

German foreign policy since 1871, disputed some statements of the preceding speaker, referred to secret meetings of officers to discuss whether they would permit the Kaiser's surrender or not, and quoted the speech of a captain, who looks for a war of revenge, to the effect that 'The German people should form a living wall to defend the accused officers.' These words inflamed the passion of the meeting. Whereupon he left the platform to be followed by a fifth speaker, who hated all the responsible parties, whether Germans, or others, and in particular Wilhelm II, 'as much as any other man in the meeting,' but did not think they should be surrendered. Last of all, a finely clad young man in the twenties, with a smooth shaven countenance and his hair parted in the middle, took the platform. His whole bearing betrayed the Prussian officer. He was a Senior Lieutenant who had been in active service throughout the five years of the war. He said he was a member of the German People's Party. He, too, was in favor of punishing the guilty, but he would not surrender them to our enemies. He asserted: 'There is no negro tribe barbarous enough to deliver its own people to its enemies.'

Von Gerlach then closed the debate, remarking that the Senior Lieutenant who had just spoken appeared to be misinformed upon negro customs. 'The Kaiser should be surrendered. He should be interned on some distant island. He ought not to be left so near Germany, where he might return any day in an automobile to start a war of revenge.' Someone in the audience asked: 'Do you really believe that Wilhelm II could start anything here?' 'I consider that man capable of any criminal folly,' replied von Gerlach, in the midst of applause. The Senior Lieutenant had claimed that the

German nation had passed through the cruelest experience recorded in history. Von Gerlach said: 'How can you say that? Did not the Belgian people suffer far more than we have — a people who were the victims of the most brutal crime in the history of the world?' Tumultuous applause followed this remark. Thereupon the meeting voted by a vast majority in favor of von Gerlach's resolution.

[*Le Temps* (Semi-Official Opportunist Daily), January 21]

II. A German Self-Indictment

HISTORICAL facts have recently been illuminated in a striking way by a pamphlet published in Berlin. This little booklet, which merits survival beyond our present year, is entitled, *A Letter of Farewell from Wilhelm II to the German People*. It is a monologue put in the mouth of the former Kaiser — a monologue that possesses but a single fault, that of being too sensible for the speaker. It shows how the Germans instead of diverting their sovereign from his megalomania, from his greedy ambitions, from his offensive insults — all of which led with fatal directness to the war — encouraged him in these faults by applauding him whenever he rendered Germany odious, and heaped abuse upon him every time he showed transient periods of sanity and a desire to avoid the conflicts which his policies invited.

The political parties now in power in Germany attribute all these faults to the Pan-Germans. Wilhelm II replies eloquently to this in the Berlin pamphlet: 'You say these were only the Pan-Germans? But who were the Pan-Germans then? Were they not the only people among you who took any interest in foreign affairs? Were they not the only ones to make their views heard in public? Did they not carry

credentials from the German people? And did not the young champions of Social Democracy, the party which was opposed on principle to war, back up the views that these men preached and all the imperialistic efforts of Pan-Germanism? Did not the Social Democrats in 1913 vote for an extraordinary levy to pay for greater armaments? Did there not rise from all your ranks a sigh of satisfaction when I finally declared war against Russia and France?’

Was Germany ignorant during the war of the crimes for which the Allies now demand an accounting from their former Emperor? ‘No!’ exclaims Wilhelm II in the German pamphlet. ‘They had every facility for learning of them. The frontiers of the country were open for the passage not only of neutral newspapers, but of those from enemy countries. Even the books which our enemies published upon the war and those that appeared in neutral countries, were, for the most part, available for any German at home who desired to have them. The speeches of foreign statesmen, the documents containing their revelations, were authorized to be republished in your newspapers and have been so republished. You read them. You have known from the outset the very things that you now pretend to learn with stupefaction. You are a race of hypocrites. You knew all about it. You are merely pretending that you did not know. You were deeply involved in the conspiracy of falsehood as long as you believed that such a conspiracy and the war that it accompanied would be to your advantage. You never tried to discover the truth until the day you saw defeat impending.’

The author of this pamphlet attributes to the ex-Emperor a thought that certainly has occurred to all the Prussian reactionaries and disguised

or undisguised imperialists who throng the present civil and military administration, from General von Seckt who was selected to take charge of demobilization, to the diplomats who procured for Mr. Hermann Miller a propaganda fund collected from the great iron masters. ‘Even to-day,’ Wilhelm is made to say, ‘I cannot conceive how you could have forgotten or overlooked all the things that you have said, written, and sung for dozens and dozens of years, and that your spokesmen have said, written, and sung about Me and my House and the indestructible ties which united your history and Myself. You will have to change your history in order to make your present conduct comprehensible to your sons and grandsons. You will be forced to eliminate from that history Frederick the Great and William the Great; for I have not thought, acted, or governed otherwise than they did. The only thing I failed to do was to succeed.’

[*Berliner Tageblatt* (Liberal Daily),
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III. *A Democratic Opinion*

BY THEODOR WOLFF

SINCE we have been living in what purports to be a state of peace, the public has shown increased interest in the list of persons, not yet officially published, who according to the word of the treaty are to be surrendered for trial by the Entente. We paid but little attention to this provision while it was being drafted, and we are talking too much about it now that it is in force. On many occasions since the collapse of the empire, and even so far as the military censorship permitted before that event — indeed, as early as the spring of 1915, we discussed this possibility. At that early