

It may be true, as Mr. Stayton charges, that Wayne B. Wheeler, of the Anti-Saloon League, was four times able to hold Haynes in his place when he was slated for removal. It may even be true, as Mr. Stayton charges, that Mr. Wheeler four times prevented Treasury officials from doing "what they evidently conceived to be their duty." There are indications, aside from Mr. Stayton's statement, that this is true.

But, as between the head of the Anti-saloon League and the head of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment as dictator of Government policy, public sentiment is not likely to swing toward the latter. Mr. Wheeler may succeed in what Mr. Stayton says is his fifth attempt to keep Haynes in office just because Mr. Stayton is trying to remove him from office. Opposition to the policy of "keeping prohibition in the hands of its friends" does not indicate a willingness to place it in the hands of its avowed enemies.

M. Briand's Suggestion to Outlaw War

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER has performed a very real service in calling attention to a proposal somewhat concealed in M. Briand's message to the American people on the occasion of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of our entry into the World War. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that his country would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual agreement tending to outlaw war between the two countries.

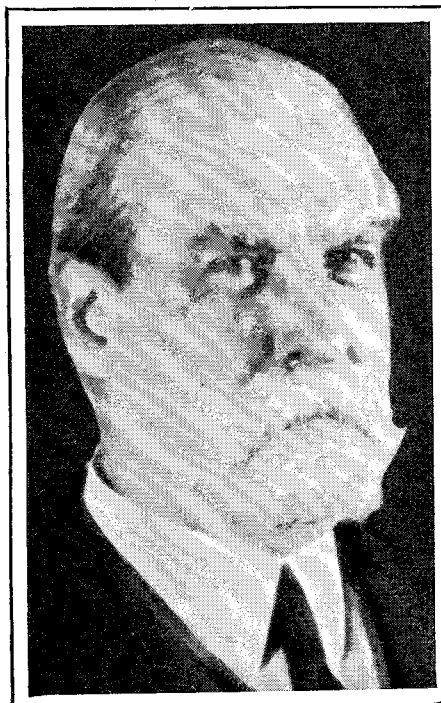
The full significance of what Dr. Butler characterizes as an "extraordinarily important message" has certainly escaped public attention. But, addressed as it is not to the Government but to the people of the United States, M. Briand's suggestion deserves a most cordial reception as a move to solidify the friendly relations between France and the United States and the most serious consideration as a proposal toward this end. Whatever may be the merits of a definite engagement to outlaw war, we cannot afford to allow to pass almost unnoticed a suggestion which has as its basis the sincere desire of a European statesman "to broaden and strengthen the foundations on which the international policy of peace is being erected."

As Dr. Butler points out in the letter to the New York "Times" of April 25, in which he asks how long M. Briand is to be kept waiting for an answer, this proposal represents a definite policy of the French Government; for no Foreign Minister would make such a statement without the full concurrence of his gov-

ernmental colleagues. The fact that it is in the form of an open message should not lead our Government to ignore it. In a day when the right of a people to determine for themselves questions of war and peace is being more and more affirmed, it should serve rather as a challenge to the moral forces of this country.

Shifting the Scenes at Geneva

DISARMAMENT appears to be as difficult now as it was before the World War. That is the lesson which



Underwood & Underwood

Charles Evans Hughes

the sessions of the Preparatory Commission for a conference on limitation of armaments at Geneva have demonstrated afresh to the nations. The delegates had to disband after the formulation of a tentative draft for a disarmament convention, on which they themselves could not agree. It will be referred to their Governments, and then will come up again for consideration at Geneva in November, when the Preparatory Commission is to reconvene.

Two things which these preliminary discussions have shown clearly and with emphasis are: first, that the United States will not accept any form of international supervision of its armaments; and, second, that Great Britain and France are as far apart as ever in opinion regarding the limitation of submarines. These two factors alone may be enough to block an accord. With Italy also standing out and refusing to accede to any restriction of the fighting strength that her Government considers essential to her security, the outlook is even more dubious.

The situation holds possibilities of

trouble, because Germany has indicated that she regards the provisions of the Versailles Treaty for reduction of armaments as an essential part of the peace agreements and of the structure of the League of Nations. Failing to secure results which she considers satisfactory, she may start a new drive against the treaty arrangements themselves.

An offset to these disillusionments is the gathering of the Economic Conference at Geneva. A distinguished delegation from the United States is to attend its sessions, which will deal with the basic difficulties between nations that have to do with tariffs and other trade regulations, shipping, and access to sources of raw materials. Conflicts of interest over these fundamental matters are much more potent causes of war than the armaments with which wars are fought. Agreements regarding economic disputes are likely to open the way for agreements regarding armaments.

It is significant that Soviet Russia is sending expert representatives to the Economic Conference. Germany, acting as intermediary between Russia and Switzerland, succeeded recently in bringing about a settlement of a controversy between them which had caused Russia to refuse to take part in meetings at Geneva. This controversy arose out of the killing of M. Vorovsky, the Soviet Envoy in Switzerland, and the refusal of the Swiss Government to make apologies or pay an indemnity. Through conferences in Berlin, these differences were composed and it was arranged that Switzerland should pay an indemnity to the family of Vorovsky. The Soviet Government followed by appointing delegates to the Economic Conference.

Thus, through the influence of Germany, Russia is brought into a gathering under the auspices of the League of Nations and the United States finds itself participating for the first time since the war in an international conference which includes the whole of Europe.

Mr. Hughes on the Limitation of Warfare

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, former Secretary of State, has coined a memorable phrase:

"Cynicism, the corrupting luxury of cultivated minds."

What would happen if the "American Mercury" should put that at its masthead, if the publishers of Sinclair Lewis's novels should use it as a running title, and if all undergraduates eager to be known as sophisticated should learn it by heart?

That phrase is the key to Mr. Hughes's speech, in which it appeared,

delivered at Washington on April 28 as his annual address as President of the American Society of International Law.

He devoted that speech to a discussion of the limitation of armaments and of methods of warfare. There are some who, quite rightly wishing to avoid illusions, think that war is necessarily brutal and, being of the nature of a last resort, might as well be allowed to become as brutal as possible. There are others who, because of their very idealism, think that the best way to abolish war is to make it too horrible for human beings to endure. Mr. Hughes accepts neither the view of the cynics nor the view of those whom he calls "moonmen."

Taking counsel neither of despair nor of unrestrained fancy, but of common sense, Mr. Hughes believes in making gains wherever chances for gains in limiting warfare appear. In his speech he discusses specific measures of advance. Better, however, than his speech is his record. It was because he aimed at what was practicable, within reach, and sufficiently limited in scope to be within the focus of public opinion that he succeeded in securing the notable results of the Armament Conference at Washington. By his achievement then even more than by his words Mr. Hughes has pointed the way to progress toward the reduction and ultimate abolition of the evils of war.

Why Break China?

UNCLE SAM is having to stand a good deal of harsh criticism—not only from other countries, but from his own people in China—for refusing to intervene in the Chinese civil war. Other Powers, Great Britain in particular, would like to see punitive measures applied to the radical Nationalist administration at Hankow as a consequence of the recent attacks on foreigners at Nanking. The Powers have not been satisfied with the reply from Hankow to their demands for apologies and guarantees of safety for foreign residents; and there has been talk of an ultimatum and a blockade of the Yangtze River in order to cut South China off from North China.

Not only members of the American Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai, but some missionaries, and finally even the American Minister, John Van Antwerp MacMurray, at Peking, have joined in advocating punitive measures. But so far the Department of State—while denying reports that Mr. MacMurray would be recalled—has consistently refused to accede to any plan of united action against the Nationalists or to interfere in Chinese affairs. "Indecisive"

—"ignorant"—"stupid"—"indifferent to the rights of its own citizens"—"traitor to the interests of the white race"—these are some of the epithets being hurled at the United States in consequence.

Temper is rarely a proof of being right. The best of the argument still seems to rest with Washington. What has happened and is happening in China is far from clear. Even the incidents at Nanking have not been made entirely certain. It appears, for instance, that the shooting of Dr. Williams, the Vice-President of Nanking College, may have been accidental and not intentional. That remains to be proved. But, while requiring armed protection for our citizens in China, the situation would still more need to be proved to call for intervention.

General Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the moderate wing of the Nationalists, is pursuing a campaign against the radicals in the endeavor to eliminate them. If he can succeed, it is far better to reach a solution of the Chinese crisis gradually by Chinese means than to smash into it from the outside.

To break China up into two or more parts, as has been suggested, would mean immediately assuming some obligation to keep order and establish government in them. Where that would lead no one can tell. The Administration at Washington has chosen the better part of wisdom in keeping cool, doing whatever is essential to protect Americans and their just interests, and avoiding new responsibilities and entanglements in the Far East.

Tories and Trade-Unionists at War

A SCHEME to stop large-scale strikes in Great Britain has been put forward in Parliament by the Conservative Cabinet of Prime Minister Baldwin. It grows out of the general strike of last year, which was called in sympathy with the coal miners. As such, it might be expected to command considerable support from public opinion. But its terms have aroused opposition, not only in the ranks of the Labor Party, but also among some Conservative followers themselves.

"Wasters!" "Blackguards!" "Rot-ters!" "Thieves!" "Liars!" were some of the names yelled at the Conservative Ministers when debate on the bill was opened in the House of Commons by members of "his Majesty's Opposition." Many of the Labor members are picturesquely free and untrammelled by the traditional proprieties inculcated by the "Mother of Parliaments." Their training under her tutelage has been too

short; and this is not the first time that some of them have had to be sent out by the Speaker in disgrace. Their feelings on this occasion are explained by the provisions of the bill.

Briefly, the bill as proposed would not only prohibit general strikes, but would debar also all sympathetic strikes. In addition, it would attack the present system of collecting union dues from the wages of union members by requiring the specific written agreement of the individual member in each case. These two measures alone would be enough to rouse organized labor in Great Britain to a pitch of excitement. But there is the further fact that the Government makes no suggestion of a ban on sympathetic lockouts of workers by employers. The London "Spectator" has offered the explanation that lockouts are hard to define legally. Apologists for the Cabinet have also stated that the omission is because such concerted action by employers is something that does not occur. But this statement has—not surprisingly—failed to carry conviction to the Labor benches in Parliament and to the union organizations, and has even been treated as a lame excuse by some of the Conservatives.

The outcome of the quarrel cannot yet be foreseen, for the bill may be modified. But it may provide a new occasion for joint action by the Labor Party and the depleted ranks of the Liberals led by Lloyd George.

Conciliation in Mexico and Nicaragua

RELATIONS with our Latin-American neighbors immediately to the south seem to be entering upon a better phase. Disputes with the Mexican Government over the application of the new land and petroleum laws to the interests of citizens of the United States and the despatch of war-ships and marines to Nicaragua to protect foreign residents and property in the civil war there have made the past few months stormy and troubled. The assignment of Henry L. Stimson, formerly Secretary of War, as the President's representative in Nicaragua and President Coolidge's recent speech on foreign policy have considerably cleared the air.

President Calles, of Mexico, has welcomed President Coolidge's pronouncements regarding the controversy between the two Governments. His message to Washington and the reply to it have indicated that there is a new prospect of adjustment of the outstanding differences by direct negotiation. This is unquestionably the best method, if it is practicable. In case it does not work,