

resistance to an eventual effort to bring back the old régime? Many fear that they will not. No matter whether the future emperor is to be the Crown Prince or his oldest son, Friedrich Wilhelm, there is good reason to fear that the Republic is staggering toward its end. Unless the clamorous cam-

paign against Weimar and Versailles, in which all the pent-up madness of Pan-Germanism is finding vent, is speedily checked by moral and material forces in Germany and abroad, it threatens a new era of disaster in Europe and new delusions and new disasters for the *Reich*.

## THE COLLAPSE OF REACTION

### A HISTORIC REICHSTAG SESSION

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YESTERDAY witnessed the most dramatic session that the German Reichstag ever held. The cleverest theatrical art could not have raised interest to an intenser climax. Up to the last instant the outcome of the balloting that was to determine the fate of the Railway Law, and with it of the whole Dawes Plan, hung in the balance.

During the recess of an hour and a half between the conclusion of the debate on the third reading and the beginning of the balloting, the German Nationalists held a party caucus. They did not appear in the corridors of the Reichstag until just before the opening of the afternoon session. People were conjecturing how they would vote on the Railway Law up to the minute the ballots were cast. We must give them credit for keeping their counsels well, since only a few initiated had learned when the session bell rang the secret decision they had reached.

At half-past two the session opened. In a few minutes the Chamber was crowded. Scarcely a score of delegates, equally divided among the dif-

ferent parties, were absent. Everyone watched with strained interest the entrance of the German Nationalists. Would they appear in full force, or had a portion of the delegation received orders to absent itself? Scarcely an empty seat was left in their section. A certain atmosphere of decision was visible in their ranks. Only the German People's Party, still farther to the Right, seemed to have caught wind of something. It was rumored, at least, that they had brought a rocking-horse which they planned solemnly to present to the leader of the German Nationalists, after the vote on the Railway Law was taken.

The President rang his bell and instantly the room was abnormally still. Herr Wallraff stated in a matter-of-fact way the order of business for the session. A vote would first be taken upon the amendments, followed by a roll call on the third reading. Not until then would a final vote be taken upon the laws in the sequence in which they stood on the orders of the day. The Railway Law occupied seventh place.

The Communists had moved a vote by ballot on most of the laws; the Social Democrats on the Railway Law. Five minutes after three the first balloting began, upon the Bank Law. In this instance, as in case of their other motions, the Communists had the support of the German People's Party in their demand for individual balloting. Their leaders, Herr Höllein and Herr Koenen, and also — on the anniversary of Tannenberg! — Herr Ludendorff, rose to support the motion. Ironical huzzas from the Centre Parties greeted this evidence of harmonious understanding between the Radicalinskis of the Right and the Left. Fifteen minutes later the result of the first ballot was announced. For a moment the President's voice was drowned by the hum of conversation, and he was obliged to repeat: 'Four hundred and thirty-three ballots have been cast, of which 259 are in the affirmative and 172 in the negative, with two abstaining.'

The House was not much interested in the fact that the Bank Law had been adopted. A straight majority was assured beforehand for all the laws. But hundreds of pencils were immediately busy figuring how many votes were lacking for a two-thirds majority. It worked out thirty-one. Would the German Nationalists give that many affirmative votes, or withdraw a corresponding number of members from the floor when the decisive ballot came?

Meanwhile that delegation presented a strikingly lively scene. Most of the members rose and disappeared in the corridors. Those who remained in the Chamber stuck their heads together and whispered in little groups. Their whip, Representative Schulz-Bromberg, distributed last-minute instructions. Count Westarp, their leader, rushed hither and thither.

Party managers held hurried conferences. The number of vacancies in their section suddenly became noticeable. But the next ballot showed that 435 had voted, or two more than for the Bank Law. During each following ballot the German Nationalist leaders kept running nervously to and fro between the Chamber and the corridors with obviously increasing agitation, and the formation of little knots and circles became livelier. The nearer the decisive ballot approached the clearer it was that the party machinery was working overtime, instructing members how to vote and ensuring enough affirmative ballots to guarantee the necessary two-thirds majority for the Railway Law.

At four o'clock balloting upon the law relating to industrial securities was under way. The number of votes cast rose to 438. In the midst of almost audible silence the President then announced: 'We shall now proceed to vote upon the Railway Law.'

The full German Nationalist delegation was again in its seats. The tellers, accompanied by the pages carrying the ballot boxes, descended from the platform to receive the ballots. Every eye was fixed on the German Nationalist benches. The first to vote were Representatives Schulz-Bromberg and Dr. Quaatz, who occupy the two seats in the first row. Both deposited red ballots. Nothing was visible in the hands of their colleagues but red ballots, and to look at them at that moment a spectator would suppose that the Party intended to vote unanimously in the negative. Dr. Hergt in the second row deposited his ballot — red. Count Westarp in the third row — red. But in that row we caught a glimpse of the first white — affirmative — ballot. Admiral von Tirpitz cast it. A white raven? Even yet, however, the only ballots visible in the

raised hands of this section were red. The teller with his page had reached the sixth or seventh row. Again a white ballot, but followed immediately by red, red, red. So, only one or two votes in the affirmative.

By this time the teller had already reached the last of the German Nationalist seats. It was remarkable how thickly the members of the Party had clustered there, just behind the back benches in the clear passageway. Several German Nationalist Representatives, who only a moment before had stood up in front flourishing red ballots, dropped their hands behind the bench backs and — miraculous prestidigitation — slipped white ballots into the box. A symphony of white suddenly fluttered into that receptacle from the background of the German Nationalist section. White ballots, hitherto concealed, twinkled like a flurry of chasing snowflakes — white, white, white.

Great excitement was manifested on the benches of the German People's Party and the Communist Party. Their members jeered shrilly at the German Nationalists, who sat embarrassed and downcast without replying. How many white ballots had they cast? The thing was done too quickly to keep track. It was clear that the Party management had ordered a large fraction of its delegation to vote in the affirmative. But were there enough? The balloting seemed to be over. But just then the German People's delegation goose-stepped up to the teller's table to cast its votes. A demonstration? No. The teller had merely over-

looked them, and they now made haste to correct the oversight.

Ballots were stacked to the right and the left of the President and counted. In the previous votes those on the President's right were almost all red with a very few white exceptions. This time the red and white seemed about equal. The ten minutes it took to count them were like eternity. Would there be the two-thirds majority? Or would there not? It might hang on a single vote. The President figured and figured, and finally rose to announce the result. He began, rather to the annoyance of his tense-nerved listeners, by reciting very deliberately: 'The Reichstag has at the present time 466 members entitled to vote. Under the requirements of the Constitution, therefore, 311 members must cast their ballots. Actually 441 ballots have been cast. Therefore 294 are necessary for a two-thirds majority. There have voted in the affirmative 314 . . .'

Pandemonium broke loose. The Communists booed at the German Nationalists. The Social Democrats answered with mocking catcalls; the German People's Party delegation hooted and shrieked. But the German Nationalists sat quietly in their seats and made no response. The noise was so great that the President could not make himself heard to announce the remainder of the result. Several minutes elapsed before he was able to continue: '. . . and 127 Representatives have voted in the negative. Consequently the Railway Law has been adopted by the necessary two-thirds majority.'

# AMERICA IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS

BY E. GOMEZ DE BAQUERO

From *El Sol*, August 29  
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[THIS article was suggested by the publication of a work by Professor Camilo Barcia Trelles upon the foreign policy of the United States, of which we give bibliographical data under Books Mentioned. The work itself is the result of the establishment at the University of Valladolid of a *Sección de estudios americanistas* devoted to instruction and research in American affairs.]

THE foreign policy of the United States is an aspect of that country's national life that throws into relief the fact that the nation is still in the formative period of its existence. That country is like a colossal, heroic statue still rough-hewn, to which the sculptor Time has not given its finished form and pediment. Therefore it seems a land of contradictions, as is quite natural, for its people are of recent origin, have multiplied with amazing rapidity, and have made history at dizzy speed, but their constituent elements are still melting in the crucible. That explains why this great Democracy, which still retains the Puritan traits of the Pilgrim Fathers, is afflicted with gross political and financial corruption; why a pacifist population endowed with a vast wealth of natural resources shows an imperialist appetite abroad; why a society cherishing high ideals of Christian conduct and justice tolerates the barbarous custom of lynching and produces a secret organization like the Ku Klux Klan, which descends to the practices of savages under its grotesque masquerade. Let

us add, in all fairness, that lynchings are decreasing and that a powerful reaction is evident against the Ku Klux Klan and in favor of the liberalism and tolerance on which American Democracy is founded.

During the World War the policy of the United States was vacillating and irresolute. It could not be otherwise, in view of America's dislike of meddling with European affairs and the large Germanic element in her population. Material motives were also present, for the war was enriching the Americans, who had become great providers of munitions and supplies to the belligerents. Had it not been for Germany's submarine campaign, the Washington Government would probably have kept out of the conflict. When the nation did make up its mind, it acted with extraordinary decision and vigor, and quickly demonstrated the tremendous latent military power possessed by a highly developed industrial country. The world should not have been surprised at this, for it only had to recall the gigantic military improvisation achieved by the same people in their War of Secession.

America inundated Europe with munitions and soldiers. Her people showed remarkable maritime skill in handling the movement of troops across the Atlantic. They exhibited marked common-sense when their army took the field by accepting, far more readily than did England, the advice and direction of the veteran military experts of France for their raw recruits.