

A Fatal Omission

On another page will be found an interview which Mr. Bryan gave to the public from a sick-bed in March, 1919. Several of the changes suggested therein were made in the covenant before its final submission to the Senate, but the President, while adopting in the main the plan of the thirty treaties, omitted one very important provision, namely—that THE NATIONS RESERVE THE RIGHT OF INDEPENDENT ACTION AT THE CONCLUSION OF INVESTIGATION. Had he inserted this provision in the covenant, the treaty would have been ratified, and we would be now doing our part in the amicable adjustment of international differences, but instead of including this provision, essential to any attempt to investigate ALL international disputes, he insisted upon an obligation that would, to the extent it had value, abrogate the right of congress to act freely on the subject of war.

Relying upon the right of the American congress to decide questions of war in spite of such a moral obligation, advocates of peace, including myself, favored the IMMEDIATE RATIFICATION of the treaty WITHOUT reservations, postponing until after ratification such changes as might be necessary, but there never has been a time when any considerable fraction of the American people would delegate to any foreign body the right to determine when our nation should enter war. When it became apparent that ratification without reservations was impossible, the most earnest friends of the league were willing to accept any reservations necessary to secure ratification, but the President refused to accept the reservations FAVORED BY A MAJORITY OF 18 IN THE SENATE and demanded a SOLEMN REFERENDUM.

P. S.—We have had the referendum.

W. J. BRYAN.

BRYAN ON LANDSLIDE

(Interview in the Pittsburg Press, Nov. 8.)

"Now that the nation has decided in favor of Harding's idea of an association of nations," Mr. Bryan declared, "I THINK ALL FRIENDS OF WORLD PEACE SHOULD SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AND HASTEN, SO FAR AS POSSIBLE, THE NATION'S ENTRANCE INTO SUCH A LEAGUE OR ASSOCIATION AS IS AGREED UPON. THAT IS THE PURPOSE OF MY SUGGESTION AS TO MR. WILSON'S RETIREMENT.

"There is no reason why this step should not be carried out at once, and there is a constitutional way in which it could be done, through Mr. Marshall's succession and his resignation, after appointing Mr. Harding to the portfolio of state. THIS SUGGESTION HAS BEEN ATTACKED AS IF IT WERE UNFRIENDLY TO THE PRESIDENT, WHEREAS NO KINDLIER SUGGESTION HAS BEEN MADE OR WILL BE MADE. IT TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION HIS PHYSICAL WELFARE, HIS PEACE OF MIND AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CAUSE OF PEACE, WHICH IS THE SUBJECT HE HAS MOST AT HEART. NO ENEMY COULD WISH HIM A WORSE FATE THAN THAT HE WEAR HIMSELF OUT IN A FUTILE FIGHT OF THREE MONTHS WITH A CONGRESS ALREADY HOSTILE AND MADE MORE HOSTILE BY POPULAR INDORSEMENT."

Of his personal view on Article X he said, "I think the constitutional right of congress to declare war or not to declare war should not be suspended, or the independence of congress embarrassed. Article X would have embarrassed congress insofar as it had any weight at all. I favored ratification without reservations as long as it seemed possible not because I approved of Article X, but because I thought it would be better to change it after ratification than to delay ratification for the purpose of adding qualifying clauses."

The Republicans' victory does not indicate their permanent supremacy, Mr. Bryan believed. "The people were 'mad' at the administration and threw the first thing they could lay hands on, which happened to be the Republican organization," he said. "However, they will be just as ready to cast out the Republicans in four years if they fail to live up to their opportunities."

A stormy way lies before the Republicans elected, Mr. Bryan pointed out. "Their major-

ity," he said, "was made up of votes cast by numerous distinct groups whose demands will be hard to meet, especially on economic questions. For instance, Wall Street demands the discontinuance of the excess profits tax, which would mean a cut of a billion dollars in revenue out of four billions to be raised. This would require a 33 1-3 per cent increase in other taxes.

"Why should the profiteers be picked out and favored over the other taxpayers?" Mr. Bryan asked. "Only because Wall Street demands it, and controls the big papers."

A REVIEW OF THE PAST

One can find some encouragement in a review of the last thirty years in American politics. In 1890 the Democrats won a great victory, securing the largest majority in congress that they have had since the war. Four years later the Republicans won a victory almost as great, securing the largest majority in congress that they have had since 1872. Then the Republicans held undisputed power in the government for sixteen years, at the end of which time the Democrats elected a president, senate and house. Four years later the Democratic lease of power was renewed. In 1918 the Republicans captured congress, and this was followed in 1920 by the blizzard. These changes indicate the independence of the American voter and the ability of the people to change their officials when they desire to do so.

Unless the Republican administration meets the expectations of the public, a Democratic congress will be elected in 1922, and then if the Republicans do not heed the warning, it is entirely possible for a progressive democracy to obtain control of the government in 1924. Fortunately party ties are not as strong as they used to be; the people think more of their political health than they do of their family physician. They will change parties whenever they lose confidence in the party in power. The only way to win success, therefore, is to deserve it; let us hope that the Democrats will lay the foundation for an early return to power by offering better remedies for existing evils than the reactionary Republicans are likely to suggest.

W. J. BRYAN.

SELLING AT A FAIR PROFIT

On another page will be found an interesting report of an experiment that is being tried in the Chelsea district, New York City. Hudson Guild, a public spirited citizen, in co-operation with others of like spirit, is selling shoes at 10 per cent profit. Why don't others immortalize themselves by a similar public service?

DRYS WIN IN OHIO

The Ohio enforcement law was endorsed at the polls by 275,000 majority on November 2. Some majority, isn't it? What a change from last year when the enforcement law was nullified! Wonder if the Ohio democrats will send any more wet delegations to national conventions?

WHY NOT HONOR MARSHALL?

If any vice-president was ever loyal to a president—loyal even to a fault—Marshall has been, and he has been as completely ignored as the other vice-presidents. It is easy for the president to reward him now, and at the same time relieve himself and advance a great cause.

OHIO BONE DRY

Columbus, O., November 11, 1920.—The Commoner: Harding's majority in Ohio is about 380,000. His majority in Montgomery county, Cox's home county is about 8,000. Cox lost his former precinct and city of Middletown by nine votes. The Democratic candidate for Governor in Ohio was defeated by about 120,000. In other words, the Democratic candidate for Governor ran 240,000 votes ahead of Cox in this state. We now have 20 dry congressmen out of 22, and two dry U. S. senators. Our legislature is dryer than it has ever been. Our Enforcement Code to enforce State Prohibition carried by 275,000. It is certainly a glorious victory for the drys in Ohio.

Cordially yours,

A DRY.

Helping the President

Some of the more sycophantic friends of the president are quite indignant that anyone should suggest resignation at this time. If anyone can afford to venture the suggestion Mr. Bryan has earned the right to do so. Mr. Bryan helped to nominate Mr. Wilson in 1912 and then helped to elect him. As secretary of state he gave Mr. Wilson the peace plan that the president made "the heart of the covenant." He helped to elect a democratic congress in 1914. He helped to re-elect him in 1916 when the president's plan of campaign in the east failed. He helped to unite the country behind the president during the war. He tried to help him to so write the covenant as to make its ratification certain. Failing in this, he tried to secure ratification WITHOUT RESERVATIONS as long as that seemed possible. Then he tried (on Jackson Day 1920) to persuade the president to accept the reservations NECESSARY TO RATIFICATION. If the president had consented we would now be in the league of nations—but he refused. At San Francisco Mr. Bryan proposed a plan that would have corrected the mistake which the president made in rejecting reservations and would have restored to him the moral leadership of the world, but he and his overzealous worshippers insisted on a solemn referendum. Now that the president has led the party to an unprecedented defeat Mr. Bryan proposes a plan by which the president can retire with honor, and at the same time promote IN THE ONLY WAY POSSIBLE the peace in which he is so deeply interested. And yet the same unwise friends who advised against accepting the reservations and favored the referendum cry out against resignation—the only creditable way to escape from the censure that he will call forth if he still further delays peace.

W. J. BRYAN.

THE 1920 ELECTIONS

Harding and Coolidge, heading the republican national ticket for president and vice-president, were elected November 2 by the largest popular plurality ever given candidates for that office in the history of the country. The largest previous plurality was Wilson's 2 million over Roosevelt in 1912, when the republican vote was divided. From present indications Harding's plurality will be in the neighborhood of 7 millions, with some estimates fixing near 9 millions when the returns are all in. Harding and Coolidge carried 37 states with an electoral vote of 404, while Cox and Roosevelt carried 11 states with an electoral vote of 127, which is considerably smaller than Parker's vote in 1904.

Harding and Coolidge carried every northern and western state by unprecedented pluralities, ranging from a million in New York to over 5,000 in South Dakota, and, in addition, invaded the democratic states of Oklahoma, Tennessee, Maryland and Missouri, and captured them with substantial majorities. The states carried by Cox and Roosevelt were Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

The republican landslide swept in a majority of 22 in the national senate and an overwhelming majority in the house. In the house the republicans will have 302 members, the democrats 132, socialists 1.

The new congress will be dry by a large margin in both senate and house. According to the returns, of the 435 members of congress, over 220 who had voted for the Volstead act were re-elected. In addition, there were many new members elected and former members who did not vote who have gone on record in this campaign against the raising of the alcoholic content of permitted beverages, or otherwise weakening the enforcement law. In some cases the republican avalanche carried down democrats who had supported the Volstead act, but whose successors are also dry.

The newspapers announce that Governor Cox and Tom Taggart have gone south together on a hunting trip. No intimation was given as to what they would hunt.

Governor Cox may not have been entirely accurate when he said that the Republicans stand for the "Creed of Cain" but they certainly made a killing on election day.

It takes some disaster to make the defeat of 1904 seem a victory by contrast.