

The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME XXVIII

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1921

NUMBER 354

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The Week

IT has been clear from the beginning of the negotiations between England and Ireland that Ulster was a factor of primary importance in the decision. Through the lines of President de Valera's earlier notes it is easy to read that with a united Ireland he can consent freely to remain within the empire with the status of a dominion. With Ulster set off from south Ireland he must demand more than this. This difference in terms is the result in the first place of strategic consideration affecting the safety of the country. South Ireland is not defensible along the arbitrary frontier granted to Ulster, and Mr. de Valera demands independence as a weapon against coercion. In the second place the difference is a matter of political consideration. Sinn Fein will accept a dominion status as the price of a united country; but with Ulster standing aloof, including, moreover, within its boundaries two Catholic and republican counties, the Irish Republicans see no reason why they should compromise. Thus Ulster remains the last

obstacle to the settlement of the oldest quarrel between nations, and one that involves more than any other the peace of the world.

THE burden of proof rests absolutely upon the English government. It was the same ministers now sitting at Westminster who forced into Ulster's then reluctant hand the weapon with which that province threatens the world. The riot and bloodshed which have prevailed at Belfast since the beginning of the truce show the persistent malevolence with which the Orange fanatics contemplate a possible settlement, even with their own position secured, and the lengths to which they will go to wreck it. Fortunately in the face of provocation the truce continues, and by its continuance shows how sincere is the desire for peace on the part of southern Irish and English alike. It is a political necessity both for Mr. Lloyd George and for Sinn Fein. The fundamental condition of such a peace is expressed by the Irish Bulletin, the official organ of the Dail Eireann, in words which it will be well to remember as the most significant which have been uttered and which contain the true formula of settlement:

Ireland makes but one condition, that it be a free union. . . . Whatever qualifications of a 'complete political and economical separation' are made necessary by physical and historical facts will be acceptable to Ireland, provided they are consonant with the principle of 'government by the consent of the governed.'

THESE words are the text of Mr. de Valera's last message to Mr. Lloyd George. He points out that the position of the Irish rests absolutely on their "fundamental and natural right to choose freely for themselves the path they shall take to realize their natural destiny." In other words he holds that the validity of any arrangements with England must depend not upon England's historic rights, but upon the consent of the governed. Such arrangements will appear not as concessions gen-

erously granted by an overlord, but as conditions agreed upon between two free and mutually respecting peoples. That these conditions will take account of physical and historical facts is indicated by the inspired statement in the *Irish Bulletin*. In one respect Mr. de Valera's statement should command the sympathy of the world—his resolute reprobation of force as discrediting any settlement into which it enters as a factor. At the moment there are open three methods of peaceful procedure. There is the continuation of negotiations by means of plenipotentiaries; there is arbitration; there is the plebiscite which is implied in Mr. de Valera's principle, "the consent of the governed." The chief difficulty in the way of negotiation is the renunciation of the right to employ force for coercion, which England must forego in the case of Ireland as in that of the dominions. Once this difficulty surmounted it should be undoubtedly possible to arrive at an agreement with such modifications of complete separation as the physical and historical facts of the situation demand.

PRESIDENT HARDING'S speech to the officers of the War College reminds one of the movie of a man trying to carry water on both shoulders. It is quite impossible to avoid getting some of it down his neck. The President leaning far to the right assured his hearers that:

It is perfectly futile to think there may never be another conflict when you stop to consider that in 2,000 years of Christian civilization and 4,000 more of pagan civilization concerning which we are informed we have only lately come to a real civilized state of armed warfare, and that does not apply quite to all the nations of the world.

The implication seems to be that with warfare in such a flourishing civilized state, except for a few backward peoples, it is futile to expect the world to discard it. Shifting to the left the President continued:

I want you officers of the army to precede your activities in the defence of our national life with that insistent understanding among peoples that we must put furthest aside any possible occasion for conflict.

We infer that he wants them individually to sign the covenant of the League of Nations. Then drawing himself up to his full height as Artemus Ward would say, he secures equilibrium with the assertion:

There should never be a conflict between civilized nations and there never will be if there are men in authority who will insist on a full understanding first.

THE fourth amendment to the Constitution has been discovered, and the people are now assured in large type in metropolitan journals that their right "to be secure in their persons, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." Is this right asserted in favor of socialists, pacifists, I. W. W.'s—persons who have some intellectual or spiritual interest in a new and, they hope, better social order? Is it urged in protection of members of a race which has committed itself, wisely or not, to the working out of such an order? No indeed. It is invoked on behalf of the citizen and his supply of drink, whether hoarded, smuggled or home-brewed.

THE Mexican situation shows progress through the decision of the Mexican Supreme Court to the effect that Article XXVII of the Mexican constitution is not retroactive. The Chamber of Deputies is expected to follow the advice of its special Petroleum Commission and adopt an amendment to the constitution fixing May 1, 1919, as the date before which all titles shall be recognized. The conference of representatives of American oil companies with the Mexican authorities is proceeding apparently without difficulty. On the other hand President Obregon declared firmly in his message to Congress that a special treaty with the United States as the price of recognition is "neither possible, convenient, nor necessary, and is contrary to Mexican constitutional precepts, in that it creates special privileges for Americans." We could regard with perfect equanimity a situation in which Mexico should so completely consolidate her position in the world both internally and externally that the United States would find itself forced to accord recognition purely as a matter of convenience and self-interest; and further would be forced to abandon forever the preposterous notion that recognition is a favor, a bribe, a bonus, a bargain, or anything but a part of business routine between nations.

THE personnel of the American delegation to the Disarmament Conference as forecast by the press excites distrust. That it should be headed by Secretary Hughes is natural and proper, and his ability, experience and influence are the chief grounds at present for confidence in the enterprise. The appointment of Senator Lodge is unnecessarily bad. His speech in the Senate on accepting the

position shows how remote is the possibility of achieving anything in the direction of disarmament if his views are to sway the conference. Senator Borah as the most conspicuous representative of disarmament should be a member, and Senator Knox, by virtue of his long experience with Far Eastern affairs in the State Department and Senate. Women are right in demanding a delegate, and recognition of the urgency of peace sentiment behind the conference, of the spirit of national sacrifice and good will without which ideals of peace can never be achieved, would be properly accorded by the appointment of Miss Jane Addams.

THE National Lumber Manufacturers' Association the other day published an advertisement pointing with pride to facts refuting the popular belief in the existence of a lumber trust. No one sawmill, said this advertisement, produces more than one-half of one per cent of the country's lumber, "no one company" more than one per cent, "no one group of related companies" more than three per cent, and "no one association of lumber companies represents more than fourteen per cent of the total lumber output." If true, and if the existence of some larger "group" or "association" in this hierarchy has not been suppressed, this is good news. And now to consider the next statement: "These 30,000 sawmills in forty-six states can make annually more than two times as much lumber as the public consumes." This is not good news. It means that there is invested in sawmill equipment twice as much money as is called for, and that of course this extra overhead cost is passed on to the consumer in an added cost of lumber. Are we to thank God there is so much "healthy" competition in the lumber business that we, as consumers, must help pay for twice as many sawmills as are necessary?

THE outbreak of the Moplahs, in the hill region near the Malabar Coast, is one of the signs that the situation in India is approaching the breaking point. The Moplahs are fanatical Mohammedans who were recruited in considerable numbers for service in France. The suspicion that the demobilized tribesmen had retained some of their implements of war, and the attempt to search and disarm them, apparently led to the outbreak. The British are thus reaping the fruit of the detestable policy of white nations in arming their subject peoples and leading them to war in quarrels with which they have essentially no interest. The trouble would seem not immediately connected with the great boycott of the British raj in India, known as the Non-cooperative Movement led by Gandhi, but it may prove nevertheless a torch to the magazine.

FAR more serious is the trouble in Madras which grows directly out of the strike in pursuance of the non-cooperation policy. We read that "the police were twice compelled to fire on the mob and six persons were killed and twenty-one wounded." Whether the Indians were the aggressors and departed from Gandhi's injunction of non-violence, or whether they were the victims of provocative tactics on the part of officers driven to exasperation by the passive resistance of the people, does not appear. In any case the portent is an unhappy one both for English and Indians. The Indian revolution through the method of non-cooperation, striking at the very heart of British rule in India by making it unprofitable, seems to have in it possibilities of success, of becoming an example of what Mr. Hobson calls "Revolution by consent." At all events the organization of the people, their inter-racial unity and tolerance, their self-control, are evidence of a capacity for self-government which their rulers denied; and the instance of a revolution whose only weapon is passive endurance and whose strength is suffering, has attracted the admiration of the world. The resort to violence will inevitably sacrifice the spiritual advantage which Gandhi has gained, and practically it will be to play directly into the hands of the British raj.

"The Spirit of Lawlessness"

THE Annual Convention of the American Bar Association at Cincinnati was opened by what the Times calls "a thoughtful and philosophical address" by Solicitor General James M. Beck, who considered "with his usual breadth of historical knowledge and charm of rhetoric the 'Spirit of Lawlessness' now so prevalent throughout the world." Informing, stimulating and entertaining as the oration must have been to those privileged to hear it, we peruse it with a feeling that it missed an opportunity. Mr. Beck's "breadth of historical knowledge" furnishes him with a number of allusions, happily rendered by his "charm of rhetoric," as when "the fistic duel between two combatants in Jersey City" reminds him so inevitably of "another encounter on the heights of Weehawken more than a century ago"; but it does not serve greatly to illuminate his subject.

Mr. Beck's analysis of the situation finds that "the great evil of the world today is this aversion to work." The penetrating quality of his logic is illustrated by the sentences which follow.

As the mechanical era diminished the element of physical exertion in work, we would have supposed that