

The letter constituted, in fact, an incitement to sedition, violence, the undermining of the British army and navy, and the formation of a Communist army of revolt.

With its publication there was made public a protest sent by the British Government to Rakovsky, Chargé d'Affaires representing the Russian Soviet Government in London. But the protest of the British Government only added fuel to the fire of resentment which the Russian letter had kindled.

### Why MacDonald Was Distrusted

IN its reply the MacDonald Government declared: "No Government will ever make an arrangement with a foreign Government by which the latter is in formal diplomatic relations of a correct kind with it, while at the same time a propagandist body organically connected with that foreign Government encourages and even orders the subjects of the former to plot and plan revolutions for its overthrow."

This is precisely the position which the United States Government has taken. And the MacDonald Government agreed also with the policy of the American Government in holding the so-called Soviet Government in Russia responsible for the propaganda of the Third or Moscow Communist International. Incidentally this attitude of the MacDonald Government has been a shock to those American sympathizers with the Labor Government of Great Britain who when Secretary Hughes protested against Bolshevik propaganda in America denounced him for holding the Russian Government responsible for the propaganda of the Third Communist International. For his protest MacDonald deserves praise from all friends of order and of international good faith.

What aroused indignation in Great Britain was the fact that the MacDonald Government, knowing fully the Bolshevik Government's real character, had negotiated the treaty with Russia which the Zinoviev letter heartily commended to the British Communists as a step toward Leninism with its accompanying violence in England and her colonies. No one suspected MacDonald of harboring any desire to introduce Bolshevism as such into Britain, but it was not necessary to do that in order to see that

MacDonald's judgment was not to be trusted when it came to dealing with Russia.

It has been said in excuse that the document was a forgery; but MacDonald regarded it as genuine; and the appearance of delay in making a public protest against it subjected him to suspicion. It is said also that the protest, as well as the letter itself, was made public by permanent officials in the Foreign Office, and that it was these permanent officials who thus forced the MacDonald Government to act by seeing that the Zinoviev letter was published in the newspapers. This excuse, however, did not avail, because, if true, it showed that the Labor Government was not master in its own house. Moreover it is almost certainly not true that the under-secretaries tried to force the Prime Minister's hand.

### British Common Sense

IT was not, however, the Zinoviev letter alone that turned the Labor Government out. On another page Mr. P. W. Wilson interprets that election from the point of view of one who was for several years a Liberal member of the British Parliament, and for a long time a student of British politics as a newspaper correspondent. His view that MacDonald undertook to destroy as far as he could the Liberal Party in order to substitute the Labor Party for it is undoubtedly correct. MacDonald himself said as much, for at Cleckheaton, a Yorkshire market-place, when a hastily rigged platform suddenly crashed to earth he dexterously picked himself up and, as our editorial correspondent in Europe, Mr. E. F. Baldwin, informs us, shouted, "That's how the Labor Party's weight is going to smash the Liberal Party." As to the success that has attended his attempt, opinions will differ.

It is clear, however, as a result of the experiment of putting the Socialist Party in power in Great Britain that the British people have made a notable discovery, namely, that Socialism in theory is one thing and Socialism in practice is quite another. When theory faces practice the characteristic common sense of the British overrides other sentiments. It is true that the Liberal Party was felt to be a controlling influence; but, as a well-known British statesman remarked to a member of the staff of this journal in London a few months ago, the real con-

trolling influence was public opinion; and the Labor Cabinet, sensitive as all British Cabinets must be to public opinion, very quickly discovered the limits beyond which it could not go.

It was becoming evident too that, while the Labor Government was not as unsafe as many feared it to be, it had allowed the real work of government to be carried on by the permanent officials. In other words, the British nation discovered that it was being run by a bureaucracy. The very common sense of the Labor Government led inexperienced Ministers to defer more and more to the advice of their permanent secretaries. Unfortunately MacDonald did not mend matters by criticising his under-secretaries for an action which, he acknowledged, they took in the belief that they were carrying out his wishes. Admiration at his courage was abated by his censure of civil servants who had no means of replying.

As in other countries as well as in Great Britain at other times, the British elections revealed a tendency for the electorate to retire after a time from advanced positions, and to refit behind the lines—often very far behind the lines. In this case the electorate in retiring from the MacDonald line did not even hesitate at the half-way position of Liberalism, but retired to the heights of the Conservatives, where at least it knew itself safe.

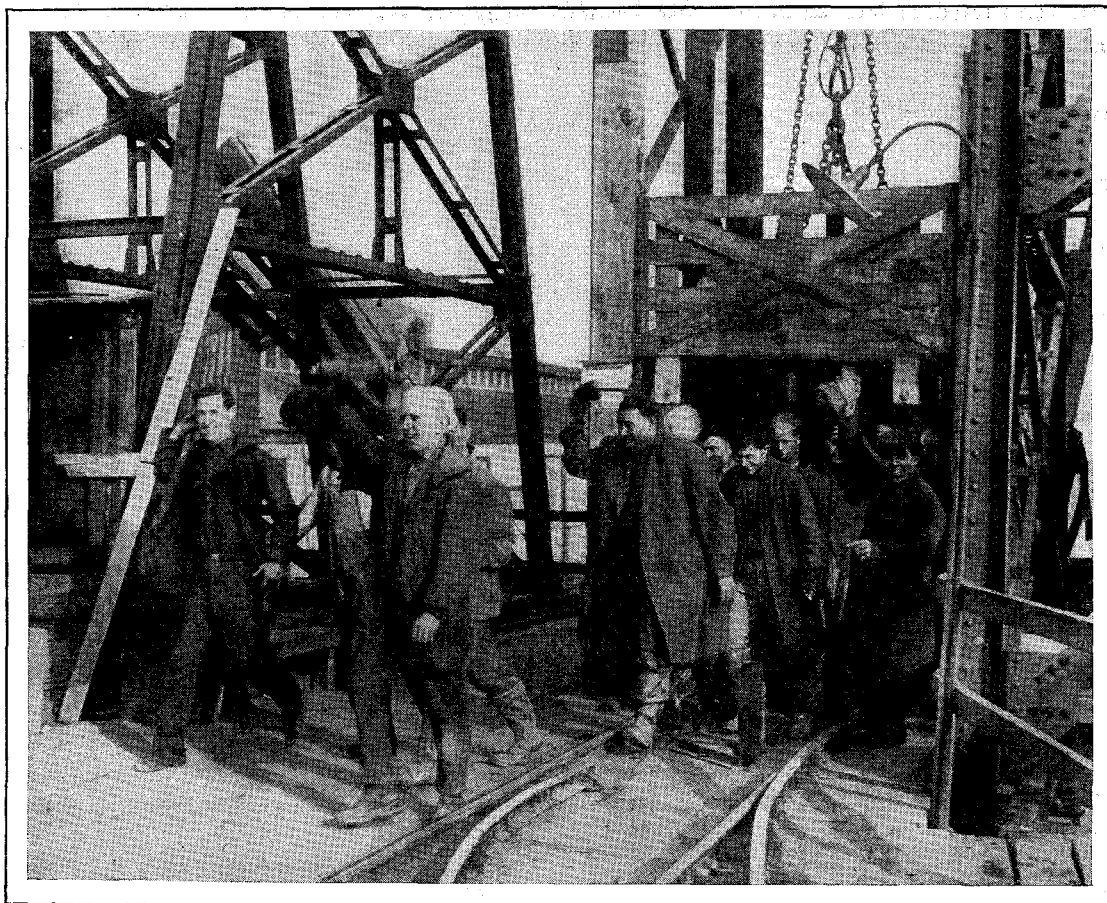
### Dealings with the Soviet

IT has been said that France was willing to establish friendly relations with the Soviet, as she has lately done, because she hoped to get the interest on her Russian bonds, while England offered the Soviet recognition because she wanted to sell goods to Russia. If France succeeds no better than England has in the desired object, she will find her approachment to a tyrannical and, internationally speaking, irresponsible Government costly rather than profitable.

France's recognition of the Soviet was, as the text of the French vote shows, a recognition *de jure*, and provides for full diplomatic relations. It is careful, however, to reserve French rights.

The Russian press and politicians, and especially the Premier, Mr. Rykov, are exultant at French recognition and declare that Japan and the United States will surely follow the example. It may

The Vehicular  
Tunnel under the  
Hudson at  
New York—  
“Sand hogs”  
leaving the shaft  
after the final  
blast which  
connected the  
New York and  
New Jersey ends  
of the tunnel



P. & A. Photos

be coincident, or it may be with a purpose, that simultaneously with this exultation appears a statement from Japan indicating that it has no intention of doing anything of the kind, while Mr. Coolidge's triumph in the election can offer little hope that the United States will follow the Soviet's wishes.

It is probable that the desire to back up the French Government and thereby present a solid front on world questions had a strong influence in the overwhelming vote of confidence offered to the French Premier, M. Herriot, on November 4. The vote stood 410 to 171. The immediate question was the postponement of a long list of interpellations presented by the opposition. The Chamber put the questions aside, as it believed that to press them would be inconsistent with national and international policy.

An illustration of the difficulties which other nations have when dealing with the Russian Reds is seen in the apparent impossibility of sifting out the facts in regard to the letter alleged to have been written by Mr. Zinoviev to the English Communist Party. This letter had a strong effect on the recent English elections. We comment on this matter elsewhere.

Doubtless other nations must try in

some way to get along with Russia under its present lamentable régime, but, so far, efforts in that direction have been only too likely to recoil, to the annoyance or injury of whoever desires to be friendly without being taken in or insulted.

### The Sons of Martha Rejoice

A GREAT city outgrows its gateways. Shall it fling a new bridge high above the drowned valley of an ancient glacier? Shall it work it the earth like a mole to form a subfluvian passageway for its millions? There is talk, and talk about it until the day comes when a young engineer is given the word to set the shovels flying and to drive through the river bottom a steel-rimmed highway for the feet of man and his beasts and vehicles of burden.

With the passion of a poet the engineer conceives and prosecutes his great undertaking. What his brain conceives the hands and muscles of men execute. In danger, in pain and sweat, the new roadway grows into being.

At last the day comes when a single blast will shiver the last barrier. The charge is set, the button is pressed, and the two tunnels join with less than an inch of error.

Out of the tunnel come the delvers in earth, the masters of steam, steel, and lightning. There is the joy of achievement, more complete perhaps and satisfying than any workers in abstractions can know. There was a tunnel to dig, and it is dug. Such a sense of absolute achievement seldom comes to dreamers, poets, or statesmen. It is a day that makes the realities of life seem doubly real.

The story which we have told is the story of the new tunnel under the Hudson, built under the management of Clifford Holland, who died the day before the last wall was broken through. Better than any editorial on the romance and dignity of labor is the photograph of the men who labored under Holland's leadership in the bowels of the earth. Somewhere in all such enterprises there should be found a place for a dedication such as that which faces the traveler as he enters the Grand Central Station in New York City:

To all those who with head, heart, and hand toiled in the construction of this monument to the public service this is inscribed.

That dedication is more than a tribute to one group of laborers with brain and