

glad to co-operate with any group which desires to study closely the problems that must be raised in the coming campaign.

We hope that our readers will make the discussion of our questionnaire, which will be published shortly, a family affair. School-children and students will find the questionnaire, we believe, a valuable contribution to their interest in their classes in current events, and they ought to have a chance to thresh out their doubts and beliefs before the family hearth (or the family electric heater). In clubs, offices, factories, or on the farm, there will be ample chance to study the questions which we raise.

The more promptly The Outlook's platform ballot is returned to The Outlook after its publication, the greater the chance that it will influence the action of the conventions. We hope that none of our readers will miss the opportunity of presenting their views to the public through the medium of The Outlook's questionnaire. It will be published in a very early issue.

Giant Power

IN the course of mastering the world in which he lives man at times has lost mastery of himself. Machinery, coupled with steam power, ought to have, apparently, brought to mankind nothing but the benefit of relief from the drudgery that was taken over by the machine; but instead, the early years of the age of machinery brought to millions of human beings unprecedented misery. The story of the struggle with the machine is really the main part of the history of England throughout a large part of the nineteenth century.

Colossal as the increase of man's power over the forces of nature was at that time, it is small in comparison with what lies in the future. Men of imagination and of engineering skill see in earth and sky and water power which man has not yet learned how to employ. Is the employment of that power going to bring the world new misery or is it going to bring a new emancipation?

The answer to that question depends upon the degree to which future developments in the use of power are anticipated. If these developments are foreseen, power will not be a master of man, but his servant. If they are not foreseen, power will become a new source of privilege for the few and of wretchedness or enslavement for the many.

It is for this reason that we heartily

The Prize Winners
in The Outlook's contest on
What the Church
Means to Me
will be announced in the
issue of March 19

welcome the appearance of the March number of the "Survey Graphic," which is devoted to an intelligent and, what is equally important, intelligible consideration of this giant power.

What is most significant in the whole treatment of the subject is the fact that it is approached from the point of view of those who are to use power. What one gets from even a rapid examination of the articles is a mental picture of a new and improved human society. That picture will become a reality, however, only as men plan, not merely for the development of the power, but for its use as a human benefit.

Already communities in Canada, as Mrs. Martha Bruère describes them, have somewhat anticipated this mental picture of social improvement. There are communities where industry is freed from smoke and grime; where the population is distributed so that families have ample room, because the power is distributed; and where the farmer and his wife and family find life on the farm civilizing because power from the harnessed waterfall has been brought to the farm to do the heavy work, to cook the meals, to light the buildings, and to banish isolation without depriving human beings of the light and the air and the freedom of country life. The question that stands at the head of Burton MacKaye's article, "What shall we do with our power when we get it?" is the most important question with which those who are conjuring this new magic will have to deal.

It may surprise many people to realize that this giant power is nothing essentially new. All that is new about it is the development in the art of power transmission. Most of the power transmission, so far as those who write of it in the "Survey Graphic" can see, will be, not from mysterious regions of the sky or even from the falling water of the streams, but from our old familiar servant, coal. What is to happen, if the prophets of science are right, is that the

coal will be transformed into electricity in the neighborhood of the mines, and then that electric power is to be sent over a wide territory in every direction. Not only thus will power be made available where it is now unknown, but those constituents of coal itself which now go to waste as burned in furnaces and in locomotives will be saved and put to use—the by-products for thousands of uses.

There will be as a consequence what are called "pools of power"—reservoirs, so to speak, which can be drawn on and can be used jointly. As Governor Pinchot says, "every independent power plant with its distribution wires is a pool of power," but such pools will in the future be reservoirs upon which territories covered by power lines extending over hundreds of miles in every direction can draw.

If this giant power is to be controlled and used for the benefit of the people at large, there must be a development of public opinion concerning the Government. Apparently not all, perhaps not many, anticipate a great extension of Federal control over the reservoirs from which this giant power is to be drawn; for there is already a movement under way which will enable groups of States to co-operate in the control of power which knows no State lines. Nevertheless public opinion must learn to look upon this giant power as something which is bound to test the might of the Federal Government. Water power is already under Federal law; but the far greater power of coal remains largely outside of the Federal Government's control. There is ahead of us in this country many a year of further education on the subject of true conservation.

In this March number of the "Survey Graphic" men of such National reputation as Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, Governor Smith of New York, Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, Secretary Hoover, and Henry Ford, such a distinguished Canadian as Sir Adam Beck, such a well-known American engineer as Morris L. Cooke, such an authority on Conservation as Mr. Wells, formerly of the United States Reclamation Service, such administrators as Mr. Philip Cabot, the well-known utility operator, and Mr. Gerard Swope, President of the General Electric Company, and such an experienced student of social affairs as Mr. Robert Bruère contribute by articles or, in the case of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Ford, by interviews to the discussion of this large sub-

ject. Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, editor, and his associates are to be congratulated on the service they have rendered in their treatment of this subject.

Power is the test of character. Kings and generals have fallen because they have been unequal to the power they have wielded. What is true of individuals is true of nations also. It depends upon the character of the American people whether this giant power which is to be harnessed for them is to be their undoing or a means to new liberty and life.

The Veterans' Bureau

FOR months, yes, years, people have known that all was not well with the Veterans' Bureau. It has been common talk that hospitals were located in unfit places, that insane patients were housed in fire-traps, that incompetent officials were retained and competent officials driven out of the service under the administration of Director Forbes.

Anxious and patriotic men and women who sought a remedy for the situation through pointing out specific evils of administration were put off with excuses and sometimes lied to. Those who appealed to President Harding against the decisions of Brigadier-General Sawyer and against the treatment which they received from Director Forbes were denied any redress. President Harding stood behind the decisions of General Sawyer and, at least until a few months before his death, seemed to have an unbounded faith in the administrative virtues of Director Forbes. Congressmen and Senators, with a few notable exceptions, seemed to be more interested in the location of hospitals within their districts and special favors to individual voters than in broad principles of reform.

But this was not the most depressing feature of the situation. There has been, and still is, a general lack of public interest in the misdeeds of the Veterans' Bureau, and this lack of interest is made

doubly obvious by the flaming indignation of the country over the oil scandal.

It is hard to understand why a nation which rises in wrath over a possibly disadvantageous oil contract which was perhaps secured through improper inside influence should fail to be disturbed over the positive robbery of the life and happiness of thousands of ex-soldiers whom the Government had pledged itself to guard and protect. Possibly the indictment of Colonel Forbes, reported elsewhere in this issue, means the beginning of the end of Governmental indifference. If at the same time it signalizes the end of public indifference to the outstanding scandal of our time, there will be real cause for rejoicing. The press of the country must bear its share of the blame for its failure to arouse the people, but the people themselves cannot shift from their shoulders all the onus for the suffering which has been the result of their failure to keep watch and ward over defenseless defenders.

The Ruhr and Reparations

By **RAYMOND POINCARÉ**

Premier of France

A Statement Secured by The Outlook's European Editorial Correspondent, Elbert Francis Baldwin, and Cabled to The Outlook on March 4

THE policy directed by me for two years with Parliament's approval and the country's assent has had no other aim than to reserve and maintain the Allies' rights to reparations from Germany and assure future security to France. Since the peace signature Germany has not ceased trying to gain time, appealing to our spirit of conciliation through our successive renunciations and through moratoriums partially accorded to her. She ended by declaring herself no longer in condition to fulfill her obligations, leaving entirely to us the charge of reconstructing the regions devastated by her. During all this period she has practiced a financial and economic policy making her visible wealth disappear without attacking the integral value of her resources.

It was indispensable to put an end to this situation, to bring the full light of day to bear upon fraudulent maneuvers which were as contrary to justice as to the interest of European peoples. It was indispensable to permit nations tested by

the ordeal of war to guide aright all together the work of economic and social reconstruction without which the world's peace cannot exist.

That is why France and Belgium have had to occupy the Ruhr. Every one understood that we had no covert ambition for hegemony or annexation, that we were solely seeking to obtain from Germany her acceptance of the burden assumed by us in her place for repairing damages voluntarily caused by herself. Anyway, she finally concluded by realizing herself that it was more advantageous to her to pay her debts than madly to insist on absurd and ruinous resistance.

Certain Germans estimate that the decline in the French franc's value may cause gentler treatment of Germany by France. Having directly contributed to the fall of the franc, German bankers now reveal their aim. But they do not reckon right. France will show herself as firm as ever, insisting on reparations as they have been established. This

principle once settled, France will, on the other hand, co-operate in methods of payment, as in general economic restoration, by conciliatory measures.

The French Government's action, and it only, has brought about the meeting of committees of international experts, in which we place great hope. If a satisfactory solution for us, and acceptable by us, of present problems is at last reached, it will be due to the persevering efforts of France and Belgium, to their firmness as well as to their moderation.

In these committees we are specially pleased to have the co-operation and precious counsel of America. In 1917 the arrival of the Americans in Europe changed the situation. It is the same in 1924.

I gladly seize this opportunity offered me by The Outlook to present these views to the American public. It knows how both to appreciate the spirit of the decision made necessary by circumstances and to honor justice.