

The Outlook

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Next week The Outlook will print two articles which explain with authority and first-hand knowledge two recent developments in world events.

One of these is from Mr. Gino C. Speranza, The Outlook's special correspondent in Italy. The other is from Mr. Gregory Mason, and continues his staff correspondence from Russia.

The proposal of a basis of peace addressed to the warring nations by the Pope just before this issue of The Outlook goes to press, and discussed in an editorial on another page, has already renewed interest in the attitude of the Church of Rome toward the problems of the war. Again and again the question has arisen in the minds of thoughtful people, How is it possible that the great Roman Catholic Church, avowedly devoted to the cause of righteousness in its struggle against wrong, can have remained neutral between Germany and Germany's victims—the Belgians, the Armenians, and the helpless non-combatants she has deliberately attacked on land and sea? And now the question will arise in many people's minds, How is it possible that, in the face of the facts of this war, the head of the Roman Catholic Church can propose a peace which involves the acceptance of the German Government as a civilized Power, worthy of trust and of participation in a conference of equals? Those who are puzzled by these questions, which are discussed in the editorial above referred to, will, we think, find much of their perplexity removed by the reading of Mr. Speranza's correspondence in next week's Outlook under the title "The Pope, the War, and the Roman Question."

Russia continues and will continue to be the center of anxiety on the part of all her allies and the object of the utmost good will and desire for co-operation. The experience through which Russia has gone is one with which Americans cannot be too familiar. Mr. Mason's fourth article in his staff correspondence, to be published next week, under the title "The Aims of Democratic Russia," is an authorized interview with M. I. Tereschenko, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The significance of this interview may be judged by what the Russian Foreign Minister has to say about the relation of the phrase, "peace without contributions or annexations," to the restoration of Serbia and Belgium.

THE WEEK

"HEADQUARTERS NIGHTS"

In the August "Atlantic Monthly" there is an article called "Headquarters Nights," by Vernon Kellogg, of the Belgian Relief Commission. Mr. Kellogg describes his article as the confessions of a converted pacifist, a pacifist converted to "an ardent supporter, not of war, but of *this* war." As the title of his article indicates, Mr. Kellogg during the progress of his work in Belgium and northern France came into intimate contact with the German officers at their headquarters. The house where Mr. Kellogg lived was an excellent vantage-point for a study of the German official mind. The officer detailed as Mr. Kellogg's guide, philosopher, and friend was a generous entertainer, and his dinners were rarely without guests. Mr. Kellogg writes:

Officers, from veteran generals down to pink-cheeked lieutenants, came to us and asked us to them. The discussions, begun at dinner, lasted long into the night. They sat late, these German officers, over their abundant wine—French vintages conveniently arranged for. And always we talked and tried to understand one another; to get the other man's point of view, his *Weltanschauung*.

Of the German point of view Mr. Kellogg says:

It is a point of view that will never allow any land or people controlled by it to exist peacefully by the side of a people governed by our point of view. For their point of view does not permit of a live-and-let-live kind of carrying on. It is a point of view that justifies itself by a whole-hearted acceptance of the worst of neo-Darwinism, the *Allmacht* of natural selection applied rigorously to human life and society and *Kultur*. . . . I was convinced . . . that this war, once begun, must be fought to a finish of decision—a finish that will determine whether or not Germany's point of view is to rule the world.

The end of the war means, in Mr. Kellogg's phrase, "Germany's conversion to be a good Germany, or not much of any

Germany at all." To those who still suffer from the sedative influence of pacifism as well as those who desire to read one of the most illuminating documents on the war which has recently appeared we commend Mr. Kellogg's article.

LA FOLLETTE'S MANEUVERS FOR PEACE

On Saturday, August 11, 1917, Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, quoted President Wilson's phrase, "peace without victory," as constituting one of the "Whereases" prefatory to a resolution which he introduced.

Among the other "Whereases" was the German Chancellor's statement in the Reichstag of May 17, 1917: "We did not go to war and we are not fighting now in order to make conquests, but only to secure our existence and firmly to establish the future of the Nation."

Another "Whereas" was the Russian Provisional Government's declaration of May 19, 1917, in favor of peace "without annexation or indemnities."

Still another "Whereas" was Lord Robert Cecil's statement in the House of Commons of May 23, 1917, that the British Government's aims and aspirations are "dedicated solely by our determination to secure a peace founded on national liberty and international amity, and that all imperialistic aims based on force and conquest are completely absent from our programme."

Finally, there is the Reichstag vote of 214 to 116, on July 19, 1917, passing a resolution in favor of peace "without forced acquisition of territory and without political, economic, and financial violation."

Senator La Follette's resolution is to the effect that our Government "will not contribute to the efforts of any belligerent for the purpose of prolonging the war, to annexing new territory either in Europe or outside of Europe, or to enforce

the payment of indemnities to recover the expenses of the war; but the Congress does hereby declare in favor of the creation of a common fund, to be provided by all the belligerent nations, to assist in the restoration of the portions of territory in any of the countries most seriously devastated by the war, and for the establishment of an international commission to decide the allotment of the common fund."

Why Senator La Follette is so chary of alluding to German reparation for wronging Belgium is not disclosed, nor, to any ordinary mind, easy to understand.

As a practical proposition for the consideration of Congress his resolution is equally hard to understand. There appears to be no chance of its passage. Congress sufficiently reflects the temper of the American people to make that a safe statement.

The mere introduction of such a resolution exactly serves Germany's purpose. No matter how falsely it represents American public sentiment, it will be eagerly and instantly used by German publicity agents as if it did fully represent that sentiment—by agents also who perfectly understand how to exalt a Senator's influence in the popular eye abroad. It will be used, not only in Germany by those agents, but especially in Russia, where they are particularly active, and where by their reported ownership of many Russian papers they have already interpreted America, not as it is, but as they would have the Russians believe it is—material, corrupt, unsubstantial. For this and other publicity purposes, we are told by an experienced observer lately in Russia, the German agents have already spent in Russia nearly fifty million rubles. As some offset in a publicity truth-telling campaign in Russia, we have spent about eighteen thousand rubles! The difference in these sums, according to this observer, represents the difference in influence as exhibited respectively by Germany and America. By the mere introduction of his resolution Senator La Follette has acted so as to diminish American influence in Russia and to reinforce the influence of Germany.

AMERICAN MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

Newspapers of the week ending August 15 recorded not a few interesting facts concerning the progress of the organization of our military affairs. This week saw the conclusion of the first series of officers' training camps and the announcement of the award of many thousands of coveted commissions. The second series of camps are soon to begin, and at their conclusion the opportunity of securing a commission at a training camp will have ended. Officers in the future are to be chosen from the men in active service who demonstrate their efficiency. Those men who failed to secure commissions at the recent officers' training camps will be given an opportunity to serve as non-commissioned officers in the new army. Doubtless many of them will by this means later win the right to command.

On August 14 the War Department announced the organization of the first of the National Guard army divisions to be sent to France. This will be known as the Forty-second Division and will consist approximately of 19,000 men drawn from all over the country. The Major-General commanding this division is to be William A. Mann, now serving as Chief of Division of Military Affairs of the War Department. The selection of this division from military units all over the country is expected to have a moral value in stimulating interest in and understanding of the war.

An interesting announcement has been made by General Crowder concerning the conscientious objectors recognized by the Draft Law and the new National Army. The wise decision has been reached to employ these men in non-combatant service, but, it is made clear, in service which will not relieve them from the dangers of war.

The President has announced the appointment of 184 general officers in the National Army; 37 of them (all from the Regular Army with the exception of Major-General John F. O'Ryan, of New York, and Major-General Charles M. Clement, of Pennsylvania) are given the rank of major-general. This means the promotion of all the 35 brigadiers of the Regular Army to this higher rank. The order also includes the promotion of 147 colonels and lieutenant-colonels to the rank of brigadier-general.

The most disappointing item in the week's news is the con-

fimation by the War Department of the report which first appeared in the New York "Times," and which we recorded in last week's issue of The Outlook, that the new training camps are to be taken out of the authority of the departmental commanders. This action is defended on the ground that it will reduce paper work in the Army. To any one familiar with the paper work of the Army such a statement might sound prepossessing if one did not realize at the same time that this order will leave valuable departmental commanders stranded without an opportunity to exercise their proper functions.

If these departmental commanders are to be deprived of an opportunity for effective service in their present positions, they should be given commands in active service commensurate with their ability, rank, and experience.

THE NEED OF REAL SELECTION

It has been the wise intention of the Government to make our new National Army a real selective service. It has been called to the colors on a basis not only of choosing men because of their fitness for military work, but also of exempting men because of their ability to perform vitally necessary labors in civil life.

Criticism has been made of the fact that this same principle has not been applied to the call for men for medical service. Since the majority of licensed physicians are over draft age, we have resorted to the old volunteer system to supply the medical and surgical needs of our new army. To this appeal for volunteers the medical profession has responded loyally and unselfishly. Criticism has come, not because the doctors have not responded, but from the fact that the volunteer system has put an unfair burden on certain communities, a burden which might have been lessened if the same principle of selective service had been applied to medical men which has been applied to those of military age.

Whether or not this criticism is completely justified, there does appear to be an injustice and a waste of good material within the field of the selective draft itself which have been, so far as we have seen, ignored. We refer to the drafting of medical students not yet licensed as practitioners to serve in the ranks of the new army.

When the war broke out, many of these men took under advisement the question of volunteering for service. They were told in many instances that they should continue their work in the medical school, for the training they would receive would be of more value to the country than any purely military service which they would be likely to render.

Now many of these young men have been drafted for service in the new army. They will be among the last to ask exemption. To use these men as private soldiers will be to throw away all the valuable technical education which they have received in a profession which in time of war is as vitally necessary as that of bearing arms.

Though these men are not licensed physicians or surgeons, they are infinitely better prepared for first aid and hospital work than the majority of non-commissioned orderlies in the medical corps. If they are put at this work, their training and experience will be conserved for the use of the country both in time of war and in time of peace. The way is still open for establishing a real selective service of our medical students and of other men technically trained.

A MAN'S CHANCES IN WAR

To some whose sons or brothers or friends are drafted for service in the new National Army the summons to the colors may seem almost like a sentence to death. It is nothing of the sort. Most of the men who will go to war from America will, if figures can be trusted, come back, not only alive, but in better physical condition than they were in when they went. Of course the risk these men will run is greater in war than in times of peace in ordinary civil life; but it is not so great as to cause despondency.

Figures of the losses in war are not easy to obtain, but they are known with sufficient approach to accuracy to enable some general conclusions to be drawn. Babson's Statistical Organi-