

The Outlook

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THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN GALICIA

The capture of the city of Halicz, on July 10, was a signal triumph for the Russian army. It had previously been stated that in the advance toward Halicz Russian forces under General Korniloff (and, of course, under the supreme command of General Brusiloff) had pushed back the Austrian army some sixteen miles, and that between July 2 and July 8 General Korniloff had taken fourteen thousand prisoners. This is in addition to many thousand prisoners taken in the earlier Russian drives at Koniuchy, Brzezany, and Stanislaw. Halicz is sixty-three miles southeast of Lemberg, the capital of the Austrian province of Galicia, and has always been considered a notably strong fortified place. It is also a railway center. It is the natural point from which an advance toward Lemberg can best be carried on.

Whether the ultimate object of General Brusiloff—namely, the fall of Lemberg—follows or not, the continuing and resolute fighting of the reorganized Russian army is significant. It is more determined than the most optimistic war writers had dared to expect. London despatches, for instance, declare that “throughout the whole offensive the Russian army has shown itself in admirable condition.” This is beyond question due to the marvelous ability of General Brusiloff in first convincing his soldiers that the war against Germany must be pushed hard and pushed now, and, secondly, in acting with a large strategical conception and supplying ample munitions. This is shown conclusively by the fact that the Russian offensive was not a sporadic attack at one point or even in one field. The first attack, at Koniuchy, was followed by a second offensive far to the north against the German position at Pinsk. Before the surprise of this had passed away came the offensive against Stanislaw, south and a little east of Lemberg. Finally, what seems to be the strongest and most important movement of all is the irresistible attack, also southeast of Lemberg, aimed directly at Halicz.

What the Russians have accomplished in the military field tends to confirm the statement from General Hugh Scott, of our Army, now in Russia, “The Russian army is going to fight. The spirit among the troops everywhere is excellent.” It also agrees with Mr. Root’s statement cabled from Petrograd on July 10 through the Associated Press: “We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian democracy. . . . We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick action. . . . The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. . . . The country’s most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help Russia in both.”

RUSSIA’S REPORT ON HER OWN CONDITION

The Russian Premier, Prince Lvoff, has given to a correspondent of the Associated Press an interview on present conditions in Russia which is of considerable interest.

The cautious reader should recognize the fact that no Premier will give to the press any statements concerning his country which, in his judgment, would be injurious to its welfare. We must expect optimism in such an interview, and perhaps must even discount somewhat the statements of fact which it contains, since it is never easy to distinguish with accuracy between facts and opinions.

The Premier recognizes by implication the perilous pacific spirit which temporarily paralyzed the Russian army, but declares that the present advance confirms information from observers on the spot that the offensive spirit is spreading. The

army’s supply of munitions and other necessities is better than last year. The greatest difficulty of Russia is in the imperfection of her transport system. This is an evil heritage from the old régime which it is impossible to correct in three months, crowded as they have been with revolutionary activities. “Our great hope,” he says, “of speedy improvement lies with the Stevens railway commission (the American commission of engineers), from which we expect much.” The food problem as well as the military problem waits on an improvement of transportation. The crops promise to be adequate for the nation’s need, though the importation of additional agricultural machinery from America is greatly to be desired. “The irrational elements, such as the Anarchists and Bolsheviki, are in such a minority that there is no reason to fear their getting the upper hand.” In a single paragraph the Russian Prime Minister summarizes the political and social reforms which have been accomplished within a few weeks of the collapse of the bureaucratic Government. They include “complete liberty of person, speech, press, meeting, and religion,” and other detailed reforms in the local governments, in education, taxation, and church order and authority. Upon these specifications, however, greater information is needed before the reader can be assured of their permanent significance and value. For the settlement of fundamental questions in the organization of the Empire the nation necessarily waits for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in October next.

The Prime Minister closes with an expression of his heartiest satisfaction at the visit of the Root Mission and his appreciation of the ability with which Mr. Root has grasped the essential facts in the complicated condition of the Russian people which confronted him.

THE AIR ATTACK ON LONDON

London, on July 7, endured what is reported as the greatest air raid yet suffered. Twenty-two German airplanes were engaged in the attack on the city. The official announcement records the killing of a total of twenty-eight people in London and on the coast and the injuring of 141. The invaders lost nine airplanes during the progress of their attack and their return to their own lines.

Naturally enough, this raid on London, which seems to have resulted in little material damage even though it did result in the injuring or killing of some seventy-four women and children, has aroused in England a demand for reprisals in kind on German soil. It is, of course, a temptation to fight savagery with savagery.

The New York “Tribune” quotes an Allied airman as writing: “I wonder if the people who talk of reprisals realize how many raids our flying corps carry out on all the German bases, etc., nearly every day. Personally I hope they will stick to that much more useful and honorable work and not search for German women and children.” Such a statement is, we believe, fully in accord with the soberest British and American sentiment. We trust that America would still hold to this policy even if her cities instead of those of her English ally were subject to such wanton and ruthless attack.

In ruthless warfare the Allies cannot hope, even if they would, to outrival Germany. Let us confine our efforts to those legitimate methods of warfare by which alone the war can be won.

Germany in raiding English towns and cities has proved a powerful help to England’s determination. Humanitarian considerations aside, let us not commit the same military blunder.

Lloyd George, in discussing the attack on London before

the House of Commons, gave adequate reasons why London could not be given complete immunity from airplane attack. He said:

The first consideration before the Government was to insure that the army in France was supplied sufficiently with airplanes. They were the army's eyes, without which it was impossible to advance. To photograph the enemy's works required air supremacy, and without that supremacy it was sheer murder to allow troops to advance.

The twenty-eight fatal casualties suffered by the civilian population in the last raid were very regrettable, but unless the troops at the front were supplied with sufficient airplanes to secure proper knowledge of the German trenches and positions and to guide their artillery barrage their losses might easily be, not 28, but 28,000. . . .

Nothing could be more disastrous to military operations than to encourage the Germans to believe that they could by these raids excite such a clamor in this country that the Government would be unable to resist the demand for the withdrawal of airplanes from the front.

Such a statement as this should lend impetus to America's efforts to help our allies gain at the earliest possible moment complete supremacy in the air. The best reprisal is to win the war.

THE POLITICAL TENSION IN GERMANY

The news of the week ending July 11 relating to the political agitation and uncertainty in Germany indicates, not that a revolution such as took place in Russia is at hand, but that the less autocratic elements and leaders in Germany are making an impression on the irreconcilables in the inner circle of the German Government. These despatches come directly from the neutral countries bordering Germany (Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark), but they unquestionably have a basis of fact behind them. One statement attributed to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg by a correspondent at Berne, who asserts that he finds his authority in Berlin newspapers, declares that the Chancellor denied the rumor that he was about to resign, and boldly proclaimed: "The formula of peace without annexations is unacceptable to us. We cannot declare our terms of peace. We must fight and conquer."

This utterance was in all probability called out by the surprising address made just previously by Matthias Erzberger, the leader of the radical branch of the Catholic Centrists in the Reichstag. He advocated the idea of peace without annexations or indemnities, and showed little regard for the keynote of the autocratic German power—that is, the insistence on German predominance in Middle Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Other signs of perturbation among those in power in Germany have been the hurried conferences between the Kaiser, the Chancellor, General von Hindenburg, and General Ludendorff, and the repeated rumors that resignations are soon to come from Herr Zimmermann, the Foreign Minister, and Dr. Karl Helfferich, the Vice-Chancellor. Herr Zimmermann's resignation will be welcomed in the United States because of his authorship of the hostile and foolish attempt to incite Mexico and Japan against the United States, and because of his utter lack of any international moral sense or care for considerations of humanity.

These things, and the comments of German papers, certainly indicate great political tension in Germany. They are more important in their ultimate possibilities than the so far abortive efforts to amend the German political constitution and to make the Reichstag more representative. As has been pointed out in this journal in articles written by Mr. Paul W. Brown and Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick and editorially, any effort to make representation in the Reichstag more democratic and fairer, while admirable in itself, would not in the least change the rigid control over German affairs, internal and external, resting in the Bundesrath (the members of which are appointed, not elected), which has an absolute veto power over the Reichstag, or the equally rigid power exercised by the Emperor and his Chancellor over the Ministry.

The peoples who are engaged in the struggle against Prussianism should be now more than ever on their guard against any plan on the part of Prussian leaders to disguise their inten-

tions by a display of acquiescence in democratic reform while holding fast to the substance of irresponsible power.

THE BRITISH LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

Within the past few weeks there have been authoritative expressions of opinion favorable to a permanent organization of nations to insure peace.

On May 14, 1917, the British League of Nations was enthusiastically indorsed in a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting attended by some twelve hundred representative men under Lord Bryce's presidency. The other speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, General Smuts, Baron Buckmaster, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Viscount Harcourt. The particular feature of this meeting was Lord Buckmaster's advocacy of Germany's inclusion in the proposed League, an advocacy which was greeted by applause. He said truly that if Germany was not included the League would be only a league against Germany; and he might have added that already the civilized world is practically in league against Germany now. The British League to Enforce Peace differs from the American League to Enforce Peace in that it provides for the protection of every member of the League from military attack, whether by another member or by an outsider. This movement for international peace by international organization has had another indorsement from France, where, in the Chamber of Deputies, the leader of the Socialists has demanded of Premier Ribot that he engage immediately in concerted action with President Wilson looking to the formation of a Society of Nations, and has received the reply from the Premier, "I will consider it an honor to enter into conversation with President Wilson on that subject."

Doubtless the energies of the Allies should be concentrated on their joint plans to defeat Germany, and they should not allow anything to divert them from that purpose. But agreeing upon terms of peace is necessary to a prosecution of the war to its conclusion, since terms of peace are necessary to any conclusion of the war. And the world will not, and ought not to, be satisfied with any terms which do not involve at least some hope of a peace that will be permanent. Moreover, the cordial co-operation of the Socialists, especially those of France and Russia, can be secured only by an agreement to consider with them plans for providing against a recurrence of a world war. A legitimate parallel to the apothegm, "In time of peace prepare for war," is, "In time of war prepare for peace."

THE CONTROL OF EXPORTS TO NEUTRALS

As our draft of soldiers is called a selective draft, so the proposed embargo on exports to neutrals may be called selective. What the President has done is to proclaim that hereafter all exports from the United States of grain, meat, fuel, steel, and other commodities of use in warfare shall be controlled by means of licenses to be issued under regulations to be made by the Secretary of Commerce. The long list of countries to which this applies includes our allies, but naturally the important bearing is as to neutral nations, and especially to Holland and Scandinavia. By the licensing system the embargo may be varied as to extent, and changed from time to time so as to avoid unreasonable hardship.

In explaining the purpose of the proclamation the President points out that it is aimed primarily at conserving our food and other fundamental supplies (particularly before the new crops come in), and then makes this excellent statement about our duty as regards exports to other countries:

It is obviously the duty of the United States in liberating any surplus products over and above our own domestic needs to consider first the necessities of all the nations engaged in war against the Central Empires. As to neutral nations, however, we also recognize our duty. The Government does not wish to hamper them. On the contrary, it wishes and intends, by all fair and equitable means, to co-operate with them in their difficult task of adding from our available surpluses to their own domestic supply and of meeting their pressing necessities or deficits. In conserving the deficits of food supplies its Government means only to fulfill its obvious obligations to assure itself that neutrals are husbanding their own resources and that our supplies will