THE LIVING AGE

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A WEEK OF THE WORLD

DÍSARMAMENT IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE South-American press was preoccupied during the middle weeks of
December with an unanticipated proposal addressed by the new administration in Brazil, which apparently desired to make a striking demonstration
of its antimilitary sympathies, to the
Governments of Argentina and Chile.
This note suggested that these three
Powers meet at Valparaiso before the
Pan-American Congress, summoned for
March 25, to discuss disarmament, and
'to reach some just and practicable
agreement to prevent an increase of
military budgets.'

Brazil has for some time past been rapidly strengthening her land and sea forces. It will be recalled that the reorganization of the navy has recently been undertaken with the aid of a special Naval Commission from the United States. Most of the Brazilian troops are concentrated in the district south of Rio de Janeiro; and the last administration in Brazil was so thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of preparedness that it was accused of aggressive designs against its neighbors.

While Argentina, who considered herself threatened by these measures, probably has a better naval base than Brazil, and possesses certain other ad-

vantages for both land and sea operations, she believes herself temporarily · inferior in respect to armaments to her northern neighbor. Therefore the Government refused the invitation to a Valparaiso conference, suspecting apparently that it was designed to perpetuate the status quo, thus preserving for Brazil her present assumed superiority. The published reason for Argentina's refusal was that the issues it was proposed to discuss could be better discussed at the Pan-American Conference, where all - or nearly all - the Governments of South America, as well as those of North America, will be represented.

The incident, which has many details and ramifications that need not be alluded to here, is mainly interesting to the people of our country as suggesting the presence of national rivalries in South America that are likely to become more intense with the development of that continent and the growth of wealth and population in competing territories, unless some prophylaxis against the infection of war fever is discovered.

POLAND'S NEW PRESIDENT

Poland's recent tragedy — the assassination of her first President —

seems to have relieved the political tension that for a moment threatened domestic peace. His successor, President Stanislaw Wojcechowski, although a Pilsudski man and a radical, has been accepted with an approach to cordiality by his opponents, and conservative journals profess confidence in his impartiality and wisdom.

The new President received one hundred and forty-six votes in the previous election. He is an intimate friend of Pilsudski, and was his colleague on the editorial staff of the Labor paper Robotnik for several years. Later he was a trade-union leader. During the war, he resided in Russia, where he was active as a champion of Polish rights. He was a member of the Paderewski Cabinet, and was elected to the present Parliament as a representative of the Peasant Party.

Upon taking office, the new Executive published the following appeal to the country:—

The assassination of our President has cast gloom over the Polish people. Hatred and discord are threatening the peace of our family circles, and the existence of the State. Therefore I appeal to God and to the Polish nation for power and support: that He may remove the evil passions that crept into our hearts during our period of servitude; that we may be made worthy of our ancestors, and may fulfill the duty that they bequeathed us, of creating a united and powerful country. Our most urgent needs are a permanent government and a budget fully met by current taxes. To attain these we must have the united support of the whole nation; for no genius, no dictator, can achieve them without the aid of the people as a whole. Therefore I appeal to you for unity, in the name of the welfare of the Polish Republic.

LABOR VICTORIES IN AUSTRALIA

AT the last Parliamentary elections, Labor gains in Australia and New Zealand deprived the war Premiers, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Massey, of their majority. This leaves General Smuts the only one of the old Dominion prime ministers still in office; and he faces a powerful combination that may speedily bring about his fall.

Mr. Massey had been Premier of New Zealand for ten years. His Party in Parliament has been reduced from fifty to thirty-eight members, whereas his Liberal-Labor opponents now have forty-two votes.

Mr. Hughes returns to the Federal Parliament at Melbourne with only twenty-seven followers. Labor will have twenty-eight members, and the Liberal and Country Parties twenty members, in the new House. The Australian press takes the view that this result shows that Mr. Hughes is no longer wanted, and it is predicted that a new coalition or a minority Labor Cabinet will succeed him.

The Labor Party and the Country Party are equally hostile to Mr. Hughes, but are hardly likely to unite on a single Cabinet platform. Laborists are opposed to state-aided immigration, especially at a time when the Commonwealth is suffering from an unemployment crisis, and the cultivated area has decreased within five years from over eighteen million acres to about fifteen million acres. The Party also proposes to repeal the compulsory-service clause in the Australian Defense Act, and to reduce military expenditures in general. On the question of imperial relations the party is very radical. It protests that the Commonwealth Government should not be bound by decisions of the Imperial Cabinet.

M. DARIAC AND THE RUHR

M. Adrien Dariac, extracts from whose secret report advocating the

seizure of the Ruhr, in order to prevent German competition with France and to assure the payment of Reparations, we published in our issue of December 2, has written a preface to a book by M. L. Coupaye, entitled La Ruhr et l'Allemagne, in which he says:—

At all costs, we must retain our potential means of action against the Germany of industrial production, which even now is completing its organization. To-day we can either destroy it, or, by controlling it, bend it to our uses. Germany feels the weight of this constant menace; and it is possible that the necessity of ridding itself of the Shirt of Nessus may prompt the German Government, counseled and aided by the most interested parties, to put forward proposals of such a nature as will give France temporary satisfaction.

M. Dariac again points out that France can now cut off raw materials from Germany's industrial establishments outside the territory occupied by her troops. He recommends a customs barrier between the occupied territory and the remainder of Germany. He further argues that the French Government should collect a share of the profits on the industrial establishments within her jurisdiction.

Frankfurter Zeitung recently published statistics showing that more than two billion marks have been spent by the French military authorities, in six towns alone in the Palatinate, for barracks and parade grounds, in spite of the ample military equipment previously provided by the German Imperial Government. These figures are calculated in marks before that monetary unit depreciated to its present low value. Naturally this sum is to be paid by Germany. The same journal publishes a list with full details of seventeen cases of criminal assault committed upon Germans by Moroccan colored troops in the occupied territory during three months last summer.

UNREST IN EGYPT

WITHIN the past year fourteen anti-British outrages, involving nineteen victims and nine deaths, have occurred in Egypt, and this campaign of assassination has reached a point where the British Government has been forced to act. Lord Allenby issued a proclamation on January 1, deploring the campaign in the press and elsewhere 'to poison the minds of Egyptians against Great Britain and to foster hatred of Englishmen.'

At the same time Egyptian Nationalists are demanding still fuller control over their own affairs. At a recent mass-meeting in Cairo they adopted the following resolution:—

- 1. We protest energetically against the continued exile of Said Pasha Zagloul and his loyal friends; we demand that he be set at liberty immediately, with the members of the Wafd who are now in prison or under detention.
- 2. We protest against the continuance of martial law and demand its immediate abrogation.
- 3. We demand the immediate promulgation of the Constitution carrying out the demands of the people.
- 4. We demand for Egypt representation at the Lausanne Conference by a delegation elected by the people.

Two rival Egyptian delegations actually presented themselves at the Lausanne Conference: one representing the Zagloul Party and the other the Watanist or Old Extremist Party.

INDIA'S NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE Indian National Congress, a veteran voluntary organization for promoting self-government in India, met in the old city of Gaya late in December. The presiding officer, Mr. C. R. Das, a former disciple of Gandhi, has been converted, as have many Indian

patriots, to the doctrine of active participation in the new Government bodies now open to natives, in order that these may be used as a political weapon to wrest further concessions from the British Government. This so-called Das-Nehru programme, from the names of its principal advocates, has strong backing in India.

However, the Gandhi element is numerous and active, though naturally weakened by the imprisonment of its leader. Furthermore, the Mohammedans oppose coöperating in any way with the Government so long as the question of the Caliphate remains unsettled.

The Congress decided not to recommend a boycott of foreign goods. A proposal to coöperate with the British administration by taking part in next year's elections to the Legislative Councils was defeated by 1750 votes to 890. The English press reports that the more intelligent and progressive members of the Congress voted with the minority, and that the majority consisted of fanatical adherents of Gandhi. One of the final acts of the Congress was to adopt a motion appealing for army volunteers and contributions of money 'to prepare the country to launch civil disobedience,' and another notifying the world that when India acquires an independent government she will not accept responsibility for any public debts incurred subsequent to the date of the Congress.

A BOLSHEVIST TEXTBOOK

THE Soviet Government has created a Special All-Russian Commission for Combating Illiteracy. This body has issued a propaganda textbook entitled, Down with Illiteracy! ABC for Grown-ups, especially intended for the instruction of the working classes. On the cover page is a picture representing a classroom, with a copy of the official

Bolshevist journal Pravda hanging upon the blackboard and a gray-haired peasant pupil reciting to a teacher who is apparently a crippled Red Guard. The first lesson begins: 'We are no slaves. — We are no lords.' On every page are laudatory passages praising the Soviet Government: 'The Soviets are the people's alarm bell'; 'the Soviets bear freedom to the world.' Interspersed with these peans, however, are pointed allusions to the distress of the people - 'Thou hast not enough to eat, but thou art no slave'; 'We are given factories, but there is no work, there is no ore, there is no fuel'; 'We are given fields, but there are no ploughs and spades.' The volume concludes with a workingmen's anthem beginning: - :

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Ours is the power, ours is the authority, ours the might!

The Conservative Berlin daily *Dni* informs us that the melancholy, long-drawn-out Russian folk-song of tradition has been displaced since the Revolution by 'snappy, lively quatrains, usually called *chastushki*,' which are similar to the topical improvizations of the peasants of Southern Europe. They deal with current conditions and local incidents. Rather significantly, they almost invariably criticize the existing Government. A free translation of some of the more quotable follows:—

Lenin, Trotskii, Lunacharskii, And Zinoviev with Kolontai, Roam through the villages and shout: 'Give! Give! Give!'

Lenin asked Trotskii:
'Where did you get that hay?'
Trotskii answered Lenin:
'I took it from the peasants.'

I'm sitting on a barrel Under it is a jug of wine. My husband is a Commissar And I'm a profiteer! Make merry, deserters!
The war will soon end.
Lenin and Trotskii have been hanged
And Kolchak has lost his mind.

There are also parodies of 'The International':—

No one shall bring us our salvation, No God, no Tsar, no hero great. We shall distill without their aid Our moonshine consolation!

ITALIAN REFORMS

Mussolini, according to newspaper reports, contemptuously dismissed the objection that his Government does not rest upon the free will of the people expressed without duress, by saying that this is immaterial so long as three hundred thousand armed Italians stand ready to obey his command. A conference of Fascisti leaders has approved the following measures:—

The militant Fascisti groups are formally and legally placed under Mussolini's personal command, as part of the public forces.

The Premier shall fix the date of the next elections as his judgment dictates; and he shall 'reform' the electoral law so as to substitute a majority system for the present system of proportional representation, which is not favorable to party dictatorship.

Armed with this authority, Mussolini rejected the plan of uniting with the General Labor Federation and the independent trade unions desired by D'Annunzio. He proposes to tolerate no rivals. D'Annunzio now plans to publish a newspaper against the existing Government.

For a very brief period after the Fascisti seized power the public, which saw in that event principally the crushing of Bolshevism, subordinated party differences in a common acceptance of the new régime. Gradually, however, old political divisions are beginning to reassert themselves.

The Popular or Catholic Party, which won a striking success at the last election, sending one of the strongest delegations to the Lower House, views with dislike Mussolini's proposal to abolish proportional representation. The four factions of the Democratic Party are equally opposed to the proiected change. Newspapers have recently announced the impending fusion of the Fascisti Party and the Nation-This will obviate the alist Party. possibility of armed conflicts between the military organizations of these parties — the Fascisti Black Shirts and the Nationalist Blue Shirts. But such alliances, strengthening as they do the armed supremacy of the Fascisti, are viewed with alarm by many as threatening still further the principle of constitutional government.

Le Temps summarizes as follows what Mussolini's new Government has accomplished up to date.

In less than a month it has floated a seven-year Treasury loan for a billion lire and has begun to place a second billion for which subscriptions are now being received. So much for the Treasury.

In order to augment its revenues, the Government has courageously gone to work to collect the full taxes levied upon agricultural profits and to extend those collections to salaries. In order to reduce expenses, the Treasury Department and the Finance Department have been united. The War Office has abolished, for example, its Colonial Bureau. A plan is under way to reduce the number of railway employees, which has increased since the beginning of the war, by forty or fifty thousand men. A curious tax of something over \$2.00 a hundredweight on flour, even when ground from grain admitted free of duty, has been abolished.

Measures have been taken to check the deceptions practised upon Italian emigrants bound for South America by certain colonization companies and agents.

Naturally this vigorous policy has its critics. The agricultural Confederation objects to paying heavier taxes. Some of the Fascisti militants have been growing factious, and certain of their organizations have been dissolved and their leaders dismissed.

The amalgamation of the Black Shirts and the Blue Shirts, to which we have just referred, has not proceeded smoothly; and the Fascisti at Naples have openly rebelled against this measure. The Fiume Legionaries, or the Sempre Pronti, are reported to have been dissolved.

An arrangement has been made reducing railway rates from Czechoslovakia to Trieste sixty per cent. The abolition of the Royal Guards and of unnecessary Government Bureaus, according to the London *Telegraph*, 'will mean a saving to the State of several billions annually and probably a better and more expeditious service.'

BRITISH RAILWAY FUSION

GREAT BRITAIN, like the United States, faces the problem of reorganizing its transportation system along lines of cooperation rather than competition. Both countries are merely following the example of Germany, which has amalgamated the older State railway systems into a Commonwealth system since the new constitution went into effect. The British Railway Act of 1921 will reduce the 125 railway companies of Great Britain, with their corresponding number of chief offices and multitude of directors, to four railway companies with four general managers or presidents, namely: the Southern Railway Company, operating 2129 miles of road: the Great Western Railway Company, operating 3753 miles;

the London, Midland and Scottish Railway Company, operating 7460 miles; and the London and North-Eastern Railway Company, operating 6464 miles.

Simultaneously, a scale of revised and reduced fares and freight rates is to be introduced. The lowering on long-distance journeys will be very considerable. Simultaneously, however, there have been reductions in the pay of railway employees. It is also anticipated that there will be extensive electrification, especially of the suburban lines, in the near future.

MINOR NOTES

Det Nye Nord, a new inter-Scandinavian review printed in Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian, discusses Norway's population problem. During the latterhalf of the nineteenth century, half a million emigrants left that country, mostly for the United States. Between 1901 and 1910, again, the departures exceeded the normal growth of the population. Although the percentage of the population engaged in agricultural pursuits is higher in Norway than in Denmark, yet agricultural products form one of Denmark's principal exports, while they constitute one of Norway's principal imports. This is due to the superior fertility of the soil in Denmark. Consequently, if Norway's children are to be kept under her own flag, the additional employment for their support must come through the development of manufacturing and maritime industries. However, even assuming a rapid increase in hydroelectric development and other favorable conditions, there is no immediate prospect that Norway will be able to find work for all her people at home. 'Like the rest of Europe, she must regard her greatest task the exploitation of the huge wealth of oversea countries.

MEMORIES OF MY LIFE

BY GIOVANNI GIOLITTI

[Giolitti wrote the last page of his memoirs at his favorite residence at Cavour, near the foot of the Alps, last October, just as he was completing his eightieth year. The two volumes of more than 600 pages are the most notable work of this character that has appeared in Italy. Entering Parliament in 1882, he rapidly rose in public life, serving as Minister of the Treasury under Crispi in 1889, and subsequently holding the Premiership on six different occasions. We print below extracts dealing mainly with events immediately preceding Italy's entering the war.]

From La Stampa, December 16 (Turin Giolitti Daily)

CRISPI

HE was unquestionably an ardent patriot who had high ambitions for Italy, and wished to guide her to ever greater fortunes. He was a man of immense energy, and of a broad and ready mind, with a very clear idea of his general programme; but he was inattentive to details and executive measures. . . . His impatience and dislike of examining a subject exhaustively sometimes led him into absurd errors.

I recall in this connection an extraordinary incident. I was on a summer vacation at my country place at Cavour, when he telegraphed me to return to Rome without delay. As soon as I arrived, I hastened to his office. He blurted out without any preliminary explanation that we must expect an immediate French attack upon Spezia.

'What!' I ejaculated. 'Are we at war with France? Have we declared war against France?'

'No,' he answered. 'France is preparing to take us by surprise, by an assault, and it is imminent.'

I replied that I did not believe a word of it, and gave him my reasons. Among other things, it was incompre-

hensible why France, who possessed a fleet three times as strong as ours, should incur the odium of such a brutal violation of international law as to attack us without cause. But the Premier was set in his opinion. He refused to doubt it for a moment, and insisted I should give him my full support. Naturally I did this out of loyalty to him as my chief, so far as my functions as Minister of the Treasury demanded. Crispi had notified England, who sent an Admiral to Genoa to make a public address, in which he dwelt upon the common interests of England and Italy in the Mediterranean.

Later, when I was Premier and Minister of the Interior, I discovered that Crispi's astounding information had come from an agent of his at the Vatican. He had accepted it uncritically, without taking the slightest pains to verify it.

EMPEROR WILLIAM

In 1903 Emperor William visited King Victor Emmanuel at Rome. I had already become well acquainted with Emperor William during my Ministry ten years before, when he made a visit to King Humbert. On that occasion I accompanied him to