

defeated it in the senate, but we must say nothing that would indicate the slightest divergence from the president's judgment on any question.

We could not praise our party for its honorable part in making the country dry. Why? Was it because the president tried to put an end to war prohibition and allow a few weeks' spree before beginning of constitutional prohibition? One member of the administration even wanted the convention to condemn the Volstead bill as a Republican measure passed over the veto of a Democratic president when, as a matter of fact, more than three-fourths of the Democrats of the house and more than two-thirds of the Democrats of the senate joined with the Republicans in putting it upon the statute books in spite of the president's opposition. I might add that the proposed plank really did injustice to the president by imputing to him opposition to the enforcement law, whereas his veto acted only to the part enforcing war prohibition, not to the part enforcing constitutional prohibition.

Was it not humiliation enough to the party to have a Democratic president sit silent in the white house and take no part in the greatest moral victory of the generation? I think I am not mistaken when I say that he never uttered a word to aid those who made the fight for submission for ratification and for the passage of the law enforcing constitutional prohibition. Was it necessary to add to this humiliation by gagging a national convention and forbidding it to give expression to the joy that fills the hearts of a majority of the men of the land and a still larger majority of the women of the land?

If in the matter of prohibition the president's offense against the party is grave, what shall we say to his crime when we consider the treaty plank? He demanded that twenty-three Democratic senators should be rebuked, senators nearly all of whom lived in closely congested states, where the president's attitude endangers the reelection of those now in the senate and makes practically impossible the election of Democrats to succeed them. But the defeat of the party is of little consequence compared with the responsibility that our party assumes when it attempts to make a partisan issue of the greatest international question our country has ever confronted. Under the pretense of devotion to the league of nations he demands that we strangle the league, for nothing else can result from the iron rule that he enforced upon the convention. Every one knows that neither party can possibly have two-thirds of the next senate and who can doubt that the making of the league a party issue in a presidential campaign will harden the lines already drawn and preclude the possibility of reaching an agreement. The real issue presented is whether the president is infallible and the Democratic party is asked to take the affirmative of the proposition. While professing a willingness to accept reservations of a certain kind, within certain limitations, the platform does not indicate the kind of the limitations. Our ship is sent to sea with sealed instructions. It is not strange that the convention finally became so exasperated that it decided to choose a pilot without consulting the dictator. While booze was the unspiritual spring back of the Cox candidacy he had the votes of many delegates who would not admit the slightest sympathy with his irrigation plans. In fact the convention by more than a two-third vote, expressly refused to endorse the wine and beer platform of the man whom it nominated by more than a two-thirds vote.

If the president were willing to concede to the senate the right to exercise its constitutional authority, if he were willing to act in the spirit that permits a co-operative government, if he were half as willing to compromise with a co-ordinate body of his own government as he was to make concessions to every foreign nation, if he were as willing to consent to a little freedom on land as he was to abandon the freedom of the seas, the treaty would have been ratified months ago. We would be in the league of nations and he would have been the first president of this great tribunal, an honor which he had fairly won for himself and for the nation.

Just a little recognition of the right of other officials to exercise the authority conferred upon them by the same constitution that gives him all the authority he had would have put the treaty out of the campaign and thus enable us to deal with domestic problems as well as do our duty to the world. But having reached the highest pinnacle of fame to which a human being was

ever lifted he has rewarded the confidence of his nation and the generosity of his party by an exhibition of egotism which would be pathetic if it were not tragic.

No large party in a democracy can hope to appeal to the conscience and judgment of a nation unless it has a higher purpose than sycophantic service to one autocratic individual. When the United States aided in attacking the arbitrary idea of government in Germany it was with the hope of banishing it from the world; not for the purpose of transplanting it on American soil. But the convention has adjourned and its work is submitted for ratification or rejection to millions of citizens who will act without the restraints imposed upon handpicked committees and partisan delegates. Let us hope that whether their decision is pleasing to those who controlled the making of the platform or to those who nominate the candidates or to those whose judgment did not approve of either, it will prove a blessing to our beloved land and contribute towards the securing of that which will advance civilization throughout the world.

(Editor's Note—Owing to lack of space several of Mr. Bryan's San Francisco letters could not be reproduced in this issue, but will appear in the August number of The Commoner).

Democratic National Platform

(Continued from Page 7)

executive, as may secure to American citizens, the same rights in the acquirements of mining rights in foreign countries as are enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of any other nation.

NEW NATIONS

"The Democratic party expresses its active sympathy with the people of China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Poland, Persia and others who have recently established representative government and who are striving to develop the institutions of true democracy.

IRELAND

"The great principle of national self-determination has received constant reiteration as one of the chief objectives for which this country entered the war and victory established this principle.

"Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government.

ARMENIA

"We express our deep and earnest sympathy for the unfortunate people of Armenia, and we believe that our government consistent with its constitution and principles should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a government of their own.

THE PHILIPPINES

"We favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the 10,500,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

HAWAII

"We favor a liberal policy of homesteading public lands in Hawaii to promote a larger middle class citizen population, with equal rights to all citizens.

"The importance of Hawaii as an outpost on the western frontier of the United States demands adequate appropriations by congress for the development of our harbors and highways there.

PORTO RICO

"We favor granting to the people of Porto Rico the traditional territorial form of government, with a view to ultimate statehood, accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of such territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

ALASKA

"We commend the Democratic administration for inaugurating a new policy as to Alaska as evidenced by the construction of the Alaska railroad and opening of the coal and oil fields.

"We declare for the modification of the existing coal land law, to promote development without disturbing the features intended to prevent monopoly.

"For such changes in the policy of forestry control as will permit the immediate initiation of the paper pulp industry.

"For relieving the territory from the evils of long distance government by arbitrary and interlocking bureaucratic regulation, and to that end we urge the speedy passage of a law containing the essential features of the Lane-Curry bill now pending, co-ordinating and consolidating all federal control of natural resources under one department to be administered by a non-partisan board permanently resident in the territory.

"For the fullest measures of territorial self government with the view to ultimate statehood with jurisdiction over all matters not of purely federal concern, including fisheries and game, and for an intelligent administration of federal control we believe that all officials appointed should be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the territory.

"For a comprehensive system of road construction with increased appropriations and the full extension of the federal road act to Alaska.

"For the extension to Alaska of the federal farm loan act.

ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS

"The policy of the United States with reference to the non-admission of the Asiatic immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people and to the several states whose geographical situation or internal conditions make this policy and the enforcement of the laws enacted pursuant thereto, of particular concern, we pledge our support.

THE POSTAL SERVICE

"The efficiency of the postoffice department has been vindicated against a malicious and designing assault, by the efficiency of its operation. Its record refutes its assailants. Their voices are silenced and their charges have collapsed.

"We commend the work of the joint commission on the re-classification of salaries of postal employes, recently concluded, which commission was created by a Democratic administration. The Democratic party has always favored, and will continue to favor the fair and just treatment of all government employes.

FREE SPEECH AND PRESS

"We resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic administration for alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

"No utterance from any quarter has been assailed, and no publication has been repressed, which has not been animated by treasonable purpose, and directed against the nation's peace, order and security in time of war.

"We reaffirm our respect for the great principles of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the government of the state or nation by force or violence.

REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION

"The shocking disclosure of the lavish use of money by aspirants for the Republican nomination for the highest office in the gift of the people, has created a painful impression throughout the country. Viewed in connection with the recent conviction of a Republican senator from the state of Michigan for the criminal transgression of the law limiting expenditures on behalf of a candidate for the United States senate, it indicates the re-entry under Republican auspices of money as an influential factor in elections, thus nullifying the letter and flaunting the spirit of numerous laws, enacted by the people, to protect the ballot from the contamination of corrupt practices. We deplore those delinquencies and invoke their stern popular rebuke pledging our earnest efforts to a strengthening of the present statutes against corrupt practices and their rigorous enforcement.

"We remind the people that it was only by the return of a Republican senator in Michigan, who is now under conviction and sentence for the criminal misuse of money in his election, that the present organization of the senate with a Republican majority was made possible.

CONCLUSION

"Believing that we have kept the Democratic faith and resting our claims to the confidence of the people not upon grandiose promise, but upon the solid performance of our party, we submit our record to the nation's consideration and ask that the pledges of this platform be appraised in the light of that record."