

Answer to Criticism

My suggestion that the President, by resigning, hasten our nation's entrance into the Association of Nations (to which President-Elect Harding is pledged) and at the same time avail himself of the opportunity to give more attention to his health, has been widely commented on in this country and in Europe. While the plan has been heartily indorsed by many, it has called forth some bitter criticism.

First. It has been described in the headlines as a DEMAND for the President's resignation. Those who took the pains to read what I said need not be reminded that it was merely a suggestion, supported by the reasons thereof.

Second. Some have charged me with attacking a sick man. It was not an attack but an explanation of a way by which the President could conserve his strength and at the same time advance a cause very dear to his heart. It is hardly fair to the President to claim for him immunity from criticism when he, by continuing in office, announces to the country that he considers himself well enough to discharge the duties of his high office. Can an official be well enough to hold office and yet not be well enough to be criticized?

Third. The charge that I was actuated by a spirit of revenge, if worthy of any attention at all, is answered by the service that I have rendered him since my resignation. I helped to re-elect him in 1916, making more speeches than any other public man (campaigning for seven weeks in nineteen states); I made more speeches than any other public man in support of the administration during the war. I made more speeches than any other public man in favor of RATIFICATION WITHOUT RESERVATIONS, never suggesting a compromise until it became evident that compromise was necessary to ratification. At San Francisco, I tried to save him, the party and the league from the defeat that has overtaken them, and now I am trying to cushion his fall. No kinder suggestion has been made or will be made.

Fourth. Some have characterized the suggestion as cruel. How can the advice that he acquiesce in the will of the people, expressed at the polls, be regarded as cruel? How can it be regarded as cruel to suggest that he save the lives of thousands by giving our nation a chance to exert AT ONCE its influence for the prevention of war? Within ten days the President has declined to allow this nation to take part in the discussion of disarmament because we are not in the league. Two and half months more before our nation can be its influence.

Fifth. Some ridicule the suggestion as absurd, and yet we are about the only great nation, having a parliamentary government, that does not provide for an IMMEDIATE change in administration when a vote of confidence is refused by parliament. AT THE LATE ELECTION THIS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE WAS REFUSED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. It will not be long before this nation will follow the example of other governments and shorten the time between elections and the commencement of the Presidential Term. Before long the President will be inaugurated in January. President Wilson might have recommended the change and emphasized the recommendation by offering to resign. But the overzealous friends who have encouraged him to make the mistakes that cloud the setting of his sun now rail at anyone who tries to help him out of the mire into which he has fallen.

The reasons given for the suggestion still stand and no critic has been able to answer them. First, resignation would hasten the carrying out of the people's decree and make it possible for our nation to enter at once into an association of nations. Second, it would enable the President to lay aside the burdens of office and devote his attentions to his health. Third, it would relieve him of a three months' conflict with a hostile congress encouraged by a popular endorsement.

W. J. BRYAN.

"A DANGEROUS INTERIM"

On another page will be found an editorial from the Chicago Tribune calling attention to the need for an amendment to the constitution making the presidential term begin soon after the election. It is worthy of perusal; the need which it describes is imperative. Following the Tribune editorial will be found the President's refusal to send delegates to the conference on DIS-



ARMAMENT because we are not members of the league. As the President can not carry out the plan to which President-elect Harding is pledged, and as Mr. Harding is powerless to do anything until after March 4, the world must wait. DISARMAMENT is the crying demand of the hour; our government's helplessness makes an amendment necessary.

LIBELLING THE JEWS

The libel that is being circulated against the Jews, based on the so called protocols, is absurd as well as cruel. It is astonishing that anyone would build upon an anonymous publication an indictment against one of the greatest races in history.

I have read the protocols carefully and believe that they were either manufactured by an enemy of the Jewish people or written by an insane fanatic, more probably the former. If, as seems less likely, they represent the imaginings of an unbalanced brain, it is grossly unfair to charge them up against the Jews in general. The diabolical character of the plot is enough to stamp it as either fraudulent or foolish. No such conspiracy could be planned by any considerable number, not to speak of the impossibility of carrying it out. It would require the joint effort of all the leaders of the race to make it a real conspiracy, and what representative Jew in the whole world would be suspected of contemplating such a crime?

I have the pleasure of knowing quite intimately many prominent Jews, among them (only to mention a few) Justice Brandies, of the Supreme Court, the great lawyer, Samuel Untermyer, the eminent jurist, Judge Mack, Nathan Strauss, the world famed philanthropist, and his brother Oscar, equally distinguished as a diplomat and peace advocate; Rabbi Wise, fearless preacher of righteousness; Julius Rosenwald, business man and humanitarian; Ambassador Morgenthau, who recently represented the United States at Constantinople; the two Kahns, Otto and Julius; Bernard Baruch, Sigmund Zeisler, A. J. Elias, etc., etc.

Would any Jewish plan amount to much in this country without the support of these representatives of the race? And what Christian would be more prompt than they to expose and denounce such a conspiracy if it ever came to their notice?

The libel, while irritating, can not do any permanent harm; it will soon be forgotten.

W. J. BRYAN.

REACTION IN EUROPE

Greece has recalled her king by an overwhelming majority (98 per cent of the vote). This is a remarkable manifestation of reaction; it is ominous. Will the Kaiser be the next king to be recalled? The right of self-determination is sound doctrine, but the application of it is not always pleasing to the friends of democracy. Progress does not move at a steady pace; it has the irregularity of the rising tide, but the world is not going back permanently and our nation must do what it can to prevent even a temporary setback.

CHANGING THE SUBJECT

The Democrats who are responsible for the platform and the conduct of the campaign spend their time denouncing those who are not responsible for the disaster instead of trying to explain the defeat.

Leadership

The air is full of rumors as to LEADERSHIP in the Democratic party. One faction insists that President Wilson is still leader; another faction insists that Candidate Cox will remain the leader for four years; still another faction insists on new leaders. It is a waste of time; the party's real need is members. Leaders are not created by position—they are not "ex-officio" leaders. Neither are permanent leaders chosen by conventions. Candidates are nominal leaders during the campaign and officials are nominal leaders while in office, but REAL leadership is an entirely different thing. Former Governor Oglesby of Illinois is credited with defining a leader as "ONE WHO IS GOING IN THE SAME DIRECTION AS THE PEOPLE AND A LITTLE BIT AHEAD." No one can lead unless he has the people with him, and they will not be with him unless he is going THEIR way. The VOTERS will select nominal leaders as they are needed, but the real leaders are the ones who suggest the best policies at the right time.

The laws provide for the selection of a committee in nation, state and county. They strengthen the party just in so far as they faithfully reflect the will of their constituents, but they do not always do this. The special interests are alert; they never sleep. They work their representatives into these places of influence and these men—mere agents of predatory wealth—betray their constituents. The Democratic national committee contains representatives of nearly all the big interests; it is time to have a housecleaning. The Democrats in each state should examine the financial connections of their committeeman, and every man who is NOT ABOVE SUSPICION—should be retired and a trustworthy man selected in his place.

The traveling expenses of committeemen should be paid; we cannot afford to limit membership on the national committee to the rich. IT IS UN-DEMOCRATIC. The people must be able to select representatives on merit and not on a pocketbook basis. The chairman of the national committee should be paid a salary sufficient to enable a competent man to give his entire time to committee work. The party cannot make the preparation necessary for the next campaign unless the organization is in the hands of real Democrats who are free to fight the people's battles.

W. J. BRYAN.

WHY NOT?

The Washington Star prints the following:

"A bill forbidding all American citizens abroad in offices controlled by the United States from serving liquors at public or official functions has been prepared for introduction by Senator Jones of Washington. The bill is broad enough in its terms, it is believed, to cover the embassies of the United States abroad as well as the consular offices. The bill is framed particularly with reference to United States consular offices in China."

Why not? Why should our nation encourage abroad a practice which it prohibits at home? A sober diplomacy is good enough for the United States.

CHICKENS COMING HOME TO ROOST

The middlemen who were plundering their patrons without conscience or thought of the future are now coming to light. Adopting the motto, "Easy come, easy go," they splurged in the day of plenty and in the day of adversity they are not getting any large amount of sympathy. "Be sure your sin will find you out."

PRESIDENT WINS PEACE PRIZE

The President has earned the Nobel Peace Prize just awarded him. His work in behalf of peace has been his most conspicuous achievement. It was his administration that gave to the world the peace plan embodied first in thirty treaties and then made part of the league of nations. The doctrine, "Investigate before you fight," will live whether the world acts through a league of nations or an association of nations. The educational work the President has done for peace in connection with the league entitles him to a permanent place among the great peace advocates of history, even though his refusal to accept the proposed reservations denied him his rightful place at the head of the greatest of international tribunals.

W. J. BRYAN.