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The Week

OCCASIONALLY rumors spread from Washington that President Harding means to seize the reins of leadership and impose an active purpose upon a dawdling and obstructive Congress. Roosevelt succeeded in making his party work in harness, and so did Wilson. Why should not President Harding emulate his vigorous predecessors? There are two serious obstacles to be surmounted. One is Harding's own personality. It is so smooth and accommodating that nobody could take fulminations from Harding at their voice value. Any mule would be astonished if Harding undertook to harness and drive it. The other difficulty is that Harding does not stand in the relation to the public that is right for leadership. Roosevelt and Wilson always managed to wear the garb of champions of the people against an inadequately representative Congress. Roosevelt's "Square Deal" and Wilson's solicitude for the common man "who had never had a look-in" were effective instruments of leadership. And the

measures which Roosevelt and Wilson forced through were, or seemed to be, of a popular character. Harding has attained nothing better than "normalcy," a chamber of commerce slogan, and the measures he wishes to enact are all unpopular. There is no popular support for the shipping subsidy bill nor for the coming tariff of abominations. There is no popular confidence in anything Harding may propose in the way of revenue legislation. Accordingly he is likely to find himself in an extremely embarrassing position if he tries to assume effective leadership.]

SECRETARY HUGHES persists in turning a stony face toward the Mexican government. One by one the legitimate claims of Americans against Mexico are being satisfied. The largest of these, the claims of the holders of Mexican bonds for the principal and defaulted interest, has apparently been satisfactorily negotiated by de la Huerta and the American bankers. The American mining interests in Mexico seem to be contented, and the switch of the Hearst papers to the support of Obregon shows plainly that American landholders in Mexico have little to complain of. The oil men still want more privileges and lower taxes, but their differences with the Obregon government are steadily narrowing. Still, the spokesmen of the State Department reiterate remorselessly that the situation is unchanged. What more does the State Department want? It is widely believed in Mexico that the real obstacle to recognition is the friendly attitude of the Obregon government toward organized labor. A convincing proof of the vigor of this belief was given by the striking workers of Mexico City, who had managed to tie up electric lighting and street car service. They voted to suspend the strike, in order to avoid embarrassing de la Huerta in his financial negotiations with the bankers. It is a new thing to have an American Secretary of State carrying on a war against labor abroad.

TWENTY percent of the working population of England is unemployed and living by doles costing the British nation five hundred million dollars annually. This is the estimate of Mr. A. G. Gardner. It explains sufficiently British impatience with M. Poincaré, "the French Bismarck," in Mr. Gardner's terms. It is French militaristic ambition and French greed that have made impossible a European adjustment under which British commerce and industry might recover. The British are a patient people, but they cannot be expected to endure the present conditions indefinitely. Either France will have to abate her pretensions, or England will disentangle herself from the Entente and strike out for herself.

FRANCE had committed herself to the project of establishing a common policy toward Russia on the part of the nations to be represented at the Hague. England had opposed this project. On this point a majority of the nations adopted the British view, and the conference will be held unfettered by "principles" which would necessarily be the views of the most irreconcilable member of the conference. There will be no absurd demand that Russia withdraw her unreasonable reply to the unreasonable pronouncements of the western powers at Genoa. The Allied experts will discuss directly with the Russians what they are expected to do and what they may expect to receive in return. Neither side will offer to give anything for nothing. Perhaps it may seem that the situation involves only commonplace diplomatic factors which ought not to disturb any government. Yet the French are greatly disturbed over the conference. The reason is that they are pretty certain that the Soviet government is in a position to make offers that England and Italy and most of the lesser states can afford to accept, but will make no offer that France can accept. And that consideration gives color to the French fear that the conference will be merely the prelude to a series of separate treaties analogous to the Rapallo treaty, which will leave France holding the sack with nothing in it but unacknowledged claims upon Russia.

THE sinister signs of the times are observable at Harvard in two concessions to race prejudice, the exclusion of Negroes from the freshman dormitories and President Lowell's proposal to limit the percentage of Jews admitted to the college. As to the former, it is sufficient to say that every argument advanced by President Lowell for the compulsory segregation of freshmen in dormitories of their own, might be invoked in favor of

Negro participation in that system. If the building up of an esprit de corps in accordance with the Harvard tradition be aimed at, what more essential element of such tradition can be cited than that involved in the equality of all students in their relation to the institution? There are two ways of dealing with race prejudice. One is to retreat before it, with apologetic and flattering gestures. This is the Jim Crow way. The other is to attack it, by reason and example. This is the way of education. Harvard has the duty of educating thousands of young men in this as in other problems of citizenship. She is peculiarly bound by the responsibilities of leadership in this matter. She is strong enough to say to candidates for admission that if they are not willing to accept her principle of equality they cannot become her sons. If it be argued that the college authorities cannot protect Negroes in the freshman dormitories from violence, then the case for freshman segregation is seriously questioned, and it may be inquired why freshmen should not be subjected as early as possible to the civilizing and humanizing influences which used to prevail when they roomed in the same entry with seniors and graduates.

THAT President Lowell is himself of the Jim Crow school of thought is shown by his letter to Mr. A. A. Benesch in regard to the limitation of the number of Jews. President Lowell accepts the fact of race prejudice. "There is most unfortunately a rapidly growing anti-Semitic feeling in this country." "The question for those of us who deplore such a state of things is how it can be combatted." "If every college in the country would take a limited proportion of Jews I suspect we should go a long way toward eliminating race feeling among the students." This is a perfect illustration of the attempt to exorcise the fiend by caressing it. The purring note is unmistakable in the phrases in which he invites the Jews themselves to join him whole-heartedly in making this sacrifice. Mr. Benesch found an easy mark in President Lowell's argument, pointing out the logical conclusion that "a complete prohibition against Jewish students in the colleges would solve the problem of anti-Semitism."

CHICAGO is disturbed by conditions of lawlessness approaching, in the words of Judge Scanlan, a reign of terror. In seeking the explanation thereof one old and familiar cause appears—a difference in legal administration giving color to the old saying, one law for the rich and another for the poor. After the acquittal of a building

trades union leader on the charge of extortion, in the face of what seemed overwhelming evidence of guilt, a juror intimated to the Daily News "that the controlling factor in the verdict was that the prosecution was directed against the labor leaders alone, and that there were no representatives of the building trust brought to trial."

MEANWHILE a monstrous object lesson of the law's delays and the insolence of office is being given at Waukegan, where the governor of Illinois is being tried for embezzlement while treasurer of the state. Governor Small was indicted July 20th, 1921. From the point of view of the public interest, no case could call for or lend itself to speedier adjudication. If the governor is a thief the sovereign people have an immediate right to know it; and nothing could so effectively revive a salutary respect for law as a public demonstration that it is no respecter of persons. The governor declared that he wished immediate vindication, and promptly fled the jurisdiction of the court. Since then his attorneys have raised the following objections as listed by the Chicago Daily News:

"The divine right of kings" immunity of the governor from arrest.

Interference with state business.

Encroachment of the judicial branch of the government on the executive branch.

Prejudice of Judge Smith and prejudice of all the citizens of Sangamon county, with attendant inability to get a fair trial in Sangamon county.

Inspection of hard roads of the state.

Insufficiency of the indictments.

Illegality of report of the grand jury of Sangamon county.

Illegality of the grand jury itself.

Unconstitutionality of the state treasury act of 1907.

Hard-roadbuilding by the governor and sale of hard-road bonds.

Illegality of jury lists of Lake county because they did not contain the names of woman voters.

Now that the case is at last being presented to the jury it appears that the books of the dummy bank through which Mr. Small, while state treasurer, conducted his loans of public money, were destroyed without authorization by a janitor who has since died. We do not pronounce Governor Small guilty, but after such persistent and scandalous avoidance of opportunity to prove himself innocent, it is not too much to say that the large ends of justice would be dramatically served by conviction, followed by impeachment and prison stripes.

ADMIRAL SIMS, if he is correctly reported in the World of June 14th, does not care what he

does even to our most cherished traditions. One of these is that the Germans removed themselves beyond the pale of humanity by introducing the use of poisonous gas. But, according to the Admiral, gas warfare is not inhuman at all, and our impression that it is inhuman was derived from the Allied propaganda when the Germans were using it. If ever we are attacked in the future, says the Admiral, "we will use gas, and we don't care how, when or why." It won't be long before some other general or admiral proves to us that there is nothing inhuman in submarine warfare, aerial warfare and the violation of neutral territory. Whitewashing war is a difficult job, but it can be done.

PAGE Mr. Horatio Alger. The Standard Oil Company of Indiana has announced the appointment of three new directors. One of them began with the company thirty-five years ago, the other two started out as office-boys. This, as knows every lad who brings in water to the boss in lily-cups and announces his visitors, is what office boys are for. They are born to rise. It is only a very lazy and immoral office boy who can fail to become director or president or sales manager. Logically, of course, the vast majority of them must be bums or loafers, since there are about fifteen times as many of them as there are directors. Perhaps some sociological actuary will compute for us the average office boy's expectation of presidency or directorship. If the office boys who did not make good (as directors) would only organize, they could run the country. Then in a burst of injured pride they would reverse the process, so that one entered the economic hierarchy as an ink-well cleaning director, and presidents would be killing grandmothers for the sake of an afternoon at the Polo Grounds. Then at last would be written, by the Horatio Alger of those days, a great American book, called From President to Office Boy.

FOR many months readers of the American papers have been puzzled as to the precise function of the Washington dispatches purporting to elucidate the policies of the State Department. Mr. Hughes has now defined this function. They are "our substitute for parliamentary interpellation." One is reminded of those terrible substitutes for food that went so far toward breaking the spirit of the German people. If we had a system of parliamentary interpellation, Mr. Borah would present his questions on our Russian policy in the Senate and Mr. Hughes would have to appear in person to defend it. Nor would he be absolutely sure of the last word. Every statement he might make would be subject to searching criticism, and

the affair would end with a vote of the Senate which would determine whether Mr. Hughes should continue to apply his policy or take himself off with all his works. Under our famous "substitute for interpellation" Mr. Hughes and his subordinates may feed out any kind of information they please, saving their consciences. The correspondents may write up this material in their own words, but they had better stick closely to the department's intention, if they wish to conserve the source of their copy and their livings.

Conditions for Russia

IN our issue of May 31st we criticized certain pronouncements of Mr. Hoover's on the conditions that the Soviet government must meet before Russian economic recovery could take place and normal commercial relations could be worth reestablishing. We have received a letter from Dr. E. Dana Durand defending Mr. Hoover's position, which we publish elsewhere in this issue. Dr. Durand is speaking for himself, not in behalf of Mr. Hoover, but since he is chief of the division of Mr. Hoover's department which is responsible for assembling and analyzing economic facts pertaining to Russia, we may assume that his views are fairly representative of Mr. Hoover's.

Mr. Hoover had taken the position that the indispensable condition to Russian production and trade is property rights. We pointed out that there are property rights that are recognized in Russia, and decidedly extensive rights. In principle they are, we think, broad enough to permit foreign trade. Dr. Durand believes otherwise. He thinks the recently granted powers of the cooperatives are too limited. But from an article in the June 5th issue of the Commerce Reports prepared under Dr. Durand's supervision, we learn that the Central Union of Russian Cooperatives is busy buying up and collecting at the ports all kinds of raw materials, and by May 15th had purchased for delivery at the ports goods valued at \$3,256,000. It is advertising the acceptance of raw materials for export on commission, payment to be effected in imported goods. That seems clearly to mean that anyone having exportable goods can sell them abroad through the agency of the cooperatives, and receive goods from abroad in return. It also seems to mean that foreigners wishing to send goods into Russia can avail themselves of the cooperative agency to place them and to receive payment in Russian goods.

Dr. Durand has, we think, overlooked also the Soviet decree of March 13, 1920, authorizing the formation of joint stock companies, Russian, for-

eign or combined, for the purpose of preparing export goods, of selling them abroad, of importing articles necessary for the reestablishment of national economy. These companies may use the facilities of the commissariat of foreign trade (the export-import monopoly) or establish their own offices. These companies may engage in general trade, special lines of trade, or may operate manufacturing establishments for the production of export goods. There is here, we think, a considerable latitude for trade. Working either independently or through the cooperatives Americans could effect the primary operation of trade, namely, conveying American goods to Russia and carrying Russian goods back to America, without legal obstacles raised by the Russian government. We are not so sure that they would escape legal obstacles in America. Certainly the Russian cooperatives, if they sought to do business here, would encounter obstacles. As technically agents of an unrecognized government, they would have no standing in court, and could not defend themselves against unjust seizure of their property nor compel the fulfillment of contracts made with them. This, by the way, is a point that Mr. Hoover always overlooks when he dwells upon the failure of trade to avail itself of the opportunities created by the withdrawal of the formal blockade.

Dr. Durand maintains that it is not so much trade as investment that Russia requires, and the property rights conceded down to the present are far from adequate to attract permanent investors. This we grant, with certain reservations, noting, in passing, that neither the Soviet government nor any other that is likely to appear in the next decade will make Russia an attractive field of permanent investment. What American would care to buy shares in Moscow Electric Light, even if the Romanoffs, or Miliukoff, or Kerensky came back into power and declared private property under every form inviolate? Who would sink his money in a steel plant in the Urals? Nobody would guarantee a long lease of life for any Russian government. Therefore extensive permanent investment is out of the question.

But we think that Dr. Durand fails to take into account the nature of Russian economic life when he lays chief emphasis on permanent investment. Russia is still, as she always has been, essentially a land of agriculture and household industries. Factory industry was so little developed in 1913 that its entire output was valued at only \$750,000,000, and of that a quite disproportionate part was localized in Poland. Running under pre-war conditions, the factory industries did not produce five dollars per capita of the population. And the