

generally attacked in this country. In Article X members of the League of Nations "undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League of Nations." As the *New York Times* sees it, however, Article II of the Pacific pact is only "a clumsy paraphrase" of Article X of the League Covenant, with the implied guaranty cloaked in vague phrases. This view seems to be shared by the *Washington Herald*, in which we read:

"Article II provides that 'if the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular occasion.'

"It has been said this is more like The Hague than Paris. It is just about as much like The Hague as hootch is like skim milk. It means that if Russia, Germany, or both, or any other combination, threatens aggressive action, the four are morally bound to stand together. It is diplomatic language for a defensive alliance, no more, no less. And why not? The United States has as much to gain as any of the rest. It means peace, good-will, good trade, security with the only Power that is a possible menace. It means changing the only source of trouble to a source of friendship, good-will and understanding. If this article is a defensive alliance, no other combination of Powers will fool around the Pacific. If it is only a wobble, a pretense, a sort of sneak-trick, then some day some other combination may try it out.

"There are just the four whose territorial possessions are contiguous, as it were. They agree to respect each other's possessions and keep away any marauders. These possessions are all away off by themselves in the world's greatest ocean. Article X of the covenant carries exactly the same agreement as to all continental countries and their possessions everywhere. The one may be child's play as compared to a man's job, but they are 'sisters under their skin.'

The *New York World*, which led the newspaper fight for the League of Nations, urges all friends of the League to support the new treaty. Says this journal:

"To the irreconcilables of the Senate the four-Power treaty must inevitably be as bad as the covenant of the League of Nations, assuming that these Senators believed what they said during the debate on the Treaty of Versailles. Anybody who professes to think that a strict construction of Washington's Farewell Address is the last word in the foreign policy of the United States must inevitably be against a treaty that associates the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France in a common agreement to maintain the status quo in the Pacific for ten years.

"The answer to that argument is that the 'isolation' of this country is fiction. It has nothing to do with fact. It was a transparent fraud when it was used against the covenant of the League of Nations, and it is no less a transparent fraud when it is used against the four-Power treaty.

"Senator La Follette, who is one of the irreconcilables, insists that 'the proposed treaty has all the iniquities of the League of Nations, with none of the virtues claimed for that document by its advocates.' Senator Lodge would probably retort that it has all the virtues of the League with none of its iniquities. Neither statement is the whole truth nor a wholly acceptable half-truth.

"The four-Power treaty unquestionably draws its inspiration from the covenant of the League of Nations. Except for the covenant it would never have been framed; it would have no existence. Moreover, under Article XVIII and Article XX of the covenant the treaty must be registered with the Secretariat of the League and must conform to the covenant.

"In the opinion of *The World*, Democratic Senators who vote against the treaty will have no higher motive than the Republican Senators who voted against the League because it was Mr. Wilson's League.

"The Battalion of Death Senators will inevitably revive all the myths that were invented during the debate on Article X, but it is surely no proper function of Senate Democrats to assist in making these myths permanent in respect of the foreign affairs of the United States.

"Every consideration of policy, party expediency and public service is a summons to the League of Nations Democrats in the Senate to support the four-Power treaty."

## "VIPER" WEAPONS

THAT POISON GAS WARFARE is "humane" in character may come as a surprise to the thousands of "doughboys" who have not yet recovered from the effects of gas during the World War, believes the *Seattle Times*. Yet that is the contention of Brigadier-General Fries, Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army. His opinion, moreover, is upheld by a resolution by the American Institute of Chemical Engineers, and by American Army officers in general, according to the *New York World*. General Pershing, on the other hand, recommends that poison gas be abandoned in warfare. "Here is practical military knowledge against civilian chemical theory," remarks the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, which reminds us that the civilian non-combatant population near the front in any war are the chief sufferers, since the death-dealing clouds of gas cannot be controlled, and may be carried by the wind for miles. "It is the business of the Chemical Warfare Service chief to develop the use of poison gas, and nothing is more natural than that he should be partial to its use, but his view is narrowed by his occupation," thinks the *Louisville Courier-Journal*; "as a man lives, so does he think." His theory, however, "will not appeal to the majority of laymen," declares the *Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph*. "And the stand of such a distinguished professional soldier as Pershing should have a tremendous effect upon public opinion everywhere," points out the *New York Evening Mail*.

Among other proponents of chemical warfare is Professor Zanetti, of Columbia University, who was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Chemical Warfare Service during the war. In a letter to the *New York Times* he sets forth views similar to those of his former chief:

"No right-minded person can seriously entertain the idea that any weapon of war, let alone chemical warfare, should not, if possible, be set aside. To dwell on the horror of chemical warfare and characterize it as a 'viper weapon' is a platitude. . . .

"The manufacture of a new gas, discovered in some obscure laboratory, could go on in some remote chemical factory for years; enormous stocks could be accumulated and stored and, if necessary, harmlessly labeled, until the moment came to use it. Who can guard against such a contingency? Would we dare in the light of past experience to expose our men to a slaughter similar to that suffered by the French and British at Ypres and run the risk of its consequence? . . .

"The knowledge that both sides are fully equipped and ready at a moment's notice to retaliate in kind would make more toward preventing a chemical war than—as experience has shown—any treaty, no matter how clear and definite."

"It is no secret," writes Frederic J. Haskin, in the *Little Rock Arkansas Gazette*, "to say that the chemical experts of all countries are hard at work devising new poison gases." Advocates of this new weapon contend that its use is justified on the ground that it will shorten hostilities. As we read in *Chemical Warfare*, the official organ of the Chemical Warfare Service, of which General Fries is the head:

"Chemical warfare with its unlimited choice of weapons and its unlimited methods of making war intolerable, will make warfare universal, and better than any other means, will bring war home to its makers. Jingoism, great and small, will hesitate long before they start war in the future, knowing that they themselves, as well as their armies and navies, may be subject to its terrors. Their strongholds can now be easily reached by chemical agents delivered from aircraft. Knowing that the war of the future will be brought home to every individual, the effort will be made to avoid it at all costs."

By the use of airplanes, bombs, and poison gases of various sorts, "a great city could be destroyed in five minutes," maintains Thomas A. Edison in a *New York American* interview; "and in half an hour every living creature in the vicinity—men, women and children—could be burned to death or suffocated by these deadly gases." Yet, asserts Dr. Raymond F.

Bacon, director of the Mellon Industrial Research Institute at Pittsburgh, "chemists know that the use of poison gases during war has come to stay." W. Lee Lewis also has this to say in the *Chemical Bulletin*:

"Poison gas is the most economical and humane weapon yet devised by the mind of man. Its efficiency is shown in the widespread casualties of the recent World War produced by this agent: Thirty per cent. of the American casualties; a fourteen hundred per cent. increase in British casualties after the introduction of mustard gas; its capacity to harass and handicap an army through the mere enforced wearing of the gas-mask."

"All of which goes to show that it is a pretty tough villain who is so bad that nobody can be found to make out a case for him," remarks the *Duluth Herald*. "The theory that by making war more and more horrible you diminish the chance of a war is an amazingly faulty theory," asserts the *Baltimore American*, and as the *Louisville Courier-Journal* puts it:

"There never will be a method of warfare so terrible that men will refuse to engage in it. Flirting with death is inherent in human nature. The invention of firearms was, perhaps, just as radical an improvement in the art of killing as was the introduction of poison gas. Firearms might have been called 'intolerable.' But they did not put a dampener on war, any more than did the use of the war chariot or the long-bow or the metal sword. Compared with the trireme, the modern battle-ship is a horrible engine, but its appearance did not spell the cessation of naval warfare."

"General Fries overlooks the fact that as soon as an 'intolerable' instrument of death appears, the immediate sequel is the invention of protection against it. Armor counteracted swords and the battle-ax, just as the gas-mask was almost coeval with gas."

"There is a way, however, to prevent nations from using chemical poisons in warfare—the creation of a militant public



opinion against the practise, and the agreement of nations to refrain from their use. If dum-dum bullets were eschewed by both sides in the last war, why is it not possible to ban gases?"

Many editors hail the report of the American Advisory Committee of the Washington Conference, advocating the abolition of poison gas, liquid fire, and other chemical agents in warfare.

The Committee, it should be said, keeps in touch with public sentiment on certain matters that come before the Conference, and advises the American delegates accordingly.

"America's influence at the Conference," declares the *St. Louis Star*, "should be thrown against the weapons that are directed against non-combatants—the submarine and poison gas."



"Since a gas attack is uncontrollable, chemical warfare falls into the well-poisoning class," agrees the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, while the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* maintains that "as to the barbarity of chemical warfare . . . there is no argument." "For the present Conference to adjourn without a vigorous condemnation of such uncivilized weapons would be an evasion of its plain duty," avers the *Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph*. "What is this 'humane' method of warfare of which the chemists speak?" asks the *New York Evening Mail*—

"Is it the spreading of gas that will torture and poison honorable and gallant men not only through their lungs but through their skins, that will reach far behind the fighting lines and send women and children to horrible death, that will kill all vegetation and secure the starvation of peoples for years after war ceases? If this be a chemist's idea of humane warfare, God deliver the world from its chemists! Evidently it is not a soldier's idea of warfare, or General Pershing would have indorsed it. And, be it remembered, the soldier fights on the field, not in the laboratory."

When all is said and done, however, agree the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *Des Moines Register*, the *Baltimore Sun* and a dozen other newspapers, "it is useless to forbid inventions; the only way to prevent the use of aerial bombs, submarines, and poison gas in war is to prevent war." Adds the *New York Globe*:

"Some gases do not kill, some kill without pain, some torture as well as kill, but these statements are also true of rifle and artillery fire. There is no more to be said in favor of tearing men to pieces with shells or bombs, macerating their flesh with high-power rifle bullets, or stabbing them in the face or intestines with bayonets than there is for suffocating or burning them with gas."

"War is slaughter, and can never be anything else, and victory will always go to the contestant who is best at killing."



## THE FARM BLOC—A PERIL OR A HOPE?

THE "KEN-CAP-CLAN" that "cares not three corn-belt or cow-country whoops for the Republican program or the old seats of Republican strength" is "in the saddle in Congress," or, to shift to another editor's figure, it "has taken the bit in its teeth and run away." Be it horse or rider, the *New York Times* professes to take the agricultural bloc in Congress very lightly, and prophesies that "it will pass with the depression from which it sprang, like the Wheel, the Brothers of Freedom, the Society of Equity, the Farmers' Alliance, the Greenbackers, and other shadows." But to a goodly number of other newspapers, it is far from a joke that, as the *Seattle Times* puts it, "after political upheavals in the country which were inspired by the presence of spokesmen for business minorities in the Houses," the agriculturist clan led by Senators Kenyon and Capper should "calmly proceed to build up a machine in Congress infinitely more powerful than any that business ever possessed." The farm bloc, observes this paper's Washington correspondent, "is aggressive and cohesive and knows precisely what it wants and how to get it." Various correspondents remind us that this group succeeded in having its way with much of the tax revision, including the retention of a high surtax on large incomes, and that it was able to force through at the last session of Congress the passage of the billion dollar Farm Export Credit Act, the Capper-Tincher Bill regulating grain exchanges, legislation for government control of meat packing, the Emergency Tariff Act, and two measures increasing the effectiveness of the Farm Loan System. In the coming session, they tell us, these "embattled farmers" intend to fight for the enactment of a cooperative marketing bill, reduction in freight rates, and more financial aid to farmers.

Recent dispatches report that the bloc will defeat any sales tax in connection with a Soldiers' Bonus Bill. "The farmers' program is far from completed, and the farmers are far from satisfied," is the way a *New York World* correspondent puts it, and he predicts that "the agricultural bloc will make itself felt again when the tariff is considered no less than when a new tax revision measure is brought forward."

This new political development, this prodigious activity—is it a menace or a promise? The answer would seem to be to a considerable extent a matter of occupation and geography. At least, Senator Capper, who was born in Kansas and owns a chain of farm papers, believes that the efforts of the farm bloc are helping to bring national prosperity, while Secretary Weeks, who was born in New Hampshire and is a banker and broker by profession, sees in the new bloc system a real menace to our institutions. Eastern newspapers and business organs generally are inclined to agree with the Secretary of War. In the opinion of Mr. Weeks, who has served in both Houses of Congress, the activity of such a powerful bi-partizan group "has had a tendency to weaken effective government, has resulted in irresponsible

legislation, prevented both parties from carrying out the pledges made in their platforms, and in time will divide the legislative branch of the Government into groups, each group championing a special cause, and we will see one group combining with another to bring about a control of legislative action in the interests of a particular faction." "Carried to its logical conclusion," the bloc system, we are told, might divide the country "into hostile factions or groups, one class plundered by another, and the country powerless to defend or maintain its interests, national or international." Here the *Boston Herald* concurs with the Secretary. "This is political brigandage pure and simple," avers the *New York Herald*, likewise agreeing. The antipathy to blocs seems to the *Philadelphia Bulletin* to be "due to sound political instinct," for "in so far as the system succeeds, it deprives the people of any real control of parties, or any real method to make the will of the actual majority effective in legislation." Farther south the *Richmond News Leader* joins the chorus of alarm, and the *Lexington (Ky.) Leader* says that "the blocs which are being formed in Congress tend in the wrong direction and cloud the future."

When we turn to the business press we find the *Chicago Journal of Commerce* protesting against the "group selfishness" of the agricultural and other blocs in Congress: "born of honest, patriotic, and worthy impulses, they have in too many cases sunk into vicious, vindictive, and sordid practices." Their program is shortsighted, too, according to *The American Banker*, for—

"Just as the agricultural bloc with its tariff tinkering spoiled part of the farmer's market, it has wrought the same effect by causing the defeat of the bill exempting from taxation American capital invested in foreign business enterprises."

But to these and all the other critics of the farm bloc, Senator Capper, one of its most influential members, says in a recent letter to

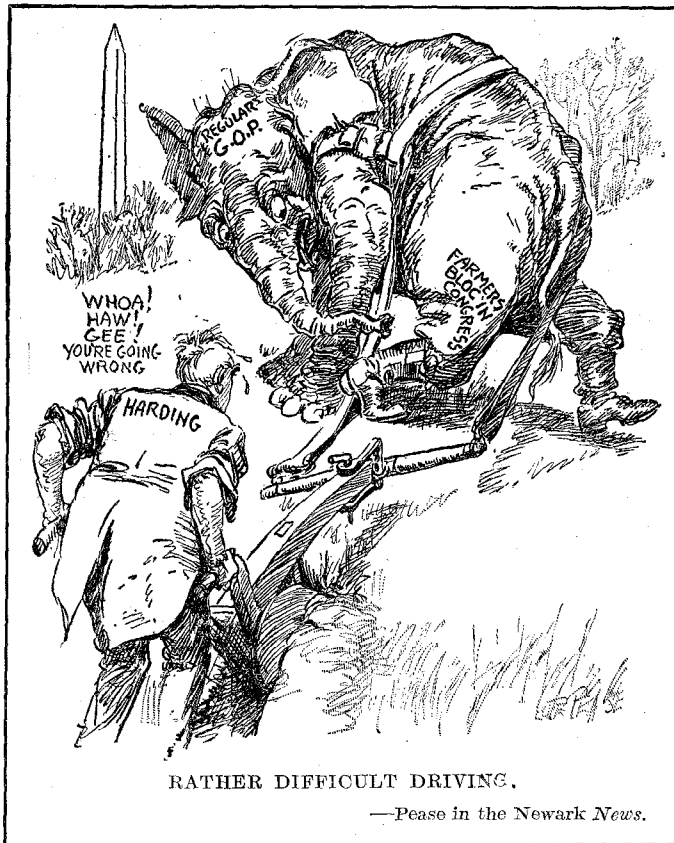
his *Capper's Weekly* (Topeka), after explaining that the farmer is really the backbone of the nation:

"Wall Street and Big Business should be aiding instead of fighting its best friend; should be aiding instead of opposing the efforts of farm blocs in Congress."

"I believe that for the next quarter century the outstanding policy of this nation should be the carrying out of a great constructive program for the encouragement and upbuilding of its farm industry. The much maligned Farm Bloc has such a program well started in Congress. If all its measures are enacted, they will lay a broad foundation on which may be erected the world's best and most enduring system of agriculture. That also would mean the upbuilding of what would be the world's most enduring and most wide-spread and genuine national prosperity."

And the Secretary of War's grave condemnation of the farm bloc is thus picked to pieces by the *New York Globe*:

"The history of representative government in this country and wherever liberty has advanced among men, has been the record of group action. The barons who wrested the Magna Carta from King John at Runnymede were a bloc, and an agricultural bloc at that. As new bodies of citizens came to power they have always demanded a share in the fruits of govern-



RATHER DIFFICULT DRIVING.

—Pease in the Newark News.