

sighted things in the realm of vocational training. Mistakes have been made, but bad conditions are being corrected probably about as fast as is humanly possible, considering circumstances. The scandalous hospital situation of course has first call. But Mr. Forbes brings about, tolerates, or has thrust upon him some things which are not so easily understood. At a recent conference held in Washington to consider means of improving certain phases of vocational training a resolution was adopted and widely published. It begins:

"The work of the Veterans Bureau (with reference to vocational train-

ing) is being conducted with gratifying success."

The "Weekly" believes it is being "conducted toward success." But there is a long road to travel.

Mr. James's articles present as careful and as full a summary of the situation of the disabled veteran as we have seen anywhere. The Legion has the facts and the means of following developments which are possessed by no other organization. If these facts are properly presented to the Nation, the time will come when the reaction of public opinion to the test word:

"Legion?"

will be an instantaneous cry of:

"Justice for the disabled!"

It will certainly be a fairer reaction than the present cry of "Bonus!" The Legion must give to the public constant and reiterated information concerning the status of our war-crippled men. It will find that the public has not forgotten its wounded soldiers; but it has been ignorant of the state in which they have been living. The widest publicity will be a powerful support to the Legion in its furtherance of a campaign deserving of the utmost success.

## GERMAN DEMOCRACY IN DANGER

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM EUROPE

BY ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

**R**ECENT events in Germany mark the difference between an inveterately traditional form of government and a new and untried form.

Old ideas—political, economic, social—are being upset. Hence one cannot expect to find a republican Germany without monarchic reaction. Indeed, after a residence in Germany some sturdy republicans from other countries despair of ever seeing there any republic on sure foundations.

These critics point, first, to the ineradicable German instinct towards dependence on and passive obedience to some higher, by-God's-grace, power in the state, instead of on a state made by and representing themselves, the real rulers.

Second, in a land where force, as expressing law and order, is the language still most easily understood the army, these critics note, has always meant, not popular, but royal or imperial, rule.

Third, apart from the Socialists, so slight was the pre-war republican movement in Germany as to seem almost non-existent; practically all the powerful political forces have been monarchist.

To most Germans, therefore, a republican form of government seems unnatural—as it were, a very unnecessary copying of the Swiss and French governmental forms. To hold this opinion is to take a sober, mature, firm stand. But the old-line Teutons become angered and infuriated when they learn of any courteous, especially of any docile or submissive, word from the new German Government towards those of the Entente Powers in carrying out the terms of the Versailles Treaty. It would be bad enough if these words came from princes and aristocrats. But to have them come from the middle and lower middle classes—and in the name of the whole German realm!—this is too much for princes and aristocrats.

They have been impelled to counter-strokes. We saw the short-lived Kapp-Lüttwitz *coup d'état*. It only strength-

ened the Republic. Then, to gain time, instead of another frontal attack, the monarchists and militarists fell back on the temporary measure of individual attack. The Erzberger murder last August was an example of this.

But the idea of a possibly necessary wholesale massacre has not been absent from the extremist mind. Reactionary newspapers have been hinting at a new Saint Bartholomew's. Towards this recent events have tended. In them all has been increasingly evident the monarchist accent—in the teaching by left-over staffs at schools and universities; in army reviews, regimental feastings, celebrations of battle anniversaries; in Ludendorff's statement that Germany needed a dictator, a man on horseback; in the Prussian pilgrimage to the ex-Empress's tomb; in the Bavarian demonstration, led by ex-Premier Kahr, crying "Vivat Rupertus Rex!" finally, the day before Foreign Minister Rathenau's murder (the signal for a reactionary rising), in ex-Vice-Chancellor Helfferich's violent Reichstag speech. "A Government like ours," said Helfferich, "having abandoned to the enemy important parts of German sovereignty, ought to be summoned before a High Court of Justice. The continuation of our [Rathenau's] present foreign policy is leading to a catastrophe. We must show the enemy that there are still *men* in Germany. . . . Only the monarchy can again give to Germany the sentiment of her dignity and the consciousness of her possible force."

The old Junkerdom was thus raising its reactionary head against the new democracy.

Then came the Rathenau assassination, revealing anew the power of monarchist organizations, like the "Consul," for instance; a detachment of it had been, it is said, specially charged with the suppression of certain political personalities. It planned Erzberger's assassination, it is claimed, and is generally credited with the attempt to murder

Scheidemann. Created at Munich, it has extended itself all over Germany. Following the Rathenau murder, under the guise of a meeting of protest against the Versailles Treaty, a mobilization of forces was to have been attempted.

But the reactionaries, blinded by political passion, did not foresee the real effect of the Rathenau crime upon the people and the Government.

The people gathered by the thousand in Munich and Berlin. They condemned as masqueraders those who professed allegiance to law and order while they were supporting a policy of assassination. In Berlin the meetings were the more impressive, not only because the city is by far the largest in Germany (Greater Berlin actually containing more than 4,000,000 people), but also because it is the center of German political activity. The meetings, with their banners and cries of "Hang Helfferich," left no doubt that, whatever the provinces might think, the center of German life is republican in sentiment.

As to the Government, Chancellor Wirth at once proclaimed in Parliament: "*Es geht nicht weiter*," or, as we might say, "This thing has got to stop." Here is the rejoinder of Dr. Wirth and his colleagues. By laws pressed through Parliament (already approved by the Council of the Realm), the Government plan to—

(1) Impose the death penalty on all members of secret societies concerned in planning the assassination of a Government official;

(2) Impose penal servitude on those who know of the existence of such societies and who do not inform the authorities, or who assist such societies, or who insult either a Government official, the Government flag, or the Constitution;

(3) Expel from Germany any person guilty of any offense should he be a member of a former reigning family;

(4) Establish a special tribunal to deal with revolutionary crimes;

(5) Invest the Government with special power over newspapers which encourage revolutionary agitation.

So much for legislation. As to administration, the promptness of the police in tracing the Rathenau assassins is silencing the Socialistic critics on the Government side who have been claiming that monarchist and militarist fugitives from justice can always count on police protection. The revelations now made of the connection between the Rathenau assassins and the monarchist organizations are not only compromising for the reactionaries but are proportionately strengthening the Republic.

All German monarchists are not militarists. All German monarchists are not reactionaries. Many monarchists are sincere upholders of law and order. Some of them even admire a republican form of government. But they are convinced that Germany is not yet ready for it, and perhaps never will be.

These particular monarchists, unfortunately, lack powerful leaders at present. The monarchist leaders who have the upper hand are those who have, in general, lost the world's confidence. Their present policy and methods only emphasize the world's judgment.



Keystone

GERMANS PARADING IN BERLIN CARRYING A PLACARD WHICH CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE IMPRISONMENT FOR LUDENDORFF, HELFFERICH, AND ESCHERICH

Such a method as political assassination has not killed the Republic. The murder of the Republic's Foreign Minister was indeed a body blow. It showed

that democratic Germany was in danger; but it awakened her energies. She is marching on.

Terriet, Switzerland, July 6, 1922.

## FURTHER MARTIAL ADVENTURES OF HENRY AND ME

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE BY H. J. HASKELL, OF  
THE KANSAS CITY "STAR"

**T**HE Martial Adventures of Henry and Me" on the battle-front in France, which William Allen White described so entertainingly four years ago, is to have another chapter. In this one the old comrades of Armageddon, of the Red Cross, and of a score of hard-fought political fights appear no longer as allies, but as antagonists. To-day William Allen White is under bond awaiting trial on a charge ordered made by his old friend, Henry J. Allen, Governor of Kansas.

The clash came over the method of enforcement of the Kansas Industrial Court Law, which was enacted at the instance of Governor Allen, with the hearty support of Mr. White. Briefly, Mr. White believed the Governor was violating the fundamental right of free speech in enforcing the law. Governor Allen insisted that the question was not one of free speech, but of conspiracy to nullify the law. It was a conflict that grew rather naturally out of the editor's concern with fundamental principles of democracy and the executive's preoccupation with the duty of law enforcement.

The Industrial Court Act grew out of the coal strike of 1919. Under the leadership of Governor Allen, William Allen White ardently co-operating, the Kansas Legislature undertook to do away with strikes in essential indus-

tries. It provided an Industrial Court to pass on disputes in such industries, and made the strike unlawful. It not only provided for the punishment of strike leaders, but it guaranteed protection to all workers and prohibited strikers from using violence, intimidation, threats, or persuasion in order to deter men who wish to work in an industry from so doing. In short, it prohibited picketing.

When the strike of the railway shopmen began, the State issued warrants for about fifty of the leaders in the State and then devoted itself to protecting the men who were employed to replace the strikers in the shops. Various forms of picketing were tried and broken up by the State Government. Then the leaders in the shop centers visited hotels, restaurants, and grocery stores and induced the owners—frequently under compulsion—to refuse accommodations to any of the strike-breakers. The State interpreted this as picketing and forced its discontinuance. The leaders finally resorted to placards saying: "We are for the striking railway men 100 per cent. We are for a living wage and fair living conditions." These were put up in the windows of restaurants and stores. The Attorney-General held that they were simply another form of picketing, intended to break down the efforts of the railways

to maintain an essential industry, and Governor Allen ordered them removed.

Numerous placards had been put in store windows at Emporia, the home of William Allen White. When they were ordered out, he felt that the State's action was a blow at a right that was essential to democratic government. So he sent out for a placard and put it up in the office of his newspaper, the Emporia "Gazette."

He struck out the figures "100" and wrote in "50," explaining that he was 50 per cent for the strikers; he felt their demands were just, but he was opposed to the strike as the means of winning them. Then he gave out a statement in which he said: "The right of free utterance of honest opinions is a fundamental right. . . . To restrict any man from the calm expression of an honest opinion merely because there is a strike in Kansas is unwise. Industrial questions are not honestly settled by a suppression of free utterance, either by speech or by the press, . . . so long as the opinion is orderly and temperate and decent."

To this Governor Allen replied that free speech or liberty of the press was not involved. Mr. White, he said, was free to discuss the strike in his paper from any angle. But he held that the law was violated when the Emporia editor joined with the strike leaders "in an organized effort to build up in all shop