

# THE LIVING AGE

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## A WEEK OF THE WORLD

### FRENCH OPINIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY

*L'Opinion* published in its late autumn issues replies from prominent French statesmen and publicists to three questions:

1. Do you believe it possible to reach a general and final settlement not only of Reparations, but of all the questions upon which an effective peace depends, under present conditions and without denouncing the Treaty of Versailles?

2. What, in your opinion, should be the guiding principles of a policy that simultaneously consults the interests of France and the interests of civilization, and that can gradually substitute a real reign of law in Europe in place of our present international anarchy?

3. In this connection, and especially in case it becomes necessary to revise the Treaty, what will be the rôle of the League of Nations?

The replies were numerous, detailed, and diverse. Senator Henry de Jouvenel, editor of *Le Matin* and a French delegate to the last assembly of the League of Nations, who is 'undoubtedly a statesman of first rank,' opposed destroying or modifying the Versailles Treaty. It would place France at once under the necessity of appealing either to the League of Nations or to force.

Two principles have governed European diplomacy for the past century: a balance of power, and the rise of nationalities. M. de Jouvenel believes that it will be futile and even dangerous to try to restore a balance of power. The Treaty attempted to enforce the principle of nationalities, but without regard to economic realities. This blunder has resulted in uncertain frontiers, disastrous inflation, unbalanced budgets, commercial and industrial crises, and tariff wars. The immediate remedy for the present anarchy is a guaranty-treaty among the Powers, that will render possible a reduction of armaments. The nations that it is suggested should be parties to such a treaty are France, England, Italy, Spain, the Little Entente, Poland, the Baltic countries, and Finland. Such a treaty must precede the economic reconstruction of Europe.

M. François Marsal, a Senator who as Minister of Finance checked credit inflation in France, believes that real peace can be attained under the Treaty, but with very great difficulty. He looks forward to time and patience to remedy the present situation, but believes a firm understanding between France and England essential for Europe's salvation.

Senator Lazare Weiller of the Senate

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Foreign-Affairs Committee, who knows Germany intimately, believes the Treaty of Versailles should be denounced: that this is an indispensable prerequisite for healing Europe's ills. He considers the Treaty as already virtually dead.

There is not a shade of difference between the interests of France and the interests of civilization in general. France by instinct, traditions, customs, and immemorial policy is an enemy of anarchy, and a champion of the European ideal.

He believes that France should settle her relations with Germany independently, by direct negotiations. He makes the following suggestion: —

We need our Reparation payments; Germany needs to have her obligations scaled down. Why might she not consent, in return for a reduction of our claims against her, to cede — or at least to allow us to occupy for sixty years — the left bank of the Rhine, leaving the people of the country free to determine their own destinies at the end of that period?

This Senator believes the League of Nations will be a failure unless the United States joins.

Lucien Hubert, also a Senator and member of the Foreign-Affairs Committee, thinks it would be useless to denounce the Versailles Treaty. It would merely bring a worse treaty in its place. Let France occupy outright the Rhine and the Ruhr, as guaranties for Germany's fulfillment of her promises.

France should preserve her pride of victory. Oh, certainly without arrogance, without offensiveness, but with a dignity that will forbid her permitting her claim against Germany to sink to the unworthy level of a commercial credit.

Senator Brangier, who has also taken a prominent part in French discussions of the Treaty and of Reparations, believes the Treaty itself was never worth much, and certainly is

worth nothing at present. He has the same opinion of the League of Nations. His solution is for the four Great Nations — the United States, England, Japan, and France — to employ their economic power to impose peace on the world, and put its peoples to work.

Several Deputies contribute suggestions, mostly of an extremely nationalist character. One thinks the League of Nations is a good investigating body, but practically worthless as a political organization. He believes that France should return to her traditional policy of grouping about herself a clientele of little States, and thus assure her ascendancy in Europe. Another Deputy, who declares himself to be 'an impenitent partisan of the Treaty of Versailles,' proposes that Governments be grouped into regional associations or branches of the League of Nations, 'founded upon community of political, military, and economic interests.' He cites as such existing groups the Little Entente, the Scandinavian countries, and the Pacific Powers that signed the Treaty of Washington. He thinks that France should organize a League of Rhine Countries and a League of Mediterranean Countries along the same lines.

Jacques Bainville, editor of the *Revue Universelle* and author of numerous books on public affairs, replies specifically to the three questions submitted: that the Treaty of Versailles is already as dead as the Holy Alliance; that the most hopeful portent on the European horizon is the demoralization of Germany, which — if it become complete enough — will give France 'a hundred years of peace, worth more to her than one hundred billion francs'; and that the League of Nations is no more what President Wilson expected it to be than Mohammedanism as represented by the Angora Assembly is what the Prophet himself anticipated.

'All we can say with certainty is that the League will become something different from what it ought to be, because that is the nature of all human institutions.'

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#### JAPAN AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

THE SUPREME COURT'S decision in the case of Takao Ozawa, denying the applicant's right to American citizenship, was received in Japan, according to the *Japan Advertiser*, 'with no bitterness, and with a reasonable appreciation of the real nature of the case.'

*Nichi Nichi*, to be sure, protests:—

We do not like to see the question of naturalization discussed simply along the line of the color of the skin. We desire that the level of the civilization and intelligence possessed by peoples should be made the criterion for deciding on the right of naturalization. If the decision just given by the American Supreme Court against the Japanese appellants asking for this right was based simply on narrow-minded racial distinctions, we cannot but be surprised at the fact that the American Government and people betray such a sad lack of appreciation of the real character of the Japanese.

*Yorodzu* is surprised that Chief Justice Taft, who is held in such high esteem in Japan as an unbiased friend of the Orientals, assented to the opinion rendered by the Court, and it fears that the decision may produce an injurious effect upon relations between the two countries. *Tokyo Asahi*, after summarizing the history of the case very completely, believes that the decision was a foregone conclusion in view of the provisions of the American naturalization laws, and regrets that Japanese residents in America made a poor choice of methods to attain their object.

The decision of the American Supreme Court, however, must not end the question of securing citizenship for the Japanese resi-

dents in America. Now that it has clearly defined the position of the Japanese in reference to the American naturalization laws, new efforts must be directed to its acquisition by really effective methods; that is to say, the Japanese must try to acquire the right, either by a revision of the laws or by concluding a treaty of naturalization with America.

*Yomiuri* considers that the decision 'raises a very grave situation for Japanese residents in America,' but says that it is quite clear that the decision was not inspired by anti-Japanese sentiment, and considers the fundamental difficulty 'the irrational nature of the law,' which in its several revisions still clings to the fundamental conception of the superiority of the white races. *Hochi* emphasizes the same point, but observes that prejudice against aliens in the United States has not been reserved for any single race. It regrets the decision as likely 'to aggravate the conflict between the white and yellow races.'

*Yorodzu*, returning to the subject in a later issue, believes that an eventual race-war is inevitable. From the point of view of the Japanese, 'it is not desirable that men of their nationality should become naturalized citizens in other countries.' None the less, the decision of the Supreme Court, while in accordance with the law of the United States, merely calls attention to the 'irrational and inhumane' character of that law, and makes it clearer than ever that America is bent upon accentuating racial conflicts.

It was only two centuries ago that Asia boasted a civilization superior to that of the whites. Will it be impossible for the time to come round when the colored races triumph over the whites? We do not desire to see the continuation of conflicts between races; we desire that the principle of coexistence of mankind shall be accepted by all nations and prevail in the world. There are constant class troubles in the countries of

whites, and it may be supposed that their oppression of the colored classes has in mind the alleviation of domestic disputes. We predict a serious conflict between the white and other races, and are very apprehensive on that account.

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#### SHIFTING FORCES IN CHINA

A CLEAR current analysis of China's politics is probably beyond attainment in America; nor would it repay the labor, in view of the abrupt and unpredictable changes constantly occurring in that country. Our readers will recall that last summer Wu Pei-fu, representing the Centre party — at least, geographically — defeated in battle his Mukden rival, Chang Tso-lin, and that simultaneously the fortunes of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the radical leader at Canton, suffered an eclipse. Now, rumor has it, Wu Pei-fu is losing some of his recent popularity and influence, partly on account of the jealousy of his patriarchal overlord, Tsao Kun. Other reports have it that he has deserted the Liberal-Moderates and gone over to the Military party.

A minor but significant incident in this political shifting is the removal of General Feng Yu-hsiang, a Christian commander who came into prominence during the campaign last summer, from his post as Governor of Honan. 'The only Christian Governor in China' proved a remarkable reformer during his short tenure of office, and endeared himself to the common people of the province. He reformed the currency, gave a new lease of life to the provincial bank, saw that government salaries were promptly paid, put the young public-school system on a better basis than ever known before, and introduced a spirit of unwonted efficiency and industry throughout the provincial offices. The only people who do not seriously regret his removal are said to be a

small group of reactionary champions of the old system, and the disorderly and semi-lawless element that lives mainly by purveying vice — for Feng Yu-hsiang cleaned up the cities in his province with Puritan energy and thoroughness.

Since the withdrawal of Japan from Siberia and the voluntary dissolution of the Far Eastern Republic, China borders on Soviet Russia for approximately 3000 miles. Her diplomatic relations with that country, with whom she has many questions of first importance awaiting settlement, have therefore entered a new phase. These involve territorial issues in Mongolia, railway questions in Manchuria, trade relations, and the problem of Bolshevist propaganda in China itself. Siberia imports grain from Manchuria and meat from Mongolia. China obtains timber from Siberia. Russia gets nearly her entire tea supply from China. The latter country in turn receives from Russian territories most of the furs and skins with which she clothes a large part of her population during the cold season. China's treaty relations with her northern neighbor have existed longer than those with any other country. Russian reactionaries have used China as a base for attacking the Soviets. In a word, China's relations with Russia promise to become almost as important in Far Eastern politics as her relations with Japan.

Right here, Chang Tso-lin becomes an all-important factor in the situation. The Russians will play him off against Peking to get what they want from the Chinese. The Master of Mukden hastened to congratulate the Reds when they seized Vladivostok, and proceeded to disarm the bands of Whites who had taken refuge in Manchuria. The student element in China — which exercises an influence much greater than it does in most other countries — is

friendly to Soviet Russia and particularly hostile to Japan. The latter country will not stand idle; and if treaty-port gossip is to be believed, is dickering simultaneously with China, with the Reds, and with the people now in power in Peking, to preserve her present interests and to solidify and extend her influence on the Asiatic mainland.



#### POLITICS AND ARCHÆOLOGY

WHILE British emissaries are hastening to and fro between London and Cairo, striving to clarify the new relations between the British Empire and its recent dependency, and while Egyptian statesmen are still detained as involuntary guests at British fortress towns, other British emissaries are hurrying to Egypt at telegraphic summons on missions of a very different character. Such was the recent hurried journey of Lord Carnarvon, to be present at the opening of a tomb in the Valley of the Kings, where he walked into what the *Outlook* describes as 'the most wonderful archæological discovery of our time.'

Who would not give ten years of life to be the first to enter chambers sealed for three thousand years, packed with chariots, statues, royal robes, the treasure of a long-dead Pharaoh, the very throne from which the Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt dispensed justice? And of what remains, does the box of as yet unread papyri most excite our envy and our imagination, or the still sealed chamber wherein perhaps reposes the king who restored the ancient faith of Amen-Ra after the one apostasy recorded in five thousand years? I hope the excavators have been careful, when 'with difficulty an entrance was effected,' not to smash doors through and destroy important architectural detail, as many have done before them in premature eagerness to reach the treasure beyond.

The now despoiled Tutankhaten, before

he restored the old religion and abandoned the heretic city of Amarna built by the fascinating Akhenaton a generation before him, was of the new faith. Akhenaton caused the old ritualistic art of Egypt to be abandoned for the moment, and there was a brief period of beautiful naturalism: a portrait statue of this king, one of the finest surviving from Egyptian art, renders his delicate and beautiful features, the face of a dreamer, as they were in life. We may fairly hope that in the chambers found by Mr. Carter lie other treasures of sculpture dating from the few years, out of scores of centuries, when alone the ritual of the priest did not cramp and warp the work of the artist. Perhaps it was in the inspiration of this emancipation that some unknown genius carved the state throne of King Tutankhaten, for this is 'probably one of the most beautiful objects of art ever discovered.'



#### FIJI LABOR CONDITIONS

WHILE indentured labor has at least nominally disappeared in the Fiji, the condition of the imported Indian plantation workers there is constantly under the fire of humanitarian reformers in Australasia. A Radical member of the New Zealand Parliament, in a recent speech attacking these conditions, raised the question: How far are our current ethical aversions conditioned by our political sympathies and our material interests?

While our New Zealand papers were blackheadlining the lie that the women of Russia were nationalized — a lie that was promptly apologized for by the British paper that first gave it publication, but never apologized for in New Zealand — while that lie was being propagated, under our own flag we had the women of India nationalized. Missionaries protested to Heaven against it. The women of India, despite the principles of caste which had divided them for centuries, met on a common platform and in great public meetings carried their motions of protest to the British Government. Sir, that vile system

of forced immorality was operated for the benefit of the C. S. R. Company; and to-day although the indentured-labor system has been legally ended in Fiji, its results remain. People who visited Fiji recently have described it as a veritable sex-inferno. It is asserted that young girls are literally sold to the highest bidder in Fiji at the present time, and forced polyandry is rife in the case of married women.

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## THE LIT

ON October 1st — as was incidentally mentioned in a recent issue — the Government of Lithuania introduced a new currency the unit of which is the 'lit,' equivalent to about ten cents in our money. Hitherto, the money of this country has been reckoned in 'east-marks,' based on the German mark, introduced at the time the Baltic provinces were occupied by the German forces. When the German mark plunged downward, the east-mark naturally followed; and the new money is designed particularly to liberate Lithuania from the undesirable affinity of the two currencies. Since the supply of lits is still limited, and they are the only money accepted for taxes and other payments to the Government, they are for the time being at a premium.

The result of this radical revision of the currency has been a sudden and fantastic rise in prices, which are now about three times as high as in Germany. None the less, when we convert these prices into American money they become very modest indeed. For instance, one hundred-weight of potatoes costs in the new money five or six lits, that is, fifty to sixty cents at par of exchange. A recent employers' conference, summoned by the Minister of Labor, has raised (!) rural wages to the following height: boy field-workers,

twenty cents; women, thirty cents; men, forty cents; stone-masons and building-mechanics, eighty cents.

This rate, which we give in American currency, is for an eight-hour day. Figured in marks, however, these wages are rather exorbitant as compared with those of Germany. They amount to five hundred marks per hour for a stone-mason as compared with eighty-seven marks in East Prussia. Since similar contrasts run through the whole range of wages and prices, goods are flowing into Lithuania from her cheaper-money neighbors, and she can export nothing to them. For instance, a single importer has just reversed the usual direction of such trade by bringing five thousand head of hogs across the border from East Prussia, paying for them in the depreciated German money, and selling them at a profit of several hundred per cent in the new lits.

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## MINOR NOTES

THE London *Jewish Chronicle* recently reported on Constantinople authority that the Angora Government had made a confidential request to the Chief Rabbi of Turkey to organize a Jewish demand of the mandate for Palestine from Great Britain, to the latter country. This request was not favorably received, on the ground that the Rabbinate always held aloof from political questions. A request was then made that a delegation of Turkish chiefs should present a claim that Palestine be returned to the Turks at the Lausanne Conference.

ACCORDING to the last issue of the *Almanach de Gotha*, the number of reigning houses in Europe has declined from forty-one in 1914 to seventeen in 1922.

# HOW TO SAVE GERMANY

BY HUGO STINNES

[The following article is from a stenographic report of the address which Hugo Stinnes delivered before the Economic and Financial Committee of the German Economic Council on November 9.]

From *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 12  
(BERLIN STINNES DAILY)

EVERY man who is engaged in manufacturing, whether on a large or a small scale, whether he is producing finished goods or raw materials, must wish with all his heart for a speedy ending of our present inflation and the definite stabilization of the mark. Opinion in Germany is divided only as to the conditions under which we can bring that desired object to pass. I believe there is no such difference of opinion, however, in the National Manufacturers Association and, above all, in the Directorate and the Executive of that Association. Naturally, there are slight shades of difference, as everywhere. But in the broad and large, opinion is entirely unanimous.

This opinion has nothing to do with vertical and horizontal trusts. I am happy to begin my remarks by clearing up this point.

Vertical trusts are the children of their time, and horizontal trusts are the children of their time. If money and goods are hard to get, we have vertical trusts, because they enable business to dispense with money and purchases of raw material by articulating all the stages of production under single control, so that very little money is used in the actual purchase of the things employed in production. But if raw materials and good money are abundant — which is a condition we shall eventually see again in Germany

— then horizontal trusts will come to the fore. I was personally very active in organizing horizontal trusts before the war, when we were a wealthy nation in respect to capital and raw materials. I hope, if I live long enough, I shall be able to swap horses again, when conditions change and again make horizontal trusts the more desirable.

We Germans are, in my opinion, much too doctrinaire. We are prone to imagine that institutions and devices that are the children of their time and the children of temporary conditions are absolute and will endure for eternity. And in my opinion, we should get rid of the idea that a man must stand for a particular theory because he has adopted a certain course under certain exceptional conditions, although he may never have desired those conditions to occur. There is hardly a man in Germany whose business was so shaken to the foundations, whose existence was so critically threatened, as my own — by the war in the first place and by our defeat in the second place. There are few men whose business had such a world-wide extent, and therefore suffered so by the destruction of world commerce.

I admit that certain industrial groups and certain branches of business are so affected by the present conditions that they cannot protect themselves,