

THE LIVING AGE

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A WEEK OF THE WORLD

INDIA'S NEW GOVERNMENT AT WORK

THE *Living Age* is in receipt of information from private but very high authority to the effect that the new National Assembly in India has been a success. In personnel its quality is better than expected; in debating ability at least half a dozen members need not fear the competition of any 'but the most skilful British parliamentarians,' and the whole body has shown a corporate sense of responsibility which is most reassuring.

In view of the difficulty experienced at times in Porto Rico and the Philippines when dealing with appropriations in a native legislature, it is significant that the budget was carried successfully. Although the native members vigorously criticized it in the debate, they refrained from using their tempting power to make wholesale reductions in the funds allotted the Departments.

Gandhism, — of which we published an Indian criticism in our issue of May 14, — is reported still to be a real force; but to have failed among the educated classes. A Calcutta journal thus describes the rapid waxing and waning of non-coöperation in the Brahmaputra Valley:

It went from town to town, village to village, practically house to house everywhere

right up the river to the unmapped mountains. I have never seen anything spread so quickly. Remember, it was only an idea; the people did not know what they were speaking about, but they had all on their tongues the word Gandhi and that something wonderful was going to happen to them. Little places of business were filled with people discussing the subject, but they could not get a solution of what it all meant; the chief impression I felt was an air of expectation. In railway trains, steamers, places of business, there was always animated discussion amongst all classes of people who usually stand aloof from one another. We heard vaguely of committees and rules and doing away with *belati* goods, and the people began to be quieter and look serious. 'Red Lamp' cigarettes disappeared from shops, and smokers took to a small native cheroot with a vile smell. Meetings began to be held and *pice* to be collected, and this made the ordinary man more serious than ever. School lads here and there got very brave and refused to attend school. Then things began to be normal again, for the Assamese is not a man with an excitable temperament that lasts, and experience has told him that his chief end in life is to see he has wherewithal to fill his belly and clothe his body. The last time I went round the rural districts, everyone was busy ploughing and I did not hear the name of Gandhi or committee mentioned my whole trip.

Nevertheless, there is explosive material in India. The Sikh community is ablaze with excitement, almost amount-

ing to a religious feud, over local controversies affecting its faith. Agrarian discontent is acute in many sections, and on top of it all, Indian labor is beginning to organize itself, and is not immune from the disturbing influences which we have known so long in industrial centres in Europe.' On the whole, however, the tone of this report is optimistic.

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A LUDENDORFF INTERVIEW

A SPECIAL correspondent of *L'Indépendance Belge* in Bavaria recently had an opportunity to discuss the military situation there with Ludendorff. The old commander is courting public notice, appearing frequently at the theatre, political meetings, and patriotic doings. Hindenburg, on the other hand, courts retirement, especially since the recent death of his wife. While Ludendorff refuses to give regular interviews, he is very fond of an argument. The correspondent chanced upon him in company with several other gentlemen on a short pedestrian tour, when he was quite volubly at ease. In the course of the conversation he said that he detested present-day politics, and wished to keep out of them so far as possible. He remarked: 'What Germany needs is evolution, not revolution.' He considered it madness for Germany to think of another war with France, and believed the country should comply with the terms of the treaty. He thought a little hardship would be a good tonic for the nation after its excessive prosperity. The people should devote themselves to home affairs. They should hark back to the days of privation and progress after the Napoleonic wars. Bolshevism is still a danger. Just now the attention of that movement is concentrated on Asia, but it will eventually make another drive against Western Europe. The conversation turned to many other things, but Ludendorff's

favorite topic was the internal revival of Germany. He kept recurring to that.

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GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN

SPEAKING of the Japanese Alliance the *London Spectator* says:—

Even the most wildly imperialistic and most aggressive of Britons do not contemplate with pleasure blowing the British Empire into smithereens in a single instant. We all know perfectly well that this would be the result if we went to war with America not to support some rights of our own, but in order to help the Japanese to fight America. The moment such a war was declared, the bonds that unite us with the Dominions would be severed. If the people of Australia and New Zealand were asked which side they were going to be on in a war between the men of the white race and the men of the yellow race, they would not hesitate for a second. They would not waste time reading diplomatic papers, or considering legal points, or thumbing the clauses of the treaty. They would say: 'We are with our own flesh and blood! If the poor old mother country has gone mad, we cannot help it. We are deeply sorry; but if things have come to this pass, we must reluctantly take the leadership of her elder daughter rather than of herself. Help yellow men to take San Francisco by assault! Good heavens, what are you talking about!'

The same dreadful message of disintegration would run from end to end of Canada with a similar vehemence. There could be only one place for Canada in a fight to a finish between Japan and America — by the side of America. White South Africa would give the same answer. Nor would that be all. The moment they realized what had happened, ninety-nine per cent of the population here would be stoning their own government for its criminal lunacy in backing Japan against our own flesh and blood. We are quite as sure here as they are in the Dominions as to which is our proper side if it comes to war between Japan and America.

On the other hand, the *Tory National Review* welcomes the visit of the Crown

Prince of Japan to England as 'the brightest spot in these depressing days,' and improves the opportunity to say a good word in favor of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance:—

We believe the alliance to have been a considerable asset to Japan. That is for the Japanese to judge. We are convinced that it has been of corresponding gain to Great Britain and the British Dominions. It incidentally proved of distinct advantage to the United States, as without the alliance Japan and America would have been on opposite sides in the Great War instead of allies in a common cause. So far from being a provocative factor in world-politics, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is a pacific influence in every sense of that term. Japan has made it clear that she does not expect us to espouse her cause in any impossible quarrel her hotheads might conceivably be anxious to pick with the United States, while the prospects of White Australia are largely bound up with the alliance. Under the circumstances we should only incur general contempt if we abandoned a deliberate mutually advantageous policy tested by time in order to conciliate the Hearst Press and its wild clientèle. American Anglo-phobes would speedily discover another bogey with which to belabor Britain if 'the Japanese Peril' failed. That British interests demand the continuance of the alliance is evident from the clatter it arouses among anti-British influences at home and abroad.

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NAVAL PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC

LORD JELlicoe proposes that Great Britain shall maintain in the Pacific a fleet of eight superdreadnaughts, eight battle-cruisers, and such complementary ships, bases, and stores as are necessary to support this unit. Obviously this would make Great Britain the arbiter of the Pacific—as Japan and the United States, although each maintains a more powerful fleet in those waters than the fleet of Great Britain, will never combine against the latter. In other words, the British Empire,

possessing 'the best-situated' naval bases in the Pacific, would thus be in position to determine the control of that ocean. *Le Temps* laments that, while France is absorbed in little cross-roads controversies in Upper Silesia and elsewhere, England is installing herself as 'an honest broker' on the great trade-highways and in the great commercial centres of the world. Great Britain is quite justified by her own interests and by the need of responding to public sentiment in Australasia, in placing a powerful fighting force in the Pacific. We must recall that the Empire also has a coast-line next door to us in North America.

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MARSHAL FOCH

THE London *Sunday Times* is printing, by arrangement with the publishers, a series of excerpts from a forthcoming book entitled *Makers of the New World*. Like a somewhat similar predecessor, *The Mirrors of Downing Street*, it portrays with intimate knowledge the leading figures at the Peace Conference. The following quotation from the account of Marshal Foch supplements a famous statement by that officer in an interview first published in America by the *Living Age* in February, 1920:—

An instance of the delight that Marshal Foch takes in simple things is the pleasure which he derived from learning to smoke a pipe. It was Sir Henry Wilson who first initiated him into the mysteries, in 1918. Foch had been in the habit of smoking very cheap cigars,—the sort of thing that would be termed here a 'twopenny smoke,'—and Sir Henry Wilson gave him an English pipe. Foch applied himself with as much energy and concentration to mastering it as if it had been a great attack on a German position. When Sir Henry Wilson went to see him in the middle of a great battle, he found Foch struggling with his pipe, the floor littered with spent matches. He had

not yet overcome it, and it was a great source of worry to him for some weeks.

In June, 1918, when things were going very badly for the Allies, a War Council was held at Versailles and conducted to the accompaniment of the roar of the German guns, which were at that time within forty miles of Paris. The French line had been broken, and things looked very black. Foch had been heard to say that that was the worst moment he had passed through. The old veteran withdrew from the rest of the company, and was presently seen bending down with his head shaking convulsively over his hands. Every one thought he had broken down, and someone approached him to comfort him. But on nearing him they were reassured to find that his worry came from a most desperate attempt to make his pipe draw!

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AN ARMISTICE SCANDAL

ITALIAN newspapers are featuring a most unpleasant scandal, which has resulted in the arrest of General Segre, chief of the Italian military mission in Vienna, together with thirteen other Italian officers, who are charged with misappropriation of government goods entrusted to them, and other abuses of authority. They are said to have sold supplies sent for relief use in Austria, to smugglers and profiteers; to have aided Italian profiteers to bring goods illegally, under military protection, from Italy to Austria, and to ship goods from Austria to Italy. Some Australian papers have been encouraged by this incident to charge that members of the Italian mission profited personally by excess requisitions made upon Austria over and above those authorized by the Treaty.

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A DEFEATED GENERAL'S WAR LETTERS

FRITZ VON BOLGAR, a former Hungarian cabinet officer, contributes to *Pester Lloyd* a series of articles on the late Field-Marshal Boroevics, who was

in command of the Austro-Hungarian army on the Isonzo and Piave during the war. The author quotes freely the marshal's letters from the field, which give a vivid picture of sentiment and conditions on the front at different stages of the campaign, as well as of the rivalries, dissensions, and intrigues, which seem always to have hampered the Austro-Hungarian forces. Writing in the spring of 1915, immediately after Italy entered the war and he had been appointed commander of the new Italian front, the Field-Marshal says:—

When I arrived, the words of the Bible came to my mind: 'In the beginning . . . the earth was void.' No army, no government, no motors, no telegrams, no telephones, no trenches, no barbed wire. I began the campaign against Italy by buying a lead pencil, scratch paper, and a railway map. Cadorna was awfully good. He left me absolutely at peace. Broussiloff and my other northern friends would have been at my heels in a minute. Cadorna is much more of a gentleman. We had a difficult time at the outset, but I now have things in better shape.

The correspondence then traces the varied fortunes of the Austro-Hungarian armies until the summer of 1918, when the growing shortage of supplies and munitions was undermining their morale and strength. On June 29, 1918, immediately after the last offensive the field-marshal wrote:—

In spite of numerous precise reports; they [the home government] have not the faintest conception of conditions in the army. Since the beginning of February, we have been so famished that men faint during regular manoeuvres. Even Archduke Joseph himself has been forced to listen to the pleas of the Hungarian soldiers for food. The horses are skeletons, and the artillery practically immobile. . . . The same situation prevails in Tyrol. We did not begin to receive supplies until June 8, just a week before our advance was to begin.

The spring offensive was not conducted in accordance with Boroewics's views. He opposed vigorously starting a major operation from Tyrol, against the French and English divisions, protesting to his royal superiors, 'one would never think of attacking a bull by the horns.' At eleven o'clock on the night of June 16, when Boroewics's forces were making what he considered satisfactory progress beyond the Piave, he received a telephone message from Emperor Charles, who reported in an agitated voice: 'Tyrol is defeated. The troops have lost all the ground they won this morning and have been driven back to their starting-point.' Austria's output of munitions had fallen by this time to less than five shells a gun per day, and there were supplies at the front to feed the army for only seven days.



KORFANTY AND SILESIA

VOYCIECH KORFANTY, the Polish leader who headed the recent outbreak in Upper Silesia, was formerly a member of the German Reichstag, and was rather conspicuous during the war as a defender of Polish interests in Posen. He is the son of a common miner, and was born in an industrial suburb near one of the great Silesian furnace-centres. He comes from a family notable for its German sympathies. However, Korfanty himself became a Polish political agitator before he finished his gymnasium course; and soon acquired prominence in the Polish agitation which started about twenty years ago in Upper Silesia. He is charged by his German opponents with soliciting votes from the ignorant Polish peasants by promising to obtain for each of them from the government, if he were elected, a farm, a cottage, two hogs, and a cow. This is the origin of the taunting campaign song, 'Korfanty's Cow,' now so popular among German sympathizers

in Silesia. During the war, Korfanty assisted Erzberger, who was in charge of foreign propaganda for the Germans. At this time he wrote several articles supporting the German cause, and the Berlin Foreign Office has recently made public the vouchers he signed for fees received in this service. However, Korfanty's sympathies were always Polish, and his political star rose rapidly after his native province became disputed ground between New Poland and Germany.

The Manchester *Guardian* publishes extracts from a letter written by an American lady, 'the daughter of a distinguished American diplomat still living,' now residing with her husband in Upper Silesia, describing some of the incidents attending the recent Polish uprising in that section. From this we quote the following:—

At the village of Rauden the insurgents rifled the houses of all the peasants who had voted for Germany. But there is worse. The German schoolmaster was slowly tortured in the most barbarous fashion, until death delivered him from his terrible suffering. In a neighboring village the four daughters of the schoolmaster were violated.

Have we not reason to bless forever the heroic Italians who, by the defence of Kosel, have saved us so far from these horrors, and what name can one find for the conduct of the officers of the French troops (far more numerous than the Italians), who abandoned a population whom their government had engaged, under the Versailles Treaty, to protect, to the mercy of such brigands without firing a shot in their defense?



MOSCOW'S FOREIGN INTRIGUES

La Vie Socialiste, a relatively conservative Socialist organ, publishes in full the text of an alleged secret memorandum by Chicherin, the Bolshevik Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, to the representatives of the Russian govern-

ment abroad, under the date of February 6, 1921. Its general tenor is diametrically opposite to Chicherin's pacifist professions on other occasions. The following quotations sufficiently indicate this:—

While engaged in our policy of preparation, we must take advantage of any nationalist conflict which may arise. . . . Hungary's hatred of its neighbors may precipitate an armed conflict involving Italy and may thereby start another general European war. . . . Our representatives abroad should seek to aggravate existing controversies between nations. . . . If a war occurs, it will strengthen us, but it may not ensure our complete success. . . . If matters in Europe begin to ease up, we must concentrate attention upon the Balkan Peninsula, and try to encircle the Near East. . . . However, this is not theoretically the best policy for us because such a conquest may be localized, and instead of acting as a detonator for a general war may serve merely to clear the atmosphere. . . . Our secret agents are actively at work in Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, the Constantinople district, and Yugoslavia. . . . But as I have said, there is danger that the Great Powers will localize the conquest. . . . Our situation is prejudiced just now by Germany's indifference to the Near Eastern situation and America's neutral attitude. . . . Our task should be to embroil the English and French and the French and the Italians.

GENERAL SUCHOMLINOFF AGAIN

GENERAL SUCHOMLINOFF, the former Russian Minister of War, whose trial in 1917 attracted world-wide attention, is now living quietly in Dresden. He recently gave an interview to a correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in that city, in which he says that he never sympathized with Great Britain. He stated that Buchanan, the British Ambassador in Petrograd, made the round

of the Russian authorities, seeking a Russian army corps for service in England. He now believes that an alliance of Russia with Germany and France would have prevented the war. He reasserts what seems now to be generally recognized, that Russia was the first of the great powers involved in the war to order a general mobilization. He was sentenced to life imprisonment as a result of the trial in 1917, but was released by the Bolsheviks when they granted amnesty to all tsarist prisoners more than sixty years old. Suchomlinoff has written two volumes of personal memoirs, and is now negotiating for their publication in Germany.



JAPAN AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING the example of Great Britain, the Japanese government shows a disposition to recede from its engagements regarding workers' welfare legislation at the International Labor Conference at Washington. Bills for carrying out the decision of the Conference have been delayed, and it is argued that the new laws will impose an outlay of about twenty-five million dollars on the government. *Yomiuri* informs its readers that a draft of the proposed legislation will be submitted to the privy council within the period of eighteen months agreed upon at the Conference. This period expires next July. This decision of referring the subject to the privy council is regarded as an endeavor to pigeon-hole the whole project, and the friends of such legislation are urging that it be submitted to Parliament, where it will receive some publicity. *Yomiuri* says, 'It is cunning of Premier Hara to shift the responsibility for the repudiation of this labor legislation to the shoulders of the privy council.'

A RESURRECTED ARMY

BY MARIE, QUEEN OF RUMANIA

[The following pages have been selected by the Queen of Rumania from a journal which she kept during the war. They describe the hardships and sufferings of the Rumanian army during the tragic days when it was forced to retreat before the German-Bulgarian forces under Mackensen, and to take refuge in Moldavia.]

From *La Revue de Paris*, June 1

(INDEPENDENT LITERARY AND POLITICAL SEMI-MONTHLY)

WHENEVER my mind turns back to these last two years, pictures innumerable defile before my eyes — pictures of war, with their quick alternations of horror and of hope. There are enough of them to fill volumes; and some day I may try to write them. To-day, the incidents are still too recent. They lack the perspective of time. I must first let them clarify and crystallize.

But now I turn for a moment and look back over the path I have just trod. It is a dark and thorny one. Why not select a few of the pictures left by the chaos, the suffering of these two years, which still make my heart shudder, and perhaps will thrill yours? Certain of them weigh heavily on my memory; and when my hair is white, I shall still recall them with terror and with agony.

Snow and cold and mud and misery, endless highways, converted by the constant passage of armies into a bottomless mire which no vehicle can pass. Here and there, lost in this desolation, little villages, where our soldiers fall exhausted in miserable huts, which are the only shelter offered them in their precipitate retreat. Such suffering, such a seemingly endless night of horror, that it always seems to me I ought not to recall it except on my knees, my face buried in my hands, petitioning God for these humble human beings con-

demned to death without glory, buried without priest or prayer — men who had as much right to live as you and I, yet were doomed to die in the midst of horrors unrelieved by one single moment of respite or solace.

History had told us before what a winter retreat means. We had imagined men in tattered uniforms, staggering on, half-frozen, through the soft snow, pursued by the blasts of winter and by terror, fixing their haggard gaze upon a horizon which they know they will never reach. We had seen in imagination the long roads along which they struggled, and here and there by the wayside little heaps vaguely resembling human forms half-covered with the snow, where gaunt crows keep sinister guard. Scenes of this sort had been painted, had been described by poets. When in our childhood we heard such stories told, we never really believed them, but thought they were nightmare tales. Who fancied that such things would ever come into our sheltered lives, where what we fancied was that a higher civilization had provided us many sanctuaries of comfort and well-being! It took the war to demolish all these shelters, to which we were accustomed, and to carry us back with brutal suddenness to times and experiences we had fancied past forever. The night-