

AMERICA URGED TO SAVE POLAND

Gertrude Atherton Suggests Dispatch of U. S. Troops to Check Reds

SUPPLIES ARE REQUIRED

Many Poles in Our Army Would Be Glad to Serve

By GERTRUDE ATHERTON

Paris, Jan. 1.—Although the conference at a standstill for the moment, owing to the holidays, there is a continuous buzz of speculation over the first subject to be treated by the Peace Congress, and much contention over hearing claims.

After hearing all sides and almost with equal sympathy, it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that the Polish question is the most significant so far as the peace and general well-being of Europe are concerned.

American sympathy for Poland has been largely sentimental. Once a great and powerful nation, she was bitterly wronged by the partition, and during the recent war was devastated more thoroughly by the Germans than France or Belgium. The eloquence of Paderewski opened many purses in the United States and inspired still more good wishes for the union of the three several parts of the ancient kingdom.

So far so good; and no doubt the great nations will keep their pledges to restore to the smaller and long-oppressed races their ancient rights.

But that is a question for tomorrow, and the Polish question of the day—the moment—is acute.

If it is treated with indifference chaos may result in a large part of Europe. A Bolshevist army is on its eastern border. The German eastern army, under Hoffmann, whose numbers are estimated at from 400,000 to 600,000, is in the northeast and is either sympathetic with the Bolshevist or using them for its own nefarious purposes.

Allied Help is Necessary

General Pilsudski has a small loyal army in Poland, but few arms and little ammunition, and his men even lack shoes. General Haller, head of the Polish army in France, is hoping from day to day to be permitted to take his 20,000 men to Poland; and, although there may be natural rivalry between the two generals, they are agreed on one point—they cannot stem the Bolshevist tide without Allied help.

It is all very well to say that the French and British armies are tired and should be demobilized as quickly as possible. They have done their part. No one grudges them a well-earned rest, or, at least, asks more from them than peace. But it is quite otherwise with the American army. It is true that the Americans want to get home, but they are as hardy as a lot of backwoodsmen. They are tired, but they are weary among them comparable to that which you see in the face of every poilu. There is a great work still to be done in Europe, and we must do it if we are to save the peace of the world.

However, so far as Poland goes the vast majority of the American army is quite safe. But the German eastern army there are 120,000 men of Polish birth or blood. They would give red blood and morale to present Polish armies, and the German eastern army spirit would make them respond eagerly as volunteers if an opportunity were given them, or would send them off cheerfully to die. But the Polish must take not only arms, ammunition, and clothing for themselves, but for the brave, ragged Polish army. Even women and children are massed on the frontier against the well-equipped Bolshevist and their German well-wishers.

Poland Robbed by Prisoners

Two million Russian prisoners have been sent home across Poland, pilfering as they go. The German prisoners from Russia have been worse. Eight hundred thousand Polish workmen, driven into Germany in the course of the war, have been sent home, and they are paupers for the most part.

The wonderful national spirit of Poland is in danger of being extinguished by atrocious sufferings and endless misfortunes. If the Bolshevist plague obtains entrance it will spread like the Spanish influenza, for there is no more infectious germ than that of anarchy and revolution among despairing men. And if that great and growing army of Bolshevist sweeps across Poland it will enter both the Central Powers and Italy, and the world will be a different place for many years to see.

Hindenburg may save Germany if his own army is unaffected, but if he does it will be at the cost of the peace, and in that case this great and terrible war will have been a mere prelude. With Russia under her heel Germany can laugh at the surrender of her war, and at the Allied occupation of the Rhine provinces. When her new "day" comes she will sweep the earth, and we shall go down with the rest.

Only a strong, united buffer State like Poland can avert this tragedy. If we make her strong enough to hold the Bolshevist on the one hand and Germany on the other, the world may look forward to a long period of peace, but not otherwise.

Poland an Economic Question

Germany has little coal of her own. The great mines that supply her are in Poland, just as her great iron mines were in Lorraine. Deprived of coal and iron, no country can dominate others. It is not a sentimental question, but an economic one. It may interest us to look forward to the restoration of Poland, but because she occupies a romantic place in history, but it should interest us much more to save ourselves from a choice between domination by a third thirteenth century empire or by a third thirteenth century empire.

Besides the Polish soldiers in France there are thousands of Poles in the United States who would volunteer to go to Poland at this time, if the government could equip and send them over.

I had a long talk with General Haller today. He is a lean, active, wiry man, not fat, but so full of force and energy that you know at once his immense popularity with the Polish troops. His narrow, dark face, with its rather tartar eyes, glowed with immediate confidence. It will be remembered that he commanded a division of the Austrian army at the beginning of the war, and that when Russia declared her intention of giving her portion of Poland to the independence he went over to the other side with his entire army. It took him two days to get there, and he passed most of the time in shell holes, for it was not easy to make the Russians understand his intention.

CZECH SIBERIAN ARMY VOTES AGAINST BATTLE

Declines to Fight Bolsheviki When Offensive Is Ordered. Failure of Allies to Send Aid Is Resented

By CARL W. ACKERMAN

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In Siberia, en route to Vladivostok, Dec. 28, 1918, the Czechs, after traveling 10,000 miles in Siberia, visiting the headquarters of the Czech-Slovak armies, which practically translate into making a last stand against the Bolsheviki along the Ural, after interviewing Russian, Czech and Allied generals and political leaders, I am returning to the Allied base at Vladivostok with the first complete story of how Siberia was saved from German and Bolsheviki domination, with Trotsky's declaration of the German and Austrian war prisoners sent officially through the commanders of the Russian railway stations, with Trotsky's declaration of war against the Czech-Slovak and with the text of official messages transmitted to the Czechs as the main official support of Allied action in Siberia and Russia against the Germans.

I possess other data showing that as late as November 28 a dispatch was limited to the Czechs from the official representation of the United States, which led General Gaidka to conclude that American troops would be sent to the help of the Czechs.

Czechs Decline Own Policies I am sending this information to the Allies from the preliminary Peace Conference in Paris, which know the Czech armies won in decisive battles of the war, how military aid was refused to the Czechs, and how this help has not been given. This information I am sending also so that the Allies can understand how important it is to the Czechs, and how important, because the Czech soldiers decide their own policies and on November 24 voted against an offensive against the Bolsheviki which had been planned and ordered.

As an Allied army the Czechs have been left high and dry in Russia, and feel as if the Allies had betrayed them in their hour of need. The Czechs and Allied peoples, who should look facts in the face despite their unpleasantness, where every one feels that war is over, the story of the Czechs' operations in Siberia should be told, so that in the near future there are no more moves on behalf of the Czech soldiers. Americans will understand that the Czechs themselves are not to blame.

In sending this dispatch my object is not to urge military intervention. The Allied chiefs believe this to be impracticable and inadvisable. My object is to show that America and the Allies made certain promises to the Czechs which have not been kept, and, secondly, that the Czechs, being here at the request of the Allies and sorely needing comfort, aid and help, should have serious Allied consideration in Paris and be instructed immediately regarding the Allied plan and their future status as an Allied army.

Half-Russian Revolution After being persecuted in Russia because of the Czar's abdication through German influence with the Romanoffs because they deserted Austria, the Czechs had to halve the revolution because it freed them from the Russian yoke and enabled the Czechs throughout Russia to unite and declare their independence as the autonomous Czech army in France.

Early this year treaties were made with the Ukraine republic and Soviet Russia guaranteeing them free passage across Russia to Vladivostok. The first movement was the concentration of the Czechs on the eastern side of the Dnieper. Meanwhile the Germans began to harry the Czechs from both sides, and they were obliged to retire in greater Russia. Czechs' departure from Russia was expressed in telegrams from Lenin and Trotsky.

By the time the Czechs reached Pensa, Germany had completely dominated the Bolsheviki, and Kaiser William and Charles sent the following joint telegram from Berlin, April 28, addressed to all the Russian railway commanders, for the German and Austro-Hungarian war prisoners:

"First. Every one who distinguishes himself during captivity by some work of merit, or who shows a desire to be set free, shall have the right to look for betterment of his condition."

"Second. All obeying this order will receive their release and be sent to the front after four months, if necessary."

"Third. He who is not working for his country in Russia will after his release be severely punished. It is an indisputable fact that it is better to work for our Kultur than foreign Kultur."

"Fourth. He who behaves unworthily in captivity betrays his country and will be punished by all severity. For the discovery of traitors 500,000 marks have been appropriated. Officers who have not received salaries will be paid upon their return."

"Fifth. Special officers will care for the return of prisoners. I order all train officials to bear themselves for quick transportation."

"WILLIAM II. CHARLES I."

Soviets Opposed Them Meanwhile the Czechs ebulliently moved toward the west, encountering everywhere armed bands of German and Magyar prisoners and finding German officers commanding Russian and Siberian cities.

Despite the fact that the Soviet government, the Czechs and the Allies were in a deadlock, the obstacle was placed in their way by local Soviets under orders from the German embassy at Moscow. Germans were arrested en route from Moscow to Vladivostok.

The French Ambassador informs Major Gaidka that he can thank the Czechs for their action. This is in the name of all the Allies, who have decided to intervene at the end of June, and the advance guard of the Allied army. Recommendations will follow concerning the political and military points with respect to occupation and organization.

This was the first definite Allied statement, which was strengthened by the receipt of the following message from the American Consul General Pooler in Moscow to Samara:

"You may inform the Czech-Slovak leaders that, pending further notice, the Allies will be glad, from the political point of view, to have them hold their present position. On the other hand, they should not be hampered in meeting the military exigencies of the situation. It is desirable, first of all, that they should obtain control of the trans-Siberian railroad, and, secondly, if this is assured at the same time it is possible to retain control over the territory they now dominate. Inform the French consul general joints in these instructions."

Told by Allies to Hold the Front Thus the Czechs were commanded by the Allies to hold the front. On Jan. 24 American Consul General Harris telegraphed to Omsk from Irkutsk:

"I consider this, in view of the fact that the rear of the Czechs will be the main backbone and support of the Allied action in Siberia and Russia against Germany."

For the Czechs scattered throughout Siberia and anxious to get to France, there was no alternative except to make the eastern front and to wait for the Allied help which has never come.

Although certain Czech generals have been informed officially by one department of the American Government that they should be expected to England, representatives of another department as late as Thanksgiving Day were encouraging the Czechs to hold on because traffic in narcotics and coal and iron have been sent through, but only small forces, to aid the Czechs.

The local military commissariats are enjoined to execute this order at once. Any delay will be equivalent to dishonorable treachery and will call down upon the culprit the severest punishment. Simultaneously, reliable troops, who were sent to teach mutineers a lesson, are being sent against the rear of the Czechs' echelons. Those Czech-Slovak who lay down their arms will be treated as traitors and every effort will be made to get them.

Czechs Resent Treachery When this treachery of the Bolsheviki was learned, resolution was adopted to "continue the journey to France regardless of all obstacles."

From Russia to the Germans and Bolsheviki made every effort to fasten their hold upon Siberia by destroying Czech unity. At this time, in May, the Germans had not completed their organization in the big Siberian cities. It was evident that a fight would be made for Omsk, which was the temporary capital of the Czechs.

GERMANY MUST HOLD SECURITIES

New Armistice Clause Forbids Disposing of Property of Any Kind

By WALTER DURANTY

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Paris, Jan. 1.—New financial clauses in the armistice renewal, signed at Treves, restrict an omission in the first armistice that might have had serious consequences, says the writer of the weekly financial review in the Journal des Debats.

He emphasizes in particular the importance of a clause forbidding Germany to dispose of gold and silver reserves and of all shares, bonds or other property in foreign companies, whether public or private held at home or abroad, by the state or an individual.

To appreciate fully the effect of this prohibition, it must be realized that the Allies cannot hope that Germany will be able to pay more than a very small part of the debt to them in hard cash. Even so, it is not possible to purchase the debt, especially as regards the rest of the debt, the crucial factor of German payment is that it must be made abroad—in New York, London, Rome, New York.

That is in Allied money. It will not be enough for Germany to raise billions of marks from her own country, supposing that to be possible, because the rate of exchange is already too severe against marks to permit their transference into pounds or francs. Obviously, reservation must be made for all currencies to defray part of the debt will have a still further weakening effect on Germany's foreign exchange, and her difficulties in raising money abroad by loans.

So that the only possible method left by which she can get her liabilities in a form that will be satisfactory to the Allies is by the surrender of foreign-held securities.

How she will get control of them from individual owners is her own affair. She can choose either the British plan of requisition or the simple purchase of them by France to defray the war debt of 1917. All that matters to the Allies is that she should do it.

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Peace Plans at Odds With Wilson's, but Satisfy People—Strong Frontier, Powerful Allies First, Then League of Nations

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Paris, Jan. 1.—"Clemenceau has spoken for France—it is the champion of France's peace that he has broken silence at last," said one of the Premier's former opponents, who is now his warmest admirer, in the chamber lobby yesterday afternoon.

The statement may be taken as a summary of Paris opinion of the Premier's speech, which is generally regarded as one of the most important and most successful efforts of the Premier's long career. True to type, he let his opponents have their say, then he replied with a courage and vigor that—say without names—will be remembered.

From the American viewpoint the chief interest of the speech is that it outlines frankly the platform on which Clemenceau will come to the Peace Conference.

Without subterfuge or hesitation, Premier Clemenceau exposed the distinction between his policy and that of President Wilson. The latter sets the League of Nations in the forefront and hopes by making a living, concrete nations and war be henceforth abolished. Premier Clemenceau, like President Wilson, says: "Keep your powder dry. France must first have a strong frontier and strong Allies; then, if the League of Nations is to be a success, we will be ready to begin disarmament."

This contrast between realism and idealism, the Premier emphasized when he said: "America is very far from Germany, but France is very near, and I have preoccupations which do not affect President Wilson as they do a man who has seen the Germans for four years in his country. There are old wrongs to be righted."

One part of his speech seems to have sunk deeper into the hearts of his hearers than that "unqualified statement that the Saar valley—wrongfully wrested from Lorraine in 1915—would remain French until the German nation had agreed that she would not give up." And you have the French program clearly defined.

One must not begin again," said Clemenceau and France is solid behind him to ensure that whatever be the future conditions of the world, or however genuine the German professions of good behavior, the German people must be in a position where it will be impossible for them to renew aggression against France.

For the past years have branded deep on the French soul the lesson that centuries of neighborhood to Germany had taught them—that German hatred and ambition would never be satisfied. Clemenceau has said outright that no vision of Utopia would blind him to that reality.

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UNITY RESTORED, EBERT DECLARES

New Envoys Will Be Sent Abroad. German Cabinet Proclaims

By the Associated Press

London, Jan. 1.—Official announcement of the retirement of the three Independent Socialists from the Ebert cabinet and the appointment of Gustave Noske and Herr Wissel, Social Democrats, has been made by Germany in a wireless message received here. The first part of the proclamation reads:

"Paralyzing discord overcame the Government of the empire is again formed in unity. It knows only one law for action—the welfare, stability and indivisibility of the German republic before every party consideration."

Premier Ebert and Philipp Scheidemann, Secretary of Cabinet, set forth in the proclamation their program, which includes the creation of a militia force, the disarming of persons not entitled to carry weapons, the attainment of peace as speedily and on as favorable conditions as possible, and the dispatch abroad, as representatives of the German republic, of "new men filled with the new spirit."

Richard Barth, secretary of the German Independent Socialist party, regards the proclamation as the successor of General Ludendorff as the leader of a military counter-revolutionary movement, according to the Express which prints an account of the Berlin correspondent secured with Barth.

General Groener, it is stated in the interview, is thought to have been given secret orders by the military leaders with the intention to restore the monarchy, but Herr Barth could not say whether after the former Emperor's "cowardly flight" it would aim at restoring the Hohenzollerns to power.

It seems certain that the Ebert cabinet have secured arms and ammunition in large quantities, and that the source of these supplies is Germany. Raids carried out by the government have discovered no such stores, but there are other sources as yet untouched.

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