

Jackson Day Banquet at Washington

TEXT OF THE WILSON MESSAGE

President Wilson's message to the Democrats attending the Jackson Day celebration at Washington, January 8, addressed to Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the Democratic national committee, follows:

"It is with keenest regret that I find that I am to be deprived of the pleasure and privilege of joining you and the other loyal democrats who are to assemble tonight to celebrate Jackson day and renew their vows of fidelity to the great principles of our party, the principles which must now fulfill the hopes not only of our own people, but of the world.

"The United States enjoyed the spiritual leadership of the world until the senate of the United States failed to ratify the treaty by which the belligerent nations sought to effect the settlements for which they had fought thruout the war. It is inconceivable that at this supreme crisis and final turning point in the international relations of the whole world, when the results of the great war are by no means determined and are still questionable and dependent upon events which no man can foresee or count upon, the United States should withdraw from the concert of progressive and enlightened nations by which Germany was defeated and all similar governments (if the world be so unhappy as to contain any) warned of the certain consequences of any attempt of a like iniquity, and yet that is the effect of the course the senate of the United States has taken with regard to the treaty of Versailles.

STILL IN STATE OF WAR

"Germany is beaten but we are still at war with her, and the old stage is reset for a repetition of the old plot. It is now ready for the resumption of the old offensive and defensive alliances which made settled peace conditions impossible. It is now open to every sort of intrigue. The old spies are free to resume their former abominable activities. They are again at liberty to make it impossible for governments to be sure what mischief is being worked among their own people, what internal disorders are being fomented. Without the covenant of the league of nations, there may be as many secret treaties as ever, to destroy the confidence of governments in each other and their validity cannot be questioned.

"None of the objects we professed to be fighting for has been secured or can be made certain of without this nation's ratification of the treaty and its entry into the covenant. This nation entered the great war to vindicate its own rights and to protect and preserve free government. It went into the war to see it thru to the end, and the end has not yet come. It went into the war to make an end of militarism, to furnish guarantees to weak nations and to make a just and lasting peace. It entered it with noble enthusiasms. Five of the leading belligerents have accepted the treaty and formal ratifications will soon be exchanged. The question is whether this country will enter and enter whole-heartedly. If it does not do so the United States and Germany will play a lone hand in the world. The maintenance of the peace of the world and the effective execution of the treaty depend upon the whole-hearted participation of the United States.

"I am not stating it as a matter of power. The point is that the United States is the only nation which has sufficient moral force with the rest of the world to guarantee the substitution of discussion for war. If we keep out of this agreement, if we do not give our guarantees, then another attempt will be made to crush the new nations of Europe.

"I do not believe that this is what the people of this country wish or will be satisfied with. Personally, I do not accept the action of the senate of the United States as the decision of the nation. I have asserted from the first that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country desire the ratification of the treaty, and my impression to that effect has recently been confirmed by the unmistakable evidence of public opinion given during my visit to seventeen of the states.

"I have endeavored to make it plain that if the senate wishes to say what the undoubted meaning of the league is, I shall have no objection. There can be no reasonable objection to interpretations accompanying the act of ratification itself. But when the treaty is acted upon I must know whether it means that we

have ratified or rejected it. We cannot rewrite this treaty. We must take it without changes which alter its meaning, or leave it, and then after the rest of the world has signed it, we must face the unthinkable task of making another and separate kind of treaty with Germany. But no mere assertions with regard to the wish and opinion of the country are credited. If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think of this vital matter the clear and single way out is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum as to the part the United States is to play in completing the settlements of the war and in the prevention in the future of such outrages as Germany attempted to perpetrate.

"We have no more moral right to refuse now to take part in the execution and administration of these settlements than we had to refuse to take part in the fighting of the last few weeks of the war which brought victory and made it possible to dictate to Germany what the settlements should be. Our fidelity to our associates in the war is in question and the whole future of mankind. It will be heartening to the whole world to know the attitude and purpose of the people of the United States

DEMOCRACY NOT VINDICATED

"I spoke just now of the spiritual leadership of the United States, thinking of international affairs. But there is another spiritual leadership which is open to us and which we can assume. The world has been made safe for democracy, but democracy has not been finally vindicated. All sorts of crimes are being committed in its name, all sorts of preposterous perversions of its doctrines and practices are being attempted. This, in my judgment, is to be the great privilege of the democracy of the United States, to show that it can lead the way in the solution of the great social and industrial problems of our time and lead the way to a happy and settled order of life as well as to political liberty. The program for this achievement we must attempt to formulate, and in carrying it out we shall do more than can be done in any other way to sweep out of existence the tyrannous and arbitrary forms of power which are now masquerading under the name of popular government.

"Whenever we look back to Andrew Jackson we should draw fresh inspiration from his character and example. His mind grasped with such a splendid definiteness and firmness the principle of national authority and national action. He was so indomitable in his purpose to give reality to the principles of the government that this is a very fortunate time to recall his career and to renew our vows on faithfulness to the principles and the pure practices of democracy. I rejoice to join you in this renewal of faith and purpose. I hope that the whole evening may be of the happiest results as regards the fortunes of our party and the nation."

DEMOCRACY'S OPPORTUNITY

Following is an abstract of Mr. Bryan's address at the dinner given by the Democratic national committee, January 8, 1920:

"Seldom has such an opportunity for great service come to any party as now presents itself to our party. But opportunity brings responsibility. Much is required of those to whom much is given. A soldier is a soldier until his day of opportunity comes—after that he is either a hero or a coward. So with the party, opportunities improved become stepping stones to success; opportunities neglected are millstones about the party's neck.

"The opportunities now offered are as large as the nation and as wide as the world. In this hour, when we take counsel together for the coming campaign, it is the duty of each member of the party, as I take it, to present the situation as he sees it, without stopping to inquire whether his views are shared by others. One cannot call a mass meeting to determine what to think. The theory of democracy is that all think and give expression to their thought, and then conclusions are reached by comparison of views.

"Permit me, therefore, to present the more important of these opportunities as I see them. The nations are entering upon a new era; old systems are passing away; democracy is dawning everywhere. Our nation is the only great

nation in a position to furnish the moral leadership required. The nations of Europe are busy with their own problems; our people are the only ones disinterested enough to be trusted by all, and the democratic party is the party whose ideas best fit it for the task of leadership in such a work.

SENATE TACTICS CRITICISED

"A democratic president was the spokesman of the United States in holding out to a war-worn world the hope of universal peace, and he brought back from Paris the covenant of a league of nations that provides means for settling international disputes without a resort to force. He did the best he could, and succeeded better than we had any right to expect, when we remember that he fought single-handed against the selfish interests of the world.

"The republican party in control of the senate, instead of ratifying at once or promptly proposing changes that it deemed necessary, has fiddled while civilization has been threatened with conflagration. It could have adopted its reservations as well five months ago as later, but it permitted endless debate while suffering humanity waited.

"The democratic senators stood with the president for ratification without reservation, and I stood with them, believing that it was better to secure with the league, after it was established, any necessary changes than to attempt to secure them by reservations in the ratifying resolution. But our plan has been rejected and we must face the situation as it is. We must either secure such compromises as may be possible or present the issue to the country. The latter course would mean a delay of at least fourteen months, and then success only in case of our securing a two-thirds majority in the senate.

OPPOSES LEAGUE AS ISSUE

"We cannot afford, either as citizens or as members of the party, to share with the republican party responsibility for further delay. We cannot go before the country on the issue that such an appeal would present. The republicans have a majority in the senate and, therefore, can by right dictate the senate's course. Being in the minority, we cannot demand the right to decide the terms upon which the senate will consent to ratification. Our nation has spent 100,000 precious lives and more than \$20,000,000,000 to make the world safe for democracy, and the one fundamental principle of democracy is the right of the majority to rule. It applies to the senate and to the house, as well as to the people. According to the constitution, a treaty is ratified by a two-thirds vote, but the democratic party cannot afford to take advantage of the constitutional right of a minority to prevent ratification. A majority of congress can declare war. Shall we make it more difficult to conclude a treaty than to enter a war?

"Neither can we go before the country on the issue raised by article 10. If we do not intend to impair the right of congress to decide the question of peace or war when the time for action arises, how can we insist upon a moral obligation to go to war, which can have no force or value except as it does impair the independence of congress? We owe it to the world to join in an honest effort to put an end to war forever, and that effort should be made at the earliest possible moment.

"A democratic party cannot be a party of negation. It must have a constructive program. It must not only favor a league of nations, but it must have a plan for the election of delegates and a policy to be pursued by these delegates.

"What plan can a democratic party have other than one that contemplates the popular election of those delegates who, in the influence they will exert, will be next in importance to the president himself? And what policy can the democratic party have within the league of nations other than one of absolute independence and impartiality between the members of the league?

"Our nation's voice should at all times be raised in behalf of equal and exact justice between nations as the only basis of permanent peace; it should be raised in defense of the right of self-determination and in proclaiming a spirit of brotherhood as universal as the peace which we advocate.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS ARISING

"We have domestic problems also which offer an opportunity to render large service, and one objection to thrusting the treaty into the campaign is that it would divert attention from questions demanding immediate consideration. We are confronted with the organization of new