

Probably M. Herriot, but not impossibly M. Briand or even M. Painlevé; both of them have already occupied that office. The Germans would vastly prefer M. Herriot. They do not forget that four years ago M. Briand, then Premier, authorized the occupation of the city of Frankfurt as a counter-irritant to their Government's willful obstruction and violation of treaty terms. Nor do the Germans like M. Painlevé's constant assertions that "I appointed Foch and Pétain."

Well, suppose it to be Herriot.

In foreign policy he is a convert to the Ruhr occupation, it is true, but he stands, alas! for the recognition of Russia. He knows foreign countries well, including our own. After his recent hasty swing around our cities he said: "The United States will be generous if one knows how to talk to its soul." He is also friendly to England, while to Germany he would offer a hand of friendship by strengthening, if possible, every democratic trend there, now "stified by a disastrous wave of nationalism."

Whatever his views on foreign politics, it is easy to see that he is no aver-

age parochial person. He is a man of the world.

In domestic policy he has had large executive and legislative experience, despite his comparative youth. Repeatedly Mayor of Lyons, M. Herriot has been a popular official. That he is a keen and clever student of home as well as of foreign affairs is reflected in his sprightly books, "Agir" and "Créer," worth any Frenchman's reading, because full of often helpful suggestiveness, even when the reader does not always agree with the author's conclusions.

He has the courage of his convictions. Even if they would save France—as they did—a vast amount of money right away, he did not hesitate to condemn the decree-laws, and he would do away with the one-fifth extra taxation too, even if it did—as it did—redeem France in the recent crisis. He would restore the dubious match monopoly. He would pass laws establishing social insurance, though Treasury funds do not warrant them. He would stop the exercise of the previous Cabinet's notions concerning education. Whether he will follow the advice of ultra-Radical friends as to further

measures remains to be seen. Some of those measures are:

(1) The immediate resignation of President Millerand, because he has shown himself a party leader and not a President.

(2) The re-establishment of *scrutins d'arrondissement* (single-member constituencies) in place of the present electoral system.

(3) A complete and total amnesty—already Caillaux is reported to be ready to replace the late lamented d'Estournelles de Constant in the Senate—think of it!

(4) The suppression of the turnover tax by a capital levy.

Be these things as they may, the change from Poincaré and positive safety to somebody else and uncertainty has been having an unsettling effect, as is menacingly shown in a renewed fall of the franc. Sound financiers fear a financial demagoguery, an unbalancing of the budget. Let us hope that these fears may evaporate, as they have under not wholly dissimilar circumstances in England.

Paris, May 20, 1924.

Australia's Way with Asiatics

An Interview with Ex-Prime Minister Hughes

By PHILIP COAN

SUPPOSE that this country had only five-sixths as many Japanese among its inhabitants in 1920 as in 1910; suppose further that the number of settlers from Japan had actually been diminished, without in the least disturbing the relations between the two countries; we should then be in the position in which Australia stands to-day.

How did Australia contrive thus to escape a Japanese problem? Ex-Prime Minister William Morris Hughes, who directed the administration of the Australian Commonwealth during the greater part of the period 1910-23, gives the credit to the Australian Immigration Law.

The ex-Prime Minister was asked, while in New York, to explain his Government's policy toward the admittance of Asiatics.

He went back to the beginning. Soon after the great event of 1851, the discovery of gold in Australia, Chinese immigrants had begun to pour in. Their presence had soon made trouble. Race riots such as that at Bendigo in 1854 occurred, and the juries would not bring

in verdicts against defendants accused of acts of violence against the Chinese.

It was, of course, the same old story, familiar to Americans during the days of the Chinese influx into California before the Chinese Exclusion Act, and repeated in a milder form on more recent occasions during the anti-Japanese agitation. The separate colonies of Australia, not yet bound together by the federative act of 1901, passed a number of exclusion measures in the 'seventies.

"But when the Federation was formed," explained ex-Prime Minister Hughes, "the British Empire was soon to become an ally of Japan. It was obviously necessary to find a way of limiting immigration into Australia without making distinctions prejudicial to the Japanese or, for that matter, to Asiatics. After some negotiations, this was done.

"I want to make one point perfectly clear. The Australian Immigration Law doesn't make any distinctions of color. It is not in form directed against any particular country or race. Nor does it even draw a distinction of color."

"In effect, however, it operates so as to keep out Asiatics?"

"I am coming to that. The first point, however, is that it does not aim directly at any one in particular. It keeps out colored immigrants from within the British Empire as well as those of alien origin, and it keeps out undesirable whites."

Searching among his papers, Mr. Hughes drew forth a copy of the act. He read the provision that gives it its peculiar effectiveness. The provision is simple but sweeping. It empowers the immigration authorities to require the candidate for admittance to write correctly from dictation a passage fifty words long, in any language; the authorities choose the language.

"Japan," he added, "has never protested against our law. How could any nation protest against it? There is nothing in its form to wound the national pride of any nation.

"It is like a gun carried on a man's shoulder," he added, whimsically. "No one can object to a man carrying a shotgun as long as he doesn't point it at any one. Yet he may be going to commit

suicide, or homicide. On the other hand, he may only intend to shoot rabbits."

"What has been the effect of the law in shutting out Asiatic immigration?"

Again the Prime Minister hunted among his papers. This time he produced a sheaf of figures.

"Australia," he said, "had in 1901 29,907 Chinese; in 1921 the number had fallen to 15,240. The Chinese have always been our most numerous Asiatic immigrants. Natives of Japan have never come to us in numbers approaching those of China. We did, however, have 3,593 Japanese in 1901; their number had fallen to 2,762 in 1921."

"How about half-breeds and Asiatics of the second generation?"

These, said Mr. Hughes, did not form a numerous element. "Very few Asiatic immigrants are women. The men do not usually leave descendants. There are a few thousand Chinese half-breeds and a few hundred Australian-born inhabitants of partly Japanese blood."

"Do the half-breeds become a part of the Australian population—are they assimilated?"

"To some extent. But the number of such persons is infinitesimal. One of the members of the Commonwealth Senate who died recently was a man of partly Chinese extraction. He was a man of keen mind, who won his place by merit. We in Australia respect the Chinaman for the many good qualities that he possesses. He is hard-working, and his word is his bond. But, as you know, we believe in keeping Australia as a white man's country."

"How was it that the Japanese had not, as in California and in Hawaii, become more numerous than the Chinese?"

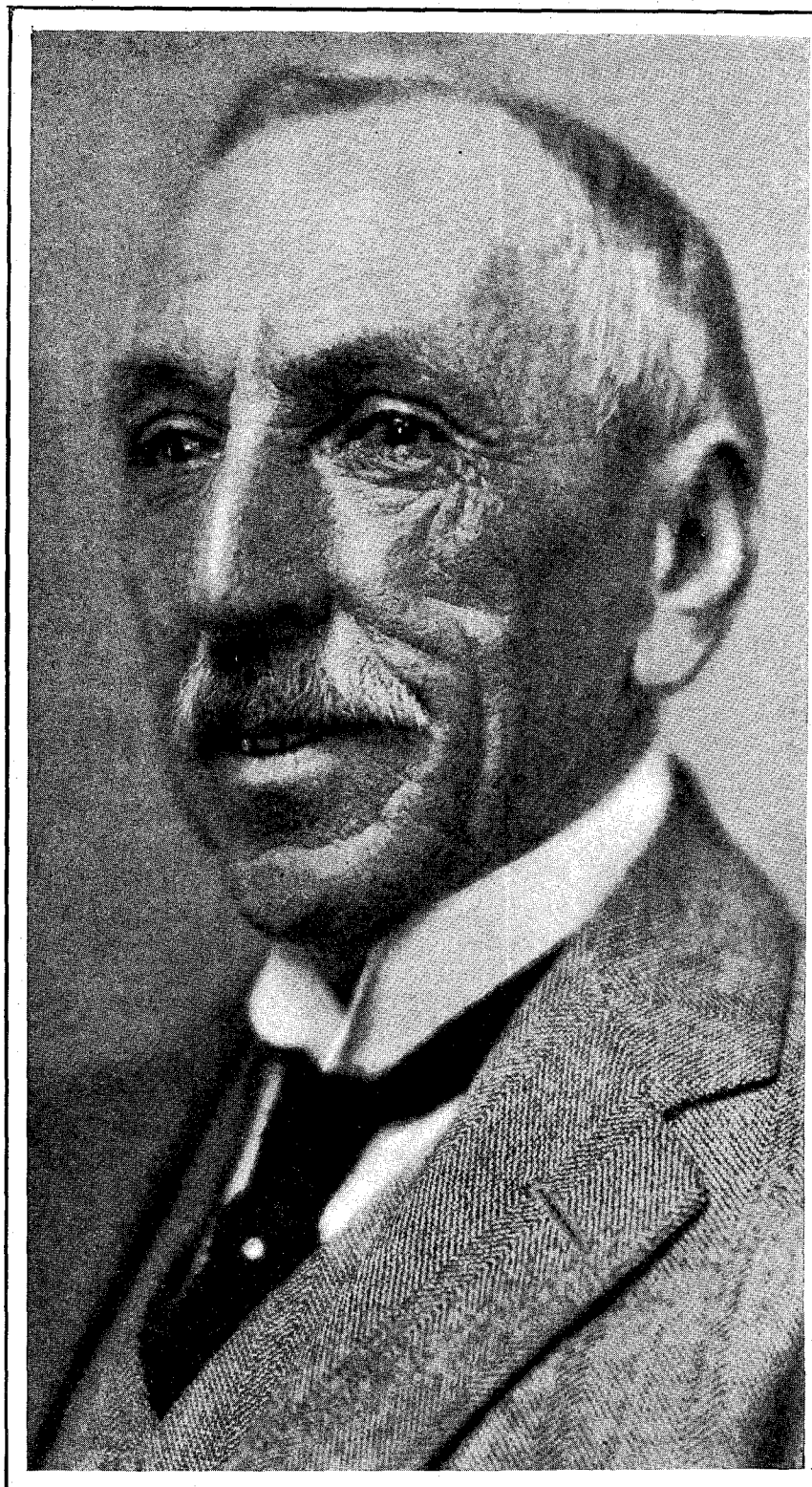
"I do not know. There may be several reasons."

"The Chinese take naturally to migration. It does not seem to me that the Japanese, except when driven by extreme pressure, have the least disposition to emigrate. They cannot adapt themselves to extremes of climate as well as the Chinese. At any rate, they have not entered Australia in large numbers."

The serviceable vagueness of the language test for the immigrant seemed to call for a little more elucidation. The ex-Prime Minister readily gave it.

"Yes, the law allows the dictation test of fifty words to be applied to the immigrant in any language that we may choose. Welsh or Basque are quite in order." Mr. Hughes named, perhaps not wholly by chance, two tongues with a reputation for a puzzling, not to say forbidding, orthography. The mental vision of a Japanese picture bride taking dictation in the language of the eisteddfods was fantastic.

The pressure to let in immigrants is



Wide World Photos

William Morris Hughes, Ex-Prime Minister of Australia

not always wholly a pressure from without. The law of Australia, that worked so smoothly and thoroughly to check the push of the undesired outsider, might not help much against an urgent demand for his admittance from within. How, Mr. Hughes was asked, had the Commonwealth dealt with internal efforts to have Asiatics admitted?

"Well, that difficulty has hardly troubled us at all. In the first place, we have no extensive settlements of Asiatics. There are a few hundreds at the pearl fisheries at Broome and at Thursday Island. The Chinese about the larger cities are generally engaged at market

gardening or as cabinet-makers. They have no political influence."

As for the smuggling in of Orientals, Mr. Hughes said it had never been carried on to any great extent. The steady decline in the number of Asiatics was the best proof of this.

"But," he was asked, "do you not have to deal with a considerable demand among certain classes of citizens for the introduction of Asiatic labor as a necessary means of developing the country's resources?"

"The number of persons who desire Asiatic immigration is inconsiderable. The few men who advocate admitting

Asiatics want cheap labor. The general run of people feel that the admittance of Asiatics would be a menace to the Australian standard of living, would muddy the blood stream of national life, and be incompatible with our national ideals.

"Two classes of people urge opening the doors freely to immigrants, and they represent the two political extremes. Communists want free immigration, because this policy harmonizes with their internationalist ideals. The reactionary capitalists want it, because they want cheap and servile labor, but the great body of opinion lying between these two extremes is firmly set against it."

Mr. Hughes does not feel that Australia incurs any risk by keeping the Asiatics out of the rich and sparsely populated northern areas of its territory. The northern coasts of the island continent resemble the Pacific coast of the United States in one or two respects, for both lie nearest, in their respective countries, to eastern Asia, and both are separated from the more densely settled parts

of their own countries by arid belts. Geographically all this is more emphatically the case with northern Australia than with the Pacific States of our Union. It is notable, therefore, that the best known of Australian statesmen should hold it safer to keep the northern areas of the Commonwealth empty than to admit settlers of Asiatic origin.

"You may think of that region," he said, "as an uncut jewel. On the whole, you stand less chance of being robbed of an uncut jewel than of one already cut."

He did not add, "particularly if the persons most tempted to seize it have been engaged in the work of doing the cutting," but that seemed a fair inference to make from his remark.

"Sooner or later," he concluded, "Australians hope to see the northern parts of their country populated by white men of their own race. Although the area in question lies within the tropics and the climate is hot, it is a dry heat and healthy. People dress there much as they do here in summer. The pith hel-

met is rarely seen. Cases of sunstroke are almost unknown, even in the hottest parts of the country. There are very few tropical diseases and these are being stamped out. Australia is most emphatically a white man's country. All the pioneering work has been done by white men. For all practical purposes all labor is performed by white men.

"You may see in Australia a sight not to be witnessed in any other part of the world—white men cutting sugar-cane. No work could be more trying under a hot sun. Yet the Australian does it, as he does all other work throughout this great island continent. And the men from the North will compare in physique with any in the world."

Ex-Prime Minister Hughes speaks as a typical Australian. In his belief in excluding the Asiatic, however capable, on racial and economic grounds, and in his assertion that it can be done without resort to methods that will wound any nation affected, he feels that he has his fellow-citizens behind him.

The Old Guard at Bay

Special Correspondence from Washington

By STANLEY FROST

THE control of the Republican party for the next twenty years is going to be decided at the Cleveland Convention," a very able political operator told me the other day. "Whoever gets hold of the party at the Convention and wins the election will be solid for nearly a generation. Things have come to a crisis at last, and that will be the showdown. There's hardly a doubt that we will come out with a new set of bosses."

This opinion is coming to be widely shared by observers both in and out of Washington. Now that the work of Congress is drawing toward a close and the attention of politicians is focusing on the party conventions, there is a growing realization that the Republican gathering will not be quite so unimportant and innocuous as it will look. There is not likely to be any excitement, to be sure; the nomination of Coolidge has been assured for months, and he can practically dictate the platform. Yet under the smooth surface there will almost certainly take place two things of vital importance to the party and the country.

The first is that Coolidge will come into actual leadership of the party, instead of the merely nominal leadership he has held since the death of President

Harding. The second, which will make the first possible, will be that the "Old Guard," which has controlled the party for nearly a generation and has been fighting Coolidge because it could not control him, will be ousted from important influence.

Neither change will be immediately complete, of course, but the Convention should make it clear that the changes have begun. Neither will be permanent, either, unless Coolidge wins in November and has four years to complete them. His defeat would automatically end his leadership and restore power to the old group. Their present gloom over their prospect is lightened only by their belief that he cannot win; but even this thin comfort is torn by the memory that they did not believe he could control the Convention, either.

To understand the exact significance of the change that seems at hand it is necessary for a few minutes to consider the nature and record of the coterie that is now standing at bay. We have come to call them the "Old Guard," but that term defines nothing. They are also called the "conservative group," but that is too inclusive, for there are many "conservatives" who cannot properly be listed with them, though they are all equally

under attack from the self-styled "progressives." There is, I believe, a confusion of thought between those who are politicians in the worst sense and those who are merely slow-moving, which has led many people to call themselves "progressives" when what they really want is only clean politics.

Senator Pepper defined the group better when he called it "politically-minded." It is composed of men who play politics all the time and nothing else; whose care is for themselves first, with the party a bad second and the country nowhere; who consider every measure solely on the basis of votes or influence; whose guiding principle is the law of reciprocal back-scratching. They would rather lose an election than share their power; they are the focus of all that is picayune and despicable in politics. They have dickered and dealt and manipulated and traded. They have fought decency as well as progress. They have ruled the party for years and have brought it to its present state.

These are the men who are now in danger. There is no chance that they will be thrown out bodily or all at once, or that even their influence and methods can be dropped in one bundle. The bigger ones will still hold important places