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The Week

AS we go to press, the Democratic party in national convention assembled has made one failure and seems in grave danger of making another. A platform has been adopted which is a political catch-all. It is firm and decisive only on issues concerning which there is no internal strife within the party, and of these there are very few. On almost everything else it straddles or evades or murmurs sweet nothings. Such a platform in the year 1924 seems to us a grave political error. It represents that expediency which, as Rabbi Stephen Wise pointed out in an address before the convention, "is never expedient." Having adopted a compromise platform, the party seems altogether likely to go on to commit a second error and choose a compromise candidate, a man who is a little of everything, but not much of anything. If the Democracy were trying to make sure that Senator LaFollette would take the field independently, hoping that he would do the Republicans more harm than he would do to itself, it could hardly have acted more directly to achieve that result.

THE platform, as might be expected of such a timid document, is of huge length. Its best feature

is its denunciation of the corruption at Washington during the present Republican régime and its pledge to turn the rascals out. It attacks the Mellon plan and such proposals as the sales tax, affirms its allegiance to the income tax and declares that the burden on the taxpayer is in general too high. For the relief of agricultural distress it promises a foreign policy which will restore the export market, and a reduction in the tariff which will put the farmers' purchasing power on a parity with that of industrial regions. It also promises decreased freight rates by rail and water, encouragement for coöperative marketing and, in vague terms which hint at the McNary-Haugen bill, the creation of an export corporation or commission to get rid of the exportable surplus and prevent its price from setting that of the whole crop.

ON the Esch-Cummins law the platform contents itself by saying that it must be rewritten. It demands capacity production at Muscle Shoals without committing itself for or against government ownership or the Ford offer. It does declare, however, that the nation should retain the title to all its water power. It asks for the abolition of "lame duck" congresses, for popular vote on constitutional amendments, for the conscription of capital in case of war, and that war shall not be declared without a popular vote except in case of actual or threatened invasion. It urges international reduction of armament, and joint agreement among the nations for ultimate world disarmament. It condemns the Lausanne Treaty, endorses immediate independence for the Philippines, recommends adequate salaries for postal employes, proposes publicity for campaign contributions, and on the question of prohibition demands "law enforcement." It suggests that public works should be constructed during periods of unemployment; and while recommending private ownership of the merchant marine, advises that the government should continue to own and operate sufficient vessels to insure the maintenance of this service.

THE plank in regard to the League of Nations which was finally adopted was, of course, a direct repudiation of previous Democratic policy and of the Wilsonian attitude. While the acceptance of

the referendum proposal was in part a victory for McAdoo, in whose camp it originated, other motives undoubtedly entered into the delegates' action. They believed, and no doubt correctly, that this year's campaign is certain to be fought on domestic issues. They also believe that advocacy of the League is still an enormous political liability. A telling argument was found in the contention that many thousands of Republicans would vote in favor of the League at a special referendum who would stick to their party if the issue were put up in a Presidential year. The delegates evidently were little troubled by Mr. Baker's arguments that the proposed referendum would be illegal, unconstitutional, a violation of states' rights, and might delay rather than hasten American entrance into the League.

THE fight over the Ku Klux Klan was of a far more serious character. To all appearances it presented a real danger of splitting the party; and it may yet have a serious effect on the chance of victory. The resolution which condemned the Klan by name, and was lost by 4.3 votes out of 1,098, actually represented the wishes of a good-sized majority of the delegates. Not only were irregularities claimed in the votes of the Georgia, Philippine and Canal Zone delegations, which were more than sufficient to reverse the result, but in some other delegations a minority wished to vote against the Klan and could not because of the undemocratic and archaic unit rule which forced the whole delegation to vote one way. We wish we could add that all the opponents of the Klan objected to it solely on the ground of its unfairness, its deliberate policy of political and economic discrimination against an individual because of race or religion and irrespective of personal qualifications. Such, however, is not the case. While there were honorable men and women who took this viewpoint, there were obviously many others who saw the matter in no other terms than as a religious war, and lined up on one side or the other according to their own individual faiths.

THOSE who are impatient with M. Herriot because he moves slowly toward a settlement overlook the extreme delicacy and difficulty of his position. The policy of Poincaré was relatively simple. The Germans were down, and with sufficient vigilance and ruthlessness on the part of France, Germany could be kept down and France remain safe. Herriot's policy would let Germany rise to her feet. She will rise not only with the bitterness of defeat in her heart, but with an infinite number of just grievances for the way France has treated her since the Armistice. Individuals may compose a quarrel and let bygones be bygones. Peoples cannot do so. Too many persons carry irremediable injuries with them through life. Accordingly Herriot cannot act

on a humanitarian impulse, but must wait until he finds some substitute for Poincaré's club over Germany. A mutual insurance under the League of Nations might serve the purpose. In spite of his denial of responsibility for the statements published in the Norman Angell interview, this is plainly the solution toward which he leans.

"I AM for economy," declares President Coolidge. "After that I am for more economy." The words sound sweet in the ears of the taxpayers. But there is an old distinction between true economy and false. True economy attends not only to the elimination of waste, but also to the application of resources where they may be expected to yield commensurate results. False economy thinks of nothing but clamping down the lid on expenditures. It sits in stony indifference while valuable opportunities are missed for want of the application of modest outlays. Which kind of economy is President Coolidge's? "The duty and the opportunity of the government today is not to enter upon new fields of enterprise." There you have it. No question is raised as to the value of new fields of enterprise. It would indeed be the duty of the government to keep out of new undertakings if we were in fact hard up as a nation. We are not. On the President's own showing we shall have a surplus of \$25,000,000 after assigning nearly half a billion to sinking the public debt. Moreover, the \$25,000,000 is one of those underestimates for which Mellon is famous. More probably the surplus will exceed \$75,000,000. In view of this situation it may properly be asked why we should starve many of the more useful branches of the public service—as we certainly shall—to realize the President's dream of a further saving of \$83,000,000.

THOSE who profess themselves dissatisfied with the results of the Walsh Committee's investigation will now have the opportunity for which they have been longing, to have the same ground gone over in a court of law. A Federal Grand Jury in the District of Columbia has indicted former Secretary Fall, Harry Sinclair, and the Dohenys, father and son, on various charges centreing about accusations of conspiracy and bribery. That such indictments would be returned has been, of course, a foregone conclusion; the most striking fact about them has been the seemingly unnecessary delay in taking action so obviously required. Cynics will find some food for thought in noting that the jury action was made public during the Democratic National Convention, just after the adoption of a platform which denounced the Republicans for failure to prosecute; and that among newspapermen in attendance at the convention the rumor was circulated ten days earlier that indictments would be announced before the sessions were over. For our part we reject the

notion that there was any connection between the events other than that of pure coincidence; and we wait with interest the developments of the trial.

PREMIER HERRIOT'S orders permitting the Germans expelled from the Rhineland and the Ruhr to return to their homes and suspending the sentences of Germans condemned for taking part, without violence, in passive resistance may not have any immediate effect on the relations between Paris and Berlin, but it is bound to have a considerable effect on the relations between the French and German peoples. The expulsion of these Germans, in a vast majority of cases, was a grievous wrong, inflicted by the Poincaré government with the deliberate intention of exasperating the German people. The restoration of the exiles to their homes does not right the wrong, but it exculpates Herriot and the French democracy. The reactionary German press naturally denies Herriot the least credit for these acts of humanity and common sense. They are no more desirous of seeing a spirit of mutual toleration growing up between the two peoples than Poincaré himself.

APPARENTLY German Nationalist opposition to the Dawes plan is weakening. The plan is no more popular with the Junkers, but it begins to look dangerous to the Nationalist party to assume responsibility for its rejection. The condition of German industry demands the early establishment of some sort of international *modus vivendi*. The currency is stable for the time, but the credit structure based on it is extremely shaky. Any political party which undertook at this time to renew the struggle with France would load upon itself the blame for closing down factories, producing unemployment and provoking civil disorder. It would fare badly in the elections that are bound to follow a deadlock on the Dawes plan. The Nationalists hate the French, but they dare not stake their party fortunes on their hatred. They opposed the renewal of Allied military control, but this opposition did not exhibit the spirit that might have been anticipated. The present is no time for a policy of blood and iron, and the Junkers know it.

EXACTLY what negotiations are going on between Japan and Soviet Russia it is impossible at this time to say. It has been intimated that Japan is offering to drop her claims arising out of the "Nikolaevsk massacre" in return for certain concessions in Siberia. There are also intimations that military relations between the two powers are under discussion. Neither seems to us to offer a sufficient basis for negotiations. Soviet Russia will never concede anything on account of that alleged massacre at Nikolaevsk, especially when the initiative is taken by Japan, not by herself. The probabilities are that Japan, having good reason for thinking

that the Herriot government will compose French differences with Russia, prefers not to be left holding the sack along with the United States. There is some trade to be had in Siberia, and Japan needs it. If she can get concessions in return for recognition, of course, she will take them. If not, she will probably soon grant recognition *gratis*. Naturally private individuals in Japan expect their government to extort important financial concessions. Hence the recent wild speculations in Tsarist rubles. There seems little basis, however, for such expectations.

GENERAL DAWES is now learning some of the trials and tribulations of a candidate for national office. Since he has been nominated for Vice-President, his opponents have been looking up his record and have reminded the country that he is a bitter opponent of union labor, having sought to commit the Republican party to an open shop platform in 1920. Elsewhere in this issue of the New Republic Donald Richberg tells the story of Mr. Dawes's connection with the notorious Lorimer bank affair, wherein the Dawes institution furnished to Lorimer \$1,250,000 which the latter falsely presented to the bank examiners as part of his own assets. As this issue of the New Republic is on the press, a special despatch to the New York World records the final chapter in this story. After a ten-year legal battle, the courts have ruled that the Dawes bank must pay to the receivers for the Lorimer institution \$165,000 because of its share in the transaction. Appeals for rehearing by both sides have been denied and the case appears to have been closed. As if this were not trouble enough, Attorney-General Stone in filing suit against the participants in the alleged gasoline monopoly has named the Pure Oil Company as a secondary defendant. This is an organization in which members of the Dawes family are heavily interested, B. G. Dawes, brother of the candidate, being its president. The inventor of "Hell and Maria" may well consider himself entitled to observe that "the way of the candidate is hard."

ON numerous occasions in the past the New Republic has commented on the bitterness of that class warfare along the Pacific coast which has resulted in numerous acts of cruel injustice, including sending scores of men to prison, not because they have committed any crime, but for being members of the Industrial Workers of the World. A short time ago an incident took place which is characteristic of many similar ones. At San Pedro, California, the I. W. W. were giving an entertainment in their hall. A group of men, some of whom were dressed as sailors, broke in, assaulted numerous men, women and children, smashed all the furniture, including a piano, typewriters, etc., and kidnaped nine men. These, most of whom were bleeding from scalp wounds, were taken thirty miles in a truck to a lonely canyon, robbed of all their valuables,

and tarred and feathered. That the outrage was possible without police action was due to the fact that Captain Hagenbaugh of the local force had sent all his men to a remote part of the harbor on a riot call—a feat for which he was sharply reprimanded by Chief Vollmer, his superior officer. The I. W. W. and the United States naval officers unite in asserting that the sailors' uniforms were a disguise and that the men who took part in the affair were all civilians. In an endeavor to justify an inexcusable incident a cock-and-bull story has been spread to the effect that the I. W. W. were plotting to blow up the morgue where lay the bodies of the Mississippi explosion victims! No such ridiculous explanation is necessary. The outrage is similar to many others which have occurred in the past and probably will occur in the future; and there is good reason to believe that the participants in it could easily have been members of Southern California's "best families," who believe that they are engaged in a holy war to make the world safe for private property.

A LAW case which may have the gravest effect upon the history of the British Empire was recently concluded in London where a jury gave Sir Michael O'Dwyer £500 in a libel case against Sir Sankaran Nair. Sir Michael was civil governor of the Punjab in 1919 at the time of the infamous Amritsar massacre, when Brigadier-General Dyer ordered an unarmed native crowd fired upon, with the result that four hundred persons were killed and twelve hundred more were wounded. This cold-blooded massacre proved the most memorable event in the history of India since that attempted revolution which the British have always, characteristically, termed "the Mutiny." It was a chief factor in increasing the political strength of the Swaraj party. The action of General Dyer was bitterly criticized in India and in England and official inquiries decided that it was unjustified. The recent libel case was based on a book by Sir Sankaran Nair entitled *Gandhi and Anarchy*. Sir Sankaran, it is interesting to note, is not a disciple of Swaraj at all, but a former judge of the Madras High Court and member of the Viceroy's cabinet. His book was a bitter arraignment of Gandhism, but contained an incidental passage criticizing Sir Michael O'Dwyer's civil administration of the Punjab. The book was published in India, and only a few copies were sent privately to Great Britain. To conduct the libel trial in the latter country, therefore, thousands of miles from the home of all the witnesses, seems in itself a gross piece of injustice.

EVEN more unfair, according to the accounts of eye witnesses, was the attitude of Mr. Justice McCordie in conducting the case. From first to last he appears, as the *New Statesman* comments, to have "made no secret of his prejudice." His summing up was virtually a speech on behalf of the plaintiff;

and he even went to the incredible length of saying that General Dyer "was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India." The jury was divided eleven to one; but the opposing counsel agreed to accept the majority verdict and decided upon the sum of £500 and costs. While Sir Sankaran has a technical right of appeal, the case has already cost him \$60,000, and his experience in this instance is not such as to encourage him about securing justice in an English court.

BRITISH liberals, naturally, are gravely concerned as to the effect the case will have upon the already inflamed state of opinion in India. "The ruler may be personally vindicated," observes the *Nation* (London), "but what of the broadcasting of the authoritative accounts of the methods employed in the Punjab during two years of wartime rule, with and without the assistance of martial law?" The *Nation* adds:

British officers of standing, civil and military, described the system of "compulsory voluntarism" in recruiting, the enforced salaaming by Indians, the public floggings, the crawling order, the wholesale jailing of Indian intelligentsia, the extraordinary expedient of keeping students on the march in the heat of a Punjab April for sixteen miles a day. The court heard again, the frank admission of British officers as to the need of teaching the people a lesson they could not forget, by means of wholesale shooting and of bombs from the air; it heard General Beynon's opinion that flogging is an appropriate penalty for Indians and it heard from Colonel Frank Johnson, who was in military command at Lahore, a terrible affirmation upon the lengths to which he was prepared to go for the maintenance of the British Raj.

A NEW and altogether desirable magazine has just made its first appearance: *Music, an Illustrated Monthly Review*. It is edited by Deems Taylor and Gilbert Gabriel aided by a supporting group of writers and musicians of such distinction that to select a name or two for casual mention is impossible. The initial number is decidedly attractive both in material and make-up. But most attractive is the policy it announces and proceeds to illustrate. "Somewhere," say the editors, "between the service offerings of student-teacher-trade papers and the aristocratic Brahminism of learned cryptograms exists an emptiness which a non-technical (though authoritative), good humored, entertaining magazine about music and musicians can and should fill." This seems to mean that the paper is to be filled neither with hints for beginners nor with puffs of concertizing artists, but is to discuss serious music for the intelligent layman. If that is it we heartily applaud, and hope that *Music* may live to fill the emptiness robustly.

THE latest advices from the American front to the red International now in session at Moscow have it that there is no revolution and no revolutionary

mass party in the United States today. The bearer of these tidings should know: he is the premature communist, William Dunn, who was expelled from the A. F. of L. convention last fall. If his report needs corroboration, that could no doubt be furnished by our premature white guard: Palmer, Burleson, Doherty and Burns. But Dunn's report is not altogether discouraging to the crimson cause. The thing may yet come off, indeed will, "when the Gompers organization is captured (by radicals) and the 12,000,000 Negroes in America are stirred up." Judge Gary and the Ku Klux Klan please notice.

THE charge is now being made that the expression "Separation of Church and State," which appears in the Klan plank finally adopted by the Democratic convention, is in reality a code signal transcribed from a Klan oath and intended to rally Klansmen to the Democratic party. Here is a clear demonstration of the poisonous nature of secret political organizations. Assume that the charge cannot, in the nature of the case, be proved and that it will be vigorously denied; neither can it be disproved. Since the oaths, deliberations and even membership of the Klan are secret, people who are prejudiced against it will believe the worst and their beliefs cannot be refuted. So long as the Klan exists everybody that does not oppose it outright and vigorously will be suspected.

THE first industrial unemployment insurance ever issued in the State of New York has been provided for in the agreement just signed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Exchange. This is a significant achievement because it is more than a mere matter of insurance: it is a step toward the reorganization of a chaotic industry. Clothing manufacture has always been a highly seasonal occupation featured by hectic activity part of the year and complete cessation in the off season. This system necessarily works great hardships on all concerned, and Mr. Sidney Hillman, who as president of the Amalgamated has continually emphasized the good of the industry as a whole as his chief objective, has set himself to modify it. The establishment of unemployment insurance is a step in that direction. The object is not simply to provide a dole; it is rather a general recognition of responsibility for bringing the seasonal lay-off to an end.

THE school for explorers which has been established by the American Geographical Society of New York is doubtless not intended to produce discoverers synthetically. The traveller in parts unknown must necessarily possess certain human qualities that are not induced by laboratory practice with compass and transit. He must be as intrepid as Tartarin and as ingenious as Traprock. In short, explorers are born, not educated into ex-

istence. Nevertheless, it will hardly do the prospective wanderer any harm to take a course in the technique of jungle navigation and desert mapping. It might even be a good thing if this training were given to all missionaries and others whose incidental travels could thus be turned to excellent account for science.

The Democrats in Conflict

THE Democratic party may leave much to be desired at once in its traditions, its composition and in its attitude towards public affairs, but at the present moment it is showing an amount of sheer political vitality which by comparison makes the Republican party look like a neurotic recluse. Its national convention is really deliberating though in an absurd, clumsy, noisy, extravagant way. It is confronted by a number of serious differences of opinion as to the definition of comparative issues and as to the merit of its proposed candidates. It is fighting out these conflicts of interests, conviction and outlook frankly and fearlessly. The party membership seems to be honestly trying to find out by discussion, friction, vociferation and hullabaloo what the party as a whole really wants in the way of leadership and principle.

The contrast with the performance of the Republican party in Cleveland is striking. The Republicans, as we pointed out at the time, did not dare to allow any frank public discussion of issues or conflict of opinion. They were divided by even sharper differences of interest and outlook than the Democrats, but with the exception of the uncontrollable insurrection of the La Follette group, which they discounted in advance, they were determined, so far as possible, to keep these differences submerged. They feared that, if the acrimony and irritation of a public discussion were not avoided, they might be shown up to the public as they really were, viz., as a political body which proposed to govern the nation in spite of its inability to govern itself. They were so muddled and disconcerted that the only way to avoid disintegration and utter exposure was to take their decisions furtively and to give and to obey orders silently.

The proceedings of the convention demonstrated the necessity of such precautions. There was, for instance, a group of Republican delegates who objected sharply to the utterances of the platform in favor of the World Court, and wished to express their dissent, but they were denied the opportunity of doing so on the floor of the convention. These repressed explosions of conviction and the more subtle repression which followed from the evasion in the platform of any decisive pronouncement upon the more important issues of the day resulted in irritating in one way or another almost all the leaders and delegates; and the irritation expressed itself in trivial and unreasonable ways. Whenever