

TALK OF EUROPE

UNDER the title 'The Hard Peace,' Herr Maximilian Harden devotes a long article in the *Zukunft* to the Peace Terms. He says:

'No delegate in twenty-three centuries has had such a sorry task as the tragic and dismal duty laid on the German delegation of concluding peace with twenty-three nations in Versailles.' Herr Harden, who remarks of M. Clemenceau that of all the men assembled at Versailles, he assuredly could not deny having willed the war, refuses to believe that M. Clemenceau, like Brennus after victory over the ancient Romans, wishes to show his mortal enemy that the vanquished have no rights, and are to be handed over entirely to the victor's good pleasure.

'Yet,' continues Herr Harden, 'he is not content with the return of Alsace-Lorraine, for which he hardly dared to hope in his wildest dreams. He wants the Sarre Basin; political, or at least economic domination over the left bank of the Rhine; and a mountain of money. Germany cannot pay.' Herr Harden does not believe that the German delegates will present Germany's position in a sensible way. He points to the advice given them, 'to refuse all hard conditions, and to give the proletarian parties of the Western Powers time for agitation in our favor, and save what seems capable of being saved.' This advice, in Herr Harden's view, is the explanation of the 'manifestoes issued at the Foreign Ministry's request by all kinds of associations of traders, professors, and preachers,' of the Pan-German memorandum, and the attacks on President Wilson.

'President Wilson would have been able to achieve much more,' says Herr Harden, 'if you and others like you had not remained stubbornly on the side of unreason and injustice. Had you uttered only one energetic word against the devastation of Belgium, the deportation of men and girls, the rough and greedy destruction of factories and machinery in Belgium and Northern France; had Germany, who de-

clared herself to be a newly-constituted State, given expression in her government organs, or at least through her public bodies, of repentance for these crimes and repudiated the guilty persons, then President Wilson would have had a weapon against Belgian and French hatred, which is the most understandable of any in history.' Germany can only proclaim her own rights when she has with courageous dignity confessed the wrong committed by her. Because not a word of regret or of readiness to atone came from the head of our Republic, the Peace will now be hard. He who rejects it stands before the judgment seat of the nations. A clear answer is due from him to the question: 'What has he done to prove to the world the birth of a new spirit in his Fatherland?'

Herr Harden incidentally remarks that the naval blockade, which is given the disgusting name of hunger blockade, is, as everybody must know, and even the war jurist Kriege always admitted it, a military method permitted by international law, the mildest ever applied, and one the application of which was always regarded as inevitable, and which Great Britain was willing in 1907 to renounce. It only remained applicable in 1914 because, seven years previously at The Hague, Germany secured the defeat of the motion for its abolition.

GERMAN newspaper advertisements indicate that the month of June is likely to be a heavy one for German readers, besides providing a great quantity of new material for historians. Thus the *Memoirs of Ludendorff* are announced; so are those of Admiral von Tirpitz. There are, besides, a volume of *Recollections* by Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg and a three-volume edition of the *Reminiscences* of Count von Hertling which latter, if they are brought down to the Count's period of office, seem likely to be of special interest and importance. To this literature which is due to be issued there must be added the books which have

already appeared. Among these the most important is the volume of Herr von Jagow to which a review in the *Times* did justice, and a pamphlet by Count von Pourtalés, the German Ambassador to Petrograd during the last fateful weeks before the outbreak of the war. Our *Daily Telegraph* revelations are as almost nothing compared with the flood of Cabinet and diplomatic revelations which is beginning to burst on Germany.

Now that Lord Reading has returned, there is much discussion in England concerning the future of the Washington Embassy. The name of Mr. Fisher, champion of the Education Bill, is being mentioned for the post. The first of the two following clippings comes from the *London Nation*, the second from the *New Statesman*:

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'It is difficult to explain and more difficult to excuse, the government's long delay in the important matter of the Embassy to the United States. When Lord Reading was sent to Washington his retention of the Lord Chief Justiceship was a plain indication that the appointment was of a temporary character. At the time of his visit to England last year it was known that he would return to America merely in order to wind up the work of the mission which had been his particular concern. Parliament and the public generally have no real appreciation of the fact that Great Britain has not had in Washington since the beginning of the war an Ambassador in the full and true sense. Sir Cecil Spring-Rice was a broken man for months before the resignation that was followed immediately by his death. Lord Reading — of course a far abler and more brilliant man than his predecessor — has been less an Ambassador than the head of a special mission, and, indeed, he has been less a diplomat than a financial agent of Great Britain, and the fact has been fully recognized in Washington and New York. Moreover, for months together during his brief period of office, the work of the Embassy, in this most critical of times, has been left in the hands of the Secretaries and of Sir Henry Babington-Smith, a quiet, efficient, and admirable representative of the world in which he has

been trained. The new Ambassador should unquestionably have been definitely chosen a year ago. But at the moment of Lord Reading's return there is no announcement of his successor.

'The occasion involves for the Prime Minister and his colleagues at once a great challenge and a great opportunity. It would be impossible to exaggerate the peril of a wrong choice, and equally impossible to overstate the good of a right one. The welfare of the world depends, in a degree which cannot be computed, upon Anglo-American friendship and coöperation, and no one who is not willfully blind can refuse to see that the two countries are entering upon a period full of difficulty, more than sufficiently charged with the chances of mutual misunderstanding. On both sides of the Atlantic all men of vision and of good will echo the words of the present American Ambassador in London: "Let the two peoples never quarrel!" But a pious aspiration is of little force by itself. The friendship between England and America cannot take care of itself. Nor, on the other hand, can it be improved, or even tolerably maintained, if we continue the policy toward America, official and non-official, which was adopted during America's neutrality and developed after her entry into the war. We need, first, a return to the Bryce tradition. We need, secondly, a drastic change in the direction and temper of our public offices in the United States.

'English people who are personally unacquainted with America have no adequate means of measuring the greatness of the stroke by which Lord Bryce became the spokesman of Britain. Wisdom in this matter consists in our realizing that the standard then set should be as closely as possible upheld. To Washington we should send a great Englishman. He need not be a prominent statesman; he should not be a professional diplomat. The post does not demand a gift of oratory; but the Ambassador must be a man who can speak, finely and variously, to the American people. He should be able to interpret the common political and intellectual tradition; he should be no stranger to American history and institutions; he should be at home in the assemblies of educated men and women.