

to allied premiers at the earliest possible moment is absolutely necessary. Whether the conference should be held in London or Paris has not yet been discussed. The meeting of the council of ambassadors, scheduled for this week, will not be held until next week.

The Germans in their note delivered Wednesday asked that a joint commission of experts fix the value of the German deliveries on reparations account, which they claimed already more than equalled the 20,000,000,000 mark total, while the reparations commission's estimate showed a balance of 12,000,000,000 marks due. It was pointed out in allied quarters, however, that the German experts already had been credited by the commission before it fixed the valuation of the German deliveries on account of payments against the 20,000,000,000 marks.

BRITISH RENEW PLANS TO SEIZE HAMBURG Communist Coup in Germany Fails to Scare Allies.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1921, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau. If Germany calculated that the Communist coup d'etat which is reported to have occurred in Hamburg and other northern cities, influenced the public opinion against the enforcement of the allied sanctions in connection with the Berlin Government's refusal to accept the Paris reparations plan, figures she has again diametrically misestimated the result of the disorders. Indications here to-day were that the news from Germany had distinctly strengthened in hands of the allies the Government toward strong measures.

In naval circles here it was reported that plans were made to seize Hamburg and other German ports at the time of the failure of the reparations conference in London early this month. These plans were shelved in the interest of the Rhineland action, in which the forces of Great Britain, France and Belgium advanced further into Germany. But it was stated to-day that these naval plans had been brought forward again, this time in the form of proposals to enforce the allied sanctions, but to protect British interests against revolution.

Among the bankers and commercial men here who at the time of the reparations conference doubted the ability of Germany to pay the 20,000,000,000 marks gold demanded of her, there has been a notable tendency during the last twenty-four hours in favor of supporting the Government, in view of another German "No" to the allied reparations demands. The report that the Allies might seize the gold reserve of the Reichsbank was ridiculed, but in many financial quarters in London it has been feared that other coercive measures now are plainly indicated.

The German refusal of the demands of the Interallied Reparations Commission has overshadowed the Silesian plebiscite question. It having been stated authoritatively that there was now no real reason for settling the Upper Silesian problem until Germany has first of all indicated her willingness to pay, at least to the best of her ability. This attitude was reflected when Tom Shaw (Labor) suggested in the House of Commons to-night that the differences with Germany over the amount of the reparations be settled by arbitration. Mr. Shaw's proposal met with a storm of "noes" from the benches and the Government refused to take any notice of the suggestion. It was stated in the House of Commons that Germany had been given every opportunity to present her case and that the Reparations Commission had decided it after a full hearing.

WANTS AMERICA'S AID TO MAKE GERMAN PAY French Consul-General Makes Plea at Banquet.

Gaston Liebert, French Consul-General, speaking last night at a meeting of the New York Chapter of the Military Order of the World War at the Hotel Astor, made a plea for the United States "to come in and join France in securing a settlement of the German reparations just as she joined hands with us in crushing the beast." "In all the history of international settlements," he said, "there has not been a more insolent refusal to pay a debt, and Germany's refusal will not pass easily. The French burden is getting more difficult every day and we cannot allow Germany to avoid payment of the debt. Frenchmen hope that America will consider no separate treaty. I know that some of the articles of the Treaty of Versailles are faulty, and I know that some of them, but I hope you come in with us. If not, Berlin and Munich and the other large German cities must be occupied. Other speakers were Major Ernest Legg, formerly of the Seventh Bedfordshire Regiment of the British Army, and a participant in the battle of Jutland; Capt. Glogster Armstrong, British Consul-General, and Lieut. Arthur Keogh, adjutant of Col. Whittlesby's "Lost Battalion."

COUNCIL IS ONLY JUDGE OF MANDATES House of Commons Agrees With Government.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1921, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau. The House of Commons to-day again considered the principle of mandates and despite the objection of the minority agreed to the Government's construction that once having accepted these principles by ratifying the League of Nations covenant the House of Commons had no right to question the details, no matter what burdens, financial or otherwise, they imposed. Major Ormsby-Gore brought up the question by asking what was to be done with the Mesopotamian mandate in view of the protests from the United States and elsewhere. The Government replied that the mandates were before the League of Nations Council and the House of Commons had no further jurisdiction.

Even so great a friend of the League of Nations as Lord Robert Cecil objected to this, asking that all the mandates be submitted to a selected committee of the House of Commons, as the League of Nations Council could not act until the next annual meeting. No reply was made by the Government when it was asked what would be done about the protest from the United States and other nations over the terms of the Mesopotamian mandate. The Government finally closed the debate with the assertion brought an Under Secretary that details of the mandates were so complicated that obviously they could not be handled in debate before a select committee, much less by the House as a whole, and must be handled by the Government and its departments. A letter by Lord Bryce published in the Times this morning declares that not only should the House of Commons have the right of supervising every British mandate but the mandate of every other nation accepting under the League of Nations. Otherwise, he says, the mandates would be extremely liable to abuse and if the nations subscribing to the League of Nations do not have the opportunity of framing mandates they will have no opportunity of protesting when abused as long as the abuses keep within the strict letter.

APPEAL FOR TRADE BY SOVIET BRINGS VARIED OPINIONS

Warfield Approves, Frayne Opposes and Edison Sees No Advantage in It.

SCHURMAN LIKES PLAN Don't Do Business With 'Bandits and Highwaymen,' Says E. H. Outerbridge.

ALL AGAINST THE REDS James Speyer Would Follow the Business Lead Taken by Great Britain.

The question addressed by THE NEW YORK HERALD to various prominent business men and publicists regarding their opinions on the advisability of opening trade relations with Soviet Russia has brought replies which indicate wide divergence of opinion on the subject. While S. Davies Warfield informed this newspaper yesterday that he favored immediate establishment of trade relations with Russia, Hugh Frayne, New York State organizer of the American Federation of Labor, declared himself to be opposed to any agreement which might lead to recognition of the Bolshevik Government.

Ralph Peters expressed the opinion that America should meet the request of Russia in the most friendly manner, while Thomas A. Edison stated that he could see no advantage for this Government in the move. James Speyer believes the question should be settled on business considerations. Both the American Defence Society and the National Civic Federation went on record as strenuously opposed to any trade agreements with the Soviets. Replies to THE NEW YORK HERALD's question follow.

WARFIELD FAVORS PLAN. BALTIMORE, March 24. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: In reply to your telegram as to an expression of opinion in respect to Russia having asked the United States to enter into trade agreement following Great Britain, I beg to say that in my judgment the United States should immediately enter into trade relations with Russia. One reason for the general business decline in this country is that foreign markets, owing to after war conditions, have not been made available to us. Not only should we enter into trade relations with Russia but we should also begin to extend our trade relations with all nations. President Harding's purpose to open up the markets of the world to American products is along the right lines in my judgment, and to begin with Russia is highly desirable. Great Britain has been advancing her commercial interests throughout the world, while we have been proclaiming time altogether wrong. S. DAVIES WARFIELD.

RESUME, SAYS SPEYER. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: We have not been and are not at war with Russia. Therefore, it seems to me that the question of making a trade agreement with that country should be decided on sound business considerations. We should do what is best for our people and our trade, regardless of European politics or European prejudices. Russia can produce many things that we can buy, and which the world needs, and we produce and manufacture many things that Russia needs. The sooner normal trade relations are reestablished all over the world the better it will be for every one. Great Britain, as usual, has taken the business view and shown the way. JAMES SPEYER.

SCHURMAN GIVES APPROVAL. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: Replying to your inquiry whether, in my opinion, we should accept Russia's proposal to enter into a trade agreement with her, I would point out: 1. That such an agreement would not be a recognition of the Russian Government by the United States. 2. That if, as THE HERALD reports, the Russian Government has abandoned the policy of stirring up revolution in other countries the main reason for the United States refusing to enter into any relations of commercial relations with Russia disappears. 3. That if the Russian people are willing to endure the Soviet Government with the dictatorship enforced by the leaders of the proletariat and the oppression of the rest of the people it is no concern of other nations, and especially it is no reason for our refusing to trade with them. 4. That the Soviet Government of Russia, with its twin pillars of despotism at home and revolution abroad being inevitably destined to fall, the vital question to-day is whether the first stage of the collapse has not already taken place. If so, there is every reason why other nations, and especially progressive governments, should be willing to have their merchants buy and sell goods during the process of reconstruction. 5. That as "the Kingdom of Heaven cometh not with observation," so the beginning of the recovery of Russia from her political insanity will not be easy to discern, and least of all will it be indicated by a counter-revolution, or as a restoration, but merely as a modification enforced by circumstances, perhaps temporary in their character, of certain features of the existing Soviet doctrine, while the rest he and his associates—the "old gang"—continue in control of the actual government, which, after all, is the all important factor in the situation. 6. That if the Soviet Government cannot in fact—and senses do not matter—be gradually transformed by Lenin and his fellow builders into some kind of organization of justice, liberty and equal opportunity for all the Russian people, the only alternative—and that would be inevitable—is the man on horseback, compelling peace and establishing by force adequate security for life, property and the just rewards of labor. 7. That the phenomena reported from Russia seem to indicate the beginning of a transformation of the Soviet Government and policies by the Soviet leaders themselves; and, if so, other nations

LENINE'S ENVOY, OUSTED BY LONDON, MAY COME HERE

Martens Arrives in Moscow After Enforced Departure From America and Makes Report on Soviet Hopes in U. S. to Premier Lenin.

By CAPT. FRANCIS McULLAGH. Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1921, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. REVAL, March 24.—According to news received here from Moscow, Nikolai Lenin, Russian Soviet Premier, has asked Maxim Litvinoff if he would care to go to the United States as Soviet Ambassador, and has invited Litvinoff, who has his headquarters in Reval, to come to Moscow to discuss the proposal. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Russian Soviet "Ambassador," who was expelled from the United States as an undesirable alien, and Shueik (name mutilated in transmission) arrived in Moscow at the end of February and were received in "audience" by Lenin and Georgevitch Tshitcherin, Bolshevik Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, at the Kremlin, where they made a verbal report on America and the possibility of Russia reopening trade relations with the United States. Lenin before this had conferred with Soviet representatives in foreign countries, who had been summoned to Mos-

cow, on questions of foreign policy and the possibility of effecting trade treaties. Among these were Kopp from Berlin, Hanstisch from Riga, Bazin from Holland, Rotblat from Teheran and Kamenev, who had been in London. Litvinoff was the Soviet "Ambassador" whom England expelled more than a year ago for participating in an anti-propaganda, and refused to let him enter the country again. Since then he has been the Baltic plenipotentiary of the Soviet Government. During the days of the Kronstadt revolt Reval was a strange mixture of excited Soviet commissioners and one-time grand dukes. Litvinoff, who is both too fat and too timid for this sort of a life, was pathetically anxious to get out of this city. He made numerous efforts to go aboard ships leaving this port, but in every case was refused by the captain. These were skippers willing to take him aboard their vessels, because it was reported that he would carry with him a huge store of gold. But Litvinoff has a working knowledge of this type of Baltic skippers, who might report such a passenger as he would be missing and then retire to a life of luxury at the end of the voyage, and declined to sail with them.

Whatever nationality or wherever found, in my opinion no exigencies of the present ruthless rulers of Russia should prevail upon honest people to do anything which would contribute to keeping them in power and only the very credulous can believe that they have become morally converted. To deal with them is not unlike trading with a notorious "fence," who is known to deal chiefly in stolen property. E. H. OUTERBRIDGE.

NO ADVANTAGE, SAYS EDISON. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: I am opposed at this time to any recognition of the Russian Soviet Government. ALBA B. JOHNSON.

BE CAREFUL, SAYS BABSON. PHILADELPHIA, Pa., March 24. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: I believe that there will be no special harm or special advantage in a trade agreement with Russia such as Lloyd George has just executed. Private advisers tell me that conditions in Russia are very bad—that they have very little gold to spend. The Lloyd George agreement was very carefully worked out to protect England against Bolshevism. I am opposed at this time to any agreement which the United States makes should be worked in the same way. ROGER W. BABSON.

AGAINST RECOGNITION. DES MOINES, Iowa, March 24. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: It is my personal opinion that the United States Government should not enter into an agreement with Soviet Russia which might be construed in any way as any form of recognition of Soviet Russia. GEORGE H. THURMERRY, President New Orleans Association of Commerce.

BE FRIENDLY, SAYS PETERS. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: In my judgment we should meet the request of Russia in the most friendly manner and we can find a practically reasonable way of carrying out a trade agreement we should enter into it without delay. There is no doubt but what England has given the matter most careful consideration and we can safely follow her lead. These agreements should help the Russians to restore their Government on a sound basis. They certainly will remove some of the excuses that have been given for the recent disturbances in that country. If the responsibility for living up to their contracts can be made plain to the Russians they should soon begin to settle down and smooth out their internal affairs. It will certainly be good for this country to resume trade with Russia, a country that has always been on such friendly terms with us. From its natural resources and large undeveloped area it greatly resembles our own country and requires the machinery and manufactured implements that we produce in such large quantities in carrying out our own development. There is no doubt that this movement will greatly help to revive our own industries. RALPH PETERS.

RIPE FOR AGREEMENT. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: If Lenin, as reported, has come back to the recognition of the age-old labor that it is the individual and his labor that after all, make the economic world go round, and if the Soviet Government has decided to discard the policy of trying to force production without an economic incentive, then I believe the time is ripe for favorable consideration of trade agreement. There is no difference so far as the result is concerned between prohibiting production for profit by decree and laying down conditions which make, or which the producers think make, profit impossible. All of Europe must face the facts. The food and raw material producing countries which formerly supplied Europe are diverting their supplies to this country, and our producers are being forced to meet an abnormal condition, with the result that they are considering a reduction of their production. Unless Europe faces this fact and realizes that it must restore the economic balance before everything else the rest of the world will be forced back to the level of production needed to supply its own needs and Europe will face a famine. LEWIS L. CLARKE, President the American Exchange National Bank.

MUST WAIT FOR STABILITY. PITTSBURGH, March 24. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: My individual opinion is that until a stable form of government is established in Russia and so recognized by this Government, the Government of the United States should not enter into trade relations with Russia. It is obvious, however, that this must not be construed as an expression of the opinion of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh. MARCUS RAU, President, Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh.

SOVIETS MUST FIRST DIE. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: I feel it would be a disastrous policy to make any agreement with the Soviet Government. There would be no trade advantage, as Mr. Hoover has so admirably explained, and the United States would merely be prolonging the life of an impossible anarchic system, subversive of all real civilization and progress. Left to itself the Bolshevik Government will perish by natural evolution and Russia will gradually return to normal conditions and reenter the family of nations as a stabilizing element. I now encourage the Soviets, which events show cannot without such encouragement last much longer, would be to prolong the life of a most dangerous and aggressive force since the collapse of Prussian militarism. The world cannot exist half free and half Soviet; the "both some thing," if isolated, must soon die. President R. COCHRAN.

NO TRADE WITH BANDITS. To the Editor of THE NEW YORK HERALD: Replying to your inquiry, I do not believe in officially recognizing trade business with bandits or highwaymen of

U. S. IN NO HASTE ON RUSSO TRADE PACT

Continued from First Page.

day, does not propose to be stampeded by the action initiated by other countries in dealing with the Soviet Government. It does not intend to have its hand forced by a programme of competitive bidding for Russian commerce. If financial loss results it will stand firm. It does not intend to have its present and future require a more disinterested statesmanship than is involved in such a programme.

President Harding and his Secretary of State are preparing to reestablish the relations of the United States with the European and Asiatic worlds. Russia and Russian affairs must enter into that programme. In his desire to have a clear purview of the field before taking action, they are especially interested in the Far Eastern portion of the world, and will want to know just how the settlement of the Russian question will affect matters in the Pacific. They will want to know whether Siberia is to be separated from Russia, properly and if so whether Japan proposes to control it directly or indirectly. They will want to know just what attitude France and England propose to take relative to maintaining the territorial integrity of Russia, to which the Wilson Administration committed this country, and to which the present Administration appears to be equally committed. In effect the Harding Administration, it is understood here, believes there should be a coordinated world policy toward Russia, and that leaning away from the point of view of Lenin and toward more attractive by an important change of policy may prevent the formulation of such a policy. The change in front of Lenin is not doubted, but there is much doubt as to the reasons for it. It is not believed logical that Lenin would have made this change in position unless compelled to do so.

The evident purpose of the Lenin Government to secure political recognition by means of trade arrangements also demonstrated in news coming from London and Stockholm. While the American policy remains undetermined, it is understood, the decision in front of Lenin is not doubted, but there is much doubt as to the reasons for it. They must show works meet for repurchase before we do anything.

For the most part Senators feel that the sincerity of the apparent change of heart in the leaders of the Soviet Government must be demonstrated by their work, and not slowly does not necessarily mean refusal to talk with envoys of the Soviet Government. Whether they will be received or not still is an open question. Senator Watson (Ind.) and Senator Fessenden (Ohio), the latter a Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, stated that the resumption of Russian trade relations "should depend on the facts presented."

"I would be glad to see trade open between this country and Russia," Senator Watson said, "and believe it would be for the benefit of both countries. But first I want to learn the terms on which it will be done. I favor an investigation and discussion of the matter. I would not favor acceptance of the Russian proposition until after full inquiry."

J. H. RUBIN DISTRUSTS LENINE'S CONVERSION Says Red Chiefs Insisted Vanderlip Was 'Vanderbilt.'

Jacob H. Rubin of Milwaukee, heretofore widely known as an ardent Socialist, spoke last evening in the Town Hall on "Russia from Within." Mr. Rubin testified recently before the House and Senate Committees on Foreign Affairs regarding Russian trade conditions. Upon that theme he spoke frankly last night. He said he was utterly distrustful of the sincerity of the alleged renunciations of former policies which Lenin professes to have espoused, adding: "If Lenin is sincere in his reformation let him come out like a man and say: 'We'll restore to its proper owners the millions we have stolen in the name of a Soviet State.'"

Mr. Rubin ridiculed the Washington R. Vanderlip concessions, which were granted while he was still in the confidence of the Soviet chiefs in Moscow. Those chiefs, he said, firmly believed Vanderlip to be a Vanderbilt. "I tried to explain to them," said the lecturer, "that this man was no Vanderbilt, but even Frank Vanderlip, with his great New York banking connections, had abandoned Vanderlip. But they insisted that they merely mispronounced the name, perhaps, and that the man they were dealing with was Mr. Vanderlip. They billed him over Russia as Vanderlip. What they wanted was good commercial propaganda in America, and Washington Vanderlip has been for them the greatest advance agent any three ring show ever had."

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