

The Outlook

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GERMAN LENITY FOR GERMAN ATROCITIES

NOT long ago it was reported that the French Government was seriously considering withdrawing its representatives from the trials at Leipsic of German officers and men charged with specific atrocities. Several such trials have been held; there have been a few convictions but no responsible officer of rank has been punished and the sentences dealt out to insignificant criminals have been almost trivial.

Two cases brought to an end on July 16 confirm the statement that Germany is trifling. Here is as clear a case of murder as ever was put before a court. A British hospital ship was torpedoed by a German submarine; the people on board took to the small boats; thereupon the submarine's sailors, under orders from its commander, fired upon the small boats and murdered several persons. The presiding judge could do nothing else but declare that the torpedoing of the hospital ship was in itself a violation of the law of nations, that the firing upon the small boats was a murderous act, and that, to quote his words, "this terrible case casts a shadow over the German navy and the whole submarine war."

But what was the result? Commander Patzit, who gave the murder order, was allowed to flee the country and has not been brought to trial. Two lieutenants were convicted, but the Court laid stress on the fact that they were acting under orders and the contradictory theory that they acted "on the impulse of the moment." The two men were sentenced to four years' imprisonment—an absolutely inadequate punishment for such a crime; the crime was declared to be manslaughter and not murder—a false statement on the face of the evidence; and they were relieved from the proper and legal requirement of doing hard labor during imprisonment.

In every way these trials show that Germany is not serious in dealing with criminals found guilty under German laws and by a German court. Sometimes the excuse is that the superior officers were responsible—in such cases the superior officers are not to be found; sometimes the excuse is that the act was under a general order of the Government—and apparently we cannot try a government; sometimes men of no importance are convicted and receive light sentences.

One thing of value may come out of

these trials. It would seem impossible for even the most bigoted worshiper of German autocracy to read the evidence without knowing that the charges of German atrocities are true on the small as well as on the large scale.

OIL OR NO OIL

So far as we know, no President has intervened in Congress personally and officially to check proposed legislation, as President Harding has just done, not once, but twice. Both occasions have occurred within a week.

To the President's suggestion on the bonus bill in the Senate we refer elsewhere. His suggestion concerning House legislation took the form of a letter remonstrating against the proposed duty on oil. It would, the President says, benefit certain of our oil producers, but it would be "thoroughly out of harmony with the larger policy" which he has in mind, namely, the policy of encouraging "the participation of American citizens in the development of oil resources in many foreign lands." It took some degree of political courage to oppose the high protective element in American industry, which thinks exclusively of its own interests and not of a "larger policy."

That policy also includes protection to the American Navy and the American merchant marine. A great percentage of the Shipping Board's ocean-going tonnage and of that privately owned is equipped for oil-burning.

The duty on oil would also be a serious blow to many industries which are to-day oil consumers. It would be seen as well in the increased cost of asphalt; thus both road-building and roofing would be handicapped.

The President's condemnation of the proposed tariff on oil calls public attention to the lumber and other schedules in which the imposition of duties might possibly be followed by needless burdens to the people, quite incommensurate with the benefit to certain "interests."

The publication of the President's letter was followed by a vote in the House of Representatives. Oil was restored to the free list.

TWO KINDS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

In last week's Outlook we printed in the column entitled "Publisher's Notes" an extract from a very interesting letter from Mr. A. L. Davis, of North Loup, Nebraska. We think it worth while repeating it here because it indi-

cates what we believe to be a somewhat wide misconception:

What America needs is a consistent, continuous foreign policy. And the fact that Harding is going ahead with the policies of Wilson, notwithstanding election promises, shows that beneath the insincerity of politics there is developing an American foreign policy, in spite of politics. Your bitter denunciations of the Wilson Administration, while approving so much of the programme when directed by a Republican, has been one of the painful surprises to me. I had said I would stop my subscription, though I have been a subscriber for years. However, I am inclosing my check for renewal. "With all your faults," I cannot do without you.

The error which Mr. Davis makes is his saying that the Harding Administration is going on with the policies of the Wilson Administration. Mr. Davis is quite justified in preferring the policies of Mr. Wilson to Mr. Harding's, but he is not justified in confusing the two. The League of Nations as espoused by Mr. Wilson provided for an international legislature of two chambers and for the enforcement of the decisions or regulations or laws of that legislature by allied military power. It meant not the discontinuance but the development of military force. On the contrary, Mr. Harding proposes the curtailment of military power; he has in his public speeches advocated an international court, and by the round table conference which he has now invited to meet in Washington takes the first practical step toward the establishment of an international court which shall render its decisions based on codified international law, decisions which will rest upon the power of public opinion rather than upon military power. It is true that the Harding proposals and the Wilson proposals both are concerned with international action, but this is the only respect in which they are at all similar.

We share with Mr. Davis his desire for a continuance of a just and co-operative foreign policy on the part of the United States, but if he wants an international legislature in the senate of which only five nations are represented, and in the assembly of which the smaller nations while represented have practically no power, the whole scheme resting on armies and navies, we part company.

A SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

A SUMMER school taught by Lord Bryce, Count Teleki, Baron Korff, Tommaso Tittoni, Minister Panaretoff,

and Professor Achille Viallate ought to be fairly interesting.

Such a distinguished list of names is announced in connection with the lecture courses of the Institute of Politics, which opens on July 29 at Williams College and lasts until August 27.

Lord Bryce is to deliver eight lectures on the international relations of Old World states in their historical, political, commercial, legal, and ethical aspects, including a discussion of the causes of wars and the means of averting them.

Count Teleki and Baron Korff are to deliver six lectures each, respectively, on the place of Hungary in European history and Russian foreign relations during the last half-century.

Signor Tittoni and Professor Viallate are to deliver five lectures each, respectively, on modern Italy and on the economic factor in international relations.

Thus comes into being the capital plan proposed eight years ago by President Garfield, of Williams, for the study of politics, and, in particular, for the promotion of a better understanding in international relations. This was to get together every summer at Williams for a month a chosen company of scholars and students; to offer to them courses of lectures by men of international distinction; to organize round-table discussions; and to provide facilities for intensive instruction and research. A great benefactor of Williams provided money enough to cover the expenses of the project for three years, including the remuneration of the lecturers and the provision of furnished houses for them while they resided at Williamstown.

The war delayed the opening of this "Institute of Politics." The character of the session now beginning is evident, not only from the names of the lecturers, but also from the names of those who formed the Board of Advisers—among them being Chief Justice Taft, and such authorities on international law and history as are Professors Moore of Columbia, Coolidge of Harvard, Willoughby of Johns Hopkins, and Brown of Princeton.

FILIPINO ATHLETES

HUNDREDS of Japanese and Filipinos and tens of thousands of Chinese witnessed the recent Far Eastern Athletic Games at Shanghai, where this year's meeting took place. The result was a total of 54 points for the Filipinos as against 34 for the Japanese and 6 for the Chinese.

This is really a triumph for the American who started the Far Eastern games. Before the war broke out our Young Men's Christian Association sent Mr. Elwood Brown to the Philippines

as Physical Director. The Y recognized that the Filipinos knew little or nothing of sport as understood by us, though the extraordinary native agility of the Filipinos was noted—the Igorotes especially are wonders in the quickness with which they can scale the tallest tree. But most Filipinos were disinclined to occupy their idle time in vigorous exercise. Mr. Brown was instrumental in changing Filipino habits so that in the seventh year after his arrival one dealer alone in Manila sold some eleven thousand volley-balls, practically all of them to natives.

Again, before Mr. Brown's arrival, the mutual distrust among Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese was so great that it seemed impossible for them ever to come together on any common ground. But Mr. Brown quickly organized the Far Eastern Games. Now for eight years the three peoples have been competing in track and field events, in baseball, volley-ball, basket-ball, swimming, tennis, and other sports.

Americans may well be proud of American initiative and influence in the Far East, not only in social, political, and moral, but also in physical endeavor as a foundation for the other three.

THE PROMOTION OF PLAY AROUND THE WORLD

WHEN the war broke out, Elwood Brown went to France as one of the Y athletic directors, and finally became director of its Department of Athletics in the American Expeditionary Forces. The way in which the Y and the Army together managed athletics is a matter of history—the Pershing Stadium in Paris is an impressive memorial. But the important thing was that everywhere every man was induced to play at something.

The benefit from all this was so striking that the Y could not resist its own movement after the war, and that movement has gone round the world. Army officers from many countries, interested in the physical development of their commands, asked the Y to introduce its physical training programme into their armies. For instance, the Rumanian army gave such an invitation. It was accepted. The result has been that a bill has now passed Parliament by which a young Rumanian may have the choice of two years of military service in uniform, or only one year in active service if he is subject during the second year to constant examination showing that he is constantly following the Y programme.

In Czechoslovakia the leaders of the Sokol movement (organized years ago for the purpose of keeping young Bo-

hemians in good trim, so as at any time to be able to fight their Austrian rulers) have introduced the Y programme, which has already favorably affected more than half a million Czechs.

From Italy there came an invitation to send a Y trainer. And as a result at the Olympian Games Italy was represented by the best team in her history.

The effect on France is well known. The daily demonstration of thousands of American soldiers at athletic play resulted in an immense increase in the interest taken by the French in athletics and sport.

Among peoples of the Near and Far East the success of the Association's programme is worthy of special note. A Chinese said the other day: "The Y. M. C. A. is instilling into physically backward races some of the qualities hitherto lacking in the Asiatic peoples." In India boys, in order to participate in the games operated by the Y, had to forget the caste idea. Brahmans and Parsis were thus brought together. No wonder that the British Government is backing the American programme!

ARKANSAS ASSERTS THAT SHE IS NOT BANKRUPT

HIGHWAY construction in Arkansas has been attacked as the chief reason for the alleged bankruptcy in that State. Taxpayers' suits have been begun on charges of extravagance and fraud. Of course States and counties should issue bonds and Federal assistance should be furnished for only those portions of highway construction which are necessary and are permanent in character. As far as Federal aid projects are concerned, the Bureau of Public Roads, in Washington, has issued a statement in which it is asserted that Federal aid projects are "notably free from the serious conditions which are said to surround other highway construction work in the State. . . . The conditions complained of are to be found mainly in the road districts created by special local laws." Yet the fact is," says Mr. George B. Rose, of Little Rock, Arkansas, in writing to The Outlook, that—

There is not a single road district in the State in default in its bond issue and not a single bond is imperiled. The total amount of road bonds issued does not exceed \$40,000,000, which is a mere bagatelle in a State whose wealth must exceed \$2,000,000,000.

As an additional proof of bankruptcy, it was urged that the public schools were being run by private subscription. "It is true," writes Mr. Rose, "that substantially every citizen in Little Rock and in many other towns of the State is paying a voluntary school tax, be-