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The Week

THE new English Tory government with Mr. Bonar Law as its chief is obviously a makeshift contrivance. It contains very few of the able and experienced leaders in British politics; and it is not intended to do more than clear the election. The Conservatives are hoping by hook or crook to obtain a party majority in the new Parliament; but in spite of the division among their opponents, such a result is extremely unlikely. In all probability they will again be obliged to unite with some group of right-wing anti-Labor Liberals before they can depend upon a majority, and the formation of a new coalition will involve the reconstruction of the Cabinet. In the meanwhile the present government will only mark time. It lacks the authority and the ability to block out and carry on a policy of its own.

ASSUMING that no one faction will possess a majority in the new Parliament, it is not likely to be a long-lived body. It will be the outcome of a confused election for which English public opinion is ill-prepared and which can hardly produce a permanently satisfactory result. The chances are that the new coalition will not form a happy society and that its government will not occupy a strong position. It will live by expedients for a year or so and then find it necessary either to resign or to dissolve and appeal to the country. Neither in the United States, France, Germany, Russia or Great Britain will any government which the dominant parties can create be adequate to their harassing and difficult tasks. They will all blunder along, come and go rapidly and for the most part fail until the consequences of the failure are so costly and its lessons so unmistakable that public opinion will brace itself to go about the job in a sufficiently chastened and radical spirit.

AN illicit word is printed in a book. Immediately John Sumner and his kind fear for the moral purity and the mental health of the general public. Has it never occurred to Mr. Sumner that the word, to be understood at all, must somehow have already enjoyed currency, and that if words have the corrupting force he imputes to them, it is his duty to go deeper in his pursuit of them? We have not seen the literal translation of the Satyricon of Petronius which is now making Mr. Sumner so much trouble. If it is indeed a literal translation it must contain some passages that are not very nice, and some indeed that are the reverse. But that it presents scenes capable of firing a diseased imagination or of attracting the youth toward vice is simply not true. Petronius is Sunday School literature as compared with the press reports of the Hall-Mills murder case, so far as its command over the imagination is concerned. Why does not Mr. Sumner attack the press, then? Because the illicit words are suppressed, although

the illicit meanings are adequately conveyed, and Mr. Sumner is out after words, not meanings. That is why everyone with a grain of sense regards Mr. Sumner as nothing more than a futile nuisance.

SOMERSET COUNTY, Pennsylvania, is for the moment the most important point on the industrial map of the United States. There the miners are continuing their struggle for the recognition of their union against the Berwind-White, Consolidation, and other companies. The operators are fighting with their usual tactics. They own not only the mines, but the towns, the streets, the dwellings. They have evicted twelve hundred miners; five hundred families are living in tents while half the houses are vacant. They terrorize the towns with armed guards. Three miners have been killed; others are in jail for violating injunctions. Subservient authorities are seizing the miners' goods for next year's taxes and cutting off the water supply from the tent colonies. Meanwhile a group of miners has arrived in New York to enlist public opinion by the only method open to them, picketing the offices of the Berwind-White Company. "Public opinion has no bearing on our policy in the strike," boasts Vice President Lyon of the Consolidation Coal Company. If the public acquiesces in this attitude it may as well abdicate formally in favor of its industrial tyrants.

THE financial predicament of the French government is placed in definite terms by the report of the Finance Commission. The estimated expenditures are put at 23,180,000,000 francs, and the estimated revenues at 19,285,000,000, leaving a deficit which would run near four billion francs, even if expenditures did not have the habit of out-running the estimates, and receipts, a habit of falling short. But besides, there will be an item of 10,500,000,000 francs expenditures, for pensions and reconstruction, which is set down as "recoverable from Germany." It will not be recovered this year, at any rate. In the next year France will spend fifteen billion francs in excess of her actual receipts. The persistence of such conditions is not encouraging. France cannot keep on adding billions upon billions to her debt, without sooner or later going the way of Central Europe. It is time for her to face the facts. For once she begins to slip she will find no stopping place short of the abyss.

MR. DAUGHERTY has at last given a plausible explanation of his extraordinary behavior in the

injunction proceedings against the striking shopmen. He actually believed that this commonplace industrial dispute was the first step toward a bloody revolution. That absolves him from all personal blame. But it vastly increases the burden of responsibility that President Harding must bear so long as he retains Daugherty in office. There is nothing so dangerous as the man who sees things that are not—and shoots.

SOME twenty New York teachers, all of them, by the way, members of the Teachers' Union, have not received the "certificates of character and loyalty" required under the provisions of the Lusk Law. They have been kept in this state of uncertainty from one to four months, and find themselves in the condition of suspects without means of vindication. These teachers have a right to know as soon as possible if they are or are not going to be certified, and if not, for what reasons. Several of them, who have written repeatedly to the Commissioner of Education of the State to find out what are the charges against them, have not been rewarded with even the courtesy of a reply. Two of the teachers in question served as officers with the Military Intelligence during the war. Among the others are non-conformists in politics, socialists, pacifists, but not one whom the federal authorities thought dangerous enough to charge with disloyalty in wartime, when "disloyalty"—whatever that is—was supposed to be more dangerous than it can be now. It appears that the unknown charges against these teachers, brought by persons whose names cannot be learned, are being considered in secret by anonymous committees. There is only one thing worse than so outrageous a measure as the Lusk Law, and that is a furtive and star-chamber way of administering it.

IT is very much to be hoped that the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill will be passed by the Senate. The bill passed the House some time ago by a vote of 230 to 119. In the early days of its discussion there was some doubt, even among unprejudiced people who had every desire to find some legal means of suppressing lynching, as to its constitutionality. There no longer seems to be any such doubt: witness the favorable reporting of the bill by the judiciary committees of both houses, its endorsement by the present and by two former attorneys-general, by some nineteen justices of superior and supreme courts in various states, and by the American Bar Association. There never was any other objection to the bill by fair-minded peo-

ple, and, with this one of unconstitutionality so weakened, it certainly ought to be passed.

AMERICAN prohibitionists will be grieved over the news from Russia that the Soviet government is contemplating the restoration of the manufacture and sale of vodka. Nobody knows better than the Soviet leaders that distilled liquors work toward the degradation of the population. But the problem just now is to restore the circulation of goods between town and country. The peasant will not give up his wheat for rubles and in the dearth of capital and raw materials the towns have no manufactured goods to offer in exchange. They can manufacture vodka without drawing on foreign capital and materials and the peasant will eagerly accept it in exchange for his surplus food. The Soviet leaders have known this from the beginning. They have realized that vodka was the key to the economic cooperation of the peasant. For four years they have fought the temptation, in the hope that industry, restored by foreign capital, might offer a satisfactory substitute. American prohibitionists have not bestirred themselves to assist the Soviet leaders in making the continuance of prohibition possible, and will have no stones to throw if Russia goes wet.

LITTLE by little the political liabilities that have hung over from the war are being liquidated. Now it is Japan's venture in Siberia that is being cleared away. The Priamur government, which is associated by federation with Soviet Russia, has extended its occupation to Vladivostok, which the Japanese are evacuating, this time in good faith. At the time of the Bolshevik revolution there was much talk of Japan's ambition to annex all of Siberia east of Baikal. The only plausible defence of American participation in the Siberian expedition was that we wanted to watch Japan and forestall the looting of Russia. After the American retirement from Vladivostok the Japanese had a free hand. But a free hand does not avail against the forces of ethnology and geography. Transbaikalia is Russian by nature. If the Japanese ever thought otherwise, they have learned their lesson.

MR. HOOVER would probably never think of reading Cicero. The following quotation from Catiline, 2, VIII, might, however, interest him. "One class of these disturbers consists of those who are burdened by great debts, but who have even greater resources, which they love dearly and can not be induced to relinquish. In appearance

these men are most honorable. They are rich, but their intentions and cause are utterly shameless. You are amply provided with fields, buildings, plate, servants, in short with all manner of valuables, and you hesitate to give any of them up, or pledge them in security of your debts? What are you hoping for? War? Do you imagine that in the universal destruction of war your private property will be treated as sacrosanct? Or the cancellation of debts? . . . I am going to arrange a settlement of the debt problem but through liquidation; nor is there any other way by which property owning debtors will get off." The official orator runs true to form through the ages.

Lloyd George and the Peace of Europe

THE fall of Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister of Great Britain is some months overdue. Its effect on the conduct of national and international affairs will on the whole be beneficial. He has for some time stood in the way of a sufficiently candid and thorough handling of the gravest problems of international politics; and unless he is at least temporarily pushed out of the way, those problems will continue to be treated insincerely, evasively and in our opinion unwisely. But the good which his fall may eventually accomplish will not accrue until Europe pays a heavy price for the way in which since 1919 Mr. Lloyd George has conducted its affairs.

Future historians will credit him with being one of the most adroit and the most prodigious opportunists in the history of democratic politics. The extraordinary part of his performance was its combination of so much versatility and pliability with so much momentum. He could move irresistibly in more directions than any other British Prime Minister. Of course, he always moved with the procession. But he flourished during a period in which the procession did not know its own mind. It resembled not an army on the march but a crowd of college students who were celebrating a football victory with a snake dance. During the war he declared for a knock-out blow at one moment and for a definition of peace terms at the next. After the Armistice he was for hanging the Kaiser and collecting the whole cost of the war in December, while in March he was writing a memorandum to prove how indispensable it was to treat Germany with forbearance and scrupulous justice. Yet in the May following he consented to a treaty of peace which he knew to be unworkable, and which