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EUROPEAN CRISIS IS HARD TO FIND

Diplomats and Observers Unable to Understand the Attitude of Austria.

RECENTLY STRONG FOR PEACE

Count Berchtold, Only a Few Weeks Ago, Bitterly Criticized the War Party, and His Change of Front Has Not as Yet Been Explained.

"Confusion worse confounded" is the one phrase that aptly characterizes the war situation in Europe. The leading newspapers and the most experienced observers are unable to agree on any explanation of the crisis. And the reason is not far to seek.

Only a few weeks ago the foreign minister of Austria, Count Berchtold, was earnestly defending the pacific and moderate policy he had been pursuing toward the Balkans and Russia. Berchtold for Peace.

In a speech to the delegates at Budapest he vigorously answered criticisms of spokesmen of the war party, particularly of a delegate who was supposed to be expressing the sentiments of the then heir presumptive, the late Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Count Berchtold spoke of the aged emperor's sincere and resolute devotion to peace; he gave arguments of his own, moreover, in support of a policy of patience and peace.

Feared Loss of Prestige. The frankness and directness of that speech impressed everybody except those who feared that Austria might be accused of timidity and weakness, quence might lose political and military prestige.

There were some among these who thought, moreover, that Russia, whose recuperative power was wonderfulwhatever might be said of its efficiency and actual strength when pitted against a more civilized and free power-was getting too mighty and too confident, and was enjoying too much opportunity for rehabilitation and consolidation of its financial and militarynaval resources.

These vaguely favored a bold and aggressive policy even at the risk of war, which had better come sooner than later, they held.

Sweden Takes Up Cry. But Count Berchtold's view prevailed for the moment and excellent observers concluded that Austria, at any rate, was not going to add to the troubles, complications, and dangers of Europe by tempting fortune.

At that very moment Sweden was excitedly discussing "the Russian peril" and demanding new measures of defense, while a section of the German press was pointing to the "bear that walks like a man" as the foe to reckon with in the near future.

Yet the peace of Europe is broken not by Russia, not by a Balkan power desirous of revising the settlement imposed by Roumania and the concert of Europe at the Bucharest conference, but by Austria, and seemingly under Count Berchtold's direction.

What has happened in the short interval? If peace was necessary and desirable to Austria-Hungary a few weeks ago, why is war inevitable to-

To understand the situation it is es sential to distinguish between glittering generalities, fanciful aspirations, literature, and rhetoric, on the one hand, and hard, grim, concrete facts on the other. It is essential to know what the conflict is not. It is not a war between Teuton and Slav. It is not a war between the Pan-German world party and the Pan-Slav world party. It is not war for the preservation of Hapsburg monarchy.

Move Is Anti-Austrian.

The Pan-German movement is anti-Austrian and cannot fail to be so. The success of that movement would destroy Austria as a political entity. The Pan-German extremists have had to be rebuked and repudiated by responsible German statesmen. As allies of Austria they could not countenance a movement which assumed and labored of Austria.

The Pan-Slav movement in Russia is manifestly anti-Austrian, as well as anti-German. It dreams of Slav rule from the Adriatic sea to the Pacific ocean." It dreams of Slav union or confederation under the gentle and benevolent sovereignty of Russia.

Czar's Interest in Servia. Pan-Slavism is, however, in a limited sense, unmistakably in evidence in the czar's profound interest in Servia and Montenegro. The czar's ministers have often blundered in the Balkans

ho made a gallant record during might be misunderstood and in conset the Balkan war, will lead his battlescarred veterans against the Aus-

> and have at times caused estrangement, gravitation toward Germany, bitter feeling against Russia. But the blunders were personal blunders of bungling politicians. Russia has always posed and often acted as the patron, friend, and protector of the Slavs everywhere, and especially of the Balkan Slavs. It has had and still has its eye on its "estate in reversion," Constantinople, and it cannot hope to plant its flag there without the consent and support of the Balkan Slavs. It is good "Pan-Slavism" to support Ser-

> But in facing Austria, Russia confronts not a German power, but a power that is itself largely Slav. Slav will thus be fighting Slav and the Germans, whatever their colors, will be fighting for Slavs and with other Slavs and postponing the realization of the Pan-German ambitions and dreams.

Jealousy a Great Factor. Here, then, is a strange paradox, but not the only paradox in a situation full of anomalies—anomalies inseparable from the very nature and complexion of the Austro-Hungarian empire, an empire, to repeat, that has been held together quite as much by the jealousies and differences of outsiders as by the dynastic and personal influence of the Hapsburgs.

If Austria cannot and does not represent German interests and German culture in this fight, what is it fighting for? Pan-Servian agitation did not endanger its existence, while the war does. Its own Slav elements at no time displayed an inclination to exchange its rule for that of the czar, although they were not averse to using Pan-Slav slogans in order to secure better representation and larger recog-

Danger to Dual Monarchy. The opinion of the soundest students of politics has long been that if Austria-Hungary was to be preserved, only a policy of peace, liberalism, greater autonomy, and home rule, conciliation of the various races and elements by reform measures, political and social. contained the promise of such preser-

The war actually endangers the existence of the dual monarchy, for aside from the chances of defeat and disaster, there is the fact that the Slav subjects of the emperor cannot sympathize with it. The separatist and particularist tendencies feared by the court and government can only be deepened and strengthened by the con-

The army and navy may be loyal and obedient, as many assert. The army and navy may be "Austrian." if the nation is not. But popular sentiment is a potent factor in war and popular sentiment among the Austrian and Hungarian Slavs does ont favor fratricidai strife.

No wonder the intelligent world is puzzled and utterly at a loss to explain Austria's course.

GREAT WARS' COST IN LIVES AND MONEY			
Wars—	Duration in days.	Loss of	Cost. In money.
England-France, 1793-1815	8.168	1,900,000	\$6,250,000,000
Crimean war, 1854-56	. 734	485,000	1,525,000,000
United States Civil war, 1861-65	2,456	656,000	3,700,000,000
Franco-German, 1870-71	405	290,000	1,580,000,000
Russo-Turkish, 1877-78 United States-Spanish war, 1898	334	180,000	950,000,000
Boer war, 1899-1902	101	2,910	*165,000,000
Russo-Japanese war, 1904-05	902 876	90,898	1,000,100,000
Balkan wars	302	555,900 145,500	2.250,000,000
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