

Kaiser's Personal Guilt for World War Is Firmly Established by Expose of Secret Documents

Trial of Former German Ruler for Atrocities Is to Be Demanded By Allies

Five Hundred Documents Comprise Amazing Indictment of German Government—Revealed by Deputy Kautsky and Professor Schuecking, Statesmen Who Seek Salvation of New Germany.

(Continued From Page One.)

As they were made in the "same war lord's" own handwriting the exciting days immediately preceding the war, they are more important and startling as historic documents and legal evidence as to the state of mind of the German government than any official papers testimony hitherto published. All the notes in the handwriting of the Kaiser have been photographed and the photographic copies have been forwarded to Universal Service.

The present German government decided upon receiving Socialist deputy Kautsky's report, with the planatory note by Prof. Schuecking and General Count Monteglas, withheld the publication of the documents in Germany, temporarily at least. Some of the most influential German statesmen felt that, though it was not their duty to protect the Kaiser, who is likely to be put on trial before a foreign tribunal for his war guiltiness, was nevertheless their duty to remain not to furnish evidence against him.

But before this decision was reached, copies of this compilation, Deputy Kautsky, containing 45 words and including photograph-

ic facsimiles of the documents in the Kaiser's own handwriting, had been sent out of Germany and the publication could not be suppressed.

Proof Beyond Doubt.

These documents prove beyond doubt that the Kaiser did "egg on" Austria to attack Serbia; that he began inciting Austria to act two days after the assassination of the Austrian archduke at Sarajevo on June 30, 1914, 30 days before the war began.

But the evidence shows that the Kaiser did not expect a general European war, still less a world war, would ensue.

"Now or never" wrote the Kaiser on the margin of a note sent from Vienna by Tschirschky, the German ambassador, reporting expressions from "serious people" that "there must some day be a thorough reckoning with the Serbs." This was two days after the assassination at Sarajevo.

"I seize every occasion . . . to seriously warn against any hasty steps," writes the ambassador.

"Who authorized him to do this? This is very stupid. It is no business of his," annotates the Kaiser in his own handwriting.

"Step on the Rabbie." "Asses," comments the Kaiser, when Count von Berchtold, the Austrian foreign minister protests that his government did not desire any Serbian territory for itself. "Austria," insists the Kaiser, "must take the Sanjak, or else Serbia will come down to the Adriatic. Austria must become preponderant in the Balkans or there will be no peace."

It must be understood that in making these notes the emperor did so for the guidance of the ministers to whom the documents were returned.

"Bravo! We no longer thought the people in Vienna capable of this," comments Emperor William, when his ambassador at Belgrade

describes the event in that city following the presentation of the Austrian ultimatum. He adds: "The proud Slavs! How hollow the whole so-called Serbian great power turns out to be. All Slav states are like that. Just step firmly on the rabble's feet!"

The republican government began its investigation into the secret archives shortly after the Kaiser's abdication and flight. It entrusted the work to:

Karl Kautsky, a socialist leader and author of international note, and Prof. Walther Schuecking, leading German authority on international law, who participated in many important Hague conventions and was a member of the first German peace delegation at Versailles.

Ascertain the Facts.

They were instructed to ascertain the facts no matter where the fault might lie.

A summary of the documents compiled by the socialist deputy, Kautsky, follows:

On June 30, 1914, two days after the assassination of the Austrian archduke at Sarajevo, the German ambassador at Vienna, Tschirschky, addressed to his government at Berlin the following note, which the Kaiser read and annotated in his own hand:

"I have repeatedly heard the view expressed here, even among serious people, that there must some day be a thorough reckoning with the Serbs."

Here the Kaiser wrote on the margin: "Now or never!"

Tschirschky's note continues: "It is urged that a series of demands ought to be first presented to the Serbs, and that if these are not accepted energetic action ought to be taken. I seize every such occasion in order quietly but very firmly and seriously to warn against any hasty steps."

To this the Kaiser in his own handwriting added the following annotation:

"Who authorized him to do this? This is very stupid! It is no business of his; it's purely Austria's affair to consider what she ought to do. If afterwards things go wrong we will be told Germany was unwilling! Tschirschky will please

stop this nonsense! Accounts must be settled with the Serbs, and that soon!"

Kaiser Stayed Away.

On July 2, in view of the Austrian rumor from Semlin to the effect that 12 assassins planned to murder him if he came to Vienna, the Kaiser abandoned his plan to attend the archduke's funeral.

Count von Berchtold (Austro-Hungarian foreign minister) in conversation with Ambassador Tschirschky suggested that the rumor might serve to "open the eyes of Berlin to the danger that threatens from Belgrade."

The German ambassador concurred in this view and expressed the opinion that only energetic action against Serbia could promote the end in view, and hinted that concrete proposals from Austria might elicit a positive response from Berlin.

Berchtold thereupon decided to transmit his Balkan memorandum to Berlin, together with the emperor's (the late Francis Joseph) letter to the Kaiser expressing regret at the latter's inability to come to Vienna.

On July 4 the funeral of the archduke took place. Count Hoyos, chief of Count von Berchtold's cabinet, went to Berlin carrying Francis Joseph's letter, in which the Austrian emperor declared that the Pan-Slav menace to Germany and Austria could be averted only by the complete elimination of Serbia as a factor in the Balkans.

Hoyos also carried the final draft of Berchtold's Balkan memorandum, in which the Austrian foreign minister pointed out that it was drawn prior to the Sarajevo murder, "which, however, served merely to confirm the urgent necessity of the monarchy tearing asunder the net of enemies seeking to throw themselves upon it."

On July 5, Count Hoyos had luncheon with the Kaiser in Berlin. The Kaiser read the Austrian emperor's letter and Berchtold's memorandum. He remarked to Hoyos that he had expected strong action by Austria against Serbia, but that the (Austrian) emperor's letter implied possibly serious European complications, and that he, the Kaiser, must first consult the chancellor.

Take Action at Once.

After the luncheon the Kaiser authorized the ambassador to inform Emperor Francis Joseph that Vienna might "also in this event" reckon upon the fullest support on the part of Germany.

Any action against Serbia, the Kaiser added, ought to be taken without delay. Russia, he said, would certainly be hostile, but he had years ago expected this possibility, and if it should come to war between Austria and Russia, Germany would loyally take her stand beside the dual monarchy.

The Kaiser then conferred with Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, imperial chancellor. Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, then under-secretary of

state in the foreign office; General von Falkenhayn, the war minister, and Von Lyncker, the chief of the military cabinet.

On the morning of July 6 the Kaiser conferred at Potsdam with Admiral von Capelle and Captain Zenker, for the navy, and representatives of the war ministry and the general staff.

According to the written information of Baron von Dem Bussche, under-secretary of state in the foreign office, all eventualities were taken into consideration at that conference, and "preparatory measures for war orders in this sense were accordingly issued."

That afternoon, in Berlin, the Austrian ambassador and Count Hoyos conferred with Bethmann-Hollweg and Zimmermann. The chancellor expressed the opinion that immediate action against Serbia would be best from the international point of view. The moment was thought more favorable than a later date, and it was agreed that neither Italy nor Roumania should be informed beforehand of the projected action.

Must Forestall Enemies.

It was following this conference that the Kaiser left Potsdam for Kiel for a cruise with the battle fleet.

On July 7, Berchtold explained to a joint council of ministers in Vienna the urgent necessity of reducing Serbia to impotency. He announced that "soundings" in Berlin had yielded satisfactory assurances, and that the Kaiser and the German imperial chancellor had "with every emphasis pledged Germany's unconditional support to the dual monarchy in the event of war-like complications with Serbia."

Wra with Serbia, Count von Berchtold added, "might involve war with Russia, but that the dual monarchy must face this risk in order to forestall its enemies."

The Vienna ministerial council decided upon concrete demands to form an ultimatum which was to be addressed to Serbia and formulated in such a way as to render acceptance impossible.

Tschirschky Reports.

Tschirschky thereupon reported to Berlin:

"Berchtold intimated that if his emperor (Francis Joseph) assented to the presentation, to begin with the demands of Serbia, he would advise him to formulate these demands in such a way that acceptance would seem out of the question."

On July 10, Tschirschky reported to Berlin that Emperor Francis Joseph was grateful for Kaiser Wilhelm's assurances, and that he, the Austrian ruler, quite concurred in "your view."

The German ambassador at Vienna further informed his government that Berchtold contemplated fixing a 48-hour limit to the ultimatum, in order that Belgrade (the Ser-

bian government) would be unable to consult Petrograd.

The Kaiser, who received this while on his cruise, marked it in a sense that showed he expected the foreshadowed action to bring forth an "immediate solution" and that he also expected the presentation of "quite unambiguous demands to Serbia."

Kaiser's Annotation.

The concluding sentence of Tschirschky's note, which was to the effect that the Austrian foreign office was trying to discover a really acceptable formula, the Kaiser annotated this:

"The Sanjak is to be evacuated! Then there will be rown (room?) at once! It is imperative that Austria should get this back in order to prevent a union between Serbia and Montenegro and Serbian access to the sea."

The Kaiser ridiculed as "childish" the announcement that the (Austrian) war minister and the chief of the general staff were leaving Vienna the next day for a short time in order to disarm public anxiety.

The Kaiser added that he agreed with Frederick the Great, who was "against war councils because the more timid (in such councils) always gets the upper hand."

On July 11, upon a query from the Kaiser, Von Jagow (foreign minister) advised that the usual birthday greetings be sent to the

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Who Is Who in Expose

Wilhelm Hohenzollern, former Kaiser.

Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, former imperial chancellor.

Dr. Gottlieb von Jagow, former foreign minister.

Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, former under secretary of state.

Gen. Erich von Falkenhayn, former chief of staff.

Baron von Dem Bussche, former under secretary of state.

Baron von Lyncker, chief of the Kaiser's military cabinet.

Admiral von Capelle, former minister of marine.

Herr von Tschirschky, former German ambassador in Vienna.

In Vienna:

Francis Joseph, the late emperor of Austria.

Count von Berchtold, former Austro-Hungarian foreign minister.

Count Hoyos, Berchtold's chief of cabinet.

Count Szogyeny, former Austrian ambassador to Germany.

Count Tisza, former premier of Hungary (since assassinated).

Baron Konrad von Hotzen-dorff, former Austrian chief of staff.

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