

BOLSHEVISTS OR BOCHE, IS QUESTION UP TO COUNCIL

Gravest Crisis Facing Conference — Must Germany's Terms be Lightened to Halt Spread of Bolshevism?

FAILURE IS IMMINENT

By FRANK H. SIMONDS.
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PARIS, April 2.—It is essential for Americans to understand at once the full meaning of the Hungarian episode of the last few days. It indicates that Bolshevism has taken a new character and become infinitely more dangerous than it was before. Hitherto it has been unquestionably directed at the destruction of existing political and national bodies, seeking to place universal communism in the saddle in Europe.

The Hungarian revolution was something else. It was the first step toward nationalizing Bolshevism and using it as a weapon of defense of national aspirations, ambitions and claims of the people.

Analysis of the Episode.
I am going to try to analyze this Hungarian episode so it may be clearly understood, for it represents the most formidable single event since the armistice.

The Hungarian kingdom as it existed at the moment when the Austro-Hungarian empire collapsed consisted of an area larger than that of Italy, with a population of about 22,000,000, not more than 10,000,000 of which at most were actually Hungarian. The rest were subject people, Roumanians, Serbs, Slovaks. Nor did the Hungarians constitute a solid block. At least 1,000,000 were scattered over the fringes and on the edges of this territory.

The allies had alike by their declaration of principle and by their secret treaties of policy promised that the subject races in this Hungarian area, the Roumanians in Transylvania and Banat, the Serbs and Croats in western Banat, Croatia and Slavonia on the southern edge of the Hungarian plain, together with the Slovaks in the mountains northward, should each have an independent existence, based on the right of the self-determination of nations.

Program Doomed Hungary.
Such a program condemned Hungary to conditions of a state of little more than 10,000,000 of people, with an area hardly larger than that of New York and New Jersey, without defensible frontiers, without an outlet to the sea, alike militarily and economically at the mercy of its neighbors.

There was no injustice in this decision of the powers. Since subject people desire liberty, since some of them, at least, had fought on the allied side against the Hungarians, they were entitled to it, but if one looks at the map a moment, one still sees that a death sentence to the proud people who had for hundreds of years dominated the country between the Drave and the Carpathians, and regarded the territory as their own, and other races as intruders, was thus pronounced.

Immediately after the collapse of Austria the southern Slavs occupied western Banato, and in general the line of the Drave river, thus cutting off a quarter of Hungary. At first the Roumanians occupied only part of Transylvania, while the Slovaks promptly seized the mountain regions between the crest of the Carpathians and the Hungarian plain. Last week the Roumanians at last persuaded the allies to permit them to advance and occupy substantially all the Hungarian region inhabited by the Roumanians, and an ultimatum demanding Hungarian retirement in conformity with this situation was served on Hungary. In the presence of this demand, Karolyi resigned, and turned the country over to the Bolshevists.

Surrender at the Top.
Actually the situation was such that no government could live in Hungary which agreed to the ultimatum or indicated a willingness to accept a

treaty of peace based on such an ultimatum. That orderly government which had existed, namely the Karolyi government, threw up its hands. There was no revolution coming from below; there was a deliberate surrender at the top to the Bolshevists. Confronted with something approximating a death sentence the orderly government resigned.

Obviously the Hungarian government had two things in mind, first it could hope that Bolshevism, invited officially, might be restrained within limits and, second, it must hope that the allies, terrified by the new conquest of Bolshevism, would concede better terms to Hungary. In any event the government gave it up in Hungary and invited the Bolshevists in as a last hope of preserving national supremacy in the old national domains.

We have then, something that necessarily compels looking backward and forward. Looking backward one perceives that what the Hungarians did last week was to follow the precedent of Brest-Litovsk, where Lenin and Trotsky, unable to resist the German demands, refused to agree to them and left Germany to enforce them on the body of Russia. We know now that Brest-Litovsk was the greatest blunder that Germany made. We knew now that in the end Bolshevism came to Berlin, the Kaiser did not go to Petrograd.

Hungarians Use Bolshevism.
Now the Hungarians have simply employed the Brest-Litovsk example not this time in the service of Bolshevism, of economic class warfare, of communism, but in the interests of nationalism, in the interests of the Magyar race and this is precisely what we may expect the Germans to do when the treaty of peace which we are still formulating in Paris is finally completed and they are asked for their signature.

Before the Budapest revolution we had certain authentic indications from Germany that our enemy did not intend to sign the treaty of peace we were making. They were distrusted here, but they were at least noted. By contrast now that the Hungarian episode has occurred one meets the absolute conviction in Paris that Germany, following the Hungarian example, will decline to sign the treaty of peace here formulated, and will invite the allies to carry out their will on the passive body of Germany, given over entirely to Bolshevism.

Will the allied powers care to risk the Bolshevizing of Europe as far as the Rhine and the Alps to enforce their terms in Germany, or will they, in the presence of this new menace, modify their terms? This is German strategy; this is the allied predicament.

Bolshevism in Hungary has taken a less aggravated form than it has acquired in Russia. Lenin, telephoning to Bela Kun, the Bolshevik leader in Budapest, advises him to make the Bolshevik program less severe in his country than it had been in Russia. It is taking the form of extreme communist legislation, to be sure, but it has not become that autocratic of assassination which prevails in Russia and it has identified itself with the national aspirations of the Magyars rather than with the international theories of the group of which Lenin and Trotsky are the conspicuous leaders.

Now, as I have said in my dispatches, the Hungarian revolution produced panic in Paris. A state of panic persists. All of a sudden it was realized by those who were patiently endeavoring to separate the races of Europe, to create a new Europe out of the old ethnographic map, who had been discussing abstract questions and theories as if eternity were allotted to them and no interruption possible, perceive the first forward sweep of Bolshevism threatening the economic future of Europe, and second a new line of policy opening for Germany which might and probably would

eliminate all questions of the signing of the marvelous document they were framing.

From Philosophy to Panic.
Thus, almost in an instant all experts, ethnographic, economic, geographic and heaven only knows what else, were swept aside and four chief representatives of the great powers sat down at the table to begin again all the task of making peace, this time with real facts to be dealt with. We passed in an hour from philosophy to panic, but unhappily we had lost too much time and gone too far with our philosophy.

The position which the "big four" confronted was simple. They knew now that Germany would not sign any such treaty as had practically been agreed on. They knew also that Bolshevism, which had reached Budapest and threatened Vienna, was equally menacing in Poland and in Roumania. They knew that if Germany refused to sign their treaty of peace they would be compelled to undertake a new military campaign if they were to enforce their terms and they were informed also that unless they undertook a new military campaign in Russia, in Poland and generally in the east, Bolshevism was almost certain to sweep over all the eastern peoples.

Question of Curbing Anarchy.
No less disturbing was the realization of what it meant to the people of England and France suddenly to be confronted with the fact that after five months of effort to liquidate the victory of last November, their own statesmen had arrived only at the beginning of two new wars, one against the Germans and one against the Bolshevists. And would the people of England and France consent to a new war, or would they in turn sweep away their statesmen who had brought them to this hopeless situation. I wish I could make it clear how instantly there disappeared all real thought alike of the league of nations, the great new Poland and all

other beautiful dreams of intellectual, moral and racial enfranchisement, which had dominated Paris for four months. We thought in January that the conference of peace was to create Utopia. We begin to realize in the first days of April that it was an open question whether it could restrain anarchy. We believed in January that Germany lay helpless, awaiting the just sentence of our court, we realize now that we have lost our last decisive weapon to coerce Germany if she should choose to resist the decision of the court.

And as I write this article the Paris conference in debating two things, first, as Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson would have it, whether we shall make a modus vivendi with the Bolshevists. We invited them to the Princes Islands and they came to Budapest, and we are now debating whether we shall try to invite them to some new place of conference and recognize them. In the second place, we are planning whether we shall sacrifice the eastern peoples, notably the Poles, in the hope of arriving at a treaty of peace which the Germans will sign. We are debating whether we shall change our minds about Danzig and the Vistula corridor, whether we shall not sacrifice the Polish right to allied interests. We are in fact, debating a new treaty by which we placate the Germans and surrender to the Bolshevists, a treaty based on our fears and not our ideals.

Two Dangers Presented.
But obviously two dangers arise. First, Bolshevism has advanced from Moscow to Budapest, against our will. It seems about to gather in the Poles and Roumanians, Bulgars and other border people. Why should it make terms with the west? Second, why should the Germans consent to any treaty of peace disadvantageous to them if they are convinced that we have begun to modify our terms because we are afraid they will not sign them?

Napoleon came back from Elba and the Vienna congress adjourned, its work uncompleted. Bolshevism has come to Budapest, and there is every evidence that the Paris conference is at least contemplating following the example of its notorious predecessor. But there is one thing that every one must recognize. If we make a surrender peace with the Bolshevists and with the Germans, the league of nations will be stillborn. Europe will be divided into two alliances once more. Mitteleuropa will be recreated; Germany will become the champion of order in central Europe, and we shall have to consent to permit the Germans to undertake the battle against Bolshevism, as they will, and to collect their reward, which will be the domination of central and eastern Europe.

If we abandon the Poles, the Czechoslavs and Jugo-Slavs and Roumanians, after having promised them alike national reintegration and military support, they will leave us for Berlin, as they must. One of the most eminent of the Polish leaders in Paris told me yesterday: "If the allies follow the course they are now contemplating, Poland will make her terms with Germany forever." Roumania has almost as emphatically indicated her readiness to break with her old allies. If, to get a peace that Germany will sign, we surrender the Poles to her; if to placate the Bolshevists we leave Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Jugo-Slavia indefensible in the pathway of the storm, we shall lose them. We shall lose them, first to Bolshevism and later to Germany, and restored Germany will undertake a new task of organizing central Europe.

People Are Divided Again.
I wish I could make it clear to my American readers how grave is the crisis which we face. The league of nations was to be an association of the free peoples of the world, united in a common faith in democracy and

liberty, but already at least half the population of Europe has adopted another faith and half of the remaining population still adheres to its old doctrine which precipitated this war. If the people of Germany and of Russia and of middle Europe do not accept the principles of the league of nations, the league of nations is nothing except the basis of an alliance between the United States, France, England and Italy, against the alliance between Bolshevism and Germany. We perceive at last that Trotsky and Lenin will not hold up their hands and cry "kamrad" to the covenant of the league of nations. We are beginning to understand that the walls of Prussian Jericho will not fall when the doctrines of the league of nations are trumpeted along the frontiers.

We have failed miserably, perhaps finally in Paris, because we began with the assumption that all the people of the so-called civilized world thought alike and that if we created a constitution of the world as on free and just ideals all the world would subscribe. The truth has always been that Bolshevism had another faith founded in the idea of destroying our democracy and the Germans never renounced their gospel, which was alike hostile to western democracy and eastern Bolshevism. And now we have come to the supreme crisis. After five months we discovered that the world can not be comprehended in a single faith, that all our promises were mistaken, and that we stand in the shadow of either surrender to an enemy who will never rest until he conquers us—that is Bolshevism—or accommodation with an enemy who is only waiting to resume his attack—that is Germanism. We who set out to make the world safe for democracy are now hesitating as to whether we shall make it sure, either for the boche or the Bolshevist.

INDIANA Briefs

JEFFERSONVILLE—One of the local banks couldn't make change for an hour Monday morning, because the time lock was set by the old time, and the vault could not be opened.

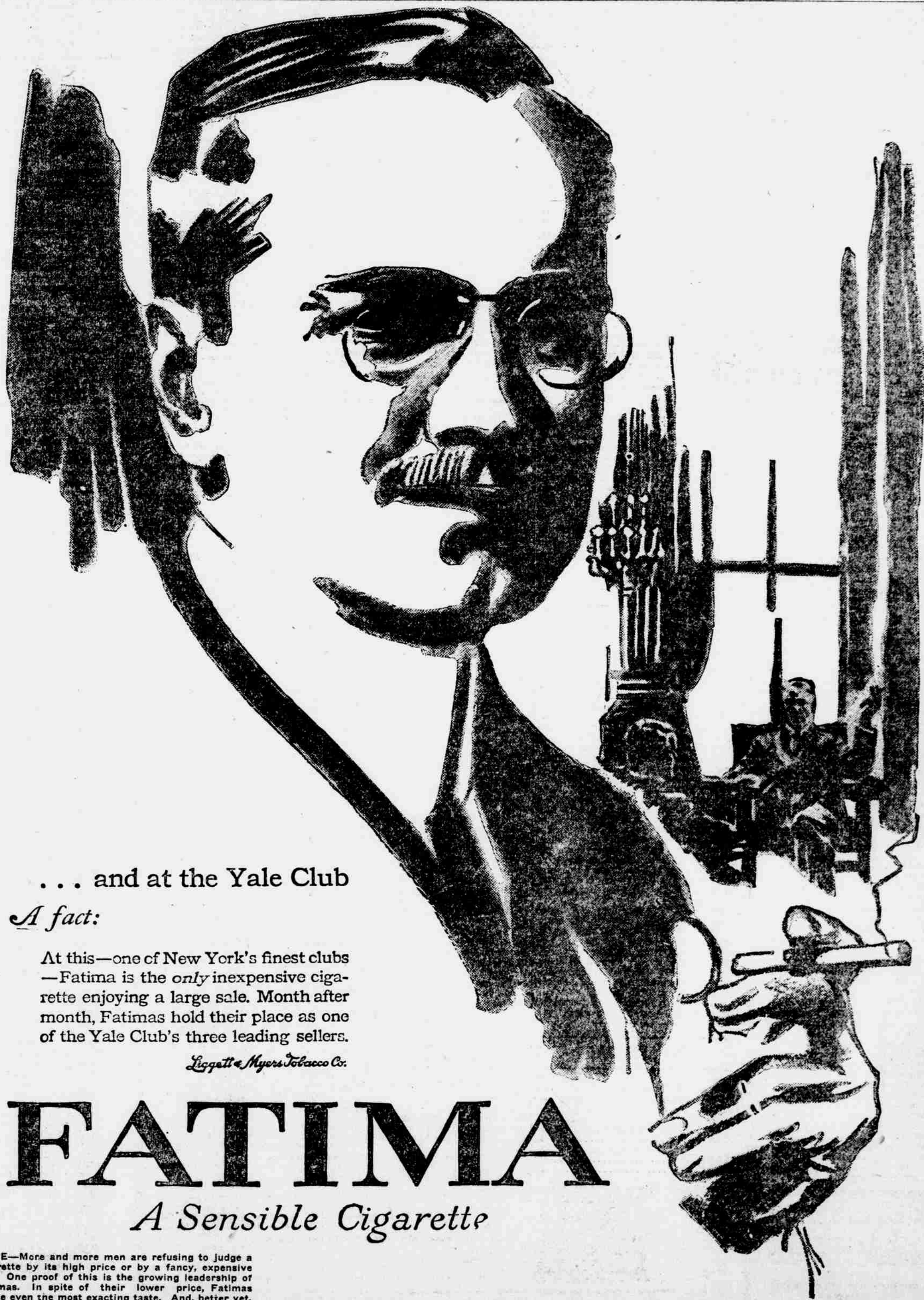
NEWCASTLE—A flurry in business circles occurred here when a rumor started that the local Maxwell plant was to be moved to the Detroit parent plant. F. D. Brebner, superintendent of the local plant denied the rumors.

GREENCASTLE—As the result of several weeks investigation by the faculty, three senior men and one sophomore, of DePauw University, have been expelled for cheating at examinations. Many more students will be punished before the investigation ends, it is said.

AURORA—John Hamilton, cotton grower of Birmingham, Ala., is visiting his mother, Mrs. Peter J. Long, for the first time since he left home forty years ago.

VINCENNES—William Hamke, prominent Freelandville farmer, was found guilty of setting fire to the barn of his brother-in-law, Edward Mengette, in circuit court. Counsel for Hamke immediately filed suit for a new trial. He was said by the prosecution to have confessed.

EVANSVILLE—The body of James B. Gresham, of Evansville, one of the first three soldiers to fall in France after the United States entered the war may be brought back home for burial, if his mother, Mrs. Gresham Dodd, wishes, says a letter to Mrs. Dodd from the war department.



... and at the Yale Club

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At this—one of New York's finest clubs—Fatima is the only inexpensive cigarette enjoying a large sale. Month after month, Fatimas hold their place as one of the Yale Club's three leading sellers.

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NOW EATS ONIONS; PEPGEN BANISHED STOMACH TROUBLE



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"Since taking Pepgen I can eat onions and that is something I could not do for a long time before I took it," says Mrs. Sallie Lawrence, 2305 Fourth Avenue, Evansville.

"For seven years I suffered with stomach trouble. My stomach was often so sore I could scarcely stand the weight of my clothes. Gas formed constantly and caused me much pain. Naturally my nerves went to pieces and I couldn't sleep soundly. My complexion was pale and I looked like a mere shadow of my former self when I started to take Pepgen."

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"Pepgen not only helped me but helped my husband as well. He was in a badly run down condition."

Pepgen is a new compound prepared from the oils and juices of a vast number of different kinds of leaves, roots and barks, each recognized for its value in relieving stomach, kidney and nerve troubles.

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Pepgen Tonic, Liniment and Laxatives may be obtained at Thistlethwaite's drug stores, Richmond or from any other first class drug store anywhere.—Adv.

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By taking Friend's Advice and Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound.

West Plains, Mo.—"I was all run down in health, had indigestion and terrible cramps every month so I was unable to do anything."

I had tried every doctor in West Plains, also every remedy I could think of, without relief. One day when I was suffering greatly a friend was at my house and said, 'Why don't you try Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound?' So I did, and through it, I found relief from my suffering and I really believe it saved my life. It does not seem as though I can say enough in praise of this wonderful medicine for the health it has brought me."

—Miss CORA LEE HALL, West Plains, Mo.

Perhaps it may seem an extravagant statement to say that this great remedy saved a life; but women like Mrs. Hall, to whom it has brought health, appreciate the danger and suffering they have escaped too well to doubt it. All who suffer should try it. Why risk life and health without it?

For special advice write Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass.