

GERMANY THE NEXT REPUBLIC?

BY CARL W. ACKERMAN

Copyright, 1917, George H. Duran Company.

"While the Socialists voted unanimously for war credits at the beginning, a year afterward many of them had changed their minds and had begun to wonder whether, after all, they had not made a mistake. This was the issue which brought about the first split in the Socialists' ranks."

Inside Germany There Is a Powerful Force Constantly Striving to Overthrow Hohenzollernism and to Free Germany and the World of the Scourge of Prussian Junkerdom—This Force Is the Minority Socialist Party

Even the Ruling Military Caste Admitted to Itself That the Liebknecht-Haase-Ledebour Wing of the Socialist Division Represented the Real Public Opinion—Therefore, Inspired Journalists Emphasized "Freedom of the Seas" and "Pan-Germanism"

The Socialist Party Finds Itself

FROM April to December, 1916, was also the period of pamphleteering. Every one who could write a pamphlet or could publish one did so. The censorship had prohibited so many people and so many organizations from expressing their views publicly that they chose this method of circulating their ideas privately. The pamphlets could be printed secretly and distributed through the mails so as to avoid both the censors and the Government. So every one in Germany began to receive documents and pamphlets about all the ails and complaints within Germany. About the only people who did not do this were the Socialists. The "Alt-Deutsch Verband," which was an organization of the great industrial leaders of Germany, had been bitterly attacked by the Berlin Tageblatt, but when the directors wanted to publish their reply the censors prohibited it. So the Alt-Deutsch Verband issued a pamphlet and sent it broadcast throughout Germany. In the meantime, the Chancellor and the Government realized that unless something was done to combat these secret forces, which were undermining the Government's influence, there would be an eruption in Germany which might produce serious results.

Throughout this time the Socialist party was having troubles of its own. Liebknecht was in prison, but there was a little group of radicals who had not forgotten it. They wanted the Socialist party as a whole to do something to free Liebknecht. The party had been split before the advance of last summer, so efforts were made to unite the two factions. At a well-attended conference in the Reichstag building they agreed to forget old differences and join forces in support of the Government until winter, when it was hoped peace could be made.

The Socialist party at various times during the war has had a difficult time in agreeing on Government measures. While the Socialists voted unanimously for war credits at the beginning, a year afterward many of them had changed their minds and had begun to wonder whether, after all, they had not made a mistake. This was the issue which brought about the first split in the Socialists' ranks. When it came time in 1915 to vote further credits to the Government the Socialists held a caucus. After three days of bitter wrangling the ranks split. One group, headed by Scheidemann, decided to support the Government, and another group, with Herr Wolfgang as the leader, decided to vote against the war loans.

Scheidemann, who is the most capable and most powerful Socialist in Germany, carried with him the majority of the delegates and was supported by the greater part of public opinion. Heine, however, had the support of men like Doctor Haase and Eduard Bernstein, who had considerable influence with the public, but who were not organizers or men capable of aggressive action, like Scheidemann. As far as affecting the Government's plans were concerned, the Socialist split did not amount to much. In Germany there is such widespread fear of the Government and the police that even the most radical Socialists hesitate to oppose the Government. In war time Germany is under complete control of the military authorities, and even the Reichstag, which is supposed to be a legislative body, is in reality during war times only a closed corporation which does the bidding of the Government.

The attitude of the Reichstag on any question is not deter-



"One night at the invitation of an editor of one of Berlin's leading newspapers, who is a Socialist radical, I attended a secret session of the Socialist Labor party. These Socialists did not have much faith in the Kaiser's peace promises and jokingly asked a business man present if the Kaiser did not decorate him as a result of the audience."

mined at the party caucuses nor during sessions. Important decisions are always arrived at at Great Headquarters between the Chancellor and the military leaders. Then the Chancellor returns to Berlin, summons the party leaders to his palace, explains what the Government desires, and, without asking the

leaders for their support, tells them THAT is what VON HINDENBURG expects. They know there is no choice left to them.

Scheidemann always attends these conferences as the Socialist representative because the Chancellor has never recognized the

so-called Socialist Labor party, which is made up of Socialist radicals who want peace and who have reached the point where they can no longer support the Government.

One night at the invitation of an editor of one of Berlin's leading newspapers, who is a Socialist radical, I attended a secret session of the Socialist Labor party. At this meeting there were present three members of the Reichstag, the president of one of Germany's leading business organizations, two newspaper editors, one labor agitator who had been traveling to industrial centers to mobilize the forces which were opposed to the continuation of the war and a rather well-known Socialist writer, who had been inspiring some anti-Government pamphlets which were printed in Switzerland and sent by mail to Germany. One of the business men present had had an audience of the Kaiser, and he reported what the monarch told him about the possibilities of peace. The report was rather encouraging to the Socialists, because the Kaiser said he would make peace as soon as there was an opportunity. But these Socialists did not have much faith in the Kaiser's promises and jokingly asked the business man if the Kaiser did not decorate him as a result of the audience.

Combating Liberal Public Opinion

The real object of this meeting was to discuss means of acquainting the German people with the American organization entitled the League to Enforce Peace. An American business man, who was a charter member of the American organization, was there to explain the purposes of the league. The meeting decided upon the publication in as many German newspapers as possible of explanatory articles. The newspaper editor present promised to prepare them and urged their publication in various journals. The first article appeared in Die Welt am Montag, one of the weekly newspapers of Berlin. It was copied by a number of progressive newspapers throughout the empire, but when the attention of the military and naval authorities was called to this propaganda an order was issued prohibiting any newspaper from making any reference to the League to Enforce Peace. The anti-American editorial writers were inspired to write brief notices to the effect that the league was in reality to be a league against Germany supported by England and the United States.

Throughout the summer and fall there appeared in various newspapers, including the influential Frankfurter Zeitung, inspired articles about the possibilities of annexing the industrial centers and important harbors of Belgium. In Munich and Leipzig a book by Doctor Schumacher, of Bonn University, was published, entitled "Antwerp, Its World Position and Importance for Germany's Economic Life." Another writer named Ulrich Rauscher wrote a number of newspaper and magazine articles for the purpose of showing that Germany would need Antwerp after this war in order to successfully compete with Holland, England and France in world commerce. He figured that the difference between the cost of transportation from the Rhine Valley industrial cities to Antwerp and the cost of transportation from the Rhine Valley to Hamburg and Bremen would be great enough to enable German products to be sold in America for less money than products of Germany's enemies.

These articles brought up the old question of the "freedom of the seas." Obviously, if the Allies were to control the seas after the war, as they had during the war, Germany could make no plans for the re-establishment of her world commerce unless there were some assurances that her merchant fleet would be as free on the high seas as that of any other nation. During the war Germany had talked a great deal about the freedom of the seas. When the Lusitania was torpedoed Von Jagow said in an interview that Germany was fighting for the free seas and that by attacking England's control Germany was acting in the interests of the whole world. But Germany was really not sincere in what she said about having the seas free. What Germany really desired was not freedom of the seas in peace time, because the seas had been free before the war. What Germany wanted was free seas in war time—freedom for her own merchant ships to go from Germany to any port in the world and return with everything except absolute contraband. Germany's object was to keep from building a navy great enough to protect her merchant fleet in order that she might devote all her energies to army organization. But the freedom of the seas was a popular phrase. Furthermore, it explained to the German people why their submarine warfare was not inhuman because it was really fighting for the freedom of all nations of the high seas!

(CONTINUED TOMORROW)

THE VICTORIOUS CHICAGO WHITE SOX ELIGIBLE TO APPEAR IN GREAT WORLD'S SERIES CLASSIC



JOHN COLLINS Outfielder

OSCAR FELSCH Outfielder

FRED McMULLIN Infielder

JOE JACKSON Outfielder

URBAN FABER Pitcher

CHARLES RISBERG Shortstop

HARRY LEIBOLD Outfielder

GEORGE ("BUCK") WEAVER Third Baseman

RAY SCHALK Catcher

JIM SCOTT Now in the army

WILLIAM ("KID") GLEASON Coach

E. V. CICOTTE Pitcher

CLARENCE H. ROWLAND Manager

H. ("CHICK") GANDIL First Baseman

EDDIE COLLINS Second Baseman

EDDIE MURPHY Pinch Hitter

M. G. WOLFGANG Pitcher

DAVID DANFORTH Pitcher

A. E. RUSSELL Pitcher

JOSEPH BENS Pitcher

BURD LYNN Catcher

ROBERT HARBROOK Utility Man

T. JOURDAN Utility Man

J. JENKINS Catcher

CLAUDE WILLIAMS Pitcher