was paid to them by the London officials. Then the United States made public the negotiations, seeking to accomplish by publicity what a previous exchange of diplomatic notes failed to do.

Discussing this action of the President in an editorial on "Diplomacy in the Dark," the New York World said: President Wilson's protest to the British Government is a clear, temperate, courteous assertion of the trade rights of neutral countries in time of war. It represents not only the established policy of the United States, but the established policy of Great Britain. It voices the opinion of virtually all the American people, and there are few Englishmen, even in time of war, who will take issue with the principles upheld by the President. Yet a serious misunderstanding was risked because it is the habit of diplomacy to operate in the dark.

Fortunately President Wilson, by making the note public, prevented the original misunderstanding from spreading. But the lesson ought not to stop there. Our State Department, as Mr. Wickersham recently pointed out in a letter to the world, has never had a settled policy of publicity in regard to our diplomatic affairs. No "blue books" or "white books" are ever issued. What information the country obtains must be pieced out of the department. This has been our diplomatic policy for more than a century, and it is a policy that, if continued, will some day end disastrously.

Speaking in Atlanta in 1912, President Wilson stated that this Government would never gain another foot of territory by conquest. This dispelled whatever apprehension there was that the United States might seek to annex Mexico. Later, in asking Congress to repeal the Panama toll act of 1912, the President said the good will of Europe was a more valuable asset than commercial advantages gained by discriminatory legislation. Thus at the outset of President Wilson's first Administration foreign Powers were given to understand that Mr. Wilson believed in the power of public opinion; that he favored publicity as a means of accomplishing what could not be done by confidential negotiations; that he did not believe in annexation, and that he was ready at any time to help end the war.



ALL EUROPE WAS READY FOR WAR

### Mobilizing Public Opinion

THE Haupttelegraphenamt (the Chief Telegraph Office) in Berlin is the center of the entire telegraph system of Germany. It is a large, brick building in the Franzoesische Strasse guarded day and night by soldiers. The sidewalks outside the building are barricaded. Without a pass no one can enter. Foreign correspondents in Berlin, when they had telegrams to send to their newspapers, frequently took them from the Foreign Office to the Chief Telegraph Office personally in order to speed them on their way to the outside world. The censored dispatches were sealed in a Foreign Office envelope. With this credential correspondents were permitted to enter the building and the room where all telegrams are passed by the military authorities.

During my two years' stay in Berlin I went to the telegraph office several times every week. Often I had to wait while the military censor read my dispatches. On a large bulletin board in this room I saw, and often read, documents posted for the information of the telegraph officials. During one of my first waiting periods I read an original document relating to the events at the beginning of the war. This was a typewritten letter signed by the Director of the Post and Telegraph. Because I was always watched by a soldier escort, I could never copy it. But after reading it scores of times I soon memorized everything, including the periods.

This document was as follows: Office of the Imperial Post and Telegraph, Aug. 2, 1914. Announcement No. 3.

To the Chief Telegraph Office: From today on the post and telegraph communications between Germany on the one hand and:

- 1. England,
2. France,
3. Russia,
4. Japan,
5. Belgium,
6. Italy,
7. Montenegro,
8. Serbia,
9. Portugal;

on the other hand are interrupted because Germany finds herself in a state of war. (Signed) Director of the Post and Telegraph.

This notice, which was never published, shows that the man who directed the Post and Telegraph Service of the Imperial Government knew on the 2d of August, 1914, who Germany's enemies would be. Of the eleven enemies of Germany today, only Rumania and the United States were not included. If the Director of the Post and Telegraph knew what to expect, it is certain that the Imperial Government knew. This announcement shows that Germany expected war with nine different nations, but at the time it was posted on the bulletin board of the Haupttelegraphenamt, neither Italy, Japan, Belgium nor Portugal had declared war. Italy did not declare war until nearly a year and a half afterward, Portugal nearly two years afterward and Japan not until December, 1914.

This document throws an interesting light upon the preparations Germany made for a world war. The White, Yellow, Grey and Blue Books, which all of the belligerents published after the beginning of the war, dealt only with the attempts of these nations to prevent the war. None of the nations has as yet published white books to show how it prepared for war, and still every nation in Europe had been expecting and preparing for a European conflagration. Winston Churchill, when he was First Lord of the Admiralty, stated at the beginning of the war that England's fleet was mobilized. France had contributed millions of francs to fortify the Russian border in Poland, although Germany had made most of the guns.

Belgium had what the Kaiser called "a contemptible little army," but the soldiers knew how to fight when the invaders came. Germany had new forty-two centimeter guns and a network of railroads which operated like shuttles between the Russian and French and Belgian frontiers. Ever since 1870 Europe had been talking war. Children were brought up and educated into the belief that some day war would come. Most people considered it inevitable, although not every one wanted it.

During the exciting days of August, 1914, I was calling at the belligerent embassies and legations in Washington. Neither M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, nor Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, nor Count von Bernstorff, the Kaiser's representative, was in Washington then. But it was not many weeks until all three had hastened to this country from Europe. Almost the first act of the belligerents was to send their envoys to Washington.

As I met these men I was in a sense an agent of public opinion who called each day to report the opinions of the belligerents to the readers of American newspapers. One day at the British embassy I was given copies of the White Book and many other documents which Great Britain had issued to show how she tried to avoid the war. In conversation later with Ambassador von Bernstorff I was given the German viewpoint.

The thing which impressed me at the time was the desire of these officials to get their opinions before the American people. But why did these Ambassadors want the standpoints of their Governments understood over here? Why was the United States singled out of all other neutrals? If all the belligerents really wanted to avoid war, why did they not begin twenty years before to prevent it, instead of to prepare for it?

All the Powers issued their official documents for one primary purpose—to win public opinion. First, it was necessary for each country to convince its own people that their country was being attacked and that their leaders had done everything possible to avoid war. Even in Europe people would not fight without a reason. The German Government told the people that unless the army was mobilized immediately Russia would invade and seize East Prussia. England, France and Belgium explained to their people that Germany was out to conquer the world by way of Belgium and France. But White Books were not circulated alone in Europe; they were sent by the hundreds of thousands into the United States and translated in every known language so that the people of the whole world could read them.

Then the word battles between the Allies and the Central Powers began in the United States. While the soldiers fought on the battlefields of Belgium, France, East Prussia and Poland, an equally bitter struggle was carried on in the United States. In Europe the object was to stop the invaders. In America the goal was public opinion.

It was not until several months after the beginning of the war that Sir Edward Grey and Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg began to discuss what the two countries had done before the war to avoid it. The only thing either nation could refer to was the 1912 conference between Lord Haldane and the Chancellor. This was the only real attempt made by the two leading belligerents to come to an understanding to avoid inevitable bloodshed. Discussions of these conferences were soon hushed up in Europe because of the bitterness of the people against each other. The "Hymn of Hate" had stirred the German people and the Zeppelin raids were beginning to sow the seeds of determination in the hearts of the British. It was too late to talk about why the war was not prevented. So each set of belligerents had to rely upon the official

people suddenly taken into the confidence of their Governments? Why had the Governments of England, France, Germany and Russia not been so frank before 1914? Why had they all been interested in making the people speculate as to what would come, and how it would come about? Why were all the nations encouraging suspicion? Why did they always question the motives, as well as the acts, of each other? Is it possible that the world progressed faster than the Governments and that the Governments suddenly realized that public opinion was the biggest factor in the world? Each one knew a war could not be waged without public support, and each one knew that the sympathy of the outside world depended more upon public opinion than upon business or military relations.

### How America Was Shocked by the War

PREVIOUS to July, 1914, the American people had thought very little about a European war. While the war parties and financiers of Europe had been preparing a long time for the conflict, people over here had been thinking about peace. Americans discussed more of the possibilities of international peace and arbitration than war. Europeans lived through nothing except an expectancy of war. Even the people knew who the enemies might be. The German Government, as the announcement of the Post and Telegraph Director shows, knew nine of the possible enemies before the war had been declared. So it was only natural, when the first reports reached the United States saying that the greatest powers of Europe were engaged in a death struggle, that people were shocked and horrified. And it was only natural for thousands of them to beseege President Wilson with requests for him to offer his services as a mediator.

The war came, too, during the holiday season in Europe. More than 90,000 Americans were in the war zones. The State Department was flooded with telegrams. Senators and Congressmen were urged to use their influence to get money to stranded Americans to help them home. The 235 United States diplomatic and consular representatives were asked to locate Americans and see to their comfort and safety. Not until Americans realized how closely they were related to Europe could they picture themselves as having a direct interest in the war. Then the stock market began to tumble. The New York Stock Exchange was closed. South America asked New York for credit and supplies, and neutral Europe, as well as China in the Far East, looked to the United States to keep the war within bounds. Uncle Sam became the Atlas of the world, and nearly every belligerent requested this Government to take over its diplomatic and consular interests in enemy countries. Diplomacy, commerce, finance and shipping

ligerent Governments addressed their protests and their notes to Wilson. Belgium sent a special commission to gain the President's ear. The peace friends throughout the world, even those in the belligerent countries, looked to Wilson for guidance and help.

In August, 1914, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, the President's wife, was dangerously ill. I was at the White House every day to report developments there to the United Press. On the evening of the fifth of August Secretary Tumulty called the correspondents and told them that the President, who was deeply distressed by the war and who was suffering personally because of his wife's illness, had written at his wife's bedside the following message:

As official head of one of the Powers signatory to The Hague Convention, I feel it to be my privilege and my duty, under Article III of that Convention, to say to you in the spirit of most earnest friendship that I should welcome an opportunity to act in the interests of European

to stop the war. European statesmen had been preparing for a conflict. With the public support which each nation had, each Government wanted to fight until there was a victory.

One of the first things which seemed to appeal to President Wilson was the fact that not only public opinion of Europe, but of America, sought a spokesman. Unlike Roosevelt, who led public opinion; unlike Taft, who disregarded it, Wilson took the attitude that the greatest force in the world was public opinion. He believed public opinion was greater than the presidency. He felt that he was the man the American people had chosen to interpret and express their opinion. Wilson's policy was to permit public opinion to rule America. Those of us who spent two years in Germany could see this very clearly.

The President announced the plank for his international policy when he spoke at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association at Washington shortly after the war began.

"The opinion of the world is the mistress of the world," he said, "and the processes of international law are the slow processes by which opinion works its will. What impresses me is the constant thought that that is the tribunal

process which is slowly working its will upon the world; and what we should be watchful of is not so much jealous interests as sound principles of action. The disinterested course is not alone the biggest course to pursue, but it is in the long run the most profitable course to pursue. If you can establish your character you can establish your credit.

"Understand me, gentlemen, I am not venturing in this presence to impeach the law. For the present, by the force of circumstances, I am in part the embodiment of the law, and it would be very awkward to disavow myself. But I do wish to make this intimation, that in this time of world change, in this time when we are going to find out just how, in what particular and to what extent the real facts of human life and the real moral judgments of mankind prevail, it is worth while looking inside our municipal law and seeing whether the judgments of the law are made square with the moral judgments of mankind. For I believe that we are custodians of the spirit of righteousness, of the spirit of equal-handed justice, of the spirit of hope which believes in the perfectibility of the law with the perfectibility of human life itself. "Public life, like private life, would

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