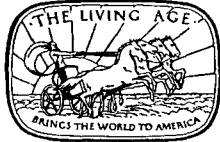


# THE LIVING AGE

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## A WEEK OF THE WORLD

### DIPLOMACY OR DENTISTRY?

HAS the action of the United States at Tacna-Arica, like the efforts of most peacemakers, resulted only in 'complicating the fight'? That question irresistibly obtrudes itself with the return of General Pershing to Washington. To be sure, a date has been set for the plebiscite in the disputed territories. But the preliminary arrangements for holding it are apparently in abeyance, and dissensions in the Commission and local recriminations among the contending parties have probably been more acute than the American public realizes.

It might have been better if the American representatives and the Chilean authorities had concluded arrangements satisfactory to both parties for securing the safety and non-molestation of Peruvian voters before any attempt was made to bring the latter back to the lost provinces. As it is, the period during which the Commission has been in session has witnessed what appears to have been a reign of violence and intimidation by the Chileans over those

Peruvians who ventured to return, and aggravating reprisals by the latter against the Chileans themselves. General Pershing has offended Chile by insisting that the balloting be postponed until an election can be held under as fair conditions as an ordinary election in the United States. Unfortunately that is not too common in many parts of Latin America, even where issues of far less importance and free from international animosities are at stake.

Quite apart from the inescapable difficulties inherent in the situation, which were perhaps insurmountable from the outset, our handling of affairs has not been altogether tactful. Peru was permitted to employ American plebiscite advisers whose nationality and sex were from the very beginning an offense to the Chileans and aroused suspicion of our Commission's partiality in the minds of the mob, if not of responsible officials. It would have been far better had the Peruvian staff consisted entirely of neutral Europeans or of representatives from some Latin-American country entirely unconcerned in the controversy. We hesitate,

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without further information, to cite certain other complaints against our people. Senator Edwards, the Chilean member of the Commission, in a speech whose publication caused a furor in South America and brought a rebuke from General Pershing, was most outspoken in his condemnation of some of the American observers. Among other things he said:—

I am bound to declare that these are men wholly unfitted for the task which was assigned to them. They form, moreover, an organization created by the President himself, since there is no mention made of it in the Award. They are men who, knowing nothing of the language, have fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. They have never requested the assistance of Chileans in making these investigations. The conduct, in particular, of Messrs. K— and D— is abominable, and the honor of my country cannot be delivered into their hands. Recruited from the Canal Zone, among vulgar people, they cannot judge or destroy the reputation of trusted officials or of the *carabineros*, who are carefully selected men.

But it is Peru rather than Chile that has the sympathy of South America, if we may judge from those specimens of press opinion that reach our desk. *O Jornal*, a leading daily of Rio de Janeiro, said in condemning the speech by ex-President Alessandri that we published in our issue of January 9: 'From the beginning to the end it is characterized by a violent and demagogic spirit clearly designed to arouse public hostility and to create obstacles for the North American delegation. Dr. Alessandri not only suggests war, but he predicts it in case the plebiscite goes against Chile.'

It is not surprising, therefore, to hear it rumored that the plebiscite may be canceled — and a settlement sought by less popular but more orthodox diplomatic devices.

#### DISARMAMENT SKEPTICS

EUROPE watches with some reserve the preparations for the coming Disarmament Conference at Geneva. *Le Temps* credits the representatives of the League having the matter in hand with certain accomplishments: 'The problem has been clearly defined. All of its aspects have been presented to the world. We are shown that its solution must depend absolutely in one form or another upon the guaranty of general security. Disarmament will be a snare and a delusion as long as any Power can, under any conceivable conditions, put in the field forces superior to those which the League of Nations has at its command for punishing an aggressor. Unless we are positive that a conference for the limitation of armaments will proceed on this principle, unless we start out by assuring the immediate and adequate security of any country exposed to aggression, it will be better not to start a debate that under present conditions will only excite new international irritation.' General Fonville, writing in *La France Militaire*, — not as a professed pacifist, — thus summarizes the situation:—

Champions of general disarmament — or, to put it more exactly, of the limitation of armaments — tell us: 'First disarm and you will by that very measure assure peace.' That is the thesis of Ramsay MacDonald and of many Americans. France replies: 'No. You confuse cause and effect. We must first lay a firm foundation for peace by guaranteeing beyond all risk the safety of every nation; then each government will naturally cut down its burdensome armaments.' Now can we honestly say that peace stands on unshakable foundations to-day? Have we entered upon an era of unquestionable security? I do not believe we have. In truth, we have merely begun to move in that direction, and almost everything still remains to be done. Some argue: 'The Locarno Pact sufficiently guarantees

security to enable us to limit armaments with confidence.' That has not been proved. Undoubtedly the Pact is an excellent thing. It has created a new atmosphere in one part of Europe. It has relieved tension, and has substituted mutual comprehension for hatred and distrust. But merely signing a pact does not ensure indefinite peace. It is but a beginning. Only experience can tell whether we are actually on the road to that grand objective.

The Tory *Morning Post* agrees with this view, and considers it 'peculiarly illogical to suppose that the nations will lay aside their arms until they receive some substantial assurance of security.' That assurance is not to be found in disbanding a few regiments and abolishing a few warships. 'It must consist in the gradually acquired conviction that the causes of war, both spiritual and material, no longer exist.' Furthermore, this journal points out, the Locarno Treaty itself assumes the existence of armaments. 'That guaranty consists of a pledge to use armed forces in case of necessity. Nevertheless, it is continually represented that the Treaty of Locarno is the first step toward disarmament. How, then, can disarmament be reconciled with the maintenance of the guaranty, whose validity depends solely upon force?'

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#### POLITICS OF RUBBER

AMERICAN protests against the Stevenson scheme, by which British interests control the price of rubber, are not particularly welcome to anyone in Great Britain — unless it be a few large rubber-users who find present prices detrimental to their business. Naturally British Imperialists who have watched the recent prosperity of the United States with a not altogether unenvious eye rejoice in this opportunity to make us contribute to England's national purse. Even Man-

chester school free-traders, who ordinarily would be hostile on principle to artificial restraints of trade, take grim satisfaction in seeing the screws put on our own country. The *Westminster Gazette*, while describing the Stevenson plan as 'sheer protection,' thus chides our country for protesting against it:—

As a protective scheme we can feel little sympathy with the Stevenson plan, but America is the last country to raise any objection. Is it altogether unreasonable, according to American economic thought, that when the rubber-growers find tenpence a pound too little to pay them they should so arrange the land under cultivation that a better price will be forthcoming? Don't the American cotton-growers act on this principle? The livelihood of millions of English people depends on the price of cotton, but we have not complained of the unfairness of the American cotton-growers. And American wheat, upon which not merely our livelihood but our life depends? Do we complain when, as last year, wheat touches famine prices? And yet one might make out a case for complaint if America were, like ourselves, overburdened with debt and actually making a huge yearly payment to the country in whose hands lies the control of these necessities. But when record-breaking dividends are announced by the American companies, the largest of all being a motor company; when at the same time it is announced that the taxpayer is to be relieved to the extent of sixty-five million pounds, one begins to wonder if the United States is not losing its sense of humor.

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#### SHIFTING FORCES IN ARABIA

WHEN Ibn Saud, Sultan of Nejd and leader of the Wahabis, occupied Medina last month he became undisputed master of the holy land of Islam. His followers are the stern, uncorrupted puritans of that faith. They aspire to be the regenerators of the Moslem world. Possibly visions of renewing the wider conquests of the Prophet and his

followers hover at times in the mind of the new master of Mekka. But he is in touch with delegations from Egypt, Persia, and Moslem India, from all creeds and sects of the faithful, and also with representatives of France and England. Presumably, therefore, he is not blind to modern political and military realities. Nevertheless, his hostility to the Hashimites, the Shereefian family whom he has driven from Mekka and Medina, may impel him to attack the two remaining rulers of that hated race — Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, and King Feisal of Irak. This would bring him into conflict with Great Britain, and possibly with France.

From the standpoint of good government, and probably of religious purification, the Wahabite victories are to be welcomed. During the Ottoman régime, and in a still greater degree during the recent reign of King Hussein and his successor, the Hejaz has been in a state of anarchy, and Moslem pilgrims have been subject to every conceivable form of extortion and persecution by their nominal fellow believers. Ibn Saud is said to be restoring order there with an iron hand. More than that, he plans to put the holy places in charge of a Pan-Islamic Commission containing representatives from each important Mohammedan country, and also to restore the Caliphate.

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#### SOUTH AFRICAN OPINION

POLITICAL circles in South Africa have been agitated of late by a difference in the Boer-Nationalist and Labor coalition Cabinet. Some of the Nationalists have protested against the appointment of what they consider Red extremists to ministerial posts. General Smuts raised another issue by suggesting a reconciliation, with possible fusion, between his South

African Party and the Nationalists, both of which are dominantly Boer organizations. This overture, after considerable discussion, has been rejected, because the Nationalist extremists are not willing to compromise for the sake of winning new allies. Apparently they get along better with Labor extremists, with whom they utterly differ in every clause of their political credo, than with middle-of-the-road men of their own race.

General Hertzog, the Premier, recently told a German correspondent that he opposed the proposal that Southwest Africa send representatives to the Union Parliament, because he wanted to avoid any action that might arouse a suspicion that South Africa designed to annex this ex-German province. Indeed, the Union has no right to do so, for she exercises only a mandate over that territory.

General Smuts delivered a notable Armistice Day address at Pretoria, in the course of which he reviewed the history of European peace efforts since the beginning of the Paris Conference seven years ago. He described the early conflict of opinion there between the 'Continental school,' which wanted to make the League a military agency for enforcing peace, and the 'American-British school,' which was opposed to a super-State or 'League of Military Coercion,' and believed in merely bringing the nations together in a definite and regular way with permanent machinery for discussing their difficulties and solving them by conciliatory procedure.

The only outright concession to the Continental school in the Covenant as finally drafted was Article 10, obligating all members of the League to defend the territorial integrity and political independence of member States against external aggression. Concerning that provision General

Smuts said: 'This Article I consider a blot on the Covenant, and I have always opposed it. It was taken from one of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, but is not in harmony with the fundamental ideas of the Covenant.'

Subsequently the European Powers sought to impose the doctrine of the Continental school upon Europe, regardless of the League. 'It seemed as if there was a deliberate policy of ignoring or nullifying the League and erecting in her stead a system of pacts and military arrangements to provide for future security. All through the Poincaré régime this seemed to be the set policy of France.'

The Protocol also, in General Smuts's opinion, was a device clearly designed to reform and recast the League in the spirit of the Continental school. 'It is a curious fact, which is not generally known, that the Protocol largely embodied the ideas that had been decisively defeated in the League of Nations Committee at Paris, as both dangerous and impracticable. The Protocol was based on two main ideas, both of which were diametrically opposed to the original Covenant. In the first place, war was to be completely stopped and outlawed, and, in the second place, the prevention of war had to be guaranteed by the military and naval forces of all the signatories to the Protocol.' Such a device, in General Smuts's opinion, was sure eventually to break down and to beget bigger and bloodier wars.

The Locarno Pact is not open to many of the objections of the Protocol. It is not designed to impose a super-government upon the world or even upon Europe, but to prevent efforts to change present frontiers by a resort to arms. Another difference of primary importance is that Germany is a voluntary partner in, in fact the initiator of, the Pact. The execution of that Agree-

ment 'is placed under the League, and will therefore be a reënforcement of the League and not a derogation from it.'

For Great Britain the Pact represents, 'not only a new departure, but probably the most considerable departure that she has ever undertaken in her foreign policy. Only the signature of the Treaty of Belgian Neutrality was at all comparable with it, and that signature changed the course of history some eighty years afterward.'

In concluding his remarks General Smuts paid the following tribute to the Empire, against which he fought not very many years ago:—

The Empire is a priceless blessing, not only for its hundreds of millions of citizens, but it is to-day, with American abstention from the League, the main force supporting the advance of the great human causes and ideals of the world. From every point of view, therefore, the maintenance of its solidarity and of its united front is essential to human welfare. . . . Let us first and foremost cherish and develop our own natural life and institutions in South Africa. They are nearest and dearest to us, but they are not enough. Beyond them let us cherish the Empire and make it a power for good in the world. But even that is not enough, as the Great War has taught us. Beyond South Africa, beyond the Empire, let us cherish and develop this ideal of a great spiritual society or civilization, the fitting home of the human spirit in its widest sweep and highest reach, and we can best do that by giving our allegiance and our willing service to the cause of the League of Nations.

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#### MINOR NOTES

AMERICAN investors were not able to take up an allotment of \$26,000,000 of the \$50,000,000 loan recently made by the German Potash Syndicate because our Government vetoed the project on the ground that this would be lending financial aid to a foreign

monopoly exploiting American consumers. English capitalists readily subscribed for the entire loan, however, and the *Kalisyndikat* was not much inconvenienced by our action. Nevertheless, according to *Frankfurter Zeitung* 'the decision of the Washington authorities has caused general surprise and indignation in Germany — surprise because the Germans who handled the loan discovered nothing during their negotiations in New York and Washington to suggest that the Federal Government would object to it, and indignation because that Government's action was evidently due to misinformation and inadequate knowledge of the facts. First of all, Germany has no monopoly on potash. Since the war the Alsace district has become an important independent producer. Furthermore, potash works are being operated and constructed in other countries, although they do not as yet contribute appreciably to the market. The loan in question would not help

the German Potash Syndicate to raise prices abroad. Quite the contrary. The money is to be employed in extensive plant-improvements intended to increase production and requiring enormous foreign sales to make them profitable. Such large sales will be possible only if prices are kept down.'

THE trade-unions in the British wool industry have presented to the Board of Trade a plan for State or coöperative purchase of imported wools as an alternative to protective duties. During the war the Government adopted a policy of collective buying that saved the country a large sum in the cost of raw materials. The Unionists claim that collective buying would make it possible to stabilize the price of wool for a long period ahead, and thereby enable manufacturers to contract far in advance for the delivery of their products without risking a loss through speculative fluctuations in the raw-wool market.

#### A GOLDEN SHOWER



Italy's Voluntary Dollar Subscription to Pay the First Installment on Her Debt to America

— *Il Travaso*, Rome

#### THAT INCONVENIENT STRING



A Dutch View of the British Mandate for Irak

— *De Haagsche Post*, The Hague



# INDIA UNDER BRITISH RULE<sup>1</sup>

BY KARL MARX

{THE following letters were contributed by the founder of modern Socialism to Horace Greeley's daily nearly three quarters of a century ago. They were recently rediscovered in Moscow and published in a Russian journal whose title in English would be 'Under the Banner of Marxism.' After comparing the present translation, which has been made from the German edition of this periodical, with the *Tribune's* evidently imperfect English version of the German original, we have selected the former for publication here, as it apparently reproduces more precisely and smoothly the author's meaning. The editor of the *Labour Monthly* observes in his introduction to the letters: 'It is astonishing how up to date Marx's analysis appears. His description of the revolutionary changes in the basis of the Indian social order brought about by the British conquest of India, and his forecast of the involuntary creation by British capitalism of the necessary political and economic conditions for Indian independence, have been strikingly confirmed by events.']

*New York Daily Tribune, June 25, 1853.*—Hindustan is an Italy of Asiatic dimensions, with the Himalayas for the Alps, the plains of Bengal for Lombardy, the Dekkan for the Apennines, and the island of Ceylon for Sicily. Hence the similar great diversity in soil production and the analogous cleavages in political structure.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Labour Monthly* (London Communist review), December

Just as Italy from time to time has been split up by the sword of the conqueror into different national portions, so we see Hindustan, where not under the pressure of Mohammedans, Moguls, or Britishers, broken up into as many independent and hostile States as it counts towns or even villages. Regarded from the social standpoint, however, Hindustan is not the Italy but the Ireland of the East. This peculiar combination of an Italy with an Ireland, of a world of voluptuousness with a world of suffering, reflects itself in the old traditions of the religion of Hindustan. This religion is at once a religion of sensual extravagance and of self-mortifying asceticism, the religion of the Lingam and the Juggernaut, the religion of the monks and the dancing girls.

I do not share the opinion of those who believe in a golden age of Hindustan; without, however, like Sir Charles Wood, appealing to the authority of Kuli Khan for the confirmation of my view. One has only to picture for oneself, for example, the times of the Aurangzebs, or the epochs when the Mogul appeared in the North and the Portuguese in the South, or the Mohammedan invasion and the Heptarchy in South India, or, if one wishes to go back still further into antiquity, the mythological chronology of the Brahmans themselves, in order to date back the beginning of Indian misery to an epoch which reaches further back than the creation of the world according to the Christian reckoning.

But all the former civil wars, inva-