

ROOT OUTLINES HIS IDEAS FOR G. O. P. PLATFORM

Chief Among Planks Is Plan To Curb Arbitrary Powers At Present Held by White House.

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created in order to carry on the war. By a series of statutes unprecedented in scope and liberality, with singleness of purpose and patriotic devotion worthy of all praise, the American people conferred upon the president powers broader and more autocratic than were possessed by any sovereign in the civilized world.

"Peace has come, in fact, if not technically, but the war powers of the executive still continue. They should be brought to an end. It is not a simple thing, for new conditions have been created which should be dealt with at the same time by new statutes adapted to the conditions of peace and subject to the limitations upon power of our constitutional system.

Mustn't Bow to Power.

"There is a double immediate purpose to be served. One, to restore the habit of freedom. It is dangerous for a people to acquire the habit of bowing to power without limits. They soon become subservient, and then character essential to freedom degenerates. The other is to stop a multitude of interferences, ill-judged although well meant, with the natural course of business through which alone nat-

ural laws can operate to restore normal conditions."

The appeal of President Wilson in October, 1918, for the election of a democratic committee, he declared, was "not merely an injustice to the republican senators and representatives who with splendid loyalty had supported every forward step of the administration," but "it was a demand for the continuance of supreme power by the election of a congress which would submit itself to the orders of an executive acting at once as a party leader in politics and a dictator in government. It was an instance of American democracy that repelled the demand.

Treaty Fatally Defective.

"The president's defiance of the authority of the senate to advise upon covenant of the league of nations and to give or withhold its consent to the ratification of the treaty containing it," he continued, "was a challenge to the right of the officers of the United States government to exercise his powers in any way which had not the approval of the chief executive."

The treaty, Mr. Root declared, "was fatally defective in several respects, not only from the standpoint of the vital interests of the United States, but considered as an instrument designed to secure the future peace of the world."

"The reservations adopted by the senate," he insisted, "remedy, so far as the United States is concerned, the chief objections to the treaty. They prevent our entrance into the league of nations from being an abandonment of the Monroe doctrine, with irreparable injury to the United States and no benefit to the rest of the world."

Mistake of Article 10.

Especially important, asserted Mr. Root, is that they prevent the "incredible mistake" of article 10, the agreement in that article "to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league," he argued, binds the United States, when occasion arises, to defend every member of the league by armed force against external aggression "no matter what our people at the time think about the right and wrong of the controversy, or about the wisdom or folly of entering upon it.

"It seems clear to me that in the interests of the world's peace, which all America desires to promote, this treaty ought to be ratified with the reservations of the senate and that without those reservations in their fair and honest substance, it ought not to be ratified. I hope the treaty

will be ratified with the reservations long before the presidential election. That will be done if the president permits it. If that is not done then that is what I think the republican party ought to stand for.

Wants League Reformed.

"Immediately after the 4th of March, 1921, a republican president would urge upon the Society of Nations the reform of the league covenant, so as to make it establish the rule of public right rather than the rule of mere expediency, so as to make the peace of the world rest primarily upon law and upon the effectiveness and enforcement of law. A congress of all nations should be called to consider and declare what of international law still remains of binding force, and to provide for the further development and extension of that law, and for the application of the law to all justiciable cases of controversy between nations by impartial judicial tribunals, and to make the decisions of such tribunals upon questions of fact and upon questions of law binding and effective. That is the old American doctrine, and that is the necessary method of democracies for democracies can live only under governments of laws and not of men.

"The extreme effects of the possession of arbitrary power are seen in the extraordinary letters of the president to Secretary Lansing published on the 14th of February, 1920, by which it appears that honest and independent advice from officers of the president's own selection is an offense, and that the exercise of the most ordinary powers of the head of government, without consulting the president, when his illness prevented consultation, is cause for resentment."

Wants Military Training.

"It is interesting to observe that many citizens—official and unofficial—who are willing that the country should assume the startling obligations of article 10 are opposing the system of universal military training, without which our obligation would be worthless, which, intensively applied, enabled the United States to turn the scale of war against Germany. They say we have millions of young men already trained, but how long is the service which these splendid and patriotic youths have already rendered to their country to be made the ground for imposing upon them exclusively the burden of further service, and leaving the millions of young men who come to military age year after year untrained and unfitted to do their part for the defense of our country?"

Principles of our government, Mr. Root urged, should be applied to the relations between organized labor and the public. "First, to assert the control of the whole people of the United States within its field, and the whole people of each state within its field, over matters essential to the life of the community, to the exclusion of any class control in such matters, and, second, to exercise that popular control by making and applying such laws and establishing such institutions of government as to secure

justice within the law to members of every class and calling, so that our system of government will be justified by its work."

Demands May Be Offensive.

The people over whom one class or section holds lawful power of life or death to compel compliance with its demands is not sovereign, but subject to the control of the dominating class, Mr. Root observed. The demands may be moderate today, he said, but with power unrestricted, the demands will become oppressive tomorrow.

"We should not attempt to make any man work against his will or take away his right to strike," he asserted, "but we should by law limit that right to strike at a point where it comes in conflict with the community's high right of self-preservation.

"Inseparably connected with the right of control by the governing people is the duty of justice resting upon them. If the people by law prohibit organized labor from holding them up to enforce its demands, the people are bound to provide means to ascertain whether the demands are just, and for enforcing them if found just. That duty calls for the establishment of a competent and impartial tribunal, and for the enforcement of its decisions."

Referring to the question of economy, Mr. Root declared "it is true that a political party cannot make individuals thrifty, but a political party can produce the shining and potent example of thrifty and economical government."

Cannot Quit Spending.

Officials and agents of the present administration, he asserted, have acquired the habit of spending public money and don't know when to stop. Three things can be done, he explained, to bring about a reform.

"First, establishment of an effective system, under which the government will be obliged to start with its resources in order to determine its expenditures.

"Second, to secure an executive department which will stop urging, and a congress that will stop appropriating money for things which need not be done now so expensively, or need not be done at all.

"Third, to revise the system of taxation, and to make some such changes in it indicated by experiences of its effects. The law must be framed so that the industry will not be ruined, especially the things which the war showed to be necessary for the independence of the country shall not be stopped, and it must be framed so as not to destroy the export trade of Europe, which directly or indirectly will enable Europe to pay her debts and remain solvent."

Miller Displace Root.

Nathan L. Miller of Syracuse was named a delegate-at-large to the national convention in place of Elihu Root, who declined to serve, by the informal state convention here tonight. Mr. Root definitely announced his decision not to be a delegate in a letter addressed to State Chairman George Glynn.

Mr. Root gave no reason in his letter of withdrawal but it is understood he has decided to accept the appointment as a member of the committee which is to prepare a plan of organization for an international court of justice, provided for under the covenant of the league of nations. Mr. Root, it is understood, desires to be free from other duties especially those of a partisan nature while he is connected with the international organization.

depressing effect on Mr. Wilson's spirits. Little things provoke him. For instance on the boat going over to France, he took considerable offense because the George Washington carried a number of minor officials of the State department staff. He held Secretary Lansing responsible for this and fretted the first two days out at sea and wouldn't receive the secretary of state simply because his instructions about keeping the number on the boat down to a minimum had not evidently been carried out.

"Just why Mr. Wilson wanted the whole boat to himself, people couldn't understand, nor was it comprehensible why the president allowed only a handful of people to accompany him on the return journey and left lots of space in the vessel which it had been thought would be occupied by returning officials. The boat was only half filled when it started from Brest and the only explanation which anybody could deduce from the strange demeanor of the president was that he wanted to be all alone and didn't want to be annoyed."

Became Irritable.

Instances, trivial indeed, could be cited to show that the president was weighed down by official burdens to an extent that the public has little known, and that gradually he has developed an irritability which has not been known except to the inner circle. Twice on the western trip, which he took immediately after his return from Europe, the president showed his temper.

In St. Louis, just as he was about to begin his speech at night, a photographer took a flashlight. Now Mr. Wilson has had that happen to him many times before, but on this occasion he blurted out angrily "We out not to care how we look, but how we act," and the crowd, which had been amused at it as always by a sudden flashlight picture, stopped its laughter abruptly and wondered.

Again at Salt Lake a fortnight later, the president was talking about Article X, and asked a rhetorical question—the kind that the crowd isn't supposed to answer, but Mr. Wilson's delivery was so forceful and he had been getting such enthusiastic applause at the end of almost every sentence that somebody applauded in the wrong place. I am sure it was unintentional, the president stopped short and issued an angry rebuke in the direction from which the applause came—"Better wait till you hear it all, before you applaud"—was his reprimand, and the crowd wondered.

Grown Intolerant.

Time was when Mr. Wilson schooled himself to repress his temper. Once or twice when delegations visited him in the White House he got his dander up, but usually the stenographic record of what was said never was issued, and the public was none the wiser. It has been noticed, however, that in the last two years the president has been given every now and then to temperate expression. In a nutshell, his duties and his burdens got on his nerves. They are still on his nerves. Woodrow Wilson three years ago would never have done what Woodrow Wilson is doing today.

Cabinet members have led him astray and gotten him into worse difficulties and uncomfortable moods than did Secretary Lansing's adventure in projecting the president from adverse criticism when he was unable to discharge the duties of his office. The man who has long stood for the inefficiency of the Postoffice department and the public criticism of Secretary Baker, Secretary Daniels and others in the senate and house whom he has been accustomed to support without regard to public opinion is not the same who dismissed Robert Lansing as secretary of state. He is a man upon whom the burdens of the war and peace jobs have left a residue of nervousness, irritability and intolerance that will be repressed with difficulty as Woodrow Wilson serves the remaining 12 months of his term.

(Tomorrow's article—the last of the series—will deal with Secretary Lansing's policies and the probable significance of the episode from an international as well as national point of view.)

Nebraska War Hero Suffers From Exposure

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stated his condition is favorable, although his feet are badly frozen and he is suffering otherwise from the effects of his long exposure and fast. Wearing only scant clothing when he made his escape from the hospital, Corporal Wiley lay in the boxcar, in near zero temperature, night and day, too weak to reach nearby farm houses and make known his plight. He said he had used his bath towel, which he took upon leaving the hospital, to shelter him from the icy blasts until the car wheel upon which his head was pillowed became so hard that he was forced to use the towel to ease his aching head.

Served in Air Squadron.

A country-wide search has been conducted by the army hospital authorities for the missing soldier, but this was about abandoned, although descriptions had been broadcasted.

Guy Noce, foreman of the railroad section gang at Butler Junction, found Wiley. Having occasion to look into the car, he saw the huddled form in a corner and upon investigation believed the youth was dead. He carried him to the nearby camp and there spoonful after spoonful of soup was poured into his near-frozen body, until he finally revived. An ambulance and physicians were then summoned from the hospital.

Wiley was first with an aero replacement squadron in France and later was attached to the Thirtieth aero squadron, the record at the hospital shows.

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Wilson's Temper Waxes Ungovernable as Time Passes, Lawrence Says

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queries of correspondents. And his cabinet officers found the same thing true. They didn't dare to cross him. He didn't like it. Secretary Garrison tried to do it and soon found himself out of the cabinet.

No, Mr. Wilson's idea of government by cabinet is that a cabinet officer is merely a general counsel or adviser subject to the authority and instruction of the president and as such necessarily subservient to the presidential command.

His Idea of a Cabinet.

When Mr. Bryan resigned, the president who had been writing notes to Germany and handling foreign affairs made no secret of the fact that he wanted a counselor and not a secretary of state, and Mr. Lansing had no doubts about the position in which he would be placed by taking the office. The president has from time to time shown a disposition to regard cabinet meetings as superfluous. Time and again, however, when newspapers would print stories saying he didn't think cabinet meetings were necessary, he would issue vehement denials through administration officials, but there is no question in my mind that Mr. Wilson's conception of cabinet government is decidedly different from that held by some of his predecessors. He feels that cabinet officers are advisers and subordinates who are to give advice when asked for it and to take orders and carry them out according to the wishes of their chief.

The war has unquestionably had

Acquit White Lead Dealer Of Profiteering in Bacon

New York, Feb. 19.—Lewis Levitt, a white lead manufacturer of Brooklyn, who was charged with profiteering in government bacon, was acquitted in the federal court of Brooklyn by a jury which had been out 20 minutes. Levitt, on the witness stand, admitted that he bought 2,400 pounds of bacon from the government for speculation. He said he paid, including brokerage fees, about 29 cents a pound and fixed a minimum sale price of 31 cents.

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