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Contents

The Week.....	70
Editorials	
The Work of the Next President.....	73
A Sedition Plank for the Republicans.....	75
The New Merchant Marine Act.....	76
A Statesman Diagnoses Europe.....	77
What Shall Be Done With Mexico?.....	78
General Articles	
America and the Soviets.....Bruce Bliven	80
Next to Advertising Matter.....	
.....Florence Guy Woolston	83
Arbitrating for Armenia.....Paxton Hibben	86
The Ten Commandments Again.Robert Herrick	90
Reviews of Books	
Our Undeclared War.....A. A. Berle, Jr.	92
The Loom of Youth.....S. C. C.	94

The Week

ON the eve of the Chicago convention the Republican party is not only leaderless but without bosses. The one common interest which holds the delegates together is anti-Wilsonism. The party platform is likely to be evasive. Over the League of Nations plank there may be some dispute. We doubt whether Hiram Johnson is so irreconcilable as he proclaims himself to be. But though he may be willing to campaign on the Lodge program of reservations, if he has the chance, the strategy of his position requires that he use his own irreconcilability as the entering wedge in his fight for the nomination. He must threaten, and yet invite. His role, ever since the campaign started, has been to appear alternately before the Republicans as demon and angel.

THERE was controversy enough, when the Republican delegates assembled in Chicago; but it was controversy which had little to do with national issues before the country. No candidate belligerently demanded of his rivals, at the last moment before the gavel fell, what could be done with the railroad crisis. No delegates pursued Mr. Hays to

get his views on the unrest of labor. You might have walked the length of any corridor in the Hotel Congress without stumbling upon an indignant group of delegates asking each other what they could do with coal companies making 500 per cent profits. What held the attention of delegates, from Friday to Wednesday, was another sort of controversy. Who would fare best, in the settlement of disputes between rival state delegations? How much had Wood and Lowden been hurt by the Senate's investigation? Where ought this candidate or that one throw his support, when he was out of it, and what did he deserve to ask in return? These delegates were intent upon putting their party back in power with a winner. They gave little inclination, in the days before the convention opened, of a belief that the best way of going about it was to associate their party with a program of reconstruction.

THERE is no doubt but that in its later stages the Senate's investigation into campaign expenditures revealed facts damaging to political reputations. Lowden met his worst pre-convention setback when two delegates from Missouri took the stand; and if the Republicans nominate him anyway, the Democrats will have an issue of which they can doubtless make good use. For what happened in Missouri Lowden disowns responsibility. But it may not be easy to convince the public that he has the privilege of disowning what happens in a campaign floated on his own funds. The Missouri witnesses made a remarkable showing. Mr. Goldstein admitted denying to a reporter of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat that he had ever received \$2,500—and defended this denial on the grounds that he "knew it had been a mistake for them to offer me the money and for me to take it." Mr. Moore stated that his \$2,500 was intact in his bank account—and that he intended "to return it forthwith as a result of all this unpleasant publicity resulting from it."

ALMOST everything that mattered was either ignored or mishandled by the Congress which adjourned Saturday. That is a familiar sentence. With slight modifications it has been written at the end of every recent session. And perhaps because human patience has its border-line, each time the criticism is made it seems more honestly earned. The one major achievement of the present session likely to be permanent is the appropriation of more than four billion dollars to cover war debts and current expenditures. Congress adjourns with two issues, above all others, hanging spectacularly in mid-air. The railways are in desperate need of funds, disorganized, facing desertion on the part of their employees. In that situation Congress pretends to see no problem. Meantime the cost of living rises—and evidence furnished by the trade unions, evidence as yet uncontroverted, shows enormous profiteering in which Congress displays no interest.

EIGHTEEN months after the armistice Congress suddenly decided the war was over. A resolution was thereupon adopted, repealing all but two of the laws enacted in the war program. But this resolution the President killed by a "pocket veto." The demobilization of America has been an extraordinary performance. War activities of the government which might wisely have been continued at least into the transition period were promptly abandoned. The Food Administration was abolished; prices rose, and sugar disappeared from the market. The War Labor Board was dissolved; there is more need for it now than ever. The railways were returned to private ownership; they are disorganized and badly in need of credit. Meantime there has been kept on the statute books a law designed primarily to protect us from German spies—and though the war with Germany is long since over, prosecutions of "radicals" continue to be made under its terms. The Espionage law, thanks to Mr. Wilson, will now remain with us another six months at least.

AMONG the measures which were lost, in the final adjournment of Congress, was the patched-up bill for a budget system which the President had originally vetoed. Mr. Wilson had declared himself in sympathy with the general terms of the measure, but opposed to one section vesting in Congress alone the power to remove from office a Controller General and his Assistant, both appointed by the President. The House came close to passing the bill over Mr. Wilson's veto, but failed by nine votes. The Republicans in the House thereupon yielded to the President's objections, and passed

the measure in the form he desired it. But in the Senate it struck a snag. There were other bills which had precedence, and the Senate adjourned before it got to this one. The Republicans have long been promising a budget. They made a late start in the session now adjourned.

THE British House of Commons, cross-questioning Lloyd George, had to be satisfied with a somewhat meagre account of the discussions that have taken place between his government and Gregory Krassin, Soviet Minister of Trade and Commerce. Lloyd George assured the House that no trade negotiations had been begun, and that none might be begun at all unless the Soviet government supplied satisfactory guarantees of its pacific intentions in the East and its willingness to release all British prisoners. This is what Lloyd George tells the House—but some of the London journals are certain it is not the whole story. The Evening Standard states that permission has been given the Soviets to open a central trading office in London; the Daily Mail reports that this bureau will work in cooperation with the Board of Overseas Trade; and several journals announce that Krassin has already received permission to deposit gold to the value of 1,000,000 pounds in a London bank.

WHETHER or not the newspapers are right, and Lloyd George only diplomatically discreet in his remarks before the House, the reports published in London create a stir in the Paris press. What causes most perturbation is the rumor that a million pounds in gold has been brought to London. The rift in Anglo-French relations, cables Lincoln Eyre to the New York World, "threatens to become an abyss which the engineers of diplomacy will find it difficult to bridge over." If, with the approval of the British government, Krassin keeps on bringing gold from Moscow to London, what becomes of the security upon which France still relies for the redemption of fifteen billion francs in Russian bonds? Fifteen billion francs is not a colossal sum, in the terms to which we have recently grown accustomed. But fifteen billion francs in Russian bonds has determined every phase of French policy in Eastern Europe. Reject any plan which would touch Russia's store of gold or which would involve political negotiations with the Moscow government—those are the instructions which the French government gives to its representative on the Allied Economic Council.

WHILE the French protest, and Lloyd George marks time, it seems that some of the smaller nations are actually on the point of putting their

heads in the lion's mouth. The Norwegian government, with the approval of its Parliament, has informed Russia of its willingness to resume commercial relations at once, though it will extend no official recognition to the Soviets; meantime firms in Denmark are reported to have sold for early delivery in Russia large quantities of agricultural implements, seeds, and medical supplies. In this question of agreeing upon a commercial policy towards Russia what is to be the American position? We shall probably have "an unofficial observer" at the conference in London, says a dispatch to the *New York World*. But whatever the result in London, says the Washington correspondent of the *Times*, "it was reiterated in a high quarter today that the American government is maintaining its position of opposition to reopening of trade with Russia, so long as the Soviet leaders are in power." If this is the American policy, on what is our government banking—the Polish offensive or a revolution on the inside of Russia?

ELSEWHERE in this issue there are passages quoted from an interview given to the *London Daily Chronicle* by General Jan Smuts. Most of what General Smuts said was concerned with a state of Europe and the paralysis of the League of Nations; a part of his interview, however, was devoted to "the fundamental constitutional changes brought about by the war in the British Commonwealth." "The old pre-war British Empire is gone," he asserted, "in the sense of subordinate nations clustering around one master nation. Unfortunately the old machinery still remains." Only upon one foundation can the British Commonwealth endure: "there must be complete equality and freedom enjoyed by the sister states united by the King." Smuts is not for separation, though he says, "they are not all mad, the Nationalists;" instead, "your constitutional problem is to find new formulas to fit new conditions." It is more than likely that to the Imperial Constitutional Conference next year Smuts will bring such formulas of his own.

IN the gardens of Versailles a third treaty of peace is signed by the Allied plenipotentiaries—this time with the diplomats of Hungary. Peace, officially, is thus restored to the Hungarian people. But despite what is written on paper in Versailles, Hungary knows no peace. By friends of the old regime, again supreme in the eastern half of the old Austro-Hungarian empire, it is repeatedly asserted that in Hungary there is no White Terror. By a neutral source, however, we are informed that such a Terror is still in progress. The International

Federation of Trade Unions appeals to the British workmen to boycott Hungary and shut off communication with that country. Since Admiral Horthy and the reactionaries overpowered Hungary, says a dispatch to the *New York World*, quoting the Federation, trade unionists have been subjected to unparalleled persecution. Thousands of working men and women have been imprisoned. Many have been murdered by the officers' clique without trial. In Russia the Red Terror has waned; in Hungary the White Terror still rages; but of the White Terrorists the Allied diplomats have no fear in making peace.

WHEN production lags, as it is lagging now, there are many people ready with the same explanation. Strikes, they say, cause the mischief. But strikes, in the opinion of a government official whose business it is to examine all manner of industrial phenomena, are an insignificant factor in the curtailment of production. This official is Royal Meeker, Commissioner of Labor Statistics. In Dr. Meeker's opinion, "Strikes and lockouts have contributed their thousands to the ranks of the out-of-workers; but irregularities and failure in supply of raw materials, transportation, and demand for commodities produced, and lack of proper organization in industry, have produced their millions." Hearings before the President's coal commission disclosed how ineffectively an essential industry can be organized for maximum productivity. An even greater waste is that which comes from failure to make use of the tremendous latent creative force lying dormant in the American worker.

WITH the House of Representatives voting to pass a soldiers' bonus bill carrying \$1,500,000,000, shortly before its adjournment for the summer months, there is a special lesson for American taxpayers in a set of figures recently compiled by Dr. Edward B. Rosa, chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards. Dr. Rosa has sorted out the various items in recent appropriation bills and arranged them, as Congress never does, in consecutive fashion. The results are impressive. During the year just passed, war debts took almost 93 per cent of the largest income ever received since the government was founded. An additional 6 per cent went to the normal expenses of administration and to public works [rivers and harbors, public buildings, etc.]. And just 1 per cent was left for research and investigation. What of that field now so important—the field of labor research? It received appropriations of about \$500,000—one three-thousandth part of what the House of Representatives proposed to expend for the soldiers' bonus.

The Work of the Next President

NO wonder Americans compete keenly for the honor of being President of the United States. The man who occupies the Presidential chair enjoys in his own person more of the realities of power than does the chief of any other government in the world today. The office affords a unique opportunity for winning popular applause and public reputation, for cutting a smart figure in history and for exercising either for good or ill a profound and far-reaching effect on the lives of other people. Strong, ambitious and wilful men are bound to seek the Presidency, just as they have always sought similarly extraordinary prizes of politics, yet precisely because such immense power attaches to the office, they have small chance of emerging from it with credit to themselves and with benefit to the country. The Presidency of the United States is no longer the moderate, well-defined and man-sized job which it was during the first three generations of American history. It has come to be an impossible office. The man who fills it carries a heavier burden of responsibility, of work and of authority than any one man can successfully bear.

The excessive burden of responsibility is imposed upon him not by law but by the exigencies of his situation. During a period of transition and readjustment a republic with a localized population and a three-headed government has demanded vigorous leadership, which would both pull the several branches of the government together and keep it as a whole responsive to public opinion. Yet while circumstances rather than the law have imposed this additional burden on the President, the Constitution effectively prohibits him from creating supplementary agencies, which will help him adequately to carry it. Under the Constitution he must assume entire and exclusive responsibility for an executive office which has ceased to be that of chief administrator of the laws and business of the nation and has become also the chief source to which the American people turn for the moulding of foreign policy, for initiating domestic legislation, for the definition of critical issues and for the focussing of opinion. For many years the work has over-tasked the energy, the endurance and the ability of the men who were elected President, and the end is not yet. The victorious candidate at the election next fall will need even more than have his predecessors for the successful conduct of the office, indefatigable energy, iron endurance, immense versatility and a rare mixture of flexibility and persistence in his point of view.

It was the late Theodore Roosevelt who transformed and developed the business of being President. When he succeeded McKinley, the President was still chiefly an executive officer, who took orders from his party and from Congress. Important as the President's work was, the chief responsibility for defining issues, originating and carrying out policy and for moulding public opinion resided in Congress and in the party organization. Mr. Roosevelt upset this balance and distribution of power. He proposed to secure the passage of progressive legislation to which Congress and the organization of his party were opposed. He succeeded in part by going behind Congress and the party leaders directly to the people; and as a consequence of his success he impaired the prestige of Congress and the Republican machine and tended to centralize in the Presidency the function of giving impulse to the governmental machine, of moulding public opinion and of placing before the people the important issues.

His successor, Mr. Taft, proved incapable either of acting on these new responsibilities or of abandoning them. He tried to do both and he ended by doing neither. He pretended to lead a party organization which was really leading him by the nose, and he caused an insurrection in Congress not because he sought to dominate its behavior but because he allowed its less progressive faction too free a hand. The resulting quarrel seriously undermined the unity of the Republican party and did nothing to restore to Congress its former pre-eminence in the effective distribution of political power among the several branches of the government. President Wilson had every intention of restoring the balance, of asserting his leadership yet of keeping it subordinate to the will of his party and that of Congress. But he has ended by imposing on his fellow Democrats a policy in which they do not believe and by engaging in a destructive fight with the Republican majority in Congress. American entrance into the war conferred on the Presidential office a prodigious increase in power and work against which Mr. Wilson struggled successfully for a while, but which finally proved too much for him. In December, 1918, he abandoned his former initiative in domestic policy to Congress in order to leave himself free to pacify the world. But he did not pacify the world and Congress proved incapable of taking over the abandoned initiative. Because he ceased to act as leader, the American people are entering on a Presidential campaign with an unusually ambiguous definition of issues and with no illuminating focussing of opinion.

The next President will assume a work of huge and incalculable difficulty which he will have to