

# GERMANY THE NEXT REPUBLIC?

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**Fight Between the Foreign Office and the Navy on the Unrestricted U-Boat Campaign Was Kept Carefully Concealed From the Public Until the Navy Could Instruct Public Opinion to the Point of Accepting "Ruthlessness"**

**Throughout the Early Days of the War Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg Bitterly Opposed Von Tirpitz and His Submarine Warfare Because He Knew That the United States Would Never Submit to Plans Decided Upon**

NEVER in history had a neutral nation indicted another as the United States did Germany in its first Lusitania note without immediately going to war. Because the Foreign Office feared the reaction it might have upon the people, the newspapers were not permitted to publish the text until the press bureaus of the navy and the Foreign Office had mobilized the editorial writers and planned a publicity campaign to follow the note's publication. But the navy and Foreign Office could not agree on what should be done. The navy wanted to ignore Wilson. Naval officers laughed at President Wilson's impertinence, and when the Foreign Office sent to the Admiralty for all data in possession of the Navy Department regarding the sinking of the Lusitania the navy refused to acknowledge the request.

During this time I was in constant touch with the Foreign Office and the American embassy. Frequently I went to the Navy Department, but was always told they had nothing to say. When it appeared, however, that there might be a break in diplomatic relations over the Lusitania the Kaiser called the Chancellor to great headquarters for a conference. Meanwhile Germany delayed her reply to the American note because the navy and Foreign Office were still at loggerheads. On the thirty-first of May Von Jagow permitted me to quote him in an interview saying:

America can hardly expect us to give up any means at our disposal to fight our enemy. It is a principle with us to defend ourselves in every possible way. I am sure that Americans will be reasonable enough to believe that our two countries cannot discuss the Lusitania matter until both have the same basis of facts.

The American people were demanding an answer from Germany, and because the two branches of the Government could not agree on what should be said Von Jagow had to do something to gain time. Germany, therefore, submitted in her reply of the twenty-eighth of May certain facts about the Lusitania for the consideration of the American Government, saying that Germany reserved final statements of its position with regard to the demands made in connection with the sinking of the Lusitania until a reply was received from the American Government. After the note was dispatched the chasm between the navy and Foreign Office was wider than ever. Ambassador Gerard, who went to the Foreign Office daily to try to convince the officials that they were antagonizing the whole world by their attitude on the Lusitania question, returned to the embassy one day after a conference with Zimmermann and began to prepare a scrapbook of cartoons and clippings from American newspapers. Two secretaries were put to work pasting the comments, interviews, editorials and cartoons reflecting American opinion in the scrapbook. Although the German Foreign Office had a big press department, its efforts were devoted more to furnishing the outside world with German views than with collecting outside opinions for the information of the German Government. Believing that this information would be of immeasurable benefit to the German diplomats in sounding the depths of public sentiment in America, Gerard delivered the book to Von Jagow personally.

### Conferences at Great Headquarters

In the meantime numerous conferences were held at great headquarters. Financiers, business men and diplomats who wanted to keep peace with America sided with the Foreign Office. Every anti-American influence in the Central Powers joined forces with the navy. The Lusitania note was printed and the public discussion which resulted was greater than that which followed the first declarations of war in August, 1914. The people, who before had accepted everything their Government said, began to think for themselves. One heard almost as much criticism as praise of the Lusitania incident. For the first time the quarrel which had been nourished between the Foreign Office and the Admiralty became nationwide and forces throughout Germany lined up with one side or the other. But the Navy Department was the cleverer of the two. The press bureau sent out inspired stories that the submarines were causing England a loss of a million dollars a week. They said that every week the Admiralty was launching two U-boats. It was stated that reliable reports to Admiral von Tirpitz proved the high toll taken by the submarines in two weeks had struck terror to the hearts of English shipowners. The newspapers printed under great headlines, "Toll of Our Tireless U-Boats," the names and tonnage of ships lost. The press bureau pointed to the rise in food prices in Great Britain and France. The public was made to feel a personal pride in submarine exploits. And at the same time the navy editorial writers



brought up the old issue of American arms and ammunition to further embitter the people.

Thus the first note which President Wilson wrote in the Lusitania case not only brought the quarrel between the navy and Foreign Office to a climax, but it gave the German people the first opportunity they had had seriously to discuss questions of policy and right.

In the Rhine Valley, where the ammunition interests dominated every phase of life, the navy found its staunchest supporters. In educational circles, in shipping centers, such as Hamburg and Bremen, in the financial districts of Frankfurt and Berlin, the Foreign Office received its support. Press and Reichstag were divided. Supporting the Foreign Office were the Lokal Anzeiger, the Berliner Tageblatt, the Cologne Gazette, the Frankfurter Zeitung, the Hamburger Fremdenblatt and the Vorwaerts.

The navy had the support of Count Reventlow, naval critic of the Deutsche Tageszeitung; the Taegliche Rundschau, the Vossische Zeitung, the Morgen Post, the B. Z. am Mittag, the Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten, the Rheinische Westfaelische Zeitung and the leading Catholic organ, the Koelnische Volks Zeitung.

Government officials were also divided. Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg led the party which demanded an agreement with the United States. He was supported by Von Jagow, Zimmermann, Dr. Karl Helfferich, Secretary of the Treasury; Doctor Solf, the Colonial Minister; Dr. Siegfried Hecksher, vice chairman of the Reichstag Committee on Foreign Relations, and Philip Schneidemann, leader of the majority of the Socialists in the Reichstag.

### Tirpitz Leads Opposition

The opposition was led by Grand Admiral von Tirpitz. He was supported by General von Falkenhayn, Field Marshal von Mackensen and all army generals; Admirals von Pohl and von Bachmann; Major Bassermann, leader of the National Liberal party in the Reichstag; Dr. Gustav Strossmann, member of the Reichstag and director of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, and Von Heydebrand, the so-called "Uncrowned King of Prussia," because of his control of the Prussian Diet.

With these forces against each other the internal fight continued more bitter than ever. President Wilson kept insisting upon definite promises from Germany, but the Admiralty still had the upper hand. There was nothing for the Foreign Office to do except to make the best possible excuses and depend upon Wilson's patience to give them time to get into the saddle. The Navy Department, however, was so confident that it had the Kaiser's support in everything it did that one of the submarines was instructed to sink the Arabic.

President Wilson's note in the Arabic case again brought the submarine dispute within Germany to a head. Conferences were again held at great headquarters. The Chancellor, Von Jagow, Helfferich, Von Tirpitz and other leaders were summoned by the Kaiser. On the twenty-eighth of August I succeeded in sending by courier to The Hague the following dispatch:

With the support of the Kaiser, the German Chancellor, Doctor von Bethmann-Hollweg, is expected to win the fight he is now making for a modification of Germany's submarine warfare that will forever settle the difficulties with America over the sinking of the Lusitania and the Arabic. Both the Chancellor and Von Jagow are most anxious to end at once and for all time the controversies with Washington, desiring America's friendship.

The Marine Department, headed by Von Tirpitz, creator of the submarine policy, will oppose any disavowal of the action of Germany's submarines. But the Kaiser is expected to approve the steps the Chancellor and Foreign Secretary contemplate taking, swinging the balance in favor of Von Bethmann-Hollweg's contention that ships in the future must be warned before they are torpedoed.

Ackerman is summoned to the home of Frau von Schroeder, where Captain Vanselow, chief of the German naval spies, demands where the newspaperman got his information about the submarine situation.

One day I went to the Foreign Office and told one of the officials I believed that if the American people knew what a difficult time the Foreign Office was having in trying to win out over the Admiralty public opinion in the United States might be mobilized to help the Foreign Office against the Admiralty. I took with me a brief dispatch which I asked him to pass. He censured it with the understanding that I would never disclose his name in case the dispatch was read in Germany.

A few days later the Manchester, England, Guardian arrived containing my article, as follows:

### HOLLWEG'S CHANGE OF TUNE

Respect for Scraps of Paper

### LAW AT SEA

Insists on Warning by Submarines

### TIRPITZ PARTY BEATEN

Kaiser Expected to Approve New Policy

New York, Sunday.

Cables from Mr. Carl W. Ackerman, Berlin correspondent of the United Press, published here indicate that the real crisis following the Arabic is in Germany, not America. He writes:

"The Berlin Foreign Office is unalterably opposed to submarine activity, such as is evidenced by the Arabic affair, and it was on the initiative of this Government department that immediate steps were taken with Mr. Gerard, the American Ambassador. The nature of these negotiations is still unknown to the German public.

"It is stated on the highest authority that Herr von Jagow, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg are unanimous in their anxiety to settle American difficulties once and for all, retaining the friendship of the United States in any event.

"The Kaiser is expected to approve the course suggested by the Imperial Chancellor, despite open opposition to any disavowal of submarine activities which constantly emanates from the German Admiralty.

"The Chancellor is extremely desirous of placing Germany on record as an observer of international law as regards sea warfare, and in this case will win his demand that submarines in the future shall thoroughly warn enemy ships before firing their torpedoes or shells.

"There is considerable discussion in official circles as to whether the Chancellor's steps create a precedent, but it is agreed that it will probably close all complications with America, including the Lusitania case, which remained unsettled following President Wilson's last note to Germany.

"Thus if the United States approves the present attitude of the Chancellor this step will aid in clearing the entire situation and will materially strengthen the policy of Von Bethmann-Hollweg and Von Jagow, which is a deep desire for peace with America."

After this dispatch was printed I was called to the home of Frau von Schroeder, the American-born wife of one of the intelligence office of the General Staff. Captain Vanselow, chief of the Admiralty intelligence department, was there and had brought with him the Manchester Guardian. He asked me where I got the information and who had passed the dispatch. He said the navy was up in arms and had issued orders to the General Telegraph Office that, inasmuch as Germany was under martial law, no telegrams were to be passed containing the words submarines, navy, Admiralty or marine or any officers of the navy without having them referred to the Admiralty for a second censoring. This order virtually nullified the censorship powers of the Foreign Office. I saw that the Navy Department was again in the saddle and that the efforts of the Chancellor to maintain peace might not be successful after all. But the conference at great headquarters lasted longer than any one expected. The first news we received of what had taken place was that Secretary von Jagow had informed the Kaiser he would resign before he would do anything which might cause trouble with the United States.

### Divided on U-Boat Issue

Germany was split wide open by the submarine issue. For a while it looked as if the only possible adjustment would be either for Von Tirpitz to go and his policies with him, or for Von Jagow and the Chancellor to go, with the corresponding danger of a rupture with America. But Von Tirpitz would not resign. He left great headquarters for Berlin and intimated to his friends that he was going to run the navy to suit himself. But the Chancellor, who had the support of the big shipping interests and the financiers, saw a possible means of checkmating Von Tirpitz by forcing Admiral von Pohl to resign as chief of the Admiralty staff. They finally persuaded the Kaiser to accept his resignation and appoint Admiral von Holtzendorff as his successor. Von Holtzendorff's brother was a director of the Hamburg-American Line and an intimate friend of A. Bollen, the general director of the company. The Chancellor believed that by having a friend of his as chief of the Admiralty staff no orders would be issued to submarine commanders contrary to the wishes of the Chancellor, because according to the rules of the German Navy Department the chief of the Admiralty staff must approve all naval plans and sign all orders to fleet commanders.

Throughout this time the one thing which frightened the Foreign Office was the fear that President Wilson might break off diplomatic relations before the Foreign Office had an opportunity to settle the difference with the United States. For that reason Ambassador Gerard was kept advised by Wilhelmstrasse of the internal developments in Germany and asked to report them fully but confidentially to Wilson. So, during this crisis when Americans were demanding a break with Germany because of Germany's continued defiance of President Wilson's notes, the American Government knew that if the Foreign Office was given more time it had a good chance of succeeding in cleaning house. A rupture at that time would have destroyed all the efforts of the Foreign Office to keep the German military machine within bounds. It would have overthrown Von Jagow and Von Bethmann-Hollweg and put in Von Tirpitz as Chancellor and Von Heydebrand, the reactionary leader of the Prussian Diet, as Secretary of State. At that time all the democratic forces of Germany were lined up with the Foreign Office. The people who blushed for Belgium, the financiers who were losing money, the shipping interests whose tonnage was locked in belligerent or neutral harbors, the Socialists and people who were anxious and praying for peace, were looking to the Foreign Office and to Washington to avoid a break.

(CONTINUED TOMORROW)

## "IKE" DEUTSCH AND HIS FOLLOWING CALL ON MAYOR SMITH IN DEFENSE OF THEIR "CAUSE"



WHOSE CANDIDACY FOR SELECT COUNCIL IN THE "BLOODY" FIFTH WARD HAS PRECIPITATED A FACTIONAL WAR IN WHICH BLOOD HAS BEEN SHED, STANDS OUT IN THE CENTER OF HIS SUPPORTERS. HE WAS SPOKESMAN AT CITY HALL YESTERDAY AFTERNOON AND INFORMED "HIS HONOR" THAT HE AND HIS ADHERENTS WERE NOT THE CROOKS AND OUT-THREATS THEY WERE ACCUSED OF BEING.