Democratic Platform Presents Basic Principles on Which Party Will Appeal to Voters

PLATFORM SILENT ON POLICY ON WET AND DRY QUESTION

San Francisco, July 2.—(I. N. S.)—Following is the official text of the Democratic platform as reported to the convention by the resolutions committee:

"The Democratic party, in its national convention now assembled, sends greetings to the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and hails with patriotic pride the great achievements for country and the world, wrought by a Democratic administration under his leadership.

"It salutes the mighty people of this great republic, emerging with imperishable honor from the severe tests and grievous strains of the most tragic war in history, having earned the plaudits and the gratitude of all free nations.

"It declares its adherence to the fundamental progressive principles of social, economic and industrial justice and advance and purposes to resume the great work of translating these principles into effective laws, begun and carried far by the Democratic administration and interrupted only when the war claimed all the national energies for the single task of victory.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"The Democratic party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only practicable means of maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the president of the United States, in prearrangement with our allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the imperial German government; the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the powers pitted against Germany, that a 'general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.' Hence, we not only congratulate the president on the vision manifested and vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate him and his associates upon the exceptional achievement at Paris involved in the adoption of a league and treaty so near akin to previously expressed American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere.

"We commend the president for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by all the associated and allied nations at war with Germany and we condemn the Republican senate for its refusal to ratify the treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship, thus interposing partisan envy and personal hatred in the way of the peace and renewed prosperity of the world.

"By every accepted standard of international morality the president is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business; and we point to the accusing fact that, before it was determined to initiate political antagonism to the treaty, the now Republican chairman of the senate foreign relations committee himself publicly proclaimed that any proposition for a separate peace with Germany, such as he and his party associates thereafter reported to the senate, would make us 'guilty of the blackest crime.'

"On May 15, last, the Knox substitute for the Versailles treaty was passed by the Republican senate, and this convention can contrive no more fitting characterization of its obloquy than that made in the Forum Magazine of December, 1918, by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said: "If we send our armies and young men to be killed and wounded in Northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify. The intent of congress and the intent of the president was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. We cannot make peace except in company with our allies. It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace.'

"Thus to that which Mr. Lodge, in saner moments, considered 'the blackest crime' he and his party in madness sought to give the sanctity of law; that which 18 months ago was of 'everlasting dishonor' the Republican party and its candidates today accepted as the essence of faith.

"We endorse the president's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles treaty and we commend the Democrats in congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity; but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates. Only by doing this may we retrieve the reputation of this nation among the powers of the earth and recover the moral leadership which President Wilson won and which Republican politicians at Washington sacrificed. Only by doing this may we hope to aid effectively in the restoration of order throughout the world and to take the place which we should assume in the front rank of spiritual, commercial and industrial advancement.

"We reject as utterly vain, if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any wise impair the integrity or independence of our country. The fact that the covenant has been entered into by 29 nations all as jealous of their independence as we are of ours, is a sufficient refutation of such charge. The president repeatedly has declared, and this convention reaffirms, that all our duties and obligations as a member of the League must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the congress before this nation may become a participant in any war.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR

"During the war President Wilson exhibited the very broadest conception of liberal Americanism. In his conduct of the war, as in the general administration of his high office, there was no semblance of partisan bias. He invited to Washington as his councillors and coadjutors hundreds of the most prominent and pronounced Republicans in the country. To these he committed responsibilities of the gravest import and most confidential nature. Many of them had charge of vital activities of the government.

"And yet, with the war successfully prosecuted and gloriously ended, the Republican party in congress, far from applauding the masterly leadership of the president and felicitating the country on the amazing achievements of the American government, has meanly requited the considerate course of the chief magistrate by savagely defaming the commander-in-chief of the army and navy and by assailing nearly every public officer of every branch of the service intimately concerned in winning the war abroad and preserving the security of the government at home.

"We express to the soldiers and sailors of America the admiration of their fellow countrymen. Guided by the genius of such commanders as General John J. Pershing, the armed forces of America constituted a decisive factor in the victory and brought new lustre to the flag.

"We commend the patriotic men and women who sustained the efforts of their government in the crucial hours of the war and contributed to the brilliant administrative success achieved under the broad visioned leadership of the president.

FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

"A review of the record of the Democratic party during the administration of Woodrow Wilson presents a chapter of substantial achievements unsurpassed in the history of the republic. For 50 years before the advent of this administration periodical convulsions had impeded the industrial progress of the American people and caused inestimable loss and distress. By the enactment of the federal reserve act the old system, which bred panics, was replaced by a new system which insured confidence. It was an indispensable factor in winning the war and today it is the hope and inspiration of business. Indeed, one vital danger against which the American people should keep constantly on guard is the commitment of this system to partisan enemies who struggled against its adoption and vainly attempted to retain in the hands of speculative bankers a monopoly of the currency and credits of the nation. Already there are well defined indications of an assault upon the vital principles of the system in the event of Republican success in the elections in November.

"Under Democratic leadership the American people successfully financed their stupendous part in the greatest war of all times. The treasury wisely insisted during the war upon meeting an adequate portion of the war expenditure from current taxes and the bulk of the balance from popular loans and, during the first full fiscal year after the fighting stopped, upon meeting current expenditures from current receipts, notwithstanding the new and unnecessary burdens thrown upon the treasury by the delay, obstruction and extravagance of a Republican congress.

"The non-partisan federal reserve authorities have been wholly free of political interference or motive and, in their own time and their own way have used courageously though cautiously the instruments at their disposal to prevent undue expansion of credit in the country. As a result of these sound treasury and federal reserve policies the inevitable war inflation has been held down to a minimum and the cost of living has been prevented from increasing here in proportion to the increase in other belligerent countries and in neutral countries which are in close contact with the world's commerce and exchanges.

"After a year and a half of fighting in Europe, and despite another year and a half of Republican obstruction at home, the credit of the government of the United States stands unimpaired, the federal reserve note is the unit of value throughout all the world, and the United States is the one great country in the world which maintains a free gold market.

"We condemn the attempt of the Republican party to deprive the American people of their legitimate pride in the financing of the war—an achievement without parallel in the financial history of this or any other country, in this or any other war. And in particular we condemn the pernicious attempt of the Republican party to create discontent among the holders of the bonds of the government of the United States and to drag our public finance and our banking and currency system back into the arena of party politics.

TAX REVISION

"We condemn the failure of the present congress to respond to the oft-repeated demand of the president and the secretaries of the treasury to revise the existing tax laws. The continuance in force in peace times of taxes devised under pressure of imperative necessity to produce a revenue for war purposes is indefensible and can only result in lasting injury to the people. The Republican congress persistently failed, through sheer political cowardice, to make a single move toward a readjustment of tax laws which it denounced before the last election and was afraid to revise before the next election.

"We advocate tax reform and a searching revision of the war revenue acts to fit peace conditions so that the wealth of the nation may not be withdrawn from productive enterprise and diverted to wanteful or non-productive expenditure.

"We demand prompt action by the next congress for a complete survey of existing taxes and their modification and simplification with a view to secure greater equity and justice in tax burden and improvement in administration.

PUBLIC ECONOMY

"Claiming to have effected great economies in government expenditures, the Republican party cannot show the reduction of one dollar in taxation as a corollary of this false pretence. In contrast, the last Democratic congress enacted legislation reducing taxes from eight billions, designed to be raised, to six billions for the first year after the armistice, and to four billions thereafter; and there the total is left undiminished by our political adversaries. Two years after Armistice day a Republican congress provides for expending the stupendous sum of $5,403,390,327.30.

"Effecting great paper economies by reducing departmental estimates of sums which would not have been spent in any event, and by reducing formal appropriations, the Republican statement of expenditures omits the pregnant fact that the congress authorized the use of one and a half billion dollars in the hands of various departments and bureaus, which otherwise would have been converted into the treasury, and which should be added to the Republican total of expenditures.

HIGH COST OF LIVING

"The high cost of living and the depreciation of bond values in this country are primarily due to war itself, to the necessary governmental expenditures for the destructive purposes of war, to private extravagance, to the world shortage of capital, to the inflation of foreign currencies and credits and in large degree, to conscienceless profiteering.

"The Republican party is responsible for the failure to restore peace and peace conditions in Europe, which is a principal cause of post-armistice inflation the world over. It has denied the demand of the president for necessary legislation to deal with secondary and local causes. The sound policies pursued by the treasury and the federal reserve system have limited in this country, though they could not prevent, the inflation which was world-wide.

"Elected upon specific promises to curtail public expenditures and to bring the country back to a status of effective economy, the Republican party in congress wasted time and energy for more than a year in vain and extravagant investigations, costing the taxpayers great sums of money while revealing nothing beyond the incapacity of Republican politicians to cope with the problems. Demanding that the president, from his place at the peace table, call the congress into extraordinary session for imperative purposes of readjustment, the congress when convened spent 13 months in partisan pursuits, failing to repeal a single war statute which harassed business or to initiate a single constructive measure to help business. It busied itself making a pre-election record of pretended thrift, having not one particle of substantial existence in fact. It raged against profiteers and the high cost of living without enacting a single statute to make the former afraid or doing a single act to bring the latter within limitations.

"The simple truth is that the high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict governmental economy and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions and are demanding and receiving outrageous profits.

"We pledge the Democratic party to a policy of strict economy in government expenditures, and to the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

THE TARIFF

"We reaffirm the traditional policy of the Democratic party in favor of a tariff for revenue only and confirm the policy of basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of a non-partisan commission, rather than upon the demands of selfish interests, temporally held in abeyance.

BUDGET

"In the interest of economy and good administration, we favor the creation of an effective budget system that will function in accord with the principles of the constitution. The reform should reach both the executive and legislative aspects of the question. The supervision and preparation of the budget should be vested in the secretary of the treasury as the representative of the president. The budget, as such, should not be indreased by the congress except by a two thirds vote, each house, however, being free to exercise its constitutional privilege of making appropriations through independent bills. The appropriation bills should be considered by single committees of the house and senate. The audit system should be consolidated and its powers expanded so as to pass upon the wisdom of, as well as the authority for, expenditures.

"A budget bill was passed in the closing days of the second session of the sixty-sixth congress, which, invalidated by plain contitutional defects and defaced by considerations of patronage, the president was obliged to veto. The house amended the bill to meet the executive objection. We condemn the Republican senate for adjourning without passing the amended measure, when, by devoting an hour or two more to this urgent public business a budget system could have been provided.

SENATE RULES

"We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

"To the great agricultural interests of the country the Democratic party does not find it necessary to make promises. It already is rich in its record of things actually accomplished. For nearly half a century of Republican rule not a sentence was written into the federal statutes affording one dollar of bank credits to the farming interests of America. In the first term of this Democratic administration the national bank act was so altered as to authorize loans of five years' maturity on improved farm lands. Later was established a system of farm loan banks, from which the borrowings already exceed $300,000,000 and under which the interest rate to farmers has been so materially reduced as to drive out of business the farm loan sharks who formerly subsisted by extortion upon the great agricultural interests of the country.

"Thus it was a Democratic congress in the administration of a Democratic president which enabled the farmers of America for the first time to obtain credit upon reasonable terms and insured their opportunity for the future development of the nation's agricultural resources. Tied up in supreme court proceedings, in a suit by hostile interests, the federal farm loan system, originally opposed by the Republican candidate for the presidency, appealed in vain to a Republican congress for adequate financial assistance to tide over the interim between the beginning and the ending of the current year, awaiting a final decision of the highest court on the validity of the contested act. We pledge prompt and consistent support of sound and effective measures to sustain, amplify and perfect the rural credits statutes and thus to check and reduce the growth and course of farm tenancy.

"Not only did the Democratic party put into effect a great farm loan system of land mortgage banks, but it passed the Smith-Lever agricultural extension act, carrying to every farmer in every section of the country, through the medium of trained experts and by demonstration farms, the practical knowledge acquired by the federal agricultural department in all things relating to agricultural, horticulture and animal life; it established the bureau of markets, the bureau of farm management and passed the cotton futures act, the grain grades bill, the cooperative farm administration act and the federal warehouse act.

"The Democratic party has vastly improved the rural mail system and has built up the parcel post system to such an extent as to render its activities and its practical service indispensable to the farming community. It was this wise encouragement and this effective concern of the Democratic party for the farmers of the United States that enabled this great interest to render such essential service in feeding the armies of America and the allied nations of the war and succoring starving populations since armistice day.

"Meanwhile the Republican leaders at Washington have failed utterly to propose one single measure to make rural life more tolerable. They have signalized their 18 months of congressional power by urging schemes which would strip the farms of labor; by assailing the principles of the farm loan system and seeking to impair its efficiency; by covertly attempting to destroy the great nitrogen plant at Muscle Shoals upon which the government has expended $70,000,000 to supply American farmers with fertilizers at reasonable cost; by ruthlessly crippling nearly every branch of agriculture endeavor, literally crippling the productive mediums through which the people must be fed.

"We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining and the right of cooperative handling and marketing of the products of the workshop and the farm and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

"We favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY

"The Democratic party is now, as ever, the firm friend of honest labor and the promoter of progressive industry. It established the department of labor at Washington and a Democratic president called to his official council board the first practical workingman who ever held a cabinet portfolio. Under this administration have been established employment bureaus to bring the man and the job together; have been peaceably determined many bitter disputes between capital and labor; were passed the child labor act, the workingman's compensation act (the extension of which we advocate so as to include laborers engaged in loading and unloading ships and interstate commerce), the eight hour law, the act for vocational training and a code of other wholesome laws affecting the liberties and bettering the conditions of the laboring classes. In the department of labor the Democratic administration established a woman's bureau, which a Republican congress destroyed by withholding appropriations.

(Continued on Following Page)

SENATOR THOMAS J. WALSH

Montana solon who, backed by Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, W. J. Bryan and others, led an unsuccessful fight to defeat the administration plank on the peace treaty.

LEAGUE INDORSED; ARMENIA MANDATE GIVEN DISAPPROVAL

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