


the old-fashioned Tory method of sitting on the safety valve is particularly dangerous.

If England ever needed liberal leadership she needs it now. Will the Labor Party force the Conservatives to become Liberals in self-defense? Will Lloyd George convince the people that they must choose between the Conservative Party and the Empire? Is there any other leader in England that can command a following that Lloyd George can? Britain, as it has been remarked, is sound financially but rotten economically. To restore economic health to a country cursed with unemployment as England is will require something more than a die-hard conservative or a politician with a captivating personality.

Whatever the cause of the overturn in Britain, the effect on Britain's foreign policies has already begun to be seen. Lloyd George's instability has irritated and disconcerted the statesmen of other countries, but especially those of France. In particular, the unreliability of his course in applying the terms of the Peace Treaty with Germany has been one of the important factors in the European situation. Sir Edward Carson has been quoted by the Oxford students who have recently visited America to debate with American students as describing the peace established by the Treaty of Versailles as "the peace which passeth all understanding." Certainly as applied by Lloyd George no one could be expected to understand it. Perhaps it is because he modified its terms by his own interpretation that he was the longest to last of the "Big Four" who negotiated it. Perhaps he had to seem uncertain to his foreign neighbors in order to keep his power at home. Perhaps the friction that has accompanied his negotiations ever since the Peace Treaty was signed was the inevitable product of England's economic turmoil and political instability. Nevertheless it is impossible to relieve Mr. Lloyd George of the responsibility for much that has happened in the fostering of misunderstanding over the enforcement of the German reparations, as well as the negotiations concerning the Near East. It is impossible for the foreign observer to ignore the fact that in Europe, except with Germany and her allies, Lloyd George's retirement has been greeted mainly with expressions of relief.

Nothing that has occurred in connection with the change in the British Government indicates, as far as we can see, any reason for a change in the attitude of America toward Europe. We have every reason for continuing to give our aid to those who are helpless, though those very helpless ones may have



**ALASKA
THE
MISUNDERSTOOD**

Do you know that Alaska is the most misunderstood territory on earth to-day? The popular notion that Alaska is composed entirely of blizzards, icebergs, and Eskimos is a mistake. Nearly one thousand miles north of where Alaska begins there are enormous wheat-fields, vegetable gardens, and scorching summer days when the mercury climbs to 90°. An Eskimo on the streets of Fairbanks would be a seven-day wonder. If you think that Alaska is still the land of the "rough-neck," it will interest you to know that a dinner-jacket is as useful in Alaska as in New York, and that modish fashions in dress reach Alaska almost as soon as they reach Boston and Philadelphia.

Sherman Rogers has just returned from Alaska, and in a series of articles soon to appear in *The Outlook* he punctures hundreds of our illusions about the Land of the Midnight Sun. He describes in full exactly what Alaska is and what Alaska needs. He describes its neglect by Congress, and outlines the remedy.

Mr. Rogers's report on Alaska is likely to excite much controversy. It is the story of billions of dollars' worth of potential wealth and opportunities of social and political development which at present lie fettered beneath crushing masses of administrative red tape.

neighbors whose obligation to them is more direct than ours. We have every reason to look with sympathy upon every effort towards liberty and true self-government, even when we have no means of giving material aid. But for intervention or for interference in the

general political or economic situation there seems to us to be no present necessity. The time may come when a more active policy than we are now pursuing may be effective; but if it is to be effective then, we must be careful not to do what would be ineffective now.

THE THIRD DEGREE

If published reports are to be credited, legal officials and detectives in the New Brunswick murder case have furnished another example of the futility as well as the un-American cruelty of "third degree" methods. One person thus treated, not under arrest, already questioned repeatedly, was called out of his back door early in the evening by mysterious men, taken to a room where lawyers and detectives were waiting, and subjected to a rapid fire of interrogation that lasted for many hours and well into the early morning. He had no counsel, no friend to guard his interests. Under these circumstances the "grilling" was peculiarly an outrage. The result was apparently negligible. Another man, whom events proved to be untrustworthy, was supposed to know something he had not told. He was bullied and cross-questioned and threatened until he broke down nervously and accused of the murder a friend of his who, events showed, was innocent and who was discharged soon after his arrest. In this instance the result was a good deal worse than nothing.

There is such a thing as moral and mental as well as physical torture. It is repugnant to Anglo-Saxon ideas of personal liberty. There should be wide latitude offered to keen-witted investigation of crime, but the examination of accused or suspected persons should be conducted by a judicial officer under such circumstances that coercion and physical breaking down of the questioned person should be prevented. Scientists and lawyers agree that coerced confessions or testimony are frequently false; when admitted as evidence at all, they are regarded as the poorest kind of evidence.

Pride in the fine traditions of Anglo-Saxon law and judicial procedure should not lead us to ignore the merit in some other traditions. In respect to the examination of suspected persons or of reluctant witnesses, the French follow a method much superior to the "third degree" both in its efficiency and in its justice. Such examination is conducted openly by the judge who exercises great liberty in his questions but is restrained from excess not only by tradition and by the dignity of his office but by the very publicity of the procedure.

ON THE EVE OF ELECTION DAY

I—THE REVOLT AGAINST THE YANKEE

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM WISCONSIN BY JOHN BALLARD

EVERY political ostrich in the country has his head in the sand, the while squeaking plaintively that the radical success in Wisconsin does not mean anything serious. It all depends on what one considers serious. The fact has to be faced that in the Wisconsin primary election of September 5 Socialism gained the greatest victory that it has ever won in American politics. That Robert M. La Follette received not merely a majority, but a smashing, an overwhelming majority, was due to the Milwaukee Socialist organization, incomparably the best disciplined and most efficient political machine in the United States.

It is, moreover, entirely possible that Congress will again be confronted with the necessity of deciding what to do with Victor Berger.

Last spring Berger went to the National Convention of his party and persuaded the delegates so to change the rules as to permit the Wisconsin branch to make no nomination for Senator, and thus leave the members free to vote for La Follette. Perhaps it was in his mind to show the country that the bulk of the La Follette followers were now willing to share the name as well as the principles of Socialism. The outcome has justified his opinion. The La Follette faction met the avowed Socialists more than half-way. If the November decision affirms the September verdict, the full strength developed by La Follette may be counted as Socialist strength.

The real, the true reason why Socialism has made such political gains in Wisconsin since 1917 is because the European War consolidated the spirit of revolt against the Yankee tradition. The same thing is true of the whole group of Mid-Western granger States that have been populated by Continental peasants. Probably there are not more people in Wisconsin than in some other States who feel that the United States is not a country, but there are more who openly say so and who will vote for a man whose words and acts mean substantially the same thing. The two groups that dominate an immense area and population—the German and the Scandinavian—have been brought into almost complete accord by the events of the war. Scandinavian Minnesota was as balky in war time as German Wisconsin. Half a dozen States need only the same quality of leadership that Wisconsin has to become articulate in the same way. The depeasantized peasants, as H. G. Wells calls them, have in their common hatred of Yankeedom a stronger bond of unity than ever existed before.

In Wisconsin, and particularly in Milwaukee, an absurd state of affairs has resulted from the attempt to ignore

the facts. There is no wholesome ventilation of the political premises and no exchange of views on the subject that is uppermost in everybody's mind but which nobody talks about. Nobody, that is to say, except Victor Berger, for the Socialist leader is almost alone in speaking plainly. It is perfectly well known that the so-called conservative German-language papers really wanted La Follette to win in the primary and want Berger to win in November; that business men who were publicly enrolled as contributors to anti-radical funds have privately given both their money and their votes to help the Socialists win; but that it is not considered polite to mention these facts.

Berger, always more open than La Follette or the German editors who support La Follette, occasionally speaks his mind. Two weeks before the primary election, in a remarkably shrewd analysis and forecast, he gave his reasons for expecting a Socialist victory, and of three causes contributing to the situation, political and economic and ethnic, he gave most consideration to the ethnic. Here is a part of the statement, published in his "Findings" on August 22:

Ethnical. The United States are not an ethnical unit. Our population is of mixed European descent.

Naturally, the inherited characteristics and instincts play a strong part in our lives, and even for that reason alone the American participation in the World War was a crime and a blunder. Our mission naturally should have been one of peace.

Wisconsin is overwhelmingly German and Scandinavian.

For some reason La Follette always has had a strong hold on the Scandinavian farmers—which surely was not lessened by the position he took against the war, because the Scandinavians, by a large majority, were not in favor of the war.

And undoubtedly La Follette has gained the sympathies of ninety-nine per cent of all the voters of German descent, who by instinct as much as by political and economic insight were opposed to our entrance into the World War.

Add to this that the Irish element during the war and since the war has also come to appreciate Robert M. La Follette as he had never been appreciated before. It will be a sorry Irishman, indeed, who would vote for the Rev. "Big Bill" Ganfield in preference to voting for Robert M. La Follette.

The reactionaries in their stupidity have made the war the issue in this election. They have boldly proclaimed that the nomination and election of Robert M. La Follette is to be considered a referendum on the war question.

They will get their "referendum."

Now, although the German Socialists may manifest a tender interest in the Irish before election, in their secret hearts they fear the Irish politician. To this day they do not know just how it came about that Dan Hoan, of true Hibernian breed, became the Socialist Mayor of this Teutonic town. Berger likes to avail himself of Irish political skill, but it is part of the Socialist programme to make an end of Irish and Anglo-American leadership. With scandalous disregard of this ambition, sundry Irishmen went out on September 5 and cleaned up the best county nominations in sight. Inasmuch as the Irish in Milwaukee are relatively about as numerous as Scotchmen in Hester Street, a sporting population would have been moved to admiration. Not so a community whose motto, under the direct primary, has become, "Everybody welch." The day after the primary, defeated candidates agitated the air with cries of rage and demands for an independent ticket. Berger was moved to sympathy for the defeated Republican candidates and said in his disgust:

Shaughnessy, McManus, Cary, Phelps—here is a real, smashing defeat of the "Huns" in Milwaukee County—in spite of Bob La Follette's Hunnish triumph. Let Bob make progressive laws; they, the genuine patriots, will "stand pat" on the pay check.

There were eight candidates for district attorney; Koenig, Bartelt, Graebner, Groelle, Juergens, *et al.*, and Shaughnessy beat the lot. Pat McManus beat "Heinie" Bulder for county treasurer, in spite of the fact that "Heinie" holds the office now and had, besides, presented the Milwaukee zoo with an elephant. This defeat exasperated the supporters of both the Kaiser and the zoo and caused Berger to remind his readers that the elephant is the source of commercial ivory. However, Berger is too subtle for his constituency.

Some Wisconsin editors have sent out word that the vote for La Follette should not be regarded as an indorsement of his war record—which is of course the Socialist war record also. The statement is absurd. In the primary campaign no issue was more fairly and squarely before the people than that very question.

However unpalatable the fact may be, a record of service in the war of 1917-18 is a liability and not an asset for a candidate in Wisconsin.

Almost every ex-service man who tried for a nomination in the primary was *spurio versunkt*. Paulsen, with the record of a first-class fighting man, tried for Secretary of State, and in a more direct way than anybody else challenged